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Bi
T H E
W O R K S
O F
THAT LEARNED AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE
MR. RICHARD ✓ HOOKER,
CONTAINING
E I G H T B O O K S
O F T H E
L A W S
O F
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY,
A N D
SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

B Y
I S A A C W A L T O N.

TO THIS EDITION IS SUBJOINED
A NEW INDEX TO THE WHOLE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

O X F O R D:
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MDCXCIII.



OF THE
L A W S
O F
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

B O O K V.

Concerning their fourth Assertion, That touching several publick Duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst us much Superstition retained in them; and concerning Persons, which for performance of those Duties are endued with the Power of Ecclesiastical Order, our Laws and Proceedings according thereunto, are many ways herein also corrupted.

The Matter contained in this Fifth Book.

1. *True Religion is the root of all true Virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered Commonwealths.*
2. *The most extreme opposite to true Religion, is affected Atheism.*
3. *Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided Zeal, or ignorant Fear of divine Glory.*

- BOOK V. 4. *Of the redress of Superstition in God's Church, and concerning the Question of this Book.*
5. *Four general Propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted, concerning matters of outward Form in the Exercise of true Religion. And fifthly, Of a Rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.*
6. *The first Proposition touching Judgments, what things are convenient in the outward publick ordering of Church affairs.*
7. *The second Proposition.*
8. *The third Proposition.*
9. *The fourth Proposition.*
10. *The Rule of Mens' private Spirits, not safe in these cases to be followed.*
11. *Places for the publick Service of God.*
12. *The Solemnity of erecting Churches condemned; the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the Adversary.*
13. *Of the names whereby we distinguish our Churches.*
14. *Of the Fashion of our Churches.*
15. *The Sumptuousness of Churches.*
16. *What Holiness and Virtue we ascribe to the Church, more than other places.*
17. *Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.*
18. *Of publick Teaching or Preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechizing.*
19. *Of Preaching, by reading publickly the Books of holy Scripture, and concerning supposed Untruths in those Translations of Scripture which we allow to be read, as also of the choice which we make in reading.*
20. *Of Preaching by the publick reading of other profitable Instructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.*
21. *Of Preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby Men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's Truth.*
22. *What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.*
23. *Of Prayer.*

24. *Of publick Prayer.*
25. *Of the Form of Common Prayer.*
26. *Of them which like not to have any set Form of Common Prayer.*
27. *Of them, who allowing a set Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.*
28. *The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papists, too far different from that of other Reformed Churches, as they pretend.*
29. *Attire belonging to the Service of God.*
30. *Of Gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.*
31. *Easiness of praying after our Form.*
32. *The length of our Service.*
33. *Instead of such Prayers as the Primitive Churches have used, and those that the Reformed now use; we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreadings, rather Wishes than Prayers.*
34. *Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.*
35. *The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.*
36. *The People's saying after the Minister.*
37. *Our manner of reading the Psalms, otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.*
38. *Of Musick with Psalms.*
39. *Of singing or saying Psalms, and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the People and the Minister answer one another by course.*
40. *Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc Dimittis.*
41. *Of the Litany.*
42. *Of Athanasius Creed, and Gloria Patria.*
43. *Of our want of particular Thanksgiving.*
44. *In some things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, is unsound.*
45. *When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of Death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.*
46. *Touching Prayer for Deliverance from sudden Death.*
47. *Prayer for those things which we for our unworthiness,*

- ness, dare not ask; God, for the worthiness of his Son, would vouchsafe to grant.*
48. *Prayer to be evermore delivered from all Adversity.*
49. *Prayer that all Men may find Mercy, and of the Will of God, that all Men might be saved.*
50. *Of the Name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of Life through Christ.*
51. *That God is in Christ by the personal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.*
52. *The mis-interpretations which Heresy hath made of the manner, how God and Man are united in one Christ.*
53. *That by the Union of the one with the other Nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential Properties to either.*
54. *What Christ hath obtained according to the Flesh, by the union of his Flesh with Deity.*
55. *Of the personal Presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted, he is every where present according to the Flesh.*
56. *The Union or mutual Participation, which is between Christ and the Church of Christ, in the present World.*
57. *The necessity of Sacraments unto the Participation of Christ.*
58. *The Substance of Baptism, the Rites or Solemnities thereunto belonging; and that the Substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.*
59. *The Ground in Scripture, whereupon a necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.*
60. *What kind of necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ: and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.*
61. *What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the Fathers, respecting necessity.*

62. *Whether Baptism by Women, be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.*
63. *Of Interrogatories in Baptism, touching Faith, and and the purpose of a Christian Life.*
64. *Interrogatories proposed unto Infants in Baptism, and answered, as in their names, by God-fathers.*
65. *Of the Cross in Baptism.*
66. *Of Confirmation after Baptism.*
67. *Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*
68. *Of faults noted in the Form of administering that holy Sacrament.*
69. *Of Festival-days, and the natural causes of their convenient Institution.*
70. *The manner of celebrating Festival-days.*
71. *Exceptions against our keeping of other Festival-days, besides the Sabbath.*
72. *Of Days appointed, as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.*
73. *The Celebration of Matrimony.*
74. *The Churching of Women.*
75. *The Rites of Burial.*
76. *Of the Nature of that Ministry, which serveth for performance of divine Duties in the Church of God, and how Happiness, not external only, but also temporal, doth depend upon it.*
77. *Of Power given unto Men, to execute that heavenly Office, of the Gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the Power of Order may be sought or sued for.*
78. *Of Degrees whereby the Power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the Attire of Ministers.*
79. *Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for Perpetuity of Religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by Alienation of Church-livings be made frustrate.*
80. *Of Ordination lawful without Title, and without any popular Election precedent, but in no case without*

BOOK V. *regard of due Information what their quality is that enter into holy Orders.*

81. *Of the Learning that should be in Ministers, their Residence, and the number of their Livings.*

True Religion is the root of all true Virtues and the stay of all well ordered Common-wealth.

FEW there are of so weak capacity but publick evils they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain when the grievous inconveniencies thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit, to see wherein the harm which they feel consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toil and the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respective Men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the World may go well, so it be not long of them, than with pain and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good. We which thought it at the very first a sign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private ease before the labour of appeasing publick disturbance, must now of necessity refer events to the gracious Providence of Almighty God, and in discharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and impartial defence of a common Cause. Wherein our endeavour is not so much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which for want of due consideration heretofore they misconceived, accusing Laws for Men's over-sights, imputing evils grown through personal defects unto that which is not evil, framed unto some fores unwholsome plaisters, and applying othersome where no sore is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, we agree, that pure and unstained Religion ought to be the highest

highest of all cares appertaining to publick Regiment, as well in regard of that aid and protection which they who faithfully serve God confesse they receive at his merciful hands, as also for the force which Religion hath to qualify all sorts of Men, and to make them in publick affairs the more serviceable; * Governors the apter to rule with conscience; Inferiors for conscience-sake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of found 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 politick affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit Instruments, and that which fitteth them be their Virtues, let Polity acknowledge itself indebted to Religion; Godliness being the ‡ chiefest top and well-spring of all true Virtues, even as God is of all good things. So natural is the union of Religion with Justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom Religion doth not cause to be such; or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they which employ their labour and travail about the publick administration of Justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart perswaded that || Justice is God's own work, and themselves his Agents in this business; the Sentence of Right God's own Verdict, and themselves his

* C. Th. lib. xvi. tit. 2. Gaudere et gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis et labore corporis vel sudore nostram publicam contineri.

† Ἐστὶ δ' ἕθεν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν παράξει ἀνευ τῆ ποίον τινα ἐπιπέ, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. Arist. Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. i.

‡ Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀριστὴ πάντων ἔ' ὕμνων Θεός, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσεβεία. Philo. de Dec. Præcept.

|| 2 Chron. xix. 6. Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ ἵστέ μόνον, κἀλλιον δὲ καὶ θεϊότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 2. Eccles. xii. 10. Wisd. xvii. 13.

Priests to deliver it; Formalities of Justice do but serve to smother Right, and that which was necessarily ordained for the common Good is through shameful abuse made the cause of common Misery. The same Piety, which maketh them that are in authority desirous to please and resemble God by Justice, inflameth, every way, Men of action with zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all. For that, they know, is most noble and divine. Whereby, if no natural or casual inability cross their desires, they always delighting to inure themselves with actions more beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wisdom; because conscience, and the fear of swerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the nurse of vulgar folly, no less than Solomon's attention thereunto, was of natural furtherances the most effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that means became the Author of many Parables. Concerning Fortitude, sith evils great and unexpected (the true touchstone of constant Minds) do cause oftentimes even them to think of divine Power with fearfullest suspensions, which have been otherwise the most secure despisers thereof; how should we look for any constant resolution of Mind in such cases, saving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the Acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed, from whose magnanimity, in causes of most extreme hazard, those strange and unwonted resolutions have grown; which for all circumstances, no People under the roof of Heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them was their meer Religion. Without which, if so be it were possible, that all other ornaments of Mind might be had in their

their full perfection, nevertheless the Mind that BOOK V. should possess them, divorced from Piety, could be but a spectacle of commiseration; even as that Body is, which adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanted Eye-sight, the chiefest grace that Nature hath in that kind to bestow. They which commend so much the felicity of that innocent World, wherein it is said that Men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honesty, not for fear of the Magistrate or because revenge was before their eyes, if at any time they should do otherwise, but that which held the People in awe was the shame of ill-doing, the love of equity, and right itself, a bar against all oppressions which greatness of power causeth: they which describe unto us any such estate of happiness amongst Men, though they speak not of Religion, do notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For if Religion did possess sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all Men, there would need no other restraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours wherewith it concurrerth; but what event soever ensues, it breedeth, if not joy and gladness always, yet always patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of Mind. Whereupon it hath been Psal. i. 3. set down as an axiom of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand are prosperously ended; because, whether Men in the end have that which Religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, they are in neither event unfortunate.* But lest any Man should here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our Religion be, inasmuch as Heathens, Turks, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the same effects which ourselves ascribe

* Τὸν γὰρ οἷς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πᾶσας δόμους τὰς τύχας εὐχρημόνως φέρον, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπαρχόντων αἰὲν τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 10.

hereunto,

BOOK V. hereunto, they having ours in the same detestation that we theirs; it shall be requisite to observe well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. First, by the bitter strife which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalf, and is by so much always greater as the matter is of more importance; we see a general agreement in the secret opinion of Men, that every Man ought to embrace the Religion which is true; and to shun, as hurtful, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth farthest dissent. The generality of which persuasion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by Nature, to the end it might be a spur to our industry in searching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to swerve in the least points is error, so the capital Enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly Foes, Aliens, and without Repentance, Children of endless Perdition. Such, therefore, touching Man's immortal state after this life, are not likely to reap benefit by their Religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard to so important contrariety between it and the true Religion. Nevertheless, in as much as the errors of the most seduced this way have been mixed with some truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endless woe and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the affairs of this present life. There were in these quarters of the World, sixteen hundred years ago, certain speculative Men whose authority disposed the whole Religion of those times. By their means it became a received opinion that the Souls of Men departing this life do flit out of one Body into some other. Which opinion, though false, yet entwined with a true, that the Souls of Men do never perish, abated the fear of death in them which were so resolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures. The Romans had a vain superstitious custom, in most of their enterprises, to conjecture before-hand of the event by certain tokens which they noted in Birds, or

Cæf. de
Bell. Gall.
lib. vi.

in

in the intrails of Beasts, or by other the like frivo-BOOK V.
 lous Divinations. From whence notwithstanding as
 oft as they could receive any sign which they took to
 be favourable, it gave them such hope, as if their
 Gods had made them more than half a promise of
 prosperous success. Which many times was the great-
 est cause that they did prevail, especially being Men,
 of their own natural inclination, hopeful and strongly
 conceited, whatsoever they took in hand. But could
 their fond Superstition have furthered so great at-
 tempts without the mixture of a true persuasion con-
 cerning the unresistable force of divine Power? Upon
 the wilful violation of Oaths, execrable Blasphemy,
 and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion,
 even unto false Gods, fearful tokens of divine Re-
 venge have been known to follow. Which occurrents
 the devouter sort did take for manifest arguments,
 that the Gods whom they worshipped were of power
 to reward such as sought unto them, and would plague
 those that feared them not. In this they erred. For ^{Wisd. xiv.}
 (as the Wise Man rightly noteth concerning such) it ^{31.}
 was not the power of them by whom they sware, but
 the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished
 the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt un-
 truly to attribute so great power unto false Gods. Yet
 the right conceit which they had, that to perjury
 vengeance is due, was not without good effect as
 touching the course of their lives, who feared
 the wilful violation of Oaths in that respect.
 And whereas we read so many of them so much
 commended, some for their mild and merciful dispo-
 sition, some for their virtuous severity, some for in-
 tegrity of life, all these were the fruits of true and
 infallible principles delivered unto us in the Word of
 God, as the Axioms of our Religion, which being
 imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts also,
 and taking better root in some than in most others,
 grew, though not from, yet with and amidst the
 heaps of manifold repugnant errors; which errors
 of

BOOK V. of corrupt Religion had also their suitable effects in
 ——— the lives of the self-same Parties. Without all controversy, the purer and perfecter our Religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who stedfastly and sincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the Religion which they profess, may have failed in choice, but yet they are sure to reap what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that bear it not the like affection yieldeth them, retaining it in that sort, no benefit. David was a *Man after God's own heart*, so termed because his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, *O keep this for ever in the purpose, and thoughts of the heart of this People.* But when, after that David had ended his days in peace, they who succeeded him in place, for the most part followed him not in quality; when their Kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate (as they thought) left their own and their People's ghostly condition uncared for, by woe-ful experience they both did learn, that to forsake the true God of Heaven, is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the Earth, as Men either destitute of Grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above, endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appear that the safety of all Estates dependeth upon Religion; that Religion unfeignedly loved perfecteth Men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous services in the Commonwealth; that Men's desire in general is to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatsoever good effects do grow out of their Religion, who embrace instead of the true a false, the roots thereof are certain sparks of the light of Truth intermingled with the darkness of error; because no Religion can wholly and only consist of untruths, we have reason to think, that all true virtues are to honour true Religion as their Parent, and all well ordered Commonweals to love her as their chiefest stay.

1 Chr. xxix.
27.

2. They

2. They of whom God is altogether unappre- BOOK V.
 hended are but few in number, and for grossness of
 wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seem to hold The most
 the place of human being. These we should judge extreme op-
 to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretched- posite to
 er sort there are on whom, whereas Nature has bestowed true Reli-
 riper capacity, their evil disposition seriously goeth gion, is af-
 about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. fectd Athe-
 Whereby it cometh to pass, that of these two sorts of ism.
 Men, both godless, the one having utterly no know-
 ledge of God, the other study how to persuade them-
 selves that there is no such thing to be known. The
 *fountain and well-spring of which impiety, is a re-
 solved purpose of mind to reap in this World what
 sensual profit or pleasure soever the World yieldeth,
 and not to be barred from any whatsoever means
 available thereunto. And that this is the very radi-
 cal cause of their Atheism no Man (I think) will
 doubt, which considereth what pains they take to de-
 stroy their principal spurs and motives unto all Vir-
 tue, the Creation of the World, the Providence of
 God, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Joys of the
 Kingdom of Heaven, and the endless Pains of the
 Wicked, yea, above all things, the Authority of the
 Scripture, because on these points it evermore beat-
 eth, and the Soul's Immortality, which granted,
 draweth easily after it the rest as a voluntary train.
 Is it not wonderful, that base desires should so exting-
 uish in Men the sense of their own excellency, as to
 make them willing that their Souls should be like to
 the Souls of Beasts, mortal and corruptible with their
 Bodies? Till some admirable or unusual accident
 happen (as it hath in some) to work the beginning of
 a better alteration in their Minds, disputation about
 the knowledge of God with such kind of persons

* Wisd. ii. 21. Such things they imagine and go astray because
 their own wickedness hath blinded them. Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ
 ἡσυχία. Arist. Eth. lib. vi. cap. 5.

BOOK V. commonly prevaieth little. For how should the
 ——— brightness of Wisdom shine, where the windows of
 the Soul are of very set purpose closed? * True Reli-
 gion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof
 galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore
 loth that enquiry into such matters should breed a
 persuasion in the end contrary unto that they embrace,
 it is their endeavour to banish, as much as in them
 lieth, quite and clean from their cogitation whatso-
 ever may found that way. But it cometh many times
 to pass (which is their torment) that the thing they
 shun doth follow them; Truth, as it were, even ob-
 truding itself into their knowledge, and not permit-
 ting them to be so ignorant as they would be.
 Whereupon, in as much as the nature of Man is un-
 willing to continue doing that wherein it shall always
 condemn itself, they continuing still obstinate to fol-
 low the course which they have begun, are driven to
 devise all the shifts that wit can invent for the smo-
 thering of this light, all that may but with any the
 least shew of possibility stay their Minds from think-
 ing that true, which they heartily wish were false, but
 cannot think it so without some scruple and fear of
 the contrary. † Now because that judicious learning,
 for which we commend most worthily the ancient
 Sages of the World, doth not in this case serve the
 turn, these trenchermates (for such the most of them
 be) frame to themselves a way more pleasant, a new
 method they have of turning things that are serious
 into mockery, an art of contradiction by way of
 scorn, a learning wherewith we were long sithence
 forwarned that the miserable time whereunto we are
 fallen should abound. This they study, this they practise,
 this they grace with a wanton superfluity of wit, too much

2 Pet. iii. 3.
 Jude, Verſ.
 18.

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

† Hæc est summa delicti, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non
 possis. Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.

insulting

insulting over the patience of more virtuously disposed BOOK V.
 minds. For towards these so forlorn Creatures we are
 (it must be confest) too patient. In zeal to the
 glory of God, Babylon hath exceeded Sion. We Dan. iii. 29.
 want that decree of Nebuchodonosor; the fury of
 this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty;
 their tongues walk at large; the spit-venom of their
 poisoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of
 others; what their untamed lust suggesteth, the same
 their licentious mouths do every where set abroad.
 With our contentions their irreligious humour is also
 much strengthened. Nothing pleaseth them better
 than these manifold oppositions upon the matter of
 Religion, as well for that they have hereby the more op-
 portunity to learn on one side how another may be op-
 pugned, and so to weaken the credit of all unto them-
 selves; as also because by this hot pursuit of lower
 controversies among Men professing Religion, and
 agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they
 conceive hope that about the higher principles them-
 selves time will cause altercation to grow. For which
 purpose, when they see occasion, they stick not some-
 time in other Men's Persons, yea, sometime without
 any vizard at all, directly to try what the most reli-
 gious 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 ge-
 nerally are received, that although in themselves they
 be most certain; yet because Men presume them
 granted of all, we are hardliest able to bring such
 proof of their certainty as may satisfy gainfayers,
 when suddenly and besides expectation they require
 the same at our hands. Which impreparation and
 unreadiness when they find in us, they turn it to
 soothing up of themselves in that cursed fancy,
 whereby they would fain believe that the hearty de-
 votion of such as indeed fear God, is nothing else
 but a kind of harmless error, bred and confirmed in
 them by the sleights of wiser Men. For a politick
 use

BOOK V. use of Religion they see there is, and by it they would
 ——— also gather that Religion itself is a meer politick de-
 vice, forged purposely to serve for that use. Men
 fearing God are thereby a great deal more effectually,
 than by positive Laws, restrained from doing evil;
 in as much as those Laws have no farther power than
 over our outward actions only, whereas unto Men's
 *inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and mo-
 tions of their hearts, Religion serveth for a bridle.
 What more savage, wild and cruel than Man, if he
 see himself able either by fraud to over-reach, or by
 power to over-bear the Laws whereunto he should be
 subject? Wherefore in so great boldness to offend, it
 behoveth that the World should be held in awe, not
 by a vain surmise, but a true apprehension of some-
 what, which no Man may think himself able to with-
 stand. This is the politick use of Religion. In
 which respect there are, of these wise malignants,
 some who have vouchsafed it their marvellous fa-
 vourable countenance and speech; very gravely af-
 firming, That Religion honoured, addeth greatness;
 and contemned, bringeth ruin unto Commonweals:
 that Princes and States which will continue, are above
 all things to uphold the reverend regard of Religion,
 and to provide for the same by all means in the mak-
 ing of their Laws. But when they should define
 what means are best for that purpose, behold, they
 extol the wisdom of Paganism; they give it out as a
 mystical Precept of great importance, that Princes
 and such as are under them in most authority and cre-
 dit with the People, should take all occasions of rare
 events, and from what cause soever the same do pro-
 ceed, yet wrest them to the strengthening of their Re-
 ligion, and not make it nice for so good a purpose to

Mach. Disc.
 l. i. c. 11,
 12, 13, 14.

* Vos scelera admiffa punitis, apud nos et cogitare peccare est; vos conscios timetis, nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine quâ esse non possumus. Minu. Fel. in Octav. Summum præsidium regni est justitia ob apertos tumultus, et religio ob occultos. Carda. de Sapien. lib. iii.

use, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they BOOK V. study to bring to pass that Religion may seem but a matter made, they lose themselves in the very maze of their own discourses, as if Reason did even purposely forsake them, who of purpose forsake God the Author thereof. For surely, a strange kind of madness it is, that those Men, who though they be void of Piety, yet because they have wit cannot chuse but know that Treachery, Guile, and Deceit, are things which may for a while, but do not use long to go unespied, should teach, that the greatest honour to a State, is perpetuity; and grant that alterations in the Service of God, for that they impair the credit of Religion, are therefore perilous in Commonweals, which have no continuance longer than Religion hath all reverence done unto it; and withal acknowledge (for so they do) that when People began to espy the falshood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentilism was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithstanding counsel Princes in sober earnest, for the strengthening of their States, to maintain Religion, and for the maintenance of Religion, not to make choice of that which is true, but to authorise that they make choice of by those false and fraudulent means which in the end must needs overthrow it. Such are the counsels of Men godless, when they would shew themselves politick devisers, able to create God in Man by art.

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand; two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or lesser sway in Man's heart, frame accordingly the stamp and character of his Religion, the one Zeal, the other Fear. Zeal, unless it be rightly guided, when it endeavoureth most busily to please God, forceth upon him those unseasonable offices which please him not. For which cause, if they who this way swerve be compared with such sincere, sound and discreet, as Abraham was in matter

Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided Zeal, or ignorant Fear of divine Glory.

BOOK V. of Religion; the service of the one, is like unto flattery; the other, like the faithful sedulity of friendship. Zeal, except it be ordered aright when it bendeth itself unto conflict with all things either in deed, or but imagined to be opposite unto Religion, useth the razor many times with such eagerness, that the very life of Religion itself is thereby hazarded; through hatred of tares the corn in the field of God is plucked up. So that Zeal needeth both ways a sober Guide. Fear, on the other side, if it have not the light of true understanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewise Superstition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things divine we should work too much upon the spur either of Zeal or Fear. Fear is a good Solicitor to Devotion. Howbeit, sith Fear in this kind doth grow from an apprehension of Deity endued with irresistible power to hurt, and is of affections (anger excepted) the unaptest to admit any conference with Reason; for which cause the wise Man doth say of Fear, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reasonable understanding; therefore, except Men know before-hand what manner of service pleaseth God, while they are fearful they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God but when they are in extremity of Fear; and then because, what to think, or what to do they are uncertain, perplexity not suffering them to be idle, they think and do, as it were, in a phrensy, they know not what. Superstition neither knoweth the right kind, nor observeth the due measure of actions belonging to the Service of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superstition is, when things are either abhorred or observed with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous relation to God. By means whereof, the superstitious do sometimes serve, though the true God, yet with needless offices, and defraud him of duties necessary; sometime load others than him with such honours as properly are his. The one, their oversight

2 Chron. xx.
7.
Abraham
thy friend.

Wisd. xvii.
11.

fight who mis in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they shew their devotion: this, the crime of Idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary either niceness or superfluity in Religion. The Christian World itself being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with matter of Heresy the West hath been often and much troubled; but the East part never quiet till the deluge of misery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefest cause whereof doth seem to have lien in the restless wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and subtile inventions; which when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language served them readily to make all things fair and plausible to Men's understanding. Those grand Heretical Impieties therefore, which most highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monsters of the East. The West bred fewer a great deal, and those commonly of a lower nature, such as more nearly and directly concerned rather Men than God; the Latins being always to capital Heresies less inclined, yet unto gross Superstition more: Superstition, such as that of the Pharisees was, by whom divine things indeed were less, because other things were more divinely esteemed of than Reason would. The Superstition that riseth voluntarily, and by degrees which are hardly discerned, mingling itself with the Rites even of very divine Service done to the only true God, must be considered of as a creeping and incroaching evil; an evil, the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil, when some farther accident doth grow unto it, or itself come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God, sometimes it cometh to pass, as in over-battle grounds, the fertile disposition whereof is good; yet because it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly,

BOOK V.

Mark vii.

9.

BOOK V. through too much rankness, things less profitable; whereby, that which principally it should yield being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nourishment, faileth. This (if so large a discourse were necessary) might be exemplified even by heaps of Rites and Customs, now superstitious in the greatest part of the Christian World; which in their first original beginnings, when the strength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them, no Man could justly have condemned as evil.

Of the Re-
drefs of Su-
perstition in
God's
Church, and
concerning
the Ques-
tion of this
Book.

4. But howsoever Superstition doth grow; that wherein unsounder times have done amiss, the better ages ensuing must rectify as they may. I now come therefore to those accusations brought against us by Pretenders of Reformation. The first in the rank whereof is such, that if so be the Church of England did at this day therewith as justly deserve to be touched, as they in this cause have imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all sorts to seek pardon even with tears at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that Men might think favourably of them. For as the case of this World, especially now, doth stand, what other stay or succour have we to lean unto, saving the testimony of our Conscience and the comfort we take in this, that we serve the living God (as near as our wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own Will, and do therefore trust that his Mercy shall be our safeguard against those enraged Powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our Enemies? But sith no Man can do ill with a good Conscience, the consolation which we herein seem to find is but a meer deceitful pleasing of ourselves in error, which at the length must needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to please God most, be for the manifold defects thereof offensive unto him. For so it is judged, our Prayers, our Sacraments, our Fasts, our Times and Places of publick meeting together for the Worship and Service

vice of God ; our Marriages, our Burials, our Func-BOOK V.
 tions, Elections and Ordinations Ecclesiastical, almost
 whatsoever we do in the exercise of our Religion ac-
 cording to Laws for that purpose established, all
 things are some way or other thought faulty, all
 things are stained with Superstition. Now, although
 it may be the wiser sort of Men are not greatly
 moved hereat, considering how subject the very
 best things have been always unto cavil, when
 Wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof
 have set them up as their mark to shoot at : safe not-
 withstanding it were not therefore to neglect the dan-
 ger which from hence may grow, and that especially
 in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they
 ought, but being not so skilful as in every point to un-
 wind themselves where the snares of glosing speech
 do lie to intangle them, are in mind not a little
 troubled, when they hear so bitter investives against
 that which this Church hath taught them to reverence
 as holy, to approve as lawful, and to observe as be-
 hoveful for the exercise of Christian Duty. It seem-
 eth therefore, at least for their sakes, very meet, that
 such as blame us in this behalf be directly answered,
 and they which follow us, informed plainly in the
 reasons of that we do. On both sides, the end in-
 tended between us is to have Laws and Ordinances,
 such as may rightly serve to abolish Superstition and
 to establish the Service of God with all things there-
 unto appertaining in some perfect form. There is an
 inward reasonable, and there is a solemn outward ser-
 viceable Worship belonging unto God. Of the for-
 mer kind are all manner of virtuous Duties, that each
 Man in reason and conscience to God-ward oweth.
 Solemn and serviceable Worship we name for distinc-
 tion sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or
 publick Society of God by way of external Adora-
 tion. It is the latter of these two, whereupon our
 present question groweth. Again, this latter being
 ordered partly, and as touching principal matters,
 by none but Precepts divine only ; partly, and as

BOOK V. concerning things of inferior regard, by Ordinances as well human as divine, about the substance of Religion, wherein God's only Law must be kept, there is here no controversy. The crime now intended against us is, that our Laws have not ordered those inferior things as becometh, and that our Customs are either superstitious or otherwise amiss, whether we respect the exercise of publick Duties in Religion, or the Functions of Persons authorised thereunto.

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

5. It is with Teachers of Mathematical Sciences usual, for us in this present question necessary, to lay down first certain reasonable demands, which in most particulars following are to serve as Principles whereby to work, and therefore must be before-hand considered. The Men whom we labour to inform in the Truth, perceive that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose, touching Customs and Rites indifferent, their general Axioms, some of them subject unto just exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be farther considered than assented unto by us. As that, *In outward things belonging to the Service of God, reformed Churches ought by all means to shun Conformity with the Church of Rome; that, The first reformed should be a pattern whereunto all that come after, ought to conform themselves; that, Sound Religion may not use the things, which being not commanded of God, have been either devised or abused unto Superstition.* These and the rest of the same consort we have in the Book going before examined. Other Canons they alledge, and Rules not unworthy of approbation; as, *That in all such things the glory of God, and the edification or ghostly good of his People must be sought; that nothing should be undecently or unorderly done.* But forasmuch as all the difficulty is, in discerning what things do glorify God and edify his Church, what not; when we should think them decent and fit, when otherwise: because these Rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former Principles being nearer the purpose, are too far

far from Truth; we must propose unto all Men BOOK V.
 certain Petitions incident, and very material in causes
 of this nature, such as no Man of moderate judgment
 hath cause to think unjust or unreasonable.

6. The first thing therefore which is of force to
 cause approbation with good conscience towards such
 Customs or Rites as publickly are established, is, The first Proposition touching judgment, what things are convenient in the outward publick ordering of Church affairs.
 when there ariseth from the due consideration of
 those Customs and Rites in themselves apparent reason,
 although not always to prove them better than
 any other that might possibly be devised, (for who
 did ever require this in Man's Ordinances?) yet competent
 to shew their conveniency and fitness, in regard
 of the use for which they should serve. Now touching
 the nature of religious Services, and the manner of
 their due performance, thus much generally we know
 to be most clear; that whereas the greatness and
 dignity of all manner of Actions is measured by
 the worthiness of the Subject from which they proceed,
 and of the Object whereabout they are conversant,
 we must of necessity in both respects acknowledge
 that this present World afforded not any thing
 comparable unto the publick Duties of Religion.
 For if the best things have the perfectest and best
 operations; it will follow, that seeing Man is
 the worthiest Creature upon Earth; and every
 Society of Men more worthy than any Man; and
 of Societies that most excellent which we call
 the Church; there can be in this World no work
 performed equal to the exercise of true Religion,
 the proper operation of the Church of God. Again,
 forasmuch as Religion worketh upon him who in
 Majesty and Power is infinite, as we ought we
 account not of it, unless we esteem it even according
 to that very height of excellency which our hearts
 conceive, when divine sublimity itself is rightly
 considered. In the powers and faculties of our
 Souls God requireth the uttermost which our
 unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield:
 so that if we John iv. 24.
 affect

BOOK V.

Wild. vi.

10

1 Chron.
xxix. 17.2 Chron.
ii. 5.

affect him not far above and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it should have, neither do we indeed worship him as our God. That which inwardly each Man should be, the Church outwardly ought to testify. And therefore the Duties of our Religion which are seen, must be such as that affection which is unseen ought to be. Signs must resemble the things they signify. If Religion bear the greatest sway in our Hearts, our outward religious Duties must shew it as far as the Church hath outward ability. Duties of Religion performed by whole Societies of Men, ought to have in them, according to our power, a sensible excellency, correspondent to the Majesty of him whom we worship. Yea, then are the publick Duties of Religion best ordered, when the militant Church doth resemble by sensible means*, as it may in such cases, that hidden Dignity and Glory wherewith the Church triumphant in Heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the Sun itself, which is the life of the whole World, was to the People of God in the desert a grievous annoyance, for ease whereof his extraordinary Providence ordained a cloudy Pillar to over-shadow them; so things of general use and benefit (for in this World, what is so perfect that no inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by some accident be incommodious to a few. In which case, for such private evils, remedies there are of like condition, though publick Ordinances, wherein the common good is respected, be not stirred. Let our first demand be therefore, that in the external Form of Religion such things as are apparently, or can be sufficiently proved effectual and generally fit to set forward Godliness, either as betokening the

* Εκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος ἑρανος. Germa. περί τῶν ἰεραρχημένων. Deieciatio Domini in Ecclesia est; Ecclesia vero est imago Cœlestium. Ambros. de interpel. Dav. Facit in terris opera cœlorum. Sidon. Apol. Epist. lib. vi.

Greatness of God, or as befeeming the Dignity of Religion, or as concurring with celestial impressions in the minds of Men, may be reverently thought of; some few, rare, casual, and tolerable, or otherwise curable inconveniencies notwithstanding.

7. Neither may we in this case lightly esteem what hath been allowed as fit in the judgment of Antiquity, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church; from which unnecessarily to swerve, experience never as yet have found it safe. For Wisdom's sake we reverence them no less that are young, or not much less than if they were stricken in years. And therefore of such it is rightly said, that their ripeness of Understanding is *grey Hairs*, and their Virtues *old Age*. But because Wisdom and Youth are seldom joined in one, and the ordinary course of the World is more according to Job's observation, who giveth Men advice to seek *Wisdom amongst the Ancient, and in the length of Days, Understanding*; therefore if the comparison do stand between Man and Man which shall hearken unto other, sith the Aged for the most part are best experienced, least subject to rash and unadvised passions; it hath been ever judged reasonable, that their sentence in matter of counsel should be better trusted, and more relied upon than other Mens. The goodness of God having furnished Men with two chief instruments, both necessary for this life, Hands to execute, and a Mind to devise great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of Youth doth strengthen it; nor the other greatly, till Age and Experience have brought it to perfection. In whom therefore Time hath not perfected Knowledge, such must be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cause none is more attentively heard, than they whose speeches are, as David's were, *I have been young, and now am old*, much I have seen and observed in the World. Sharp and subtile discourses of wit procure many times very great applause; but being laid in
BOOK v.
The second Proposition.
Wisd. iv. 9.
Job xii. 12.
the

BOOK V. the balance with that which the habit of sound ex-
 ————— perience plainly delivereth they are over-weighed.
 God may endue Men extraordinarily with under-
 standing as it pleaseth him: but let no Man presum-
 ing thereupon neglect the instructions, or despise the
 ordinances of his Elders, sith he, whose gift Wisdom
 Deut. xxxi. is, hath said, *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee;*
 7. *thyne Ancients, and they shall tell thee.* It is therefore
 the Voice both of God and Nature, not of Learning
 only, that, especially in matters of Action and Policy,
 Asist Eth. *The sentences and judgments of Men experienced, aged and*
 vi. cap. II. *wise, yea though they speak without any proof or demon-*
stration, are no less to be hearkened unto, than as being
demonstrations in themselves; because such Men's long
observation is as an eye, wherewith they presently and
plainly behold those principles which sway over all actions.
 Whereby we are taught both the cause wherefore
 wise Men's Judgments should be credited, and the
 means how to use their Judgments to the increase of
 our own Wisdom. That which sheweth them to be
 wise, is, the gathering of Principles out of their
 own particular Experiments. And the framing of
 our particular Experiments, according to the rule
 of their Principles, shall make us such as they
 are. If therefore even at the first, so great account
 should be made of wise Men's Counsels touching
 things that are publickly done; as time shall add
 thereunto continuance and approbation of succeeding
 ages, their Credit and Authority must needs be
 greater. They which do nothing but that which
 Men of account did before them, are, although they
 do amiss, yet the less † faulty, because they are not
 the Authors of harm; and doing well, their actions
 are freed from prejudice and novelty. To the best
 and wisest while they live, the World is continually

† Πρὸς τὰς ἐκ ποδῶν, φθόνος ἕδεις φύεται. Philo.

Πᾶσα δυσμείνεια τῷ βίῳ τέτρω σιναποτιθεῖται. Synes.

Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν αὐτ' ἐπιπύπτει καὶ τετραμύεται ἀφθόνως. Gregor. Naz. ἐ

a froward opposite, a curious observer of their de-^{BOOK V.}fects and imperfections; their virtues, it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cause many times that which most deserveth approbation, would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propose it were not content to profess themselves therein scholars and Followers of the Ancients. For the World will not endure to hear that we are wiser than they have been which went before. In which consideration there is cause why we should be slow and unwilling to change, without very urgent necessity, the ancient Ordinances, Rites and long approved Customs of our venerable Predecessors. The love of things ancient doth argue * staidness; but levity and want of experience maketh apt unto innovations. That which Wisdom did first begin, and hath been with good Men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it plead for itself nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth fear condemnation before trial; until trial, no Man doth acquit or trust it, what good soever it pretend and promise. So that in this kind, there are few things known to be good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vain pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to have been so much alledged, hath wrought such a prejudice against them in the Minds of the common sort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (especially for these observances which concern our present question) Antiquity, Custom and Consent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth establish, are themselves most sufficient reasons to uphold the same, unless some notable publick inconvenience

* Ὅσοι δ' εὐσάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τὸ καινοπραπέως προσέτιμησαν καὶ ἀπαροποίητον τῶν παλῶν διεθέλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ αὐτὴν τε χάσαν καὶ πόλιν ταύτην κέχρηται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil de Spirit. Sanct. cap. vii.

BOOK V. enforce the contrary. For * a small thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our second Petition this; that in things, the fitness whereof is not of itself apparent, nor easy to be made sufficiently manifest unto all, yet the Judgment of Antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to alledge any known weighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against it.

The third
Proposition.

8. All things cannot be of ancient continuance which are expedient and needful for the ordering of spiritual affairs: but the Church being a Body which dieth not, hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before. To prescribe the Order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which Wisdom hath, † as a Queen or sovereign Commandress over other Virtues. This in every several Man's actions of common life appertaineth unto moral; in publick and politick secular affairs, unto civil Wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain Form for the outward Administration of publick Duties in the Service of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the most convenient for that use, is a point of Wisdom Ecclesiastical. It is not for a Man, which doth know or should know what Order is and what peaceable Government requireth, to ask, *Why we should hang our judgment upon our Church's sleeve; and, why in matters of Order, more than in matters of Doctrine.* The Church hath authority to establish that for an Order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both may do well. But that which in Doctrine

T. C. I. iii.
P. 171.

* Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τῷ εὖ παρεχόμενον, οὐ ψέγεται. Arist. Ethic. 2. c. ix.

Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet. Tiraquel de jud. in reb. exig. c. p. x.

† Ἡ μὲν φρόνησις, πρὸς τὰ ποικίλα ἔργα αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo. pag. 35.

the Church doth now deliver rightly as a Truth, no BOOK V.
 Man will say that it may hereafter recal, and as
 rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching matter
 of Order are changeable by the power of the Church;
 Articles concerning Doctrine, not so. We read often
 in the writings of catholick and holy Men touching
 matters of Doctrine, *This we believe, this we hold,*
this the Prophets and Evangelists have declared, this the
Apostles have delivered, this Martyrs have sealed with
their blood, and confessed in the midst of torments, to
this we cleave, as to the anchor of our Souls; against
this, though an Angel from Heaven should preach unto
us, we would not believe. But did we ever in any of
 them read touching matters of meer Comeliness, Or-
 der and Decency, neither commanded nor prohibited
 by any Prophet, any Evangelist, any Apostle, *Al-*
though the Church wherein we live do ordain them to be
kept, although they be never so generally observed, though
all the Churches in the World should command them,
though Angels from Heaven should require our subjection
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 deliver, to that the first place
 both of Credit and Obedience is due; the next
 whereunto is, whatsoever any Man can necessarily
 conclude by force of Reason; after these, the voice
 of the Church succeedeth. That which the Church
 by her Ecclesiastical Authority shall probably think
 and define to be true or good, must in congruity of
 Reason over-rule all other inferior judgments what-
 soever. To them which ask, why we thus hang our
 judgments on the Church's sleeve, I answer with So- Ecclef. iv,
 lomom, because *two are better than one. Yea simply* ^{9.}
(saith Basil) and universally, whether it be in works of
Nature, or of voluntary choice and counsel, I see not any
thing done as it should be, if it be wrought by an agent

* Basil. Ep. 68. d. d. 8. c. Quæ contra. Turpis est omnis pars
 universo suo non congruens.

BOOK V. *singling itself from consorts.* The Jews had a sentence of good advice, *Take not upon thee to be Judge alone, there is no Judge but one only; say not to others, Receive my sentence, when their authority is above thine.* The bare consent of the whole Church should itself in these things stop their mouths, who living under it, dare presume to bark against it. *There is* (saith Cassianus) *no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon.* Might we not think it more than wonderful, that Nature should in all Communities appoint a predominant judgment to sway and over-rule in so many things; or that God himself should allow so much authority and power unto every poor Family for the ordering of all which are in it; and the City of the Living God, which is his Church, be able neither to command, nor yet to forbid any thing which the meanest shall in that respect, and for her sole authority's sake be bound to obey? We cannot hide or dissemble that evil, the grievous inconvenience whereof we feel. Our dislike of them, by whom too much heretofore have been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an error on the contrary hand; so that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one extremity with another the World seeking to procure a remedy, hath purchased a meer exchange of the evil which before was felt. Suppose we, that the sacred Word of God can at their hands receive due honour, by whose incitement the holy Ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No, it is not possible they should observe as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unnecessarily their own or their Brethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this business is neither of capacity, I trust, so weak, nor so unstrengthened, I know, with Authority from above; but that her Laws may exact obedience at the hands of her own Children, and enjoin Gainfayers silence, giving them roundly to understand, that where our duty

R. Ismael
in Cap.
Patr.

Cassian. de
Incarn. l. ii.
c. 6.

duty is submission, weak oppositions betoken pride. BOOK V.
 We therefore crave, thirdly, to have it granted, that where neither the evidence of any Law divine, nor the strength of any invincible Argument otherwise found out by the light of Reason, nor any notable publick Inconvenience doth make against that which our own Laws Ecclesiastical have, although but newly, instituted, for the ordering of these affairs, the very Authority of the Church itself, at the least in such cases, may give so much credit to our own Laws, as to make their sentence touching fitness and convenience, weightier than any bare or naked conceit to the contrary; especially in them, who can owe no less than child-like obedience to her that hath more than motherly power.

9. There are ancient Ordinances, Laws (which on all sides are allowed to be just and good, yea Divine and Apostolick Constitutions) which the Church, it may be, doth not always keep, nor always justly deserve blame in that respect. For in evils that cannot be removed, without the manifest danger of greater to succeed in their rooms; Wisdom (of necessity) must give place to Necessity. All it can do in those cases is, to devise how that which must be endured may be mitigated, and the inconveniences thereof countervailed as near as may be; that when the best things are not possible, the best may be made of those that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more constant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithstanding stay her hand, yea, and change her course, when that which God by Creation did command, he doth at any time by Necessity countermand. It hath therefore pleased himself sometime to unloose the very tongues even of dumb Creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their own defence, lest the cruelty of Man should persist to afflict them for not keeping their wonted course, when some invincible impediment hath hindered. If we leave Nature and look into Art, the Work-man hath in his heart

The fourth Proposition.

Nun b.xxii.
26.

BOOK V. heart a purpose, he carrieth in mind the whole form
 ——— which his work should have; there wanteth not in
 him skill and desire to bring his labour to the best ef-
 fect, only the matter which he hath to work on is un-
 frameable. This Necessity excuseth him; so that no-
 thing is derogated from his credit, although much of
 his work's perfection be found wanting. Touching
 actions of common life, there is not any defence more
 favourably heard than theirs who alledge sincerely
 for themselves, that they did as Necessity constrained
 them. For when the Mind is rightly ordered and af-
 fected as it should be, in case some external impedi-
 ment crossing well advised desires shall potently draw
 Men to leave what they principally wish, and to take
 a course which they would not if their choice were
 free; what Necessity forceth Men unto,* the same in
 this case it maintaineth, as long as nothing is commit-
 ted simply in itself evil, nothing absolutely sinful or
 wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable Law,
 whereby whatsoever is condemned as evil, can never
 any way be made good. The casting away of things
 profitable for the sustenance of Man's life, is an un-
 thankful abuse of the fruits of God's good Provi-
 dence towards Mankind. Which consideration, for
 all that, did not hinder St. Paul from throwing corn
 into the sea, when care of saving Men's lives made it
 necessary to lose that which else had been bet-
 ter saved. Neither was this to do evil, to the end
 that good might come of it; for of two such evils,
 being not both evitable, the choice of the less is not
 evil. And evils must be in our construction judged
 inevitable if there be no apparent ordinary way to a-
 void them; because, where counsel and advice bear
 rule, of God's extraordinary Power without extraor-
 dinary warrant, we cannot presume. In civil affairs,
 to declare what sway Necessity hath ever been accu-
 stomed to bear, were labour infinite. The Laws of

Acts xxvii.
38.

* Necessitas, quicquid coegit, defendit. Senec. Controv. lib. ix.
all

all States and Kingdoms in the World have scarcely BOOK v. of any thing more common use. Should then only the Church shew itself inhuman and stern, absolutely urging a rigorous observation of spiritual Ordinances without relaxation or exception, what Necessity soever happen? We know the contrary practice Luke vi. 4. to have been commended by him, upon the warrant of whose Judgment the Church, most of all delighted with merciful and moderate courses, doth the oftner condescend unto like equity, permitting in cases of Necessity that which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth. Cases of Necessity being sometime but urgent, sometime extreme, * the consideration of publick utility is with very good advice judged at the least equivalent with the easier kind of Necessity. Now that which causeth numbers to storm against some necessary tolerations, which they should rather let pass with silence, considering that in Polity as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, there are and will be always evils which no art of Man can cure, breaches and leaks more than Man's wit hath hands to stop; that which maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithstanding the truth is that very just regard hath been had of the publick good; that which in a great part of the weightiest causes belonging to this present Controversy, hath insnared the judgments both of sundry good, and of some well learned Men, is the manifest truth of certain general Principles, whereupon the Ordinances that serve for usual practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which Principles Men knowing to be most sound, and that the ordinary practice accordingly framed is good, whatsoever is over and besides that ordinary, the same they judge repugnant to those true Principles. The cause of which error is ignorance, what restraints and limitations all such Principles have in regard of

* *Causa necessitatis et utilitatis æquiparantur in jure. Ab. Panor. ad c. ut super nu. 15. de Reb. Eccles. non alien.*

BOOK V. so manifold varieties,* as the matter whereunto they
 ——— are applicable, doth commonly afford. These varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all Principles, to discern how far forth they take effect, to see where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practice of things in show, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more sharpness of wit, more intricate circuitions of discourse, more industry and depth of judgment, than common ability doth yield. So that general Rules, till their limits be fully known, (especially in matter of publick and Ecclesiastical affairs) are, by reason of the manifold secret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of Man's understanding than cloudy mists cast before the eye of common sense. They that walk in darkness know not whither they go: and even as little is their certainty, whose opinions Generalities only do guide. With gross and popular capacities nothing doth more prevail than unlimited Generalities, because of their plainness at the first sight: nothing less with Men of exact judgment, because such Rules are not safe to be trusted over far. General Laws are like general Rules of Physick, according whereunto as no wise Man will desire himself to be cured, if there be joined with his disease some special accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the same infirmity, but without the like accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the least unprofitable: so we must not, under a colourable commendation of holy Ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have been grounded for the common good, imagine that all Men's cases ought to have one measure. Nor without singular wisdom

* Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενωτοί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι· περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. Eth. l. i. c. 7.

therefore

therefore it hath been provided, that as the ordinary BOOK V.
 course of common affairs is disposed of by general
 Laws, so likewise Men's rarer incident necessities and
 utilities should be with special equity considered.
 From hence it is, that so many Privileges, Immuni-
 ties, Exceptions and Dispensations have been always
 with great equity and reason granted, not to turn the
 edge of Justice, nor to make void at certain times,
 and in certain Men, through meer voluntary grace
 or benevolence, that which continually and univer-
 sally should be of force (as some Men understand it),
 but in very truth to practise general Laws according
 to their right meaning. We see in Contracts, and
 other dealings which daily pass between Man and
 Man, that, to the utter undoing of some, many
 things by strictness of Law may be done, which
 Equity and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the
 Law is unjust, but imperfect; nor Equity against,
 but above the Law; binding Mens consciences in
 things which Law cannot reach unto. Will any Man
 say, that the virtue of private Equity is opposite and
 repugnant to that Law, the silence whereof it suppli-
 eth in all such private dealing? No more is publick
 Equity against the Law of publick affairs; albeit the
 one permit unto some, in special considerations, that
 which the other, agreeably with general Rules of
 Justice, doth in general sort forbid. For, sith all good
 Laws are the voices of right Reason, which is the In-
 strument wherewith God will have the World guided;
 and impossible it is that Right should withstand Right;
 it must follow, that Principles and Rules of Justice,
 be they never so generally uttered, do no less effectually
 intend, than if they did plainly express an ex-
 ception of all particulars, wherein their literal practice
 might any way prejudice Equity. And because it is
 natural unto all Men to wish their own extraordinary
 benefit, when they think they have reasonable induce-
 ments so to do; and no Man can be presumed a com-
 petent judge what Equity doth require in his own

BOOK V. case; the likeliest mean whereby the wit of Man can provide, that he which useth the benefit of any special benignity above the common course of others, may enjoy it with good conscience, and not against the true purpose of Laws, which in outward shew are contrary, must needs be to arm with Authority some fit both for quality and place to administer that, which in every such particular shall appear agreeable with Equity: wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that sometimes the practice of such Jurisdiction may swerve through error even in the very best, and for other respects where less integrity is; so the watchfullest Observers of inconveniences that way growing, and the readiest to urge them in disgrace of authorised proceedings, do very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no worldly awe or subjection, but is committed to them whom Law may at all times bridle, and superior power controul; yea to them also in such sort, that Law itself hath set down to what Persons, in what Causes, with what Circumstances, almost every faculty or favour shall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them more than only to deliver what is already given by Law. Which maketh it by many degrees less reasonable, that under pretence of inconveniences so easily stopped, if any did grow, and so well prevented that none may, Men should be altogether barred of the liberty that Law with equity and reason granteth. These things therefore considered, we lastly require, that it may not seem hard, if in cases of Necessity, or for common utility's sake, certain profitable Ordinances sometimes be released, rather than all Men always strictly bound to the general rigor thereof.

The Rule of Men's private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.

10. Now where the Word of God leaveth the Church to make choice of her own Ordinances, if against those things which have been received with great reason, or against that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of mind

or

or against such Ordinances as the Power and Authority of that Church under which we live hath in itself devised for the publick good, or against the discretion of the Church in mitigating sometimes with favourable Equity that rigour which otherwise the literal generality of Ecclesiastical Laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if against all this it should be free for Men to reprove, to disgrace, to reject at their own liberty what they see done and practised according to Order set down; if in so great variety of ways as the wit of Man is easily able to find out towards any purpose, and in so great liking as all Men especially have unto those inventions, whereby some one shall seem to have been more enlightened from above than many thousands, the Church did give every Man licence to follow what himself imagineth that God's Spirit doth reveal unto him, or what he supposeth that God is likely to have revealed to some special Person whose virtues deserve to be highly esteemed; what other effect could hereupon entue, but the utter confusion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof do so naturally all tend unto common peace, that where such singularity is, they whose hearts it possesseth ought to suspect it the more; in as much as if it did come of God, and should for that cause prevail with others, the same God which revealeth it to them, would also give them power of confirming it to others, either with miraculous operation, or with strong and invincible remonstrance of sound Reason, such as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all Men's judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and insufficiency of their arguments do make it on the contrary side against them a strong presumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think such things as he hath not enabled them to prove. And so from Rules of general direction, it resteth that now we descend

BOOK V. to a more distinct explication of Particulars, wherein those Rules have their special efficacy.

Places for
the publick
Service of
God.

II. Solemn Duties of publick Service to be done unto God, must have their places set and prepared in such sort as befeemeth actions of that regard.

Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the

Gen. iii. 8.

Lord. Adam's Sons had out of Paradise in like sort whither to bring their Sacrifices. The Patriarchs used

Gen. iv. 3.

Gen. xiii.

4. xxii. 1.

xxi. 33.

Altars, and Mountains, and Groves, to the selfsame purpose. In the vast Wilderness, when the People of God had themselves no settled habitation,

Exod. xxvi.

yet a moveable Tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves

Deut. xii. 5.

in the Land which had been promised unto their Fathers, *Ye shall seek that Place which the Lord your God*

Chron. iii.

1.

2 Chron.

vi. 7.

Pfal. cxxxii.

5.

shall choose. When God had chosen Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem Mount Moriah, there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of David's

desires to have performed so good a work. His grief was no less that he could not have the honour

to build God a Temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their own tongues with very

wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the Temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing

which he purposed. To perform a work so majestic and stately was no small charge. Therefore he incited all Men unto bountiful contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, silver, brass,

2 Chron.

xxv. 9.

iron, wood, precious stones in great abundance. Yea moreover, *Because I have* (saith David) *a joy in the*

2 Chron.

xxix. 3.

House of my God, I have of my own gold and silver, besides all that I have prepared for the House of the Sanctuary, given to the House of my God three thousand talents

of gold, even the gold of Ophir, seven thousand talents of

Ezra iii. 12.

Agge ii. 4.

finned silver. After the overthrow of this first House

of God, a second was instead thereof erected; but

with

with so great odds, that they wept which had seen the former, and beheld how much this latter came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithstanding was such, that even this was also the wonder of the whole World. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and even in Jerusalem, by process of time, no small number of Synagogues for Men to resort unto. Our Saviour himself, and after him the Apostles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Christ which was in Jerusalem, and held that profession which had not the publick allowance and countenance of authority, could not so long use the exercise of Christian Religion but in private only. So that as Jews they had access to the Temples and Synagogues, where God was served after the custom of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessity forced other where to assemble themselves. And as God gave increase to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do) but the safest places they could. In process of time, some whiles by sufferance, some whiles by special leave and favour, they began to erect to themselves Oratories; not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poor estate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the World's envy towards them. At the length, when it pleased God to raise up Kings and Emperors favouring sincerely the Christian Truth, that which the Church before either could not or durst not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected, no cost was spared, nothing judged too dear which that way should be spent. The whole World did seem to exult, that it had occasion of pouring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That chearful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wish that the same in the Jewish People might be perpetual, was then in Christian People

BOOK V.

Ezr. iii. 12.

Agge. ii. 4.

A&A. i. 13.

& ii. 1. &

46.

1 Chron.

xxix. 17,

18.

BOOK V. every where to be seen. Their actions, till this day, always accustomed to be spoken of with great honour, are called openly into question. They, and as many as have been Followers of their example in that thing; we especially that worship God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other Men thence have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less than with the very Sin of Idolatry. Our Churches in the foam of that good Spirit which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the Temples of Baal, idle Synagogues, abominable Sties.

12. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poison, are certain Solemnities usual at the first erection of Churches. Now although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this Age (thanks be to God) hath reasonably well forborn to incur the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid unto many Men's charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious as to trouble the Bishops with placing the first Stone in the Churches they built, or so scrupulous as after the erection of them to make any great ado for their Dedication. In which kind notwithstanding as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of any unnecessary Custom heretofore received; so we know no reason wherefore Churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them publick, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, Ceremonies fit to betoken such intents, and to accompany such actions be usual, as * in the purest times they have been. When Constantine had finished an House

The Solemnity of erecting Churches condemned by Bar. p. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them scorned, p. 141.

Durand. rational. lib. i. cap. 6. & de Confec. d. i. c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. x. epist. 12. & lib. vii. epist. 71. & lib. viii. epist. 63.

Vide Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 41, 43, 44, 45.

* Ἐβραϊαῖνα τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς ὄμος, ἢ καλῶς ἔχων. μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἄποξ, ἀλλὰ ἢ πυλλάκις, ἐκείνης τῆ ἐνιαυτῆ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγέσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλὰ.

for

for the Service of God at Jerusalem, the Dedication BOOK V.
 he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn
 performance whereof the greatest part of the Bishops
 in Christendom should meet together. Which thing
 they did at the Emperor's motion, each most willing-
 ly setting forth that action to their power, some with
 Orations, some with Sermons, some with the sacri-
 fice of Prayers unto God for the peace of the World,
 for the Church's safety, for the Emperor's and his
 Children's good. By Athanasius the like is recorded Athanasius
 Apol. ad
 Constantium.
 concerning a Bishop of Alexandria, in a work of the
 like devout magnificence. So that whether Emperors
 or Bishops in those days were Church-founders, the
 solemn Dedication of Churches they thought not to
 be a work in itself either vain, or superstitious. Can
 we judge it a thing seemly for any Man to go about
 the building of an House to the God of Heaven with
 no other appearance, than if his end were to rear up
 a kitchen, or a parlour, for his own use? Or when a
 work of such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing
 but presently to use it, and so an end? It behoveth
 that the place where God shall be served by the
 whole Church, be a publick place, for the avoiding
 of privy Conventicles, which covered with pretence
 of Religion may serve unto dangerous practices.
 Yea, though such Assemblies be had indeed for Re-
 ligion's sake; hurtful nevertheless they may easily
 prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the
 turn of Hereticks, and such as privily will soonest
 adventure to instil their poison into Men's minds;
 as also for the occasion which thereby is given to
 malicious Persons, both of suspecting, and of tra-
 ducing with more colourable shew those actions,
 which in themselves being holy, should be so order-
 ed that no Man might probably otherwise think of
 them. Which considerations have by so much the
 greater weight, for that of these inconveniencies the
 Church

BOOK V. Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian Men were driven to use secret meetings, because the liberty of publick places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian Multitude, and the Duties of Religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their Asser'bly publick; even as the presence of the King and his Retinue maketh any Man's House a Court. But this I take to be an error, in as much as the only thing which maketh any place publick, is the publick assignment thereof unto such Duties. As for the Multitude there assembled, or the Duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such prerogative. Nor doth the solemn Dedication of Churches serve only to make them publick, but farther also to surrender up that right which otherwise their Founders might have in them, and to make God himself their Owner. For which cause, at the Erektion and Consecration as well of the Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both. Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the holy and religious use, whereunto it is intended such Houses shall be put. These things the wisdom of Solomon did not account superfluous. He knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred, might be drawn from the use whereunto it was first provided; he knew how bold Men are to take even from God himself; how hardly that House would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wisely therefore endeavoured by such Solemnities to leave in the minds of Men that impression which might somewhat restrain their boldness, and nourish a reverend affection towards the House of God. For which cause when the first House was destroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the Children of Israel after their return from captivity, they kept the Dedication even of this House also with joy.

Exod. xl.

34.

1 Reg. viii

11.

Exod. xl. 9.

1 Reg. viii.

Levit. xvi.

2.

The place
named holy.

Ezr. vi. 16.

The

The argument which our Saviour useth against BOOK V.
 Prophaners of the Temple he taketh from the use Matt. xxi.
 whereunto it was with Solemnity consecrated. And 15.
 as the Prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of
 burdens on the Sabbath, because that was a sanctified Jer. xvii.
 Day; so because the Temple was a Place sancti- 24.
 fied, our Lord would not suffer no not the carriage Mark xi.
 of a vessel through the Temple. These two Com- 16.
 mandments therefore are in the Law conjoined, *Ye* Levit. xxvi.
shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary. 2.
 Out of those the Apostle's words, *Have ye not Houses* 1 Cor. xi.
to eat and drink in? albeit Temples, such as now, 22.
 were not then erected for the Christian Religion, it Pet. Cluniac.
 hath been nevertheless not absurdly conceived, that
 he teacheth what difference should be made between
 House and House; that what is fit for the Dwelling-
 place of God, and what for Man's Habitation he
 sheweth; he requireth that Christian Men at their
 own home take common food, and in the House of
 the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he
 instructeth them, that as in the one place they use
 to refresh their Bodies, so they may in the other learn
 to seek the nourishment of their Souls; and as there
 they sustain temporal life, so here they would learn
 to make provision for eternal. Christ could not
 suffer that the Temple should serve for a place of
 mart, nor the Apostle of Christ that the Church
 should be made an inn. When therefore we sanctify
 or hallow Churches, that which we do is only to
 testify that we make them places of publick resort,
 that we invest God himself with them, that we sever
 them from common uses. In which action, other
 Solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that
 purpose we approve none. Indeed we condemn not
 all as unmeet, the like whereunto have either been
 devised or used haply amongst Idolaters. For why
 should conformity with them in matter of Opinion be
 lawful when they think that which is true, if in Action
 when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful
 to

BOOK V. to be like unto them? Are we to forsake any true Opinion because Idolaters have maintained it? or to shun any requisite Action only because we have in the practice thereof been prevented by Idolaters? It is no impossible thing, but that sometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatsoever Idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done idolatrously, be so far forth abhorred. For of that which is good, even in evil things, God is Author.

Of the Names whereby we distinguish our Churches.

13. Touching the Names of Angels and Saints whereby the most of our Churches are called, as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the use and continuance with us at this present hurtful. That Churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew, in as much as by plain grammatical construction, * Church doth signify no other thing than the Lord's House. And because the multitude as of Persons, so of things particular causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, Founders of Churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending, that as oft as those Buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put Men in mind of some memorable thing or person. Thus therefore it cometh to pass that all Churches have had their names, some as memorials of peace, some of wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself, some of Christ under fundry titles, of the blessed Virgin not a few, many of one Apostle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which respect their commendable purpose being not of every one understood, they have been in latter

Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 16.
Ev. lb. iv. c. 30. Hist. Trip. l. iv. c. 18.

* From *Κυριακή*, Kyre, and by adding letters of aspiration, Chyrch.

ages construed as though they had superstitiously meant, BOOK V.
 either that those places which were denominated of Angels and Saints should serve for the worship of so glorious Creatures, or else those glorified Creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of such places. A thing which the Ancients do utterly disclaim. To them, saith St. Augustin, we appoint no Churches, because they are not to us as Gods. Again, *The Nations to their Gods erected Temples, we not Temples to our Martyrs as unto God, but memorials as unto dead Men, whose Spirits with God are still living.* * Divers considerations there are for which Christian Churches might first take their names of Saints; as either because by the ministry of Saints it pleased God there to shew some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death, which those Saints having suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and virtuous Men to give such occasion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their Persons might cause enquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their Virtues. Wherefore, seeing that we cannot justly account it Superstition, to give unto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy Persons or Things; if it be plain that their Founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we in otherwise taking them offer them injury? Or if it be obscure or uncertain what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, Charity (I hope) constraineth no Man which standeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carry. Yea, although it were clear, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalf) had therein a superstitious

v. Aug. 3.
de civi. Dei.
c. xxvii. l.
22. c. x.
Epist. xlix.
ad Deo gra.

* The Duty which Christian Men performed in keeping Festival Dedications St. Basil termeth λατρείαν ἢ Θείαν, acknowledging the same to have been withal τιμὴν εἰς τὸς Μάρτυρας. Basil in Psal. cxiv.

intent,

BOOK V. intent, wherefore should their fault prejudice us, who
 _____ (as all Men know) do use by way of mere Distinction the names which they of Superstion gave? In the use of those names whereby we distinguish both Days and Months, are we culpable of Superstition, because they were who first invented them? The sign
 Acts xxviii. Castor and Pollux superstitiously given unto that ship
 11. wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelist's pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to Daniel there had been given no other name but only Belshazzar, given him in honour of the Babylonian Idol Beldi, should their
 Dan. iv. 5. Idolatry which were the Authors of that name cleave
 Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. l. vi. P. 277. unto every Man which had so termed him by way of personal difference only? Were it not to satisfy the minds of the simpler sort of Men, these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

Of the fashion of our Churches.

14. The like unto this is a fancy which they have against the fashion of our Churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewish Temple. A fault no less grievous, if so be it were true, than if some King should build his Mansion-house by the model of Solomon's Palace. So far forth as our Churches and their Temple have one end, what should let, but that they may lawfully have one form? The Temple was for Sacrifice, and therefore had rooms to that purpose, such as ours have none. Our Churches are places provided, that the people might there assemble themselves in due and decent manner, according to their several degrees and order. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this respect our Churches divided by certain partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their several for Heathen Nations, their several for the People of their own Nation, their several for Men, their several for Women, their several for their Priests, and for the High Priest alone their several. Their being in ours for local distinction between

tween the Clergy and the rest (which yet we do not BOOK V. with any great strictness or curiosity observe neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy Mysteries, might there assemble themselves, and no other creep in amongst them; this is now made a matter so heinous, as if our Religion thereby were become even plain Judaism; and as though we retained a Most Holy Place, whereinto there might not any but the High Priest alone enter, according to the custom of the Jews.

15. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expences this way are employed: *The mother of such magnificence* (they think) *is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far and wide. Suppose we that God himself delighteth to dwell sumptuously? or taketh pleasure in chargeable pomp? No; then was the Lord most acceptably served, when his Temples were rooms borrowed within the houses of poor Men. This was suitable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of his Gospel.* What thoughts or cogitations they had which were Authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto ourselves, as we do not know, so we need not search. It cometh (we grant) many times to pass, that the works of Men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the Temple of God was ambitious; yet Solomon's virtuous, Constantine's holy. But howsoever their hearts are disposed by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof? Touching God himself, hath he any where revealed that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? and that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped, saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his People as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole World were sought

The sumptuousness of Churches.

BOOK V. fought out to adorn his Temple. This is most suitable,* decent, and fit for the greatness of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his Gospel, except we think of Christ and his Gospel as † the Officers of Julian did. As therefore the Son of Syrach giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, *A Man need not say, This is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less; for in their season they are all worthy praise*: the like we may also conclude, as touching these two so contrary ways of providing, in meaner or in costlier sort, for the honour of Almighty God, *A Man need not say, This is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less; for with him they are in their season both allowable*; the one, when the state of the Church is poor; the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty. When they which had seen the beauty of the first Temple built by Solomon in the days of his great prosperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the second, which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the Prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the House of God were by so much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is less, they should have done better to rejoice than weep, their Prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being objected against the Church in the times of universal persecution, that her Service done to God was not solemnly performed in Temples fit for the honour of Divine Majesty, their most convenient answer was that *The best Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our sanctified Souls and Bodies*. Whereby it plainly appeareth how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that

Ecclef.
xxxix. 34.

Agg. ii. 5,
10.

Minut.
Fæi. in
Octav.

* Ἐργον τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν τίμιον, τὸ γὰρ τοῖσδε ἡ θεωρία θαυμάτη. Arist. Eth. l. iv. c. 2. τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νόσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. Philo. Jud.

† Fœlix, thesauri imperialis quæstor, conspicatus sacrorum vatorum pretia; En, inquit, qualibus vasis ministratur Mariæ filio. Theodoret. Hist. Ecclef. l. iii. c. 12.

defect,

defect, comforted themselves with the meditation of BOOK V.
 God's most gracious and merciful nature, who did not
 therefore the less accept of their hearty affection and
 zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined
 any high perfection in such their want of external
 ornaments, which when they wanted, the cause was
 their only lack of ability: ability serving, they want-
 ed them not. Before the Emper^{or} Constantine's
 time, under Severus, Gordian, Phil^{ip} and Galienus, Euseb.
l. viii. c. 1.
 the state of Christian affairs being tolerable, the for-
 mer buildings which were but of mean and small
 estate contented them not; spacious and ample
 Churches they erected throughout every city. No
 envy was able to be their hinderance, no practice of
 Satan or fraud of Men available against their pro-
 ceedings herein, while they continued as yet wor-
 thy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over
 them for their safety. These Churches Dioclesian Euseb.
l. viii. c. 2.
 caused by solemn edict to be afterwards overthrown.
 Maximinus with like authority giving them leave to
 erect them, the hearts of all Men were even rapt with
 divine joy, to see those places, which tyrannous impie-
 ty had laid waste, recovered, as it were, out of mortal
 calamity, Churches *reared up to an height immeasurable,* Euseb.
l. x. c. 2.
*and adorned with far more beauty in their restoration
 than their Founders before had given them.* Whereby
 we see how most Christian minds then stood affected;
 we see how joyful they were to behold the sumptu-
 ous stateliness of Houses built unto God's glory. If
 we should over and besides this, alledge the care
 which was had that all things about the Tabernacle
 of Moses might be as beautiful, gorgeous and rich,
 as art could make them; or what travel and cost was
 bestowed that the goodliness of the Temple might be
 a spectacle of admiration to all the World; this,
 they will say, was figurative, and served by God's
 appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true
 everlasting glory of a more divine Sanctuary; where-
 unto Christ being long sithence entered, it seemeth

BOOK V. that all those curious exornations should rather cease.
 ——— Which thing we also ourselves would grant, if the use thereof had been merely and only mystical. But, sith the Prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which such kind of bounteous expences have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our chearful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture of his Service, as also because it serveth to the World for a witness of his Almightyness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himself incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious Creatures on Earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his own Service? To set forth the Majesty of Kings, his Vicegerents in this World, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the World hath are procured. We think, belike, that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain. If there be great care to build and beautify those corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the living Temples of the Holy Ghost, the dearly redeemed Souls of the People of God may be edified; huge expences upon timber and stone, but towards the relief of the Poor small devotion; cost this way infinite, and in the mean while Charity cold: we have in such case just occasion to make complaint as St. Jerom did, *The walls of the Church there are enough contented to build, and to underfet it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the roofs shine with gold, the Altar bath precious stones to adorn it; and of Christ's Ministers no choise at all.* The same Jerom, both in that place and elsewhere, debaseth with like intent the glory of such magnificence (a thing whereunto Men's affections in those times needed no spur) thereby to extol the necessity sometimes of Charity and Alms, sometimes of other the most principal Duties belonging

1 Chron.
xxviii. 14.

2 Chron.
ii. 5.

Matth. vi.
29.

Malac. i. 8.

Ad Nepo-
titan de vita
Cleric.

Ad Demetr.
Epist. xii ad
Gauden-
tium.

ing

ing unto Christian Men; which Duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the directest sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it seemeth, is this; *God who requireth the one as necessary, accepteth the other also as being an honourable work.*

16. Our opinion concerning the force and virtue which such Places have, is, I trust, without any blemish or stain of Heresy. Churches receive, as every thing else, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve. Which end being the publick Worship of God, they are in this consideration Houses of greater Dignity than any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seem after a sort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not sanctified, as they are, prevent them unnecessarily in that pre-eminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass, that the Service of God hath not then itself such perfection of grace and comeliness, as when the dignity of place which it wisheth for doth concur. Again, albeit the true worship of God be to God in itself acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served; and therefore Moses in the midst of the sea, Job on the dunghill, Ezekiah in bed, Jeremy in mire, Jonas in the whale, Daniel in the den, the Children in the furnace, the Thief on the cross, Peter and Paul in prison, calling unto God were heard, as St. Basil noteth: manifest notwithstanding it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshiped hath in regard of us great virtue, force and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion; and in that respect, no doubt, bettereth even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all Men to worship God; even so, for performance of this Service by the People of God assembled, we think not any place so good as the Church, neither any ex-

BOOK V.

What Holiness and Virtue we ascribe to the Church, more than other places.

Exhort. ad bapt. et penitent.

BOOK V. hortation so fit as that of David, *O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.*

Pfal. xcvi. 9.

Their presence that would have Churches utterly razed. Pf. cxxxviii. 7.

Deut. xii. 2.

2 Chron. xvii. 6.
2 Chron. xxix.
2 Chron. iii

17. For of our Churches thus it becometh us to esteem, howsoever others, rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out against them devout blasphemies, crying, *Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground: For to Idolatry they have been abused. And the places where Idols have been worshiped,*

are by the Law of God devote to utter destruction. For execution of which Law, the Kings that were godly, as Asa, Jehosopbat, Ezechia, Josiab, destroyed all the high Places, Altars and Groves, which had been erected in Juda and Israel. He that said, Thou shalt have no other Gods before my face, hath likewise said, Thou shalt utterly deface and destroy all these Synagogues and places where such Idols have been worshiped. This Law containeth the temporal punishment which God hath set down, and willetb that Men execute for the breach of the other Law. They which spare them therefore, do but reserve, as the Hypocrite Saul did, execrable things to worship God withal. The truth is, that as no Man serveth God, and loveth him not; so neither can any Man sincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that sin which is the highest degree of Treason against the Supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole World, with whose Divine Authority and Power it investeth others. By means whereof the state of Idolaters is two ways miserable

Iſa. viii. 21.

xlv. 20.

Hof. xiv. 4.

Iſa. xlii. 24.

Pſ. cxv. 8.

Ixxxii. xiii.

Rom. i. 24.

Judic. vi. 13.

Apoc. xxi. 8.

Iſa. ii. 21.

Acts xiv. 14.

First, in that which they worship they find no succour; and secondly, at his hands whom they ought to serve there is no other thing to be looked for but the effects of most just displeasure, the withdrawing of Grace, dereliction in this World, and in the World to come confusion. Paul and Barnabas, when Infidels admiring their virtues went about to sacrifice unto them, rent their Garments in token of horror, and as frightened persons ran crying through the press of the People, *O Men, wherefore do ye these things? They knew the force of that dreadful curse whereunto Idolatry maketh subject. Nor is there cause why the guilty sustaining*

Deut. xxxviii.

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sustaining the same, should grudge or complain of injustice. For, whatsoever evil befalleth in that respect, themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it. As for those things either whereon, or else wherewith Superstition worketh, polluted they are by such abuse, and deprived of that dignity which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and, as it were, even loath itself, whensoever iniquity causeth it to serve unto vile purposes. Idolatry therefore maketh whatsoever it toucheth the worse. Howbeit sith creatures which have no understanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sin; and only that which sinneth, is subject to punishment; which way should any such creature be punishable by the Law of God? There may be cause sometime to abolish or to extinguish them; but surely never by way of punishment to the things themselves. Yea farther, howsoever the Law of Moses did punish Idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or certain temporal judgment, which the Christian Magistrate is of necessity for ever bound to execute upon Offenders in that kind, much less upon things that way abused as mere instruments. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not us any otherwise than only as a fearful pattern of his just displeasure and wrath against sinful Nations. It teacheth us, how God thought good to plague and afflict them; it doth not appoint in what form and manner we ought to punish the sin of Idolatry in all others. Unless they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no covenant with the People of that Land, therefore leagues and truces made between superstitious Persons, and such as serve God aright, are unlawful altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the Inhabitants of Canaan, and to root them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas commandment was also given to destroy all places where the Canaanites had

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Jer. ii. 17.

Deut. xii. 2.

had

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had served their Gods, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God; this precept had reference unto a special intent and purpose, which was, that there should be but one only place in the whole Land, whereunto the People might bring such Offerings, Gifts and Sacrifices, as their Levitical Law did require. By which Law, severe charge was given them in that respect, not to convert those places to the Worship of the Living God, where Nations before them had served Idols, *But to seek the place which the Lord their God should choose out of all their Tribes.* Besides, it is reason we should likewise consider how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new Commonwealth, which is to have neither People nor Law, neither Regiment nor Religion the same that was; and theirs, who only reform a decayed Estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swerved. In this case we are to retain as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore Examples have not generally the force of Laws which all Men ought to keep, but of counsels only and persuasions not amiss to be followed by them whose case is the like; surely where cases are so unlike as theirs and ours, I see not how that which they did should induce, much less any way enforce us to the same practice, especially considering that Groves and Hill-altars were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the secret access, which People superstitiously given, might have always thereunto with ease; neither could they remaining, serve with any fitness unto better purpose: whereas our Temples (their former abuse being by order of Law removed) are not only free from such peril, but withal so conveniently framed for the People of God to serve and honour him therein; that no Man beholding them, can choose but think it exceeding great pity they should be ever any otherwise employed. Yea but the cattle of Amalek (you will say) were fit for sacrifice; and this was the very conceit
which

Deut. xii.

4, 5.

which sometime deceived Saul. It was so. Nor do I BOOK V.
 any thing doubt, but that Saul upon this conceit
 might even lawfully have offered to God those refer-
 ved spoils, had not the Lord in that particular case
 given special charge to the contrary. As therefore
 notwithstanding the commandment of Israel to destroy
 Canaanites, Idolaters may be converted and live: so
 the Temples which have served Idolatry as instru-
 ments, may be sanctified again and continue, albeit
 to Israel commandment have been given that they
 should destroy all idolatrous places in their Land; and
 to the good Kings of Israel commendation for fulfil-
 ling, to the evil for disobeying the same command-
 ment, sometimes punishment, always sharp and severe
 reproof hath even from the Lord himself befallen.
 Thus much it may suffice to have written in defence
 of those Christian Oratories, the overthrow and ruin
 whereof is desired, not now by Infidels, Pagans or
 Turks, but by a special refined Sect of Christian Be-
 lievers; pretending themselves exceedingly grieved at
 our Solemnities in erecting Churches, at the Names
 which we suffer them to hold, at their form and fa-
 shion, at the stateliness of them and costliness, at the
 opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold
 superstitious abuses whereunto they have been put.

18. Places of publick resort being thus provided
 for, our repair thither is especially for mutual confe-
 rence, and as it were commerce to be had between
 God and us. Because therefore want * of the know-
 ledge of God is the cause of all iniquity amongst
 Men, as contrariwise the ground of all our happineis,
 and the seed of whatsoever perfect virtue groweth

Of publick
 teaching, or
 preaching,
 and the first
 kind there-
 of, Catechi-
 sing.

* *Contraria fortia in quibus homines sibi invicem opponantur
 secundum exercitia et desideria et opiniones, omnia proveniunt
 ex ignorantia: sicut cæcus ex privatione sui visus vagatur ubi-
 que et læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam et
 odium. Hoc promisit sancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus
 cum lupo. Et assignat rationem, Repleta est terra sapientia-Domi-
 ni. Moses Ægypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. iii. cap. 12.*

from

BOOK V. from us, is a right opinion touching things divine, this kind of knowledge we may justly set down for the first and chiefest thing which God imparteth unto his People, and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the first of those religious Offices wherewith we publickly honour him on Earth. For the instruction therefore of all sorts of Men to eternal Life it is necessary, that the sacred and saving Truth of God be openly published upon them. Which open publication of heavenly Mysteries, is by an excellency termed Preaching. For otherwise there is not any thing publickly notified, but we may in that respect, rightly and properly say it is preached. So that when the School of God doth use it as a word of art, we are accordingly to understand it with restraint to such special matter as that School is accustomed to publish. We find not in the World any People that have lived altogether without Religion. And yet this duty of Religion, which provideth that publickly all sorts of Men may be instructed in the fear of God, is to the Church of God, and hath been always so peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how curious soever in searching out all kinds of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could ever once so much as endeavour to resemble herein the Church's care for the endless good of her Children. Ways of teaching there have been sundry always usual in God's Church. For the first introduction of Youth to the knowledge of God, * the Jews even to this day have their Catechisms. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences; the first delivery of the Elements thereof must, for like consideration, † be

Luc. viii.
39. xii. 3.

Vide Tertul.
de præscr.
advers. Hær.

* The Jews Catech. called Lekach Tob.

† Incipientibus brevius ac simplicius tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerosæ atque perplexæ detereri solent, aut eo tempore quo præcipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt, asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur. Fab. procem. l. viii. Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissime, si primo levi ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atque

framed according to the weak and slender capacity BOOK v.
of young Beginners: unto which manner of teaching Principles in Christianity, the Apostle in the sixth to the Hebrews is himself understood to allude. For this cause therefore, as the Decalogue of Moses declareth summarily those things which we ought to do; the Prayer of our Lord, whatsoever we should request or desire; so either by the Apostles, or at the leastwise out of their Writings, we have the substance of Christian Belief compendiously drawn into Vide Ruff. in Symb.
few and short Articles, to the end that the weakness of no Man's wit might either hinder altogether the knowledge, or excuse the utter ignorance of needful things. Such as were trained up in these rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterwards by Baptism received into the Church, the Fathers usually in their writings do term * Hearers; as having no further communion or fellowship with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to hear the Principles of Christian Faith made plain unto them. Catechising may be in Schools, it may be in private Families; but when we make it a kind of Preaching, we mean always the publick performance thereof in the open hearing of Men; because things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

atque exactissima interpretatione singula traduntur. Alioqui si statim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum efficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviori via ductus sine magno labore et sine ulla diffidentia maturius perducipotuisse. Institut. Imper. l. i, tit. 1.

* Tert. de pœnitent. An alius est tinctus Christus, alius audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præsumere oportet. Cyprian. Epist. xvii. l. 3. Audientibus vigilantia vestra non desit. Rupert. de divin. Offic. lib. iv. cap. 18. Audiens quisque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.

BOOK V. 19. Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, were in their times all Preachers of God's Truth; some by word, some by writing, some by both. This they did partly as faithful Witnesses, making mere relation what God himself had revealed unto them; and partly as careful Expounders, Teachers, Persuaders thereof. The Church in like case preacheth still, first publishing by way of Testimony or relation the Truth which from them she hath received, even in such sort as it was received, written in the sacred volumes of Scripture: secondly by way of explication, discovering the Mysteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a Witness preacheth his meer revealed Truth by reading publickly the sacred Scripture. So that a second kind of Preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldier speak, being strengthened with the example of so reverend a Prelate as saith, that Moses from the time of antient generations and ages long since past, had amongst the cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, in that he was read every Sabbath-day. For so of necessity it must be meant, in as much as we know that the Jews have always had their weekly readings of the Law of Moses; but that they always had in like manner their weekly Sermons upon some part of the Law of Moses, we no where find. Howbeit still we must here remember, that the Church by her publick reading of the Book of God preacheth only as a Witness. Now the principal thing required in a Witness is Fidelity. Wherefore as we cannot excuse that Church, which either through corrupt Translations of Scripture delivereth instead of divine Speeches any thing repugnant unto that which God speaketh; or, through falsified additions proposeth that to the People of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture; so the blame which in both these respects hath been laid upon the Church of England is surely altogether without cause. Touching Translations of holy

Of Preaching, by reading publickly the Books of holy Scripture, and concerning supposed untruths in those Translations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.

Acts xv. 21.

holy Scripture, albeit we may not difallow of their BOOK V.
 painful travels herein who strictly have tied themselves
 to the very original letter; yet the judgment of the
 Church, as we see by the practice of all Nations,
 Greeks, Latins, Persians, Syrians, Æthiopians, Ara-
 bians, hath been ever, that the fittest for publick
 audience are such, as following a middle course be-
 tween the rigour of literal Translators, and the li-
 berty of Paraphrasts, do with greatest shortness and
 plainness deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghost.
 Which being a labour of so great difficulty, the
 exact performance thereof we may rather wish than
 look for. So that, except between the words of Trans-
 lation and the mind of the Scripture itself there be
 contradiction, every little difference should not seem
 an intolerable blemish necessarily to be spunged out.
 Whereas therefore the Prophet David in a certain Pfal. cv. 28.
 Psalm doth say concerning Moses and Aaron, that
 they were obedient to the Word of God, and in the
 self-same place our allowed Translation saith, they
 were not obedient, we are for this cause challenged
 as manifest Gainfayers of Scripture, even in that
 which we read for Scripture unto the People. But
 for as much as words are resemblances of that which
 the mind of the Speaker conceiveth, and conceits are
 images representing that which is spoken of; it fol-
 loweth that they who will judge of words, should
 have recourse to the things themselves from whence
 they rise. In setting down that Miracle, at the sight
 whereof Peter fell down astonished before the feet of
 Jesus, and cried, *Depart, Lord, I am a sinner*; the
 Evangelist St. Luke saith, the store of the fish which Luke v. 6,
 they took was such, that the net they took it in brake, 7.
 and the ships which they loaded therewith sunk; St.
 John recording the like Miracle saith, that albeit the John xxi.
 fishes in number were so many, yet the net with so 11.
 great a weight was not broken. Suppose they had
 written both of one Miracle; although there be in
 their words a manifest shew of jar; yet none, if we
 look

BOOK V. look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might have both spoken even of one Miracle, the very same which they spake of divers, the one intending thereby to signify that the greatness of the burden exceeded the natural ability of the instruments which they had to bear it; the other, that the weakness thereof was supported by a supernatural and miraculous addition of strength. The nets, as touching themselves, brake, but through the power of God they held. Are not the words of the Prophet Micheas touching Bethleem, *Thou Bethleem the least?* And doth not the very Evangelist translate these words, *Thou Bethleem not the least?* The one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. Micheas attributeth unto it smallness in respect of circuit; Matthew greatness in regard of honour and estimation, by being the native soil of our Lord and Saviour Christ. Sith therefore speeches which gainsay one another, must of necessity be applied both unto one and the self-same subject; sith they must also the one affirm, the other deny the self-same thing; what necessity of contradiction can there be between the Letter of the Prophet David and our authorized Translation thereof, if he understanding Moses and Aaron do say *They were not disobedient*; we applying our speech to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, do say of them *They were not obedient?* Or (which the matter itself will easily enough likewise suffer) if the Ægyptians being meant by both, it be said that they, in regard of their offer to let go the People, when they saw the fearful darkness, disobeyed not the Word of the Lord; and yet that they did not obey his Word, in as much as the sheep and cattle at the self-same time they withheld. Of both Translations the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the original verity; yet so, that the other may likewise safely enough be read, without any peril at all of gainsaying as much as the least jot or syllable

Mich. v. 2.
Matth. ii.
6.

Exod. x. 24.

syllable of God's most sacred and precious Truth. BOOK V.
 Which Truth, as in this we do not violate, so neither
 is the same gainfayed or crost, no not in those very
 Preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the
 steps of the Latin Service-book have been somewhat
 too nearly followed. As when we say, Christ spake *to*
his Disciples, that which the Gospel declareth he spake
unto the Pharisees. For doth the Gospel affirm he
 spake to the Pharisees only? Doth it mean that they,
 and besides them no Man else, was at that time
 spoken unto by our Saviour Christ? If not, then is
 there in this diversity no contrariety. I suppose it
 somewhat probable, that St. John and St. Matthew,
 which have recorded those Sermons, heard them, and
 being Hearers did think themselves as well respected
 as the Pharisees, in that which their Lord and Master
 taught concerning the pastoral care he had over his
 own Flock, and his offer of Grace made to the
 whole World; which things are the matter whereof
 he treateth in those Sermons. Whereof as yet there
 is nothing found, wherein we read for the Word
 of God that which may be condemned as re-
 pugnant unto his Word. Furthermore, somewhat
 they are displeased, in that we follow not the
 method of reading which *in their judgment is most
 commendable, the method used in some foreign
 Churches, where Scriptures are read before the
 time of divine Service, and without either choice
 or stint appointed by any determinate Order. Never-
 theless, till such time as they will vouchsafe us some
 just and sufficient reason to the contrary, we must by
 their patience, if not allowance, retain the † ancient

The Gospel
 on the se-
 cond Sunday
 after Easter,
 and on the
 twentieth
 after Trini-
 ty.
 John x. 11.
 Matt xxii. 1.

* T. C. l. ii. p. 381. Although it be very convenient which
 is used in some Churches, where before Preaching-time the
 Church assembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this,
 nor any other Order of bare publick Reading in the Church ne-
 cessary. h. d.

† Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. xxii. c. 8. Facto silentio, Scripturarum
 sunt lecta divina solennia. That for several times several pieces
 of

BOOK V.

received customs which we now observe. For with us the reading of the Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church-liturgy, a special portion of the Service which we do to God, and not an exercise to spend the time when one doth wait for another's coming, till the assembly of them which shall afterwards worship him be complete. Wherefore, as the form of our publick Service is not voluntary, so neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all set down in such order, and with such choice as hath in the wisdom of the Church seemed best to concur, as well with the special occasions, as with the general purpose which we have to glorify God.

On Preaching by the publick reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.

20. Other publick Readings there are of Books and Writings not Canonical, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make know the doctrine of virtuous conversation, whereupon, besides those things in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiss, it is thought amiss, that we read in our Churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such profitable instruction as the Church hath devised for the better understanding of Scripture, or for the easier training up of the People in holiness and righteousness of life, they † plead, that God in the Law would have nothing brought into the Temple, neither besoms, nor flesh-hooks, nor trumpets, but those only which were sanctified; that for the expounding of

of Scripture were read as parts of the Service of the Greek Church, the Fathers thereof in their sundry Homilies and other writings do all testify. The like Order in the Syrian Churches is clear by the very inscriptions of Chapters throughout their Translation of the New Testament. See the Edition at Vienna, Paris and Antwerp.

† T. C. l. i, p. 196. Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein, first, it is good to consider the Order which the Lord kept with his People in times past, when he commanded, Exod. xxx. 29, that no vessel nor no instrument, either besom or flesh-hook or pan should once come into the Temple, but those only which are sanctified

darker places, we ought to follow the Jews § polity, who under Antiochus, where they had not the commodity of Sermons, appointed always at their meetings somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and so by the one made the other plainer to be understood; that before and after our Saviour's coming they neither read Onkelos nor Jonathan's Paraphrase, though having both; but contented themselves with the reading only of Scripture; that if in the primitive Church there had been any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, Justin Martyr and Origen, who mention these, would have spoken of the other likewise: that the most ancient and best Councils forbid any thing to be read in Churches, saving canonical Scripture only: that when other things were afterwards permitted, fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible itself was thereby in time quite and clean thrust out. Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the Author's good-will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted of by them who already are persuaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to persuade others, it would be demanded, by what rule the legal hallowing of becoms and flesh-hooks must needs exclude all other Readings in the Church save Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cause, the Lord to sign and mark them as his own, appointed oil of holy ointment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for ordinary and daily uses. Thus the anoint-

BOOK V.

Acts xiii.
15.
Acts xv. 21.Justin. Apol.
2. Origen.
Hom. 1. super Exod.
et in Judic.
Conc. Laod.
ca. 59.
Concil. Valens. 2.
Concil. Colen. par. 2.Exod. xxx.
25, 32.

Exod. xl. 15.

sanctified and set apart for that use. And in the Book of Numbers he will have no other trumpets blown to call the People together but those only which are set apart for that purpose. Numb. x. 2.

§ T. C. l. i. p. 197. Besides this, the Polity of the Church of God in times past is to be followed, &c.

ing

BOOK V. ing of Aaron and his Sons tied them to the Office of
 ——— the Priesthood for ever, the anointing, not of those
 Numb. x. 2. silver trumpets (which Moses as well for secular as
 sacred uses was commanded to make, not to sanctify)
 Exod. xxvii. but the Unction of the Tabernacle, the Table, the
 iii. & xxx. Laver, the Altar of God, with all the Instruments
 26, 27, 28. appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy
 unto him, in whose service they were employed.
 But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow that all
 things now in the Church, from the greatest to the
 least, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himself
 precisely instituted? for so *those Rudiments, they
 say, do import. Then is there nothing holy, which
 the Church by her authority hath appointed; and
 consequently all positive Ordinances that ever were
 made by Ecclesiastical Power touching spiritual
 affairs, are prophane, they are unholy. I would not
 wish them to undertake a work so desperate as to
 prove that for the People's instruction no kind of
 Reading is good, but only that which the Jews
 devised under Antiochus, although even that also be
 mistaken. For, according to Elias the Levite (out
 of whom it doth seem borrowed) the thing which
 Antiochus forbad, was the publick Reading of the
 Law, and not Sermons upon the Law. Neither did
 the Jews read a portion of the Prophets together
 with the Law to serve for an interpretation thereof,
 because Sermons were not permitted them; but in-
 stead of the Law, which they might not read openly,
 they read of the Prophets that which in likeness of
 matter came nearest to each section of their Law.
 Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading
 the Law was restored, the self-same custom as
 touching the Prophets did continue still. If neither

Elias Thefb.
 in verbo Pa-
 tar.

Acts xv. 21.

Acts xliii.
 15.

* T. C. I. i. p. 197. The Lord would by these Rudiments and Pædagogics teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church but that which he hath appointed.

the

the Jews have used publickly to read their Paraphraſts, nor * the primitive Church for a long time any other writings than Scripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it were ſome Law of God, or Reaſon forbidding them to do that which we do, why ſhould the latter ages of the Church be deprived of the liberty the former had? Are we bound while the World ſtandeth, to put nothing in practice, but only that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Council of Laodicea, as it forbid-
 deth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonical, ſo it maketh ſome things not Canonical which are. Their judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow. We have by thus many years experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbered with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the Cuſtom which we now obſerve. As for the harm whereof judicious Men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo evil choice was made. With us there is never any time beſtowed in divine Service without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we account a thing moſt neceſſary. We dare not admit any ſuch Form of Liturgy, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to

BOOK V.
 The Apoc-
 lyps.

* T. C. l. i. p. 197. This practice continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles' times, as may appear by the ſecond Apology of Juſtin Martyr. Idem, p. 198. It was decreed in the Council of Laodicea, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs' lives was permitted. But, beſides the evil ſucceſs thereof, that uſe and cuſtom was controlled, as may appear by the Council of Colles, albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs' lives haſt thruſt the Bible clean out of the Church, or into a corner.

BOOK V. be feared where Men esteem it a matter * so indifferent, whether the same be by solemn appointment read publickly or not read, the bare Text excepted, which the Preacher happily chooseth out to expound. But let us here consider what the practice of our Fathers before us hath been, and how far forth the same may be followed. We find that in ancient times there was publickly read first the † Scripture, as namely something out of the Books of the ‡ Prophets of God which were of old; something out of § the Apostles' Writings; and lastly out of the holy Evangelists || some things which touched the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ himself. The cause of their reading first the Old Testament, then the New, and always somewhat out of both, is most likely to have been that which Justin Martyr and St. Augustin observe in comparing the two Testaments.

Just. quæst.
101.

Aug. quæst.
33 in Num.

The Apostles (saith the one) hath taught us as themselves did learn, first the Precepts of the Law, and then the Gospels. For what else is the Law but the Gospel foreshewed? What other the Gospel, than the Law ful-

* T. C. l. ii. p. 381. It is untrue, that simple reading is necessary in the Church. A number of Churches which have no such Order of simple reading, cannot be in this point charged with the breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if simple reading were necessary. [By simple reading he meaneth the Custom of bare reading more than the Preacher at the same time expoundeth unto the People.]

† Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem. Tertul. Apol. p. 692.

‡ Judaicarum Historiarum libri traditi sunt ab Apostolis legendi in Ecclesiis. Orig. in Jos. Hom. 15.

§ Πάσιον κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενούσων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀποκημινεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγιγνώσκειται. Justin. Apol. ii. p. 162. Factum est ut ista die Dominica, Prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adstante qui lectionem St. Pauli proferret beatissimus Antistes Ambrosius, &c. Sulpit. Sever. l. 3. de vita St. Mart.

|| Vide Concil. Val. ii. habitum an. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. ii. p. 19. Item. Synod. Laod. c. xvi. Cypr. l. ii. epist. 5. and l. iv. epist. 5. Amb. l. i. Offic. c. viii. et epist. 75. et lib. de Helia atque jejunio, cap. xx.

filled

filled? In like sort the other, *What the Old Testament bath, the very same the new containeth; but that which lieth there as under a shadow, is here brought forth into the open sun. Things there prefigured, are here performed.* Again, *In the Old Testament there is a close comprehension of the New; in the New, an open discovery of the Old.* To be short, the method of their publick readings either purposely did tend, or at the leastwise doth fitly serve, *That from smaller things the minds of the Hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees climb up from the lowest to the highest things.* Now besides the Scripture, the Books which they called Ecclesiastical were thought not unworthy sometime to be brought into publick audience, and with that name they intituled the Books which we term Apocryphal. Under the self-same name they also comprised certain, no otherwise annexed unto the New than the former unto the Old Testament, as a Book of Hermes, Epistles of Clement, and the like. According therefore to the phrase of antiquity, these we may term the new, and the other the old Ecclesiastical Books or Writings. For we being directed by a sentence (I suppose) of Saint Jerom, who saith that *All Writings not Canonical are Apocryphal*, use not now the title Apocryphal as the rest of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whose custom is so to name for the most part only such as might not publickly be read or divulged. Ruffinus therefore having rehearsed the self-same Books of Canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be only Canonical, addeth immediately, by way of caution, *We must know that other Books there are also which our Forefathers have used to name not Canonical but Ecclesiastical Books, as the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Toby, Judith, the Maccabees, in the Old Testament; in the New, the Book of Hermes, and such others: All which Books and Writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alledged as if their authority did bind us to build upon them our Faith.* Other

BOOK V.

Walaf. Stra.
de rebus Ec-
clesiast. cap.
xxii.

Hieron. in
prolog. Ga-
leat.

Ruffinus in
Symbol.
A. ost. apud
Cypr.

BOOK V. *Writings they named Apocryphal, which they would not have read in Churches. These things delivered unto us from the Fathers we have in this place thought good to set down.* So far Ruffinus. He which considereth notwithstanding what store of false and forged Writings, dangerous unto Christian Belief, and yet bearing glorious inscriptions, began soon upon the Apostles' times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed Apostolick, shall easily perceive what cause the provincial Synod of Laodicea might have as then to prevent especially the danger of Books made newly Ecclesiastical, and, for fear of the fraud of Hereticks, to provide that such publick readings might be altogether taken out of the Canonical Scripture. Which Ordinance respecting but that abuse which grew through the intermingling of Lessons human with sacred, at such time as the one both affected the credit and usurped the name of the other (as by the Canon* of a later Council providing remedy for the self-same evil, and yet allowing the old Ecclesiastical Books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear), neither can be construed, nor should be urged utterly to prejudice our use of those old Ecclesiastical Writings; much less of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings used in former times, a most commendable institution, as well then to supply the casual, † as now the necessary defect of Sermons. In the heat of general Persecution, whereunto Christian Belief was subject upon the first promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and constancy of weaker Minds, when publick relation was made unto them after

Vide Gelaf.
decret. tom.
Concil. ii. p.
462.

Circa An.
Dom. 366.

* Concil. Carthag. iii. c. 47. Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesiis legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Circa An. Dom. 401.

† Concil. Valen. ii. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. ii. p. 19. Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, Sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ a Diaconibus recitentur.

what manner God had been glorified through the sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongst them for holiness during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all Men's eyes through miraculous evidence of Grace divine assisting them from above. For which cause the virtues of some being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the rest, this brought in a fourth kind of publick reading, whereby the lives of such Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yearly memorials solemn recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable Custom being in latter ages resumed, where there was neither the like cause to do as the Fathers before had done, nor any care, conscience, or wit in such as undertook to perform that work, some brainless Men have by great labour and travel brought to pass, that the Church is now ashamed of nothing more than of Saints. If therefore Pope Gelasius did so long sithence see those defects of judgment, even then, for which the reading of the Acts of Martyrs should be, and was at that time forborn in the Church of Rome; we are not to marvel, that afterwards Legends being grown in a manner to be nothing else but heaps of frivolous and scandalous vanities, they have been even with disdain thrown out, the 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 incongruity retain in the Church either Homilies or those Ecclesiastical Books. Which Books in case myself did think, as some others do, safer and better to be left publickly unread; nevertheless as in other things of like nature, even so in this, *my private judgment I should be loth to oppose against the force of their reverend authority, who rather considering the divine excellency of some things

BOOK v.

Council. Carthag. ii. Can. 13. & Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. & Hadrian. epist. ad Carol. Magn.

Gelas. circa. An. Dom. 492. to. Council. ii. p. 161.

Council. Colton. celebrat. An. om. 1536 par. ii. cap. 6. Match. Can. locor. theol. lib. xi. Viv de trad. disc. 1. b. v.

* In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt. c. unde Relig. d. in extra.

BOOK V. in all, and of all things in certain of those Apocrypha which we publickly read, have thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginal border unto the Old Testament, and though with divine, yet as human compositions, to grant at the least unto certain of them publick audience in the House of God. For in as much as the due estimation of heavenly Truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of those famous Oracles of God, it greatly becometh the Church to have always most special care, lest through confused mixture at any time, human usurp the room and title of divine Writings. Wherefore albeit for the People's more plain instruction (as the ancient use hath been) we read in Churches certain Books besides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All Men know our professed opinion touching the difference whereby we sever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be suspected that some one or other will happily mistake a thing so manifest in every Man's eye, there is no lett, but that as often as those Books are read, and need so requireth, the stile of their difference may expressly be mentioned, to bar even all possibility of error. It being then known, that we hold not the Apocrypha for sacred (as we do the holy Scripture) but for human compositions, the subject whereof are sundry divine matters; let there be reason shewed, why to read any part of them publickly it should be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it said, that many things in them are very frivolous and unworthy of publick audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neither sufficiently proved by him who saith it, and if the proofs thereof were strong, yet the very allegation itself is weak. Let us therefore suppose (for I will not demand to what purpose it is, that against our Custom of reading Books not Canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in those Books which we never used to read), suppose (I say) that what faults soever they have observed throughout the

Hieron.
præf. ad li-
bros Salom.
Aug de
præd. Sanct.
l. i. c. 14.
Præfat.
gloss. ord.
& Lyr. ad
prol. Hieron.
in Tob.

T. C. l. ii.
p. 400. 401.

the passages of all those Books, the same in every re-
 spect were such as neither could be construed, nor
 ought to be censured otherwise than even as themselves
 pretend. Yet as Men, through too much haste often-
 times forget the errand whereabout they should go;
 so here it appeareth, that an eager desire to rake to-
 gether whatsoever might prejudice or any way hinder
 the credit of Apocryphal Books, hath caused the Col-
 lector's pen so to run as it were on wheels, that the
 mind which should guide it had not leisure to think,
 whether that which might haply serve to withhold
 from giving them the authority which belongeth unto
 sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon,
 would as effectually serve to shut them altogether out
 of the Church, and to withdraw from granting unto
 them that publick use wherein they are only held as
 profitable for instruction. Is it not acknowledged,
 that those Books are holy, that they are ecclesiastical
 and sacred, that to term them divine, as being for
 their excellency next unto them which are properly
 so termed, is no way to honour them above desert;
 yea, even that the whole Church of Christ, as well as
 at the first as sithence, hath most worthily approved
 their fitness for the publick informations of life and
 manners? Is not thus much, I say, acknowledged,
 and that by them, who notwithstanding receive not
 the same for any part of the Canonical Scripture; by
 them who deny not but that they are faulty; by them
 who are ready enough to give instances wherein they
 seem to contain matter scarce agreeable with holy
 Scripture? So little doth such their supposed faulti-
 nesses in moderate Men's judgments enforce the re-
 moval of them out of the House of God, that still
 they are judged to retain worthily those very titles of
 commendation; than which, there cannot greater be
 given to Writings, the Authors whereof are Men.
 As in truth, if the Scripture itself, ascribing to the
 persons of Men righteousness in regard of their mani-
 fold virtues, may not rightly be construed as though

BOOK V.

Harm. Con-
 fess. sect. 1.
 Bel. con.
 art. 6. Lu-
 bert. de
 princip.
 Christi.
 d. gm. l. i.
 c. 5.

BOOK V. it did thereby clear them and make them quite free from all faults, no reason we should judge it absurd to commend their Writings as reverend, holy and sound, wherein there are so many singular perfections, only that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to find now a word and then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected than easily cleared of error by us which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning. Against immodest invectives therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with *outrageous Lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable censure will prevail, who without such passionate terms of disgrace do note a difference great enough between Apocryphal and other Writings, a difference such as Josephus and Epiphanius observe: the one declaring, that amongst the Jews, Books written after the days of Artaxerxes were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Jews thence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets; the other acknowledging that they are profitable,* although denying them to be divine, in such construction and sense as the Scripture itself is so termed. With what intent they were first published those words of the Nephew of Jesus do plainly enough signify, *After that my Grandfather Jesus had given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and other Books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein sufficient judgment, he purposed also to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom, to the intent that they which were desirous to learn, and would give themselves to these things, might profit much more in living according to the Law.* Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the same. The Books of Judith, Toby, Baruch, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, we read, as serving most unto that end. The rest

The Libel
of Meta-
phys.
Schoolp. art.
34.

Josep. h.
cont. App.
lib. i.

Præfat. ad.
lib. Ecclif.

* Epiph. in Ancyret. Κρήσιμοι μὲν εἰσι καὶ ἀφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν ἐκ ἀ. ἀφ' ἑρπονται.

we leave unto Men in private. Neither can it be reasonably thought, because upon certain solemn occasions, some Lessons are chosen out of those Books, and of Scripture itself some Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer disgrace to the Word of God, or lift up the Writings of Men above it. For in such choice we do not think, but that fitness of speech may be more respected than worthiness. If in that which we use to read there happen by the way any clause, sentence or speech that foundeth towards error; should the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive her self of so much gold, rather than to learn how by art and judgment to make separation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counsel that St. Jerom giveth *Læta*, of taking heed how she read the Apocrypha, as also by the help of other learned Men's judgments delivered in like case, we may take direction. But surely the arguments that should bind us not to read them, or any part of them publickly at all, must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

21. We marvel the less that our reading of Books not Canonical is so much impugned, when so little is attributed unto the reading of Canonical Scripture itself; that now it hath grown to be a question, whether the Word of God be any ordinary mean to save the Souls of Men, in that it is either privately studied or publickly read, and so made known; or else only as the same is preached, that is to say, *explained by a lively voice* and applied to the People's use as the *Speaker in his wisdom thinketh meet*. For this alone is it which they use to call Preaching. The public reading of the Apocrypha they condemn altogether as a thing effectual unto evil; the bare reading in like sort of whatsoever, yea even of Scriptures themselves, they mislike as a thing uneffectual to do that good which we are persuaded may grow by it. Our desire is in this present Controversy, as in the rest, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain arguments

Of preaching by Sermons; and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching whereby Men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's Truth.

BOOK V
 —————
 guments, but rather positively to lead on the minds of the simpler sort by plain and easy degrees, till the very nature of the thing itself do make manifest what is Truth. First therefore, because whatsoever is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessity of God's Word, the same they tie and restrain only unto Sermons, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for such they also abhor in the Church) but Sermons without book, Sermons which spend their life in their birth, and may have publick audience but once; for this cause, to avoid ambiguities wherewith they often entangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God itself, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his heavenly Truth touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto Men, unto Prophets and Apostles by immediate divine Inspiration, from them to us by their Books and Writings. We therefore have no Word of God but the Scripture. Apostolick Sermons were unto such as heard them his Word, even as properly as to us their Writings are. Howbeit not so our own Sermons, the exposition which our discourse of wit doth gather and minister out of the Word of God. For which cause, in this present question we are, when we name the Word of God, always to mean the Scripture only. The end of the Word of God is to save, and therefore we term it the Word of Life. The way for all Men to be saved, is by the knowledge of that Truth which the Word hath taught. And sith eternal Life is a thing of itself communicable unto all, it behoveth that the Word of God, the necessary mean thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been always a Treasure, though precious, yet easy, as well to attain, as to find; lest any Man desirous of Life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwise serveth, than only in the nature of a doctrinal instrument. It saveth, because it maketh *wise unto Salvation.*

tion. Wherefore the ignorant it saveth not; they BOOK V.
 which live by the Word, must know it. And being
 itself the instrument which God hath purposely framed,
 thereby to work the knowledge of Salvation in the
 hearts of Men, what cause is there wherefore it should
 not of itself be acknowledged a most apt and a likely
 mean to leave an apprehension of things divine in
 our understanding, and in the mind an assent there-
 unto? For touching the one, sith God who knoweth
 and discovereth best the rich treasures of his own Wis-
 dom, hath by delivering his Word made choice of
 the Scriptures as the most effectual means whereby
 those treasures might be imparted unto the World,
 it followeth, that to Man's understanding the Scrip-
 ture must needs be even of itself intended as a full
 and perfect discovery, sufficient to imprint in us the
 lively character of all things necessarily required for
 the attainment of eternal Life. And concerning our
 assent to the Mysteries of heavenly Truth, seeing
 that the Word of God for the Author's sake, hath
 credit with all that confess it (as we all do) to be his
 Word, every proposition of holy Scripture, every
 sentence being to us a principle; if the principles of
 all kinds of knowledge else have that virtue in them-
 selves, whereby they are able to procure our assent
 unto such conclusions as the industry of right discourse
 doth gather from them; we have no reason to think
 the principles of that Truth which tendeth unto
 Men's everlasting happiness, less forcible than any
 other, when we know that of all other they are for
 their certainty the most infallible. But as every thing
 of price, so this doth require travel. We bring not
 the knowledge of God with us into the World. And
 the less our own opportunity or ability is that way,
 the more we need the help of other Men's judgments
 to be our direction herein. Nor doth any Man ever
 believe, into whom the doctrine of belief is not in-
 stilled by instruction, some way received at the first
 from others. Wherein whatsoever fit means there are

BOOK V. to notify the Myſteries of the Word of God, whether publickly (which we call Preaching) or in private howſoever, the Word by every ſuch mean even ordinarily doth ſave, and not only by being delivered unto Men in Sermons. Sermons are not the only Preaching which doth ſave Souls. For, concerning the uſe and ſenſe of this word Preaching, which they ſhut up in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more than enough have already been ſpoken to redeem the liberty thereof; yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much, and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their ears with hearing how others whom they more regard, are in this caſe accuſtomed to uſe the ſelf-ſame language with us, whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride.

Parænet. ad
Gent. p. 17. Juſtin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Grecians, that even in certain of their Writings the very Judgment to come is preached; nor the Council of Vaus to inſinuate, that Preſbyters, abſent through infirmity from the Churches, might be ſaid to preach by thoſe Deputies who in their ſtead did but read Homilies; nor the Council of Toledo, to call the uſual publick reading of the Goſpels in the Church, Preaching; nor others, long before theſe our days to write, that by him who but readeth a Leſſon in the ſolemn Aſſembly as part of divine Service, the very office of Preaching is ſo far forth executed. Such kind of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would have marvelled to hear the * outcries which we do, becauſe we think that the Apoſtles in writing, and others in reading to the Church thoſe Books which the Apoſtles wrote, are neither untruely nor unfitly ſaid to preach. For although Men's Tongues and their Pens differ, yet to one and the ſelf-ſame general if not particular effect,

* The Libel of Schoolp. art. 11. T. C. lib. ii. page 388. St. Paul's writing is no more preaching, than his pen or his hand is his tongue: ſeeing they cannot be the ſame, which cannot be made by the ſame inſtruments.

they

they may both serve. It is no good argument, St. BOOK V
 Paul could not write with his tongue, therefore nei-
 ther could he preach with his pen. For Preaching is
 a general end whereunto writing and speaking do both
 serve. Men speak not with the instruments of writ-
 ing, neither write with the instruments of speech;
 and yet things recorded with the one, and uttered
 with the other, may be * 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 Gospel of Christ; and our usual pub-
 lick reading of the Word of God for the People's in-
 struction is Preaching. Nor about words would we
 ever contend, were not their purpose in so restraining
 the same, injurious to God's most sacred Word and
 Spirit. It is on both sides confest, that the Word of
 God outwardly administered (his Spirit inwardly con-
 curring therewith) converteth, edifieth and saveth
 Souls. Now whereas the external administration of
 his Word is as well by reading barely the Scripture,
 as by explaining the same when Sermons thereon be
 made; in the one, they deny that the Finger of God
 hath ordinarily certain principal operations, which
 we most steadfastly hold and believe that it hath in
 both.

John vi. 46.
 Mat. xvi. 17.
 2 Cor. iv. 6.
 1 Cor. xii. 3.
 Acts xvi. 17.

22. So worthy a part of divine Service we should
 greatly wrong if we did not esteem Preaching as the
 blessed ordinance of God, Sermons as keys to the
 Kingdom of Heaven, as wings to the Soul, as spurs
 to the good affections of Man, unto the sound and
 healthy as food, as physic unto diseased Minds.
 Wherefore how highly soever it may please them with
 words of truth to extol Sermons, they shall not here-
 in offend us. We seek not to derogate from any thing
 which they can justly esteem, but our desire is to up-
 hold the just estimation of that from which it seemeth

What they
 attribute to
 Sermons on-
 ly, and
 what we to
 reading also.

* Evangelizo manu et scriptione. Raimol. de Rom. Eccles.
 Idol præf. ad Co. Effex.

unto

BOOK V. unto us they derogate more than becometh them.

That which offendeth us is, first, the great disgrace which they offer unto our Custom of bare reading the Word of God and to his gracious Spirit, the principal virtue whereof thereby manifesting itself for the endless good of Men's Souls, even the virtue which it hath to convert, to edify, to save Souls; this they mightly strive to obscure: and, secondly, the shifts wherewith they maintain their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the saving power of the Holy Ghost, they separate from all apparent hope of Life and Salvation thousands whom the goodness of Almighty God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the use of Scripture, even in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very mean hath reaped; there was, we may very well think,

1Thes.v. 27.
Colof.iv. 16.

some cause which moved the Apostle St. Paul to require that those things which any one Church's affairs gave particular occasion to write, might, for the instruction of all be published, and that by reading.

1. When the very having of the Books of God, was a matter of no small charge and difficulty, in as much as they could not be had otherwise than only in written copies, it was the necessity not of preaching things agreeable with the Word, but of reading the Word itself at large to the People, which caused Churches throughout the World to have publick care that the sacred Oracles of God, being procured by common charge, might with great sedulity be kept both entire and sincere. If then we admite the providence of God in the same continuance of Scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeavours of Infidels to abolish, and the fraudulence of Hereticks always to deprave the same, shall we set light by that custom of Reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath grown?

2. The voice and testimony of the Church, acknowledging Scripture to be the Law of the Living God, is for the truth and certainty thereof no mean evidence.

dence. For if with reason we may presume upon things which a few Men's depositions do testify, suppose we that the minds of Men are not both, at their first access to the School of Christ exceedingly moved, yea and for ever afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the main consent of all the Churches in the whole World witnessing the sacred Authority of Scriptures, ever since the first publication thereof even till this present day and hour? And that they all have always so testified, I see not how we should possibly wish a proof more palpable, than this manifest received and every where continued custom of reading them publickly as the Scriptures. The Reading therefore of the Word of God, as the use hath ever been, in open Audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Church's assent and acknowledgement that it is his Word. 3. A further commodity this custom hath, which is to furnish the very simplest and rudest sort with such infallible Axioms and Precepts of sacred Truth, delivered even in the very letter of the Law of God, as may serve them for Rules whereby to judge the better all other Doctrines and Instructions which they hear. For which end and purpose I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar unto all, unless far more should be read in the People's hearing than by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole Book of God is by reading every year published, a small part thereof, in comparison of the whole, may hold very well the readiest Interpreter of Scripture occupied many years. 4. Besides, wherefore should any Man think, but that Reading itself is one of the ordinary means, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodness to instill that celestial Verity which being but so received, is nevertheless effectual to save Souls? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the Reading of the Word of God as the manner is in our Churches. And because it were odious, if they on their part should altogether despise the same, they

John. v. 39.
Iia. vii. 20.

yield

BOOK V. yield that Reading may set forward, but not begin
 T. C. I. ii. the work of Salvation; that Faith may be nourished
 p. 376, 377, therewith, but not bred; that herein Men's attention
 395. to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the Crea-
 Pag. 378. tures of God have like efficacy, both being of power
 to augment, but neither to effect Belief without Ser-
 mon; that if any believe by Reading alone, we are
 to account it a miracle, an extraordinary work of
 God. Wherein that which they grant, we gladly ac-
 cept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would
 examine how little cause they have to deny that which
 as yet they grant not. The Scripture witnesseth, that
 when the Book of the Law of God had been sometime
 missing and was after found; the King, which heard
 it but only read, tare his cloaths and with tears con-
 fessed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, because
 our Fathers have not kept his Word, to do after all things
 which are written in this Book.* This doth argue, that
 by bare Reading (for of Sermons at that time there
 is no mention) true Repentance may be wrought in
 the hearts of such as fear God, and yet incur his
 displeasure, the deserved effect whereof is eternal
 death. So that their Repentance (although it be not
 their first entrance) is notwithstanding the first step
 of their re-entrance into Life, and may be in them
 wrought by the Word only read unto them. Besides,
 it seemeth that God would have no Man stand in
 doubt, but that the Reading of Scripture is effectual,
 as well to lay even the first foundation, as to add de-
 grees of farther perfection in the fear of God; and
 therefore the Law saith, *Thou shalt read this Law be-
 fore all Irael, that Men, Women and Children may hear,
 yea even that their Children, which as yet have not known
 it, may hear it, and by hearing it so read, may learn to
 fear the Lord.* Our Lord and Saviour was himself of
 opinion, that they which would not be drawn to
 amendment of Life by the Testimony which Moses
 and the Prophets hath given concerning the miseries
 that follow Sinners after death, were not likely to be
 persuaded

2 Chron.
xxxiv. 18.

2 Chron.
xxxiv. 3.

Deut. xxxi.
13.

Luke xvi.
20.

persuaded by other means, although God from the BOOK v.
 very dead should have raised them up Preachers. —
 Many hear the Books of God, and believe them not.
 Howbeit, their unbelief in that case we may not im-
 pute unto any weakness or insufficiency in the mean
 which is used toward them, but to the wilful bent of
 their obstinate hearts against it. With Minds obdu-
 rate nothing prevaieth. As well they that preach,
 as they that read unto such, shall still have cause to
 complain with the Prophets which were of old, *Who*
will give credit unto our teaching? But with whom
 ordinary means will prevail, surely the power of the
 Word of God, even without the help of Interpreters
 in God's Church, worketh mightily, not unto their
 confirmation alone which are converted, but also to
 their conversion which are not. It shall not boot
 them who derogate from Reading to excuse it, when
 they see no other remedy, as if their intent were
 only to deny that Aliens and Strangers from the
 Family of God are won, or that Belief doth use to be
 wrought at the first in them without Sermons. For
 they know it is our custom of simple Reading, not
 for conversion of Infidels estranged from the House of
 God, but for instruction of Men baptized, bred and
 brought up in the bosom of the Church, which they
 despise as a thing uneffectual to save such Souls. In
 such they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean
 to work Faith without Sermons. The reason why
 no Man can attain Belief by the bare contemplation
 of Heaven and Earth, is, for that they neither are
 sufficient to give us much as the least spark of light
 concerning the very principal Mysteries of our Faith;
 and whatsoever we may learn by them, the same we
 can only attain to know according to the manner of
 natural Sciences, which meer discourse of Wit and
 Reason findeth out; whereas the things which we
 properly believe be only such, as are received upon
 the credit of divine Testimony. Seeing therefore,

BOOK V. that he which considereth the Creatures of God
 findeth therein both these defects, and neither the
 one nor the other in Scriptures, because he that
 readeth unto us the Scriptures, delivereth all the
 Mysteries of Faith, and not any thing amongst them
 all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant ;
 it followeth in those two respects, that our conside-
 ration of Creatures, and attention unto Scriptures
 are not in themselves, and without Sermons, things
 of like disability to breed or beget Faith. Small
 cause also there is, why any Man should greatly
 wonder as at an extraordinary work, if without Ser-
 mons, Reading be found to effect thus much. For
 I would know by some special instance, what one
 Article of Christian Faith, or what Duty required
 necessarily unto all Men's Salvation there is, which
 the very Reading of the Word of God is not apt to
 notify. Effects are miraculous and strange when
 they grow by unlikely means. But did we ever hear
 it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth read
 should believe and live according to the will of Al-
 mighty God? Reading doth convey to the Mind
 that Truth without addition or diminution, which
 Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghost. And
 the end of all Scripture is the same which St. John
 proposeth in the writing of that most divine Gospel,
 namely Faith, and through Faith Salvation. Yea, all
 Scripture is to this effect in itself available, as they
 which wrote it were persuaded ; unless we suppose,
 that the Evangelists, or others, in speaking of their
 own intent to instruct and to save by writing, had a
 secret conceit which they never opened to any, a
 conceit that no Man in the World should ever be
 that way the better for any sentence by them written,
 till such time as the same might chance to be
 preached upon, or alledged at the least in a Sermon.
 Otherwise, if he which writeth doth that which is
 forcible in itself, how should he which readeth be
 thought

Exod. xxiv.

7.

John xx. 31.

Prov. i. 2, 3,

4.

Rom. i. 16.

2Tim. iii. 15.

thought to do that which in itself is of no force to work Belief, and to save Believers. Now, although we have very just cause to stand in some jealousy and fear, lest by thus overvaluing their Sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture, otherwise notified, to fall; nevertheless so impatient they are, that being but requested to let us know what causes they leave for Men's encouragement to attend to the Reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to save every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and instruction sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietness with it; they answer fumingly, that they are *ashamed to defile their pens by making answer to such idle questions*: yet in this their mood they cast forth somewhat, wherewith under pain of greater displeasure we must rest contented. They tell us, the profit of Reading is singular, in that it serveth for a preparative unto Sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of Faith, which Sermons have once engendered; it is some stay to his Mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the same things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the Preacher; besides, it keepeth Sermons in memory, and doth in that respect, although not feed the Soul of Man, yet help the retentive force of that stomach of the Mind which receiveth ghostly food at the Preacher's hands. But the principal cause of writing the Gospel was, that it might be preached upon or interpreted by publick Ministers apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, should in such sort both darken their eyes, and yet sharpen their wits withal, that the only true and weighty cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which

BOOK V.

T. C. I. ii.

p. 375.

BOOK V. all Men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should clean exclude, as being no cause at all, and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes, which did never see light till now? In which number the rest must needs be of moment, when the very chiefest cause of committing the sacred Word of God unto Books, is surmised to have been, lest the Preacher should want a Text whereupon to scholy. Men of learning hold it for a slip in judgment, when offer is made to demonstrate that as proper to one thing, which Reason findeth common unto more. Whereas therefore they take from all kind of teachings, that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yield directly some strong reason, why between Sermons alone and Faith, there should be ordinarily that coherence which causes have with their usual effects, why a Christian Man's Belief should so naturally grow from Sermons, and not possibly from any other kind of teaching. In Belief there being but these two operations, Apprehension and Assent, do only Sermons cause Belief, in that no other way is able to explain the Mysteries of God, that the Mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know that many things are believed although they be intricate, obscure and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea although in this World they be no way possible to be understood. Many things believed are likewise so plain, that every common Person may therein be unto himself a sufficient Expounder. Finally, to explain even those things which need and admit explication, many other usual ways there are besides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we first come to apprehend the Mysteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending of the Gospel of Christ, we yield thereunto our unfeigned assent, as to a thing infallibly true? They which
rightly

rightly consider after what sort the heart of Man BOOK V.
 hereunto is framed, must of necessity acknowledge, that
 whoso assenteth to the words of eternal Life, doth it
 in regard of his Authority whose words they are.
 This is in Man's conversion unto God, τὸ ἄρξεν ἢ ἀρχὴν
 τῆς κινήσεως, the first step whereat his race towards Hea-
 ven beginneth. Unless therefore, clean contrary to
 our own experience, we shall think it a miracle, if
 any Man acknowledge the divine Authority of the
 Scripture till some Sermon have persuaded him there-
 unto, and that otherwise neither conversation in the
 bosom of the Church, nor religious education, nor
 the reading of learned Men's Books, nor information
 received by conference, nor whatsoever pain and dili-
 gence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night
 on the Law, is so far blest of God as to work this effect
 in any Man; how would they have us to grant, that
 Faith doth not come but only by hearing Sermons?
 Fain they would have us to believe the Apostle Saint
 Paul himself to be Author of this their Paradox, only T. C. 1. ii.
 because he hath said, that *it pleaseth God by the fool-* P. 375.
ishness of Preaching to save them which believe; and 3 Cor. i. 21.
 again, *How shall they call on him in whom they have not*
believed? How shall they believe in him of whom they Rom. x. 14.
have not heard? How shall they hear without a Preacher?
How shall Men preach except they be sent? To answer
 therefore both allegations at once; the very substance
 of what they contain is in few but this. Life and Sal-
 vation God will have offered unto all; his will is that
 Gentiles should be saved as well as Jews. Salvation
 belongeth unto none but such as call upon the Name of
 our Lord Jesus Christ. Which Nations as yet uncon-
 verted neither do, nor possibly can do till they be-
 lieve. What they are to believe, impossible it is they
 should know till they hear it. Their hearing requireth
 our preaching unto them. Tertullian, to draw even
 Paynims themselves unto Christian Belief, willeth the
 Books of the Old Testament to be searched, which
 were at that time in Ptolemy's Library. And if Men
 did

BOOK V. did not list to travel so far, though it were for their endless good, he addeth that in Rome and other places the Jews had Synagogues, whereunto every one which would might resort; that this kind of liberty they purchased by payment of a standing tribute: that there they did openly read *the Scriptures; and whosoever *will bear* (saith Tertullian) *he shall find God; whosoever will study to know, shall be also fain to believe.* But sith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will seek instruction at our hands, it remaineth that, unless we will suffer them to perish, Salvation itself must seek them; it behoveth God to send them Preachers as he did his elect Apostles throughout the World. There is a Knowledge which God hath always revealed unto them in the works of Nature. This they honour and esteem highly as profound Wisdom; howbeit this Wisdom saveth them not. That which must save Believers is *the knowledge of the Cross of Christ*, the only subject of all our Preaching. And in their eyes what seemeth this but Folly? It pleaseth God by *the Foolishness of Preaching* to save. These words declare how admirable force these Mysteries have which the World do deride as Follies; they shew that the Foolishness of the Cross of Christ is the Wisdom of true Believers; they concern the Object of our Faith, the Matter preached of, †and believed in by Christian Men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account Foolishness; but that they did ever think it a fond or unlikely way to seek Men's Conversion by Sermons, we have not heard. Manifest therefore it is, that the Apostle ap-

* Apologet. c. xi. in fine. This they did in a tongue which to all learned Men amongst the Heathens, and to a great part of the simplest was familiarly known; as appeareth by a supplication offered unto the Emperor Justinian, wherein the Jews made request that it might be lawful for them to read the Greek Translations of the LXX interpreters in their Synagogues, as their custom before had been. Authent. cxlvi. Col. 10. incipit, *Æquum sane.*

† The Apostle useth the word *κέρυγμα* and not *κέρυξις*.

plying the name of *Foolishness* in such sort as they did, must needs, by the *Foolishness of Preaching* mean the Doctrine of Christ which we learn that we may be saved; but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching whereby it pleaseth our Lord to save, he could not mean. In like sort, where the same Apostle proveth that as well the sending of the Apostles, as their preaching to the Gentiles was necessary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their Salvation, who even from their tender Infancy never knew any other Faith or Religion than only Christian, no kind of Teaching can be available saving that which was so needful for the first universal Conversion of Gentiles hating Christianity; neither the sending of any sort allowable in the one case, except only of such as had been in the other also most fit and worthy Instruments? Belief in all sorts doth come by hearkening and attending to the Word of Life, which Word sometime proposeth and preacheth itself to the Hearer; sometime they deliver it, whom privately zeal and piety moveth to be Instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the publick either Reading thereof, or Interpreting. All these tend unto one effect, neither doth that which St. Paul or other Apostles teach concerning the necessity of such teachings as theirs was, or of sending such as they were for that purpose unto the Gentiles, prejudice the efficacy of any other way of public instruction, or enforce the utter disability of any other Men's vocation thought requisite in this Church for the saving of Souls, where means more effectual are wanting. Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in question had been to shew, in what sort, and how far Man's Salvation doth necessarily depend upon the Word of God; what Conditions, Properties and Qualities there are, whereby Sermons are distinguished from other kinds of administering the Word unto that purpose; and what special Property or Quality that

BOOK V. is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectual to save Souls, and leaveth all other doctrinal means besides destitute of vital efficacy. These pertinent instructions, whereby they might satisfy us and obtain the cause itself for which they contend; these things which only would serve they leave; and (which needeth not) sometime they trouble themselves with fretting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their opinion; sometime they *fall upon their poor Brethren which can but read, and against them they are bitterly eloquent. If we alledge what the Scriptures themselves do usually speak for the saving force of the Word of God, not with restraint to any one certain kind of delivery, but howsoever the same shall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always restrain it unto Sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath said, *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life.* But they tell us he spake to the Jews, which Jews before had heard his Sermons; and that peradventure it was his mind they should search, not by reading nor by hearing them read, but by attending whensoever the Scriptures should happen to be alledged in Sermons. Furthermore, having received Apostolical Doctrine, the Apostle St. Paul hath taught us to esteem the same as the supreme Rule whereby all other Doctrines must for ever be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apostle doth here speak of that he had preached, he flatly maketh (as they strangely affirm) his Preachings or Sermons the Rule whereby to examine all. And then, I beseech you, what Rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For if Sermons must be our Rule, because the Apostles' Sermons were so to their Hearers; then, sith we are not as they were, Hearers of the Apostles' Sermons, it resteth that either the Sermons

T. C. l. ii.
P. 37.
John v. 39.

Gal. i. 9.

* T. C. l. ii. p. 373 This tail of Readers. The Bishops more than beggarly presents. Those Rascal Ministers.

which

which we hear should be our Rule, or (that being BOOK V. absurd) there will (which yet hath greater absurdity)

 no Rule at all be remaining for trial what Doctrines now are corrupt, what consonant with heavenly Truth. Again, let the same Apostle acknowledge all Scrip- I Tim. iii. 16. ture profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to instruct in Righteousness; still notwithstanding we err, if hereby we presume to gather, that Scripture read will avail unto any one of all these uses; they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that so much the Scripture can do, if the Minister that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwise not. Finally they never hear sentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forthwith their glosses upon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or delivered unto us in Sermons. Sermons they evermore understand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vital operation; the dangerous sequel of which construction I wish they did more attentively weigh. For, sith Speech is the very image whereby the Mind and Soul of the Speaker conveyeth itself into the bosom of him which heareth, we cannot choose but see great reason wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himself very Truth and Life, should be (as the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth) lively and mighty in operation, *sharper than any two-edged Sword*. Now, Heb. iv. 12. if in this and the like places we did conceive that our own Sermons are that strong and forcible Word, should we not hereby impart even the most peculiar glory of the Word of God unto that which is not his Word? For, touching our Sermons, that which giveth them their very being is the wit of Man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over-corrupt fountain from which they come. In our speech of most holy things, our most frail affections many times are bewrayed. Wherefore when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the People properly the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they never so sound and perfect,
his

BOOK V. his Word they are not as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguously termed his Word, because his Word is commonly the Subject whereof they treat, and must be the Rule whereby they are framed. Notwithstanding, by these and the like shifts they derive unto Sermons alone whatsoever is generally spoken concerning the Word. Again, what seemeth to have been uttered concerning Sermons, or their efficacy or necessity in regard of divine matter, and must consequently be verified in sundry other kinds of teaching if the matter be the same in all; their use is to fasten every such Speech unto that one only manner of teaching which is by Sermons, that still Sermons may be all in all. Thus, because Solomon declareth that the *People decay, or perish, for want of Knowledge* where no Prophecying at all is, they gather, that the hope of Life and Salvation is cut off where Preachers are not which prophecy by Sermons, how many soever they be in number that read daily the Word of God, and deliver, though in other sort, the self-same matter which Sermons do. The People which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no prophecying, no teaching, perish. But that they should of necessity perish, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of Solomon impart.

Another usual point of their art in this present question, is to make very large and plentiful Discourses how Christ is by Sermons lifted up higher and more apparent to the eye of Faith, how the favour of the Word is more sweet, being brayed, and more able to nourish, being divided by Preaching, than by only Reading proposed; how Sermons are the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain in comparifon still clasped; how God giveth richer increase of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by Preaching, than by bare and simple Reading. Out of which premises declaring how attainment

T. C. 1. ii.
P. 391.
Prov. xxix.
18.

T. C. 1. ii.
P. 379.
Joh. iii. 14.
2 Cor. ii.
16.
2 Tim. ii.
15.
Matth. xvi.
19.

1 Cor. iii. 6.

tainment unto life is easier where Sermons are, they BOOK V.
 conclude an * impossibility thereof where Sermons are
 not. Alcidamas the Sophister hath many arguments
 to prove that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth
 premeditated speech. The like whereunto, and in
 part the same, are brought by them who commend
 Sermons, as having (which all Men, I think, will
 acknowledge) fundry peculiar and proper virtues,
 such as no other way of teaching besides hath. T. C. I. ii.
p. 394. Aptness
 to follow particular occasions presently growing, to
 put life into words by countenance, voice and ges-
 ture, to prevail mightily in the sudden affections of
 Men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein not-
 withstanding so eminent properties whereof Lessons
 are haply destitute, yet Lessons being free from some
 inconveniencies whereunto Sermons are more subject,
 they may in this respect no less take, than in other
 they might give the hand which betokeneth pre-
 eminence. For there is nothing which is not some
 way excelled, even by that which it doth excel.
 Sermons therefore and Lessons may each excel other
 in some respects without any prejudice unto either,
 as touching that vital force which they both have in
 the work of our Salvation. To which effect, when
 we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lie to
 find out the strongest causes, wherefore they should
 imagine that Reading is itself so unavailable, the
 most we can learn at their hands is, that Sermons
 are the Ordinance of God, the Scriptures dark, and
 the labour of Reading easy. First, therefore, as we
 know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his T. C. I. ii.
p. 396. special
 providence evermore blest with happy success
 those things which himself appointeth; so his Church,
 we persuade ourselves, he hath not in such sort given
 over to a reprobate sense, that whatsoever it deviseth
 for the good of the Souls of Men, the same he doth

* T. C. I. ii. No Salvation to be looked for, where no
 Preaching is.

BOOK V. still accurse and make frustrate. Or if he always did defeat the Ordinances of his Church, is not Reading the Ordinance of God? Wherefore then should we think that the force of his secret grace is accustomed to bless the labour of dividing his Word according unto each Man's private discretion in publick Sermons, and to withdraw itself from concurring with the publick delivery thereof by such selected portions of Scriptures, as the whole Church hath solemnly appointed to be read for the People's good, either by ordinary course, or otherwise, according to the exigence of special occasions? Reading (saith Isidore) is to the Hearers no small edifying. To them whose delight and meditation is in the Law, seeing that happiness and bliss belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly Grace. And I hope we may presume that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very Word which is read to be both presently their joy, and afterwards their study that hear it. St. Augustine speaking of devout Men noteth how they daily frequented the Church, how attentive ear they gave unto the Lessons and Chapters read, how careful they were to remember the same, and to muse thereupon by themselves. St. Cyprian observeth, * that Reading was not without effect in the Hearts of Men. Their joy and alacrity was to him an argument that there is in this Ordinance a Blessing, such as ordinarily doth accompany the administration of the Word of Life. It were much if there should be such a difference between the hearing of Sermons preached, and of Lessons read in the Church, that he which presenteth himself at the one, and maketh his Prayer with the Prophet David, *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes, direct me in the way of thy Command-*

Pfal. cxix.
33, 35.

De Ecclef.
Offic. I. li.
c. 10.
Pfal. i. 2.

Pfal. cxix.
16.
Aug. in
Pfal. lxi.

* Cyprian. I. ii. Epist. 5. Lector personat verba sublimia. Evangelium Christi legis a fratribus conspicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.

ments, might have the ground of usual experience BOOK V. whereupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the Grace he seeketh; they contrariwise not so, who crave the like assistance of his Spirit, when they give ear to the Reading of the other. In this therefore Preaching and Reading are equal, that both are approved as his Ordinances, both assisted with his Grace. And if his Grace do assist them both to the nourishment of Faith already bred, we cannot, without some very manifest cause yielded, imagine that in breeding or begetting Faith, his Grace doth cleave to the one and utterly forsake the other. Touching hardness, which is the second pretended impediment, as against Homilies being plain and popular instructions it is no bar, so neither doth it infringe the efficacy, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of Reading, how small soever they will have it, must of necessity be granted sufficient to notify that which is plain or easy to be understood. And of things necessary to all Men's salvation we have been hitherto accustomed to hold (especially since the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whereby the simplest having now a key unto Knowledge which the Eunuch in the Acts did want, our Children may of themselves by Reading understand that which he without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and easy to be understood. As for those things which at the first are obscure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, judgment afterwards growing, explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not so hard, but that the only reading thereof may give life unto willing Hearers. The easy performance of which holy labour is in like sort a very cold objection to prejudice the virtue thereof. For what though an Infidel, yea, though a Child may be able to read; there is no doubt, but the meanest and worst amongst the People under the Law had been as able as the Priests themselves were to offer Sacrifice; did this

T. C. I. ii.
P. 383; 334.
392.

Acts viii.
31.

BOOK V. this make Sacrifice of no effect unto that purpose
 ——— for which it was instituted? In Religion some duties
 are not commended so much by the hardness of their
 execution, as by the worthiness and dignity of that
 acceptation wherein they are held with God. We
 admire the goodness of God in Nature, when we
 consider how he hath provided that things most
 needful to preserve this life, should be most prompt
 and easy for all living Creatures to come by. Is it
 not as evident a sign of his wonderful Providence
 over us, when the Food of eternal Life, upon the
 utter want whereof our endless death and destruction
 necessarily ensueth, is prepared and always set in
 such a readiness, that those very means, than which
 nothing is more easy, may suffice to procure the
 same? Surely, if we perish, it is not the lack of
 Scribes and learned Expounders that can be our just
 excuse. The Word which saveth our Souls is near
 us; we need for knowledge but to read and live.

Apoc. i, 3. The Man which readeth the Word of God, the
 Word itself doth pronounce blessed, if he also ob-
 serve the same. Now all these things being well
 considered, it shall be no intricate matter for any
 Man to judge with indifferency on which part the
 good of the Church is most conveniently fought;
 whether on ours, whose opinion is such as hath been
 shewed, or else on theirs, who leaving no ordinary
 way of Salvation for them unto whom the Word of
 God is but only read, do seldom name them but with
 great disdain and contempt who execute that service
 in the Church of Christ. By means whereof it hath
 come to pass, that Churches which cannot enjoy the
 benefit of usual Preaching, are judged as it were
 even forsaken of God, forlorn, and without either
 hope or comfort: contrariwise, those places which
 every day, for the most part, are at Sermons as the
 flowing sea, do by their emptiness at times of Read-
 ing, and by other apparent tokens shew to the Voice
 of the Living God, this way founding in the ears of
 Men,

Men, a great deal less reverence than were meet. But BOOK V.
 if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can
 choose but think them cruel which doth hear them so
 boldly teach, that if God (as to him there is nothing Page. 364,
 impossible) do haply save any such as continue where 375, 380,
 they have all other means of instruction, but are not 383, 384.
 taught by continual Preaching, yet this is miraculous,
 and more than the fitness of so poor instruments can
 give any Man cause to hope for; that Sacraments are Page 392.
 not effectual to Salvation, except Men be instructed
 by Preaching before they be made Partakers of them;
 yea, that both Sacraments and Prayers also, where Page 364.
 Sermons are not, *do not only not feed, but are ordina-*
rily to further condemnation; what Man's heart doth
 not rise at the mention of these things? It is true,
 that the weakness of our wits, and the dulness of our
 affections do make us, for the most part, even as our
 Lord's own Disciples were for a certain time, hard
 and slow to believe what is written. For help whereof
 Expositions and Exhortations are needful, and that in
 the most effectual manner. The principal Churches
 throughout the Land, and no small part of the rest,
 being in this respect by the goodness of God so abundantly
 provided for, they which want the like furtherance
 unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to
 be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we
 hope, not left in so extreme destitution, that justly
 any Man should think the ordinary means of eternal
 Life taken from them, because their teaching is in
 publick for the most part but by Reading. For
 which cause amongst whom there are not those helps
 that others have to set them forward in the way of
 Life, such to dishearten with fearful sentences, as
 though their Salvation could hardly be hoped for, is Eccles. li.
 not in our understanding so consonant with Christian 26, 27.
 Charity. We hold it safer a great deal, and better to Matth. xii.
 give them encouragement; to put them in mind, that 20.
 it is not the deepness of their Knowledge, but the 1 Tim. i.
 singleness of their Belief which God accepteth; that 5.
 they Rom. xiv.
1 Thes. iii.
10.

BOOK V.

Mat. v. 6.

Phil. i. 6.

1 Pet. v. 10.

Matth. iii.

9.

1 Thef. iv.

18.

Heb. x. 24.

Jude ver.

20.

1 Pet. iv.

10.

Luke xi.

31.

they which *hunger and thirst after Righteousness, shall be satisfied*; that no imbecility of means can prejudice the truth of the Promise of God herein; that the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to sharpen the edge of their own industry; and that painfulness by feeble means shall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible instruments is through sloth and negligence lost. As for the Men, with whom we have thus far taken pains to confer about the force of the Word of God, either read by itself or opened in Sermons, their speeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth such, as might give us very just cause to think that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howsoever they have been driven to devise some odd kind of blind uses whereunto they may answer that Reading doth serve, yet the Reading of the Word of God in publick, more than their Preachers bare Text, who will not judge that they deem needless, when if we chance at any time to term it necessary, as being a thing which God himself did institute amongst the Jews for purposes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apostles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever sithence the first beginning reaped singular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit, they only are the Men, that ever we heard of, by whom this hath been crossed and gain-said; they only the Men which have given their peremptory sentence to the contrary: *It is untrue that simple Reading is necessary in the Church.* And why untrue? *Because, although it be very convenient which is used in some Churches, where before Preaching-time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read in such order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one Year run through; yet a number of Churches which have no such order of simple Reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of God's commandment, which they might be if*
simple

T. C. 1. ii.

P. 381.

simple Reading were necessary. A poor, a cold and an hungry cavil! Shall we therefore to please them change the word *necessary*, and say, that it hath been a commendable Order, a Custom very expedient, or an Ordinance most profitable (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behoveful) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is, whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or satisfy their minds. They have against it a marvellous deep and profound axiom, that *Two things to one and the same end cannot but very improperly be said most profitable.* And therefore if Preaching be most profitable to Man's Salvation, then is not Reading; if Reading be, then Preaching is not. Are they resolved then at the leastwise, if Preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaseth God to save our Souls, what kind of Preaching it is which doth save? Understand they, how or in what respect there is that force or virtue in Preaching? We have reason wherefore to make these demands; for that, although their pens run all upon Preaching and Sermons, yet when themselves do practise that whereof they write, they change their dialect, and those words they shun as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phrase to say they preach, or to give to their own instructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the pain they take themselves in this kind is either opening, or lecturing, or reading, or exercising, but in no case Preaching. And in this present Question, they also warily protest that what they ascribe to the virtue of Preaching, they still mean it of good Preaching. Now one of them saith that a good Sermon must expound and apply a large portion of the Text of Scripture at one time. Another giveth us to understand, that sound Preaching is not to do as one did at London, who spent most of his time in invectives against good Men, and told his Audience how the Magistrate should have an eye to such as troubled the peace of the Church.

BOOK V.

T. C. I. ii.
P. 372.T. C. I. ii.
P. 385.Complaint
of the Com-
monalty.Dr. Somes,
Painter. P.
21.

BOOK V. *Church.* The best of them hold it for no good Preaching, *when a Man endeavoureth to make a glorious shew of eloquence and learning, rather than to apply himself to the capacity of the simple.* But let them shape us out a good Preacher by what pattern soever pleaseth 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 have of their own ways, so that when once we are agreed what Sermons shall currently pass for good, we may at length understand from them, what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of Life unto such as hear. If substance of matter, evidence of things, strength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other virtue else which words and sentences may contain; of all this, what is there in the best Sermons being uttered, which they lose by being read? But they utterly deny that the Reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can ever by the ordinary grace of God save any Soul. So that although we had all the Sermons word for word which James, Paul, Peter, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which Sermons was of power to convert thousands of the Hearers unto Christian Faith; yea, although we had all the Instructions, Exhortations, Consolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and should read them ten thousand times over, to Faith and Salvation no Man could hope hereby to attain. Whereupon it must of necessity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of Sermons doth grow from certain accidents, which are not in them, but in their Maker: His virtue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice, who first uttereth them as his own, is that which given them the form, the nature, the very essence of instruments available to eternal Life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final conclusion be, *Sermons we know*

T. C. I. ii.
P. 385.

know are the only ordinary means to Salvation, but why or how we cannot tell? Wherefore to end this tedious Controversy, wherein the too great importunity of our over-eager Adversaries hath constrained us much longer to dwell, than the barrenness of so poor a cause could have seemed at the first likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and passions are accustomed to weigh all things and accordingly to give their sentence, shall here sit down to receive our audit, and to cast up the whole reckoning on both sides; the sum which Truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this, that as Medicines, provided of Nature and applied by Art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect sometime under and sometime above the natural proportion of their virtue, according as the mind and fancy of the Patient doth more or less concur with them; so, whether we barely read unto Men the Scriptures of God; or by Homilies concerning Matter of Belief and Conversation seek to lay before them the Duties which they owe unto God and Man; whether we deliver them Books to read and consider of in private at their own best leisure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publickly in the House of God; albeit every of these and the like unto these means do truly and daily effect that in the hearts of Men for which they are each and all meant; yet the operation which they have in common being most sensibly and most generally noted in one kind above the rest, that one hath in some Men's opinions drowned altogether the rest, and injuriously brought to pass that they have been thought not less effectual than the other, but without the other uneffectual to save souls. Whereas the cause why Sermons only are observed to prevail so much, while all means else seem to sleep and do nothing, is in truth but that singular affection and attention which the People sheweth every where towards the one, and their cold disposition to the other; the reason hereof being partly the art which our Adversaries

BOOK V. use for the credit of their Sermons, to bring Men out of conceit with all other Teaching besides; partly a custom which Men have to let those things carelessly pass by their ears which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again whenever it pleaseth themselves; partly the especial advantages which Sermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come always new, and because by the Hearer it is still presumed, that if they be let slip for the present, what good soever they contain is lost, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cause of odds between Sermons and other kinds of wholesome Instruction. As for the difference which hath been hitherto so much defended on the contrary side, making Sermons the only ordinary means unto Faith and eternal Life, sith this hath neither evidence of Truth, nor proof sufficient to give it warrant, a cause of such quality may with far better grace and conveniency ask that pardon, which common humanity doth easily grant, than claim in challenging manner that assent, which is as unwilling, when reason guideth it, to be yielded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently due. All which notwithstanding, as we could greatly wish that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated; so, because we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomsoever, therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall always be our Prayer unto Almighty God, that in the self-same fervent zeal wherewith they seem to affect the good of the Souls of Men, and to thirst after nothing more than that all Men might by all means be directed in the way of Life, both they and we may constantly persist to the World's end. For in this we are not their Adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

Of Prayer, 23. Between the Throne of God in Heaven, and his Church upon Earth here militant, if it be so that Angels have their continual intercourse, where should

we find the same more verified than in those two BOOK V.
ghostly exercises, the one Doctrine, and the other
Prayer? For what is the assembling of the Church to
learn, but the receiving of Angels descended from
above? What to pray, but the sending of Angels up-
wards? His heavenly Inspirations, and our holy De-
sires are as so many Angels of intercourse and com-
merce between God and us. As Teaching bringeth
us to know that God is our supreme Truth; so Prayer
testifieth that we acknowledge him our sovereign
Good. Besides, sith on God, as the most High, all
inferior Causes in the World are dependant; and the
higher any Cause is, the more it coveteth to impart
virtue unto things beneath it, how should any kind
of service we do or can do, find greater acceptance
than Prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with
him in desiring that wherewith his very Nature doth
most delight? Is not the name of Prayer usual to sig-
nify even all the Service that ever we do unto God?
And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to
shew that there is in Religion no acceptable Duty
which devout Invocation of the Name of God doth
not either presuppose or infer. Prayers are those
Calves of Men's lips; those most gracious and sweet Ofe. xiv. 3.
odours; those rich presents and gifts, which being Rev. v. 8.
carried up into Heaven, do best testify our dutiful Acts x. 4.
affection, and are, for the purchasing of all favour at
the hands of God, the most undoubted means we can
use. On others what more easily, and yet what more
fruitfully bestowed than our Prayers? If we give
Counsel, they are the simpler only that need it; if
Alms, the poorer only are relieved; but by Prayer
we do good to all. And whereas every other Duty
besides is but to shew itself as time and opportunity
require, for this all times are convenient: when we Rom. i. 9.
are not able to do any other things for Men's behoof, 1 Thef. v.
when through malicioufness or unkindness they vouch- 17.
safe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer Luke xviii.
is that which we always have in our power to bestow, ^{1.}

BOOK V. and they never in theirs to refuse. Wherefore *God forbid*, saith Samuel, speaking unto a most unthankful People, a People weary of the benefit of his most virtuous Government over them, *God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you.* It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is small which we have on Earth concerning things that are done in Heaven. Notwithstanding, thus much we know even of Saints in Heaven, that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a work common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a work common unto Men with Angels, what should we think, but that so much of our Lives is celestial and divine as we spend in the exercise of Prayer? For which cause we see that the most comfortable Visitations which God hath sent Men from above, have taken especially the times of Prayer as their most natural opportunities.

24. This holy and religious Duty of Service towards God concerneth us one way in that we are Men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that visible mystical Body, which is his Church. As Men, we are at our own choice both for time and place and form, according to the exigence of our own occasions in private; but the Service, which we do as Members of a publick Body is publick, and for that cause must needs be accounted by so much worthier than the other, as a whole Society of such condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which consideration unto Christian Assemblies there are most special Promises made. St. Paul, though likely to prevail with God as much as any one, did notwithstanding think it much more, both for God's glory and his own good, if Prayers might be made and Thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of Men. The Prince and People of Nineveh assembling themselves as a main army of Supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withstand them. I speak no otherwise concerning the force of publick Prayer in the Church

BOOK V.
1 Sam. xii.
23.

Dan. ix. 20.
Acts x. 30.

Of publick
Prayer.

Psal. lv. 18.
Dan. ix. 3.
Acts x. 9.

Mat. xviii.
20.
2 Cor. i. 11.

Jonah iv.
11.

Church of God than before me Tertullian hath done, BOOK V.
We come by Troops to the place of Assembly, that being Apolog. i.
bonded as it were together, we may be Supplicants enough 39.
to besiege God with our Prayers: These Forces are unto
*him acceptable. * When we publickly make our Pray-*
ers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more
comfort than in private, for that the things we ask
publickly are approved as needful and good in the
judgment of all, we hear them fought for and desired
with common content. Again, thus much help and
furtherance is more yielded, in that, if so be our zeal
and devotion to God-ward be slack, the alacrity and Psal. cxvii.
fervour of others serveth as a present spur. † For
even Prayer itself (saith St. Basil) when it hath not the
consort of many Voices to strengthen it, is not itself. Fi-
nally the good which we do by publick Prayer is
more than in private can be done, for that besides the
benefit which is here, is no less procured to ourselves,
the whole Church is much bettered by our good ex-
ample; and consequently whereas secret neglect of our
duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one Man's
contempt of the common Prayer of the Church of
God may be and oftentimes is most hurtful unto
many. In which considerations, the Prophet David Psal. xxvi.
so often voweth unto God the Sacrifice of Praise and 17. xxxiv.
Thanksgiving in the Congregation; so earnestly ex- 18.
horteth others to sing Praises unto the Lord in his Psal. xxx.
Courts, in his Sanctuary, before the memorial of his 4. & xvi.
Holiness; and so much complaineth of his own un- 9.
comfortable exile, wherein although he sustained
many most grievous indignities, and endured the
want of sundry both pleasures and honours before en-
joyed; yet as if this one were his only grief, and the
rest not felt, his speeches are all of the heavenly be-
nefit of publick Assemblies, and the happiness of Psal. xvii.
such as had free access thereunto. 4. & xli. 4.
& lxxxiv. 1.

* Ambrose l. de Pœn. Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes, sunt magni; & multorum preces impossibile est contemni.

† Και αὐτὴ ἡ προσεχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τὴς συμφωνίας ἀναδρεσεῖρα πολλῶ ἐαυτῆς. Basil. Epist. lxxviii.

BOOK V.

Of the Form
of common
Prayer.

25. A great part of the cause wherefore religious Minds are so inflamed with the love of publick Devotion is that virtue, force and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very form and reverend solemnity of common Prayer duly ordered hath to help that imbecility and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of ourselves the less apt to perform unto God so heavenly a service, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the power of our Souls as is requisite. To this end therefore all things hereunto appertaining, have been ever thought convenient to be done with the most solemnity and majesty that the wisest could devise. It is not with publick as with private Prayer. In this, rather secrecy is commanded than outward shew; whereas that being the publick act of a whole Society, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very assembling of Men therefore unto this service hath been ever solemn. And concerning the place of assembly, although it serve for other uses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himself hath to this, as to the chiefest of all other, plainly sanctified his own Temple, by entituling it *the House of Prayer*, what pre-eminence of dignity soever hath been either by the Ordinance, or through the special favour and providence of God annexed unto his Sanctuary, the principal cause thereof must needs be in regard of common Prayer. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the gravest of the ancient Fathers seriously were persuaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the House of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the presence of celestial Powers; that there we stand, we pray, we sound forth Hymns unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our Associates; and that with reference hereunto, the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decency for the Angels' sake; how can we come to the House of Prayer, and not be moved

Matth. vi.
5, 6.Matth. xxi.
13.Christ
Hom. xv.
ad Hebræ.
& xxiv. in
Act.1 Cor. xi.
10.

moved with the very glory* of the place itself so to frame our affections praying, as doth best befeem them whose fuits the Almighty doth there fit to hear, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of Men, there needed no penal Statutes to draw them unto publick Prayer. The warning found was no fooner heard, but the Churches were prefently filled; † the pavements covered with bodies prostrate, and washed with their tears of devout joy. And as the place of publick Prayer is a circumstance in the outward form thereof which hath moment to help devotion; so the Person much more with whom the People of God do join themselves in this action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authority of his place, the fervour of his zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole behaviour, must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the service he doth. The authority of his calling is a furtherance, because if God hath so far received him into favour, as to impose upon him by the Hands of Men that Office of blessing the People in his Name and making intercession to him in theirs; which Office he hath sanctified with his own most gracious Promise, and ratified that Promise by manifest actual performance thereof, when others before in like place have done the same, is not his very Ordination a seal, as it were to us, that the self-same divine Love which hath chosen the instrument to work with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereunto he ordained it, in blessing his People, and accepting the Prayers which his Servant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable Title which the Ancients used to give unto God's Ministers, terming them usually *God's most beloved*, which

BOOK V.

Numb. vi.
 23.
 2 Chron.
 xxx. 27.

Cod. 1. i.
 tit. 3. de
 Epi. & Cler.
 43. & 44.
 facpe.

* Psal. xcvi. 6. Power and Beauty are in his Sanctuary.

† Ad domos statim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi sternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis supplicamus. Salvian. de Prov. l. vii.

BOOK V. were ordained to procure by their Prayers his love and favour towards all. Again if there be not zeal and fervency in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſuits and ſupplications which they by their joyful acclamations muſt ratify; if he praife not God with all his might; if he pour not out his Soul in Prayer; if he take not their cauſes to heart, and ſpeak not as Moſes, Daniel and Ezra did for their People; how ſhould there be but in them frozen coldneſs, when his affections ſeem benumbed from whom theirs ſhould take fire? Virtue and Godlineſs of life are required at the hands of the Miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the People; who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, than directed aright by the wholeſome inſtruction of them, whoſe Life ſwerveth from the rule of their own Doctrines; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his Function; whether we reſpect the weakneſs of the People, apt to loath and abhor the Sanctuary when they which perform the ſervice thereof are ſuch as the Sons of Heli were; or elſe conſider the inclination of God himſelf, who requireth the liſting up of pure hands in Prayers, and hath given the World plainly to underſtand that the Wicked, although they cry, ſhall not be heard. They are not fit Supplicants to ſeek his mercy on the behalf of others, whoſe own unrepented ſins provoke his juſt indignation. *Let thy Priests therefore, O Lord, be evermore cloathed with Righteouſneſs, that thy Saints may thereby with more devotion rejoice and ſing!* But of all helps for due performance of this Service, the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding Order itſelf, which framed with common advice, hath both for matter and form preſcribed whatſoever is herein publickly done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by us it muſt be acknowledged a work of ſingular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a preſcript Form of Common-Prayer, although not in all things every where the ſame, yet for the moſt part

1 Tim. ii. 8.

John ix. 31.

Jer. xi. 11.

Ezech. viii.

23.

Pſal. cxxxii.

9.

part retaining still the same analogy. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the World be compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceived they had all one original mould, and that the publick Prayer of the People of God in Churches thoroughly settled, did never use to be voluntary dictates, proceeding from any Men's extemporal wit. To him which considereth the grievous and scandalous inconveniences whereunto they make themselves daily subject, with whom any blind and secret corner is judged a fit House of common Prayer; the manifold confusions which they fall into, where every Man's private Spirit and Gift (as they term it) is the only Bishop that ordaineth him to his Ministry; the irksome deformities whereby through endless and senseless effusions of indigested Prayers, they oftentimes disgrace in most unfufferable manner, the worthiest part of Christian duty towards God, who herein are subject to no certain Order, but pray both what and how they list; to him, I say, which weigheth duly all these things, the reasons cannot be obscure why God doth in publick Prayer so much respect the Solemnity of Places where, the Authority and Calling of Persons by whom, and the precise appointment even with what Words or Sentences, his Name should be called on amongst his People.

2 Chron. vi. 20.
Joel ii. 17.
2 Chron. xxiv. 30.

26. No Man hath hitherto been so impious, as plainly and directly to condemn Prayer. The best stratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his Kingdom to be no one way more shaken than by the publick devout Prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and so to shake the force of all Men's devotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a strange conceit, that to serve God with any set Form of Common-Prayer is superstitious. As though God himself did not frame to his Priests the very speech wherewith they were charged to bless the People; or as if our Lord, even of purpose to prevent

Of them which like not to have any set Form of Common-Prayer.

Num. vi. 23.

BOOK V. prevent this fancy of extemporal and voluntary Prayers, had not left us of his own framing one which might both remain as a part of the Church Liturgy, and serve as a pattern whereby to frame all other Prayers with efficacy, yet without superfluity of words. If Prayers were no otherwise accepted of God than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of present occasions; if it be right to judge him by our own bellies, and to imagine that he doth loath to have the self-same supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if Prayers be actions which ought to waite away themselves in the making; if being made to remain that they may be resumed and used again as Prayers, they be but instruments of Superstition; surely, we cannot excuse Moses, who gave such occasion of scandal to the World, by not being contented to praise the Name of Almighty God according to the usual naked simplicity of God's Spirit, for that admirable victory given them against Pharaoh, unless so dangerous a precedent were left for the casting of Prayers into certain poetical moulds, and for the framing of Prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the same occasions which brought them forth at the first. For that very Hymn of Moses grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewish Liturgy; not only that, but sundry other sithence invented. Their Books of Common-Prayer contained partly Hymns taken out of the holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thanksgivings, Supplications, penned by such as have been from time to time, the Governors of that Synagogue. These they sorted into their severall times and places, some to begin the service of God with, and some to end, some to go before, and some to follow, and some to be interlaced between the divine Readings of the Law and Prophets. Unto their custom of finishing the Passover with certain Psalms, there is not any thing more probable, than that the
 holy

holy Evangelist doth evidently allude, saying, That after the Cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apostles; * they sung, and went forth to the Mount of Olives. As the Jews had their Songs of Moses, and David, and the rest; so the Church of Christ from the very beginning hath both used the same, and besides them other of like nature, the Song of the Virgin Mary, the Song of Zachary, the Song of Simeon, such Hymns as the Apostle doth often speak of, saying, *I will pray and sing with the Spirit.* Again, *in Psalms, Hymns, and Songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily.* Hymns and Psalms are such kinds of Prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden; but are framed by Meditation beforehand, or else by propheticall Illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit enabled Men to all parts of service necessary for the edifying of his Church.

BOOK V

27. Now, albeit the Admonitioners did seem at the first to allow no prescript Form of Prayer at all, but thought it the best that their Minister should always be left at liberty to pray as his own discretion did serve; yet because this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their Defender and his Associates have since proposed to the World a Form such as themselves like, and, to shew their dislike of ours, have taken against it those exceptions which, whosoever doth measure by number must needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath so many faults; whosoever by weight, cannot choose but esteem very highly of that, wherein the wit of so scrupulous Adversaries hath not hitherto observed any defect which

Of them who allowing a set Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

* Matth. xxvi. 30. ὑμνήσαντες, having sung the Psalms which were usual at that Feast, those Psalms which the Jews call the great Hallelujah, beginning at the cxiii. and continuing to the end of the cxviii. See Paul Burgens. in Psal. cxiii. addit. 1. and Scal. de emendat. tempor.

themselves

BOOK V. themselves can seriously think to be of moment? Gross Errors and manifest Impiety they grant we have taken away. Yet * many things in it they say are amiss; many instances they give of things in our Common-Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the Word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinity with the Form of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elsewhere reformed allow and observe; our attire disgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor gestured as becometh; it requireth nothing to be done, which a Child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of short cuts or shreddings, which may be better called Wishees than Prayers; it intermingleth Prayings and Readings in such manner, as if Supplicants should use in proposing their suits unto mortal Princes all the World would judge them mad; it is too long, and by that mean abridgeth Preaching; it appointeth the People to say after the Minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the Psalms by course, from side to side; it useth the Lord's Prayer too oft; the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well spare; it hath the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius and *Gloria Patri*, which are superfluous; it craveth earthly things too much; for deliverance from those evils against which we pray it giveth no Thanks; some things it asketh unseasonably, when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from Thunder and Tempest, when no danger is nigh; some in too abject and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthiness dare not

* T. C. l. i. p. 131. afterwards, p. 135. Whereas Mr. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing shewed in the whole Book which is not agreeable unto the Word of God; I am very loth, &c. Notwithstanding, my duty of defending the Truth, and Love which I have first towards God, and then towards my Country, constraineth me being thus provoked, to speak a few words more particularly of the Form of Prayer, that when the blemishes thereof do appear, it may please the Queen's Majesty, and her honourable Council, with those of the Parliament, &c.

ask; some which ought not to be desired, as the de-BOOK V.
 liverance from sudden Death, riddance from all
 Adversity, and the extent of saving Mercy to-
 wards all Men. These and such like are the Im-
 perfections, whereby our Form of Common-Prayer
 is thought to swerve from the Word of God. A
 great Favourer of that part, but yet (his error that
 way excepted) a learned, painful, a right virtuous
 and good Man, did not fear sometime to undertake,
 against Popish Detractors, the general maintenance
 and defence of our whole Church-Service, as having
 in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God: and
 even they which would file away most from the large-
 ness of that offer, do notwithstanding in more sparing
 terms acknowledge little less. For when those op-
 posite judgments which never are wont to construe
 things doubtful to the better, those very tongues
 which are always prone to aggravate whatsoever hath
 but the least shew whereby it may be suspected to
 favour of, or to sound towards any evil, do by their
 own voluntary sentence clearly free us from gross
 errors, and from manifest impiety herein; who would
 not judge us to be discharged of all blame, which
 are confest to have no great fault, even by their very
 word and testimony in whose eyes no fault of ours
 hath ever hitherto been accustomed to seem small?
 Nevertheless, what they seem to offer us with one
 hand, the same with the other they pull back again.
 They grant we err not in palpable manner, we are
 not openly and notoriously impious; yet Errors we
 have, which the sharp insight of these wisest Men
 do espy; there is hidden Impiety, which the pro-
 founder sort are able enough to disclose. Their
 skilful ears perceive certain harsh and unpleasant dis-
 cords in the sound of our Common-Prayer, such as
 the Rules of divine Harmony, such as the Laws of
 God cannot bear.

BOOK V.

The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papists, too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.

T. C. l. i. p. 155. A Book of the Form of Common-Prayer tendered to the Parliament. p. 46.

28. Touching our Conformity with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference between some reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath been already answered, may serve for answer to that exception which in these two respects they take particularly against the Form of our Common-Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do, in that they are Men, in that they are wise Men, and Christian Men, some things, in that they are Men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow Reason and Truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have come, and to be their Followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancients and better; others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defect resemble them whom we love. For although they profess they agree with us touching a *prescript Form of Prayer to be used in the Church*; yet in that very Form which they say is *agreeable to God's Word and the use of reformed Churches*, they have by special protestation declared, that their meaning is not, it shall be prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tie their Minister. *It shall not (they say) be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before-mentioned, but beginning with some like Confession, to proceed to the Sermon; which ended, he either useth the Prayer for all States before-mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart.* Herein therefore we hold it much better, with the Church of Rome, to appoint a prescript Form, which every Man shall be bound to observe, than with them to set down a kind of direction, a Form for Men to use if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that publick Prayer is a Duty entire in itself, a Duty requisite to be performed

formed much oftner than Sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a publick Form how to serve God both Morning and Evening, whether Sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their Form of reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall be done *upon the days appointed for the preaching of the Word*; with what words the Minister shall begin, *when the hour appointed for the Sermon is come*; what shall be said or sung before Sermon, and what after. So that according to this Form of their's, it must stand for a Rule, *No Sermon, no Service*. Which oversight occasioned the French spitefully to term Religion, in that sort exercised, a meer Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearse, in consideration whereof, we cannot be induced to prefer their reformed Form of Prayer before our own, what Church soever we resemble therein.

29. The Attire which the Minister of God is by Order to use at times of divine Service, being but a matter of meer formality, yet such as for comeliness-fake hath hitherto been judged by the wiser sort of Men, not unnecessary to concur with other sensible notes, betokening the different kind or quality of Persons and Actions whereto it is tied; as we think not ourselves the holier because we use it, so neither should they, with whom no such thing is in use, think us therefore unholy,* because we submit ourselves unto that which in a matter so indifferent the wisdom of Authority and Law hath thought comely. To solemn actions of Royalty and Justice, their suit-

Attire belonging to the Service of God.

* T. C. l. i. p. 71. We think the Surplice especially unmeet for a Minister of the Gospel to wear. p 75. It is easily seen by Solomon, Eccles. viii. 9. that to wear a white Garment was highly esteemed in the east parts, and was ordinary to those that were in any esteem, as black with us, and therefore was no several Apparel for the Ministers to execute their Ministry in.

BOOK V. able ornaments are a beauty. Are they only in Religion a stain? *Divine Religion*, saith St. Jerom (he speaketh of the priestly Attire of the Law) *batb one kind of Habit wherein to minister before the Lord, another for ordinary uses belonging unto common life.* Pelagius having carped at the curious neatness of Men's Apparel in those days, and through the sourness of his disposition spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming; that the *glory of Cloaths and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God and Godliness*; St. Jerom, whose custom is not to pardon over-easily his Adversaries, if any where they chance to trip, preffeth him as thereby making all sorts of Men in the World *God's Enemies.* *Is it enmity with God (saith he) if I wear my Coat somewhat handsome?* If a Bishop, a Priest, Deacon, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Order come to administer the usual Sacrifice in a white Garment,* are they hereby God's Adversaries? *Clerks, Monks, Widows, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seen than in foul and ragged Cloaths. Not to speak any thing of secular Men, which have proclaimed to have war with God as oft as ever they put on precious and shining Cloaths.* By which words of Jerom, we may take it at the least for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw Pelagius into hatred, as condemning by so general a speech even the neatness of that very Garment itself, wherein the Clergy did then use to administer publickly the holy Sacrament of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood; for that they did then use some such Ornament, the words of Chrysoftom give plain testimony, who speaking to the Clergy of Antioch, telleth them, that if they did suffer notorious Malefactors to come to the Table of the Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themselves had shed his Blood; that for

Hieron. in
xliv. Ezech.
Hiero. Ad-
ver. Peleg.
l. i. c. 9.

Chrysoft.
ad. popul.
Antioch.
tom. v.
Serm. 60.

* T. C. l. i. p. 77. By a white Garment is meant a comely Apparel, and not slovenly.

this purpose God hath called them to the rooms BOOK V. which they held in the Church of Christ; that this, they should reckon was their dignity, this their safety, this their whole crown and glory; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is administered, imagine themselves called only *to walk up and down in a white and shining Garment*. Now, whereas these speeches of Jerom and Chrysoptom do seem plainly to allude unto such ministerial Garments as were then in use; to this they answer, that by Jerom nothing can be gathered, but only that the Ministers came to Church in handsome Holy-day Apparel, and that himself did not think them bound by the Law of God to go like slovens, but the Weed which we mean he defendeth not; that Chrysoptom meaneth indeed the same which we defend; * but seemeth rather to reprehend than allow it as we do. Which Answer wringeth out of Jerom and Chrysoptom that which their words will not gladly yield. They both speak of the same Persons, (namely, the Clergy) and of their Weed at the same time when they administer the blessed Sacrament; and of the self-same kind of Weed, a white Garment, so far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing itself to be different whereof they speak, or their judgments concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it against Pelagius, as a thing not therefore unlawful because it was fair or handsome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in itself, if they which wear it do nothing else but wear the Robes which their place requireth. The honesty, dignity and estimation of

* T. C. l. i. p. 75. It is true, Chrysoptom maketh mention of a white Garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he sheweth that the dignity of the Ministry was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lord's Supper, not in going about the Church with a white Garment.

BOOK V. white Apparel in the eastern part of the World, is
 a token of greater fitness for this sacred use, wherein
 it were not convenient that any thing basely thought
 of should be suffered. Notwithstanding, I am not
 bent to stand stiffly upon these probabilities, that in
 Jerom's and Chrysoftom's time any such Attire was
 made severall to this purpose. Yet surely the words
 of Solomon are very impertinent to prove it an Or-
 nament, therefore not severall for the Ministers to
 execute their ministry in, because Men of credit and
 estimation wore their ordinary Apparel white. For
 we know that when Solomon wrote those words, the
 severall Apparel for the Ministers of the Law to exe-
 cute their ministry in, was such. The wise Man
 which feared God from his heart, and honoured the
 Service that was done unto him, could not mention
 so much as the Garment of Holiness, but with ef-
 fectual signification of more singular reverence and
 love. Were it not better that the love which Men
 bear to God should make the least things which are
 employed in his Service amiable, than that their over-
 scrupulous dislike of so mean a thing as a Vestment,
 should from the very Service of God withdraw their
 hearts and affections? I term it rather a mean thing,
 a thing not much to be respected, because even they
 so account of it, whose first Disputations against it
 were such as if Religion had scarcely any thing of
 greater weight. Their allegations were then, *That*
if a Man were assured to gain a thousand by doing
that which may offend any one Brother, or be unto
him a cause of falling, he ought not to do it; that
this Popish Apparel, the Surplice especially, hath been
by Papists abominably abused; that it hath been a
mark and a very Sacrament of Abomination; that re-
maining, it serveth as a monument of Idolatry; and not
only edifieth not, but as a dangerous and scandalous Cere-
mony doth exceeding much harm to them of whose good we
are commanded to have regard, that it causeth Men to
perish, and make shipwreck of Conscience; for so them-
 selves

Ecclef. xlv.

7.

T. C. l. i.

P. 79.

71.

75.

72.

T. C. l. ii.

P. 403.

l. i. p. 73.

76. l. ii.

P. 402.

selves profess they mean, when they say the Weak are BOOK V.
 offended herewith; *that it hardeneth Papists, bindereth
 the Weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Gospel,
 grieveth godly Minds, and giveth them occasion to think
 hardly of their Ministers; that if the Magistrates may
 command, or the Church appoint Rites and Ceremonies,
 yet seeing our abstinence from things in their own nature
 indifferent if the weak Brother should be offended, is a flat
 Commandment of the Holy Ghost which no Authority either
 of Church or Commonwealth can make void; therefore
 neither may the one nor the other lawfully ordain this Ce- Lib. i. p. 76.
Page 81.
 remony, which hath great incommodity and no profit, great
 offence and no edifying; that by the Law it should have
 been burnt and consumed with fire as a thing infected with
 Leprosy; that the example of Ezekiah beating to powder
 the Brazen Serpent, and of Paul abrogating those abused
 Feasts of Charity, enforceth upon us the duty of abolishing Page 78.
 altogether a thing which hath been, and is so offensive;
 finally, that God by his Prophet hath given an express
 Commandment, which in this case toucheth us no less than
 of old it did the Jews; *Ye shall pollute the covering of the* Isa. xxx. 22.
*Images of Silver, and the rich Ornament of your Images
 of Gold, and cast them away as a stained rag; thou shalt
 say to it, Get thee hence.* These and such like, were
 their first discourses touching that Church-attire which
 with us for the most part is usual in publick Prayer,
 our Ecclesiastical Laws so appointing, as well because
 it hath been of reasonable continuance, and by special
 choice was taken out of the number of those holy
 Garments which (over and besides their mystical refer-
 ence) served for comeliness under the Law; and Exod.
xxviii. 2.
Exod.
xxxix. 27.
 is in the number of those Ceremonies which may with
 choice and discretion be used to that purpose in the
 Church of Christ; as also for that it suiteth so fitly
 with that lightsome affection of joy, wherein God de- Psal. cxlix.
2.
Apoc. xv.
6.
 lighteth when his Saints praise him; and so lively re-
 sembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven, together
 with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto Mar. xvi.
5.
 Men, that they which are to appear for Men in the
 presence*

BOOK V. presence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would choose any, could not easily devise a Garment of more decency for such a Service. As for those fore-rehearsed vehement allegations against it, shall we give them credit, when the very Authors from whom they came confesse they believe not their own sayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two Universities, and of others who abroad having Ecclesiastical Charge, do favour mightily their cause, and by all means set it forward, might by persisting in the extremity of that opinion, hazard greatly their own estates, and so weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to strengthen; they asked counsel as it seemed from some abroad, who wisely considered that the Body is of far more worth than the Raiment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to add, that sometimes Authority *must and may with good Conscience be obeyed, even where Commandment is not given upon good ground; that the duty of Preaching is one of the absolute Commandments of God, and therefore ought not to be forsaken for the bare inconveniency of a thing which in its own nature is indifferent; that one of the foulest spots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giveth in occasioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedness; yet hereby there is no unlawfulness proved, but only an inconveniency, that such things should be established, howbeit no such inconveniency neither as may not be born with; that when God doth flatly command us to abstain from things in their own nature indifferent, if they offend our weak Brethren, his meaning is not we should obey his Commandment herein, unless we may do it, and not leave undone that which the Lord hath absolutely commanded. Always provided, that whosoever will enjoy the benefit of this dispensation, to wear a scandalous badge of Idolatry rather than forsake his Pastoral Charge, do (as occasion serveth) teach nevertheless still the incommodity of the thing itself, admonish the*

weak

T. C. l. i.
p. 74. & l.
ii. p. 250.
Index l. iii.
c. 8. l. iii.
p. 262,
263.

Lib. iii. p.
263.

Page 263.

weak Brethren that they be not, and pray unto God so to BOOK V.
strengthen them that they may not be offended thereat. So that whereas before, they which had Authority to institute Rites and Ceremonies were denied to have power to institute this, it is now confessed, that this they may also lawfully, but not so conveniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in utter detestation and hatred as a thing abominable; they now do well, which think it may be both born and used with a very good Conscience; before, he which by wearing it were sure to win thousands unto Christ, ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with the offence of thousands, yet it may be done rather than that should be given over whereby notwithstanding we are not certain we shall gain one. The examples of Ezekias and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Esay, the strict Apostolical prohibition of things indifferent, whensoever they may be scandalous, were before so forcible Laws against our Ecclesiastical Attire, as neither Church nor Commonwealth could possibly make void; which now one of far less Authority than either, hath found how to frustrate, by dispensing with the breach of inferior Commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not thus to solder up a broken cause, whereof their first and last discourses will fall asunder, do what they can. Let them ingeniously confess that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alledged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter to such effect as was pretended, that which they should infer, were unlawfulness, because they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our Attire unlawful, because in truth they concern it not, it followeth that they prove not any thing against it, and consequently not so much as uncomeliness or inconveniency. Unless there-

BOOK V. fore they be able thoroughly to resolve themselves, that
 there is no one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God
 which doth controul the wearing of it in such manner,
 and to such purpose as the Church of England allow-
 eth; unless they can fully rest and settle their minds
 in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to
 make themselves the only competent Judges of de-
 cency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judg-
 ment of the whole Church, preferring before it their
 own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspi-
 cions and fears, whereof if there were at the first some
 probable cause, when things were but raw and tender,
 yet now very tract of time hath itself worn that also;
 unless, I say, thus resolved in mind they hold their
 Pastoral Charge with the comfort of a good Consci-
 ence, no way grudging at that which they do, or do-
 ing that which they think themselves bound of duty
 to reprove, how should it possibly help or further them
 in their course, to take such occasions as they say are
 requisite to be taken, and in pensive manner to tell
 their Audience, *“ Brethren, our hearts desire is, that
 “ we might enjoy the full liberty of the Gospel, as in other
 “ reformed Churches they do elsewhere, upon whom the
 “ heavy hand of Authority hath imposed no grievous bur-
 “ then. But such is the misery of these our days, that so
 “ great happiness we cannot look to attain unto. Were it
 “ so, that the equity of the Law of Moses could prevail,
 “ or the zeal of Ezechias be found in the hearts of those
 “ Guides and Governors under whom we live; or the
 “ voice of God’s own Prophets be duly heard; or the ex-
 “ amples of the Prophets of Christ be followed; yea, or
 “ their precepts be answered with full and perfect obedi-
 “ ence; these abominable Rags, polluted Garments, marks
 “ and Sacraments of Idolatry, which Power as you see,
 “ constraineth us to wear, and Conscience to abhor, had
 “ long ere this day been moved both out of sight and out
 “ of memory. But, as now things stand, behold to what
 “ narrow fireights we are driven; on the one side we
 “ fear the words of our Saviour Christ, Woe be to them
 “ by*

“ by whom scandal and offence cometh; *on the other* BOOK V.
 “ *side, at the Apostle’s speech we cannot but quake and*
 “ *tremble; If I preach not the Gospel, woe be unto*
 “ *me. Being thus hardly beset, we see not any other re-*
 “ *medy but to hazard your Souls the one way, that we*
 “ *may the other way endeavour to save them. Touching*
 “ *the offence of the Weak, therefore, we must adventure it.*
 “ *If they perish, they perish. Our Pastoral Charge is God’s*
 “ *most absolute commandment. Rather than that shall be*
 “ *taken from us, we are resolved to take this filth and*
 “ *put it on, although we judge it to be so unfit and incon-*
 “ *venient that as oft as ever we pray or preach so ar-*
 “ *rayed before you, we do as much as in us lieth to cast*
 “ *away your Souls that are weak-minded, and to bring*
 “ *you unto endless perdition. But we beseech you, Bre-*
 “ *thren, have a care of your own safety, take heed to*
 “ *your steps that ye be not taken in those snares which*
 “ *we lay before you. And our Prayer in your behalf to*
 “ *Almighty God is, that the poison which we offer you,*
 “ *may never have the power to do you harm. Advice*
 and counsel is best sought for at their hands which ei-
 ther have no part at all in the cause whereof they in-
 struct; or else are so far engaged, that themselves are
 to bear the greatest adventure in the success of their
 own counsels. The one of which two considerations
 maketh Men the less respective, and the other the
 more circumspect. Those good and learned Men
 which gave the first direction to this course, had rea-
 son to wish that their own proceedings at home might
 be favoured abroad also, and that the good affection
 of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive.
 But if themselves had gone under those sails which
 they require to be hoisted up, if they had been them-
 selves to execute their own Theory in this Church, I
 doubt not but easily they would have seen, be-
 ing near at hand, that the way was not good which
 they took of advising Men, first to wear the Apparel
 that thereby they might be free to continue their
 preaching, and then of requiring them so to preach,
 as

BOOK V. as they might be sure they could not continue, except they imagine that Laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to speak as they list, even against that which themselves do by constraint of Laws; they would have easily seen that our People being accustomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publickly under any pretence reprov'd, and the Men themselves worse which reprove it and use it too, it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound, by making protestations in disgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are scandalous, or by using fair intreaty with the weak Brethren; they would easily have seen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a Man openly profess that he putteth fire to his Neighbour's house, but yet so halloweth the same with Prayer that he hopeth it shall not burn. It had been therefore perhaps safer and better for ours to have observed St. Basil's advice, both in this and in all things of like nature: *Let him which approveth not his Governors Ordinances, either plainly (but privately always) shew his dislike if he have λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, strong and invincible reason against them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; or else let him quietly with silence do what is enjoined.* Obedience with professed unwillingness to obey, is not better than manifest disobedience.

Basil. Af-
cet. respons.
ad inter.
47.

Of gesture
in Praying,
and of dif-
ferent places
chosen to
that purpose.
T. C. l. i.
P. 134.

30. Having thus disputed whether the Surplice be a fit Garment to be used in the service of God, the next Question whereinto we are drawn is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the Minister should say Service in the Chancel, or turn his Face at any time from the People, or before Service ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them which trouble us with those doubts, we would more willingly be resolv'd of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's Name in vain to debate Religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour about them? Things of so mean regard and quality although necessary to be ordered,

dered, are notwithstanding very unfavoury when they come to be disputed of: because disputation presupposeth some difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must be either very simple, or very froward, who need to be taught by disputation what is meet. When we make profession of our Faith, we stand; when we acknowledge our Sins, or seek unto God for favour, we fall down; because the gesture of constancy becometh us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our Liturgy consist in the reading of the Word of God, and the proclaiming of his Law, that the People may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his blessings are towards us; some are such as albeit they serve to singular good purpose, even when there is no Communion administered, nevertheless being devised at the first for that purpose, are at the Table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are uttered as from the People, some as with them unto God, some as from God unto them, all as before his sight whom we fear, and whose presence to offend with any the least unseemliness we would be surely as loth as they who most reprehend or deride that we do. Now, because the Gospels which are weekly read, do all historically declare something which our Lord Jesus Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered in his own Person, it hath been the custom of Christian Men then especially in token of the greater reverence to stand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the Name of Jesus to bow. Which harmless Ceremonies, as there is no Man constrained to use; so we know no reason wherefore any Man should yet imagine it an unsufferable evil. It sheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other Messengers, although speaking as from God also. And against Infidels, Jews, Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jesus Christ, such Ceremonies are thus profitable.

As

BOOK V. As for any erroneous estimation, advancing the Son above the Father and the Holy Ghost, seeing that the truth of his Equality with them is a Mystery so hard for the wits of mortal Men to rise unto, of all Heresies that which may give him superiority above them is least to be feared. But to let go this as a matter scarce worth the speaking of, whereas if fault be in these things any where justly found, Law hath referred the whole disposition and redress thereof to the Ordinary of the place; they which elsewhere complain that disgrace and injury is offered even to the meanest Parish Minister when the Magistrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not so small a matter as that to his own discretion, being presumed a Man discreet and trusted with the care of the Peoples Souls, do think the gravest Prelates in the Land no competent Judges to discern and appoint where it is fit for the Minister to stand, or which way convenient to look praying. From their Ordinary therefore they appeal to themselves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing against the which they have long since given sentence, nor yet make answer unto what they bring, which is, that Saint Luke declaring how *Peter stood up in the midst of the Disciples*, did thereby deliver an unchangeable rule, that whatsoever is done in the Church, ought to be done in the midst of the Church; and therefore not Baptism to be administered in one place, Marriage solemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fifth Prayers to be made; that the custom which we use is Levitical, absurd, and such as hindereth the understanding of the People; that if it be meet for the Minister, at some time to look towards the People, if the Body of the Church be a fit place for some part of divine Service, it must needs follow, that whensoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath absurdity. All these reasons, they say, have been brought, and were hitherto never answered; besides a number of merriments

T. C. l. iii.
p. 215.

T. C. l. i.
p. 74.

T. C. l. i.
p. 134.
l. iii. p.
187.

AGS i. 15.
T. C. l. i.
p. 134.
l. iii. p.
187.

merriments and jests unanswered likewise, wherewith they have presently moved much laughter at our manner of serving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull spirited Men. We are still perswaded that a bare denial is answer sufficient to things which meer fancy objecteth; and that the best apology to words of scorn and petulancy, is Isaac's apology to his Brother Ismael, the Apology which patience and silence maketh. Our Answer therefore to their Reasons is, No; to their Scoffs, nothing.

31. When they object that our Book requireth nothing to be done, which a Child may not do as *lawfully and as well as that Man wherewith the Book contenteth itself*,* is it their meaning that the Service of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or else that the Book containing it, should teach what Men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either Men unlearned, or Children, to be admitted thereunto? In setting down the form of Common Prayer there was no need that the Book should mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitness of an ignorant Minister, more than that he which describeth the manner how to pitch a field, should speak of moderation and sobriety in diet. And concerning the duty itself, although the hardness thereof be not such as needeth much art, yet surely they seem to be very far carried besides themselves, to whom the dignity of publick Prayer doth not discover somewhat more fitness in Men of gravity and ripe discretion, than in *Children of ten years of age* for the decent discharge and performance of that office. It cannot be that they who speak thus, should thus judge. At the board and in private

Easiness of
praying after
our form.

* T. C. l. i. p. 133. & l. iii. p. 184. Another fault in the whole Service or Liturgy of England is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching Ministry in requiring nothing to be done by the Minister which a Child of ten years old cannot do as well, and as lawfully as that Man, wherewith the Book contenteth itself.

BOOK V. it very well becometh Children's innocency to pray, and their Elders to say *Amen*. Which being a part of their virtuous education, serveth greatly both to nourish in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace which openeth the mouths of Infants to sound his Praise. But publick Prayer, the Service of God in the solemn Assembly of Saints, is a work, though easy, yet withal so weighty and of such respect, that the great facility thereof, is but a slender argument to prove it may be as well and as lawfully committed to Children, as to Men of years, howsoever their ability of learning be but only to do that in decent order, wherewith the Book contenteth itself. The Book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what should any prescript Form of Prayer framed to the Minister's hand require, but only so to be read as behoveth. We know that there be in the World certain voluntary Overseers of all Books, whose censure in this respect would fall as sharp on us, as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a Form of Prayer, we should either express or include any thing, more than what doth properly concern Prayer. The Minister's greatness or meanness of knowledge to do other things, his aptness or insufficiency otherwise than by reading to instruct the Flock, standeth in this place as a stranger with whom our Form of Common-Prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception against easiness, as if that did nourish ignorance, proceedeth altogether out of a needless jealousy. I have often heard it enquired of by many, how it might be brought to pass, that the Church should every where have Preachers to instruct the People; what impediments there are to hinder it; and which were the speediest way to remove them. In which consultation, the multitude of Parishes, the paucity of Schools, the manifold discouragements which are offered unto Men's inclinations that way, the penury of the Ecclesiastical Estate, the irrecoverable loss of so many

Livings

Living of principal value, clean taken away from BOOK V. the Church long sithence by being appropriated, the daily bruises that spiritual promotions use to take by often falling, the want of somewhat in certain Statutes which concern the State of the Church, the too great facility of many Bishops, the stony hardness of too many Patron's hearts, not touched with any feeling in this case: such things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any discourse concerning any defect of knowledge in the Clergy. But whosoever be found guilty, the Communion-Book hath surely deserved least to be called in question for this fault. If all the Clergy were as learned as themselves are that most complain of ignorance in others, yet our Book of Prayer might remain the same; and remaining the same it is, I see not how it can be a lett unto any Man's skill in preaching; which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no such necessary element, that every act of Religion should be thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not somewhat exacted that none can discharge but an able Preacher.

32. Two faults there are which our Lord and Saviour himself especially reprov'd in Prayer; the one, when ostentation did cause it to be open; the other, when superstition made it long. As therefore Prayers the one way are faulty, not whensoever they be openly made, but when Hypocrisy is the cause of open praying; so the length of Prayer is likewise a fault, howbeit not simply, but where error and superstition causeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of speech to be used. It is not, as some do imagine, (saith St. Augustin) that long praying is that fault of much speaking in Prayer, which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not he himself in Prayer have continued whole nights. *Use in Prayer no vain superfluity of words as the Heathens do, for they imagine that their much speaking will cause them to be heard:* whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is how

The length of our Service. T. C. l. i. p. 133. & l. iii. p. 134.

Aug. Ep. 121. Luke vi. 12.

BOOK V. how virtuous their Minds are, and not how copious their Tongues in Prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talk who come to present their Supplications before him. Notwithstanding for as much as in publick Prayer we are not only to consider what is needful in respect of God, but there is also in Men that which we must regard; we somewhat the rather incline to length, lest over-quick dispatch of a duty so important, should give the World occasion to deem that the thing itself is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of such actions doth require. Beside, this benefit also it hath, that they whom earnest letts and impediments do often hinder from being Partakers of the whole, have yet through the length of divine Service, opportunity left them, at the least, for access unto some reasonable part thereof. Again, it should be considered, how it doth come to pass that we are so long. For if that very Service of God in the Jewish Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and sanctify with the presence of his own Person, had so large portions of the Law and the Prophets, together with so many Prayers and Psalms read day by day, as do equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that respect was never thought to deserve blame, is it now an offence that the like measure of time is bestowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leisure which it had then, or else those things whereupon so much time was then well spent, have sithence that lost their dignity and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Psalms, be a part of the Service of God as needful under Christ as before, and the adding of the New Testament as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith, instead of Jewish Prayers, it be also for the good of the Church to annex that variety which the Apostle doth commend, seeing that the time which we spend is no more than the orderly

orderly performance of these things necessarily required, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, be they never so few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But he which speaketh no more than edifieth, is undeservedly reprehended for much speaking. That as *the Devil under the colour of long Prayer drave Preaching out of the Church heretofore, so we in appointing so long Prayers and Readings, whereby the less can be spent in Preaching, maintain an unpreaching Ministry*, is neither advisedly nor truly spoken. They reprove long Prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in itself a thing commendable; for so it must needs be, if the Devil have used it as a colour to hide his malicious practices. When malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the suspicion of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcasteth itself is always a fair and plausible pretence of seeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Satan hath pretended to seek, and avoid the evil which his purpose was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice, than if, as he hath under colour of long Prayer driven Preaching out of the Church, so we should take the quarrel of Sermons in hand, and revenge their cause by requital, thrusting Prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long Preaching? In case our Prayers being made at their full length did necessarily enforce Sermons to be the shorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an unpreaching Ministry, unless we will say that those ancient Fathers, Chryostom, Augustin, Leo, and the rest whose Homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part than our Sermons are, did then not preach when the Speeches were not long. The necessity of shortness causeth Men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprise much matter in few words. But neither did it maintain inability, nor at all prevent opportunity of Preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpose. *An hour and an half* is,

BOOK V. they say, in reformed Churches ordinarily thought reasonable, for *their whole Liturgy or Service*. Do we then continue, as Ezra did, in reading the Law from morning till mid-day? or, as the Apostle St. Paul did, in Prayer and Preaching, till Men through weariness be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make such complaint is but this, that if our whole Form of Prayer be read, and besides an hour allowed for a Sermon, we spend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour. Which half-hour being such a matter as the *age of some, and the infirmity of other some, are not able to bear*; if we have any sense of the *common imbecility*, if any care to preserve Men's wits from being broken with the *very bent of so long attention*, if any love or desire to provide that things most holy be not with hazard of Men's Souls abhorred and loathed, this half-hour's tediousness must be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greatest part of our Common-Prayer. For no other remedy will serve to help so dangerous an inconvenience.

33. The Brethren in Ægypt (saith St. Augustin, Epist. cxxi.) are reported to have many Prayers, but every one of them very short, as if they were darts thrown out with a kind of sudden quickness, lest that vigilant and erect attention of mind which in Prayer is very necessary, should be wasted or dulled through continuance, if their Prayers were few and long. But that which St. Augustin doth allow, they condemn. Those Prayers whereunto devout Minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that respect which we have already mentioned, as also thereby the better to express that quick and speedy expedition wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to present our suits in Heaven, even sooner than our tongues can devise to utter them; they in their mood of contradiction spare not openly to deride, and that with so base terms as do very ill besem Men of their gravity. Such speeches are scandalous, they favour
favour

Instead of such Prayers as the Primitive Churches have used, and those that be reformed now use; we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreadings, rather wishes than Prayers
T. C. l. i. p. 138. & l. iii. p. 210, 211.

favour not of God in him that useth them, and unto virtuously disposed Minds they are grievous corrosives. Our case were miserable, if that wherewith we most endeavour to please God were in his sight to vile and despicable, as Men's disdainful speech would make it.

34. Again, for as much as effectual Prayer is joined with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the Soul, which cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been therefore thought good so by turns to interpose still somewhat for the higher part of the Mind, the Understanding, to work upon, that both being kept in continual exercise with variety, neither might feel any great weariness, and yet each be a spur to other. For Prayer kindleth our desire to behold God by speculation; and the Mind, delighted with that contemplative sight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Mysteries of heavenly Wisdom continually stirring up in us correspondent desires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due sort is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth, the more earnest to pray, for the time which we bestow as well in the one as the other. But for what cause soever we do it, this intermingling of Lessons with Prayers is,* in their taste, a thing as unfavoury, and as unseemly in their sight, as if the like should be done in suits and supplications before some mighty

* We have no such forms in Scripture as that we should pray in two or three lines, and then after having read awhile some other thing, come and pray as much more, and so the twentieth or the thirtieth time, with pauses between. If a Man should come to a Prince, and having very many things to demand, after he had demanded one thing, would stay a long time and then demand another, and so the third; the Prince might well think that either he came to ask before he knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten some piece of his suit, or that he were distracted in his understanding, or some other like cause of the disorder of his supplication. T. C. l. i. p. 138. This kind of reason the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth use. T. C. l. iii. p. 210.

BOOK V. Prince of the World. Our speech to worldly Superi-
 ———— ors we frame in such sort as serveth best to inform
 and perswade the minds of them who otherwise neither
 could nor would greatly regard our necessities :
 whereas, because we know that God is indeed a
 King, but a great King ; who understandeth all
 things before-hand, which no other King besides
 doth ; a King which needeth not to be informed
 what we lack ; a King readier to grant than we to
 make our requests ; therefore in Prayer we do not so
 much respect what precepts art delivereth, touching
 the method of persuasive utterance in the presence of
 great Men, as what doth most avail to our own edi-
 fication in piety and godly zeal. If they on the con-
 trary side do think, that the same rules of decency
 which serve for things done unto terrene Powers,
 should universally decide what is fit in the service of
 God ; if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxim,
 that the Church must deliver her publick Supplica-
 tions unto God, in no other form of speech than such
 as were decent, if suit should be made to the great
 Turk or some other Monarch, let them apply their
 own rule unto their own form of Common-Prayer.
 Suppose that the People of a whole town, with some
 chosen Men before them, did continually twice or
 thrice a week resort to their King, and every time
 they come, first acknowledge themselves guilty of
 Rebellions and Treasons, then sing a Song, and
 after that explain some Statute of the Land to
 the Standers by, and therein spend at the least
 an hour ; this done, turn themselves again to
 the King, and for every sort of his Subjects crave
 somewhat of him ; at the length sing him another
 Song, and so take their leave : might not the King
 well think, that either they knew not what they
 would have, or else that they were distracted in
 mind, or some other such like cause of the disorder
 of their Supplication ? This form of suing unto
 Kings were absurd : this form of praying unto God
 they

they allow. When God was served with legal Sa-^{BOOK V.}
 crifices, such was the miserable and wretched dis-
 position of some Men's minds, that the best of
 every thing they had being culled out for themselves,
 if there were in their flocks any poor, starved, or
 diseased thing, not worth the keeping, they thought
 it good enough for the Altar of God, pretending (as
 wise Hypocrites do, when they rob God to enrich
 themselves) that the fatness of Calves doth benefit
 him nothing: to us the best things are most profit-
 able; to him all is one, if the mind of the Offerer
 be good, which is the only thing he respecteth.
 In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet
 Malachy alledgeth, that Gifts are offered unto
 God, not as * supplies of his want indeed, but yet
 as testimonies of that affection wherewith we ac-
 knowledge and honour his greatness. For which
 cause, sith the greater they are whom we honour,
 the more regard we have to the quality and choice
 of those Presents' which we bring them for honour's
 sake; it must needs follow that if we dare not dis-
 grace our worldly Superiors with offering unto them
 such refuse as we bring unto God himself, we shew
 plainly that our acknowledgment of his Greatness is
 but feigned; in heart we fear him not so much as we
 dread them. *If ye offer the blind for a Sacrifice, is it* ^{Mal. i. 8,}
not evil? Offer it now unto thy Prince; will he be ^{14.}
content or accept thy Person? saith the Lord of Hosts.
Cursed be the Deceiver which bath in his flock a male,
and having made a vow, sacrificeth unto the Lord a
corrupt thing: For I am a great King, saith the Lord
of Hosts. Should we hereupon frame a Rule, that
 what form of speech or behaviour soever is fit for

* Μέγην τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρόν ἐστὶ κτήματι δόσις ἢ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρηματοὶ καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἔχει ἂν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτήμα ἐστὶν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρηματοὶ, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 5.

BOOK V. Suiters in a Prince's Court, the same and no other
 ——— befeemeth us in our Prayers to Almighty God?

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.

35. But in vain we labour to persuade them that any thing can take away the tediousness of Prayer, except it be brought to the very same, both measure and form, which themselves assign. Whatsoever therefore our Liturgy hath more than theirs, under one devised pretence or other they cut it off. We have of Prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; so oft to rehearse the Lord's Prayer in so small a time is, as they think, a loss of time; * the People's praying after the Minister, they say, both wasteth time, and also maketh an unpleasant sound; the Psalms they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, nor to be sung or said by turns, nor such Musick to be used with them; those Evangelical Hymns they allow not to stand in our Liturgy; the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius, the Sentence of Glory, wherewith we use to conclude Psalms—these things they cancel, as having been instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now superfluous. Touching Prayers for

* I can make no geometrical and exact measure, but verily I believe there shall be found more than a third part of the Prayers, which are not Psalms and Texts of Scripture, spent in praying for, and praying against the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the Prayers of the Church set down in the Scripture, and especially of our Saviour Christ's Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. T. C. l. i. p. 136. What a reason is this, we must repeat the Lord's Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and one in the neck of another? Our Saviour Christ doth not there give a prescript Form of Prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a Rule and Square to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is necessary to pray, and pray often. I know also that in a few words it is impossible for any Man to frame so pithy a Prayer, and I confess that the Church doth well in concluding their Prayers with the Lord's Prayer: but I stand upon this, that there is no necessity laid upon us to use these very words and no more. T. C. l. i. p. 219.

things

things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church BOOK V. hath set down so many of them without cause. They peradventure, which find this fault, are of the same affection with Solomon; so that if God should offer to grant them whatsoever they ask, they would neither crave riches, nor length of days, nor yet victory over their enemies, but only an understanding heart; for which cause themselves having eagles wings, are offended to see others fly so near the ground. But the tender kindness of the Church of God it very well becometh to help the weaker sort, which are by so great odds more in number, although some few of the perfecter and stronger may be therewith for a time displeas'd. Ignorant we are not, that of such as resorted to our Saviour Christ being present on Earth, there came not any unto him with better success for the benefit of their Souls' everlasting happiness, than they whose bodily necessities gave them the first occasion to seek relief, where they saw willingness and ability of doing every way good unto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghostly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feelth. Therefore our desires to Heaven-ward should both in measure and number no less exceed, than their glorious Object doth every way excel in value. These things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect judgment. But yet it must be withal considered, that the greatest part of the World are they which be farthest from perfection. Such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, than by spiritual capacity to apprehend things above sense which tend to their happiness in the World to come, are in that respect the more apt to apply their minds even with hearty affection and zeal at the least unto those branches of publick Prayer wherein their own particular is moved. And by this mean there stealeth upon them a double benefit; first, because that good affection which

BOOK V. things of smaller account have once set on work is by so much the more easily raised higher; and secondly, in that the very custom of seeking so particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts, which they know can never have his allowance whose assistance their Prayer seeketh. These multiplied Petitions of worldly things in Prayer have therefore, besides their direct use, a service, whereby the Church under-hand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the Souls of Men as with certain baits. If then their calculation be true (for so they reckon) that a full third of our Prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one Petition amongst seven, the difference is without any great disagreement; we respecting what Men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute proportion that can be in Men's desires, the very highest mark whereat we are able to aim. For which cause also our custom is both to place it in the front of our Prayers as a guide, * and to add it in the end of some principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoever may be defective in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftener as occasion requireth more solemnity or length in the form of divine Service; not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang up, that ever any Man would think our labour herein mispent, the time wastefully consumed, and the Office itself made worse, by so repeating that which otherwise would more hardly be made familiar to the simpler sort; for the good of whose Souls there is

* Præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione, quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.

not in Christian Religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only because Prayer, but because this very Prayer is of such efficacy and necessity: for that our Saviour did but set Men a bare example how to contrive or devise Prayers of their own, and no way bind them to use this, is no doubt an error. John the Baptist's Disciples, which had been always brought up in the bosom of God's Church from the time of their first infancy, till they came to the school of John, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call upon the Name of God; but of their Master they had received a form of Prayer amongst themselves, which form none did use saving his Disciples, so that by it, as by a mark of special difference, they were known from others. And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as John had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. Tertullian and St. Augustin do for that cause term it, *Orationem legitimam*, the Prayer which Christ's own Law hath tied his Church to use in the same prescript form of words wherewith he himself did deliver it; and therefore what part of the World soever we fall into, if Christian Religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very Prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principal and most material duties of honour done to Jesus Christ. *Seeing that we have* (saith St. Cyprian) *an Advocate with the Father for our sins, when we that have sinned come to seek for pardon, let us alledge unto God the words which our Advocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plain warrant, that in his Name what we ask we shall receive, must we not needs much the rather obtain that for which we sue, if not only his Name do countenance, but also his Speech present our requests?* Though Men should speak with the Tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God as those which the Son of God himself hath composed, were

BOOK V.

Luke xi. 1.

Cyp. in Orat. Dom.

BOOK V. were not possible for Men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath also taught us to pray, to the end that, speaking unto the Father in his Son's own prescript form, without scholy or glofs of ours, we may be sure that we utter nothing which God will either disallow or deny. Other Prayers we use many besides this, and this oftener than any other; although not tied so to do by any Commandment of Scripture, yet moved with such considerations as have been before set down: the causeless dislike whereof which others have conceived, is no sufficient reason for us as much as once to forbear, in any place, a thing which, uttered with true devotion and zeal of heart, affordeth to God himself that glory, that aid to the weakest sort of Men, to the most perfect that solid comfort which is unspeakable.

The People's saying after the Minister.

36. With our Lord's Prayer they would find no fault, so that they might persuade us to use it before or after Sermons only (because so their manner is), and not (as all Christian People have been of old accustomed) insert it so often in the Liturgy. But the People's custom to repeat any thing after the Minister, they utterly dislike.* Twice we appoint that the words which the Minister first pronounceth, the whole Congregation shall repeat after him: as first in the publick Confession of Sins, and again in rehearſal of our Lord's Prayer presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received—a thing no way offensive, no way unfit or unseemly to be done, although it had been so appointed oftener than with

* Another fault is, that all the People are appointed in divers places to say after the Minister, whereby not only the time is unprofitably wasted, and a confused noise of the People (one speaking after another) caused, but an opinion bred in their heads, that those only be their Prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the Minister, otherwise than the order which is left to the Church doth bear, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. and otherwise than Justin Martyr sheweth the custom of the Churches to have been in his time. T. C. l. i. p. 139, & l. iii. p. 211, 212, 213.

us it is. But surely, with so good reason it standeth in those two places, that otherwise to order it were not in all respects so well. Could there be any thing devised better, than that we all, at our first access unto God by Prayer, should acknowledge meekly our sins, and that not only in heart but with tongue; all which are present being made ear-witnesses even of every Man's distinct and deliberate assent unto each particular branch of a common indictment drawn against ourselves? How were it possible that the Church should any way else with such ease and certainty provide that none of her Children may, as Adam, dissemble that wretchedness, the penitent confession whereof is so necessary a preamble, especially to common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did ever devise a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together we have all received those heavenly Mysteries wherein Christ imparteth himself unto us, and giveth visible testification of our blessed Communion with him, we should, in hatred of all Heresies, Factions and Schisms, the Pastor as a Leader, the People as willing Followers of him step by step, declare openly ourselves united as Brethren in one, by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that most effectual Supplication,* wherein he unto whom we offer it hath himself not only comprehended all our necessities, but in such sort also framed every Petition, as might most naturally serve for many, and doth, though not always require, yet always import a multitude of Speakers together? For which cause Communicants have ever used it, and we at that time by the form of our very utterance do shew we use it, yea, every word and syllable of it, as Communicants. In the rest we observe that custom whereunto St. Paul 1 Cor. xiv. 16. alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their writings make often mention, to shew indefi-

* Τις γὰρ ἔτι ἐχθρόν ἠγεῖσθαι δυνάται μετ' ἑμῶν ἀφῆκε πρὸς Θεόν τὴν φωνήν. Basil. Pract. in Psal.

BOOK V. nitely what was done, but not univerſally to bind for ever all Prayers unto one only faſhion of utterance. The reaſons which we have alledged, induce us to think it ſtill a good work, which they in their penſive care for the well beſtowing of time account waſte. As for unpleaſantneſs of ſound, if it happen, the good of Men's Souls doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharp knife, becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate; and ſuch ſubtil opinions, as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

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

37. The complaint which they make about Pſalms and Hymns, might as well be overpaſt without any answer, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a juſt reaſon even of the leaſt things, wherein undeſervedly they have but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that we do amiſs. They ſeem ſometimes ſo to ſpeak, as if it greatly offended them that ſuch Hymns and Pſalms as are Scripture ſhould in Common-Prayer be otherwiſe uſed than the reſt of the Scripture is wont;* ſometimes diſpleaſed they are at the artificial Muſick which we add unto Pſalms of this kind, or of any other nature elſe; ſometime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible rehearsal of them yet they favour not, becauſe it is done by interlocution, and with a mutual return of ſentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Pſalms. The choice and flower of † all things profitable in other Books, the

* They have always the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the reſt, that they are to be ſung. But to make daily Prayers of them, hand over head, or otherwiſe than the preſent eſtate wherein we be doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abuſing of them. T. C. l. iii. p. 206.

† Η περιεκτικὴ τῶν πανέρων ὑμολογία. Dionyf. Hierar. Eccleſ. cap. iii.

Psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by reason of that poetical form wherewith they are written. The Ancients, when they speak of the Book of Psalms, use to fall into large discourses, shewing how this part above the rest doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine Men; it is of things heavenly an universal declaration, working in them whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of mind whereby they are made fit vessels, both for receipt and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for Man to know, which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect amongst others. Heroical Magnanimity, exquisite Justice, grave Moderation, exact Wisdom, Repentance unfeigned, unwearied Patience, the Mysteries of God, the Sufferings of Christ, the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Works of Providence over this World, and the promised Joys of that World which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial Fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident unto the Soul of Man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not in this Treasure-house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is, that we covet to make the Psalms especially familiar unto all. This is the very cause why we iterate the Psalms oftener than any other part of Scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the People together with their Minister, and not the Minister alone, to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

38. Touching musical Harmony whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in sounds

Of Musick
with
Psalms.

BOOK V. finds a due proportionable disposition, such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of Man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the Soul itself by nature is, or hath in it Harmony; a thing which delighteth all ages, and besemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when Men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which Musick hath to express and represent to the Mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all Passions, whereunto the Mind is subject; yea, so to imitate them, that, whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our Minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In Harmony the very image and character even of Virtue and Vice is perceived, the Mind delighted with their resemblances, and brought by having them often iterated into a love of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of Harmony; than some, nothing more strong and potent unto good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from another we need no proof but our own experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of some more inclined unto sorrow and heaviness, of some more mollified and softened in mind; one kind apter to stay and settle us, another to move and stir our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity; there is also that carrieth as it were into ecstasies, filling the Mind with an heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner severing it from the body: so that, although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very Harmony of sounds being framed in due sort, and carried from
the

the ear to the spiritual faculties of our Souls, is by a native puiffance and efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager, fovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion, if the Mind be such as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections. The Prophet David having therefore singular knowledge, not in Poetry alone, but in Musick also, judged them both to be things most necessary for the House of God, left behind him to that purpose a number of divinely indited Poems, and was further the Author of adding unto Poetry Melody in publick Prayer, Melody both vocal and instrumental for the raising up of Men's hearts and the sweetening of their affections towards God. In which considerations the Church of Christ doth likewise at this present day retain it as an ornament to God's service, and an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the Law Ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental Musick, approving nevertheless the use of vocal Melody to remain, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a Legal Ceremony and not the other. In Church Musick curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unfuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in Men's Minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side, the faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom

BOOK V. whom the melody of the Psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a Mind religiously affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus observeth, that at the first the Church in this exercise was more simple and plain than we are; that their singing was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation; that the custom which we now use was not instituted so much for their cause which are spiritual, as to the end that into grosser and heavier minds, whom bare words do not easily move, the sweetness of Melody might make some entrance for good things. St. Basil himself acknowledging as much, did not think that from such inventions, the least jot of estimation and credit thereby should be derogated: ** For (saith he) whereas the holy Spirit saw that Mankind is unto Virtue hardly drawn, and that Righteousness is the least accounted of, by reason of the proneness of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleased the Wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from Melody that pleasure which, mingled with heavenly Mysteries, causeth the smoothness and softness of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were by stealth, the treasure of good things into Man's Mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalms devised for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of Virtue as yet not grown to ripeness, might, when they think they sing, learn. O the wise conceit of that heavenly Teacher which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight we may also learn that whereby we profit!*

* Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιρρέπες τῷ ὄρθῳ βίῃ καταμελῦναις ἡμᾶς, τί ποίει; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν, ἵνα τῷ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ λείψ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀφελίμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα. Δια τῆτο, τὰ ἐναερόμια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινοήσαι, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ἔλος οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἅγιον τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πᾶς ψυχᾶς ἐκπαιδεύωται· ὃ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τῷ διδασκάλῳ ὁμῶς τε ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσίτελῃ μαθητῶν μηχανώμενος. Basil. in Psal.

39. And if the Prophet David did think that the very meeting of Men together, and their accompanying one another to the House of God, should make the Bond of their Love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity, Psal. liv. 14;* how much more may we judge it reasonable to hope that the like effects may grow in each of the People towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards every of them; between whom there daily and interchangeably pass in the hearing of God himself, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heavenly Acclamations, Exultations, Provocations, Petitions, Songs of Comfort, Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving? in all which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their suits, and they with one voice testify a general assent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall most shew his own and stir up others zeal, to the glory of that God whose Name they magnify, or when he proposeth unto God their necessities and they their own requests for relief in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet to proclaim unto them the Laws of God, they adjoining, though not as Israel did, by way of generality a chearful promise, *All that the Lord hath commanded, we will do*; yet that which God doth no less approve, that which savoureth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, several

BOOK V.

Of singing or saying Psalms and other parts of Common-Prayer, wherein the People and Minister answer one another by course.

Exod. xix. 8. and xxiv. 3. Deut. v. 27. and xxvi. 17. Josh. xxiv. 16.

* For the singing of Psalms by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable; and so much the more to be suspected, for that the Devil hath gone about to get it so great Authority, partly by deriving it from Ignatius's time, and partly in making the World believe that this came from Heaven, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort: which as it is a mere fable, so it is confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus, some other unto Flavianus and Diodorus. T. C. l. i. p. 203.

BOOK V. lowly and humble requests for Grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each other's ghostly happiness; or when he by exhortation raiseth them up, and they by protestation of their readiness declare he speaketh not in vain unto them. These interlocutory forms of speech what are they else, but most effectual, partly testifications and partly inflammations of all Piety? When, and how this custom of singing by course came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. Socrates maketh Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch, in Syria, the first beginner thereof, even under the Apostles themselves. But against Socrates they set the authority of Theodoret, who draweth the original of it from Antioch, as Socrates doth; howbeit ascribing the invention to others, Flavian and Diodore, Men which constantly stood in defence of the Apostolick Faith against the Bishop of the Church, Leontius, a favourer of the Arians. Against both Socrates and Theodoret, Platina is brought as a witness to testify that Damafus, Bishop of Rome, began it in his time. Of the Latin Church, it may be true which Platina saith. And therefore, the eldest of that Church which maketh any mention thereof is St. Ambrose,* Bishop of Milan, at the same time when Damafus was of Rome. Amongst the Grecians, St. Basilius having brought it into his Church before they of Neocæsarea used it, Sabellius the Heretick, and Marcellus, took occasion thereat to incense the Churches against him, as being the Author of new devices in the Service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and singularity, he

Socrat. Hist.
Eecl. lib. vi.
c. 8.

Theod. lib.
ii. cap. 24.

Plat. in vita
Damasi.

Basili. Epist.
*3-

* Bene mari plerumque comparatur Ecclesia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis resluentibus stridet; tum responsorii Psalmodum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum consonus undarum fragor resultat. Hexam. lib. ii. cap. 5.

allegeth for that which he himself did the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, Tharabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, and, in a manner, all that revered the custom of singing Psalms, together. If the Syrians had it then before Basil, Antioch, the Mother Church of those parts, must needs have used it before Basil, and consequently before Damafus. The question is then, how long before, and whether so long, that Ignatius, or as ancient as Ignatius, may be probably thought the first Inventors. Ignatius in Trajan's days suffered Martyrdom. And of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia, to Trajan the Emperor, his own Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them was, they used to meet together at a certain day, and to praise Christ with Hymns as a God, *secum invicem*, one to another amongst themselves. Which, for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the self-same form which Philo Judæus expresseth, declaring how the Essenes were accustomed with Hymns and Psalms to honour God, sometime all exalting their voices together in one, and sometime one part answering another, wherein as he thought they swerved not much from the pattern of Moses and Miriam. Whether Ignatius did at any time hear the Angels praising God after that sort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one which must be with us of great authority did. *I saw the Lord* (saith the Prophet Isaiah) *on an high Throne; the Seraphim stood upon it; one cried to another, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole World is full of his glory.* But whosoever were the Author, whatsoever the time, whensoever the example of beginning this Custom in the Church of Christ; sith we are wont to suspect things only before trial, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their counsel must need seem very unseasonable, who advise Men now to suspect that wherewith the World

Plin. Secund.
Epist. lib. x.
p. 97.

Exod. xv. 1,

Isa. vi. 3.

BOOK V. hath had, by their own account, twelve hundred years acquaintance and upwards, enough to take away suspicion and jealousy. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil which hath been so long retained. As for the Devil, which way it should greatly benefit him to have this manner of singing Psalms accounted an invention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the Angels of Heaven, we do not well understand. But we very well see, in them who thus plead, a wonderful celerity of discourse. For perceiving, at the first, but only some cause of suspicion and fear lest it should be evil, they are presently in one and the self-same breath resolved, *that *what beginning soever it had, there is no possibility it should be good.* The potent arguments which did thus suddenly break in upon them, and overcome them, are; first, that it is not unlawful for the People all jointly to praise God in singing of Psalms. Secondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God, to sing every verse of the whole Psalm, both with heart and voice, quite and clean throughout. Thirdly, that it cannot be understood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, forasmuch as lawfulness to sing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong, that it

* From whencesoever it came it cannot be good, considering, that when it is granted, that all the People may praise God (as it is in singing of Psalms) then this ought not to be restrained unto a few; and where it is lawful, both with heart and voice, to sing the whole Psalm, there it is not meet that they should sing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore besides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being tossed after this sort, Men cannot understand what is sung, those other two inconveniencies come of this form of singing, and therefore it is banished in all reformed Churches. T. C. l. i. p. 203.

might

might persuade, if the truth thereof were not doubt-^{BOOK V.}
ful. And shall this enforce us to banish a thing
which all Christian Churches in the World have
received; a thing which so many ages have held; a
thing which the most approved Councils and Laws
have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never
found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which
always heretofore the best Men and wisest Gover-
ners of God's People did think they could never
commend enough; a thing which, as Basil was per-
suaded, did both strengthen the meditation of those
holy words which were uttered in that sort, and serve
also to make attentive, and to raise up the hearts of
Men; a thing whereunto God's People of old did
resort with hope and thirst, that thereby especially
their souls might be edified; a thing which filleth
the Mind with comfort and heavenly delight,
stirreth up fragrant desires and affections correspon-
dent unto that which the words contain; allayeth all
kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and
driveth away those evil secret suggestions which our
invisible Enemy is always apt to minister, watereth
the heart to the end it may fructify, maketh the vir-
tuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage,
serveth as a most approved remedy against all doleful
and heavy accidents which befall Men in this present
life; to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the
Apostle's own exhortation, *Speak to yourselves in Psalms* ^{Eph. v. 1.}
and Hymns, and spiritual Songs, making melody, and
singing to the Lord in your hearts; that surely there
is more cause to fear lest the want thereof be a
maim, than the use a blemish to the Service of
God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute
unto the Psalms, should be thought to depend al-
together on that only form of singing or reading
them by course, as with us the manner is; but the
end of our speech is to shew, that because the Fa-
thers of the Church, with whom the self-same Cus-
tom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all
these

BOOK V. these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that and no other form, it may be justly avouched, that we ourselves retaining it, and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the Ancients so oft and so highly commend the former. Let novelty therefore in this give over endless contradictions, and let ancient Custom prevail.

Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis,

40. We have already given cause sufficient for the great conveniency and use of reading the Psalms oftner than other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner than the rest of the Psalms, the causes are no whit less reasonable; so that if the one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are Songs which concern us so much more than the Songs of David, as the Gospel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Testament than the Old. And if the Psalms for the excellency of their use deserve to be oftner repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what disorder is it, if these few Evangelical Hymns, which are in no respect less worthy, and may be by reason of their paucity imprinted with much more ease in all Men's memories, be for that cause every day rehearsed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day Prayers and Supplications the very same; why not as fit and convenient to magnify the Name of God day by day with certain the very self-same Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reprove the other. For the ancient received use of intermingling Hymns and Psalms with divine readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly serve unto that purpose, how should it better have been devised, than that a competent number

number of the Old being first read, these of the BOOK V. New should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place notwithstanding, there is joined with *Benedictus* the hundredth Psalm; with *Magnificat* the ninety-eighth; the sixty-seventh with *Nunc dimittis*; and in every of them the choice left free for the Minister to use indifferently the one for the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrel at other Psalms, which are in like manner appointed also to be daily read, why do these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the World, by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels embraced him; being propheticall discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming the other Psalms did but fore-signify; they are against the obstinate incredulity of the Jews the most luculent testimonies that Christian Religion hath; yea, the only sacred Hymns they are that Christianity hath peculiar unto itself; the other being Songs too of Praise and Thanksgiving, but Songs wherewith as we serve God, so the Jew likewise. And whereas they tell us, these Songs were fit for that purpose when Simeon and Zachary and the blessed Virgin uttered them, but cannot so be to us which have not received like benefit; * should they not remember how expressly Hezekiah, amongst many other good things, 2 Chron. xxix. 30. is commended for this also, that the Praises of God were through his appointment daily set forth, by using in publick divine Service the Songs of David and Asaph unto that very end? Either there wanted wise Men to give Hezekiah advice, and to inform him of that which in his case was as true as it is in

* These thanksgivings were made by occasion of certain particular Benefits, and are no more to be used for ordinary Prayers, than the *Ave Maria*. So that both for this cause, and the other before alledged of the Psalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary Prayers of them. T. C. lib. iii. p. 208.

BOOK V. ours; namely, that without some inconvenience and disorder he could not appoint those Psalms to be used as ordinary Prayers, seeing that although they were Songs of Thanksgiving, such as David and Asaph had special occasion to use, yet not so the whole Church and People afterwards whom like occasions did not befall; or else Hezekiah was persuaded as we are, that the Praises of God in the mouths of his Saints are not so restrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully use them; first, because the mystical Communion of all faithful Men is such as maketh every one to be interested in those precious blessings which any one of them receiveth at God's hands: secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extol the Goodness of God, whose *Mercy endureth for ever*, albeit the very particular occasion whereupon it riseth do come no more; yet, the Fountain continuing the same, and yielding other new effects which are but only in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance between the benefits which we and others have received may serve to make the same words of Praise and Thanksgiving fit, though not equally in all circumstances fit for both; a clear demonstration whereof we have in all the ancient Fathers' Commentaries and Meditations upon the Psalms. Last of all, because even when there is not as much as the shew of any resemblance; nevertheless by often using their words in such manner, our Minds are daily more and more enured with their affections.

Of the
Litany.

41. The publick estate of the Church of God amongst the Jews hath had many rare and extraordinary Occurrences; which also were occasions of sundry * open Solemnities and Offices, whereby the

* We pray for the avoiding of those dangers which are nothing near us; as from lightning and thundering in the midst of winter; from storms and tempest, when the weather is most fair, and the seas most calm. It is true, that upon some urgent calamity

People did with general consent make shew of cor-BOOK V.
 respondent affection towards God. The like Duties
 appear usual in the ancient Church of Christ, by that
 which Tertullian speaketh of Christian Women them-
 selves matching with Infidels. *She cannot content the* Tertul. lib.
Lord with performance of his Discipline, that hath at ii. ad Uxor.
her side a Vassal whom Satan hath made his Vice-agent
to cross whatsoever the Faithful should do. If her pre-
sence be required at the time of Station, or standing
Prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with
him in his baths; if a Fasting-day come, he hath on
that day a banquet to make; if there be cause for the
Church to go forth in solemn Procession, his whole Family
have such business come upon them that no one can be
spared. These Processions, as it seemeth, were first
 begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the visit-
 ing of those places where they were intombed. Which

mity a Prayer may, and ought to be framed, which may beg
 either the commodity for want whereof the Church is in diltress,
 or the turning away of that mischief which either approacheth,
 or is already upon it. But to make those Prayers, which are
 for the present time and danger, ordinary and daily Prayers, I
 cannot hitherto see any, either Scripture, or example of the
 primitive Church. And here, for the Simple's sake, I will set
 down after what sort this abuse crept into the Church. There
 was one Mamercus, Bishop of Vienna, which, in the time of
 great earthquakes which were in France, instituted certain Sup-
 plications which the Grecians (and we of them) call the Litany,
 which concerned that matter: there is no doubt but as other
 difcommodities rose in other Countries, they likewise had Prayers
 accordingly. Now Pope Gregory either made himself, or ga-
 thered the Supplications that were made against the calamities of
 every Country, and made of them a great Litany or Suppli-
 cation, as Platina calleth it, and gave it to be used in all
 Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might do for the
 time, in respect of the case of the calamity which the Churches
 suffered; yet there is no cause, why it should be perpetual that
 was ordained but for a time; and why all lands should pray to
 be delivered from the incommodities that some land hath been
 troubled with. T. C. lib. i. pag. 137. Exod. xv. 20. Wisd.
 x. 20. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 1 Chron. xiii. 5. 2 Chron. xx. 3.
 Joel ii. 15.

thing,

BOOK V. thing, the name itself applied by Heathens unto the Office of Exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the Ancients delivered concerning * Christian Processions, partly also the very dross which Superstition thereunto added, I mean, the Custom of invoking Saints in Procession, heretofore usual, do strongly insinuate. And as things invented to one purpose are by use easily converted to more, it grew, that Supplications, with this Solemnity for the appeasing of God's wrath and the averting of publick evils, were of the Greek Church termed Litanies, Rogations of the Latin. To the People of Vienna (Mamercus being their Bishop above four hundred and fifty years after Christ) there befel many things, the suddenness and strangeness whereof so amazed the hearts of all Men, that the City they began to forsake as a place which Heaven did threaten with imminent Ruin. It beseemeth not the Person of so grave a Prelate to be either utterly without counsel, as the rest were, or in a common perplexity to shew himself alone secure. Wherefore as many as remained he earnestly exhorteth to prevent portended Calamities, using those virtuous and holy means wherewith others in like case have prevailed with God. To which purpose he perfecteth the Rogations or Litanies before in use, and addeth unto them that which the present necessity required. Their good success moved Sidonius, Bishop of Avernæ, to use the same so corrected Rogations at such time as he and his People were after afflicted with famine and besieged with potent Adversaries. For till the empty name of the Empire came to be settled in Charles the Great, the fall of the Romans huge Dominion concurring with other universal evils, caused those times to be days of much affliction and trouble

Terent.
Andr.

Socrat. lib.
vi. c. 8.
Sozom. lib.
viii. c. 8.
Theod. lib.
xvi. l. xxx.
L. iii. c. 10.
Novel.
Ixviii. 57.
Basil. Epist.
Ixxiii. Ni-
ceph. lib.
xiv. c. 3.
Codren. in
Theodos.

Sidon. lib.
vii. Epist. 1.

* Hier. Epist. xxii. ad Eust. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam causa deerit procedendi, si semper quando necesse est, progressura sis.

throughout

throughout the World: so that Rogations or Li-BOOK V.
 tanies were then the very strength, stay, and com-
 fort of God's Church. Whereupon in the year five
 hundred and six, it was by the Council of Aurelia
 decreed, that the whole Church should bestow Council.tom.
 yearly at the Feast of Pentecost three days in that ii. p. 513.
 kind of processionary Service. About half an hun-
 dred years after, to the end that the Latin Churches
 which all observed this Custom, might not vary in
 the order and form of those great Litanies which
 were so solemnly every where exercised, it was
 thought convenient by Gregory the First, and the
 best of that name, to draw the flower of them all
 into one. But this iron began at length to gather
 rust; which thing the Synod of Colen saw, and in part
 redressed within that Province; neither denying the
 necessary use for which such Litanies serve, wherein
 God's clemency and mercy is desired by publick suit,
 to the end that plagues, destructions, calamities, fa-Council.tom.
 mines, wars, and all other the like adversities, which v. Anno
 for our manifold sins we have always cause to fear, 1536.
 may be turned away from us and prevented through
 his Grace; nor yet dissembling the great abuse where-
 unto as sundry other things, so this had grown by
 Men's improbity and malice; to whom, that which
 was devised for the appeasing of God's displeasure,
 gave opportunity of committing things which justly
 kindled his wrath. For remedy whereof it was then
 thought better, that these and all other Supplications
 and Processions should be no where used, but only
 within the walls of the House of God, and Place
 sanctified unto Prayer. And by us not only such in-
 conveniencies being remedied, but also whatsoever
 was otherwise amiss in form or matter, it now remain-
 eth a work, the absolute perfection whereof upbraid-
 eth with error or somewhat worse them whom in all
 parts it doth not satisfy. As therefore Litanies have
 been of longer continuance than that we should make
 either Gregory or Mamercus the Author of them; so
 they

BOOK V. they are of more permanent use than that now the Church should think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know, and not we. We find by daily experience that those calamities may be nearest at hand, readiest to break in suddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumstances may imagine to be farthest off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet such miseries as being present, all Men are apt to bewail with tears, the Wise by their Prayers should rather prevent. Finally, if we for ourselves had a privilege of immunity, doth not true Christian Charity require that whatsoever any part of the World, yea any one of all our Brethren elsewhere doth either suffer or fear, the same we account as our own burthen? What one Petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we shall ever be able at any time to say that no Man living needeth the Grace or Benefit therein craved at God's hands? I am not able to express how much it doth grieve me, that things of principal excellency should be thus bitten at by Men whom God hath endued with graces, both of wit and learning, for better purposes.

Of Athana-
sius' Creed,
and Gloria
Patri.

42. We have from the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ received that brief Confession of Faith which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to discern Christian Men from Infidels and Jews: *This Faith, received from the Apostles, and their Disciples (saith Irenæus), the Church, though dispersed throughout the World, doth notwithstanding keep as safe, as if it dwelt within the walls of some one house, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only heart and soul; this as consonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did speak for all. As one Sun shineth to the whole World; so there is no Faith but this one published, the brightness whereof must enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the Truth. This Rule (saith Tertullian) Christ did institute; the stream and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long as*
the

Tertul. de
Præter. ad-
vers. Hæret.
& advers.
Prax.

the very promulgation of the Gospel. * Under Constan-
 tine the Emperor, about three hundred years and upward after Christ, Arius, a Priest in the Church of Alexandria, a subtle-witted and a marvellous fair-spoken Man, but discontented that one should be placed before him in honour, whose superior he thought himself in desert, became through envy and stomach prone unto contradiction and bold to broach at the length that Heresy wherein the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained but not opened in the former Creed, the Co-equality and Co-eternity of the Son with the Father, was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the Bishop of the same Church, the punishment which should have reformed him did but increase his obstinacy, and give him occasion of labouring with greater earnestness elsewhere to intangle unwary Minds with the snares of his damnable opinion. Arius in short time had won to himself a number both of Followers and of great Defenders, whereupon much disquietness on all sides ensued. The Emperor, to reduce the Church of Christ unto the unity of sound Belief, when other means whereof trial was first made took no effect, gathered that famous Assembly of three hundred and eighteen Bishops in the Council of Nice; where, besides order taken for many things which seemed to need redress, there was with common consent, for the settling of all Men's minds, that other Confession of Faith set down, which we call the Nicene Creed, whereunto the Arians themselves which were present subscribed also; not that they meant sincerely and indeed to forsake

* The like may be said of the Gloria Patri, and the Athanasius Creed. It was first brought into the Church, to the end that Men thereby should make an open profession in the Church of the Divinity of the Son of God against the detestable opinion of Arius and his Disciples, wherewith at that time marvellously swarmed almost the whole Christendom. Now that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why these things should be used in the Church, at the least, why that Gloria Patri should be so often repeated. T. C. lib. i. p. 137.

their

BOOK V. their error; but only to escape deprivation and exile, which they saw they could not avoid; openly persisting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded against them, and that with the Emperor's royal assent. Reserving therefore themselves unto future opportunities, and knowing it would not boot them to stir again in a matter so composed, unless they should draw the Emperor first, and by his means the chiefest Bishops unto their part; till Constantine's death and somewhat after, they always professed love and zeal to the Nicene Faith, yet ceased not in the mean while to strengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infect by all means, under colour of other quarrels, their greatest Adversaries in this cause. Amongst them Athanasius especially, whom by the space of forty-six years, from the time of his consecration to succeed Alexander, Archbishop in the Church of Alexandria, till the last hour of his life in this World, they never suffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day: the heart of Constantine stolen from him: Constantius, Constantine's Successor, his scourge and torment by all the ways that malice armed with sovereign authority could devise and use: under Julian no rest given him; and in the days of Valentinian, as little: crimes there were laid to his charge many; the least whereof, being just, had bereaved him of estimation and credit with Men, while the World standeth: his judges evermore the self-same Men, by whom his Accusers were suborned; yet the issue always on their part shame, on his triumph. Those Bishops and Prelates, who should have accounted his cause theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with watered cheeks, behold a Person of so great place and worth constrained to endure so foul indignities, were sure, by betraying their affection towards him, to bring upon themselves those molestations, whereby if they would not be drawn to seem his Adversaries, yet others should be taught how unsafe it was to continue his

Friends.

Friends. Whereupon it came to pass in the end, that BOOK v. (very few excepted) all became subject to the sway of time; other odds there was none amongst them, saving only that some fell sooner away, some later from the soundness of Belief; some were Leaders in the host of impiety, and the rest as common Soldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery ensnared, or else beguiled through simplicity, which is the fairest excuse that well may be made for them. Yea, (that which all Men did wonder at) Osius the ancientest Bishop that Christendom then had, the most forward in defence of the Catholick cause, and of the contrary part most feared; that very Osius, with whose hand the Nicene Creed itself was set down, and framed for the whole Christian World to subscribe unto, so far yielded in the end, as even with the same hand to ratify the Arians' Confession, a thing which they neither hoped to see, nor the other part ever feared till with amazement they saw it done. Both were persuaded, that although there had been for Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would have been the same that Eleazar's was, *It doth* 2 Mac. vi. *not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young Per-* 24. *sons might think that Osius an hundred years old and upward were now gone to another Religion; and so through mine hypocrisy (for a little time of transitory life) they might be deceived by me, and I procure malediction and reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered* Major Cen-
tenario. Sul-
pit. Sever.
Hist. l. ii. *from the torments of Men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead.* But such was the stream of those times that all Men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their own oversight: for at the first the Emperor was theirs, the determination of the Council of Nice was for them; they had the Arians' hands to that Council. So great advantages are never changed so far to the contrary, but by great error. It plainly appeareth, that the first thing which weakened them was
their

BOOK V. their security. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards Arianism, they suffered by continual nearness to possess the Minds of the greatest about the Emperor, which themselves might have done with very good acceptance, and neglected it. In Constantine's life-time to have settled Constantius the same way, had been a duty of good service towards God, a mean of peace, and great quietness to the Church of Christ; a labour easy; and how likely we may conjecture, when after that so much pains was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himself to the furtherance of Heresy, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieved him than the memory of former proceedings in the cause of Religion; and that which he now foresaw in Julian, the next physician, into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this we may somewhat excuse, in as much as every Man's particular care to his own charge was such, as gave them no leisure to heed what others practised in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of Arimine and Seleucia, what should we think? Constantius, by the Arians' suggestion, had devised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole World about this controversy; but in two several places, the Bishops of the West at Arimine in Italy, the Eastern at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their sentence against Heresy, excommunicated some chief Maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperor word what was done. They had at Arimine about four hundred which held the truth; scarce of the adverse part, four score; but these obstinate, and the other weary of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolved to send to the Emperor such as might inform him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen for
the

the Catholick side, * such Men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldness, neither gravity, nor learning, nor wisdom. The Arians, for the credit of their faction, take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary, and the longest practised Veterans they had amongst them. The Emperor, conjecturing of the rest on either part, by the quality of them whom he saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certain Confession of Faith, † ambiguously and subtilly drawn by the Arians, whereunto unless they all subscribed they should in no case be suffered to depart from the place where they were. At length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholics, either at Arimine, or at Seleucia, so much foresight as to provide that true intelligence might pass between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which error, their Adversaries abusing each with persuasion that other had yielded, surpris'd both. The Emperor the more desirous and glad of such events, for that, besides all other things wherein they hindered themselves, the gall and bitterness of certain Men's writings, who spared him little for honour's sake, made him for their sakes the less inclinable to that Truth which he himself should have honoured and loved. Only in Athanasius there was nothing observed throughout the course of that long tragedy, other than such as very well became a wise Man to do, and a righteous to suffer. So that this was the plain condition of those times; the whole World against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it; half an hundred of years spent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail,

* Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolefcentes, parum docti, parum cauti. Ab Arianis autem missi senes, callidi et ingenio valentes veterano, perfidia imbuti, qui apud Regem facile superiores extiterunt. Sulpit. lib. ii.

† Eisdemque conscripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quæ Catholicam disciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur. Ibid.

BOOK V. the side which had all, or else the part which had no friend but God and Death; the one a Defender of his innocency, the other a Finisher of all his troubles. Now although these contentions were cause of much evil, yet some good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occasioned the learned and found in Faith to explain such things as Heresy went about to deprave. And in this respect, the Creed of Athanasius, first exhibited unto Julius, Bishop of Rome, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) sent to the Emperor Jovinian for his more full information concerning that Truth which Arianism so mightily did impugn, was both in the East and the West Churches accepted as a treasure of inestimable price, * by as many as had not given up even the very ghost of belief. Then was the Creed of Athanasius written, howbeit not then so expedient to be publickly used as now in the Church of God; because while the heat of division lasteth, Truth itself enduring opposition doth not so quietly and currently pass throughout all Men's hands, neither can be of that account which afterwards it hath when the World once perceiveth the virtue thereof, not only in itself, but also by the conquest which God hath given it over Heresy. That which Heresy did by sinister interpretations go about to pervert in the first and most ancient Apostolical Creed, the same being by singular dexterity and plainness cleared from those Heretical corruptions, partly by this Creed of Athanasius, written about the year three hundred and forty, and partly by that other set down in the Synod of Constantinople forty years after, comprehending together with the Nicene Creed an addition of other Articles which the Nicene Creed omitted, because the controversy then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; these

That Creed which in the Book of Common-Prayer, followeth immediately after the reading of the Gospel.

* Ταύτην μοι δοκῶσιν αἰδῶμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἷτε τῆς ἐσπερίας κὴ τῆς ἐλάας ὅσαν βιώσιμον. Greg. Nazian. de Atha.

Catholick Declarations of our Belief delivered by BOOK V. them, which were so much nearer than we are unto the first publication thereof, and continuing needful for all Men at all times to know, these Confessions as testimonies of our continuance in the same Faith to this present day, we rather use than any other gloss or paraphrase devised by ourselves, which though it were to the same effect, notwithstanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of Hilary unto St. Augustin hath been ever, and is likely to be always true; *Your most religious wisdom knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of Men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held.* Touching the Hymn of Glory, our usual conclusion to Psalms, the glory of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist; and the glory of God, that divine excellency, whereby he is eminent above all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternal Being, which Angels and glorified Saints do intuitively behold; we on Earth apprehend principally by Faith, in part also by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatness whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all Creatures both in Heaven and Earth. God is glorified, when such his excellency above all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutiful acknowledgment of God's excellency by occasion of special effects, being the very proper subject, and almost the only matter purposely treated of in all Psalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any use in the Church of God, whose Name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it serveth as a close or conclusion to Psalms? Neither is the form thereof newly or unnecessarily invented. *We must* (saith St. Basil) *as we have received, even so baptize; and as we baptize, even so believe; and as we believe, even so give Glory.*

Hilar. Are-
la. Epist. ad
Aug.

1 Cor. xv. 1
40.
Exod.
xxxiii. 18.
Heb. i. 3.
Matt. xviii.
10.

Josh. vii.
10.
Psal. xxii.
23.

Bas. Epist.
lxxviii.

BOOK V. Baptizing, we use the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: confessing the Christian Faith, we declare our Belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost: ascribing Glory unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. It is ἀπόδειξις τῆ ὁρθῆ φρονήματῶ, *the token of a true and sound understanding* for matter of Doctrine about the Trinity, when in ministring Baptism, and making Confession, and giving Glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three severed from the other two. Against the Arians, affirming the Father to be greater than the Son in Honour, Excellency, Dignity, Majesty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but received long before, and alledged at that time as an argument for the truth. *If (saith Fœbadius) there be that inequality which they affirm, then do we every day blaspheme God, when, in Thanksgivings and Offerings of Sacrifice, we acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Son.* The Arians therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cause, altered the Hymn of Glory; whereupon ensued in the Church of Antioch, about the year three hundred forty-nine, that jar which Theodoret and Sozomen mention. *In their Quires, while they praised God together, as the manner was, at the end of the Psalms which they sung, it appeared what opinion every Man held; for as much as they glorified some the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost; some the Father by the Son, in the Spirit; the one sort thereby declaring themselves to embrace the Son's Equality with the Father, as the Council of Nice had defined; the other sort, against the Council of Nice, his inequality.* Leontius their Bishop, although an Enemy to the better part, yet wary and subtle, as in a manner all the heads of the Arians' Faction are, could at no time be heard to use either form, perhaps lest his open contradiction of them whom he favoured not might make them

Fœbad. lib.
contra
Arian.

Theod. lib.
ii. cap. 24.
Sozom. lib.
iv. cap. 19.

them the more eager, and by that mean the less apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that, though he joined in opinion with that sort of Arians who denied the Son to be equal with the Father; yet from them he dissented, which thought the Father and Son, not only unequal, but unlike, as Aetius did upon a frivolous and false surmise, that because the Apostle hath said, *One God of whom, one Lord by whom, one Spirit in whom*, his different manner of speech doth argue a different Nature and Being in them of whom he speaketh. Out of which blind collection it seemeth that this their new devised Form did first spring. But in truth, even that very Form which the Arians did then use (saying that they chose it to serve as their special mark of recognizance, and gave it secretly within themselves a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the shew of any thing which soundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we respect God's Glory within itself, it be the equal right and possession of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet, touching his manifestation thereof unto us by continual effects, and our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewise by virtuous offices, doth not every tongue both ways confess, that the brightness of his Glory hath spread itself throughout the World *by* the Ministry of his only begotten Son, and is *in* the manifold Graces of the Spirit every way marvellous? Again, that whatsoever we do to his Glory, it is done *in* the Power of the Holy Ghost, and made acceptable *by* the Merit and Mediation of Jesus Christ? So that Glory to the Father, *and* the Son, or Glory to the Father *by* the Son, saying only where evil Minds do abuse and pervert holy things, are not else the voices of Error and Schism, but of sound and sincere Religion. It hath been the Custom of the Church of Christ to end sometimes Prayers, and Sermons always, with words of glory; wherein, as long as the Blessed

BOOK V.

I Cor. viii.

6.

I Cor. xii.

3, 4, 13.

BOOK V. Trinity had due honour, and till Arianism had made it matter of great sharpness and subtilty of wit to be a sound believing Christian, Men were not curious what syllables or particles of speech they used. Upon which confidence and trust notwithstanding, when St. Basil began to practise the like indifferency, and to conclude publick Prayers, glorifying sometime the Father, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost; sometime the Father, by the Son, in the Spirit; whereas long custom had enured them unto the former kind alone, by means whereof the latter was new and strange in their ears; this needless experiment brought afterwards upon him a necessary labour of excusing himself to his Friends, and maintaining his own act against them; who, because the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on so colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an Author of suspicious innovation. How hath the World forsaken that course which it sometime held? How are the judgments, hearts, and affections of Men altered? May we not wonder, that a Man of St. Basil's authority and quality, an Arch-bishop in the House of God, should have his name far and wide called in question, and be driven to his painful apologies to write in his own defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtain with all his endeavour a pardon; the crime laid against him being but only a change of some one or two syllables in their usual Church Liturgy? It was thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable that we suffer any thing to remain unaltered. The very Creed of Athanasius, and that sacred Hymn of Glory, than which nothing doth sound more heavenly in the ears of faithful Men, are now reckoned as superfluities which we must in any case pare away lest we cloy God with too much service. Is there in that Confession of Faith any thing which doth not at all times edify and instruct the attentive Hearer? Or is our Faith in the Blessed Tri-

nity

nity a matter needles to be so oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our publick Prayer? Hath the Church of Christ from the first beginning, by a secret universal instinct of God's good Spirit, always tied itself to end neither Sermon, nor almost any speech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without some special words of Honour and Glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like conclusion of Psalms become now at length an eye-fore, or a galling to their ears that hear it? Those flames of Arianism, they say, are quenched, which were the cause why the Church devised in such sort to confess and praise the glorious Deity of the Son of God. Seeing therefore the fore is whole, why retain we as yet the plaister? When the cause why any thing was ordained doth once cease, the thing itself should cease with it; that the Church being eased of unprofitable labours, needful offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things unnecessary, is many times the cause why the most necessary are not done. But in this case so to reason, will not serve their turns. For first, the ground whereupon they build is not certainly their own, but with special limitations. Few things are so restrained to any one end or purpose, that the same being extinct, they should forthwith utterly become frustrate. Wisdom may have framed one and the same thing to serve commodiously for divers ends, and of those ends any one be sufficient cause for continuance, though the rest have ceased; even as the tongue, which Nature hath given us for an instrument of speech, is not idle in dumb Persons, because it also serveth for taste. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away, what was first intended; uses not thought upon before may afterwards spring up, and be reasonable causes of retaining that which other considerations did formerly procure to be instituted. And it cometh sometime to pass that a thing unnecessary

BOOK V. cessary in itself, as touching the whole direct purpose whereunto it was meant or can be applied, doth notwithstanding appear convenient to be still held, even without use, lest, by reason of that coherence which it hath with somewhat most necessary, the removal of the one should endamage the other. And therefore Men which have clean lost the possibility of sight, keep still their eyes nevertheless in the place where Nature set them. As for these two branches whereof our question groweth, Arianism was indeed some occasion of the one, but a cause of neither, much less the only entire cause of both. For albeit, conflict with Arians brought forth the occasion of writing that Creed which long after was made a part of the Church Liturgy, as Hymns and Sentences of Glory were a part thereof before; yet cause sufficient there is why both should remain in use, the one as a most divine explication of the chiefest Articles of our Christian Belief, the other as an heavenly acclamation of joyful applause to his praises in whom we believe; neither the one nor the other unworthy to be heard sounding as they are in the Church of Christ, whether Arianism live or die. Against which poison likewise, if we think, that the Church at this day needeth not those ancient preservatives, which ages before us were so glad to use, we deceive ourselves greatly. The weeds of Heresy being grown unto such ripeness as that was, do even in the very cutting down scatter oftentimes those seeds which for a while lie unseen and buried in the Earth, but afterward freshly spring up again no less pernicious than at the first. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will easily confess, who live to their great both toil and grief, where the blasphemies of Arians, Samosatensians, Tritheists, Eutychians and Macedonians, are renewed by them who to hatch their Heresy have chosen those Churches as fittest nests where Athanasius's Creed is not heard; by them, I say, renewed, who, following the course of extreme Reformation, were wont in the pride of their

their own proceedings to glory that whereas Luther BOOK V.
 did but blow away the roof, and Zuinglius batter
 but the walls of Popish Superstition, the last and
 hardest work of all remained, which was to raze up
 the very ground and foundation of Popery, that Doc-
 trine concerning the Deity of Christ, which *Satana-*
fius (for so it pleased those impious forsaken Miscreants
 to speak) hath in this memorable Creed explained.
 So manifestly true is that which one of the Ancients
 hath concerning Arianism, *Mortuis auctoribus hujus* Fæbad. con-
veneni, scelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur. tra Ar. The
 Authors of this venom being dead and gone, their
 wicked Doctrine notwithstanding continueth.

43. Amongst the heaps of these excesses and su- Our want of
 perfluities, there is espied the want of a principal part particular
 of duty, *There are no Thanksgivings for the Benefits for* Thanksgiv-
*which there are Petitions in our Book of Prayer.** This ing.
 they have thought a point material to be objected.
 Neither may we take it in evil part to be admonished,
 what special duties of thankfulness we owe to that
 merciful God, for whose unspeakable Graces the
 only requital which we are able to make, is a true,
 hearty, and sincere acknowledgment how precious
 we esteem such benefits received, and how infinite in
 goodness the Author from whom they come. But
 that to every Petition we make for things needful,
 there should be some answerable sentences of thanks
 provided particularly to follow such requests obtained;
 either it is not a matter so requisite as they pretend;
 or if it be, wherefore have they not then in such
 order framed their own Book of Common-Prayer?

* As such Prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from
 our distresses, so there ought to be as necessary Prayers of Thank-
 giving, when we have received those things at the Lord's hand
 which we asked. T. C. l. i. p. 138. I do not simply require a so-
 lemn and express Thanksgiving for such benefits; but only upon
 a supposition, which is, that if it be expedient that there should
 be express Prayers against so many of their earthly miseries, that
 then also it is meet that upon the deliverance there should be an
 express Thanksgiving. T. C. l. iii. p. 209.

Why

BOOK V. Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a form of Prayer containing so many Petitions of those things which we want, and not delivered in like sort as many several forms of Thanksgiving to serve when any thing we pray for is granted? What answer soever they can reasonably make unto these demands, the same shall discover unto them how causeless a censure it is, that there are not in our Book Thanksgivings for all the benefits for which there are Petitions.* For concerning the Blessings of God, whether they tend unto this life or the life to come, there is great cause why we should delight more in giving thanks than in making requests for them, in as much as the one hath pensiveness and fear, the other always joy annexed; the one belongeth unto them that seek, the other unto them that have found happiness; they that pray do but yet sow, they that give thanks declare they have reaped. Howbeit, because there are so many Graces, whereof we stand in continual need, Graces for which we may not cease daily and hourly to sue, Graces which are in bestowing always, but never come to be fully had in this present life; and therefore, when all things here have an end, endless Thanks must have their beginning in a state which bringeth the full and final satisfaction of all such perpetual desires: again, because our common necessities, and the lack which we all have as well of ghostly as of earthly favours, is in each kind so easily known; but the gifts of God, according to those degrees and times which he in his secret wisdom seeth meet, are so diversely bestowed, that it seldom appeareth what all receive, what all stand in need of, it seldom lieth hid; we are not to marvel, though the Church do oftner concur in Suits than in Thanks unto God for particular benefits. Nevertheless, lest God should be

* The default of the Book, for that there are no Forms of Thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which we have Petitions to be delivered. T. C. l. iii. p. 208.

any way unglorified, the greatest part of our daily Service, they know, consisteth, according to the blessed Apostle's own precise rule, in much variety of Psalms and Hymns, for no other purpose but only that out of so plentiful a treasure there might be for every Man's heart to chuse out his own Sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular secret instinct what fitteth best the often occasions which any several either Party or Congregation may seem to have. They that would clean take from us, therefore, the daily use of the very best means we have to magnify and praise the Name of Almighty God for his rich Blessings, they that complain of our reading and singing so many Psalms for so good an end; they, I say, that find fault with our store, should of all Men be least willing to reprove our scarcity of Thanksgiving. But because peradventure they see, it is not either generally fit or possible that Churches should frame Thanksgivings answerable to each Petition, they shorten somewhat the reins of their censure; there are no forms of Thanksgiving, they say, for release of those common calamities from which we have Petitions to be delivered. *There are Prayers set forth to be said in the common calamities and universal scourges of the Realm, as plague, famine, &c. And indeed so it ought to be by the Word of God. But as such Prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessary Prayers of Thanksgiving, when we have received those things at the Lord's hands which we asked in our Prayers.* As oft, therefore, as any publick or universal scourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from those, either imminent or present calamities, against the storm and tempest whereof we all instantly craved favour from above, let it be a question what we should render unto God for his Blessings universally, sensibly and extraordinarily bestowed. A Prayer of three or four lines inserted into some part of our Church Liturgy? No, we are not persuaded that when God doth in trouble enjoin us
the

BOOK V.
 —.—

Ephes. v. 9.
 Colos. iii.
 16.

T. C. 1. 1.
 P. 138.

BOOK V. the duty of invocation, and promise us the benefit of deliverance, and profess that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to glorify him as our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can discharge, in manner convenient, a work of so great importance, by fore-ordaining some short Collect wherein briefly to mention Thanks. Our Custom therefore, whensoever so great occasions are incident, is by publick Authority to appoint, throughout all Churches, set and solemn Forms as well of Supplication, as of Thanksgiving, the preparation and intended complements whereof may stir up the minds of Men in much more effectual sort, than if only there should be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require. But we err in thinking that they require any such matter. For albeit their words to our understanding be very plain, that in our Book *there are Prayers set forth* to be said when *common calamities* are felt, as *plague, famine,* and such like; again, that *indeed so it ought to be by the Word of God*: that likewise *there ought to be as necessary Prayers of Thanksgiving when we have received those things*: finally, that the want of such Forms of Thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which we have Petitions to be delivered, is the *default of the Book of Common-Prayer*: yet all this they mean but only by way of *supposition if express Prayers* against so many earthly miseries were convenient, that then indeed as many express and particular Thanksgivings should be likewise necessary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one superfluous, they would not have it so understood as though their minds were that any such addition to the Book is needful, whatsoever they say for argument's sake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they waver in and out, no way sufficiently grounded, no way resolved what to think, speak, or write, more than only that because they have taken it upon them, they must (no remedy now) be opposite.

44. The last supposed fault concerneth some few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiss. In a Song of Praise to our Lord Jesus Christ we have these words: *When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.* Which maketh some shew of giving countenance to their error, who think that the Faithful which departed this life before the coming of Christ, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the Lake of the Fathers. In our Liturgy request is made, that we may be preserved *from sudden death.* This seemeth frivolous, because the Godly should always be prepared to die. Request is made, that God would give those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask. *This, they say, carrieth with it the note of Popish servile fear, and savoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the Children of God have, through Christ, with their Heavenly Father.* Request is made, that we may evermore be defended from all adversity. For this *there is no promise in Scripture; and therefore it is no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we shall obtain it.* Finally, request is made, that God *would have Mercy upon all Men.* This is impossible, because some are Vessels of Wrath, to whom God will never extend his Mercy.

45. As Christ hath purchased that heavenly Kingdom, the last perfection whereof is *Glory in the life to come*, Grace in this life, a preparation thereunto; so the same he hath opened to the World in such sort, that whereas none can possibly without him attain Salvation, by him all that believe are saved. Now whatsoever he did or suffered, the end thereof was to open the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven which our iniquities had shut up. But because by ascending after that the sharpness of death was overcome, he took the very local possession of Glory, and that to the use of all that are his, even as himself before had witnessed, *I go to prepare a place for you; and again, whom thou*

BOOK V.
In some things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, unfound.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all Believers.

hast

BOOK V. *hast given me, O Father, I will that where I am, they be*
 also with me, that my glory which thou hast given me, they
 may behold; it appeareth, that when Christ did ascend,
 he then most liberally opened the Kingdom of Hea-
 ven, to the end that with him, and by him, all Be-
 lievers might reign. In what estate the Fathers rested
 which were dead before, it is not hereby either one
 way or other determined. All that we can rightly
 gather is, that as touching their Souls, what degree of
 joy or happiness soever it pleased God to bestow upon
 them, his Ascension which succeeded procured theirs,
 and theirs concerning the Body must needs be not
 only of, but after his. As therefore Helvidius, against
 whom St. Jerom writeth, abused greatly those words
 of Matthew concerning Joseph and the Mother of our
 Saviour Christ, *He knew her not till she had brought forth*
her First-born, thereby gathering, against the honour
 of the Blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with spe-
 cial circumstance doth import an opposite affirma-
 tion when once that circumstance is expired: after
 the self-same manner, it should be a weak collection,
 if whereas we say, that when Christ had *overcome the*
sharpness of death, he then *opened the Kingdom of Hea-*
ven to all Believers; a thing in such sort affirmed with
 circumstance, were taken as insinuating an opposite
 denial before that circumstance be accomplished, and
 consequently, that, because when the sharpness of death
 was overcome he then opened Heaven as well to be-
 lieving Gentiles as Jews, Heaven till then was no re-
 ceptacle to the Souls of either. Wherefore, be the
 Spirits of the just and righteous before Christ truly or
 falsely thought excluded out of heavenly joy, by that
 which we in the words alledged before do attribute to
 Christ's Ascension, there is to no such opinion, nor to
 the Favourers thereof, any countenance at all given.
 We cannot better interpret the meaning of these words
 than Pope Leo himself expoundeth them, whose
 Speech concerning our Lord's Ascension may serve
 instead of a marginal gloss: *Christ's Exaltation is our*
Promotion;

Jerom con-
tra Helvid.
August,
Her. lxxxiv.

Lyr. super
Gen. xxix.
Th. p. 3,
q. 52, or 5.

Promotion; and whither the glory of the Head is already gone before, thither the hope of the Body also is to follow. For at this day, we have not only the possession of Paradise assured unto us; but in Christ we have entered the highest of the Heavens. His opening the Kingdom of Heaven, and his entrance thereinto, was not only to his own use, but for the benefit of *all Believers.*

BOOK V.

Leo. Ser. I.
de Ascens.

46. Our good or evil estate after death dependeth most upon the quality of our lives. Yet somewhat there is, why a virtuous Mind should rather wish to depart this World with a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken than snatched away from the face of the Earth. Death is that which all Men suffer, but not all Men with one mind, neither all Men in one manner. For being of necessity a thing common, it is, through the manifold persuasions, dispositions, and occasions of Men, with equal desert both of praise and dispraise, shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely we cannot discommend, we cannot absolutely approve either willingness to live, or forwardness to die. And concerning the ways of death, albeit the choice thereof be only in his hands who alone hath power over all Flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit ourselves (for to be agents voluntarily in our own destruction is against both God and Nature); yet there is no doubt, but in so great variety our desires will and may lawfully prefer one kind before another. Is there any Man of worth and virtue, although not instructed in the School of Christ, or ever taught what the soundness of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this transitory life as Cyrus in Xenophon, or in Plato Socrates are described, than to sink down with them of whom Elihu hath said *Momento moriuntur*, there is scarce an instant between their flourishing and their not being? But let us which know what it is to die as Absalon, or Ananias and Saphira died; let us beg of God, that when the hour of our rest is come, the

Touching
Prayer for
deliverance
from sudden
death.

Job xx.

20.

BOOK V. the patterns of our dissolution may be Jacob, Moses,
Heb. xi. 21. Joshua, David; who leisurably ending their lives in
Deut. xxxiii. peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come upon
Josh. xxiv. their Posterity; replenished the hearts of the nearest
1 Kings ii. unto them with words of memorable consolation; strengthened Men in the fear of God, gave them wholesome instructions of life, and confirmed them in true Religion; in sum, taught the World no less virtuously how to die, than they had done before how to live. To such as judge things according to the sense of natural Men and ascend no higher, suddenness, because it shorteneth their grief, should in reason be most acceptable. That which causeth bitterness in death, is the languishing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants use what art they can to increase the slowness of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requested and bestowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is, for virtuous considerations, that Wisdom so far prevaileth with Men as to make them desirous of slow and deliberate death against the stream of their sensual inclination, content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the Soul may have time to call itself to a just account of all things past, by means whereof Repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exercise patience, the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven have leisure to present themselves, the pleasures of sin and this World's vanities are censured with uncorrupt judgment, Charity is free to make advised choice of the soil wherein her last seed may most fruitfully be bestowed, the Mind is at liberty to have due regard of that disposition of worldly things which it can never afterwards alter; and because the nearer we draw unto God, the more we are oftentimes enlightened with the shining beams of his glorious presence, as being then even almost in sight, a leisurable departure may in that case bring forth, for the good of such as are present, that which shall cause them for ever after from the bottom of their hearts to pray, *O let us die the death of the Righteous,*

Righteous, and let our last end be like theirs. All which BOOK v. benefits and opportunities are by sudden death prevented. And besides, for as much as death howsoever is a general effect of the wrath of God against sin, and the suddenness thereof a thing which happeneth but to few; the World in this respect feareth it the more as being subject to doubtful constructions, which as no Man willingly would incur, so they whose happy estate after life is of all Men's the most certain, should especially wish that no such accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occasion of rash, sinister and suspicious verdicts, whereunto they are over-prone. So that whether evil Men or good be respected, whether we regard ourselves or others, to be preserved from sudden death, is a blessing of God. And our Prayer against it importeth a twofold desire; first, that death when it cometh may give us some convenient respite; or, secondly, if that be denied us of God, yet we may have wisdom to provide always beforehand; that those evils overtake us not, which death unexpected doth use to bring upon careless Men; and that although it be sudden in itself, nevertheless, in regard of our prepared minds, it may not be sudden.

47. But is it credible that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthiness to obtain, and in that respect our professed fearfulness to ask any thing, otherwise than only for his sake to whom God can deny nothing, that this should be noted for a Popish error: that this should be termed baseness, abjection of mind, or servility, is it credible? That which we for our unworthiness are afraid to crave, our Prayer is, that God for the worthiness of his Son would notwithstanding vouchsafe to grant. May it please them to shew us which of these words it is that carrieth the note of Popish and servile fear? * In

Prayer that these things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son would vouchsafe to grant.

* This request carrieth with it still the note of the Popish servile fear, and favoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the Children of God have, through Christ, with their Heavenly Father. T. C. l. i. p. 136.

BOOK V. reference to other Creatures of this inferior World,
 ——— Man's worth and excellency is admired. Compared
 with God, the trueſt inſcription wherewith we can
 Pſal: xxxix. circle ſo baſe a coin is that of David, *Univerſa vani-*
 5. *tas eſt omnis homo*; whoſoever hath the name of a
 mortal Man, there is in him whatſoever the name of
 vanity doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay
 of our own unworthineſs there is no doubt but Truth
 will ratify; alledged in Prayer, it both becometh
 and behoveth Saints. For as humility is in Suiters
 a decent virtue; ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch
 effectual acknowledgments, not only argueth a ſound
 apprehenſion of his ſuper-eminent Glory and Ma-
 jeſty before whom we ſtand, * but putteth alſo into
 his hands a kind of pledge or bond for ſecurity
 againſt our unthankfulneſs, the very natural root
 whereof is always either Ignorance, Diſſimulation, or
 Pride— Ignorance, when we know not the Author
 from whom our good cometh: Diſſimulation, when
 our hands are more open than our eyes upon that we
 receive: Pride, when we think ourſelves worthy of that
 which mere Grace and undeſerved Mercy beſtoweth.
 In Prayer, therefore, to abate ſo vain imaginations
 with the true conceit of unworthineſs, is rather to
 prevent than commit a fault. It being no error thus
 to think, no fault thus to ſpeak of ourſelves when
 we pray; is it a fault, that the conſideration of our
 unworthineſs maketh us fearful to open our mouths
 by way of ſuit? While Job had proſperity and lived
 in honour, Men feared him for his authority's ſake,
 and in token of their fear, when they ſaw him, they
 Job xxix. 8. hid themſelves. Between Elihu and the reſt of Job's
 Familiars, the greateſt diſparity was but in years:
 and he, though riper than they in judgment, doing
 Job xxxii. them reverence in regard of age, ſtood long † doubt-

* Μερμημέος γὰρ ἴδιος παρὰ πάντα ἔδειξας, μεμνήση καὶ τῷ
 Θεῷ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβελῆς. Phil. de Sacrif. Abel. et Cain.

† Amongſt the parts of honour Aristotle reckoneth *προσκυήσεις*
 and *ἐκτάσεις*. Rhet. l. i. c. 5.

ful and very loth to adventure upon speech in his BOOK V. Elders' hearing. If so small inequality between Man and Man make their modesty a commendable virtue, who respecting Superiors, as Superiors, can neither speak nor stand before them without fear; that the Publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Christ in mercy draweth near to Peter, he in humility and fear craveth distance; that being to stand, to speak, to sue in the presence of so great Majesty, we are afraid, let no Man blame us. * In which consideration notwithstanding, because to fly altogether from God, to despair that Creatures unworthy shall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to surcease from Prayers as bootless or fruitless offices, were to him no less injurious than pernicious to our own Souls; even that which we tremble to do we do, we ask those things which we dare not ask. The knowledge of our own unworthiness is not without belief in the Merits of Christ. With that true fear which the one causeth, there is coupled true boldness, and encouragement drawn from the other. The very silence which our unworthiness putteth us unto, doth itself make request for us, and that in the confidence of his Grace. Looking inward we are stricken dumb; looking upward, we speak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do so qualify and correct the one the danger of the other's excess, that neither boldness can make us presume, as long as we are kept under with the sense of our own wretchedness; nor, while we trust in the Mercy of God through Jesus Christ, fear be able to tyrannize over us! As therefore our fear excludeth not that boldness which becometh Saints;

Rom. v. 2,
8, 15.
Heb. x. 19.

* The Publican did indeed not lift up his eyes. So that if by his example we should say, we dare ask nothing, we ought also to ask nothing; otherwise, instead of teaching true humility, we open a school to Hypocrisy, which the Lord detesteth. T. C. l. iii. p. 203.

BOOK V. fo if our familiarity with God do not favour of this
 ——— fear, it draweth too near that irreverent confidence
 wherewith true Humility can never stand.

Prayer to be
 evermore
 delivered
 from all
 adversity.

48. Touching continual deliverance in the World
 from all Adversity, their conceit is that we ought not
 to ask it of God by Prayer, forasmuch as in Scrip-
 ture there is no promise that we shall be evermore
 free from vexations, calamities, and troubles. * Minds
 religiously affected are wont in every thing of weight
 and moment, which they do or see, to examine, ac-
 cording unto rules of Piety, what dependency it hath
 on God, what reference to themselves, what co-
 herence with any of those duties whereunto all things
 in the World should lead, and accordingly they
 frame the inward disposition of their minds, some-
 time to admire God, sometime to bless him and give
 him thanks, sometime to exult in his Love, some-
 time to implore his Mercy. All which different
 elevations of Spirit unto God are contained in the
 name of Prayer. Every good and holy desire, though
 it lack the form, hath notwithstanding in itself the
 substance, and with him the force of a Prayer, who
 regardeth the very moanings, groans and sighs of
 the heart of Man. Petitionary Prayer belongeth
 only to such as are in themselves impotent and stand
 in need of relief from others. We thereby declare
 unto God what our own desire is, that he by his
 power should effect. It presupposeth therefore in us,
 first, the want of that which we pray for: secondly,
 a feeling of that want: thirdly, an earnest willing-
 ness of mind to be eased therein: fourthly, a decla-
 ration of this our desire in the sight of God; not as
 if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities,
 but because we this way shew we honour him as our

* Forasmuch as there is no Promise in the Scripture, that we
 should be free from all adversity, and that evermore; it seemeth
 that this Prayer might have been better conceived, being no
 Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we
 shall obtain it. T. C. l. i. p. 136.

God, and are verily persuaded that no good thing BOOK v.
 can come to pass which he by his omnipotent Power
 effecteth not. Now because there is no Man's
 Prayer acceptable whose Person is odious, neither
 any Man's Person gracious without Faith; it is of
 necessity required that they which pray, do believe.
 The Prayers which our Lord and Saviour made
 were for his own worthiness accepted; ours God
 accepteth not but with this condition, * if they be
 joined with belief in Christ. The Prayers of the
 Just are accepted always, but not always those things
 granted for which they pray. For in Prayer, if Faith
 and Assurance to obtain were both one and the same
 thing, seeing that the effect of not obtaining is a
 plain testimony that they which pray were not sure
 they should obtain; it would follow, that their
 Prayer being without certainty of the event, was
 also made unto God without Faith, and consequently
 that God abhorred it. Which to think of so many
 Prayers of Saints as we find have failed in particular
 requests, how absurd were it! His faithful People
 have this comfort, that whatsoever they rightly ask,
 the same (no doubt, but) they shall receive, so far
 as may stand with the glory of God and their own
 everlasting good; unto either of which two, it is no
 virtuous Man's purpose to seek, or desire to obtain
 any thing prejudicial; and therefore that clause which
 our Lord and Saviour in the Prayer of his agony
 did express, we in Petitions of like nature do always
 imply; *Pater, si possibile est*, If it may stand with thy
 will and pleasure. Or if not, but that there be
 secret impediments and causes, in regard whereof
 the thing we pray for is denied us; yet the Prayer
 itself which we make is a pleasing Sacrifice to God,
 who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other

* Oratio, quæ non fit per Christum, non solum non potest
 delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum. Aug. Enar. i.
 in Psal. cviii.

BOOK V. way. So that Sinners, in very truth, are denied when they seem to prevail in their Supplications, because it is not for their sakes, or to their good, that their suits take place; the Faithful contrariwise, because it is for their good oftentimes that their Petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they most seem denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted some impenitent Men's requests; as on the other side the Apostles suit he hath of Favour and Mercy not granted* (saith St. Augustin). To think we may pray unto God for nothing but what he hath promised in holy Scripture we shall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of Prayer there are two uses. It serveth as a mean to procure those things which God hath promised to grant when we ask; and it serveth as a mean to express our lawful desires also towards that, which whether we shall have or no, we know not, till we see the event. Things in themselves unholy or unseemly, we may not ask; we may whatsoever, being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace shall reasonably move us to wish as importing the good of Men; albeit God himself have no where by promise assured us of that particular which our Prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in itself, and of its own nature, apparently a thing impossible, were not convenient. Wherefore, though Men do without offence wish daily that the affairs which with evil success are past, might have fallen out much better; yet to pray that they may have been any other than they are, this being a manifest impossibility in itself, the Rules of Religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwise, when things of their own nature contingent and mutable, are by the secret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our Prayers, and consequently ask those things of God, which are by this supposition impossible, we notwithstanding do not hereby in Prayer transgress our lawful bounds. That Christ, as the only begotten Son of God, having no Superior,

Numb. xi.
33.
1 Sam. viii.
7.
Job i. 12.
& ii. 6.
Luke viii.
32.
2 Cor. xii.
7, 8, 9.
Aug. Epist.
cxi. Ad
probam
viduam.

Superior, and therefore owing honour unto none, BOOK V.
 neither standing in any need, should either give
 thanks or make petition unto God, were most ab-
 surd. As Man, what could befeem him better,
 whether we respect his affection to God-ward, or his
 own necessity, or his charity and love towards Men?
 Some things he knew should come to pass, and not-
 withstanding prayed for them, because he also knew
 that the necessary means to effect them were his
 Prayers. As in the Psalm it is said, *Ask of me, and* Psal. ii, 8.
I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and
the ends of the Earth for thy possession. Wherefore,
 that which here God promiseth his Son, the same in
 the seventeenth of John he prayeth for: *Father, the* John xvii.
hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may 1, 2.
glorify thee, according as thou hast given him power over
all flesh. But had Christ the like promise concerning
 the effect of every particular for which he prayed?
 That which was not effected could not be pro-
 mised. And we know in what sort he prayed for
 removal of that bitter cup, which he tasted notwith- Matt. xxvi.
 standing his Prayer. To shift off this example they 37.
 answer first, * *That as other Children of God, so Christ* Mark xiv.
had a promise of deliverance as far as the glory of God in 36.
the accomplishment of his vocation would suffer. And Luke xxii.
42.
 if we ourselves have not also in that sort the promise
 of God to be evermore delivered from all adversity,
 what meaneth the sacred Scripture to speak in so
 large terms? *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will* Deut. xxx.
make thee plenteous in every work of thy hand, in the 9.
fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in
the fruit of the land for thy wealth. Again, *Keep his* Deut. vii.
Laws, and thou shalt be blest above all people; the Lord 15.
shall take from thee all infirmities. *The Man whose* Psal. i, 4.

* Neither did our Saviour Christ pray without promise; for as other the Children of God, to whose condition he had humbled himself, have, so had he a promise of deliverance so far as the glory of God in that accomplishment of his vocation would suffer. T. C. I. iii. p. 200.

BOOK V. *delight is in the Law of God, whatsoever he doth, it shall prosper. For the ungodly there are great plagues remaining; but whosoever putteth his trust in the Lord, Mercy embraceth him on every side.* Not only that Mercy which keepeth from being overlaid or oppressed, but Mercy which saveth from being touched with grievous miseries, Mercy which turneth away the course of *the great water-floods*, and permitteth them not to *come near*. Nevertheless, because the Prayer of Christ did concern but one calamity, they are still bold to deny the lawfulness of our Prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though we pray with the same exception that he did, *If such deliverance may stand with the pleasure of Almighty God, and not otherwise.* For they have, secondly, found out a Rule, that Prayer ought only to be made for deliverance *from this or that particular adversity, whereof we know not, but upon the event, what the pleasure of God is.* Which quite overthroweth that other principle, wherein they require unto every Prayer which is of Faith, an assurance to obtain the thing we pray for. At the first to pray against all adversity was unlawful, because we cannot assure ourselves that this will be granted. Now we have licence to pray against any particular adversity, and the reason given, because we know not, but upon the event, what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth, that for any assurance we have he may do otherwise than we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot assuredly presume that God will grant. Seeing therefore neither of these two answers will serve the turn, they have a third; which is, * that to pray in such sort is but idly mispent labour, because God hath already revealed his will touching this request; and we know that the suit

Psal. xxxii.
11.

Ed. v. 7.

T. C. l. iii.
p. 201.

* We ought not to desire to be free from all adversity, if it be his will, considering that he hath already declared his will therein. T. C. l. iii. p. 201.

we make is denied before we make it. Which neither BOOK V.
 is true, and if it were, was Christ ignorant what
 God had determined touching those things which
 himself should suffer? To say, *He knew not what* T. C. I. iii.
weight of sufferances his Heavenly Father had measured p. 201.
unto him, is somewhat hard; harder, that although
he knew them, notwithstanding for the present time
they were forgotten through the force of those unspeakable
pangs which he then was in. The one against the plain
 express words of the holy Evangelist, *He knew all* John xv.ii.
things that should come upon him; the other less cre-⁴
 dible, if any thing may be of less credit than what
 the Scripture itself gainsaith. Doth any of them
 which wrote his sufferings make report that memory
 failed him? Is there in his words and speeches any
 sign or defect that way? Did not himself declare
 before whatsoever was to happen in the course of
 that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing
 after taken from his own mouth, either in the place
 of publick judgment, or upon the altar of the Cross,
 that through the bruising of his Body some part of
 the treasures of his Soul were scattered and slipt from
 him? If that which was perfect both before and
 after did fail at this only middle instant, there must
 appear some manifest cause how it came to pass.
 True it is, that the pangs of his heaviness and grief
 were unspeakable; and as true, that because the
 minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully
 conceived the weight or measure of their own woe,
 they use their affection as a whetstone both to wit
 and memory; these as nurses do feed grief, so that
 the weaker his conceit had been touching that which
 he was to suffer, the more it must needs in that hour
 have helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But
 his anguish we see was then at the very highest
 whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his
 deep apprehension, even to the last drop of the gall
 which that cup contained, and of every circumstance
 wherein there was any force to augment heaviness;
 but

BOOK V. but above all things, the resolute determination of
 ——— God and his own unchangeable purpose, which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer, which plainly testifieth so great willingness to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or Man, belongeth to the Effence or Nature of both. The Nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers Wills, although the Godhead be in divers Persons, because the power of willing is a natural, not a personal propriety. Contrariwise, the Person of our Saviour Christ being but one, there are in him two Wills; because two Natures, the Nature of God, and the Nature of Man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Christ there is a divine, and there is an human Will, otherwise he were not both God and Man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Hereticks, for holding that Christ had but one Will. The Works and Operations of our Saviour's human Will were all subject to the Will of God, and framed according to his Law: *I desire to do thy Will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart.* Now as Man's Will, so the Will of Christ hath two severall kinds of operation, the one natural or necessary, whereby it desireth simply whatsoever is good in itself, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, because the eye of understanding judgeth them good to that end which we simply desire. Thus in itself we desire health, physick only for health's sake. And in this sort special Reason oftentimes causeth the Will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for another's sake, to forego meaner for the attainment of higher desires, which our Saviour likewise did. These different inclinations of the Will considered, the reason is easy, how in Christ there might grow desires seeming, but being not indeed opposite; either the one of them unto the
 other,

Psal. xl. 8.

other, or either of them to the Will of God. For ^{BOOK V.} let the manner of his speech be weighed: *My Soul* ^{John xii. 27.} *is now troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me out of this hour. But yet for this very cause I am come unto this hour.* His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole World two contrary objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never presented in that manner to any, but only to the Soul of Christ. There was presented before his eyes in that fearful hour, on the one side, God's heavy indignation and wrath towards Mankind, as yet unappeased, Death as yet in full strength, Hell as yet never mastered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peradventure more than is either possible or needful for the wit of Man to find out; finally, himself flesh and blood * left alone to enter into ^{Matt. xxvii.} conflict with all these: on the other side, a World ^{46.} to be saved by One, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that Sacrifice which should be offered, a conquest over Death through the power of that Deity which would not suffer the Tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an utter disappointment of all the forces of infernal Powers, through the purity of that Soul which they should have in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no Man marvel that in this case the Soul of Christ was much troubled. For what could such apprehensions breed, but (as their

* Non potuit divinitas humanitatem et secundum aliquid deseruisse, et secundum aliquid non deseruisse? Subtraxit protectionem, sed non superavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, sed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas a divinitate in passione derelicta est. Quum tamen mortem quia non pro sua iniquitate, sed pro nostra redemptione sustinuit, qui re fit derelicta requiret, non quasi adversus Deum de poena murmurans, sed nobis innocentiam suam in poena demonstrans. Hug. de Sacra, lib. ii. part. 1. cap. 10. Deus meus, utquid dereliquisti me? Vox est nec ignorantiae, nec dissidentiae, nec querelae, sed admirationis tantum, quae aliis investigandae causae ardorem et diligentiam acuat.

nature

BOOK V. nature is) inexplicable passions of mind, desires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor: in which agony, *how should the tongue go about to express what the Soul endureth?* When the griefs of Job were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, still unto his seeming they were undiscovered: *Though my talk (saith Job) be this day in bitterness, yet my plague is greater than my groaning.* But here to what purpose should words serve, when Nature hath more to declare than groans and strong cries, more than streams of bloody sweats, more than his doubled and tripled Prayers can express, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive the cup, besides which there was no other cause of his coming into the World, he thrice pull-eth it back again, and as often, even with tears of blood, craveth, *If it be possible, O Father; or if not, even what thine own good pleasure is;* for whose sake the Passion, that hath in it a bitter and a bloody conflict, even with Wrath, and Death, and Hell, is most welcome. Whereas therefore we find in God a will resolved that Christ shall suffer; and in the human will of Christ two actual desires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death; is that desire which first declareth itself by Prayer, against that wherewith he concludeth Prayer, or either of them against his mind to whom Prayer in this case seeketh? We may judge of these diversities in the Will, by the like in the Understanding. For as the intellectual part doth not cross itself, by conceiving Man to be just and unjust when it meaneth not the same Man, nor by imagining the same Man learned and unlearned; if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning unskilful, because the parts of every true opposition do always both concern the same subject, and have reference to the same thing, fith otherwise they are but in shew opposite, and not in truth: so the Will about one and the same thing may in contrary respects have contrary inclinations,

and

and that without contrariety. The Minister of Justice may, for publick example to others, virtuously will the execution of that party whose pardon another for confanguinity's sake as virtuously may desire. Consider Death in itself, and Nature teacheth Christ to shun it. Consider Death as a mean to procure the Salvation of the World, and Mercy worketh in Christ all willingness of mind towards it. Therefore in these two desires there can be no repugnant opposition. Again, compare them with the Will of God, and if any opposition be, it must be only between his appointment of Christ's death and the former desire which wisheth deliverance from death. But neither is this desire opposite to the Will of God. The Will of God was, that Christ should suffer the pains of death. Not so his Will, as if the torment of innocency did in itself please and delight God; but such was his Will, in regard of the end whereunto it was necessary, that Christ should suffer. The death of Christ in itself, therefore, God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner, the Son of Man endureth willingly to that purpose those grievous pains, which simply not to have shunned had been against Nature, and by consequent against God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Christ either knew not what himself was to suffer, or else had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which error was an over-restrained consideration of Prayer, as though it had no other lawful use but only to serve for a chosen mean, whereby the Will resolveth to seek that which the Understanding certainly knoweth it shall obtain: whereas Prayers, in truth, both ours are, and his were, as well sometime a presentation of mere desires, as a mean of procuring desired effects at the hand of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in minds most perfect, may as clouds

overcast

BOOK V.

Isai. liii. 10.
Job x. 15.

BOOK V. overcast all sensible joy; that no assurance touching future victories can make present conflicts so sweet and easy, but Nature will shun and shrink from them; Nature will desire ease and deliverance from oppressive burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection itself, because it is naturally in us; that in such case our Prayers cannot serve us as means to obtain the thing we desire; that notwithstanding they are unto God most acceptable sacrifices, because they testify we desire nothing but at his hands, and our desires we submit with contentment to be over-ruled by his Will; and in general they are not repugnant unto the natural Will of God, which wisheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work, all happiness; although perhaps for some special cause in our own particular, a contrary determination have seemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propose our desires which cannot take such effects as we specify, shall notwithstanding otherwise procure us his heavenly grace, even as this very Prayer of Christ obtained Angels to be sent him as comforters in his agony. And, according to this example, we are not afraid to present unto God our Prayers for those things, which that he will perform unto us we have no sure nor certain knowledge. St. Paul's Prayer for the Church of Corinth was, that they might not do any evil, although he knew that no Man liveth which sinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always must pray, * *Forgive us our Sins*. It is our frailty, that in many things we all do amiss; but a virtue, that we would do amiss in nothing; and a testimony of that virtue, when we pray that what occasion of sin soever do offer

Luke xxii.
43.

2 Cor. xiii.
7.

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

itself,

itself, we may be strengthened from above to withstand it. They pray in vain to have sin pardoned, which seek not also to prevent sin by Prayer, even every particular Sin, by Prayer against all Sin; except Men can name some transgression wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed, although we cannot be free from all Sin collectively, in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in us, yet distributively, at the least, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themselves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this sense, to be preserved from all Sin, is not impossible. Finally, concerning deliverance itself from all Adversity, we use not to say Men are in adversity whensoever they feel any small hindrance of their welfare in this World, but when some notable affliction or cross, some great calamity or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumstances, the Mind sundry faculties to apprehend them: it offereth sometime itself to the lower powers of the Soul, as a most unpleasant spectacle; to the higher sometimes, as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniencies; sometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of sundry evils, as God's instrument of revenge and fury sometimes; sometime as a rod of his just, yet moderate ire and displeasure; sometime as matter for them that spitefully hate us to exercise their poisoned malice; sometime as a furnace of trial for virtue to shew itself, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adversity do work for the most part their answerable effects. Adversity either apprehended by Sense as a thing offensive and grievous to Nature, or by Reason conceived as a snare, an occasion of many Men's falling from God, a sequel of God's indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan desireth and would be glad to behold; Tribulation thus considered being present causeth sorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear.

For

BOOK V. For moderation of which two affections, growing
 from the very natural bitterness and gall of adversity,
 the Scripture much alledgeth contrary fruits, which
 Affliction likewise hath whensoever it falleth on them
 that are tractable, the Grace of God's Holy Spirit
 concurring therewith. But when the Apostle St.
 Paul teacheth, *That every one which will live godly in
 Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution, * and, by many
 tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,*
 because in a forest of many wolves, sheep cannot
 choose but feed in continual danger of life; or when
 St. James exhorteth to *account it a matter of exceeding
 joy, when we fall into divers temptations, because by
 the trial of Faith, Patience is brought forth;* was it,
 suppose we, their meaning to frustrate our Lord's
 admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation?*
 When himself pronounceth them blessed that should
 for his Name's sake be subject to all kinds of ig-
 nominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his pur-
 pose that no Man should ever pray with David,
Lord, remove from me shame and contempt? In those
 tribulations, saith St. Augustin, *which may hurt as
 well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we
 should ask as we ought we know not; yet because they
 are tough, because they are grievous, because the sense of
 our weakness flieth them, we pray according to the general
 desire of the will of Man, that God would turn them
 away from us: owing in the mean while this devotion to
 the Lord our God; that if he remove them not, yet we
 do not therefore imagine ourselves in his sight despised,
 but rather with godly sufferance of evils expect greater
 good at his merciful hands. For thus is virtue in weak-
 nesses perfected. To the Flesh (as the Apostle himself
 granteth) all Affliction is naturally grievous. There-
 fore Nature, which causeth to fear, teacheth to*

* To pray against persecution, is contrary to that word which
 saith, *That every one which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must
 suffer persecution.* T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.

pray against all Adversity. Prosperity in regard of BOOK V.
our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Al-
mighty God, doth prove for the most part a thing
dangerous to the Souls of Men. Very ease itself is
death to the Wicked, *and the prosperity of Fools slay-*
eth them: their table is a snare, and their felicity Prov. i. 32.
their utter overthrow. Few Men there are which
long prosper and sin not. Howbeit, even as these
ill effects, although they be very usual and common,
are no bar to the hearty Prayers whereby most vir-
tuous minds wish peace and prosperity always where
they love, because they consider that this in itself is
a thing naturally desired: so because all Adversity is
in itself against Nature, what should hinder to pray
against it, although the Providence of God turn it
often unto the great good of many Men? Such
Prayers of the Church to be delivered from all Ad-
versity are no more repugnant to any reasonable dis-
position of Men's minds towards death, much less
to that blessed patience and meek contentment which
Saints by heavenly inspiration have to endure (what
cross or calamity soever it pleaseth God to lay upon
them). than our Lord and Saviour's own Prayer before
his Passion was repugnant unto his most gracious reso-
lution to die for the Sins of the whole World.

49. In praying for deliverance from all Adversity, Prayer, that
we seek that which Nature doth wish to itself; but all Men
by intreating for Mercy towards all, we declare that may find
affection wherewith Christian Charity thirsteth after Mercy, and
the good of the whole World; we discharge that of the Will
duty which the Apostle himself doth impose on the of God that
Church of Christ, as a commendable office, a sacri- all Men
fice acceptable in God's sight, a service according to might be
his heart, whose desire is to have all Men saved: a saved
work most suitable with his purpose, who gave him- 1 Tim. ii. 3.
self to be the price of redemption for all, and a
forcible mean to procure the conversion of all such
as are not yet acquainted with the Mysteries of
that Truth which must save their Souls. Against it,
VOL. II. O there

BOOK V. there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all Men's Salvation, and many Men's eternal condemnation or death, are things, the one repugnant to the other; that both cannot be brought to pass; that we know there are Vessels of Wrath, to whom God will never extend Mercy, and therefore that wittingly we ask an impossible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercy and wrath are matters of mere understanding or knowledge, all Men's Salvation, and some Men's endless perdition, are things so opposite, that whosoever doth affirm the one must necessarily deny the other; God himself cannot effect both, or determine that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and Man this certainty, that Life and Death hath divided between them the whole body of Mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himself knoweth; for us he hath left no sufficient means to comprehend, and for that cause neither given any leave to search in particular who are infallibly the Heirs of the Kingdom of God, who cast-aways. Howbeit, concerning the state of all Men with whom we live (for only of them our Prayers are meant) we may till the World's end, for the present, always presume, that as far as in us there is power to discern what others are; and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in respect of God, the safest axioms for Charity to rest itself upon, are these: *He which believeth already, is; and he which believeth not as yet, may be the Child of God.* It becometh not us, *during life, altogether to condemn any Man, seeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of every Man's forgiveness; the possibility of whose repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charity, which hopeth all things, prayeth also for all Men. Wherefore to let go personal knowledge touching Vessels of Wrath and Mercy, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skilleth not; for us there is cause sufficient in all Men, whereupon to ground our prayers unto God in their behalf.

Sidon.
Apol. lib.
vi. Epist.

1 Cor. xiv.
7.

behalf. For whatsoever the Mind of Man apprehendeth as good, the will of Charity and Love is to have it enlarged in the very uttermost extent, that all may enjoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Because, therefore, the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it; our Prayers for all Men's good, no less than for our own, the Apostle with very fit terms commendeth as being *καλόν*, a work commendable for the largeness of the affection from whence it springeth; even as theirs which have requested at God's hands the salvation of many with the loss of their own Souls; drowning, as it were, and overwhelming themselves in the abundance of their love towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rareness of such affections *ὑπερκαλόν*, more than excellent. But this extraordinary height of desire after other Men's salvation, is no common mark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all, and prevaieth with God daily. For as it is in itself good, so God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithful Men. Our Prayers for all Men do include both them that shall find mercy, and them also that shall find none. For them that shall, no Man will doubt but our Prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to be obtained, let us not think that our Saviour did mis-instruct his Disciples, willing them to pray for the peace even of such as should be incapable of so great a blessing; or that the Prayers of the Prophet Jeremy offended God, because the answer of God was a resolute denial of favour to them for whom supplication was made. And if any Man doubt how God should accept such Prayers in case they be opposite to his Will, or not grant them if they be according unto that which himself willeth, our answer is, that such suits God accepteth in that they are conformable unto his general inclination, which is that all Men might be saved;

BOOK V.

Rom. ix. 3,
8. x. 1.

Matth. x.
11, 12.

Jer. xv. 1.

BOOK V. yet always he granteth them not, for as much as there is in God sometimes a more private occasioned Will which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions, and not this; our requests for things opposite to this Will of God are not therefore the less gracious in his sight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the Will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we do we sin. For of ourselves, being so apt to err, the only way which we have to strengthen our paths is by following the rule of his Will, whose footsteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot, do that which the Will commandeth, though they serve as instruments to sin, yet is sin the commander's fault and not theirs, because Nature hath absolutely, and without exception, made them subjects to the Will of Man, which is Lord over them. As the Body is subject to the Will of Man, so Man's Will to the Will of God; for so it behoveth that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subjection of the Body to the Will is, by natural necessity, the subjection of the Will unto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our Wills and Desires may be rightly conformed to his: which is not done, by willing always the self-same thing that God intendeth. For it may chance, that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were unnatural. When the object or matter therefore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of itself, and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it is virtuous and apparently most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charity; Piety that which we do in declaring our desire by Prayer; yea, over and besides all this, sith we know, that to pray for all Men living is but to shew the same affection which towards every of them our Lord Jesus Christ hath

hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his,* BOOK V.
 did as Man taste death for the good of all Men; surely, to that Will of God which ought to be, and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose ourselves, although his secret determination happily be against us; which if we did understand, as we do not, yet to rest contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of Men. And concerning ourselves, what we earnestly crave in this case, the same as all things else that are of like condition, we meekly submit unto his most gracious will and pleasure. Finally, as we have cause sufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalf, so neither is ours the first which hath been of that mind. For to end with the words of Prosper, *This Law of Supplication for all Men* (saith he), *the devout zeal of all Priests, and of all faithful Men, doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the World, where Christian People do not use to pray in the same manner. The Church every where maketh Prayers unto God, not only for Saints, and such as already in Christ are regenerate; but for all Infidels and Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, for all Idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his Followers, for Jews to whose blindness the light of the Gospel doth not yet shine, for Hereticks and Schismaticks, who from the unity of Faith and Charity are estranged. And for such, what doth the Church ask of God but this, that, leaving their errors, they may be converted unto him, that Faith and Charity may be given them, and that out of the darkness of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his Truth? which because they cannot themselves do in*

Prosper. de
 Vocat.
 Gen. l. i.
 c. 4. inter
 opera Am-
 brof.

* Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpserat aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum Patre omnia disponebat, futurum non esse præsciebat; quia et hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur, et hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut a sua dispositione non moveretur. Hug. de Quat. Christi Volunt.

BOOK V. *their own behalf, as long as the sway of evil custom over-
 beareth them, and the chains of Satan detain them bound,
 neither are they able to break through those errors wherein
 they are so determinately settled, that they pay unto falsity
 the whole sum of whatsoever love is owing unto God's
 Truth, our Lord merciful and just requireth to have
 all Men prayed for; that when we behold innumerable
 multitudes drawn up from the depth of so bottomless
 evils, we may not doubt, but (in part) God hath done
 the thing we requested; nor despair, but that being thank-
 ful for them, towards whom already he hath shewed mercy,
 the rest which are not as yet enlightened, shall before they
 pass out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if
 the Grace of him which saveth (for so we see it fa'leth
 out) overpass some, so that the Prayer of the Church for
 them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden
 judgments of God's Righteousness, and acknowledge that in
 this secret there is a gulf, which while we live we shall
 never sound.*

50. Instruction and Prayer, whereof we have hitherto
 spoken, are duties which serve as elements, parts or
 principles to the rest that follow, in which number
 the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church
 is to us that very * Mother of our New Birth, in
 whose bowels we are all bred, at whose breasts we re-
 ceive nourishment. As many therefore as are appa-
 rently to our judgment born of God, they have the
 seed of their Regeneration by the Ministry of the
 Church, which useth to that end and purpose not
 only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having gene-
 rative force and virtue. As oft as we mention a Sa-
 crament properly understood (for in the writings of
 the Ancient Fathers, all Articles which are peculiar
 to Christian Faith, all Duties of Religion containing
 that which Sense or natural Reason cannot of itself
 discern, are most commonly named Sacraments) our
 restraint of the Word to some few principal divine Ce-
 remonies, importeth in every such Ceremony two
 things; the substance of the Ceremony itself which is
 visible,

Of the
 Name, the
 Author, and
 the force of
 Sacraments;
 which
 Force con-
 sisteth in
 this, that
 God hath
 ordained
 them as
 means to
 make us
 Partakers of
 him in
 Christ,
 of life
 through
 Christ.
 *Gal. iv.
 26.
 Isai. liv. 3.

visible, and besides that somewhat else more secret, in ^{BOOK V.} reference whereunto we conceive that Ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not respecting so much the service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore consist altogether in relation to some such gift or grace supernatural, as only God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be observed their force and their form of Administration. Upon their force, their necessity dependeth. So that how they are necessary we cannot discern till we see how effectual they are. When Sacraments are said to be visible signs of invisible Grace, we thereby conceive how Grace is indeed the very end for which these heavenly Mysteries were instituted; and besides fundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end. But still their efficacy resteth obscure to our understanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what Grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The use of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet so, that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cause accompanied with Grace which worketh Salvation. Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God to eternal Life. For as our natural Life consisteth in the Union of the Body with the Soul, so our Life supernatural in the Union of the Soul with God. And for as much as there is no Union of God with Man,* without that mean between both, which is both; it seemeth requi-

* Oportebat Deum carnem fieri ut in semetipso concordiam confibularet terrenorum pariter atque caelestium, dum uniusque partis in se connectens pignora, et Deum pariter Homini et Hominem Deo copularet. Tertul. de Trinit.

BOOK V. site, that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.

That God is in Christ by the personal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.

51. The Lord our God is but one God. In which indivisible Unity notwithstanding we adore the Father, as being altogether of himself; we glorify that consubstantial Word which is the Son; we bless and magnify that co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their several properties really distinguishable each from other. For the Substance of God, with this property to be of none, doth make the Person of the Father; the very self-same Substance in number with this property to be of the Father, maketh the Person of the Son; the same Substance having added unto it the property of proceeding from the other two, maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person there is implied both the Substance of God, which is one; and also that property which causeth the same Person really and truly to differ from the other two. Every Person hath his own subsistence which no other Person hath,* although there be others besides that are of the same Substance. As no man but Peter can be the person which Peter is, yet Paul hath the self-same Nature which Peter hath. Again, Angels have every of them the Nature of pure and invisible Spirits; but every Angel is not that Angel which appeared in a dream to Joseph. Now when God became Man, lest we should err in applying this to the Person of the

Isai. ix. 6.
Jer. xxiii. 6.
Rom. ix. 5.
John xvi.
15, & v. 21.
Col. ii. 9.
1 John v.
20.

* Πρόσωπον ἡγοῦν ὑπόστασις εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἀγίας πατέρας τὸ ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γὰρ εἶναι ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου πράγματι, ἴδιαι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ὑποστάσεις. Suid. Ἡ οἰσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔχει ὑφιστάσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται τὸ δὲ κοινόν μὲν τῶ ἰδιάζοντι ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπαρξάει. Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, lib. iii. cap. 6.

Father or of the Spirit, St. Peter's confession unto BOOK v.
 Christ was, *Thou art the Son of the Living God*; _____
 and St. John's Exposition thereof was plain, that Matt. xvi.
 it is the * Word which was made Flesh. † *The Fa-* John i. 14.
ther and the Holy Ghost (saith Damascen) *have no com-*
munion with the Incarnation of the Word, oiberswise than
only by approbation and assent. Notwithstanding, for as
 much as the Word and Deity are one subject, we must
 beware we exclude not the Nature of God from In-
 carnation, and so make the Son of God incarnate not
 to be very God. For undoubtedly, ‡ even the Na-
 ture of God itself in the only Person of the Son is in-
 carnate, and hath taken to itself Flesh. Wherefore, In-
 carnation may neither be granted to any Person but only
 One, nor yet denied to that Nature which is common
 unto all Three. Concerning the cause of which in-
 comprehensible Mystery, for as much as it seemeth a
 thing unconsonant that the World should honour any
 other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoureth as
 the Creator of the World, and in the Wisdom of God
 it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way
 of saving Man but by Man himself, though nothing
 should be spoken of the Love and Mercy of God to-
 wards Man, which this way are become such a spec-
 tacle as neither Men nor Angels can behold without
 a kind of heavenly astonishment, we may hereby per-
 ceive there is cause sufficient why Divine Nature
 should assume human, that so God might be in Christ 2 Cor. v. 19.
 reconciling to himself the World. And if some cause
 be likewise required why rather to this end and pur-
 pose the Son than either the Father or the Holy Ghost
 should be made Man, could we which are born the

* Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. "Ὅς ἐστὶ αὐτῆς Λόγος ἕξ ἡγῆτος ἀλλ' ἐσωθῆς.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ λαλιᾶς ἐνάργεια φάνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεῆς ὅσια γεννητή.

† Κατ' ἄδυνα λόγον κεκλιώθηεν ὁ Πατήρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῆ σαρκ-
 κώσει τῶ Λόγω, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐυδικίαν καὶ βελήσιν. Damasc.

‡ In illo Divinitas est Unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis
 nostræ, ut et nos participes ejus immortalitatis essemus. Aug.
 Epist. 57.

BOOK V. Children of wrath, be adopted the Sons of God, through Grace, any other than the natural Son of God being Mediator between God and us? It became therefore him, by whom all things are, to be the way of Salvation to all, that the Institution and Restitution of the World might be both wrought by one hand. The World's Salvation was without the Incarnation of the Son of God a thing impossible; not simply impossible, but impossible, it being presupposed, that the Will of God was no otherwise to have it saved than by the Death of his own Son. Wherefore taking to himself our Flesh, and by his Incarnation, making it his own Flesh, he had now of his own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Christ took Manhood, that by it he might be capable of death, whereunto he humbled himself; so because Manhood is the proper subject of compassion and feeling pity, which maketh the Sceptre of Christ's Regency even in the Kingdom of Heaven be amiable, he which without our Nature could not on Earth suffer for the sins of the World, doth now also, by means thereof, both make intercession to God for Sinners, and exercise dominion over all Men with a true, a natural, and a sensible touch of mercy.

52. It is not in Man's ability either to express perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to pass. But the strength of our Faith is tried by those things wherein our wits and capacities are not strong. Howbeit, because this divine Mystery is more true than plain, divers, having framed the same to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their expositions thereof more plain than true: in so much, that by the space of five hundred years after Christ the Church was almost troubled with nothing else, saving only with care and travel to preserve this Article from the sinister construction of Hereticks; whose first mists when the light of the Nicene Council had dispelled, it was not long ere Macedonius transferred unto God's most holy Spirit the same blasphemy

The misinterpretations which Heresy hath made of the manner how God and Man are united in one Christ.

blasphemy wherewith Arius had already dishonoured BOOK V.
 his co-eternal begotten Son; not long ere Apollina-
 rius* began to pare away from Christ's Humanity. In
 refutation of which impieties, when the Fathers of the
 Church, Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories,
 had by their painful travels sufficiently cleared the
 truth, no less for the Deity of the Holy Ghost than
 for the complete Humanity of Christ, there followed
 hereupon a final conclusion, whereby those contro-
 versies, as also the rest which Paulus Samosatenus,
 Sabellius, Photinus, Ætius, Eunomius, together with
 the whole swarm of pestilent Demi-arians had from
 time to time stirred up since the Council of Nice,
 were both privately, first at Rome in a smaller Synod,
 and then at Constantinople in a general famous As- An. Dom.
 sembly, brought to a peaceable and quiet end; seven- 381.
 score Bishops and ten agreeing in that Confession,
 which, by them set down, remaineth at this present
 hour a part of our Church-Liturgy, a memorial
 of their Fidelity and Zeal, a sovereign preservative of
 God's People from the venomous infection of Heresy.
 Thus in Christ the verity of God, and the complete
 substance of Man, were with full agreement esta-
 blished throughout the World, till such time as the
 Heresy of Nestorius broached itself, † *dividing 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 born of the Virgin Mary, and in spe-
 cial favour chosen to be made entire to the Son of God
 above all Men, so that whosoever will honour God, must
 together honour Christ, with whose Person God hath vouch-
 safed to join himself in so high a degree of gracious respect*

* Μηδὲ γὰρ δευδῆναι φησὶ τὴν σαρκὰ ἐκείνην ἀνθρώπινα νοὸς ἡγεμονουομένην ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῆν ἐνδεδυκότῳ θεῷ. Suid.

† Οὐκ ἔτι τὴν ἔνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μετ' ἡμῶν. Cyril. Epist. ad Eulog.
 Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τῷ Λόγῳ τῷ Θεῷ πρὸς Ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ διὸ ἰσοστά-
 σεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν
 Χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει καὶ τῇ οικειώσει κατὰ τὰ
 ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὴν ἰπεροβίαν τῆς φιλίας. Leont. de Sect.

BOOK V. *and favour.* But that the self-same Person which verily is Man, should properly be God also, and that by reason not of two Persons linked in amity, but of two Natures human and divine, conjoined in one and the same Person, the God of Glory may be said as well to have suffered death as to have raised the dead from their graves; the Son of Man as well to have made, as to have redeemed the World, Nestorius in no case would admit. That which deceived him was want of heed to the first beginning of that admirable combination of God with Man. *The Word* (saith St. John) *was made flesh, and dwelt in us.* The Evangelist useth the plural number, Men for Manhood, *us* for the Nature whereof we consist, even as the Apostle, denying the Assumption of Angelical Nature, saith likewise in the plural number, he took not Angels, but the Seed of Abraham. It pleased not the Word or Wisdom of God, to take to itself some one Person amongst Men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed, and no more; but Wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that Nature which is common unto all; she made not this or that Man her habitation, but dwelt *in us.* The seeds of herbs and plants at the first are not in act, but in possibility that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himself a Man now made and already perfected, it would of necessity follow that there are in Christ two Persons, the one assuming and the other assumed; whereas the Son of God did not assume a Man's Person into his own, but a Man's Nature to his own Person; and therefore took Semen, the Seed of Abraham, the very first original element of our Nature, before it was come to have any personal human subsistence. The Flesh and the conjunction of the Flesh with God began both at one instant;* his making and taking to himself our Flesh was

* Ἡ λαβὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Theod. Dial. Ἀποστόλου.

but

but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal sub-
 sistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking BOOK V.
 only the Nature of Man, he still continueth one Per-
 son, and changeth but the manner of his subsisting,
 which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God,
 and is now in the habit of our Flesh. For as much
 therefore as Christ hath no personal subsistence but one,
 whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally
 the Son of God, we must of necessity apply to the
 Person of the Son of God, even that which is spoken
 of Christ according to his Human Nature. For ex-
 ample, according to the flesh, he was born of the
 Virgin Mary, baptized of John in the river Jordan,
 by Pilate adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews.
 We cannot say properly, that the Virgin bore, or John
 did baptize, or Pilate condemn, or the Jews crucify
 the Nature of Man, because these all are personal At-
 tributes; his Person is the subject which receiveth
 them, his Nature that which maketh his Person ca-
 pable or apt to receive. If we should say, that the
 Person of a Man in our Saviour Christ was the sub-
 ject of these things, this were plainly to intrap ourselves
 in the very snare of the Nestorians Heresy, between
 whom and the Church of God there was no difference,
 saving only that Nestorius imagined in Christ as well
 a personal Human Substance, as a Divine; the Church
 acknowledging a Substance both Divine and Human,
 but no other personal Substance than Divine, because
 the Son of God took not to himself a Man's Person,
 but the Nature only of a Man. Christ is a Person
 both Divine and Human, howbeit not therefore two
 Persons in one; neither both these in one sense, but a
 Person Divine, because he is personally the Son of
 God, Human, because he hath really the Nature of the
 Children of Men. In Christ therefore God and Man,
There is (saith Paschasius) a twofold Substance, not a
twofold Person, because one Person extinguisheth another,
whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct. For
 the personal Being which the Son of God already had,
 suffered

Pasch. lib.
 de Spir.
 Sanct.

BOOK V. suffered not the Substance to be personal which he took, although together with the Nature which he had, the Nature also which he took, continueth. Whereupon it followeth against Nestorius, that no Person was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no Person but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other Person crucified; which one only point of Christian Belief, *The infinite worth of the Son of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning Life and Salvation, by that which Christ either did or suffered as Man in our behalf. But for as much as St. Cyril, the chiefeft of those two hundred Bishops assembled in the Council of Ephesus, where the Heresy of Nestorius was condemned, had in his Writings against the Arians avouched, that the Word or Wisdom of God hath but one Nature, which is eternal, and whereunto he assumed Flesh (for the Arians were of opinion, that, besides God's own eternal Wisdom, there is a Wisdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things else; and that this created Wisdom was the Word which took Flesh): again, for as much as the same Cyril had given instance in the Body and the Soul of Man, no farther than only to enforce by example against Nestorius, that a visible and invisible, a mortal and an immortal Substance, may united make one Person; the words of Cyril were in process of time so taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the Body and the Soul, so in Christ God and Man, make but one Nature. Of which error, six hundred and thirty Fathers in the Council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Nestorius teaching rightly, that God and Man are distinct Natures, did thereupon mis-infer, that in Christ those Natures can by no conjunction make one Person; so Eutyches, of sound belief as touching their true personal copulation, became unsound, by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other Nature. We must

An. Dom.
431.

An. Dom.
451.

must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning BOOK V.
 both that distraction of Persons, wherein Nestorius went awry; and also this later confusion of Natures, which deceived Eutyches.* These Natures from the moment of their first combination have been and are for ever inseparable. For even when his Soul forsook the tabernacle of his Body, his Deity forsook neither Body nor Soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the Person of Christ was buried, or that the Person of Christ did raise up himself from the dead. For the Body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the Person of Christ; nor is it true to say, that the Son of God, in raising up that Body, did raise up himself, if the Body were not both with him, and of him, even during the time it lay in the sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the Soul, otherwise we are plainly and inevitably Nestorians. The very Person of Christ therefore, for ever one and the self-same, was only, touching bodily Substance, concluded within the grave, his Soul only from thence severed; but by personal Union his Deity still inseparably joined with both.

53. The sequel of which Conjunction of Natures in the Person of Christ is no abolishment of natural Properties appertaining to either Substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another: finally, no such mutual infusion, as really causeth the same natural Operations or Properties to be made common unto both Substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity, the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his Manhood, and whatsoever natural to Manhood, his Deity thereof is incapable. The true Properties and Operations of his Deity are, to know that which is not possible for created Natures to comprehend; to be simply the highest Cause of all things, the Well-spring of Immortality

That by the Union of the one with the other Nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential Properties together.

* Ἀχάριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θεϊαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ τῷ ταυρῷ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπαθῆς.

and

BOOK V. and Life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where present, and inclosed no where; to be subject to no alteration nor passion; to produce of itself those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Majesty and Power. The true Properties and Operations of his Manhood are such as Irenæus reckoneth up, * *If Christ (saith he) had not taken flesh from the very Earth, he would not have coveted those earthly nourishments, wherewith Bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the Nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after travel, testified compassion and love by tears, groaned in heaviness, and with extremity of grief even melted away itself into bloody sweats. To Christ we ascribe both working of wonders, and suffering of pains; we use concerning him speeches as well of humility, as of divine glory; but the one we apply unto that Nature which he took of the Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagine, that the properties of the weaker Nature have vanished with the presence of the more glorious, and have been therein swallowed up as in a gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them who over-boldly affirm, That the Nature which Christ took weak and feeble from us, by being mingled with Deity, became the same which Deity is; that the Assumption of our Substance unto his, was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which severed it bath; because sithence the instant of their conjunction, all distinction and difference of the one from the other is extinct, and whatsoever we can now conceive of the Son of God is nothing else but mere Deity: which words are so plain and direct for*

Greg. Nyss.
Epist. ad
Theophil.
Alexandr.
Hilar. de
Trin. lib.
ix.

* Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. Iren. l. iii. advers. Hæres. Christ did all these ἀνθρωπίνω σώματι νόμῳ. Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Filio. Τὸς μὲν ταπεινὸς λόγος τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸς δὲ ἀνηγμένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λόγῳ. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυσις.

Eutyches,

Eutyches, that I stand in doubt, they are not his BOOK V.
 whose name they carry. Sure I am they are far from
 truth, and must of necessity give place to the better
 advised sentences of other Men. *He which in himself was*
appointed (saith Hilary) a Mediator to save his Church,
and, for performance of that Mystery of Mediation be-
tween God and Man, is become God and Man, doth now,
being but one, consist of both those Natures united, neither
hath he, through the Union of both, incurred the damage
or loss of either; lest, by being born a Man, we should
think he hath given over to be God; or, that, because he con-
tinued God, therefore he cannot be Man also; whereas the true
belief which maketh a Man happy, proclaimeth jointly God
and Man, confesseth the Word and Flesh together. Cyr. Epist.
ad Nest.
 Cyril more plainly, *His two Natures have knit themselves the one*
to the other, and are in that nearness, as incapable of con-
fusion, as of distraction. Their coherence hath not taken away
the difference between them, Flesh is not become God, but
doth still continue Flesh, although it be now the Flesh of
*God. Yea, of each Substance (saith *Leo) the Proper-*
ties are all preserved and kept safe. These two Natures
 are as causes and original grounds of all things which
 Christ hath done. Wherefore some things he doth as
 God, because his Deity alone is the well-spring from
 which they flow; some things as Man, because they
 issue from his mere human Nature; some things
 jointly as both God and Man, because both Natures
 concur as principles thereunto. For albeit the Pro-
 perties of each Nature do cleave only to that Nature
 whereof they are Properties; and therefore Christ
 cannot naturally be as God the same which he natu-
 rally is as Man; yet both Natures may very well con-
 cur unto one effect, and Christ in that respect be truly
 said to work both as God and Man one and the self-
 same thing. Let us therefore set it down for a rule or
 principle so necessary, as nothing more, to the plain

* *Salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, suscepta est a Majestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas.* Leo. Epist. ad Flav.

BOOK V. deciding of all doubts and questions about the Union of Natures in Christ, that of both Natures there is a Co-operation often, an Association always, but never any mutual Participation whereby the Properties of the one are infused into the other. Which rule must serve for the better understanding of that which *Damascene hath touching crosses and circulatory speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to Manhood, and to Man such as properly concern the Deity of Christ Jesus, the cause whereof is the Association of Natures in one Subject. A kind of mutual commutation there is, whereby these concrete Names, God and Man, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one another's room; so that for truth of speech, it skilleth not whether we say, that the Son of God hath created the World, and the Son of Man by his Death hath saved it; or else, that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the World. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Manhood of Christ claimeth, or to Man what his Deity hath right unto, we understand by the Name of God, and the Name of Man, neither the one nor the other Nature, but the whole Person of Christ, in whom both Natures are. When the Apostle saith of the Jews, that they crucified the Lord of Glory; and when the Son of Man, being on Earth, affirmeth, that the Son of Man was in Heaven at the same instant; there is in these two speeches that mutual circulation before-mentioned. In the one, there is attributed to God, or the Lord of Glory, Death, whereof Divine Nature is not capable; in the other Ubiquity unto

1 Cor. ii. 8.

* Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιθέσεως ἐκείνης φύσεως τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damasc. de Orthod. Fid. l. iii. c. 4. Verum est duarum in Christo naturarum alteram suas alteri proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati sed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc est ratio, quia, cum suppositum prædicationis sit ejusmodi ut utramque naturam in se contineat, sive ab una sive ab altera denominetur, nihil refert.

Man,

Man, which Human Nature admitteth not. There-
 fore by the Lord of Glory, we must needs under-
 stand the whole Person of Christ, who being Lord
 of Glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature
 for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In
 like manner, by the Son of Man, the whole Person
 of Christ must necessarily be meant, who being Man
 upon Earth, filled Heaven with his glorious pre-
 sence, but not according to that nature for which
 the title of Man is given him. Without this cau-
 tion, the Fathers whose belief was sincere, and their
 meaning most sound, shall seem in their Writings,
 one to deny what another constantly doth affirm.
 Theodoret disputeth, with great earnestness, that
 God cannot be said to suffer. But he thereby mean-
 eth Christ's Divine Nature against * Apollinarius,
 which held even Deity itself passible. Cyril on the
 other side against Nestorius as much contendeth,
 that whosoever will deny very God to have suffered
 death, doth forsake the Faith. Which notwith-
 standing to hold, were Heresy, if the Name of God
 in this assertion did not import, as it doth, the Per-
 son of Christ, who being verily God, suffered death,
 but in the Flesh, and not in that Substance for which
 the Name of God is given him.

BOOK V.
 Johniii. 13.

Apollinar.
 Epist. ad
 Flav.

54. If then both Natures do remain with their
 Properties in Christ thus distinct, as hath been shew-
 ed, we are, for our better understanding what either
 Nature receiveth from other, to note, that Christ is by
 three degrees a Receiver; first, in that he is the Son
 of God: secondly, in that his Human Nature hath
 had the honour of Union with Deity bestowed upon
 it: thirdly, in that by means thereof sundry eminent
 Graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that
 Nature which is coupled with it. On Christ there-
 fore is bestowed the Gift of eternal Generation,
 the Gift of Union, and the Gift of Unction. By

What Christ
 hath obtain-
 ed accord-
 ing to the
 Flesh, by
 the Union
 of his Flesh
 with Deity.

* Ομιλον τῶ Ἰησοῦ κατασκευάζουσι τὴν θεότητα. Greg. Nyss. de Sectator.

BOOK V. the Gift of eternal Generation, Christ hath received of the Father one, and in number the * self-same substance, which the Father hath of himself unreceived from any other. For every † beginning is a Father unto that which cometh of it, and every offspring is a Son unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is ‡ originally that Deity which Christ § originally is not (for Christ is God || by being of God; Light ¶ by issuing out of Light); it followeth hereupon, that whatsoever Christ hath † common unto him with his Heavenly Father, the same of necessity must be given him, but naturally and ** eternally given; not bestowed

* Nativitas Dei non potest non eam ex qua profecta est tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quam Deus subsistit qui non aliunde quam ex Deo Deus subsistit. Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. Cum sit gloria, sempiternitate, virtute, regno, potestate, hoc quod Pater est, omnia tamen hæc non sine auctore sicut Pater, sed ex Patre tanquam Filius sine initio et æqualis habet. Ruffin in Symb. Apost. cap. 9. Filium aliunde non deduco, sed de substantia Patris omnem a Patre consecutum potestatem. Tertul. contra Prax.

† Ephes. i. 15. *πᾶσα πατρία*, quicquid alteri quovis modo dat esse.

‡ Jac. i. 17. Pater luminum *Ἰησοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος δηλονότι*. Pachym. in Dionys. de Cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. Pater est principium totius divinitatis, quia ipse a nullo est. Non enim habet de quo procedat, sed ab eo et Filius est genitus et Spiritus sanctus procedit. Aug. de Trinit. lib. iv. cap. 40. Hinc Christus deitatis loco nomen ubique Patris usurpat, quia Pater nimirum est *πηγαῖα θεότητος*.

§ Pater tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et propagatio. Tertul. contra Prax.

|| Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est. Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. Nihil nisi natum habet Filius. Hilar. lib. iv.

¶ *Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης*. Heb. i. 5. *Ἐστὶν ἀπόβρεμα τῆς τῶ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰδικρινῆς ἀπαύγασμα φώλις αἰθίου*. Sap. vii. 25, 26.

† Nihil in se diversum ac dissimile habent natus et generans. Hilar. de Synod. advers. Aria. In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud. Vincent. Lyr. cap. 19.

** Ubi author æternus est, ibi et nativitatis æternitas est: quia sicut nativitas ab authore est, ita et ab æterno authore æterna nativitas est. Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. Sicut naturam præstat Filio sine initio Generatio; ita Spiritus sancti præstat essentiam sine initio Processio. Aug. de Trin. lib. v. cap. 15.

by

by way of benevolence and favour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore * where the Fathers give it out for a rule, that whatsoever Christ is said in Scripture to have received, the same we ought to apply only to the Manhood of Christ; their assertion is true of all things which Christ hath received by Grace; but to that which he hath received of the Father, by eternal Nativity or Birth it reacheth not. Touching Union of Deity with Manhood, it is by Grace, because there can be no greater Grace shewed towards Men, than that God should vouchsafe to unite to Man's Nature the Person of his only begotten Son. Because *the Father loveth the Son* as John iii. 35. Man, he hath, by uniting Deity with Manhood, *given all things into his hands.* It hath pleased the Father, that in him *all Fulness should dwell.* The Col. i. 19. Name which he hath *above all Names* is given him. Phil. ii. 9. *As the Father hath life in himself, the Son in himself hath life also* by the gift of the Father. The gift John v. 26. whereby God hath made Christ a Fountain of Life, is, that *Conjunction of the Nature of God with the Nature of Man*, in the Person of Christ, which gift Hic est verus Deus, et vita aeterna. John v. 20. John iv. 10. (saith Christ to the Woman of Samaria) if thou didst know, and in that respect understand who it is which asketh water of thee, thou wouldest ask of him, that he might give thee living water. The Union therefore of the Flesh with Deity, is to that Flesh a gift of principal grace and favour. For by virtue of this grace, Man is really made God, a Creature is exalted above the dignity of all Creatures, and hath all Creatures else under it. This admirable Union of God with Man can enforce in that higher Nature no alteration, because unto God there is nothing more natural than not to be subject

* Όσα λέγει ή γραφή ότι έλαθεν ό Υιός κ' έδοξάσθη, διά τήν ανθρωπότητα αυτου λέγει, έ τήν θεότητα. Theod. fol. 42. et ex Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Pol. ibid. 44.

BOOK V. 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 Son of God consisteth merely in the Union of Natures, which Union doth add Perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no † alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the Person of the Son of God hath attained by assuming Manhood; surely, the whole sum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally Man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwise his Person could have admitted, the only gain he thereby purchased for himself was to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be said concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, that as our Nature hath in no respect changed his, so from his to ours as little alteration hath ensued? The very cause of his taking upon him our Nature was to change it, to better the Quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the Substance which he took; nor to infuse into it the natural Forces and Properties of his Deity. As therefore we have shewed how the Son of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that personal Subsistence which before was solitary, and is now in the association of Flesh, no alteration thereby accruing to the Nature of God; so neither are the Properties of Man's nature in the Person of Christ, by force and virtue of the same Conjunction,

* "Ὡσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινόν ἐστὶ τὸ θνητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κοινόν τὸ ἀτρέπτον τε καὶ ἀναλλοιώτων. Theo. Dial. "Ατρεπίθ.

† Periculum status sui Deo nullum est. Tertul. de Car. Chr. Majestati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abstulit. Leo de Nativit. Ser. viii. Μένει δ' ἢν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, Θεός μένει καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὑπαρξέν. Theophil. In formam servi transisse non est naturam perdidisse Dei. Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii.

so much altered as not to stay within those limits BOOK V. which our Substance is bordered withal; nor the state and quality of our Substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing; we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural Properties of Deity be not communicable to Man's Nature, the supernatural Gifts, Graces, and Effects thereof are. The Honour which our Flesh hath by being the Flesh of the Son of God is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the Glory provided for him and his, in the Kingdom of Heaven, his right and title thereunto, even in that he is Man, differeth from other Men's, because he is that Man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same Inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath; his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole World, the Hope of the Righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supreme Head whereunto all Power, both in Heaven and in Earth, is given — these are not Honours common unto Christ with other Men; they are Titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere Man, yet true of Christ, even in that he is Man; but Man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, sith God hath deified our Nature, though not by turning it into himself, yet by making it his own inseparable Habitation, we cannot now conceive how God should, without Man, either * exercise divine Power, or receive the glory

* *Μετέχει ἢ ἀιδεωμήν τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας.* Theod.

BOOK V. of divine Praise. For Man is in * both an Associate
 of Deity. But to come to the grace of Unction; did the parts of our Nature, the Soul and Body of Christ, receive, by the influence of Deity wherewith they were matched, no ability of operations, no virtue, or quality above Nature? Surely, as the sword which is made fiery, doth not only cut by reason of the sharpness which simply it hath, but also burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire; so, there is no doubt but the Deity of Christ hath enabled that Nature which it took of Man, to do more than Man in this World hath power to comprehend; forasmuch as (the bare essential Properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath replenished it with all such Perfections as the same is any way apt to receive, at the least, according to the exigence of that œconomy or service for which it pleased him in love and mercy to be made Man. For, as the Parts, Degrees, and Offices of that Mystical Administration did require which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either restrain† or enlarge themselves. From hence we may somewhat conjecture how the Powers of that Soul are illuminated, which being so inward unto God, cannot choose but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessity be endued with knowledge so far forth universal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself. The Soul of Christ, that saw in this life the face of God,

Luke ii. 47.

Matt. xxvii.
46.

Col. ii. 3.

* Ἡ δεξιὰ τῆ Θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἧτις ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος, δι' ἣ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὐτὴ τὸν ἐνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ἕλος διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως. Gregor. Nyss. apud Theod. Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τ' οἷς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάτισεν ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἕξουσίας. Chryf. in Psal. xli.

† Ἦσυχάζειν μὲν τῷ Λόγῳ ἐν τῷ περιελάττειν καὶ φανερῶσαι καὶ ἀποδείξειν, συγγινόμενου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρεστεύειν καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν. Theod. et Iren. lib. iii. advers. Heres.

was here, through so visible presence of Deity, filled with all manner of Graces and Virtues in that unmatchable degree of perfection, for which, of him we read it written, *That God with the oil of gladness anointed him above his fellows.* And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily Substance of Man. Where also that must again be remembered which we noted before, concerning the degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purposes, intents and counsels. For in this respect his Body, which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from Death, Passion and Dissolution, till God, which gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect, the very glorified Body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality. But shall we say, that in Heaven his glorious Body, by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt, but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that Body which it hath pleased him to make his own, that Body wherewith he hath saved the World, that Body which hath been and is the Root of Eternal Life; the Instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away Sin, the Price which hath ransomed Souls from Death, the Leader of the whole Army of Bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy. Heaven hath endowed it with celestial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the Angels of Heaven adore it.* Notwithstanding a Body still it continueth, a Body consubstantial with our Bodies, a

BOOK V.

Isai. xi. 2.

Isai. lxi. 1.

Luke iv. 18.

Acts iv. 27.

Heb. i. 9.

2 Cor. i. 21.

1 John ii.

20, 27.

Joh. xx. 27.

* Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μετὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὁμοῦς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον πείριγεσφίν. Theod. fol. 80.

BOOK V. Body of the same both nature and measure which it had on Earth. To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ; his Deity, his Manhood, the Conjunction of both, and the Distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal Heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians, by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his Human Nature; Nestorians, by renting Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his Person those Natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient General Councils: the Council of Nice, to define against Arians; against Apollinarians, the Council of Constantinople; the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians; against Eutychians, the Chalcedon Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελῶς, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*; the first, applied to his being God; and the second, to his being Man; the third, to his being of both One; and the fourth, to his still continuing in that One both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever Antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the aforesaid Heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all Heresies which touch but the Person of Jesus Christ (whether they have risen in these latter days, or in any age heretofore), may be, with great facility, brought to confine themselves. We conclude therefore, that to save the World it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should so be in Christ, as hath been declared.

55. Having thus far proceeded in speech concern-
 ing the Person of Jesus Christ, his two Natures, their
 Conjunction, that which he either is or doth in re-
 spect of both, and that which the one receiveth from
 the other ; sith God in Christ is generally the medi-
 cine which doth cure the World, and Christ in us
 is that receipt of the same medicine whereby we are
 every one particularly cured : inasmuch as Christ's
 Incarnation and Passion can be available to no Man's
 good which is not made partaker of Christ, neither
 can we participate him without his presence ; we are
 briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end
 it may thereby better appear how we are made par-
 takers of Christ, both otherwise, and in the Sacra-
 ments themselves. All things are in such sort divided
 into finite and infinite, that no one Substance, Na-
 ture or Quality, can be possibly capable of both.
 The World and all things in the World are stinted ;
 all effects that proceed from them ; all the powers
 and abilities whereby they work ; whatsoever they do,
 whatsoever they may, and whatsoever they are, is
 limited. Which limitation of each Creature is both
 the perfection and also the preservation thereof.
 Measure is that which perfecteth all things, because
 every thing is for some end ; neither can that thing
 be available to any end which is not proportionable
 thereunto ; and to proportion as well excesses as de-
 fects are opposite. Again, forasmuch as nothing
 doth perish but only through excess or defect of that,
 the due proportioned measure whereof doth give per-
 fection, it followeth, that measure is likewise the preser-
 vation of all things. Out of which premises we may
 conclude, not only, that nothing created can possibly be
 unlimited, or can receive any such accident, quality
 or property as may really make it infinite (for then
 should it cease to be a Creature), but also, that every
 Creature's limitation is according to his own kind ;
 and therefore as oft as we note in them any thing
 above their kind, it argueth, that the same is not
 properly

BOOK V.
 Of the per-
 sonal Pre-
 sence of
 Christ every
 where, and
 in what
 sense it may
 be granted,
 he is every
 where pre-
 sent accord-
 ing to the
 Flesh.

BOOK V. properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cause
 ————— more powerful than they are. Such as the Substance
 of each thing is, such is also the Presence thereof.
 Pl. cxxxix. Impossible it is, that God should withdraw his Pre-
 7, 8. sence from any thing, because the very Substance of
 Jer. xxiii. God is infinite. He filleth Heaven and Earth, al-
 24. though he take up no room in either, because his
 Substance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this
 World so incomprehensible, that albeit no part of us
 * be ever absent from him who is present whole unto
 every particular thing, yet his Presence with us we
 no way discern further than only that God is present;
 which partly by Reason, and more perfectly by Faith,
 we know to be firm and certain. Seeing therefore
 that Presence every where is the sequel of an infinite
 and incomprehensible Substance (for what can be
 every where, but that which can no where be compre-
 hended?) to enquire, whether Christ be every where,
 is to enquire of a natural Property, a Property that
 cleaveth to the Deity of Christ. Which Deity being
 common unto him with none but only the Father
 and the Holy Ghost, it followeth, that nothing of
 Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that
 neither the Soul nor the Body of Christ, and conse-
 quently, not Christ as Man, or Christ according to
 his Human Nature, can possibly be every where
 present, because those phrases of limitation and re-
 straint do either point out the principal subject
 whereunto every such attribute adhereth, or else they
 intimate the radical cause out of which it groweth.
 For example, when we say that Christ as Man, or
 according to his Human Nature, suffered Death;
 we shew what Nature was the proper subject of Mor-
 tality: when we say, that as God, or according to

* Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum absens est; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem sui presentem præbet, et alteri parti alteram partem, sed non solum universitati Creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adest.
 Aug. Epist. lvii.

his Deity, he conquered Death, we declare his Deity to have been the cause by force and virtue whereof he raised himself from the Grave. But neither is the Manhood of Christ that subject whereunto universal Presence agreeth, neither is it the cause original by force whereof his Person is enabled to be every where present. Wherefore Christ is essentially present with all things in that he is very God, but not present with all things as Man, because Manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cause nor the true subject of such Presence. Notwithstanding, somewhat more plainly to shew a true immediate reason wherefore the Manhood of Christ can neither be every where present, nor cause the Person of Christ so to be; we acknowledge that of St. Augustin concerning Christ most true, ** In that he is personally the Word, he created all things; in that he is naturally Man, he himself is created of God*; and it doth not appear that any one Creature hath power to be present with all Creatures. Whereupon nevertheless it will not follow, that Christ cannot therefore be thus present because he is himself a Creature; forasmuch as only infinite Presence is that which cannot possibly stand with the Essence or Being of any Creature: as for Presence with all things that are, sith the whole Race, Mass and Body of them is finite, Christ by being a Creature is not in that respect excluded from possibility of Presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore, as Man, from so great largeness of Presence, is only his being Man, a Creature of this particular kind whereunto the God of Nature hath set those bounds of restraint and limitation beyond which to attribute unto it any thing more than

* Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est; quod ad hominem, creatura est. Aug. Epist. lvii. Deus qui semper est, et semper erat, fit creatura. Leo. de Nativ. Multi timore trepidant ne Christum esse creaturam dicere compellantur; nos proclamamus non esse periculum dicere, Christum esse creaturam. Hier. in Epist. ad Eph. ii.

BOOK V. a Creature of that sort can admit, were to give it another Nature, to make it a Creature of some other kind than in truth it is. Furthermore, if Christ, in that he is Man, be every where present, seeing this cometh not by the Nature of Manhood itself, there is no other way how it should grow, but either by the grace of Union with Deity, or by the grace of Unction received from Deity. It hath been already sufficiently proved, that by force of Union the Properties of both Natures are imparted to the Person only in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one Nature, really conveyed or translated into the other: it hath been likewise proved, that Natures united in Christ continue the very same which they are where they are not united. And concerning the Grace of Unction, wherein are contained the gifts and virtues which Christ as Man hath above Men, they make him really and habitually a Man more excellent than we are; they take not from him the Nature and Substance that we have; they cause not his Soul nor Body to be of another kind than ours is. Supernatural endowments are an advancement, they are no extinguishment of that Nature whereto they are given. The Substance of the Body of Christ hath no Presence, neither can have, but only local. It was not therefore every where seen, nor did it every where suffer death, every where it could not be intombed, it is not every where now, being exalted into Heaven. There is no proof in the World strong to enforce that Christ had a true Body, but by the true and natural Properties of his Body. Amongst which Properties, definite or local Presence is chief: *How is it true of Christ (saith Tertullian) that he died, was buried, and rose again, if Christ had not that very flesh, the nature whereof is capable of these things, flesh mingled with blood, supported with bones, woven with sinews, embroidered with veins?* If his majestic Body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may every where really even in Substance present itself, or may at once be in many places;

Tertul. de
Car. Chr.

places; then hath the majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of his Nature. *Make thou no doubt or question of it* (saith St. Augustin) *but that the Man* Aug. Epist. lvii. *Christ Jesus is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same Form and Substance of Flesh which he carried thither, and from thence he hath not taken Nature, but given thereunto immortality. According to this Form he spreadeth not out himself into all places. For it behoveth us to take great heed, lest, while we go about to maintain the glorious Deity of him which is Man, we leave him not the true bodily Substance of a Man.* According to St. Augustin's opinion therefore, that majestic Body which we make to be every where present, doth thereby cease to have the Substance of a true Body. To conclude, we hold it in regard of the forealleged proofs, a most infallible truth, that Christ, as Man, is not every where present. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Christ is every where present as Man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His human Substance in itself is naturally absent from the Earth; his Soul and Body not on Earth, but in Heaven only: yet because this Substance is inseparably joined to that personal Word, which by his very Divine Essence is present with all things; the Nature which cannot have in itself universal Presence, hath it after a sort, by being no where severed from that which every where is present. For in as much as that Infinite Word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs be wholly incarnate; and consequently wheresoever the Word is it hath with it Manhood, else should the Word be in part, or somewhere God only and not Man, which is impossible. For the Person of Christ is whole, perfect God and perfect Man, wheresoever; although the parts of his Manhood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot say that the whole of Christ is simply every where, as we may say that his Deity is, and that his Person is by force of Deity. For, somewhat of the Person of Christ is not every where in that sort; namely his
 Manhood,

BOOK V. Manhood, the only Conjunction whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual position restrained and tied to a certain place; yet presence by way of Conjunction is in some sort presence. Again, as the Manhood of Christ may after a sort be every where said to be present, because that Person is every where present, from whose Divine Substance Manhood is no where severed; so the same Universality of Presence may likewise seem in another respect applicable thereunto, namely, by Co-operation with Deity, and that in all things. The Light created of God in the beginning did first by itself illuminate the World; but after that the Sun and Moon were created, the World thence hath by them always enjoyed the same. And that Deity of Christ, which before our Lord's Incarnation wrought all things without Man, doth now work nothing wherein the Nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle. Christ, as Man, hath all Power both in Heaven and Earth given him. He hath as Man, not as God only, supreme Dominion over quick and dead; for so much his Ascension into Heaven and his Session at the right hand of God do import. The Son of God, which did first humble himself by taking our flesh upon him, descended afterwards much lower, and became according to the flesh obedient so far as to suffer death, even the death of the Cross, for all Men, because such was his Father's will. The former was an Humiliation of Deity, the latter an Humiliation of Manhood; for which cause there followed upon the latter an Exaltation of that which was humbled: for with power he created the World, but restored it by obedience. In which obedience, as according to his Manhood he had glorified God on Earth; so God hath glorified in Heaven that Nature which yielded him obedience; and hath given unto Christ, even in that he is Man, such fulness of Power over the whole World, that he which before fulfilled in the state of humility and patience whatsoever God did require, doth now reign in glory till the time that all things be restored. He which came

down

Matth.
xxviii.
Rom. xiv.
9.

Phil. ii. 9.
Heb. ii. 9.
Revel. v.
22.

Luke xxi.
27.

Acts iii. 21.

down from Heaven, and descended into the lowest parts of the Earth, is ascended far above all Heavens; that sitting at the right hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his saving Presence. Ascension into Heaven is a plain local translation of Christ, according to his Manhood, from the lower to the higher parts of the World. Session at the right hand of God is the actual exercise of that Regency and Dominion wherein the Manhood of Christ is joined, and matched with the Deity of the Son of God. Not that his Manhood was before without the possession of the same Power, but because the full use thereof was suspended till that humility which had been before as a veil to hide and conceal majesty were laid aside. After his rising again from the dead, then did God set him at his right hand in heavenly places, far above all Principality and Power, and Might, and Domination, and every Name that is named, not in this World only, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and hath appointed him over all, the Head to the Church, which is his Body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all. The Sceptre of which spiritual Regiment over us in this present World is at the length to be yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it; that is to say, the use and exercise thereof shall cease, there being no longer on Earth any Militant Church to govern. This Government therefore he exerciseth both as God and as Man; as God, by essential Presence with all things; as Man, by Co-operation with that which essentially is present. Touching the manner how he worketh as Man in all things; the principal powers of the Soul of Man are the Will and Understanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid; so that by knowledge and assent the Soul of Christ is present with all things which the Deity of Christ worketh. And even the Body of Christ itself, although the de-

BOOK V.

Ephes. iv.
9.Ephes. i.
20.Psal. viii.
6.Heb. ii. 8.
I Cor. xv.

BOOK V. finite limitation thereof be most sensible, doth notwithstanding admit in some sort a kind of infinite and unlimited Presence likewise. For his Body being a part of that Nature, which whole Nature is presently joined unto Deity; wheresoever Deity is, it followeth, that his bodily Substance hath every where a Presence of true Conjunction with Deity. And for as much as it is, by virtue of that Conjunction, made the Body of the Son of God, by whom also it was made a Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, this giveth it a presence of force and efficacy throughout all Generations of Men. Albeit therefore nothing be actually infinite in substance but God only in that he is God; nevertheless, as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed Body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also itself infinite in possibility of application. Which things indifferently every way considered, that gracious Promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very end of the World, I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth perform, both as God, by essential presence of Deity, and as Man, in that order, sense and meaning, which hath been shewed.

The Union
or mutual
Participation
which is
between
Christ and
the Church
of Christ, in
this present
World.

56. We have hitherto spoken of the Person and of the Presence of Christ. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, we may from that which hath been before sufficiently proved, assume to our purpose these two Principles, *That every original cause imparteth itself unto those things which come of it; and whatsoever taketh being from any other, the same is after a sort in that which giveth it being.* It followeth hereupon, that the Son of God being Light of Light, must

must needs be also Light* in Light. The Persons of BOOK V. the Godhead, by reason of the Unity of their Substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two; only of three, one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible Essence or Substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit separation. For how should that subsist solitarily by itself, which hath no Substance, but individually the very same whereby others subsist with it, seeing that the multiplication of Substances in particular is necessarily required to make those things subsist apart which have the self-same general Nature, and the Persons of that Trinity are not three particular Substances to whom one general Nature is common, but three that subsist by one Substance which itself is particular; yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it are that which maketh their personal distinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Father's first Offspring, which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, no way severed or divided by reason of the sole and single Unity of their Substance. The Son in the Father, as Light in that Light out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Son, as Light in that Light which it causeth and leaveth not. And because in this respect his eternal Being is of the Father, which eternal Being is his Life, therefore he by the Father liveth. Again, sith all things do accordingly love their Offspring as themselves are more

* In the bosom of the Father, John i. 18. *Ecce dico alium esse Patrem, et alium Filium; non divisione alium, sed distinctione. Tertul. contra Prax. Nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam a generante separatur. Rufin. in Symbol.*

BOOK V. or less contained in it, he which is thus the only begotten must needs be in this degree the only beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternal derivation of Being and Life from him, must needs be in him through an eternal affection of love. His Incarnation causeth him also as Man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is Man, he receiveth Life from the Father as from the Fountain of that Ever-living Deity, which in the Person of the Word hath combined itself with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart such Life as to no other Creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration likewise, the Love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other; neither can any attain unto that perfection of Love which he beareth towards his Heavenly Father. Wherefore God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ; whether we consider him as the Personal Word of God, or as the natural Son of Man. All other things that are of God, have God in them, and he them in himself likewise. Yet because their Substance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongst themselves, is in no sort like unto that before-mentioned. God hath his influence into the very Essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them, their utter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things have both received their first being, and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his Offspring, his influence is in them, and the Personal Wisdom of God is for that very cause said to excel in nimbleness or agility, to pierce into all intellectual, pure and subtile Spirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwise, how can the same Wisdom be that which supporteth, beareth up, and sustaineth all? Whatsoever God doth work, the hands of all three Persons are jointly and equally in it, according to the order of that connexion whereby they each depend upon

Luke iii.

22.

John iii. 34,

35, & v. 20,

& x. 17. &

xiv. 31. &

xv. 10.

Wisd. vii.

23.

Heb. i. 3.

upon other. And therefore albeit in that respect the BOOK V. Father be first, the Son next, the Spirit last, and consequently nearest unto every effect which groweth from all three; nevertheless, they all being of one Essence, are likewise all of one Efficacy. Dare any Man, unless he be ignorant altogether how inseparable the Persons of the Trinity are, persuade himself that every of them may have their sole and several possessions, or that we being not Partakers of all, can have fellowship with any one? The Father as Goodness, the Son as Wisdom, the Holy Ghost as Power, do all concur in every particular, outwardly issuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work is Goodness; and that which ordereth his work is Wisdom; and that which perfecteth his work is Power. All things, which God in their times and seasons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the Artificer which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore whatsoever we do behold now in this present World, it was inwrapped within the bowels of Divine Mercy, written in the Book of Eternal Wisdom, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power, the first Foundations of the World being as yet unlaid. So that all things which God hath made are in that respect the Offspring of God, they are in him as effects in their highest cause; he likewise actually is in them, the assistance and influence of his Deity is their life. Let hereunto saving efficacy be added, and it bringeth forth a special Offspring amongst Men, containing them to whom God hath himself given the gracious and amiable name of Sons. Acts xvii. 28, 29. John i. 4. & 10. 1st. xl. 26. We are by Nature the Sons of Adam. When God 1st. John iii. created Adam, he created us; and as many as are descended from Adam, have in themselves the root out of which they spring. The Sons of God we neither are all, nor any one of us, otherwise than only by grace and favour. The Sons of God have God's own natural Son as a second Adam from Heaven, whose 1st. Cor. xv. Race 47.

BOOK V. Race and Progeny they are by spiritual and heavenly Birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he must needs eternally in him have loved and preferred before all others, them which are spiritually thence descended and sprung out of him. These were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpose of his saving Goodness, his saving Wisdom, and his saving Power, which inclined itself towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admission to life, have by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the Artificer is in the work which his hand doth presently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but through the Spirit. For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the Church of Corinth, *the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost*. Which three St. Peter comprehendeth in one, *The participation of Divine Nature*. We are therefore in God through Christ eternally, according to that intent and purpose whereby we are chosen to be made his in this present World, before the World itself was made: we are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlasting. But in God we actually are no longer than only from the time of our actual Adoption into the Body of his true Church, into the Fellowship of his Children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth; so that they which are in the Church, are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Christ by eternal fore-knowledge saveth us not without our actual and real Adoption into the Fellowship of his Saints in this present World. For in him we actually are by our actual incorporation into that Society which hath him for their Head; and doth make together with him one Body (he and they in that respect having one name); for which cause, by virtue of this mystical Conjunction, we are of him, and in

Ephes. i. 3,
4.

1 John v.
11.

Rom. viii.

10.

2 Cor. xii.

13.

2 Pet. i. 4.

Col. ii. 10.

1 Cor. xii.

12.

in

in him, even as though our very flesh and bones should be made continue with his. We are in Christ, because he knoweth and loveth us, even as parts of himself. No Man actually is in him, but they in whom he actually is. For *he which bath not the Son of God, bath not life: I am the Vine, and ye are the Branches: He which abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit*; but the Branch severed from the Vine withereth. We are therefore adopted Sons of God to eternal Life by Participation of the only begotten Son of God, whose life is the well-spring and cause of ours. It is too cold an interpretation whereby some Men expound our being in Christ to import nothing else, but only, that the self-same Nature which maketh us to be Men is in him, and maketh him Man as we are. For what Man in the World is there, which hath not so far forth Communion with Jesus Christ? It is not this that can sustain the weight of such sentences as speak of the Mystery of our Coherence with Jesus Christ. The Church is in Christ, as Eve was in Adam. Yea, by Grace we are every of us in Christ and in his Church, as by Nature we were in those our first Parents. God made Eve of the rib of Adam; and his Church he frameth out of the very Flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of Man. His Body crucified and his Blood shed for the Life of the World are the true Elements of that heavenly Being, which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come. For which cause the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church, *Flesh of my Flesh, and Bone of my Bones*; a true Nature extract out of my own Body. So that in him, even according to his Manhood, we, according to our heavenly Being, are as Branches in that Root out of which they grow. To all things he is Life, and to Men Light, as the Son of God; to the Church, both Life and Light eternal, by being made the Son of Man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we respect him as God or as Man. Adam is in us as

BOOK V.
 Ephef. v.
 30.
 John xv. 9.
 1 John v.
 12.
 John xv. 5.
 John xiv.
 19.
 Ephef. v.
 23.
 John xiv.
 20. & xv.
 4.
 1 Cor. xv.
 48.
 John i. &
 vi. 57.

BOOK V. an original cause of our Nature, and of that corruption
 of Nature which causeth death; Christ as the cause
 of Nature which causeth death; Christ as the cause
 original of Restoration to Life. The Person of
 Adam is not in us, but his Nature, and the corruption
 of his Nature derived into all Men by propagation;
 Christ having Adam's Nature, as we have, but in-
 corrupt, deriveth not Nature but incorruption, and
 that immediately from his own Person, into all that
 belong unto him. As therefore we are really Par-
 takers of the Body of Sin and Death received from
 Adam; so except we be truly Partakers of Christ, and
 as really possessed of his Spirit, all we speak of eternal
 Life is but a dream. That which quickeneth us is the
 Spirit of the Second Adam, and his Flesh that where-
 with he quickeneth. That which in him made our
 Nature uncorrupt was the Union of his Deity with
 our Nature. And in that respect the sentence of
 Death and Condemnation, which only taketh hold
 upon sinful flesh, could no way possibly extend unto
 him. This caused his voluntary death for others to
 prevail with God, and to have the force of an expia-
 tory Sacrifice. The Blood of Christ, as the Apostle
 witnesseth, doth therefore take away sin, because,
 through the Eternal Spirit, he offered himself unto God
 without spot. That which sanctified our Nature in
 Christ, that which made it a Sacrifice available to take
 away sin, is the same which quickeneth it, raised it
 out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto
 Glory. Seeing therefore that Christ is in us a quick-
 ening Spirit, the first degree of Communion with
 Christ must needs consist in the Participation of his
 Spirit, which Cyprian in that respect termeth *germa-
 nissimam Societatem*, the highest and truest Society that
 can be between Man and him, which is both God and
 Man in one. These things St. Cyril duly considering,
 reproveth their speeches which taught that only the
 Deity of Christ is the Vine whereupon we by Faith do
 depend as Branches, and that neither his Flesh nor
 our Bodies are comprised in this resemblance. For doth
 any

1 Cor. xv.
45, 22.

Heb. ix. 14.

Cypr. de
Cœna Dom.
cap. vi.

Cyrl. in
Joan. lib. x.
cap. 13.

any Man doubt, but that even from the Flesh of Christ our very Bodies do receive that Life which shall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which they are already accounted parts of his blessed Body? Our corruptible Bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joined with his Body which is incorruptible, and that his is in our's as a cause of Immortality, a cause by removing through the Death and Merit of his own Flesh that which hindered the life of our's. 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 our's is a thing which the ancient Fathers * disclaim. Yet the mixture of his Flesh with our's they † speak of, to signify what our very bodies, through mystical conjunction, receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes, rather to declare the truth, than the manner of ‡ coherence between his sacred, and the sanctified Bodies of Saints. Thus much no Christian Man will deny, that when Christ sanctified his own Flesh giving as God, and taking as Man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himself only, but for our sakes, that the Grace of Sanctification and Life, which was first received in him, might pass from him to his whole Race, as Male-

* *Nostra quippe et ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus confociat et confœderat voluntates.* Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

† *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore Domini et sanguine alitur?* Iren. lib. iv. advers. Hæres. cap. 34.

‡ *Unde considerandum est non solum ὁμοεις seu conformitate affectionum, Christum in nobis esse; verum etiam participatione naturali (id est reali et vera), quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram alii ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit ut unum quid ex utrisque factum videatur; sic communicatione Corporis et Sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est, et nos in ipso.* Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13.

BOOK V. diction came from Adam unto all Mankind. Howbeit, because the Work of his Spirit to those effects is in us prevented by Sin and Death, possessing us before; it is of necessity, that as well our present Sanctification unto newness of life, as the future restoration of our Bodies, should presuppose a participation of the Grace, Efficacy, Merit, or Virtue of his Body and Blood; without which foundation first laid, there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainly himself by degrees. It pleaseth him in mercy, to account himself incomplete and maimed * without us. But most assured we are, that we all receive of his Fulness, because he is in us as a moving and working Cause; from which many blessed effects are really found to ensue, and that in fundry both kinds and degrees, all tending to eternal Happiness. It must be confessed, that of Christ working as a Creator and a Governor of the World by Providence all are partakers; not all partakers of that Grace whereby he inhabiteth whom he faveth. Again, as he dwelleth not by Grace in all, so neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. *Whence is it (saith St. Augustin) that some be holier than others are, but because God doth dwell in some more plentifully than in others?* And because the Divine Substance of Christ is equally in all, his Human Substance equally distant from all; it appeareth that the Participation of Christ, wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needs consist in such effects, as being derived from both Natures of Christ really into us, are made our own; and we, by having them in us, are truly said to have him from whom they come; Christ also more or less, to inhabit and impart himself, as the Graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which really

Aug. Epist.
lvii.

* Ephes. i. 23. Ecclesia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus. Τὸ πλήρωμα τῆ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι πληρούμενα.

flow into us from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his Person, which can no way divide itself, or be possess'd by degrees and portions. But the Participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christ's Person, and besides the mystical Copulation thereof with the Parts and Members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of Grace whereby the life which we live according to Godliness is his; and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal Happiness consisteth. Thus we participate Christ, partly by imputation; as when those things which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for Righteousness: partly by habitual and real infusion, as when Grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on Earth, and afterwards more fully both our Souls and Bodies made like unto his in Glory. The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life is the Spirit of Christ; whereupon, because the rest of what kind soever do all both necessarily depend and infallibly also ensue; therefore the Apostles term it, sometime the seed of God, sometime the pledge of our heavenly Inheritance, sometime the handseal or earnest of that which is to come. From whence it is, that they which belong to the mystical Body of our Saviour Christ, and be in number as the stars of heaven, divided successively, by reason of their mortal condition, into many Generations, are notwithstanding coupled every one to Christ their Head, and all unto every particular person amongst themselves, inasmuch as the same Spirit which anointed the blessed Soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite, and actuate his whole Race, as if both he and they were so many Limbs compacted into one Body, by being quickened all with one and the same Soul. That wherein we are Partakers of Jesus Christ by Imputation agreeth equally unto all that

BOOK V.

Gal. ii. 20.

Isai. liii. 5.
Ephes. i. 7.

Rom. viii.

Gal. iv. 6.

1 John iii. 9.
Ephes. i. 14.
Rom. viii.

25.

1 Cor. xii.

27.

Ephes. iv.

15.

Rom. xii. 5.

Ephes. iv.

25.

BOOK V. that have it. For it consisteth in such Acts and
 ————— Deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other, but to him from whom they come; and therefore how Men, either then, or before, or sithence, should be made Partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by Imputation. Again, a deed must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him whose it is; or if at all it be imputed, they which have it by Imputation must have it such as it is, whole. So that degrees being neither in the personal Presence of Christ, nor in the Participation of those effects which are ours by Imputation only; it resteth that we wholly apply them to the Participation of Christ's infused Grace; although, even in this kind also, the first beginning of Life, the Seed of God, the first Fruits of Christ's Spirit, be without latitude. For we have hereby only the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far soever one may seem to excel another, yet touching this that all are Sons, they are all equals, some happily better Sons than the rest are, but none any more a Son than another. Thus therefore we see how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what Communion Christ hath with his Church, how his Church and every Member thereof is in him by original derivation, and he personally in them, by way of mystical Association, wrought through the Gift of the Holy Ghost, which they that are his receive from him, and together with the same what benefit soever the vital force of his Body and Blood may yield; yea, by steps and degrees they receive the complete measure of all such divine Grace as doth sanctify and save throughout, till the day of their final Exaltation to a state of Fellowship in Glory with him, whose Partakers they are now in those

those things that tend to Glory. As for any mixture of the Substance of his Flesh with our's, the Participation which we have of Christ includeth no such kind of gross surmise. BOOK V.

57. It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the use of the holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end but only to teach the mind, by other senses, that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heavenly Mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those Men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the Word of God may be heard which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explications any thing we have to learn, if all the benefit we reap by Sacraments be instruction, they which at all times have opportunity of using the better mean to that purpose will surely hold the worse in less estimation. And unto Infants, which are not capable of instruction, who would not think it a mere superfluity that any Sacrament is administered, if to administer the Sacraments be but to teach Receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore, undoubtedly, some other more excellent and heavenly use. Sacraments, by reason of their mixed nature, are more diversely interpreted and disputed of than any other parts of Religion besides; for that in so great store of properties belonging to the self-same thing, as every Man's wit hath taken hold of some especial consideration above the rest, so they have accordingly seemed one to cross another, as touching their several opinions about the necessity of Sacraments; whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For, let respect be had to the duty which every Communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the use of Sacraments, that they serve as Bonds of Obedience to God, strict Obligations to the mutual exercise of Christian Charity, Provocations to Godliness, Preservations

The necessity of Sacraments unto the Participation of Christ.

BOOK V. servations from Sin, Memorials of the principal benefits of Christ; respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Testament, as other Rites were before with the Old; regard the weakness which is in us, and they are warrants for the more security of our Belief; compare the Receivers of them with such as receive them not, and Sacraments are marks of distinction to separate God's own from Strangers; so that in all these respects, they are found to be most necessary. But their chiefest force and virtue consisteth not herein, so much as in that they are heavenly Ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church; first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving Grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and secondly, as means conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth Grace. For, sith God in himself is invisible, and cannot by us be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly Wisdom that Men for some special intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious Presence, he giveth them some plain and sensible token whereby to know what they cannot see. For

Exod. iii. 2. Moses to see God and live was impossible; yet Moses by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present. The Angel by whom God

John v. 4. endued the waters of the pool, called Bethesda, with supernatural virtue to heal, was not seen of any; yet the time of the Angel's presence known by the troubled motions of the Waters themselves.

Acts ii. 3. The Apostles by fiery tongues which they saw were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them; in like manner it is with us. Christ and his holy Spirit with all their blessed effects, though entering into the Soul of Man, we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they

use

use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty BOOK V.
 God to communicate by sensible means those blessings
 which are incomprehensible. Seeing, therefore, that
 Grace is a consequent of Sacraments, a thing which ac-
 companieth them as their end, a benefit which they
 have received from God himself, the Author of Sa-
 craments, and not from any other natural or superna-
 tural quality in them; it may be hereby both under-
 stood, that Sacraments are necessary, and that the man-
 ner of their necessity to Life supernatural is not in all
 respects as food unto natural life, because they contain
 in themselves no vital force or efficacy; they are not
 physical, but moral instruments of Salvation, duties of
 service and worship; which unless we perform as the
 Author of Grace requireth, they are unprofitable:
 for, all receive not the Grace of God which receive
 the Sacraments of his Grace. Neither is it ordinarily
 his will to bestow the Grace of Sacraments on any but
 by the Sacraments; which Grace also, they that re-
 ceive by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receive it
 from him, and not from them. For of Sacraments,
 the very same is true which Solomon's wisdom ob-
 serveth in the brazen serpent,* *He that turned towards* Wisd. xvi.
it, was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, O Sa-¹⁷
viour of all. This is therefore the necessity of Sacra-
 ments. That saving Grace which Christ originally is,
 or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by
 Sacraments he severally deriveth into every member
 thereof. Sacraments serve as the instruments of God,
 to that end and purpose: moral instruments, the use
 whereof is in our own hands, the effect in his; for the
 use we have his express Commandment; for the effect,
 his conditional Promise: so that without our obedi-
 ence to the one, there is of the other no apparent as-
 surance; as contrariwise, where the Signs and Sacra-

* Spiritus Sancti munus est gratiam implere mysterii. Ambr. in
 Luc. cap. iii. Sanctificans elementis effectum non propria ipsarum
 natura præbet, sed virtus divina potentius operatur. Cyp. de
 Christin.

BOOK V. ments of his Grace are not either through contempt un-
 received, or received with contempt, we are not to
 doubt, but that they really give what they promise,
 and are what they signify. For we take not Baptism,
 nor the Eucharist, for bare resemblances or memorials
 of things absent, neither for naked signs and testimo-
 nies assuring us of Grace received before, but (as they
 are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby
 God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into
 our hands that Grace available unto eternal Life,
 which Grace the Sacraments* represent or signify.
 There have grown in the Doctrine concerning Sacra-
 ments many difficulties for want of distinct explication,
 what kind or degree of Grace doth belong unto each
 Sacrament. For by this it hath come to pass, that
 the true immediate cause why Baptism and why the
 Supper of our Lord is necessary, few do rightly and
 distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry
 the same effects and benefits which grow unto Men
 by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto
 the other. Yet then doth Baptism challenge to itself
 but the inchoation of those Graces, the consummation
 whereof dependeth on Mysteries ensuing. We receive
 Christ Jesus in Baptism once, as the first beginner;
 in the Eucharist often, as being by continual degrees
 the finisher of our life. By Baptism therefore, we re-
 ceive Christ Jesus, and from him that saving Grace
 which is proper unto Baptism; by the other Sacra-
 ment we receive him also imparting therein himself
 and that Grace which the Eucharist properly be-
 stoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that
 which is general or common, and that also which is
 peculiar unto itself, we may hereby gather, that the

* Dum homini bonum invisibile redditur, foris ei ejusdem sig-
 nificatio per species visibiles adhihetur, ut foris excitetur et intus
 reparetur. In ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ. Hugo
 de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3. Si ergo vasa sunt spiritualis gratiæ sa-
 cramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed
 medicina. Idem. lib. i. cap. 4.

Participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper. BOOK V.

58. Now even as the Soul doth organize the Body, and give unto every Member thereof that substance, quantity, and shape which Nature seeth most expedient; so the inward Grace of Sacraments may teach what serveth best for their outward form; a thing in no part of Christian Religion, much less here to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments was a cause of the choice, and is a reason of the fitness of the elements themselves. Furthermore, seeing that the Grace which here we receive, doth no way depend upon the natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity, that words of express declaration, taken from the very mouth of our Lord himself, should be added unto visible Elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to pass. In writing and speaking of the blessed Sacrament we * use for the most part under the name of their Substance, not only to comprize that whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret Grace which they signify and exhibit. This is the reason wherefore commonly in † definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter

The Substance of Baptism; the Rites or Solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the Substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.

* Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena et cœlesti. Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 34. Arcanarum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul et rebus constant. Helvet. Confes. Prior. Art. 2.

† Sacramentum est, cum res gesta visibilis longe aliud invisibile intus operatur. Isid. Etym. lib. i. Sacramentum est per quod sub tegumento rerum visibilium divina virtus salutem secretius operatur. Greg. Mag. Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum. Occa. Sent. lib. iv. d. 1. Sacramentum proprie non est signum cujuslibet rei sacræ, sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines. Tho. xii. q. 101, 4. & q. 102, 5. Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi gratiæ et gloriæ. Ideo est commemoratio præteriti, demonstratio præsentis, et prognosticon futuri. Tho. iii. q. 60, 3. Sacramenta sunt signa et symbola visibilia rerum internarum et invisibilium, per quæ, seu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus sancti in nobis agit. Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item Bohem. Conf. cap. 11.

BOOK V. to abridge the number of Sacraments, we find Grace expressly mentioned as their true essential form, Elements as the matter whereunto that form doth adjoin itself. But if that be separated which is secret, and that considered alone which is seen, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of Sacraments from sacramental Grace, the name of a Sacrament in such speeches can imply no more than what the outward substance thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward substance of a Sacrament there is required an outward form, which form sacramental Elements receive from sacramental Words. Hereupon it groweth, that * many times there are three things said to make up the Substance of a Sacrament; namely, the Grace which is thereby offered, the Element which shadoweth or signifieth Grace, and the Word which expresseth what is done by the Element. So that whether we consider the outward by itself, or both the outward and inward substance of any Sacraments, there are in the one respect but two essential parts, and in the other but three that concur to give Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, because definitions are to express but the most immediate and nearest parts of Nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in Nature implied and presupposed, we must note, that in as much as Sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which Nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning; and what every Man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine; therefore always in these cases the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice; and where the contrary is not † manifest, we may presume that he which

* *Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, et rebus significatis.* Confes. Helvet. Post. c. 19.

† *Si aliquid Ministri agere intendant, puta sacris illudere mysteriis, vel aliud quod Ecclesiæ non consentiat, nihil agitur; sine fide enim spiritualis potestas exerceri quidem potest, sine Ecclesiæ intentione non potest.* Lancel. Inst. Jur. Can. lib. ii. Tit. ii. 5. Hoc tamen.

outwardly

outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Lessons, Sermons, Actions, and their circumstances whatsoever, they are to the outward Substance of Baptism but things accessory, which the wisdom of the Church of Christ is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, considering that such Ordinances have been made to adorn the Sacrament,* not the Sacrament to depend upon them; seeing also, that they are not of the Substance of Baptism, and that Baptism is far more necessary than any such incident Rite or Solemnity ordained for the better administration thereof; † if the case be such as permitteth not Baptism to have decent complements of Baptism, better it were to enjoy the body without his furniture, than to wait for this till the opportunity of that for which we desire it be lost. Which premises standing, it seemeth to have been no absurd collection, that in cases of necessity, which will not suffer delay till Baptism be administered with usual solemnities (to speak the least), it may be tolerably given without them, rather than any Man without it should be suffered to depart this life.

59. They which deny that any such case of necessity can fall, in regard whereof the Church should tolerate Baptism without the decent Rites and Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that such tolerations have risen from a false interpretation which certain Men have made of the Scripture, grounding a necessity of external Baptism upon the words of our Saviour Christ: *Unless a Man be born again of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* ‡ For by Water and the Spirit, we are in that

The
Grounds
in Scripture
whereupon
a necessity
of outward
Baptism
hath been
built.

* Accessorium non regulat principale, sed ab eo regulatur. 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. iii. ff. quod iussu.

† Et si nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit, subveniendum est. Lib. clxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

‡ T. C. l. i. p. 143. Private Baptism first rose upon a false interpretation of the place of St. John, ch. iii. 5. *Unless a Man be born again of Water, and of the Spirit, &c.* where, certain do interpret the word Water, for the material and elemental Water,

BOOK V. place to understand (as they imagine) no more than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and Water not spoken of. Which they think is plain, because elsewhere it is not improbable that *the Holy Ghost and Fire* do but signify the Holy Ghost in operation resembling Fire. Whereupon they conclude, that seeing Fire in one place may be, therefore Water in another place is but a Metaphor; Spirit, the interpretation thereof; and so the Words do only mean, *That unless a Man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the Letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise; yet in places which usually serve, as this doth, concerning Regeneration by Water and the Holy Ghost, to be alledged for grounds and principles, less is permitted. To hide the general consent of Antiquity, agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm, that certain have taken those words as meant of material Water, when they know that of all the Ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise either expound or alledge the place, than as implying external Baptism. Shall that which hath always * received

when as our Saviour Christ taketh Water there, by a borrowed speech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it shadoweth out. For even as in another place, Mat. iii. 11. by *Fire and the Spirit*, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the Fire doth; so in this place, by *Water and the Spirit*, he meaneth nothing else but the Spirit of God, which cleanseth the filth of Sin, and cooleth the boiling heat of an unquiet Conscience; as Water washeth the thing which is foul, and quengeth the heat of the fire.

* Minime sunt mutanda, quæ interpretationem certam semper habuerunt. D. lib. i. tit. 2. lib. xxiii.

this

this and no other construction be now disguised with BOOK V.
 the toy of novelty? Must we needs, at the only shew
 of a critical conceit, without any more deliberation,
 utterly condemn them of error, which will not admit
 that Fire in the words of John is quenched with the
 name of the Holy Ghost; or, with the Name of the
 Spirit, Water dried up in the words of Christ? When
 the letter of the Law hath two things plainly and ex-
 pressly specified, Water and the Spirit; Water as a
 duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which
 God bestoweth; there is danger in presuming so to
 interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth ourselves
 were more than needeth. We may by such rare ex-
 positions attain perhaps in the end to be thought
 witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if at * the time when
 that Baptism which was meant by John came to be
 really and truly performed by Christ himself, we find
 the Apostles that had been, as we are, before baptised,
 new baptised with the Holy Ghost; and in this their
 later Baptism as well a visible descent of Fire, as a se- Acts ii. 3.
 cret miraculous infusion of the Spirit; if on us he ac-
 complish likewise the heavenly work of our new
 birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with Water there-
 unto adjoined; sith the faithfullest Expounders of his
 words are his own deeds, let that which his hand hath
 manifestly wrought declare what his speech did doubt-
 fully utter.

60. To this they add, that as we err by following
 a wrong construction of the place before alledged;
 so our second oversight is, that we hereupon infer a
 necessity over rigorous and extreme. † The true ne-
 cessity of Baptism, a few propositions considered will

* Acts i. 3. John baptized with Water, but you shall within
 few days be baptized with the Holy Ghost.

† T. C. lib. i. p. 143. Secondly, this error (of private Bap-
 tism) came by a false and unnecessary conclusion drawn from that
 place. For, although the Scripture should say, that none can be
 saved, but those which have the Spirit of God and are baptized
 with material and elemental Water; yet it ought to be understood
 of those which can conveniently and orderly be brought to Bap-
 tism;

What kind
 of necessity
 in outward
 Baptism
 hath been
 gathered by
 the words of
 our Saviour
 Christ, and
 what the
 true neces-
 sity thereof
 indeed is.

BOOK V. soon decide. All things which either are known * causes
 or set means, whereby any great good is usually pro-
 cured, or Men delivered from grievous evil, the same
 we must needs confesse necessary. And if Regeneration
 were not in this very sense a thing necessary to eternal
 Life, would Christ himself have taught Nicodemus,
 John iii. 3. that to see the Kingdom of God is impossible, saving
 only for those Men which are born from above? His
 words following in the next Sentence are a proof suf-
 ficient, that to our Regeneration his Spirit is no less
 Verse 5. necessary, than Regeneration itself necessary unto Life.
 Thirdly, unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward
 cause, so Water were a necessary outward mean
 to our Regeneration, what construction should we
 give unto those words wherein we are said to
 be new born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of Water?
 Ephes. v. Why are we taught, that with Water God doth
 26. purify and cleanse his Church? Wherefore do
 Tit. iii. 5. the Apostles of Christ term Baptism a Bath of Rege-
 neration? What purpose had they in giving Men ad-
 vice to receive outward Baptism, and in persuading
 A. Cts ii. 38. them, it did avail to remission of sins? If outward
 Baptism were a cause in itself possessed of that power,
 either natural or supernatural, without the present
 operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow;
 it must then follow, that seeing effects do never pre-
 vent the necessary causes out of which they spring, no

tism; as the Scripture, saying, that who so doth not believe the
 Gospel, is condemned already, Job iii. 18. meaneth this sentence
 of those which can hear the Gospel, and have discretion to under-
 stand it when they hear it; and cannot here shut under this con-
 demnation, either those that be born deaf and so remain, or little
 Infants, or natural Fools that have not wit to conceive what is
 preached.

* Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ ἐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναίτιου· καὶ ἂν ἄνευ
 τὸ ἀρχαδὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γένεσθαι, ἢ τί καὶ ἂν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐρηθῆ-
 ναι. Necessarium id dicitur, sine quo ut concausa fieri non potest
 ut vivatur; et ea sine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat;
 vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adfit. Arist. Metaph. v.
 cap. v.

Man

Man could ever receive Grace before Baptism: which BOOK V. being apparently both known, and also confessed to be otherwise in many particulars, although in the rest we make not Baptism a cause of Grace; yet the Grace which is given them with their * Baptism, doth so far forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a sign or token what we receive; but also as an instrument or mean whereby we receive Grace, because Baptism is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be † incorporated into Christ; and so through his most precious merit obtain, as well that saving Grace of Imputation which taketh away ‡ all former guiltiness, as also that § infused divine Virtue of the Holy Ghost which giveth to the powers of the Soul their first disposition towards future newness of life. There are that elevate too much the ordinary and im-

* Fideles salutem ex istis Elementis non quærunt, etiam si in istis quærunt. Non enim ista tribuunt quod per ista tribuitur. Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3.

† Susceptus a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem fit post lavacrum qui ante Baptismum fuit; sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi. Leo. Serm. iv. de Pas. Dom.

‡ Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur. Tert. de Carn. Resur. Homo per aquam Baptismi licet a foris idem esse videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus, sine peccato renascitur; prioribus perit, succedentibus proficit; deterioribus exiit, in meliora innovatur; persona tingitur, et natura mutatur. Euseb. Emif. de Epiphan. Homil. iii. Τριαρὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. "Αυτὴ μὲν ἢ τῷ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις οὐ κόσμος κατακλυσμένη ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀμαρτίας κάθαρσιν ἔχουσα. Greg. Homil. de Sanct. Bapt.

§ Unde genitalis auxilio superioris ævi labe deterfa in expiatum pectus ac purum desuper se lumen infundit. Cypr. Epist. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθισιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῷ δέσποτικῷ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνὸς, καὶ τῆς τῷ πνεύματι δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theod. Epito. Divin. Dogmat. Baptizari, est purgari a fordibus peccatorum, et donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam et innocentem. Confess. Helvet. cap. xx.

BOOK V. mediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternal Election, which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend; and therefore to build upon God's Election, if we keep not ourselves to the ways which he hath appointed for Men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity. When the Apostle saw Men called to the participation of Jesus Christ, after the Gospel of God embraced and the Sacrament of Life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of elect Saints; he then accounteth them delivered from death, and clean purged from all sin. Till then, notwithstanding their preordination unto life, which none could know of saving God, what were they, in the Apostle's own account, but Children of Wrath, as well as others, plain Aliens, altogether without hope, Strangers, utterly without God in this present World? So that by Sacraments, and other sensible tokens of Grace, we may boldly gather, that he whose Mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the means hath also long since intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it safe to presume of our own last end by bare conjectural collections of his first intent and purpose, the means failing that should come between. Predestination bringeth not to life without the Grace of external Vocation, wherein our Baptism is implied. For as we are not naturally Men without birth, so neither are we Christian Men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of Divine Dispensation new-born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the first apparent * beginning of Life, a seal perhaps to the † Grace of Election before received;

* Ἀρχὴ μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. x.

† T. C. lib. iii. p. 134. He which is not a Christian before he come to receive Baptism, cannot be made a Christian by Baptism; which is only the Seal of the Grace of God before received.

but

but to our Sanctification here, a step that hath not any BOOK V.
 before it. There were of the old Valentinian Here-
 ticks some which had knowledge in such admiration,
 that to it they ascribed all, and so despised the Sacra-
 ments of Christ, pretending that as ignorance had
 made us subject to all misery, so the full Redemption
 of the inward Man, and the work of our Restaura-
 tion must needs belong unto knowledge only. They
 draw very near unto this error who fixing wholly their
 minds on the known necessity of Faith,* imagine that
 nothing but Faith is necessary for the attainment of
 all Grace. Yet is it a branch of Belief, that Sacra-
 ments are in their place no less required than Belief
 itself. For when our Lord and Saviour promiseth
 eternal Life, is it any otherwise than as he promised
 restitution of health unto Naaman the Syrian, namely,
 with this condition, *Wash and be clean?* or as to them
 which were stung of Serpents, health by beholding
 the brazen Serpent? If Christ himself which giveth
 Salvation do require Baptism; it is not for us that
 look for Salvation to sound and examine him, whether
 unbaptized Men may be saved; but seriously to † do
 that which is required, and religiously to fear the dan-
 ger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Christ
 only declared his will to have all Men baptized, and
 not acquainted us with any cause why Baptism is ne-
 cessary, our ignorance in the reason of that he en-
 joineth, might perhaps have hindered somewhat the
 forwardness of our obedience thereunto; whereas now
 being taught that Baptism is necessary to take away
 sin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts, if

Iren. con-
tra Hæref.
l. i. c. 18.

2 Kings v.
14.
Numb. xxi.
8.
Mark xvi.
16.

* Hic scelestissimi illi provocant quæstiones. Adeo dicunt, Bap-
 tismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est. Tert. de Baptif.
 Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum possit, non percipit Sacramen-
 tum. Bern. Epist. lxx. ad Hugon.

† Institutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum Authorem, dis-
 pensationis est; quantum vero ad Hominem obedientem, necessi-
 tatis. Quoniam in potestate Dei est præter ista Hominem salvare,
 sed in potestate Hominis non est sine istis ad salutem pervenire.
 Hugo de Sacra. lib. i. cap. 5.

BOOK V. care of delivering Men's Souls from sin do not move
 us to use all means for their Baptism? * Pelagius, which
 denied utterly the guilt of original sin, and in that
 respect the necessity of Baptism, did notwithstanding
 both baptise Infants, and acknowledge their Bap-
 tism necessary for entrance into the Kingdom of
 God. Now the Law of Christ, which in these con-
 siderations maketh Baptism necessary, must be con-
 strued and understood according to rules of † natural
 equity. Which rules if they themselves did not
 follow in expounding the Law of God, would they
 ever be able to prove, that the Scripture, in saying,
 T. C. lib. i. p. 143. *Whoſo believeth not the Goſpel of Chriſt, is condemned
 already,* meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can
 hear the Goſpel, and have diſcretion when they
 hear, to underſtand it, neither ought it to be applied
 unto Infants, deaf Men, and Fools? That which
 teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Chriſt is
 Natural Equity. And (becauſe equity ſo teacheth)
 it is on all parts gladly confeſt, that there may be
 in divers caſes Life by virtue of inward Baptiſm,
 even where outward is not found. So that if any
 queſtion be made, it is but about the bounds and
 limits of this poſſibility. For example, to think that
 a Man whoſe Baptiſm the crown of Martyrdom pre-
 venteth, doth loſe in that caſe the happineſs which
 ſo many thouſands enjoy that only have had the
 grace to believe and not the honour to ſeal the
 teſtimony thereof with death, were almoſt bar-
 barous. Again, when ſome certain opinionative
 Men in St. Bernard's time began privately to hold
 that, becauſe our Lord hath ſaid, *unleſs a Man be
 born again of Water,* therefore life, without either
 actual Baptiſm or Martyrdom inſtead of Baptiſm,

Bern. Epist.
 lxx. ad Hu-
 genem.

* Pelagius afferere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vi-
 tam, ſed propter regnum Cælorum Baptiſmum parvulis conferen-
 dum. Eufeb. Emiſſ. Hom. v. de Paſch.

† Benignius leges interpretandæ ſunt, quo voluntas earum con-
 ſervetur. L. Benign. D. de Legib. et Sena. Tuſc.

cannot possibly be obtained at the hands of God; BOOK V.
 Bernard considering, that the same equity which had moved them to think the necessity of Baptism no bar against the happy estate of unbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Salvation, in whom, although there be not the sufferings of holy Martyrs, there are the virtues which sanctified those Sufferings, and made them precious in God's sight, professed himself an enemy to that severity and strictness which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, saith he, if a Man desirous of Baptism be suddenly cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither sound Faith, devout Hope, nor sincere Charity (God be merciful unto me, and pardon me if I err) but verily of such a one's Salvation, in whom there is no other defect besides his faultless lack of Baptism, despair I cannot, nor induce my mind to think his Faith void, his Hope confounded, and his Charity fallen to nothing, only because he hath not that which not contempt but impossibility withholdeth. *Tell me, I beseech you, (saith Ambrose) what there is in any of us more than to will, and to seek for our own good. Thy servant Valentinian, O Lord, did both. (For Valentinian the Emperor died before his purpose to receive Baptism could take effect.) And is it possible, that he which had purposely thy Spirit given him to desire Grace, should not receive thy Grace which that Spirit did desire? Doth it move you that the outward accustomed Solemnities were not done? As though Converts that suffer Martyrdom before Baptism, did thereby forfeit their right to the crown of eternal Glory in the Kingdom of Heaven. If the Blood of Martyrs in that case be their Baptism, surely his religious desire of Baptism standeth him in the same stead. * It*

* Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam semel dicavit animum in Martyrium, mihi videtur implevisse. Summi ergo meriti est semel fixisse sententiam, atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet passionis, et si fors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati. Joseph. lib. de Imper. Ration.

BOOK V. hath been therefore constantly held as well touching other Believers, as Martyrs, that Baptism, taken away by necessity, is supplied by desire of Baptism, because with equity this opinion doth best stand. Touching Infants which die unbaptized, sith they neither have this Sacrament itself, nor any sense or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard against them. But yet seeing Grace is not absolutely tied unto Sacraments; and besides, such is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impossible he bindeth no Man; but, where we cannot do what is enjoined us, accepteth our will to do instead of the deed itself; again, forasmuch as there is in their Christian Parents, and in the Church of God, a presumed desire, that the Sacrament of Baptism might be given them; yea, a purpose also that it shall be given; remorse of equity hath moved divers of the * School-Divines in these considerations, ingenuously to grant, that God, all-merciful to such as are not in themselves able to desire Baptism, imputeth the secret desire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the same as theirs, rather than casteth away their Souls for that which no Man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his Grace unto Infants without Baptism in that case, the very circumstance of their natural birth may serve as a just argument; whereupon it is not to be misliked, that Men in charitable presumption do gather a great likelihood of their Salvation, to whom the benefit of Christian Parentage being given, the rest that should follow is prevented by some such casualty, as Man hath himself no power to avoid. For, we are plainly taught of God, that the Seed of faithful Parentage is holy from the very birth. Which

1 Cor. vii.
12.

* Gerf. Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mar. Cajetan. in 3. Tho. ix. 68. Art. 1. et 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. Elisius Neapol. in Clyp. advers. Hæres. cap. de Baptif.

albeit we may not so understand, as if the Children BOOK V. of believing Parents were without sin; or grace from baptized Parents derived by propagation; or God, by Covenant and Promise, tied to save any in mere regard of their Parents' Belief: yet seeing, that to all professors of the Name of Christ this pre-eminence above Infidels is freely given; the fruit of their Bodies bringeth into the World with it a present interest and right to those means where-with the Ordinance of Christ is that his Church shall be sanctified, it is not to be thought that he which, as it were, from Heaven, hath nominated and designed them unto Holiness by special privilege of their very birth, will himself deprive them of Regeneration and inward Grace, only because necessity depriveth them of outward Sacraments. In which case, it were the part of Charity to hope, and to make Men rather partial than cruel Judges, if we had not those fair appearances which here we have. Wherefore a necessity there is of receiving, and a necessity of administering the Sacrament of Baptism; the one peradventure not so absolute as some have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more strait and narrow than that the Church, which is by office a Mother unto such as crave at her hands the sacred Mystery of their new Birth, should repel them; and see them die unsatisfied of these their ghostly desires, rather than give them their Soul's rights with omission of those things which serve but only for the more convenient and orderly administration thereof. For as on the one side we grant, that those sentences of holy Scripture which make Sacraments most necessary to eternal life are no prejudice to their Salvation that want them by some inevitable necessity, and without any fault of their own,* so it ought, in reason, to be likewise acknow-

* T. C. 1. iii. p. 218. It is in question, whether there be any such necessity of Baptism, as that for the ministering thereof, the common decent Orders should be broken.

BOOK V. ledged, that forasmuch as our Lord himself maketh Baptism necessary, necessary whether we respect the good received by Baptism, or the testimony thereby yielded unto God of that humility and meek obedience, which reposing wholly itself on the absolute authority of his Commandment, and on the Truth of his heavenly Promise, doubteth not but from Creatures despicable in their own condition and substance to obtain Grace of inestimable value; or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them, as by his appointed means. Howsoever he, by the secret ways of his own incomprehensible Mercy, may be thought to save without Baptism, this cleareth not the Church from guiltiness of blood, if, through her superfluous scrupulosity, lets and impediments of less regard should cause a Grace of so great moment to be withheld, wherein our merciless strictness may be our own harm, though not theirs towards whom we shew it; and we for the hardness of our hearts may perish, albeit they through God's unspeakable Mercy do live. God, which did not afflict that Innocent whose Circumcision Moses had over-long deferred, took revenge upon Moses himself for the injury which was done through so great neglect; giving us thereby to understand, that they whom God's own Mercy saveth without us, are on our parts notwithstanding, and as much as in us lieth, even destroyed, when under insufficient pretences we defraud them of such ordinary outward helps as we should exhibit. We have for Baptism no day set, as the Jews had for Circumcision; neither have we by the Law of God, but only by the Churches discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism therefore even in the meaning of the Law of Christ belongeth unto Infants capable thereof from the * very instant of their birth. Which if they have not howsoever, rather than lose it by

Exod. iv.
24.

* In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præfenti die debetur. Lib. xiv. D. de Reg. Jur.

being

being put off because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, wilfully casteth away their Souls.

61. The Ancients, it may be, were too severe, and made the necessity of Baptism more absolute than Reason would, as touching Infants. But will * any Man say, that they, notwithstanding their too much rigour herein, did not in that respect sustain and tolerate defects of local, or of personal Solemnities belonging to the Sacrament of Baptism? The Apostles themselves did neither use nor appoint for Baptism any certain time. The Church for general Baptism heretofore made choice of two chief days in the year; the Feast of Easter, and the Feast of Pentecost. Which Custom, when certain Churches in Sicily began to violate without cause, they were by Leo Bishop of Rome advised, rather to conform themselves to the rest of the World in things so reasonable, than to offend Men's minds through needless singularity; howbeit, always providing,

BOOK V.

What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the Fathers, respecting necessity.

Leo Epist. iv. ad Epist. Sicil.

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 146. The Authors themselves of that error, that they cannot be saved which are not baptized, did never seek a remedy of the mischief in Women's or private Baptism. T. C. lib. iii. p. 219. What plainer testimony can there be than that of Augustin? which noteth the use of the Church to have been, to come to the Church with their Children in danger of death, and that when some had opinion that their Children could not be saved if they were not baptized. Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13. I would also know of him what he will answer to that which is noted of a Christian Jew desperately sick of the palsy, that was with his Bed carried to the place of Baptism. Socr. lib. vii. cap. 4. What will he answer to this? that those which were baptized in their beds, were thereby made unapt to have any place amongst the Clergy (as they call them), doth it not leave a note of infamy in those which had procured that Baptism should be administered in private houses? Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43. What unto the Emperor's Decree, which, upon authority of the ancient Laws, and of the Apostles, forbiddeth, that the holy things should be administered in any Man's house? Just. Novel. 57.

that

BOOK V. that nevertheless in apparent peril of death, danger
 of siege, straits of persecution, fear of shipwreck, and
 the like exigents, no respects of time should cause
 this singular defence of true safety to be denied unto
 any. This of Leo did but confirm that sentence which
 Victor had many years before given, extending the
 same exception as well unto places as times. That
 which St. Augustin speaketh of Women hasting to
 bring their Children to the Church when they saw
 danger, is a weak proof, that when necessity did not
 leave them so much time, it was not then permitted
 them neither to make a Church of their own home.
 Which answer dischargeth likewise their example of a
 sick Jew carried in a bed to the place of Baptism, and
 not baptized at home in private. The cause why such
 kind of Baptism barred Men afterwards from entering
 into holy Orders, the reason wherefore it was objected
 against Novatian, in what respect, and how far forth
 it did disable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon
 set down in the Council of Neocæsarea after this man-
 ner. *A Man which hath been baptized in sickness, is not
 after to be ordained Priest.* For it may be thought,
*That such do rather at that time, because they see no
 other remedy than of a voluntary mind, lay hold on the
 Christian Faith, unless their true and sincere meaning be
 made afterwards the more manifest, or else the scarcity of
 others enforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in
 Justinian's imperial Constitution, but to what pur-
 pose? Seeing it only forbiddeth Men to have the Myf-
 teries of God administered in their Private Chapels,
 lest under that pretence Hereticks should do secretly
 those things which were unlawful. In which confi-
 deration he therefore commandeth, that if they would
 use those private Oratories otherwise than only for
 their private Prayers, the Bishop should appoint them
 a Clerk whom they might entertain for that purpose.
 This is plain by later Constitutions made in the time
 of Leo: *It was thought good (saith the Emperor) in
 their judgment which have gone before, that in private
 Chapels*

Vict. Ep.
 ad Theoph.
 Alexand. in
 Pontif. Da-
 masc.

Leo. Const.
 iv.

Chapels none should celebrate the holy Communion but BOOK V.
 Priests belonging unto greater Churches. Which order
 they took as it seemeth for the Custody of Religion, lest
 Men should secretly receive from Hereticks, instead of the
 food, the bane of their Souls, pollution in the place of ex-
 piation. Again, Whereas a sacred Canon of the sixth re- Leo.
 verend Synod requireth Baptism, as others have likewise the Const. xv.
 holy Sacrifices and Mysteries, to be celebrated only in Tem-
 ples hallowed for publick use, and not in private Orato-
 ries; which strict Decrees appear to have been made here-
 tofore in regard of Hereticks which entered closely into such
 Men's Houses as favoured their opinions, whom, under co-
 lour of performing with them such religious Offices, they
 drew from the soundness of true Religion: now that per-
 verse opinions, through the Grace of Almighty God, are
 extinct and gone, the cause of former restraints being taken
 away, we see no reason but that private Oratories may
 henceforward enjoy that Liberty, which to have granted
 them heretofore had not been safe. In sum, all these
 things alledged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved
 while the World doth continue, but that the practice
 of the Church in cases of extreme necessity hath made
 for private Baptism always more than against it. Yea,
 Baptism by any Man, in the case of necessity, was the
 * voice of the whole World heretofore. Neither is Ter- Tertul. de
 tullian, Epiphanius, Augustin,† or any other of the Virgin. ve-
 Antients against it. The boldness of such, as, pre- land. & l.b.
 tending Teclæ's example, took openly upon them de Baptif.
 both Baptism and all other publick Functions of Epipha. lib.
 Priesthood, Tertullian severely controulet, saying, i. & lib. ii.
To give Baptism is in truth the Bishop's right. After him cont. Hæ-
ref.
Tertul. de
Bapt.

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 145. To allow of Women's baptizing, is not only contrary to the learned Writers now, but also contrary to all learned Antiquity, and contrary to the practice of the Church whilst there was any tolerable estate.

† St. Augustin, although he seem to allow of a Lay-man's Baptism in time of necessity, Cort. Epist. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 13; yet there he mentioneth not Women's Baptism; and in the fourth council of Carthage, cap. c. it is simply, without exception, decreed, that a Woman ought not to baptize.

BOOK V. *it belongeth unto Priests and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him received. For so the honour of the Church requireth, which, being kept, preserveth peace. Were it not in this respect, the Laity might do the same; all sorts might give, even as all sorts receive. But because emulation is the mother of schisms, Let it content thee, (which art of the order of Lay-men) to do it in necessity, when the state of time, or place, or Person thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldness privileged that help, when the circumstance of other Men's dangers craveth it.* What he granteth generally to Laypersons of the house of God, the same we cannot suppose he denieth to any sort or sex contained under that name, unless himself did restrain the limits of his own speech; especially seeing that Tertullian's rule of interpretation is * elsewhere, *Specialties are signified under that which is general, because they are therein comprehended.* All which Tertullian doth † deny is, that Women may be called to bear, or publickly take upon them to execute Offices of Ecclesiastical Order, whereof none but Men are capable. As for Epiphanius, he striketh on the very self-same Anvil with Tertullian: and in necessity, if St. Augustin alloweth as much unto Lay-men as Tertullian doth, his not mentioning of Women is but a slender proof that his meaning was to exclude Women. Finally, the Council of Carthage likewise, although it make no express submission, may be very well presumed willing to stoop, as other positive Ordinances do, to the countermands of necessity. Judge therefore what the Ancients would have thought, if in their days it had

* Subjectum est generali speciale. In ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur. Tertul. de veland. Virg. Posito genere, supponitur species. Aug. in lib. ii. cap. de Transact.

† Non permittitur Mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris nedum sacerdotalis officii fortem sibi vendicare. Tertul. de veland. Virg.

been heard, which is published in ours, * that because *the Substance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the Institution of God, which is the form and as it were the life of the Sacrament*; therefore first, *if the whole Institution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and secondly, *if Baptism be private, his Institution is broken, in as much as, according to the orders which he hath set for Baptism, it should be done in the Congregation*; from whose Ordinance in this point *we ought not to swerve, although we know that Infants should be assuredly damned without Baptism*. O Sir, you that would spurn thus at such, as in case of so dreadful extremity should lie prostrate before your feet; you that would turn away your face from them at the hour of their most need; you that would dam up your ears and harden your hearts as iron against the unresistible cries of Supplicants, calling upon you for Mercy with terms of such invocation as that most dreadful perplexity might minister, if God by miracle did open the mouths of Infants to express their supposed necessity, should first imagine yourself in their case, and them in your's. This done, let their Supplications proceed out of your mouth, and your answer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, *My Son, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptism must be kept; we may not do ill, that good may come of it*; † *neither are Souls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking*

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. The Substance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the Institution and Word of God, which is the form, and, as it were, the life of the Sacrament. T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. Although part of the Institution be observed, yet if the whole Institution be not, it is no Sacrament. T. C. lib. i. pag. 146. The Orders, which God hath set, are, that it should be done in the Congregation, and by the Minister. T. C. lib. i. pag. 146. And I will further say, that although the Infants which die without Baptism, should be assuredly damned (which is most false) yet ought not the Orders which God hath set in his Church, to be broken after this sort.

† Nostro peccato alterius salutis consulere non debemus. Aug. lib. cont. Mend. cap. xviii.

BOOK V. *Orders which Christ hath set*: would you in their case
 yourself be shaken off with these answers, and not
 rather embrace, enclosed with both your arms, a sen-
 tence, which now is no Gospel unto you, *I will*
 have Mercy and not Sacrifice? To acknowledge Christ's
 Institution the ground of both Sacraments, I suppose
 no Christian Man will refuse: for it giveth them their
 very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they
 consist, the form of their administration it teacheth;
 and it blesteth them with that Grace whereby to us
 they are both pledges and instruments of life. Never-
 theless, seeing Christ's Institution containeth, besides
 that which maketh complete the essence or nature
 other things that only are parts, as it were, of the fur-
 niture of Sacraments; the difference between these
 two must unfold that which the general terms of in-
 definite speech would confound. If the place ap-
 pointed for Baptism be a part of Christ's Institution,
 it is but his Institution as Sacrifice, Baptism his Insti-
 tution as Mercy: in this case, he which requireth
 both Mercy and Sacrifice, rejecteth his own Insti-
 tution of Sacrifice, where the offering of Sacrifice would
 hinder Mercy from being shewed. External Circum-
 stances, even in the holiest and highest actions, are but
 the *lesser things of the Law*, whereunto those actions
 themselves being compared, are the greater; and
 therefore as the greater are of such importance, that
 they must be done; so in that extremity before sup-
 posed, if our account of the lesser which are not to be
 omitted, should cause omission of that which is more
 to be accounted of, were not this our strict obedience
 to Christ's Institution touching Mint and Cummin, a
 disobedience to his Institution concerning Love? But
 sith no Institution of Christ hath so strictly tied Bap-
 tism to public Assemblies, as it hath done all Men
 unto Baptism; away with these merciless and bloody
 sentences, let them never be found standing in the
 Books and Writings of a Christian Man; they fa-
 vour not of Christ, nor of his most gracious and meek
 Spirit,

Matth. ix.
13.

Matth.
xxiii. 23.

Spirit, but under colour of exact obedience they nourish cruelty and hardness of heart. BOOK V.

62. To leave private Baptism therefore, and to come unto Baptism by Women, which they say * is no more a Sacrament, than any other ordinary washing or bathing of a Man's body: the reason whereupon they ground their opinion herein is such, as making Baptism by Women void because Women are no Ministers in the Church of God, must needs generally annihilate the Baptism of all unto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of sex, of quality, of insufficiency, or whatsoever. For if want of calling do frustrate Baptism, they that baptize without calling do nothing, be they Women or Men. To make Women Teachers in the House of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, *I permit not a Woman to teach.* And again, *Let your Women in Churches be silent.* Those extraordinary gifts of speaking with Tongues and Prophecy, which God at that time did not only bestow upon Men, but on Women also, made it the harder to hold them confined within private bounds; whereupon the Apostle's Ordinance was necessary against Women's publick admission to teach. And because, when Law hath begun some one thing or other well, it giveth good occasion either to draw by judicious exposition out of the very Law itself, or to annex to the Law by authority and jurisdiction things of like conveniency, therefore Clement extendeth this Apostolick Constitution to Baptism. *For (saith he) if we have denied them leave to teach, how should any Man dispense with Nature, and make them Ministers of holy things; seeing this unskilfulness is a part of the Grecians' impiety, which for the service of Women-Goddeses have*

Whether Baptism by Women, be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.

1 Tim. ii.
12.
1 Tim. xiv.
34.

Clem.
Cont.
Apostol.
lib. iii. cap.

* T. C. l. i. p. 144. On this point, whether he be a Minister, or no, dependeth not only the dignity, but also the being of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptism of Women to be no more the holy Sacrament of Baptism, than any other daily or ordinary washing of the Child.

BOOK V. *Women-Priests?* I somewhat marvel, that Men which would not willingly be thought to speak or write but with good conscience, dare hereupon openly avouch Clement for a witness, *That as, when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the sincerity of Religion, it borrowed a number of other profanations of the Heathens; so it borrowed this, and would needs have Women-Priests, as the Heathens had; and that this was one occasion of bringing Baptism by Women into the Church of God.* Is it not plain in their own eyes, that first, by an evidence which forbiddeth Women to be Ministers of Baptism, they endeavour to shew how Women were admitted unto that function in the wane and declination of Christian Piety? Secondly, that by an evidence rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impiety, they would prove such affection towards Heathens as ordereth the affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example: and, thirdly, that out of an evidence which nameth the Heathens as being in some part a reason why the Church had no Women-Priests, they gather the Heathens to have been one of the first occasions why it had? So that throughout every branch of this testimony their issue is yea; and their evidence directly no. But to Women's Baptism in private by occasion of urgent necessity, the reasons that only concern ordinary Baptism in publick are no just prejudice; neither can we by force thereof disprove the practice of those Churches which (necessity requiring) allow Baptism in private to be administered by Women. We may not, from Laws that prohibit any thing with restraint, conclude absolute and unlimited prohibitions; although we deny not, but they which utterly forbid such Baptism may have perhaps wherewith to justify their Orders against it. For even things lawful * are well prohibited, when there

* *Licita prohibentur, ne si permitterentur eorum occasione perveniatur ad illicita. Lib. neque tamen. Just. de Afuth. Tut. lib. Officium. D. de Rei Vind.*

is fear lest they make the way to unlawful more easy. And it may be the liberty of Baptism by Women at such times doth sometimes embolden the rasher sort to do it where no such necessity is. But whether of permission besides Law, or in presumption against Law, they do it, is it thereby altogether frustrate, void, and as though it were never given? They which have not at the first their right Baptism must of necessity be re-baptized, because the Law of Christ tieth all Men to receive Baptism. Iteration of Baptism once given hath been always thought a manifest contempt of that ancient Apostolick Aphorism, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*: Baptism not only one, inasmuch as it hath every where the same Subtance, and offereth unto all Men the same Grace; but one also, for that it ought not to be received by any one Man above once. We serve that Lord which is but one, because no other can be joined with him: we embrace that Faith which is but one, because it admitteth no innovation: that Baptism we receive which is but one, because it cannot be received often. For how should we practise iteration of Baptism; and yet teach, that we are by Baptism born anew; that by Baptism we are admitted unto the heavenly Society of Saints; that those things be really and effectually done by Baptism, which are no more possible to be often done * than a Man can naturally be often born, or civilly be often adopted into any one Stock and Family? This also is the cause, why they that present us unto Baptism are entituled forever after our Parents in God, and

Ephes. iv. 5.

* Una est Nativitas de terra, alia de cælo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de masculino et fœmina, alia de Deo et Ecclesiâ. Sed ipsæ duæ singulares sunt. Quo modo enim uterus non potest repeti, sic nec Baptismus iterari. Prosp. Senten. 331. Eja fratres lacteam genitalis fontis ad laticem convolate, ut semper vobis aqua sufficiat, hoc ante omnia scientes quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rursus haurire. Zenoph. Invit. ad Font.

BOOK V. the reason why there we receive new names, in token, that by Baptism we are made new Creatures. As Christ hath therefore died and risen from the dead but once, so that Sacrament which both extinguisheth in him our former sin, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actual administration forever available; according to that in the Nicene Creed, *I believe one Baptism for remission of sins*. And because second Baptism was ever abhorred in the Church of God as a kind of incestuous Birth, they that iterate Baptism are driven under some pretence or other to make the former Baptism void. Tertullian, the first that proposed to the Church; Agrippinus, the first in the Church that accepted, and against the use of the Church; Novatianus, the first that publickly began to practise Re-baptization, did it therefore upon these two grounds; a true persuasion that Baptism is necessary; and a false, that the Baptism which others administered was no Baptism. Novatianus his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptism but the true Church of Jesus Christ; that he and his followers alone were the Church; and for the rest, he accounted them wicked and prophane Persons, such as by Baptism could cleanse no Man, unless they first did purify themselves, and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time St. Cyprian, with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly persuaded than that Hereticks are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reverse that Baptism which is given by Hereticks. These held and practised their own opinion, yet with great protestations often made, that they neither loved a whit the less, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrary mind. In requital

August. de
Bapt. con.
Don. lib. ii.
cap. 14.

Tert. de
Bapt.
Cypr. Epist.
71.

Euseb. lib.
vii. cap. 1,
2, 3. Cypr.
Epist. 70,
71, 72, 73,
74, 75, 76.

requital of which ingenuous moderation, the rest that BOOK V.
withstood them, did it in a peaceable sort, with very
good regard had of them, as of Men in error, but
not in heresy. The Bishop of Rome against their
novelties upheld, as befeemed him, the ancient and
true Apostolick Customs, till they which unadvisedly
before had erred became in a manner all * reconciled
friends unto Truth, and saw that Heresy in the
Ministers of Baptism could no way evacuate the
force thereof; † such Heresy alone excepted, as by
reason of unsoundness in the highest Articles of
Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by chang-
ing to maim the Substance, the Form of Baptism.
In which respect, the Church did neither simply
disannul, nor absolutely ratify Baptism by Hereticks.
For the Baptism which Novatianists gave stood firm,
whereas they whom Samosatenians had baptized were
re-baptized. It was likewise ordered in the Council
of Arles, that if any Arian did reconcile himself to
the Church, they should admit him without new
Baptism, unless by examination they found him not
baptized in the Name of the Trinity. Dionysius,
Bishop of Alexandria, maketh report, how there
lived under him a Man of good reputation and of
very ancient continuance in that Church, who being
present at the Rites of Baptism, and observing with
better consideration than ever before, what was there
done, came and with weeping submission craved of

Synod. Ni-
cæ. cap. 19.

Synod. i.
Arelat. cap.
8.

Euseb. Ec-
cles. Hist.
lib. vii.
cap. 8.

* Illi ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti novum emisere decretum. Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide et August. contr. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 2, 3. et Epist. 48.

† Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso Baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos Hæreticos pertinere, qui falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus unus sit, alter Patrem vult in persona Filii cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: et cæteri hujusmodi, qui a Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur. Optat. lib. i.

his

BOOK V. his Bishop not to deny him Baptism, the due of all which profess Christ, seeing it had been so long sithence his evil hap to be deceived by the fraud of Hereticks, and at their hands (which till now he never throughly and duly weighed) to take a Baptism full fraught with blasphemous impieties; a Baptism in nothing like unto which the true Church of Christ useth. The Bishop was greatly moved thereat, yet durst not adventure to re-baptize, but did the best he could to put him in good comfort, using much perswasion with him not to trouble himself with things that were past and gone, nor after so long continuance in the fellowship of God's People to call now in question his first entrance. The poor Man that saw himself in this sort answered, but not satisfied, spent afterwards his life in continual perplexity, whereof the Bishop remained fearful to give release; perhaps too fearful, if the Baptism were such as his own declaration importeth. For that, the substance whereof was rotten at the very first, is never by tract of time able to recover soundness; and where true Baptism was not before given, the case of Re-baptization is clear. But by this it appeareth, that Baptism is not void in regard of Heresy; and therefore much less through any other moral defect in the Minister thereof. Under which second pretence, Donatists notwithstanding took upon them to make frustrate the Church's Baptism, and themselves to re-baptize their own fry. For whereas some forty years after the Martyrdom of blessed Cyprian, the Emperor Dioclesian began to persecute the Church of Christ; and for the speedier abolishment of their Religion to burn up their sacred Books; there were in the Church itself Traditors, content to deliver up the Books of God by composition, to the end their own lives might be spared. Which Men growing thereby odious to the rest, whose constancy was greater; it fortun'd that after, when one Cecilian was ordained Bishop in the Church

Circa An.
300.

Church of Carthage, whom others endeavoured BOOK V.
 in vain to defeat by excepting against him as a Traditor, they whose accusations could not prevail, desperately joined themselves in one, and made a Bishop of their own crew, accounting from that day forward, their faction the only true and sincere Church. The first Bishop on that part was Majorinus, whose Successor Donatus being the first that wrote in defence of their Schism, the Birds that were hatched before by others have their names from him. Arians and Donatists began both about one time; which Heresies, according to the different strength of their own sinews, wrought as hope of success led them; the one with the choicest wits, the other with the multitude, so far that, after long and troublesome experience, the perfectest view Men could take of both, was hardly able to induce any certain determinate resolution whether error may do more by the curious subtilty of sharp discourse, or else by the mere appearance of zeal and devout affection; the latter of which two aids gave Donatists, beyond all Men's expectation, as great a sway as ever any Schism or Heresy had within that reach of the Christian World, where it bred and grew; the rather perhaps, because the Church, which neither greatly feared them, and besides had necessary cause to bend itself against others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Christ, was contented to let Donatists have their course by the space of threescore years and above, even from ten years before Constantine till the time that Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, published his Books Circa An. 370. against Parmenian. During which term, and the space of that Schism's continuance afterwards, they had, besides many other secular and worldly means to help them forward, these special advantages; first, the very occasion of their breach with the Church of God, a just hatred and dislike of Traditors, seemed plausible; they easily persuaded their hearers that
 such

BOOK V. such Men could not be holy as held communion and fellowship with them that betrayed Religion: again, when to dazzle the eyes of the simple, and to prove that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in shew and sound of words, the glorious pretence of the Creed Apostolick, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*; we need not think it any strange thing that with the multitude they gained credit: and avouching that such as are not of the true Church can administer no true Baptism, they had for this point whole Volumes of St. Cyprian's own writing, together with the judgments of divers African Synods, whose sentence was the same with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewise in defence of their just cause very greatly prejudiced, both for that they could not enforce the duty of Men's communion with a Church, confest to be in many things blame-worthy, unless they should oftentimes seem to speak as half-defenders of the faults themselves, or at the least not so vehement accusers thereof as their adversaries; and to withstand iteration of Baptism, the other branch of the Donatists' Heresy, was impossible, without manifest and profest rejection of Cyprian, whom the World universally did in his life-time admire as the greatest among Prelates, and now honour as not the lowest in the Kingdom of Heaven. So true we find it by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the Teacher's error is the People's trial, harder and heavier by so much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater that mis-persuadeth them. Although there was odds between Cyprian's cause and theirs, he differing from others of sounder understanding in that point, but not dividing himself from the Body of the Church by Schism, as did the Donatists. For which cause, saith Vincent. Li-
rin. adver.
He. ef. cap.
11. Vincentius, *Of one and the same opinion we judge (which may seem strange) the Authours Catholick and the Followers Heretical; we acquit the Masters and condemn the Scholars; they are Heirs of Heaven which have written*

written those Books, the Defenders whereof are trodden down to the pit of Hell. The invectives of Catholick Writers therefore against them are sharp; the words of imperial Edicts by Honorius and Theodosius, made to bridle them, very bitter, the punishments severe in revenge of their folly. Howbeit, for fear (as we may conjecture) lest much should be derogated from the Baptism of the Church, and Baptism by Donatists be more esteemed of than was meet; if, on the one side, that which Hereticks had done ill should stand as good; on the other side, that be reversed which the Catholick Church had well and religiously done; divers better minded than advised Men, thought it fittest to meet with this inconvenience by re-baptizing Donatists as well as they re-baptized Catholicks. For stay whereof the same Emperors saw it meet to give their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both sides cut off not only Hereticks which re-baptized, whom they could pervert; but also Catholick and Christian Priests which did the like unto such as before had taken Baptism at the hands of Hereticks, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatists were therefore, in process of time, though with much ado, wearied, and at length worn out by the constancy of that Truth which teacheth that evil Ministers of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waste to none but themselves only; and that the foulness of their hands can neither any whit impair the virtue, nor stain the glory of the Mysteries of Christ. Now that which was done amiss by virtuous and good Men (as Cyprian, carried aside with hatred against Heresy, and was secondly followed by Donatists whom envy and rancour, covered with shew of godliness, made obstinate to cancel whatsoever the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptism) hath of later days, in another respect far different from both the former, been brought freshly again into practice: for the Anabaptist re-baptizeth, because,

BOOK V.

Vide C. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 6. lib. Adversarios et lib. Nullus, circa An. 405.

Si quis C. Ne. Sanct. Baptif. circa An. 413.

because,

BOOK V. because, in his estimation, the Baptism of the Church is frustrate, for that we give it unto infants which have not Faith; whereas, according unto Christ's institution, as they conceive it, true Baptism should always presuppose actual Belief in Receivers, and is otherwise no Baptism. Of these three errors there is not any but hath been able, at the least, to alledge in defence of itself many fair probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto always constantly maintained, that to re-baptize them which are known to have received true Baptism is unlawful; that if Baptism seriously be administered in the same element, and with the same form of words which Christ's institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it frustrate, or deprive it of the nature of a true Sacrament; and lastly, that Baptism is only then to be re-administered, when the first delivery thereof is void, in regard of the fore-alleged imperfections, and no other; shall we now in the case of Baptism, which, having both for matter and form the substance of Christ's institution, is by a fourth sort of Men voided, for the only defect of Ecclesiastical Authority in the Minister, think it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare strength of their very breath, by saying, *We take such Baptism to be no more the Sacrament of Baptism, than any other ordinary bathing to be a Sacrament?* It behoveth generally all sort of Men to keep themselves within the limits of their own vocation; and seeing God, from whom Men's several degrees and pre-eminences do proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receive both Baptism and all other publick medicinable helps of Soul, perhaps thereby the more to settle our hearts in the love of our ghostly superiors; they have small cause to hope that with him their voluntary services will be accepted, who thrust themselves into functions, either above their capacity, or besides their place, and

Numb. xvi.

10.

Levit. x. i.

1 Sam. xiii.

11.

2 Sam. vi. 6.

2 Chron.

xxvi. 16.

Heb. v. 4.

and over-boldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compass of their own order, do as much as in them lieth to dissolve that order which is the harmony of God's Church. Suppose, therefore, that in these and the like considerations, the Law did utterly prohibit Baptism to be administered by any other than Persons thereunto solemnly consecrated what necessity soever happen; are not * many things firm being done, although in part done otherwise than positive rigour and strictness did require? Nature, as much as is possible, inclineth unto validities and preservations. Dissolutions and nullities of things done are not only not favoured, but hated, when either urged without cause, or extended beyond their reach. If therefore at any time it come to pass, that in teaching publickly or privately, in delivering this blessed Sacrament of Regeneration, some un sanctified hand, contrary to Christ's supposed Ordinance, do intrude itself to execute that whereunto the Laws of God and his Church have deputed others, which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with equity, our's that disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much less their nature and very substance, to depend on the Minister's authority and calling, or else † their's which defeat, disannul, and annihilate both, in respect of that one only personal defect, there being not any Law of God which saith, that if the Minister be incompetent, his Word shall

* 9. Q. ii. c. Lugdunensis ex literis Decret. de Matrim. contract. Damasc. Burch. Reg. 109. Prohibita fieri si fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles, contrarium obtinet.

† T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. As St. Paul saith, That a Man cannot preach which is not sent, Rom. x. 15; no, not although he speak the words of the Scripture, and interpret them; so I cannot see how a Man can baptize unless he be sent to that end, although he pour water, and rehearse the words which are to be rehearsed in the ministry of Baptism.

BOOK V. be no Word, his Baptism no Baptism? He which teacheth and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher. His usurped actions have in him the same nature which they have in others, although they yield not him the same comfort. And if these two cases be Peers, the case of Doctrine and the case of Baptism both alike; sith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that baptize make Baptism to be vain? * They grant, that the Matter and the Form in Sacraments are the only parts of Substance, and that if these two be retained, albeit other things besides be used which are inconvenient, the Sacrament notwithstanding is administered, but not sincerely. Why persist they not in this opinion? When by these fair speeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherefore sup they up their words again, interlacing such frivolous interpretations and glosses as disgrace their sentence? What should move them, having named the Matter and the Form of the Sacrament, to give us presently warning, that they mean by the Form of the Sacrament the Institution? Which exposition darkeneth whatsoever was before plain. For whereas, in common understanding, that Form which added to the Element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, containeth only the words of usual application, they set it down (lest common Dictionaries should deceive us) that the Form doth signify in their language, the Institution; which Institution in truth comprehendeth both Form and Matter. Such are their fumbling shifts to en-

T. C. lib.
iii. pag. 117.

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 165. If either the Matter of the Sacrament, or the Form of it, which is the Institution (which things are only substantial parts) were wanting, there should then have been no Sacrament at all ministered. But they being retained, and yet other things used which are not convenient, the Sacrament is ministered, but not sincerely.

close the Minister's vocation within the compass of BOOK V, some essential part of the Sacrament. A thing that can never stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the Minister be *no circumstance, but a subordinate efficient cause in the work of Baptism?* T. C. lib. iii. pag. 121. What if the Minister's Vocation be a matter * of perpetual necessity, and not a Ceremony variable as times and occasions require? What if his calling be a principal part of the Institution of Christ? Doth it therefore follow, that the Minister's Authority is † of the Substance of the Sacrament, and as incident into the nature thereof as the Matter and the Form itself, yea, more incident? For whereas in case of necessity, the greatest amongst them professeth the change of the Element of Water lawful, and others, which like not so well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarily the Words of Christ's Institution were altered, and Men baptized in the Name of Christ without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghost; nevertheless, in denying that Baptism administered by private Persons ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore please them both to consider, that Baptism is an action in part moral, in part ecclesiastical, and in part mystical: moral, as being a duty which Men perform towards God: ecclesiastical, in that it

* T. C. lib. iii. pag. 135. The Minister is of the Substance of the Sacrament, considering that it is a principal part of Christ's Institution. Beza. Epist. ii. Desit aqua, et tamen Baptismus alicujus differri cum ædificatione non possit, nec debeat; ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus rite quam aqua baptizarim.

† T. C. lib. iii. pag. 138. Shew me why the breach of the Institution in the Form should make the Sacrament unavailable, and not the breach of this part (which concerneth the Minister). T. C. ibid. Howsoever some learned and godly give some liberty in the change of the Elements of the holy Sacrament; yet I do not see how that can stand. Idem, pag. 137. I would rather judge him baptized, who is baptized into the name of Christ, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghost, when the Element of Water is added, than when the other words being duly kept, some other liquor is used.

BOOK V. belongeth unto God's Church as a publick duty:
 finally, myſtical, if we reſpect what God doth thereby
 intend to work. The greateſt moral perfection of
 Baptiſm conſiſteth in Men's devout obedience to the
 Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward
 act, or thing done, and alſo that religious affection which
 God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoever
 we do is hateful in his ſight; who therefore is ſaid to
 reſpect Adverbs more than Verbs, becauſe the end
 of his Law in appointing what we ſhall do is our
 own perfection; which perfection conſiſteth chiefly
 in the virtuous diſpoſition of the Mind, and approv-
 eth itſelf to him not by doing, but by doing well.
 Wherein appeareth alſo the difference between
 human and divine Laws; the one of which two are
 content with *Opus operatum*, the other require *Opus
 operantis*; the one do but claim the Deed, the other
 eſpecially the Mind. So that according to Laws,
 which principally reſpect the heart of Men, Works
 of Religion being not religiously performed cannot
 morally be perfect. Baptiſm as an eccleſiaſtical work
 is for the manner of performance ordered by divers
 eccleſiaſtical Laws, providing that as the Sacrament
 itſelf is a gift of no mean worth; ſo the miniſtry
 thereof might in all circumſtances appear to be a
 function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to
 the myſtical perfection of Baptiſm outwardly, is the
 Element, the Word, and the ſerious application of
 both unto him which receiveth both; whereunto, if
 we add that ſecret reference which this action hath to
 life and remiſſion of Sins, by virtue of Chriſt's own
 compact ſolemnly made with his Church, to accom-
 pliſh fully the Sacrament of Baptiſm, there is not
 any thing more required. Now put the queſtion,
 whether Baptiſm adminiſtered to infants, without
 any ſpiritual calling, be unto them both a true
 Sacrament, and an effectual inſtrument of Grace,
 or eſſe an act of no more account than the ordinary
 waſhings are? The ſum of all that can be ſaid to
 defeat

defeat such Baptism is, that those things which have no being can work nothing; and that Baptism, without the power of ordination, is as a judgment without sufficient jurisdiction, void, frustrate, and of no effect. But to this we answer, that the fruit of Baptism dependeth only upon the Covenant which God hath made: that God by Covenant requireth in the elder sort, Faith and Baptism; in Children, the Sacrament of Baptism alone, whereunto he hath also given them right by special privilege of birth within the bosom of the holy Church: that Infants therefore which have received Baptism complete, as touching the mystical perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own Covenant and Promise cleansed from all Sin; forasmuch as all other Laws, concerning that which in Baptism is either moral or ecclesiastical, do bind the Church which giveth Baptism, and not the Infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that if any thing be therein amiss, the harm which groweth by violation of holy Ordinances, must altogether rest where the bonds of such Ordinances hold. For, that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in jurisdictions, may somewhat appear by the very opinion which Men have of them. The nullity of that which a Judge doth by way of authority without authority is known to all Men, and agreed upon with full consent of the whole World; every Man receiveth it as a general Edict of Nature; whereas the nullity of Baptism, in regard of the like defect, is only a few Men's new, ungrounded, and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference of generality in Men's persuasions on the one side, and their paucity whose conceit leadeth them the other way, hath risen from a difference easy to observe in the things themselves. The exercise of unauthorized jurisdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without authority presume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all Men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the Mi-

BOOK V. nisters thereof as Parents, or as Nurses; at whose hands, when there is necessity, but no possibility of receiving it, if that which they are not present to do in right of their Office, be of pity and compassion done by others; shall this be thought to turn celestial bread into gravel, or the medicine of Souls into poison? Jurisdiction is a yoke which Law hath imposed on the necks of Men in such sort, that they must endure it for the good of others, how contrary soever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations. Jurisdiction bridleth Men against their wills; that which a Judge doth prevails by virtue of his very power; and therefore not without great reason, except the Law hath given him Authority, whatsoever he doth vanisheth. Baptism on the other side, being a favour which it pleaseth God to bestow, a benefit of Soul to us that receive it, and a Grace which they that deliver are but as mere vessels, either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this Service; of which two, if they be the one, it is but their own honour; their own offence to be the other. Can it possibly stand with *equity and right, that the faultiness of their presumption in giving Baptism should be able to prejudice us, who by taking Baptism have no way offended? I know there are many sentences found in the Books and Writings of the ancient Fathers, to prove both ecclesiastical and also moral defects in the minister of Baptism a bar to the heavenly benefit thereof. Which sentences we always so understand, as Augustin understood in a case of like nature the words of St. Cyprian. When Infants baptized were, after their Parents revolt, carried by them in arms to the Stews of Idols, those wretched Creatures, as St. Cyprian thought, were not only their own ruin, but their Children's also: *Their Chil-*

August.
Epist. 23.

* Factum alterius alii nocere non debet. Ulp. lib. de Pupillo, sect. Si plurimum. Item, Alphen. lib. Pater-familias. De Hære. Instit. Maleficia tenent Authores suos, non alios. Lib. Sancimus, 22. C. de Pœn.

aren, whom this their Apostacy prophaned, *did lose* BOOK V.
what Christian Baptism had given them being newly
born. They lost (saith St. Augustin) *the Grace of*
Baptism, if we consider to what their Parents impiety did
tend; although the Mercy of God preserved them,
 and will also in that dreadful day of account give
 them favourable audience, pleading in their own
 behalf, *The harm of other Men's perfidiousness it lay not*
in us to avoid. After the same manner, whatioever
 we read written, if it found to the prejudice of
 Baptism through any either moral or ecclesiastical
 defect therein, we construe it as Equity and Reason
 teacheth, with restraint to the offender only; which
 doth, as far as concerneth himself and them which
 wittingly concur with him, make the Sacrament of
 God fruitless. St. Augustin's* doubtfulness, whether
 Baptism by a Lay-man may stand, or ought to be
 re-administered, should not be mentioned by them
 which presume to define peremptorily of that where-
 in he was content to profess himself unresolved.
 Albeit, in very truth, his opinion is plain enough;
 but the manner of delivering his judgment being
 modest, they make of a virtue an imbecility, and
 impute his calmness of speech to an irresolution of
 mind. His disputation in that place is against Par-
 menian, which held that a Bishop or a Priest, if they
 fall into any Heresy, do thereby lose the power
 which they had before to baptize; and that there-
 fore Baptism by Hereticks is merely void. For
 answer whereof, he first denieth that Heresy can
 more deprive Men of power to baptize others, than
 it is of force to take from them their own Baptism;
 and in the second place, he farther addeth, that if
 Hereticks did lose the power which before was given

* T. C. lib. iii. pag. 136. Augustin standeth in doubt, whether Baptism by a Lay-man be available or no. Cont. Lit. Pyrm. lib. ii. cap. 13. Where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was ministered by a Woman, whose unaptness herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

BOOK V. them by Ordination, and did therefore unlawfully usurp as oft as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptism, it followeth not, that Baptism by them administered without authority is no Baptism. For then what should we think of Baptism by Lay-men, to whom authority was never given? I doubt (saith St. Augustin) whether any Man which carrieth a virtuous and godly mind will affirm, that the Baptism which Lay-men do in case of necessity administer should be iterated; *For to do it unnecessarily, is to execute another Man's Office; necessity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all* (much less so grievous a crime that it should deserve to be termed by the name of Sacrilege*) *or, if any, a very pardonable fault. But suppose it even of very purpose usurped, and given unto any Man, by every Man that listeth; yet that which is given cannot possibly be denied to have been given, how truly soever we may say it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful usurpation, a penitent affection must redress. If not, the thing that was given shall remain to the hurt and detriment of him which unlawfully either administered or received the same; yet so, that in this respect it ought not to be reputed as if it had not at all been given.* Whereby we may plainly perceive, that St. Augustin was not himself uncertain what to think, but doubtful whether any well-minded Man in the whole World could think otherwise than he did. Their argument taken from a stolen Seal,† may return to the place out of which they had

* T. C. l. i. p. 116. The Sacrilege of private Persons, Women especially, in administering the holy Sacrament of Baptism.

† T. C. lib. iii. p. 139. As by the Seal which the Prince hath set apart to seal his Grants with, when it is stolen and set to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no assurance to the party that hath it; so if it were possible to be the Seal of God which a Woman should set to, yet for that she hath stolen it, and put it to, not only without, but contrary to the Commandment of God; I see not how any can take any assurance by reason thereof.

it, for it helpeth their cause nothing. That which Men give or grant to others, must appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifest, their Gifts and Grants are thereby made effectual, both to bar themselves from revocation, and to affecure the right they have given. Wherein for further prevention of Mischiefs that otherwise might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of Men, it is both equal and meet that the strength of Men's Deeds and the Instruments which declare the same should strictly depend upon divers solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that pass between God and us; because sith we need not doubt, lest the treasures of his heavenly Grace should without his consent be past by forged conveyances; nor lest he should deny at any time his own acts, and seek to revoke what hath been consented unto before; as there is no such fear of danger through deceit and falsehood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of Men's persons that weight in Baptism, which for good and just considerations in the custody of Seals of Office it ought to have. The Grace of Baptism cometh by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the ministry of Baptism unto special Men, it is for order's sake in his Church, and not to the end that their Authority might give being or add force to the Sacrament itself. That Infants have right to the Sacrament in Baptism we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileful and wrongful possessors of that, whereunto they have right by the manifest will of the Donor, and are not parties unto any defect or disorder in the manner of receiving the same. And if any such disorder be, we have sufficiently before declared, that *delictum cum capite semper ambulat*, Men's own faults are their own harms. Wherefore, to countervail this and the like mischoten resemblances with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the Ordinance of God, concerning

BOOK V.

their Vocation that minister Baptism wherein the Mystery of our Regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the same analogy which Laws of Wedlock have to our first Nativity and Birth: so that if Nature do effect procreation, notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach even of Nature's Law, made that the entrance of all Mankind into this present world might be without blemish; may we not justly presume that Grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultiness in them that transgress the Order which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumcision, for explication of what is true in this question of Baptism. Seeing then, that even they which condemn Zipporah the Wife of Moses, * for taking upon her to circumcise her Son, a thing necessary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, considering how Moses, because himself had not done it sooner, was therefore stricken by the Hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the Office; whereupon, for the stay of God's indignation there was no choice, but the action must needs fall into her hands; whose fact therein, whether we interpret as some have done, that being a Midianite and as yet not so

Exod. iv.
24.

* T. C. lib. i. pag 144. I say, that the unlawfulness of that fact doth appear sufficiently, in that she did it before her husband Moses, which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of Circumcision did appertain. Besides, that she did cut off the fore-skin of the Infant, not of mind to obey the Commandment of God, or for the Salvation of the Child, but in a choler only, to the end that her Husband might be eased and have release; which mind appeareth in her, both by her words, and by casting away in anger, the fore-skin which she had cut off. And if it be said, that the event declared, that the act pleased God, because that Moses forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his sickness; I have shewed before, that if we measure things by the event, we shall oftentimes justify the Wicked, and take the righteousness of the Righteous from them.

throughly

thoroughly acquainted with the Jewish Rites, it much discontented her to see herself, through her Husband's oversight, in a matter of his own Religion, brought unto these perplexities and streights; that either she must now endure him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her own Child; which she could not do but with some indignation, shewed in that she fumingly both threw down the fore-skin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his Religion. Or, if we better like to follow their more judicious exposition, which are not inclinable to think that Moses was matched like Socrates, nor that Circumcision could now in Eleazar be strange unto her, having had Gersom her elder Son before circumcised; nor that any occasion of choler could rise from a spectacle of such misery, as doth * naturally move compassion and not wrath; nor that Zipporah was so impious, as in the visible presence of God's deserved anger to storm at the Ordinance and Law of God; nor that the words of the History itself can enforce any such affection: but do only declare how after the act performed she touched the feet of Moses, saying, † *Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum, Thou art unto me an Husband of blood*; which might be very well, the one done and the other spoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and love to signify, with hands laid under his feet, that her tender affection towards him

* *Mala passis non irascimur, sed compatimur.* Boet. de Consol.

† Where the usual Translation hath, Exod. iv. 25. She cut away the fore-skin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Thou art indeed a bloody Husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then she said, O bloody Husband, because of the Circumcision. The words, as they lie in the original, are rather thus to be interpreted: and she cut off the fore-skin of her Son. Which being done, she touched his feet (the feet of Moses), and said, Thou art to me an Husband of blood (in the plural number, thereby signifying effusion of blood.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when she said, A Husband of blood, in regard of Circumcision.

BOOK V. had caused her thus to forget Womanhood, to lay
 all motherly affection aside, and to redeem her Husband out of the hands of death with effusion of blood: the sequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain argument that God was satisfied with that she did; as may appear by his own testimony, declaring how there followed in the person of Moses present release of his grievous punishment, upon her speedy discharge of that duty which by him neglected had offended God; even, as after execution of justice by the hands of Phineas the Plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of sin had caused. In which so manifest and plain cases, not to make that a reason of the event which God himself hath set down as a reason, were falsely to accuse whom he doth justify, and without any cause to traduce what we should allow; yet seeing they which will have it a breach of the Law of God for her to circumcise in that necessity, are not able to deny but Circumcision being in that very manner performed was to the innocent Child which received it true Circumcision; why should that defect, whereby Circumcision was so little weakened, be to Baptism a deadly wound? These premises therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, because the Commandment of our Saviour Christ, * which

Pfal. cvi.
30.

* T. C. lib. iii. pag. 142. Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to administer the Sacraments which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the publick Ministers have only this charge of the Word; and seeing that the administration of both these are so linked together, that the denial of licence to do one, is a denial to do the other; as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other; considering also that to minister the Sacraments, is an honour in the Church which none can take unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was Aaron: and further, forasmuch as the baptizing by private Persons, and by Women especially, confirmeth the dangerous error of the Condemnation of young Children which die without Baptism; last of all, seeing we have the consent of the godly learned of all times against the Baptism by Women, and of the reformed Churches now, against the Baptism by private Men; we conclude, that the Administration

committeth jointly to publick Ministers both Doctrines and Baptism, doth no more, by linking them together, import that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Minister's authority and power to preach the Word, than the force and virtue of the Word doth on licence to give the Sacrament; and considering that the Work of external Ministry in Baptism is only a pre-eminence of honour, which they that take to themselves, and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, do but themselves in their own persons, by means of such usurpation, incur the just blame of disobedience to the Law of God; farther also, inasmuch as it standeth with no reason, that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other Men's deeds should make frustrate whatsoever is misconceived, and that Baptism by Women should cease to be Baptism as oft as any Man will thereby gather that Children which die unbaptized are damned; which opinion if the act of Baptism, administered in such manner, did enforce, it might be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defeating or making it altogether void: last of all, whereas general and full consent of the godly learned in all ages doth make for validity of Baptism; yea, albeit administered in private, and even by Women; which kind of Baptism, in case of necessity, divers reformed Churches do both allow and defend; some others which do not defend, tolerate; few, in comparison, and they without any just cause, do utterly disannul and annihilate: surely, howsoever through defect on either side, the Sacrament may be without fruit, as well in some cases to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it; yet no disability of either part can so far make it frustrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very Nature of true Baptism, having all things else which the Or-

BOOK V.

Administration of this Sacrament by private Persons, and especially by Women, is merely both unlawful and void.

dinance

BOOK V.

Interrogatories in Baptism touching Faith, and the purpose of a Christian life.

dinance of Christ requireth. Whereupon we may consequently infer, that the Administration of this Sacrament by private Persons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be merely void.

63. All that are of the Race of Christ the Scripture nameth them, *Children of the Promise* which God hath made. The promise of eternal Life is the seed of the Church of God. And because there is no attainment of life, but through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwise than being such as the Creed Apostolick describeth; it followeth that the Articles thereof are Principles necessary for all Men to subscribe unto, whom by Baptism the Church receiveth into Christ's school. All points of Christian Doctrine are either demonstrable Conclusions, or demonstrative Principles. Conclusions have strong and invincible Proofs, as well in the School of Jesus Christ, as elsewhere. And Principles be grounds which require no proof in any kind of Science, because it sufficeth, if either their certainty be evident in itself, or evident by the light of some higher knowledge; and in itself, such as no Man's knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the Principles whereupon we do build our Souls, have their evidence where they had their original; and as received from thence, we adore them, we hold them in reverend admiration, we neither argue nor dispute about them, we give unto them that assent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us, that the highest point of our Wisdom is, * *Believe*. That which is true, and neither can be discerned by Sense nor concluded by mere natural Principles, must have Principles of revealed Truth whereupon to build itself, and an habit of Faith in us, wherewith

* Apostate maledictum. Ὅτι οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πείσυσσον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶ σέβας. Naz. Orat. i. contr. Julia.

Principles of that kind are apprehended. *The Mysteries of our Religion are above the reach of our Understanding, above the discourse of Man's Reason, above all that any Creature can comprehend. Therefore the first thing required of him which standeth for admission into Christ's Family, is Belief. Which Belief consisteth not so much in knowledge, as in acknowledgment of all things that Heavenly Wisdom revealeth; the Affection of Faith is above her reach, her Love to God-ward above the comprehension which she hath of God. And because only for Believers all things may be done, he which is Goodness itself loveth them above all. Deserve we then the Love of God, because we believe in the Son of God? What more opposite than Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them and loved them, because they were all as himself had made them. So the true reason wherefore Christ doth love Believers is, because their Belief is the gift of God, a gift than which flesh and blood in this World cannot possibly receive a greater. And as to love them, of whom we receive good things is duty, because they satisfy our desires in that which else we should want; so to love them on whom we bestow, is Nature, because in them we behold the effects of our own virtue. Seeing therefore no Religion enjoyeth Sacraments, the signs of God's love, unless it have also that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more convenient than that our first admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptism should be consecrated with Profession of Belief? † which is to the Kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other saving grace. We

BOOK V.

Matt. xvi.

17.

John i. 12.

* Ἐπὲρ νοῦν, ἐπὲρ λόγον, ἐπὲρ κατάληψιν κτιστῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα.
Juss. Mart. Expos. Fid.

† Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus Templi non efficitur, quod Antistitem non habet veram fidem. Hieron. adv. Lucif. cap. iv.

BOOK V. find by experience, that, although Faith be an intellectual habit of the Mind, and have her seat in the Understanding; yet an evil moral disposition, obstinately wedded to the love of darkness, dampeth the very light of heavenly Illumination, and permitteth not the Mind to see what doth shine before it. Men are *lovers of pleasure, more than lovers of God*. Their assent to his saving Truth is many times withheld from it, not that the Truth is too weak to persuade, but because the stream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the Mind therefore may abide in the light of Faith, there must abide in the Will as constant a resolution to have no fellowship at all with the vanities and works of darkness. Two Covenants there are which Christian Men (saith Isidore) do make in Baptism, the one concerning relinquishment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Christ. In like sort St. Ambrose, *He which is baptized, forsaketh the intellectual Pharaoh, the Prince of this World, saying, Abrenuncio; Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandates I forsake utterly*. Tertullian having speech of wicked Spirits: *These (saith he) are the Angels which we in Baptism renounce*. The Declaration of *Justin the Martyr concerning Baptism sheweth how such as the Church in those days did baptize, made profession of Christian Belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter easy for any Man to prove that ever Baptism did use to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding hath said, *That the Baptism which saveth us, is not (as legal Purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but ἐπιζώτημα, an interrogative trial of a good conscience towards God*.

Isid. de
Offic.
Eccles. lib.
ii. cap. 24.

Ambros.
Hexam. lib.
i. cap. 4.

Tertul. de
Spectac.

2 Pet. iii.
21.

* Ὅσοι ἀν ποιῶσι καὶ πιστεύσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βουλὴν ἔσται δένειν ἐπισχῶνται, εὐχεσθῶσι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν κηρύσσοντες πᾶρα τῷ Θεῷ τῶν προσημασμένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἀγῶνται ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὕδαρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως οὐ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννηθῶμεν ἀναγεννῶνται. Justin. Apol.

64. Now the fault which they find with us concerning interrogatories is, our moving of these questions unto Infants which cannot answer them, and the answering of them by others as in their names. BOOK V
Interrogatories proposed unto Infants in baptism, and answered as in their names by Godfathers. The Anabaptist hath many pretences to scorn at the Baptism of Children: first, because the Scriptures, he saith, do no where give Commandment to baptize Infants: secondly, for that, as there is no Commandment, so neither any manifest example shewing it to have been done either by Christ or his Apostles: thirdly, in as much as the Word preached and the Sacraments must go together, they which are not capable of the one, are not fit receivers of the other: last of all, sith the Order of Baptism continued from the first beginning hath in it those things which are unfit to be applied to sucking Children, it followeth in their conceit, that the Baptism of such is no Baptism, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the Baptism of Infants; it is not their desire that the Church should hazard so many Souls by letting them run on till they come to ripeness of understanding, that so they may be converted and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God so unthankful minds as not to acknowledge it even amongst the greatest of his endless Mercies, that by making us his own possession so soon, many advantages which Satan otherwise might take are prevented, and (which should be esteemed a part of no small happiness) the first thing whereof we have occasion to take notice is, how much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge. The Baptism of Infants they esteem as an Ordinance which Christ hath instituted, even in special love and favour to his own people: they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the hands, and continued from the days of the Apostles themselves unto this present; only it pleaseth them not, that to Infants there should be interrogatories proposed

BOOK V. posed in Baptism.* This they condemn as foolish, toyish and prophane mockery. But are they able to shew, that ever the Church of Christ had any publick Form of Baptism without interrogatories; or that the Church did ever use at the solemn Baptism of Infants to omit those Questions as need-

Aug. Epist. less in this case? Boniface, a Bishop in St. Augustin's time, knowing that the Church did universally use this Custom of baptizing Infants with Interrogatories, was desirous to learn from St. Augustin the true cause and reason thereof. *If (saith he) I should set before thee a young Infant, and should ask of thee, whether that Infant when he cometh unto riper age will be honest and just, or no; thou wouldst answer (I know) that to tell in these things what shall come to pass, is not in the power of mortal Men. If I should ask, what good or evil such an Infant thinketh? Thine answer hereunto must needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canst promise for the time to come, nor for the present pronounce any thing in this case; how is it, that when such are brought unto Baptism, their Parents there undertake what the Child shall afterwards do? Yea, they are not doubtful to say, it doth that which is impossible to be done by Infants; at the least there is no Man precisely able to affirm it done. Vouchsafe me hereunto some short answer, such as not only may press me with the bare authority of Custom, but also instruct me in the cause thereof.* Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be said for Infants at the time of their Baptism that they do believe, the effect of St. Augustin's answer is Yea; but with this distinction, † a present *actual habit*

Aug. Epist.
xxiii.

* They prophane holy Baptism in toying foolishly; for that they ask Questions of an Infant which cannot answer, and speak unto them, as was wont to be spoken unto Men, and unto such as being converted, answered for themselves and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore against the holy Scriptures, Gal. vi. 7. Admonition to the Parliament. The same defended in 'T. C. lib. i. pag. 168.

† Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei Sacramentum percipiendo.
Aug.

of Faith there is not in them; there is delivered unto them that Sacrament a part of the due celebration whereof consisting in answering to the Articles of Faith, because the habit of Faith which afterwards doth come with years, is but a farther building up of the same edifice, *the first foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament of Baptism*. For that which there we professed without any understanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing else but only bring unto ripeness the very seed that was sown before? We are then Believers because then we begin to be that which process of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actual Belief, the very Sacrament of Faith is a shield as strong, as after this the Faith of the Sacrament against all contrary infernal Powers. Which whosoever doth think impossible, is undoubtedly farther off from Christian Belief, though he be baptized, than are these Innocents which at their Baptism, albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of Faith, are notwithstanding pure and free from all opposite cogitations; whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any fear or scruple we may account them and term them Believers, only for their outward profession's sake, which inwardly are farther from Faith than Infants, why not Infants much more at the time of their solemn initiation by Baptism, the Sacrament of Faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing opposite, but have also that *Grace given them which is the first and most effectual cause out of which our Belief groweth? In sum, the whole Church is a multitude of Believers, all honoured with that

* Multum mirabilis res est, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoscentium Deum fit inhabitator Deus; et quorundam cognoscentium non fit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt: et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli sanctificati Sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu Sancto qui per ætatem nondum possunt cognoscere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere, illi potuerunt habere antequam nosse. Aug. Epist. lvii.

BOOK V. title, even Hypocrites for their Profession's sake, as well as Saints because of their inward sincere persuasion, and *Infants as being in the first degree of their ghostly motion towards the actual habit of Faith*; the first sort are faithful in the eye of the World; the second faithful in the sight of God; the last in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after be suitable to these their present beginnings. *This* (saith St. Augustin) *would not haply content such persons as are incapable or unquiet; but to them which, having knowledge, are not troublesome, it may suffice. Wherein I have not for ease of myself objected against you that custom only, than which nothing is more firm, but of a custom most profitable, I have done that little which I could, to yield you a reasonable cause.* Were St. Augustin now living, there are which would tell him for his better instruction, that to say * of a Child, it is elect, and to say, it doth believe, are all one; for which cause, sith no Man is able precisely to affirm the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth, that precisely and absolutely we ought not to say the other. Which precise and absolute terms are needless in this case. We speak of Infants as the rule of piety alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves, in ordinary talk, a charitable kind of liberty to name Men of their own sort God's dear Children (notwithstanding the large reign of Hypocrisy) should not methinks be so strict and rigorous against the Church for presuming as it doth of a Christian Innocent. For when we know how Christ in general hath said that *of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*, which Kingdom is the Inheritance of God's Elect; and do withal behold, how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 169. If Children could have Faith, yet, they that present the child cannot precisely tell whether that particular child hath Faith, or no; we are to think charitably, and to hope it is one of the Church; but it can be no more precisely said that it hath Faith, than it may be said precisely elected.

eternal Life, and presented them at the Well-spring BOOK V.
of New-birth, wherein original sin is purged; be-
sides which sin, there is no hindrance of their Sal-
vation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard
it were, that having so many fair inducements where-
upon to ground, we should not be thought to utter,
at the least, a truth as probable and allowable in
termining any such particular Infant an elect Babe, as 2 John 2.
in presuming the like of others whose safety never-
theless we are not absolutely able to warrant. If any,
troubled with these scruples, be only for instruction's
sake desirous to know yet some farther reason why
Interrogatories should be ministered to Infants in
Baptism, and be answered unto by others as in their
names; they may consider, that Baptism implieth a
Covenant or League between God and Man, where-
in as God doth bestow presently remission of sins and
the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add in pro-
cess of time what Grace soever shall be farther ne-
cessary for the attainment of everlasting Life; so
every baptized Soul, receiving the same Grace at the
hands of God, tieth likewise itself forever to the ob-
servation of his Law, no less than the Jews by Cir-
cumcision bound themselves to the Law of Moses. Gal. iii. 5.
The Law of Christ requiring therefore Faith and
newness of Life in all Men, by virtue of the Cove-
nant which they make in Baptism, is it toyish that
the Church in Baptism exacteth at every Man's
hands an express profession of Faith, and an irre-
vocable promise of Obedience by way of * solemn
stipulation? That Infants may contract and cove-
nant with God, the Law is plain. Neither is the Gen. xvii.
reason of the Law obscure: for sith it tendeth, we 14.

* Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interroga-
tur daturum facturumve se quod interrogatus est, respondet. Lib.
v. sect. 1. ff. de Oblig. et Act. In hac re olim talia verba tra-
dita fuerunt: Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide
promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis?
Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Instit. de Verb. oblig. lib. iii. tit. 15.

BOOK V. cannot sufficiently exprefs how much, to their own
 ——— good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to
 begin the race of their lives herewith; they are, as
 equity requireth, admitted hereunto, and, in favour
 of their tender years, fuch formal complements of
 Stipulation, as being requisite are impoffible by them-
 felves in their own perfons to be performed, leave
 is given that they may * fufficiently difcharge by
 others. Albeit therefore neither deaf, nor dumb
 Men, neither furious Perfons, nor Children, can re-
 ceive any civil Stipulation; yet this kind of ghofly
 ftipulation they may through his indulgence, who,
 refpecting the fingular benefit thereof, accepteth
 Children brought unto him for that end, entereth
 into Articles of Covenant with them, and in tender
 commiferation granteth that other Men's profefions
 and promifes in Baptifm made for them fhall avail
 no lefs than if they had been themfelves able to have
 made their own. None more fit to undertake this
 office in their behalf than fuch as prefent them unto
 Baptifm. A wrong conceit that none may receive
 the Sacrament of Baptifm but they whofe Parents,
 at the leaft the one of them, are by the foundnefs of
 their Religion, and by their virtuous demeanor known
 to be Men of God, hath caufed fome to repel Chil-
 dren, whofoever bring them, if their Parents be mi-
 fperfuaded in Religion, or for other mi-deferts ex-
 communicated; fome likewise for that caufe to with-
 hold Baptifm unlefs the Father, albeit no fuch ex-
 ception can juftly be taken againft him, do notwith-
 ftanding make profefion of his Faith and avouch the
 Child to be his own. Thus whereas God hath ap-
 pointed them Minifters of holy things, they make
 themfelves inquirors of Men's perfons a great deal

T. C. I. I.
 P. 172.

* *Accommodat illis mater Ecclefia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur, ut quoniam quod ægri funt alio peccante prægravantur, fic cum fani funt alio pro eis confitente falventur.* Aug. Serm. x. de Verb. Apoft.

farther

farther than need is. They should consider, that BOOK V.
 God hath ordained Baptism in favour of Mankind. To restrain favours is an odious thing; to enlarge them, acceptable both to God and Man. Whereas therefore the Civil Law gave divers Immunities to them that were Fathers of three Children, and had them living; those Immunities they held, although their Children were all dead, if War had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against reason to repute them by a courteous construction of Law as live Men*, in that the honour of their Service done to the Commonwealth would remain always: can it hurt us, in exhibiting the Graces which God doth bestow on Men? or can it prejudice his glory, if the self-same equity guide and direct our hands? When God made his Covenant with such as had Abraham to their Father, was only Abraham's immediate issue, or only his lineal Posterity according to the flesh, included in that Covenant? Were not Profelytes as well as Jews always taken for the Sons of Abraham? Yea, because the very Heads of Families are Fathers in some sort, as touching providence and care for the meanest that belong unto them, the Servants which Abraham had bought with money were as capable of Circumcision, being newly born, as any natural Child that Abraham himself begat. Be it then that Baptism belongeth to none but such as either believe presently, or else being Infants are the Children of believing Parents, in case the Church do bring Children to the holy Font, whose natural Parents are either unknown, or known to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that severity to take compassion upon their Offspring, (for it is the Church † which

* Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Instit. lib. ii. tit. 25. sect. 1.

† Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamvis et ab ipsis, si et ipsi boni et fideles sint, quam ab universa societate

BOOK V. doth offer them to Baptism by the Ministry of Pre-
 senters) were it not against both equity and duty to
 refuse the Mother of Believers herself, and not to
 take her in this case for a faithful Parent? It is not
 the virtue of our Fathers, nor the Faith of any other,
 that can give us the true Holiness which we have
 by virtue of our New-birth. Yet even through
 the common Faith and Spirit of God's Church (a
 thing which no quality of Parents can prejudicé) I
 say, through the Faith of the Church of God, un-
 dertaking the motherly care of our Souls, so far
 forth we may be and are in our Infancy sanctified,
 as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of Baptism,
 and to be interessed in the Rites of our New-birth
 for their piety's sake that offer us thereunto. *It
 cometh sometime to pass (saith St. Augustin) that the
 Children of Bond-slaves are brought to Baptism by their
 Lord; sometime the Parents being dead, the Friends
 alive undertake that office; sometime Strangers or Virgins
 consecrated unto God, which neither have, nor can have
 Children of their own, take up Infants in the open streets,
 and so offer them unto Baptism, whom the cruelty of un-
 natural Parents casteth out and leaveth to the adventure
 of uncertain pity. As therefore he which did the
 part of a Neighbour, was a Neighbour to that
 wounded Man whom the Parable of the Gospel de-
 scribeth, so they are Fathers, although Strangers,
 that bring Infants to him which maketh them the
 Sons of God. In the phrase of some kind of Men,
 they use to be termed Witnesses, as if they came
 but to see and testify what is done. It savoureth
 more of piety to give them their old accustomed
 name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they
 are well put in mind what affection they ought to
 bear towards those Innocents for whose religious*

sanctorum atque fidelium. Aug. in Erist. xxiii. Ἀξιούσαι δὲ τῶν
 διὰ τὸ Βαπτισμῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ βίβησιν τῇ πίσει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ
 πρὸς Βαπτισματι. Justin. Resp. ad Orthod.

education

education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their own duty : but because the answer which they make to the usual demands of stipulation proposed in Baptism is not their own ; the Church doth best to receive it of them, in that form which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a Guardian doth in the name of his Guard or Pupil, standeth by natural equity forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge ; and shall we judge it a thing unreasonable, or in any respect unfit, that Infants by words which others utter should, though unwittingly, yet truly and forcibly bind themselves to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith Nestorius* the Heretick was charged, as having fallen from his first Profession, and broken the promise which he made to God in the arms of others. Of such as profaned themselves, being Christians, with irreligious delight in the ensigns of Idolatry, heathenish spectacles, shows and stage-plays, Tertullian, to strike them the more deep, claimeth the promise which they made in Baptism. Why were they dumb, being thus challenged? Wherefore stood they not up to answer it in their own defence, that such Professions and Promises made in their names were frivolous ; that all which others undertook for them was but mockery and pro-

Tertul. lib.
de Spectac.

* Si Arrianæ aut Sabellianæ herefeseos adfertor effes, et non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen testimoniorum sacrorum auctoritate. Quid tandem si sic apud te agerem? quid diceres? quid responderes? nonne obsecro illud, in eo te baptisatum, in eo te renatum esse? Et vere, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna deiensio, et quæ non absurde causam erroris diceres, si pertinaciam non sociares errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica urbe natus, Catholica Fide institutus, Catholico Baptismate regeneratus sis, nunquid agere tecum quasi cum Arriano aut Sabelliano possim? Quod utinam fuisses. Minus dolerem in malis editum quam de bonis lapsum; minus Fidem non habitam quam amissam. Non iniquum autem, Hæretice, non iniquum aut grave aliquid postulo. Hoc fac in Catholica Fide editus, quod fueras pro perverfitate facturus. Cassia. de Incarn. lib. vi. cap. 5.

BOOK V. fanation? That which no Heretick, no wicked liver, no impious despiser of God, no miscreant or malefactor, which had himself been baptized, was ever so desperate as to disgorge in contempt of so fruitfully received Customs, is now their voice that restore, as they say, *the ancient Purity of Religion.*

Of the
Cross in
Baptism.

65. In Baptism many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean abolished; for that the virtue and Grace of this Sacrament had been therewith overshadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithstanding to them which think that always imperfect Reformation that doth but shear and not flay, our retaining certain of those formal Rites, especially the dangerous Sign of the Cross, hath seemed almost an impardonable oversight. *The Cross (they say) sith it is but a mere invention of Man, should not therefore at all have been added to the Sacrament of Baptism. To sign Children's foreheads with a Cross, in token that hereafter they shall not be ashamed to make Profession of the Faith of Christ, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Christ. That reason which moved the Fathers to use, should move us not to use the Sign of the Cross. They lived with Heathens that had the Cross of Christ in contempt; we with such as adore the Cross; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like consideration, Ezekias did of old the brazen serpent.* These are the causes of displeasure conceived against the Cross; a Ceremony, the use whereof hath been profitable, although we observe it not as the Ordinance of God, but of Man. *For (saith Tertullian) if of this and the like Customs thou shouldst require some Commandment to be shewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found. What reason there is to justify Tradition, Use or Custom in this behalf, either thou mayst of thyself perceive, or else learn of some other that doth. Lest therefore the name of Tradition should be offensive to any, considering how far by some it hath been*
and

Tertul. de
Caton. Mi-
litia.

and is abused, we mean by * Traditions, Ordinances BOOK V.
 made in the prime of Christian Religion, established
 with that Authority which Christ hath left to his
 Church for matters indifferent; and in that consider-
 ation requisite to be observed, till like Authority see
 just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that Tra-
 ditions Ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be
 shaken off, because the Inventors of them were Men.
 Such as say, they allow no † invention of Men to be
 mingled with the outward Administration of Sacra-
 ments; and, under that pretence, condemn our using
 the Sign of the Cross, have belike some special dis-
 pensation themselves to violate their own Rules. For
 neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever bap-
 tize any without manifest breach of this their pro-
 found Axiom, *That Men's Inventions should not be
 mingled with Sacraments and Institutions of God.* They
 seem to like very well in Baptism the Custom of God-
 fathers, *because so generally the Churches have received it.* T. C. l. i.
 Which Custom being of God no more instituted than P 170.
 the other (howsoever they pretend the other hurtful
 and this profitable) it followeth, that even in their own
 opinion, if their words do shew their minds, there is
 no necessity of stripping Sacraments out of all such
 attire of Ceremonies as Man's wisdom hath at any time
 clothed them withal; and consequently, that either
 they must reform their speech as over-general, or else
 condemn their own practice as unlawful. Ceremonies
 have more in weight than in sight; they work by
 commonness of use much, although in the several acts

* Traditiones non scriptas, si doctrinam respiciant, cum doctrina scripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales et ecclesiasticas atinet, ordinis et ædificationis Ecclesiarum in his semper habenda ratio est; inutiles autem et noxias, nempe ineptas et superstitiosas Patronis suis relinquamus. Goulart. Genevens. Annot. in Epist. Cypr. lxxiv.

† T. C. lib. i. pag. 171. They should not have been so bold as to have brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptism; and so mingled the Ceremonies and Inventions of Men with the Sacraments and Institutions of God.

BOOK V. of their usage we scarcely discern any good they do. And because the use which they have for the most part is not perfectly understood, Superstition is apt to impute unto them greater virtue than indeed they have. For prevention whereof when we use this Ceremony, we always plainly express the end whereunto it serveth, namely, for a Sign of Remembrance to put us in mind of our duty. But by this mean, they say, * we make it a great deal worse. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we owe to Christ, our practice with this exposition publisheth a new Gospel, and causeth another Word to have place in the Church of Christ, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reason the Authors of those grave admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held, *That sitting at Communions betokeneth rest and full accomplishment of legal Ceremonies in our Saviour Christ.* For although it be the Word of God that such Ceremonies are expired; yet seeing it is not the Word of God, that Men to signify so much should sit at the Table of our Lord, these have their doom as well as others, *Guilty of a new devised Gospel in the Church of Christ.* Which strange imagination is begotten of a special dislike they have to hear, that Ceremonies now in use should be thought significant; whereas, in truth, such as are not significant must needs be vain. Ceremonies destitute of signification, are no better than the idle gestures of Men, whose broken wits are not masters of what they do. For if we look but into secular and civil complements, what other cause can

* T. C. l. i. p. 170. The profitable signification of the Cross maketh the thing a great deal worse, and bringeth in a new Word into the Church; whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church, but only our Saviour Christ. For although it be the Word of God, that we should not be ashamed of the Cross of Christ, yet is it not the Word of God, that we should be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn across one over another in a Child's forehead.

there possibly be given why to omit them where of BOOK V.
 course they are looked for? for where they are not so
 due, to use them bringeth Men's secret intents often-
 times into great jealousy: I would know, I say, what
 reason we are able to yield, why things so light in their
 own nature should weigh in the opinions of Men so
 much, saving only in regard of that which they use to
 signify or betoken? Doth not our Lord Jesus Christ Luke vii.
 himself impute the omission of some courteous Cere-
 monies, even in domestical entertainment, to a colder
 degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in
 better part, not so much respecting what was less done,
 as what was signified less by the one than by the other?
 For, to that very end, he referreth in part those gra-
 cious expostulations. *Simon, see'st thou this Woman?
 Since I entered in'o thine house, thou gavest me no water
 for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and
 wiped them with the hairs of her head: thou gavest me
 no kifs; but this Woman, since the time I came in, hath not
 ceased to kifs my feet: mine head with oil thou didst not
 anoint; but this Woman hath anointed my feet with
 ointment.* Wherefore as the usual dumb Ceremonies
 of common life are in request or dislike according to
 that they import; even so Religion having likewise
 her silent Rites, the chiefest rule, whereby to judge of
 their quality, is that which they mean or betoken. For
 if they signify good things (as somewhat they must of
 necessity signify, because it is of their very nature to be
 signs of intimation, presenting both themselves unto
 outward sense, and besides themselves some other thing
 to the understanding of beholders) unless they be either
 greatly mischosen to signify the same, or else applied
 where that which they signify agreeth not, there is no
 cause of exception against them, as against evil and
 unlawful Ceremonies; much less of excepting against
 them only in that they are not without sense. And if
 every religious Ceremony, which hath been invented of
 Men to signify any thing God himself alloweth, were
 the publication of another Gospel in the Church of
 Christ;

BOOK V. Christ; seeing that no Christian Church in the World is, or can be, without continual use of some Ceremonies which Men have instituted, and that to signify good things (unless they be vain and frivolous Ceremonies); it would follow, that the World hath no Christian Church which doth not daily proclaim new Gospels; a sequel, the manifest absurdity whereof argueth the rawness of that supposal out of which it groweth. Now the* cause why Antiquity did the more, in actions of common life, honour the Ceremony of the Cross, might be for that they lived with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptism was for the self-same good of Believers which is thereby intended still. The Cross is for us an admonition no less necessary than for them, to glory in the Service of Jesus Christ, and not to hang down our

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 170. It is known to all that have read the Ecclesiastical stories, that the Heathens did object to Christians in times past, in reproach, that the God which they believed on was hanged upon a Cross. And they thought good to testify, that they were not ashamed therefore of the Son of God, by the often using of the Sign of the Cross. Which carefulness and good mind to keep amongst them an open Profession of Christ crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means so. For they might otherwise have kept it, and with less danger than by this use of crossing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, so the Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the forge of Men's brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the swaddling clouts, to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a superstition in it, that they would do nothing without crossing. But if it were granted, that upon this consideration, which I have before mentioned, the ancient Christians did well; yet it followeth not, that we should so do. For we live not amongst those Nations which do cast us in the teeth, or reproach us with the Cross of Christ. Now that we live amongst Papists that do not contemn the Cross of Christ, but which esteem more of the wooden Cross, than of the true Cross which is his sufferings; we ought now to do clean contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all use of these Crosses. For contrary diseases must have contrary remedies. If therefore the old Christians, to deliver the Cross of Christ from contempt, did often use the Cross; the Christians now, to take away the superstitious estimation of it, ought to take away the use of it.

heads

heads as Men ashamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched World. Shame is a kind of fear to incur disgrace and ignominy. Now whereas some things are worthy of reproach, some things ignominious only through a false opinion which Men have conceived of them; Nature, that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension, must by Reason and Religion be taught what it should be ashamed of, and what not. But be we never so well instructed what our duty is in this behalf, without some present admonition at the very instant of practice, what we know is many times not called to mind till that be done whereupon our just confusion ensueth. To supply the absence of such as that way might do us good when they see us in danger of sliding, there are judicious and wise Men which think we may greatly relieve ourselves by a bare imagined presence of some, whose authority we fear and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were present with us. Witnesses at hand are a bridle unto many offences. Let the Mind have always some whom it feareth, some whose authority may keep even secret thoughts under awe. Take Cato, or, if he be too harsh and rugged, choose some other of a softer metal, whose gravity of life and speech thou lovest, his mind and countenance carry with thee, set him always before thine eyes, either as a watch or as a pattern. That which is crooked we cannot straighten but by some such level. If Men of so good experience and insight in the maims of our weak flesh, have thought these fancied remembrances available to awaken shamefacedness, that so the boldness of Sin may be staid ere it look abroad; surely the wisdom of the Church of Christ, which hath to that use converted the Ceremony of the Cross in Baptism, it is no Christian Man's part to despise; especially seeing that by this mean, where Nature doth earnestly import aid, Religion yieldeth her that ready assistance, than which there can be no help

more

BOOK V.

Ephes. v.
12.
Rom. vi.
21.Sen. Epist.
xi. lib. 1.

BOOK V. more forcible, serving only to relieve memory, and
 ——— to bring to our cogitation that which should most
 make ashamed of Sin. The Mind, while we are in
 this present Life,* whether it contemplate, meditate,
 deliberate, or howsoever exercise itself, worketh
 nothing without continual recourse unto imagination,
 the only storehouse of wit, and peculiar chair of
 memory. On this anvil it ceaseth not day and night
 to strike, by means whereof, as the pulse declareth
 how the heart doth work, so the very † thoughts
 and cogitations of Man's mind, be they good or bad,
 do no where sooner bewray themselves than through
 the crevices of that wall, wherewith Nature hath
 compassed the cells and closets of Fancy. In the
 forehead nothing more plain to be seen than the
 fear of contumely and disgrace. For which cause
 the Scripture (as with great probability it may be
 thought) describeth them marked of God in the
 forehead, whom his Mercy hath undertaken to keep
 from final confusion and shame. Not that God
 doth set any corporal mark on his Chosen, but to
 note that he* giveth his Elect security of preservation
 from reproach, the fear whereof doth use to shew
 itself in that part. Shall I say, that the Sign of
 the Cross (as we use it) is in some sort a mean to
 work our ‡ preservation from reproach? Surely,
 the Mind which as yet hath not hardened itself in
 sin, is seldom provoked thereunto in any gross and
 grievous manner, but Nature's secret suggestion
 objecteth against it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit

* Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ ἐκ ἀνευ φαντασίας. Arist. de Anim. lib. i. cap. i. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἢ βουλευτικὴ ἐν ταῖς λογίμοις. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Τα μὲν οὖν εἶδη τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν ταῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν οὐκείοις ἄρισται αὐτῶ τὸ διακτὸν, καὶ φεικτὸν, ἢ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἔν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶ φαντασμάτων ἢ, κινεῖται. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

† Frons hominis tristitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, severitatis index est. Plin. lib. xi. Ezek. ix. 4. Apoc. vii. 3. & ix. 4. Ἐρμηνεύονται γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυρόμενοι. Arist. Eth. iv. cap. 9.

‡ Caro signatur ut et anima muniatur. Tertul. de Refur. Car. being

being entered into that palace of Man's Fancy, the gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy Sign, which bringeth forthwith to mind whatsoever Christ hath wrought, and we vowed against sin, it cometh hereby to pass that Christian Men never want a most effectual, though a silent teacher, to avoid whatsoever may deservedly procure shame. So that in things which we should be ashamed of, we are by the Cross admonished faithfully of our duty, at the very moment when admonition doth most need. Other things there are which deserve honour, and yet do purchase many times our disgrace in this present World; as, of old, the very truth of Religion itself, till God by his own out-stretched arm made the glory thereof to shine over all the earth. Whereupon St. Cyprian exhorting to Martyrdom in times of heathenish persecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to alledge unto them, with other arguments, the very Ceremony of that Cross whereof we speak. Never let that hand offer sacrifice to Idols which hath already received the Body of our Saviour Christ, and shall hereafter the Crown of his Glory; *Arm your foreheads* unto all boldness, that the *Sign of God* may be kept safe. Again, when it pleased God, that, the fury of their Enemies being bridled, the Church had some little rest and quietness (if so small a liberty, but only to breathe between troubles, may be termed quietness and rest), to such as fell not away from Christ through former persecutions, he giveth due and deserved praise in the self-same manner: *You that were ready to endure imprisonment, and were resolute to suffer death; you that have courageously withstood the World, ye have made yourselves both a glorious spectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the rest of your Brethren to follow. Those mouths which had sanctified themselves with food coming down from Heaven, loathed, after Christ's own Body and Blood, to taste the poisoned and contagious scraps of Idols; those foreheads which the Sign of God had purified,*

BOOK V.

Cyp. Epist.
lvi. ad Thib-
baritanos.Cyp. de
Lapt.

BOOK V *fed, kept themselves to be crowned by him, the touch of the * garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the Memory of that Sign which they had in Baptism a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from Apostasy, whereunto the frailty of flesh and blood, overmuch fearing to endure shame, might peradventure the more easily otherwise have drawn them. We have not now, through the gracious goodness of Almighty God, those extreme conflicts which our Fathers had with blasphemous contumelies every where offered to the Name of Christ, by such as professed themselves Infidels and Unbelievers. Howbeit, unless we be strangers to the age wherein we live, or else in some partial respect dissemblers of that we hourly both hear and see, there is not the simplest of us but knoweth with what disdain and scorn Christ is dishonoured far and wide. Is there any burden in the World more heavy to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whose quality no way making them less worthy than others are of reputation, only the Service which they do to Christ in the daily exercise of Religion treadeth them down? Doth any contumely which we sustain for Religion's sake pierce so deeply as that which would seem of mere conscience religiously spiteful? When they that honour God are despised; when the chiefest service of honour that Man can do unto him is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greatest sincerity, do, with more than heathenish petulancy, trample under foot almost whatsoever either we, or the whole Church of God by the space of so many ages, have been accustomed unto, for the comelier and better exercise of our Religion according to the soundest Rules that Wisdom directed by the Word

* Erant enim supplices coronarii. Tert. lib. de Coro. Mil. In the service of Idols, the doors of their temples, the sacrifices, the altars, the Priests, and the Suppliants that were present, wore garlands.

of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath BOOK V.
 been able with common advice, with much delibe-
 ration and exceeding great diligence, to compre-
 hend; when no Man fighting under Christ's banner
 can be always exempted from seeing or sustaining
 those indignities, the sting whereof not to feel, or
 feeling not to be moved thereat, is a thing impossible
 to flesh and blood: if this be any object for patience to
 work on, the strictest bond that thereunto tieth us, is
 our vowed obedience to Christ; the solemnest vow
 that we ever made to obey Christ, and to suffer will-
 ingly all reproaches for his sake was made in Bap-
 tism; and amongst other memorials to keep us
 mindful of that vow, we cannot think that the Sign
 which our new baptized foreheads did there receive, is
 either unfit or unforcible, the reasons hitherto alledg-
 ed being weighed with indifferent balance. It is not
 (you will say) the Cross in our foreheads, but in our
 hearts the Faith of Christ that armeth us with pa-
 tience, constancy, and courage. Which as we grant
 to be most true, so neither dare we despise, no not
 the meanest helps that serve, though it be but in
 the very lowest degree of furtherance, towards the
 highest services that God doth require at our hands.
 And if any Man deny that such Ceremonies are
 available, at the least, as memorials of duty; or do
 think that himself hath no need to be so put in mind
 what our duties are; it is but reasonable, that in the
 one the publick experience of the World over-weigh
 some few Men's persuasion; and in the other the
 rare perfection of a few condescend unto common
 imbecility. Seeing, therefore, that to fear shame,
 which doth worthily follow sin, and to bear unde-
 served reproach constantly, is the general duty of all
 Men professing Christianity; seeing also that our
 weakness, while we are in this present World, doth
 need towards spiritual duties the help even of cor-
 poral furtherance; and that by reason of natural
 intercourse between the highest and the lowest powers

BOOK V. of Man's mind in all actions, his fancy or imagination carrying in it that special note of remembrance, than which there is nothing more forcible, where either too weak or too strong a conceit of infamy and disgrace might do great harm, standeth always ready to put forth a kind of necessary helping hand; we are in that respect to acknowledge the * good and profitable use of this Ceremony, and not to think it superfluous that Christ hath his mark applied † unto that part where bashfulness appeareth, in token that they which are Christians should be at no time ashamed of his ignominy. But to prevent some inconveniencies which might ensue, if the ordinary use thereof (as it fareth with such Rites when they are too common) should cause it to be of less observation or regard where it most availeth; we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it so vulgar, as the Custom heretofore hath been. Although to condemn the whole Church of God when it most flourished in zeal and piety, to mark that Age with the brand of error and superstition only because they had this Ceremony more in use than we now think needful; boldly to affirm that this their practice grew so soon through a fearful malediction of God upon the Ceremony of the Cross, as if we knew that his purpose was thereby to make it manifest in all Men's eyes how execrable those things are in his sight which have proceeded from human invention, is, as we take it, a censure of greater zeal than knowledge. Men whose judgments in these cases are grown more moderate, although they retain not as we do the use of this Ceremony, perceive notwithstanding very well, such censures to

* "Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀσάθων καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν ἴσ' τοιούτων καὶ ὃ ἀκαλοῦσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ ἴσ' ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικὰ. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 6.

† Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus offensio Domino ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur. Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 16.

be out of square; and do therefore not only *acquit BOOK V.
the Fathers from Superstition therein, but also think
it sufficient to answer in excuse of themselves, *This* Goulart.
Ceremony which was but a thing indifferent even of old, Annot. in
we judge not at this day a matter necessary for all Chris- Cypr. Epist.
tian Men to observe. As for their last upshot of all lvi. c. 7.
towards this mark, they are of opinion that if the 1 Kings,
ancient Christians to deliver the Cross of Christ from xviii. 3.
contempt did well, and with good consideration use
often the Sign of the Cross, in testimony of their Faith
and Profession, before Infidels which upbraided them
with Christ's sufferings; now that we live with such
as contrariwise adore the Sign of the Cross (because
contrary diseases should always have contrary reme-
dies), we ought to take away all use thereof. In which
conceit they both ways greatly seduce themselves;
first, for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no
use of the Cross but with reference unto Infidels,
which mispersuasion we have before discovered at
large; and secondly, by reason that they think there
is not any other way besides universal extirpation to
reform superstitious abuses of the Cross. Wherein,
because there are that stand very much upon the
example of Ezechias, as if his breaking to pieces that
Serpent of Brass, whereunto the Children of Israel had
burnt incense, did enforce the utter abolition of this
Ceremony; the fact of that virtuous Prince, is by so
much the more attentively to be considered. Our
lives in this World are partly guided in Rules, and
partly directed by Examples. To conclude out of
general Rules and Axioms by discourse of wit our
duties in every particular action, is both troublesome
and many times so full of difficulty, that it maketh
deliberations hard and tedious to the wisest Men.

* Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. cap. 19. *Quamvis veteres Christiani externo signo Crucis usi sunt, id tamen fuit sine superstitione, et doctrina de Christi merito ab errore qui postea irrepsit pios servavit immunes.*

BOOK V. Whereupon we naturally all incline to observe Examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favour of our own ease rather to follow them, than to enter into a new consultation, if in regard of their virtue and wisdom we may but probably think they have waded without error. So that the willingness of Men to be led by example of others both discovereth and helpeth the imbecility of our judgment. Because it doth the one, therefore insolent and proud Wits would always seem to be their own guides; and because it doth the other, we see how hardly the vulgar sort is drawn unto any thing for which there are not as well Examples as Reasons alledged. Reasons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther from Sense, are with the simpler sort of Men less trusted, for that they doubt of their own judgment in those things; but of Examples which prove unto them one doubtful particular by another, more familiarly and sensibly known, they easily perceive in themselves some better ability to judge. The force of Examples therefore is great, when in matter of action, being doubtful what to do, we are informed what others have commendably done whose deliberations were like. But whosoever doth persuade by Example, must as well respect the fitness as the goodness of that he alledgeth. To Ezechias God himself in this fact giveth testimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here questionable, but only whether the Example alledged be pertinent, pregnant and strong. The Serpent spoken of was first erected for the extraordinary and miraculous cure of the Israelites in the Desert. This use having presently an end, when the cause for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing itself they notwithstanding kept for a monument of God's Mercy; as in like consideration they did the Pot of Manna, the Rod of Aaron and the Sword which David took from Goliah. In process of time they made of a monument of Divine Power a plain Idol, they burnt Incense before it contrary

trary to the Law of God, and did it the services of honour due unto God only. Which gross and grievous abuse continued till Ezechias, restoring the purity of sound Religion, destroyed utterly that which had been so long and so generally a snare unto them. It is not amiss which the Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, *That if our Predecessors have done some things which at that time might be without fault, and afterwards be turned to error and superstition; we are taught by Ezechias breaking the Brazen Serpent, that Posterity may destroy them without any delay, and with great authority.* But may it be simply and without exception hereby gathered, that Posterity is bound to destroy whatsoever hath been either at the first invented, or but afterwards turned to like superstition and error? No, it cannot be. The Serpent therefore, and the Sign of the Cross, although seeming equal in this point, that Superstition hath abused both; yet being herein also unequal, that neither they have been both subject to the like degree of abuse, nor were in hardness of redress alike, it may be, that even as the one for abuse was religiously taken away, so now, when Religion hath taken away abuse from the other, we should by utter abolition thereof deserve hardly his commendation, whose example there is offered us no such necessary cause to follow. For by the words of Ezechias in terming the Serpent but *a lump of Brass*, to shew that the best thing in it now was the metal or matter whereof it consisteth, we may probably conjecture, that the People whose error is therein controuled, had the self-same opinion of it which the Heathens had of Idols. They thought that the power of Deity was with it; and when they saw it dissolved, haply they might, to comfort themselves, imagine as Olympius the Sophister did, beholding the dissolution of Idols, *Shapes and Counterseits they were, fashioned of matter subject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to dust was easy; but those Celestial Powers which dwelt and resided in them, are ascended into Heaven.* Some dif-

BOOK V.

Dist. iii.

Cyp. Quia.

Sozom. lib.

vii. cap. 15.

ference there is between these opinions of palpable
 ———— Idolatry, and that which the Schools in speculation
 have bolted out concerning the Cross. Notwithstanding,
 for as much as the Church of Rome hath hitherto
 practised, and doth profess the same Adoration to the
 Sign of the Cross, and neither less nor other than is
 due unto Christ himself, howsoever they varnish and
 qualify their sentence, pretending that the Cross which
 to outward Sense presenteth visibly itself alone is not
 by them apprehended alone, but hath in their secret
 surmise or conceit a reference to the Person of our
 Lord Jesus Christ; so that the honour which they
 jointly do to both respecteth principally his Person,
 and the Cross but only for his Person's sake; the
 People not accustomed to trouble their wits with so
 nice and subtle differences in the exercise of Religion,
 are apparently no less ensnared by adoring the Cross,
 than the Jews by burning Incense to the Brazen Ser-
 pent. It is by Thomas ingenuously granted, that be-
 cause unto reasonable Creatures a kind of reverence
 is due for the Excellency which is in them, and
 whereby they resemble God, therefore if reasonable
 Creatures, Angels or Men, should receive at our
 hands holy and divine honour, as the Sign of the
 Cross doth at theirs, to pretend that we honour not
 them alone, but we honour God with them, would
 not serve the turn, neither would this be able to pre-
 vent the error of Men, or cause them always to respect
 God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents
 in the object next before them. But unto this he
 addeth, that no such error can grow by adoring in
 that sort a dead Image, which every Man knoweth to
 be void of excellency in itself, and therefore will easily
 conceive that the honour done unto it hath an higher
 reference. Howbeit, seeing that we have by over-true
 experience been taught how often, especially in these
 cases, the light even of common understanding faileth,
 surely their usual adoration of the Cross is not hereby
 freed. For in actions of this kind we are more to re-
 spect

Theo. pag.
 3. q. 25.
 art. ii.
 Resp. ad
 Tert.

spect what the greatest part of Men is commonly BOOK V. prone to conceive, than what some few Men's wits may devise in construction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a false opinion of some personal divine excellency to be in those things which either Nature or Art hath framed, causes always religious Adoration. And as plain, that the like adoration applied unto things sensible, argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaveth imprinted in them, the very same opinion of Deity from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea, the meaner and baser a thing worshipped is in itself, the more they incline to think that every Man which doth adore it knoweth there is in it, or with it, a presence of divine power. Be it therefore true, that Crosses purposely framed or used for receipt of divine honour be even as scandalous as the Brazen Serpent itself, where they are in such sort adored; should we hereupon think ourselves in the sight of God, and in conscience charged to abolish utterly the very Ceremony of the Cross, neither meant at the first nor now converted unto any such offensive purpose? Did the Jews, which could never be persuaded to admit in the City of Jerusalem that Image of Cæsar which the Romans were accustomed to * adore, make any scruple of Cæsar's Image in the Coin which they knew very well that Men were not wont to worship? Between the Cross which superstition honoureth as Christ, and that Ceremony of the Cross which serveth only for a sign of remembrance, there is as plain and as great a difference as between those brazen Images which Solomon made to bear up the Cistern of the Temple and (sith both were of like shape, but of unlike use) that which the Israelites in the Wilderness did adore; or between the Altars which Josias

Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xvii. cap. 8. & lib. xviii. cap. 3. & de Beis. lib. ii. cap. Matth. xxii. 20.

2 Chron. iv. 3.

Exod. xxxii.

4. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7.

* Their Eagles, their Ensigns, and the Images of the Princes, they carried with them in all their Armies, and had always a kind of Chapel wherein they placed and adored them as their Gods. Dio. lib. xxx. Herodian. lib. iv.

BOOK V. destroyed, because they were instruments of mere Idolatry, and that which the Tribe of Reuben with others erected near to the River Jordan; for which also they grew at the first into some dislike, and were by the rest of their Brethren suspected, yea hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accused of backwardness in Religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor and the odious example of Achan; as if the building of their Altar in that place had given manifest shew of no better than intended Apostasy, till by a true declaration made in their own defence it appeared that such as disliked, misunderstood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any Altar for Sacrifice, which God would have no where offered saving in Jerusalem only, but to a far other end and purpose, which being opened satisfied all parties, and so delivered them from causeless blame. In this particular, suppose the worst; imagine that the immaterial Ceremony of the Cross had been the subject of as gross pollution as any heathenish or prophane Idol. If we think the example of Ezechias a proof that things which error and superstition hath abused may in no consideration be tolerated, although we presently find them not subject to so vile abuse, the plain example of Ezechias proveth the contrary. The Temples and Idols, which under Solomon had been of very purpose framed for the honour of foreign Gods, Ezechias destroyed not; because they stood as forlorn things, and did now no harm, although formerly they had done harm. Josias for some inconvenience afterwards razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given even from God himself, that, touching matter of Religion, they walked in the steps of David, and did no way displease God. Perhaps it seemeth that by force and virtue of this example, although in bare detestation and hatred of Idolatry, all things which have been at any time worshipped are not necessarily to be taken out of the World; nevertheless for remedy and prevention of so great

JOSEPH. xxii.
10.

1 Kings, xi.
7.

2 Kings,
xxiii. 13.

2 Kings,
xviii. 3, 6.
& xxii. 2.

great offences, Wisdom should judge it the safest course to remove altogether from the eyes of Men that which may put them in mind of evil. Some kinds of evil, no doubt, there are very quick in working on those affections that most easily take fire, which evils should in that respect no oftner than need requireth be brought in presence of weak minds. But neither is the Cross any such evil, nor yet the Brazen Serpent itself so strongly poisoned, that our eyes, ears and thoughts ought to shun them both, for fear of some deadly harm to ensue the only representation thereof, by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant means. And for mine own part, I most assuredly persuade myself, that had Ezechias (till the days of whose most virtuous reign they ceased not continually to burn Incense to the Brazen Serpent).—had he found the Serpent, though sometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of so gross abuse and reduced to the same that was before in the time of David, at which time they esteemed it only as a memorial, sign or monument of God's miraculous goodness towards them, even as we in no other sort esteem the Ceremony of the Cross; the due consideration of an use so harmless, common to both, might no less have wrought their equal preservation, than different occasions have procured notwithstanding the one's extinguishment, the other's lawful continuance. In all persuasions, which ground themselves upon example, we are not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements leading thereunto. The question being therefore, whether the Ceremony, supposed to have been sometimes scandalous and offensive, ought for that cause to be now removed; there is no reason we should forthwith yield ourselves to be carried away with example, no not of them whose acts the highest judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any publick evil; but before we either attempt any thing or resolve, the state and condition as well of our own affairs as theirs, whose example presseth us,

BOOK V. is advisedly to be examined; because some things are
 of their own nature scandalous, and cannot choose but
 breed offence, as those sinks of execrable filth which
 Josias did overwhelm; some things, albeit not by na-
 ture, and of themselves, are notwithstanding so gene-
 rally turned to evil by reason of an evil corrupt habit
 grown, and through long continuance incurably settled
 in the minds of the greatest part, that no redress can
 be well hoped for without removal of that wherein
 they have ruined themselves; which plainly was the
 state of the Jewish People, and the cause why Eze-
 chias did with such sudden indignation destroy what he
 saw worshipped; finally, some things are as the Sign
 of the Cross, though subject either almost or altogether
 to as great abuse, yet curable with more facility
 and ease. And to speak as the truth is, our very
 nature doth hardly yield to destroy that which may be
 fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean
 scoured from the rust of evil which by some accident
 hath grown into it. Wherefore to that which they
 build in this question upon the example of Ezechias
 let this suffice. When Heathens despised Christian
 Religion because of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, the
 Fathers, to testify how little such contumelies and con-
 tempts prevailed with them, chose rather the Sign of
 the Cross than any other outward mark, whereby the
 World might most easily discern always what they
 were. On the contrary side now, whereas they which
 do all profess the Christian Religion are divided
 amongst themselves; and the fault of the one part is,
 that in zeal to the sufferings of Christ they admire too
 much, and over-superstitiously adore the visible Sign
 of his Cross; if you ask what we that mislike them
 should do, we are here advised to cure one contrary
 by another. Which art or method is not yet so cur-
 rent as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the
 most part sheweth, it be their meaning that the scope
 and drift of Reformation, when things are faulty,
 should be to settle the Church in the contrary; it
 standeth

2 Kings,
xxi. 7.

standeth them upon to beware of this rule, because BOOK V. seeing Vices have not only Virtues, but other Vices also in nature opposite unto them, it may be dangerous in these cases to seek but that which we find contrary to present evils. For in sores and sicknesses of the Mind, we are not simply to measure good by distance from evil, because one Vice may in some respect be more opposite to another, than either of them to that Virtue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and Covetousness, the one a Virtue and the other a Vice, are not so contrary as the Vices of Covetousness and Prodigality. Religion and Superstition have more affiance, though the one be Light and the other Darknes, than Superstition and Prophaneness, which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh also to pass, that the mean, which is Virtue, seemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremity; the liberal hearted Man is by the opinion of the Prodigal miserable, and by the judgment of the Miserable lavish: Impiety for the most part upbraideth Religion as superstitious, which Superstition often accuseth as impious; both so conceiving thereof, because it doth seem more to participate each extreme than one extreme doth another, and is by consequent less contrary to either of them, than they mutually between themselves. Now, if he that seeketh to reform Covetousness or Superstition should but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw Men out of lime into coal-dust: so that their course, which will remedy the superstitious abuse of things profitable in the Church, is not still to abolish utterly the use thereof, because not using at all is most opposite to ill using; but rather, if it may be, to bring them back to a right, perfect and religious usage, which, albeit less contrary to the present sore, is notwithstanding the better and by many degrees the sounder way of recovery: and unto this effect, that very precedent itself which they propose may be best followed. For as the Fathers, when the Cross of Christ was in utter contempt,

BOOK V. S^cript, did not superstitiously adore the same, but rather declare that they so esteemed it as was meet; in like manner where we find the Cross to have that honour which is due to Christ, is it not as lawful for us to retain it in that estimation which it ought to have, and in that use which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away to seem followers of their example which cure wilfully by abscission that which they might both preserve and heal? Touching therefore the Sign and Ceremony of the Cross, we no way find ourselves bound to relinquish it; neither because the first Inventors thereof were but mortal Men; nor lest the sense and signification we give unto it should burden us as Authors of a new Gospel in the House of God; nor in respect of some cause which the Fathers had more than we have to use the same; nor, finally, for any such offence or scandal as heretofore it hath been subject unto by error, now reformed in the minds of Men.

Of Con-
firmation
after Bap-
tism.

66. The ancient Custom of the Church was, after they had baptiz'd, to add thereunto Imposition of Hands with effectual Prayer for the * Illumination of God's most Holy Spirit, to confirm and perfect that which the Grace of the same Spirit had already begun in Baptism. For our means to obtain the Graces which God doth bestow are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent are available as well for others as for ourselves. To pray for others, is to bless them for whom we pray; because Prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the Prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their piety and zeal that way, or else regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both by natural and spiritual Fathers. With Prayers of spiritual and personal Benediction the manner hath been in all ages to use Imposition of Hands, as a Ce-

* Caro manus Impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur. Tertul. de Resur. Car.

emony

remony betokening our restrained desires to the party whom we present unto God by Prayer. Thus when Israel blessed Ephraim and Manasses, Joseph's Sons, he imposed upon them his hands and prayed; *God, in whose sight my Fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk; God, which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which hath delivered me from all evil, bless these Children.* The Prophets which healed diseases by Prayer used therein the self-same Ceremony. And therefore when Elifeus willed Naaman to wash himself seven times in Jordan for cure of his foul disease, it much offended him; *I thought (saith he) with myself, Surely the Man will come forth, and stand, and call upon the Name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may so heal the Leprosy.* In Consecrations and Ordinations of Men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was usually done from the time of Moses to Christ. Their suits that came unto Christ for help were also tendered oftentimes, and are expressed in such forms or phrases of speech, as shew that he was himself an observer of the same custom. He which with Imposition of Hands and Prayer did so great Works of Mercy for restauration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infusion of Heavenly Grace into them, whose age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be supposed a bar to the goodness of God towards them. *They brought him therefore young Children to put his Hands upon them and pray.* After the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apostles, whose Prayer and Imposition of Hands were a mean whereby thousands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The Church had received from Christ a promise, that such as believed in him, these signs and tokens should follow them; *To cast out Devils, to speak with tongues, to drive away serpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poison could work, and to cure diseases by Imposition of Hands.* Which power, common

BOOK V.
 Gen. xlviii.
 14.
 Num. xxvii.
 18.
 Matth. ix.
 18.
 Mark v.
 23. viii. 22.
 Matth. xix.
 13.
 Mark x. 13.
 Luke xviii.
 15.
 Mark xvii.
 17.
 at

BOOK V. at the first in a manner unto all Believers, all Believers
 had not power to derive or communicate unto all
 other Men; but whosoever was the instrument of
 Acts xix. 6. God to instruct, convert, and baptize them, the gift
 of miraculous Operations by the Power of the Holy
 Ghost they had not, but only at the Apostles own
 Acts viii. hands. For which cause Simon Magus perceiving
 17, 18. that power to be in none but them, and presuming
 that they which had it might sell it, sought to purchase
 it of them with money. And, as miraculous
 Graces of the Spirit continued after the Apostles'
 Iren. lib. ii. times (*for, saith Irenæus, they which are truly his*
 cap. 57. *Disciples do, in his Name, and through Grace received*
from him, such works for the benefit of other Men, as every
of them is by him enabled to work.—Some cast out Devils,
in so much, as they which are delivered from wicked Spi-
rits have been thereby won unto Christ, and do constantly
persevere in the Church and society of faithful Men; some
excel in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of
Visions from God, and the gift of propheticall prediction:
some by laying on their Hands restore them to health,
which are grievously afflicted with sickness; yea, there are
that of dead have been made alive, and have afterwards
many years conversed with us. What should I say? The
Gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his
Church throughout the World, and by virtue whereof, in
the Name of Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate, the
Church every day doth many Wonders for the good of
Nations, neither fraudulently nor in any respect of lucre
and gain to herself, but as freely bestowing, as God on her
hath bestowed his divine Graces): so it no where
 appeareth, that ever any did by Prayer and Imposition
 of Hands, sithence the Apostles' times, make others
 partakers of the like miraculous Gifts and Graces, as
 long as it pleased God to continue the same in his
 Church, but only Bishops, the Apostles' Successors,
 for a time, even in that power. St. Augustin acknow-
 ledgeth, that such Gifts were not permitted to last
 always, lest Men should wax cold with the common-
 ness

ness of that, the strangeness whereof at the first inflamed them. Which words of St. Augustin, declaring how the vulgar use of these Miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary Graces, more rarely observed in some, either then or of latter days. Now whereas the Successors of the Apostles had but only for a time such power, as by Prayer and Imposition of Hands to bestow the Holy Ghost; the reason wherefore Confirmation, nevertheless, by Prayer and Laying on of Hands hath hitherto always continued is for other very special benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that Gift or Grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh us first Christian Men, but when we are made such assisteth us in all virtue, armeth us against temptation and sin. For, after Baptism administered, *there followeth* (saith Tertullian) *Imposition of Hands, with invocation and invitation of the Holy Ghost, which willingly cometh down from the Father, to rest upon the purified and blessed Bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptism a fit seat.* St. Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit, which here especially was respected, *How great* (saith he) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptism) *enabled, being not only withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor only so purified and made clean, that no stain or blemish of the Enemies' invasion doth remain; but over and besides* (namely, through Prayer and Imposition of Hands) *becometh yet greater, yet mightier in strength, so far as to reign with a kind of imperial dominion over the whole band of that roaming and spoiling Adversary.* As much is signified by Eusebius Emisenus, saying, *The Holy Ghost which descendeth with saving influence upon the waters of Baptism doth there give that fulness which sufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an augmentation of further Grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus persuaded held Confirmation as

BOOK V.
August. de
Vera Relig.
cap. 25.

Tertul. de
Baptis.

Cypr. Epist.
ii. ad Donat.
c. 2.

Euseb.
Emil Ser.
de Pente.

Aug. de
Trin. lib.
xv. cap. 26.
Heb. vi. 2.

BOOK V. an Ordinance Apostolick, always profitable in God's Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeness of those external effects which gave it countenance at the first. The cause of severing Confirmation from Baptism (for most commonly they went together) was sometimes in the Minister, which being of inferior degree, might baptize but not confirm, as in their case it came to pass whom Peter and John did confirm, whereas Philip had before baptized them; Acts viii. 12, 15. and in theirs of whom St. Jerom hath said, *I deny not but the Custom of the Churches is that the Bishop should go abroad, and, imposing his Hands, pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost on them whom Presbyters and Deacons far off, in lesser cities, have already baptized.* Which ancient Custom of the Church St. Cyprian groundeth upon the example of Peter and John in the eighth of the Acts before alledged. *The faithfull in Samaria* (saith he) *had already obtained Baptism; only that which was wanting Peter and John supplied by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, to the end the Holy Ghost might be poured upon them. Which also is done amongst ourselves, when they which be already baptized, are brought to the Prelates of the Church to obtain by their Prayer and Imposition of Hands the Holy Ghost.* By this it appeareth, that when the Ministers of Baptism were persons of inferior degree, the Bishops did after confirm whom such had before baptized. Sometimes they which by force of their Ecclesiastical calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding Men whom Heresy had disjoined from the fellowship of true Believers. Whereupon, when any Man by them baptized and confirmed came afterwards to see and renounce their error, there grew in some Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting such into the bosom of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the question of Rebaptization. But the generally received Custom was only to admit them with Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Of which Custom, while some imagined the reason to be, for that

Acts viii.
12, 15.

Jer. adverb.
Lucif. cap.
4.

Cypr. Epist.
lxxiii. ad
Jubajanum.

that Hereticks might give Remission of Sins by Baptism, but not the Spirit by Imposition of Hands, because themselves had not God's Spirit, and that therefore their Baptism might stand; but Confirmation must be given again; the imbecility of this ground gave Cyprian occasion to oppose himself against the practice of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove, that Hereticks could do neither; and consequently, that their Baptism in all respects was as frustrate as their Chrism; for the manner of those times was in confirming to use anointing. On the other side, against Luciferians which ratified only the Baptism of Hereticks, but disannulled their Confirmations and Consecrations, under pretence of the reason which hath been before specified, *Hereticks cannot give the Holy Ghost*, St. Jerom proveth at large, that if Baptism by Hereticks be granted available to Remission of Sins, which no Man receiveth without the Spirit, it must needs follow, that the reason taken from disability of bestowing the Holy Ghost was no reason wherefore the Church should admit Converts with any new Imposition of Hands. Notwithstanding, because it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghost do always join itself with true Baptism, the Church, which thinketh the Bishop's Confirmation after other Men's Baptism needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghost, should hold an error; St. Jerom hereunto maketh answer, that the cause of this observation is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the Sacrament of Baptism, unless a Bishop add after it the Imposition of Hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitness to honour Prelacy with such pre-eminences, because the safety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief Superiors, to whom if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there would be in the Church as many Schisms as Priests. By which answer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghost is received in Baptism;

BOOK V. that Confirmation is only a sacramental Complement; that the reason why Bishops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not because the benefit, grace and dignity thereof is greater than of Baptism; but rather, for that by the Sacrament of Baptism Men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reasonable and convenient that if he baptize them not unto whom the chiefest authority and charge of their Souls belongeth, yet for honour's sake, and in token of his spiritual superiority over them, because to bless is an act of authority, the performance of this annexed Ceremony should be sought for at his Hands. Now what effect their Imposition of Hands hath, either after Baptism administered by Hereticks or otherwise, St. Jerom in that place hath made no mention, because all Men understood that in Converts it tendeth to the fruits of Repentance, and craveth in behalf of the Penitent such grace as David after his fall desired at the hands of God; in others, the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before shewed. Finally, sometime the cause of severing Confirmation from Baptism was in the Parties that received Baptism being Infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the Family; but because to fight in the Army of God, to discharge the duties of a Christian Man, to bring forth the fruits, and to do the works of the Holy Ghost, their time of ability was not yet come (so that Baptism were not deferred), there could, by stay of their Confirmation, no harm ensue, but rather good. For by this means it came to pass, that Children in expectation thereof were seasoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the course of their whole lives, the seed of the Church of God was preserved sincere and sound, the Prelates and Fathers of God's Family, to whom the cure of their Souls belongeth, saw by trial and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burden discharged, reaped

Heb. vii. 7.

Psal. li. 10,

11, 12.

reaped comfort by beholding the first beginnings of true godliness in tender years, glorified him whole praise they found in the mouths of Infants, and neglected not so fit opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto Imposition of Hands and Prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same which Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fathers, and Men of God have had for such their particular Invocations and Benedictions, as no Man, I suppose, professing truth of Religion, will easily think to have been without fruit. No, there is no cause we should doubt of the benefit, but surely great cause to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Christian Duty almost with all them, to whom, by right of their place and calling, the same belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part, the thing is true, their small regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which * error rashly uttereth

* T. C. l. i. p. 199. Tell me why there should be any such Confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned Decretal Epistles of the Popes (this is retracted by the same T. C. lib. iii. pag. 232. That it is ancients than the feigned Decretal Epistles, I yield unto) and no one tittle thereof being once found in the Scripture, and seeing that it hath been so horribly abused, and not necessary; why ought it not to be utterly abolished? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The first step of Popery in this Confirmation, is the Laying on of Hands upon the Head of the Child, whereby the opinion 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 untruth, and taken indeed from the Popish Confirmation. The second is, for that the Bishop, as he is called, must be the only Minister of it; whereby the Popish opinion, which esteemeth it above Baptism, is confirmed. For whilst Baptism may be ministered of the Minister and not Confirmation, but only of the Bishop; there is a great cause of suspicion given to think that Baptism is not so precious a thing as Confirmation, seeing this was one of the principal reasons whereby that wicked opinion was established in Popery. I do not here speak of the inconvenience that Men are constrained with charges to bring their Children oftentimes half a score miles for that, which if it were needful might be as well

BOOK V. in disgrace of good things, may peradventure be
 spunged out, when the print of those evils which are
 grown through neglect will remain behind. Thus
 much therefore, generally spoken, may serve for
 answer unto their demands that require us to tell
 them, *why there should be any such Confirmation in the
 Church*, seeing we are not ignorant how earnestly
 they have protested against it; and how directly (al-
 though untruly, for so they are content to acknow-
 ledge) it hath by some of them been said, *to be first
 brought in by the feigned decretal Epistles of the Popes;*
 or, why it should not be *utterly abolished, seeing that
 no one tittle thereof can be once found in the whole Scrip-
 ture*, except the Epistle to the Hebrews be Scripture.

Heb. vi. 2.

And again, seeing that how free soever it be now
 from abuse, if we look back to the times past which
 wise Men do always more respect than the present,
 it hath been abused, and is found at the length no
 such profitable Ceremony, as the whole silly Church
 of Christ for the space of these sixteen hundred years
 hath, through want of experience, imagined. Last
 of all, seeing also, besides the cruelty which is shewn
 towards poor country people, who are fain some-
 times to let their ploughs stand still, and, with incre-
 dible wearisome toil of their feeble bodies, to wander
 over mountains and through woods, it may be now and
 then little less than a whole half-score of miles for a
 Bishop's blessing, *which, if it were needful, might as
 well be done at home in their own Parishes, rather than
 they to purchase it with so great loss and so intolerable
 pain*. There are, they say, in Confirmation, besides

done at home in their own Parishes. The third is, for that the
 Book saith, a cause of using Confirmation is, that by Imposition
 of Hands and Prayer, the Children may receive strength and de-
 fence against all temptations; whereas there is no promise, that,
 by the laying on of Hands upon Children, any such Gift shall
 be given; and it maintaineth the Popish distinction, that the
 Spirit of God is given at Baptism unto Remission of Sins; and in
 Confirmation, unto Strength.

this,

this, three terrible points. The first is, *Laying on of hands, with pretence that the same is done to the example of the Apostles*, which is not only, as they suppose, *a manifest untruth* (for all the World doth know that the Apostles did never after Baptism lay hands on any, and therefore St. Luke, which faith they did, was much deceived): but farther also, we thereby teach Men to think *Imposition 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 Apostolick example must needs be Sacraments. The second high point of danger is, *that by tying Confirmation to the Bishop alone, there is great cause of suspicion given to think that Baptism is not so precious a thing as Confirmation*: for will any Man think that a velvet coat is of more price than a linen coif, knowing the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only Serjeants at Law do wear? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the last and the weightiest hazard is, where the Book itself doth say, that Children by Imposition of Hands and Prayer may receive strength against all temptation; which speech, as a two-edged sword, doth both ways dangerously wound; partly because it ascribeth Grace to Imposition of Hands, whereby we are able no more to assure ourselves in the warrant of any promise from God, that his heavenly Grace shall be given, than the Apostle was that himself should obtain Grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, because by using the very word *strength* in this matter, a word so apt to spread infection, we maintain with Popish Evangelists an old forlorn distinction of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon Christ's Apostles before his Ascension into Heaven, and augmented upon them afterwards; a distinction of Grace infused into Christian Men by degrees; planted in them at the first by Baptism, after cherished, watered, and (be it spoken without offence) strengthened as by other virtuous offices

BOOK V.

Acts viii.
15, 17.Ephes. iii.
14.John xx.
22.
Acts i. 8.

BOOK V. which Piety and true Religion teacheth, even so by this very special Benediction whereof we speak, the Rite or Ceremony of Confirmation.

Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

67. The Grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin but continue Life. No Man therefore receiveth this Sacrament before Baptism, because no dead thing is capable of Nourishment. That which groweth must of necessity first live. If our Bodies did not daily waste, food to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the Grace of Baptism would serve to eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after Baptism. In that Life therefore, where neither Body nor Soul can decay, our Souls shall as little require this Sacrament, as our Bodies corporal nourishment. But as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in Grace, the Words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forcible, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* Life being therefore proposed unto all Men as their end, they, which by Baptism have laid the foundation and attained the first beginning of a new Life, have here their nourishment and food prescribed for continuance of Life in them. Such as will live the life of God, must eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of the Son of Man; because this is a part of that diet, which if we want we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our Infancy we are incorporated into Christ, and by Baptism receive the Grace of his Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth; in the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know by Grace what the Grace is which God giveth us; the degrees of our own increase in holiness and virtue we see, and can judge of them; we understand that the strength of our Life, begun in Christ, is Christ; that his Flesh is Meat, and his Blood Drink, not by furnished imagination,

John vi.
53.

gination, but truly, even so truly, that through Faith we perceive in the Body and Blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternal Life; the Grace of the Sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that some did exceedingly fear, lest Zuinglius and Oecolampadius would bring to pass that Men should account of this Sacrament but only as of a Shadow, destitute, empty, and void of Christ. But seeing, that, by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can see, on all sides at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the real Participation of Christ, and of Life in his Body and Blood, by means of this Sacrament; wherefore should the World continue still distracted, and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no controversy, saving only about the subject where Christ is? Yea, even in this point no side denieth, but that the Soul of Man is the receptacle of Christ's Presence. Whereby the Question is yet driven to a narrower issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtful but this; whether, when the Sacrament is administered, Christ be whole within Man only, or else his Body and Blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated Elements themselves. Which opinion they that defend, are driven either to consubstantiate and incorporate Christ with Elements sacramental, or to transubstantiate and change their substance into his; and so the one to hold him really, but invisibly, moulded up with the substance of those Elements; the other to hide him under the only visible shew of Bread and Wine, the substance whereof, as they imagine, is abolished, and his succeeded in the same room. All things considered, and compared with that success which truth hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with errors in this point, shall I wish that Men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the Sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how? If

BOOK V. any Man suppose that this were too great stupidity and dulness, let us see whether the Apostles of our Lord themselves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own disposition were very scrupulous and inquisitive, yea in other cases of less importance, and less difficulty, always apt to move questions. How cometh it to pass, that so few words of so high a Mystery being uttered, they receive with gladness the gift of Christ, and make no shew of doubt or scruple? The reason hereof is not dark to them which have any thing at all observed how the powers of the Mind are wont to stir, when that which we infinitely long for presenteth itself above and besides expectation. Curious and intricate speculations do hinder, they abate, they quench such inflamed motions of delight and joy as divine Graces use to raise when extraordinarily they are present. The Mind therefore, feeling present joy, is always marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that case casteth off those disputes whereunto the intellectual part at other times easily draweth. A manifest effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lord's Disciples, in the twentieth of John, the People that are said in the sixth of John to have gone after him to Capernaum. These leaving him on the one side of the sea of Tiberias, and finding him again as soon as themselves by ship were arrived on the contrary side, whither they knew that by ship he came not, and by land the journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered, so they asked also, *Rabbi, when comest thou hither?* The Disciples, when Christ appeared to them in far more strange and miraculous manner, moved no question, but rejoiced greatly in what they saw. For why? The one sort beheld only that in Christ which they knew was more than natural, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladness; the other, when they looked on Christ,

were

were not ignorant that they saw the well-spring of their own everlasting felicity; the one, because they enjoyed not, disputed; the other disputed not, because they enjoyed. If then the presence of Christ with them did so much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new presentation of Christ, not before their eyes, but within their Souls. They had learned before that his Flesh and Blood are the true cause of eternal Life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own substance, but through the dignity and worth of his Person, which offered them up by way of Sacrifice for the Life of the whole World, and doth make them still effectual thereunto: finally, that to us they are Life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they understood not perfectly to what effect or issue the same would come, till at the length being assembled for no other cause which they could imagine but to have eaten the Pass-over only, that Moses appointed, when they saw their Lord and Master, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, first bless and consecrate, for the endless good of all Generations till the World's end, the chosen Elements of Bread and Wine; which Elements, made for ever the instruments of Life by virtue of his divine Benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receive from him, the first which were warranted by his promise, that not only unto them at the present time, but to whomsoever they and their Successors after them did duly administer the same, those Mysteries should serve as conducts of Life, and conveyances of his Body and Blood unto them; was it possible they should hear that voice, *Take, eat, this is my Body; drink ye all of this, this is my blood*; possible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the Heaven which they saw in themselves? They had at that time a sea of comfort and joy to wade in,
and

BOOK V. and we by that which they did are taught that this Heavenly Food is given for the satisfying of our empty Souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtile wits. If we doubt what those admirable Words may import, let him be our Teacher for the meaning of Christ, to whom Christ was himself a School-master; let our Lord's Apostle be his Interpreter, content we ourselves with his explication; My Body, *the Communion of my Body*: my Blood, *the Communion of my Blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear and easy, than that as Christ is termed our Life, because through him we obtain Life; so the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Blood, for that they are so to us; who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the Participation of his Body and Blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our Souls and Bodies quickened to eternal Life are effects; the cause whereof is the Person of Christ: his Body and Blood are the true well-spring out of which this Life floweth. So that his Body and Blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister Life; not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the Heavens is in Plants, Beasts, Men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by a far more divine and mystical kind of Union, which maketh us one with him, even as he and the Father are one. The real Presence of Christ's most Blessed Body and Blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's Words agreeth, first, *Take and eat*; then, *This is my Body which was broken for you*: First, *Drink ye all of this*; then followeth, *This is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the Remission of*

Mark xiv.

22.

of Sins. I see not which way it should be gathered BOOK V.
 by the Words of Christ when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup, his Blood; but only in the very Heart and Soul of him which receiveth them. As for the Sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves that Grace which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. If on all sides it be confessed that the Grace of Baptism is poured into the Soul of Man; that by Water we receive it, although it be neither seated in the Water, nor the Water changed into it; what should induce Men to think, that the Grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Eucharist is the Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ. There is no sentence of holy Scripture which saith, that we cannot by this Sacrament be made Partakers of his Body and Blood, except they be first contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, being words of promise, sith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by Consubstantiation, or else by Transubstantiation the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand, because our Participation of Christ in this Sacrament dependeth on the co operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his Body and Blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the Element, such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or enquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider by itself what cause why the rest in question should not rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary. It is on all sides plainly confessed, first, that this Sacrament is a true and a real Participation of Christ, who
 thereby

BOOK V. thereby imparteth himself, even his whole intire Person, as a *mystical Head* unto every Soul that receiveth him, and that every such Receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a *mystical Member* of him, yea of them also whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom *the Person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the same Sacrament his holy Spirit to sanctify them, as it sanctifieth him which is their Head. Thirdly, that what *merit, force, or virtue soever there is in his Sacred Body and Blood*, we freely, fully and wholly have it by this Sacrament. Fourthly, that *the effect thereof in us, is a real transmutation of our Souls and Bodies* from sin to Righteousness, from death and corruption to Immortality and Life. Fifthly, that because the Sacrament being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in Man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon *the strength of his glorious Power*, who is able and will bring to pass, that the Bread and Cup which he giveth us shall be truly the thing he promiseth. It seemeth therefore much amiss, that against them whom they term Sacramentaries so many invective discourses are made, all running upon two points, that the Eucharist is not a bare sign or figure only, and that the efficacy of his Body and Blood is not all we receive in this Sacrament. For no Man, having read their Books and Writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both these assertions they plainly confess to be most true. They do not so interpret the Words of Christ, as if the name of his Body did import but the figure of his Body; and to be, were only to signify his Blood. They grant that these holy Mysteries, received in due manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of the Grace of that Body and Blood which were given for the Life of the World, and besides also impart unto us, even in true and real, though mystical manner, the very Person of our

our Lord himself, whole, perfect and entire, as hath been shewed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that strong conceit which two of the three have embraced, as touching a literal, corporal and oral manducation of the very Substance of his Flesh and Blood, is surely an opinion no where delivered in holy Scripture, whereby they should think themselves bound to believe it; and (to speak with the softest terms we can use) greatly prejudiced in that, when some others did so conceive of eating his Flesh, our Saviour, to abate that error in them, gave them directly to understand how his Flesh so eaten could profit them nothing, because the words which he spake were Spirit; that is to say, they had a reference to a mystical Participation; which mystical Participation giveth Life. Wherein there is small appearance of likelihood that his meaning should be only to make them Marcionites by inversion, and to teach them, that as Marcion did think Christ seemed to be Man, but was not; so they contrariwise should believe that Christ in truth would so give them, as they thought, his Flesh to eat; but yet, lest the horror thereof should offend them, he would not seem to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Christ in that blessed Sacrament go about to explain themselves, and to open after what manner things are brought to pass, the one sort lay the union of Christ's Deity with his Manhood, as their first foundation and ground: from thence they infer a power which the Body of Christ hath, thereby to present itself in all places; out of which Ubiquity of his Body they gather the presence thereof with that sanctified Bread and Wine of our Lord's table; the Conjunction of his Body and Blood with those Elements they use as an argument to shew how the Bread may as well in that respect be termed his Body, because his Body is therewith joined, as the Son of God may be named Man, by reason that God and Man in the Person of Christ are united; to this they add, how the Words

of

BOOK V. of Christ commanding us to eat must needs import, that as he hath coupled the Substance of his Flesh and the Substance of Bread together, so we together should receive both; which labyrinth as the other sort doth justly shun, so the way which they take to the same inn is somewhat more short, but no whit more certain. For through God's omnipotent power they imagine that Transubstantiation followeth upon the Words of Consecration; and, upon Transubstantiation, the Participation of Christ's both Body and Blood, in the only shape of sacramental Elements. So that they all three do plead God's Omnipotency; Sacramentaries, to that alteration which the rest confess he accomplisheth; the Patrons of Transubstantiation, over and besides that, to the change of one Substance into another; the Followers of Consubstantiation, to the kneading of both Substances, as it were, into one lump. Touching the sentence of Antiquity in this cause; first, for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth necessarily presuppose the verity of Christ's both Body and Blood, they used oftentimes the same as an argument to prove, that Christ hath as truly the Substance of Man as of God, because here we receive Christ, and those Graces which flow from him, in that he is Man. So that if he have no such being, neither can the Sacrament have any such meaning as we all confess it hath. Thus * Tertullian, thus † Irenæus, thus

* *Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis Corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est Corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset Corpus, cum vacua res quod est phantasma figuram capere non possit. Tertul. contra Marc. lib. iv. cap. 40.*

† *Secundum hæc (that is to say, if it should be true which Hereticks have taught, denying that Christ took upon him the very nature of Man) nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus est. Sanguis enim non est, nisi a venis et carnibus et a reliqua quæ est secundum hominem substantia. Iren. lib. v. cap. 1.*

Theodoret

* Theodoret disputeth. Again, as evident it is how BOOK V.
 they teach that Christ is personally there present, yea present whole, albeit a part of Christ be corporally absent from thence, that † Christ, assisting this heavenly Banquet with his personal and true Presence, ‡ doth by his own divine power add to the natural substance thereof supernatural efficacy, which § addition to the nature of those consecrated elements changeth them, and maketh them that unto us which otherwise they could not be, that to us they are thereby made such instruments, as ** mystically yet

* Ἐι τῶν τῶν τῶ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπά' ἐς τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τῶ δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα, ἕκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπληρωθέν. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτος.

† Sacramenta quidem quantum in se est sine propria virtute esse non possunt, nec ullo modo se absentat majestas mysteriis. Cypr. de Cœn. cap. vii.

‡ Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infundit essentia ut esset Religioni circa Sacramenta devotio. Idem cap. vi. Invisibilis Sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate convertit. In spiritualibus Sacramentis, verbi præcipit virtus et servit effectus. Euseb. Emiffen. Hom. v. de Pasch.

§ Τα σύμβολα τῶ δεσποτικῶ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπιπλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τῆν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἕκ οἰκείας ἐξίσεσθαι φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἕσεως καὶ τῶ σῆματος καὶ τῶ εἶδους, ἢ ὄρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπλὰ οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἄπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὅλα ἄπερ πιστεύεται. Theodor. Ex quo a Domino dictum est, hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Hæc est caro mea, et hic est sanguis meus, quotiescunque his verbis et hac fide actum est, panis iste supersubstantialis, et calix benedictione solenni sacratus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit. Cypr. de Cœn. cap. iii. Immortalitatis alimonia datur, a communibus cibis differens, corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem, sed virtutis divinæ invisibili efficientia probans adesse præsentiam. Ibid cap. ii.

** Sensibilibus Sacramentis inest vitæ æternæ effectus, et non tam corporali quam spirituali transitione Christo unimur. Ipse enim et panis et caro, et sanguis, idem cibus, et substantia et vita factus est Ecclesiæ suæ quam corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem spiritus. Ibid cap. v. Nostra et ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias, sed effectus confociat et confœderat voluntates. Ibid cap. vi. Mansio nostra in ipso est manducatio, et potus quasi quædam incorporatio. Ibid cap. ix. Ille est

BOOK V. truly, invisibly yet really work our Communion or Fellowship with the Person of Jesus Christ, as well in that he is Man as God, our Participation also in the fruit, grace and efficacy of his Body and Blood; whereupon there ensueth a kind of Transubstantiation in us, a true * change both of Soul and Body, an alteration from Death to Life. In a Word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mystical Participation of Christ's both Body and Blood in the Sacrament; neither are their speeches concerning the change of the Elements themselves into the Body and Blood of Christ such, that a Man can thereby in conscience assure himself it was their meaning to persuade the World, either of a corporal Consubstantiation of Christ with those sanctified and blessed Elements before we receive them, or of the like Transubstantiation of them into the Body and Blood of Christ. Which both to our mystical Communion with Christ are so unnecessary, that the Fathers who plainly hold but this mystical Communion, cannot easily be thought to have meant any other change of sacramental Elements,

est in Patre per naturam Divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus Nativitatem, ille rursus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium. Hilar. de Trin. lib. viii.

* Panis hic azymus cibus verus et sincerus per speciem et Sacramentum nos tactu sanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Christo conformat. Cypr. de Cœn. cap. vi. Non aliud agit participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi, quam ut in id quod sumimus transeamus, et in quo mortui et sepulti et corresuscitati sumus, ipsum per omnia et spiritu et carne gestemus. Leo de Pasch. Serm. xiv. Quemadmodum qui est a terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem (id est facta invocatione divini numinis) jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti; sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. Quoniam salutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita est conjuncta, vivifica effecta est; quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis; illi carni conjuncti, quæ vita effecta est. Cyril. in Johan. lib. iv. cap. 14.

than

than that which the same spiritual Communion did BOOK V. require them to hold. These things considered, how should that Mind which, loving Truth and seeking comfort out of holy Mysteries, hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out so endless mazes as the intricate disputes of this cause have led Men into, how should a virtuously disposed Mind better resolve with itself than thus? *Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receive for Truth, that which every one having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas therefore there are but three expositions made of, This is my Body; the first, this is in itself before Participation really and truly the natural Substance of my Body, by reason of the co-existence which my omnipotent Body hath with the sanctified Element of Bread, which is the Lutherans' interpretation; the second, this is in itself and before Participation the very true and natural Substance of my Body, by force of that Deity, which with the words of Consecration abolisheth the Substance of Bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my Body, which is the Popish construction; the last, this hallowed Food, through concurrence of Divine Power, is in verity and truth, unto faithful Receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical Participation, whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving Grace as my sacrificed Body can yield, and as their Souls do presently need, this is to them, and in them, my Body; of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true; nothing but that which the Words of Christ are on all sides confessed to enforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought necessary; nothing but that which alone is sufficient for every Christian Man to believe concerning the use and force of this Sacrament; finally, nothing but that wherewith the Writings of all Antiquity are consonant, and all Christian Confessions agreeable. And as*

BOOK V. *Truth, in what kind soever, is by no kind of Truth gain-
 said, so the Mind, which resteth itself on this, is never
 troubled with those perplexities which the other do find,
 by means of so great contradiction between their opinions
 and true principles of Reason grounded upon Experience,
 Nature, and Sense. Which albeit, with boisterous courage
 and breath, they seem oftentimes to blow away; yet whose
 observeth how again they labour and sweat by subtilty of
 wit to make some shew of agreement between their pecu-
 liar conceits and the general edicts of Nature, must needs
 perceive they struggle with that which they cannot fully
 master. Besides, sith of that which is proper to them-
 selves, their discourses are hungry and unpleasant, full of
 tedious and irksome labour, heartless, and hitherto with-
 out fruit; on the other side, read we them or hear we
 others, be they of our own or of antienter times, to what
 part soever they be thought to incline, touching that
 whereof there is controversy; yet in this, where they all
 speak but one thing, their discourses are heavenly, their
 words sweet as the honey-comb, their tongues melodiously
 tuned instruments, their sentences mere consolation and
 joy, are we not hereby, almost even with voice from hea-
 ven, admonished which we may safest cleave unto? He
 which hath said of the one Sacrament, Wash and be
 clean, hath said concerning the other likewise, Eat and
 live. If therefore, without any such particular and
 solemn warrant as this is, that poor distressed Woman,
 coming unto Christ for health, could so constantly resolve
 herself, May I but touch the skirt of his Garment, I
 shall be whole, what moveth us to argue of the manner
 how Life should come by Bread, our duty being here but
 to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest per-
 suaded of this, that can we but eat, we are safe? When
 I behold with mine eyes some small and scarce discernible
 grain or seed, whereof Nature maketh a promise that a
 tree shall come; and when afterwards of that tree any
 skilful Artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite and
 curious work, I look for the event, I move no question
 about performance either of the one, or of the other. Shall
 I simply*

I simply credit Nature in things natural? Shall I in BOOK V.
things artificial rely myself on art, never offering to make doubt? and in that which is above both Art and Nature refuse to believe the Author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the secret of his skill before me? Where God himself doth speak those things which, either for height and sublimity of the matter, or else for secrecy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love piety will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe to God. As for his dark and hidden Works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of Faith before that Knowledge, which, curiously sisting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of Man cannot search, killeth for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord's Table, to know what there I receive from him, without searching or enquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over-patiently heard, let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted Men beat their heads about what questions themselves will; the very letter of the Word of Christ giveth plain security, that these Mysteries do, as nails, fasten us to his very Cross, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of his gored side; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose Soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new Wine; this Bread hath in it more than the Substance which our eyes behold, this Cup hallowed with solemn Benediction availeth to the

BOOK V. *endless life and welfare both of Soul and Body; in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our Infirmities and purge our Sins, as for a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ. What these Elements are in themselves, it skilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the Body and Blood of Christ; his promise in witness hereof sufficeth; his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful Communicant but this, O my God, thou art true; O my Soul, thou art happy! Thus therefore we see, that howsoever Men's opinions do otherwise vary; nevertheless, touching Baptism and the Supper of our Lord, we may with one consent of the whole Christian World conclude they are necessary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to consummate or make perfect our Life in Christ.*

Of Faults
noted in the
Form of ad-
ministring
the holy
Communi-
on.

68. In administering the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the supposed faults of the Church of England are not greatly material, and therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. *The first is, that we do not use in a generality once for all to say to Communicants, Take, eat, and drink; but unto every particular Person, Eat thou, drink thou, which is according to the Popish manner, and not the Form that our Saviour did use. Our second oversight is, by gesture. For in kneeling there hath been superstition; sitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Saviour, using that which was most fit, did himself not kneel. A third accusation is, for not examining all Communicants, whose knowledge in the Mystery of the Gospel should that way be made manifest; a thing every where, they say, used in the Apostles' times, because all things necessary were used; and this in their opinion is necessary, yea it is commanded, inasmuch as the Levites are commanded to prepare the People for the Passover; and Examination is a part of their preparation, our Lord's Supper in place of the Passover. The fourth thing*
misliked

2 Chron.
xxxv. 6.

misliked is, that against the Apostle's prohibition, to have BOOK V.
any familiarity at all with notorious Offenders, Papists I Cor. v.
being not of the Church are admitted to our very Com- 11.
munion, before they have by their religious and gospel-
like behaviour purged themselves of that suspicion of
Popery which their former life hath caused. They are
dogs, swine, unclean beasts, Foreigners and Strangers
from the Church of God; and therefore ought not to be
admitted, though they offer themselves. We are, fifthly,
condemned, inasmuch as when there have been store of
People to hear Sermons and Service in the Church, we
suffer the Communion to be ministered to a few. It is
not enough, that our Book of Common-Prayer hath godly
exhortations to move all thereunto which are present. For
it should not suffer a few to communicate, it should by
Ecclesiastical Discipline and civil punishment provide that
such as would withdraw themselves might be brought to
communicate, according both to the Law of God and Num. ix.
the ancient Church Canons. In the sixth and last place, 13. Can. ix.
cometh the enormity of imparting this Sacrament privately Apost. Con-
unto the Sick. Thus far accused, we answer briefly cil. ii. Brac.
*to the first, * that seeing God by Sacraments doth* cap. 83.
apply in particular unto every Man's Person the
Grace which himself hath provided for the benefit
of all Mankind, there is no cause why administering
the Sacraments we should forbear to express that in
our forms of speech, which he by his Word and
Gospel teacheth all to believe. In the one Sacra-
*ment, *I baptize thee*, displeaseth them not. If, *Eat*
thou, in the other offend them, their fancies are no*

* T. C. lib. iii. pag. 166. Besides that it is good to leave the Popish form in those things, which we may so conveniently do, it is best to come as near the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Saviour Christ did use, as may be. And if it be a good argument to prove that therefore we must rather say, *Take thou*, than *Take ye*, because the Sacrament is an application of the Benefits of Christ, it behoveth that the Preacher should direct his admonitions particularly, one after another, unto all those which hear his Sermon, which is a thing absurd.

BOOK V. rules for Churches to follow. Whether Christ at his
 ————— last Supper did speak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His Words are recorded in that form which serveth best for the setting down with historical brevity what was spoken; they are no manifest proof that he spake but once unto all which did then communicate, much less that we in speaking unto every Communicant severally do amiss, although it were clear that we herein do otherwise than Christ did. Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously ourselves unto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the heavenly direction of that inspired Divine Wisdom, which teaches divers ways to one end; and doth therein controul their boldness, by whom any profitable way is censured as reprobable, only under colour of some small difference from great examples going before. To do throughout every the like circumstance the same which Christ did in this action, were, by following his footsteps in that sort, to err more from the purpose he aimed at, than we now do by not following them with so nice and severe strictness. They little weigh with themselves how dull, how heavy, and almost how without sense, the greatest part of the common Multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unnecessary to put them, even Man by Man, especially at that time, in mind whereabout they are. It is true, that in Sermons we do not use to repeat our sentences severally to every particular Hearer; a strange madness it were if we should. The softness of wax may induce a wise Man to set his stamp or image therein; it persuadeth no Man, that because wool hath the like quality, it may therefore receive the like impression. So the reason taken from the use of Sacraments, in that they are instruments of Grace unto every particular Man, may with good congruity lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in Administration of Sacraments, because they easily admit
 this

this form ; which being in Sermons a thing impossible, without apparent ridiculous absurdity, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons, in that which is alledged as a reasonable proof of conveniency for the one, proveth not the same allegation impertinent, because it doth not enforce the other to be administered in like sort. For equal principles do then avail unto equal conclusions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equal, and not else. * Our kneeling at Communions is the gesture of Piety. If we did there present ourselves but to make some shew or dumb resemblance of a spiritual Feast, it may be that sitting were the fitter ceremony ; but coming as Receivers of ineffimable Grace at the Hands of God, what doth better beseem our Bodies at that hour, than to be sensible witnesses of Minds unfeignedly humbled ? Our Lord himself did that which custom and long usage had made fit ; we, that which fitness and great decency hath made usual. The trial of ourselves, before we eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, is, by exprefs commandment, every Man's precise duty. As for necessity of calling others unto account besides ourselves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great strength which is in their arguments, who first press us with it as a thing necessary, by affirming that the Apostles did use it, and then prove the † Apostles to have used it, by affirming it to be necessary ; again, albeit we greatly muse how they can avouch that God did command the Levites

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 165. Kneeling carrieth a shew of worship ; sitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper. Christ and his Apostles kneeled not.

† T. C. lib. i. pag. 164. All things necessary were used in the Churches of God in the Apostles' times ; but Examination was a necessary thing, therefore used. In the Book of Chronicles, 2 Chron. xxxv. 6. the Levites were commanded to prepare the People to the receiving of the Passover, in place whereof we have the Lord's Supper. Now Examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandment of the Examination.

BOOK V. to prepare their Brethren against the Feast of the
 ——— Passover, and that the Examination of them was a
 part of their Preparation. when the place alledged
 to this purpose doth but charge the Levite, saying,
Make ready Laahhechem for your Brethren, to the end
 they may do according to the Word of the Lord
 by Moses: wherefore in the self-same place it fol-
 loweth, how lambs, and kids, and sheep, and bul-
 locks were delivered unto the Levites, and that thus
 the service was made ready; it followeth likewise,
 how the Levites having in such sort provided for the
 People, they made provision for themselves, *and for
 the Priests, the Sons of Aaron*: so that confidently from
 hence to conclude the necessity of Examination, ar-
 gueth their wonderful great forwardness in framing
 all things to serve their turn; nevertheless, the Ex-
 amination of Communicants when need requireth,
 for the profitable use it may have in such cases, we
 reject not. Our fault in admitting Popish Commu-
 nicants, is it in that we are forbidden to eat, and
 therefore much more to communicate with notorious
 Malefactors? The name of a Papist is not given
 unto any Man for being a notorious Malefactor: and
 the Crime wherewith we are charged, is suffering
 Papists to communicate; so that, be their life and
 conversation whatsoever in the sight of Man, their
 Popish opinions are in this case laid as bars and ex-
 ceptions against them; yea, those opinions which
 they have held in former times, * although they
 now both profess by word, and offer to shew by fact
 the contrary. All this doth not justify us, which
 ought not (they say) to admit them in any wise, till
 their gospel-like behaviour have removed all sus-
 picion of Popery from them, because Papists are *dogs*,

1 Cor. v.
 21.
 T. C. lib. i.
 pag. 167.

* Although they would receive the Communion, yet they
 ought to be kept back, until such time as, by their religious and
 gospel-like behaviour, they have purged themselves of that sus-
 picion of Popery which their former life and conversation hath
 caused to be conceived. T. C. lib. i. pag. 167.

swine,

Swine, beasts, Foreigners and Strangers from the House of God; in a word, *they are not of the Church*. What the Terms of gospel-like behaviour may include, is obscure and doubtful; but of the visible Church of Christ in this present World, from which they separate all Papists, we are thus persuaded. Church is a word which art hath devised, thereby to sever and distinguish that Society of Men, which professeth the true Religion, from the rest which profess it not. There have been in the World, from the very first foundation thereof, but three Religions, Paganism, which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved Nature; Judaism, embracing the Law which reformed heathenish impieties, and taught Salvation to be looked for through One, whom God in the last days would send, and exalt to be Lord of all. Finally, Christian Belief, which yieldeth obedience to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promise. Seeing then that the Church is a name, which art hath given to Professors of true Religion, as they which will define a Man, are to pass by those qualities wherein one Man doth excel another, and to take only those essential Properties whereby a Man doth differ from Creatures of other kinds; so he that will teach what the Church is, shall never rightly perform the work whereabout he goeth, till in matter of Religion he touch that difference which severeth the Church's Religion from theirs who are not the Church. Religion being therefore a matter partly of contemplation, partly of action; we must define the Church, which is a religious Society, by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the Contemplations and Actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all Knowledges and all Virtues are defined. Whereupon, because the only object which separateth ours from other Religions, is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe; and

BOOK V. and whom none but the Church doth worship; we find that accordingly the Apostles do every where distinguish hereby the Church from Infidels and from Jews, *accounting them which call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church.* If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deed, or in Men's opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the Unity that ought to be in the Church of Christ, which notwithstanding may have not only without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no small importance; yea, her Schisms, Factions, and such other evils whereunto the Body of the Church is subject, sound and sick remaining both of the same Body, as long as both parts retain by outward profession that vital substance of Truth, which maketh Christian Religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Saviour of Mankind, give no credit to his glorious Gospel, and have his Sacraments, the seals of eternal Life, in derision. Now the privilege of the visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the Ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost Sheep; yet in this was the Ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas

none

Rom xv. 5.
1 Cor. i.
30.

none of them which were in the one could perish, BOOK v.
 numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal Life our Profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdom of God, although from the Church they separate not. In the Church there arise fundry grievous storms, by means whereof whole Kingdoms and Nations professing Christ, both have been heretofore, and are at this present day divided about Christ. During which divisions and contentions amongst Men, albeit each part do justify itself, yet the one of necessity must needs err, if there be any contradiction between them, be it great or little; and what side soever it be that hath the truth, the same we must also acknowledge alone to hold with the true Church in that point, and consequently the other as an Enemy, in that case fallen away from the true Church. Wherefore of Hypocrites and Dissemblers, whose profession at the first was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occasion to oppugn certain principal Articles of Faith, the Apostles which defended the Truth against them, pronounce them gone out from the Fellowship of sound and sincere Believers, when as yet the Christian Religion they had not utterly cast off. In like sense and meaning throughout all ages, Hereticks have justly been hated as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine; yet only so far forth cut off as their Heresies have extended. Both Heresy, and many other crimes which wholly sever from God, do sever from the Church of God in part only. The Mystery of Piety, saith the Apostle, is without peradventure great, *God hath been manifested in the Flesh, hath been justified in the Spirit, hath been seen of Angels, hath been preached to Nations, hath been believed on in the World, hath been taken up into Glory.* 1 John ii. 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.
 The Church a pillar and foundation of this Truth, which no where is known or professed but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that profess it. In the mean while, it cannot be denied, that
 many

BOOK V. many profess this who are not therefore cleared simply from all, either faults or errors, which make separation between us and the well-spring of our happiness. Idolatry severed of old the Israelites; iniquity, those Scribes and Pharisees from God, who notwithstanding were a part of the Seed of Abraham, a part of that very Seed which God did himself acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet must be reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them, whose apparent wickedness testifieth even in the sight of the whole World that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpose are meant those Parables, which our Saviour in the Gospel hath concerning mixture of Vice with Virtue, Light with Darkness, Truth with Error, as well and openly known and seen, as a cunningly cloaked mixture. That which separateth therefore utterly, that which cutteth off clean from the visible Church of Christ, is plain Apostasy, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian Faith, as far as the same is professedly different from Infidelity. Hereticks, as touching those points of Doctrine wherein they fail; Schismaticks, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themselves from their Brethren; loose, licentious, and wicked Persons, as touching their several offences or crimes, have all forsaken the true Church of God; the Church which is sound and sincere in the Doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the Bond of Unity, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the Laws of Righteousness, which they transgress; this very true Church of Christ they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the Church; upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are rent at the top asunder. Now because for redress of professed Errors and open Schisms it is, and must be the Church's care that all may in
outward

Matt. xiii.
24, 47.

outward Conformity be one, as the laudable Polity BOOK V.
of former Ages, even so our own to that end and purpose hath established divers Laws, the moderate severity whereof is a mean both to stay the rest, and to reclaim such as heretofore have been led awry. But seeing that the offices which Laws require are always definite, and when that they require is done they go no farther, whereupon fundry ill-affected Persons, to save themselves from danger of Laws, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry still the same hearts which they did before; by means whereof it falleth out, that receiving unworthily the blessed Sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own Damnation; it is for remedy of this mischief * here determined, that whom the Law of the

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 167. If the place of the fifth to the Corinthians do forbid that we should have any familiarity with notorious Offenders, it doth more forbid that they should be received to the Communion: and therefore Papists being such, as which are notoriously known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much less compelled to the Supper. For seeing that our Saviour Christ did institute his Supper amongst his Disciples, and those only which were, as St. Paul speaketh, within; it is evident, that the Papists being without, and Foreigners and Strangers from the Church of God, ought not to be received if they would offer themselves; and that Minister that shall give the Supper of the Lord to him which is known to be a Papist, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of Popery with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is prepared for the Children, unto Dogs; and he bringeth into the pasture, which is provided for the Sheep, swine, and unclean beasts, contrary to the Faith and Trust that ought to be in a Steward of the Lord's House, as he is. For albeit, that I doubt not, but many of those which are now Papists, pertain to the Election of God, which God also in his good time will call to the knowledge of his Truth; yet, notwithstanding, they ought to be unto the Minister, and unto the Church, touching the ministering of Sacraments, as Strangers, and as unclean Beasts. The ministering of the holy Sacraments unto them is a declaration and seal of God's favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain preaching, partly, that they be washed already from their sin, partly that they are of the Household of God, and such as the Lord will feed to eternal Life; which

BOOK V. Realm doth punish unless they communicate, such, if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithstanding should not admit without probation before had of their gospel-like behaviour. Wherein they first set no time, how long this supposed probation must continue; again, they nominate no certain judgment, the verdict whereof shall approve Men's behaviour to be gospel-like; and, that which is most material, whereas they seek to make it more hard for dissemblers to be received into the Church than Law and Polity as yet hath done, they make it in truth more easy for such kind of Persons to wind themselves out of the Law, and to continue the same they were. The Law requireth at their hands that duty which in conscience doth touch them nearest, because the greatest difference between us and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, whose Name in the Service of our Communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the error of their Mass profane. As therefore on our part to hear Mass, were an open departure from that sincere Profession wherein we stand; so if they on the other side receive our Communion, they give us the strongest pledge of fidelity that Man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and Man, should once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may satisfy Law in pretending themselves conformable (for what can Law with reason or justice require more?) and yet be sure the Church will accept no such offer till their gospel-like behaviour be allowed,

which is not lawful to be done unto those which are not of the Household of Faith. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of Papists unto the Communion, and the dismissing and letting of them go, when as they be to be punished for their stubbornness in Popery (with this condition, if they will receive the Communion) is very unlawful; when as, although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back till such time as by their religious and gospel-like behaviour, &c.

after

after that our own simplicity hath once thus fairly BOOK V.
eased them from the sting of the Law; it is to be
thought they will learn the mystery of gospel-like
behaviour when leisure serveth them. And so while
without any cause we fear to prophane Sacraments,
we shall not only defeat the purpose of most whole-
some Laws, but lose or wilfully hazard those Souls,
from whom the likeliest means of full and perfect
recovery are by our indiscretion with-held. For
neither doth God thus bind us to dive into Men's
consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any
Man but themselves. To him they seem such as
they are; but of us they must be taken for such as
they seem. In the eye of God they are against
Christ, that are not truly and sincerely with him; in
our eyes, they must be received as with Christ, that
are not to outward shew against him. The case of
impenitent and notorious Sinners is not like unto
theirs, whose only imperfection is error severed from
pertinacy, error in appearance content to submit
itself to better instruction; error so far already cured,
as to crave at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred
and utter refusal whereof, was the weightiest point
wherein heretofore they swerved and went astray. In
this case therefore they cannot reasonably charge us
with remiss dealing, or with carelessness to whom we
impart the Mysteries of Christ; but they have given
us manifest occasion to think it requisite that we
earnestly advise rather, and exhort them to consider
as they ought their sundry oversights; first, in
equalling undistinctly crimes with errors, as touch-
ing force to make incapable of this Sacrament; se-
condly, in suffering indignation at the faults of the
Church of Rome to blind and with-hold their judg-
ments from seeing that which withal they should
acknowledge, concerning so-much, nevertheless, still
due to the same Church, as to be held and reputed
a part of the House of God, a limb of the visible
Church of Christ; thirdly, in imposing upon the
Church

BOOK V. Church a burthen, to enter farther into Men's hearts; and to make a deeper search of their consciences, than any Law of God, or Reason of Man enforceth; fourthly and lastly, in repelling under colour of longer trial such from the Mysteries of heavenly Grace, as are both capable thereof by the Laws of God, for any thing we hear to the contrary; and should in divers considerations be cherished according to the merciful examples and precepts whereby the Gospel of Christ hath taught us towards such to shew compassion, to receive them with lenity and all meekness; if any thing be shaken in them, to strengthen it; not to quench with delays and jealousies that feeble smoak of Conformity which seemeth to breathe from them; but to build wheresoever there is any foundation; to add perfection unto slender beginnings; and that as by other offices of piety, even so by this very Food of Life which Christ hath left in his Church, not only for preservation of strength, but also for relief of weakness.

T. C. l. i. But to return to our own selves, in whom the next thing severely reprov'd is the paucity of Communicants. If they require at Communions frequency, we wish the same, knowing how acceptable unto God such service is, when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it; if they encourage Men thereunto, we also (themselves acknowledge it) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require some publick coaction for remedy of that, wherein by milder and softer means, little good is done, they know our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatsoever convenient help may be added more by the wisdom of Man, what cause have we given the World to think that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to use any good means of sweet compulsion to have this high and heavenly Banquet largely furnished? Only we cannot so far yield as to judge it convenient, that the holy desire of a competent number should be unsatisfied because the greater part

is

2 Chron.
xxx. 13.
Psal. cxvii.
1.

Luke xiv.
23.

is careless and undisposed to join with them. Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselves to communicate when so many are gone away, because this Sacrament is a token of our Conjunction with our Brethren; and therefore by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent shew of distraction. I ask then, on which side Unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who, being left behind, do communicate? First, in the one it is not denied but that they may have reasonable causes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from just blame. Of such kind of causes two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and necessary business requiring our presence elsewhere. And may not a third cause, which is unfitness at the present time, detain us as lawfully back as either of these two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuse ourselves, for that we ought to prevent this and do not. But if we have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, shall we therefore aggravate the same with a worse; the crime of unworthy participation? He that abstaineth doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious Communicants have; but he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poison. Notwithstanding, whatsoever be the cause for which Men abstain, were it reason that the fault of one part should any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the Scripture of God no one syllable which doth condemn communicating amongst a few, when the rest are departed from them. As for the last thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament privately to the Sick, whereas there have been of old (they grant) two kinds of necessity wherein this Sacrament might be privately administered; of which two, the one being erroneously imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in use, there remaineth unto us no necessity

BOOK V.

T. C. 1. 1.
P. 146.

BOOK V. at all, for which that Custom should be retained.

The falsely surmised necessity is that whereby some have thought all such excluded from possibility of Salvation, as did depart this Life, and never were made partakers of the holy Eucharist. The other case of necessity was, when Men which had fallen in time of persecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the Fellowship of this Communion, did at the hour of death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietness and comfort of mind, being thereby assured of departure in unity of Christ's Church; which virtuous desire, the Fathers did think it great impiety not to satisfy. This was Serapion's case of necessity. Serapion, a faithful aged Person, and always of very upright life, till fear of persecution in the end caused him to shrink back, after long sorrow for his scandalous offence, and suit oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous sickness, and being ready to yield up the ghost, was then more instant than ever before to receive the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was necessary in this case, not that Serapion had been deprived of everlasting life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we think, that all cases of such necessity are clean vanished? Suppose that some have by mispersuasion lived in Schism, withdrawn themselves from holy and publick Assemblies, hated the Prayers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falsely presuming them to be fraught with impious and anti-christian corruptions; which error the God of Mercy and Truth opening at the length their eyes to see, they do not only repent them of the evil which they have done, but also in token thereof desire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poor seduced Souls, even at this day); God forbid we should think that the Church doth sin, in permitting

permitting the wounds of such to be supplied with BOOK V. that oil which this gracious Sacrament doth yield, and their bruised Minds not only need but beg. There is nothing which the Soul of Man doth desire in that last hour so much as comfort against the natural terrors of death, and other scruples of conscience which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak; towards whom the very Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general consolation departing this life is, the hope of that glorious and blessed Resurrection which the Apostle 1 Cor. xv. 21. St. Paul nameth *Ἐξανάστασιν*, * to note that as all Phil. iii. 11. Men should have their *Ἀνάστασιν*, and be raised again from the dead, so the Just shall be taken up and exalted above the rest, whom the power of God doth but raise, and not exalt. This Life, and this Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, is for all Men, as touching the sufficiency of that he hath done; but that which maketh us partakers thereof, is our particular Communion with Christ; and this Sacrament a principal mean, as well to strengthen the bond, as to multiply in us the fruits of the same Communion. For which cause St. Cyprian † termeth it a joyful solemnity of expedite and speedy Resurrection; Ignatius, ‡ a medicine which procureth Immortality and preventeth Death; Irenæus, § the nourishment of our Bodies to eternal Life, and their preservative from corruption. Now because that Sacrament, which at all times we may

* *Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆ γῆς ἵκτασιν.* Theophyl. Πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνίστανται, μόνος δὲ πιστὸς ἀγχιθίστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ammon. Vide i Thieß. iv. 17.

† *Maturatæ Resurrectionis lætabunda solemnia.* Cypr. de Carn. Dom. cap. x.

‡ *Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτον μὴ θανεῖν.* Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34.

§ *Esti nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit, subveniendum est.* Lib. cxxxviii. ff. de Reg. Jur.

BOOK V. receive unto this effect, is then most acceptable and most fruitful when any special extraordinary occasion, nearly and presently urging, kindleth our desires towards it, their severity, who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and so make all Men's conditions alike, may add much affliction to divers troubled and grieved Minds, of whose particular estate particular respect being had, according to the charitable Order of the Church wherein we live, there ensueth unto God that glory which his righteous Saints comforted in their greatest distresses do yield; and unto them which have their reasonable petitions satisfied the same contentment, tranquillity and joy, that others before them, by means of like satisfaction, have reaped, and wherein we all are or should be desirous finally to take our leave of the World, whensoever our own uncertain time of most assured departure shall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our usual and received Form of administering the same in the Church of England, let thus much suffice.

Of Festival-Days, and the natural causes of their convenient Institution.

69. As the Substance of God alone is infinite and hath no kind of limitation, so likewise his Continuance is from everlasting to everlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion being presupposed, it followeth necessarily, that besides him, all things are finite both in Substance and in Continuance. If in Substance all things be finite, it cannot be but that there are bounds without the compass whereof their Substance doth not extend; if in Continuance also limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their set and their certain terms, before which they had no being at all. This is the reason why, first, we do most admire those things which are greatest; and, secondly, those things which are ancientest; because the one are least distant from the infinite Substance, the other from the infinite Continuance of God. Out of this we gather that only God hath true Immortality or Eternity, that is

to

to say, Continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the noblest and perfectest of all things besides have continually, through continuance, the time of former continuance lengthened; so that they could not heretofore be said to have continued so long as now, neither so long as hereafter. God's own eternity is the hand which leadeth Angels in the course of their perpetuity; their perpetuity the hand that draweth out celestial Motion; the line of which Motion, and the thread of Time, are spun together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, so we by Motion have learned how to divide Time, and by the smaller parts of Time both to measure the greater, and to know how long all things else endure. For Time, considered in itself, is but the flux of that very instant wherein the Motion of the Heaven began; being coupled with other things, it is the quantity of their continuance measured by the distance of two instants: as the Time of a Man, is a Man's continuance from the instant of his first breath till the instant of his last gasp. Hereupon some have defined Time to be the measure of the Motion of Heaven; because the first thing which Time doth measure, is that Motion wherewith it began, and by the help whereof it measureth other things; as when the Prophet David saith, that a Man's continuance doth not commonly exceed threescore and ten years, he useth the help both of Motion and Number to measure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to be in nature before Time, ought to have considered with themselves, that albeit we should deny, as Melissus did, all Motion; we might notwithstanding acknowledge Time, because Time doth but signify the quantity of Continuance, which Continuance may be in things that rest and are never moved. Besides, we may also consider in rest both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is future; yea, farther, even length and shortness in every of these, although we

BOOK V. never had conceit of Motion. But to define, without
 Motion, how long, or how short such Continuance is, were impossible. So that herein we must of necessity use the benefit of Years, Days, Hours, Minutes, which all grow from celestial Motion. Again, for as much as that Motion is circular, whereby we make our divisions of Time, and the compass of that Circuit such, that the Heavens, which are therein continually moved and keep in their Motions uniform celerity, must needs touch often the same points, they cannot choose but bring unto us by equal distances frequent returns of the same Times. Furthermore, whereas Time is nothing but a mere quantity of that Continuance which all things have, that are not, as God is, without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth also to this kind; so that Time doth but measure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect, nor is itself ever capable of any. And therefore when commonly we use to say, that Time doth eat or fret out all things; that Time is the wisest thing in the World, because it bringeth forth all knowledge; and that nothing is more foolish than Time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatsoever one day learneth, the same another day forgetteth again; that some Men see prosperous and happy days, and that some Men's days are miserable; in all these, and the like speeches, that which is uttered of the Time, is not verified of Time itself, but agreeth unto those things which are in Time, and do by means of so near conjunction either lay their burden upon the back, or set their crown upon the head of Time. Yea, the very opportunities which we ascribe to Time,* do in truth cleave to the things themselves wherewith the Time is joined. As for Time, it neither causeth things, nor opportunities of things, although it comprise and contain both. All things

* Χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος οὐ πολλὸς. Hippoc.
 Lib. qui præceptiones inscribitur.

whatsoever

whatsoever having their Time, the Works of God BOOK V.
 have always that Time which is seasonablest and
 fitteft for them. His Works are some ordinary, some
 more rare ; all worthy of obfervation, but not all of
 like neceffity to be often remembered ; they all have
 their Times, but they all do not add the fame efti-
 mation and glory to the Times wherein they are.
 For as God by being every where, yet doth not give
 unto all places one and the fame degree of holinefs ;
 fo neither one and the fame dignity to all Times by
 working in all. For if all either places or Times were in
 refpect of God alike ; wherefore was it faid unto Mo-
 fes by particular designation, *That very place wherein* Exod. iii. 5.
thou standeft is holy ground? Why doth the Prophet
 David choofe out of all the days of the year but
 one, whereof he fpeaketh by way of principal admi-
 ration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, Pfal. cxviii.
 as God's extraordinary Prefence hath hallowed and 24.
 fanctified certain places, fo they are his extraordinary
 Works that have truly and worthily advanced certain
 times ; for which caufe they ought to be with all Men
 that honour God more holy than other days. The
 Wife Man therefore compareth herein not unfitly the
 Times of God with the Perfons of Men. If any
 fhould ask how it comes to pafs that one day doth
 excel another, feeing the light of all the days in the
 year proceedeth from one fun ; to this he answereth,
That the Knowledge of the Lord hath parted them afun- Eccus. xxxiii. 7.
der, he hath by them difpofed the Times and folemn Feasts ;
some he hath chofen out and fanctified, some he hath put
among the days to number : even as Adam and all other
 Men are of one fubftance, all created of the Earth :
But the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge ; and
made their ways divers ; some he hath blessed and exalted,
some he hath fanctified and appropriated unto himfelf,
some he hath cursed, humbled and put them out of their
dignity. So that the caufe being natural and ne-
 ceffary for which there fhould be a difference in days,
 the folemn obfervation whereof declareth religious

BOOK V. thankfulnes towards Him, whose Works of principal reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it cometh next to be considered, what kinds of Duties and Services they are, wherewith such Times should be kept holy.

The manner
of celebrat-
ing of Festi-
val-Days.

70. The Sanctification of Days and Times is a token of that thankfulnes, and a part of that publick honour which we owe to God for admirable Benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that we keep a secret kalender, taking thereby our private occasions as we list ourselves to think how much God hath done for all Men; but the Days which are chosen out to serve as publick memorials of such his Mercies ought to be clothed with those outward robes of Holiness, whereby their difference from other Days may be made sensible. But because Time in itself, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration, the hallowing of Festival-Days must consist in the shape or countenance which we put upon the affairs that are incident into those Days. *This is the Day which the Lord hath made*, saith the Prophet David, *let us rejoice and be glad in it*. So that generally Offices and Duties of *religious joy are that wherein the hallowing of Festival-Times consisteth. The most natural testimonies of our rejoicing in God, are, first, his Praises set forth with cheerful alacrity of mind; secondly, our Comfort and Delight expressed by a charitable largeness of somewhat more than common Bounty; thirdly, Sequestration from ordinary Labours, the

* Grande videlicet officium, focus et choras in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernæ halitu obolefacere, vinolutum cogere, catervatim cursitare ad injurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Sicine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus? Tert. Apol. cap. 35. Dies festos Majestati altissimæ dedicatos nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari. Cl. xii. tit. 12. lib. 1. Ἀντὶ τῆς πάσαις πομπείας καὶ αἰσχουργίας καὶ αἰσχροπρόημοσύνης σώφρονες ἐορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέδην ἔχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνοις θεοῦ καὶ ἑσῶν λογίων ἀκρόασι, καὶ προσευχῆν ἀξιωματοῦ κοσμημένην δακρύοις. Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. ser. ix. Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φροσύνης εἰσι εὐσεβεῖτε εἶναι καὶ φιλάδελφον. Philo. lib. de Abraha.

toils

toils and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of such gladness. Festival Solemnity, therefore, is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of these three elements, Praise, Bounty and Rest. Touching Praise, for as much as the Jews, who alone knew the way how to magnify God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked lives) more of custom and for fashion-sake execute the service of their Religion, than with hearty and true devotion (which God especially requireth) he therefore protesteth against their Sabbaths and solemn Days, as Ista. i. 13. being therewith much offended. Plentiful and liberal expence is required in them that abound, partly as a sign of their own joy in the goodness of God towards them, and partly as a mean whereby to refresh those poor and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and joy with others, do the more religiously bless God, whose great Mercies were a cause thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burthen of that hard estate wherein they continue. Rest is the end of all Motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, and even in them which feel no weariness by any work, yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that, which bringeth not Happiness till it do bring Rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is unattained, we rest not. Let us not here take Rest for Idleness. They are idle, whom the painfulness of action causeth to avoid those labours whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them; they rest, which either cease from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or else give over a meaner labour because a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore Man doth consist of different and distinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities, which all have their several ends and actions thereunto referred; so there is in this great variety of duties which belong to Men that dependency and order,

Deut. lxi.I4.Nehemiahviii. 9.

BOOK V. der, by means whereof, the lower sustaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence. Labours of bodily and daily toil purchase freedom for actions of religious Joy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired Rest; a thing most natural and fit to accompany the solemn Festival duties of honour which are done to God. For if those principal Works of God, the memory whereof we use to celebrate at such times, be but certain tastes and saps, as it were, of that final benefit wherein our perfect Felicity and Bliss lieth folded up, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and desires towards the other, it giveth surely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we presently do, representeth after a sort that also whereunto we tend; as Festival Rest doth that Celestial Estate whereof the very Heathens themselves,* which had not the means whereby to apprehend much, did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in Rest, and have therefore taught that above the highest moveable Sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, unsubject to passion, blest with eternal continuance in a Life of the highest Perfection, and of that complete abundant sufficiency within itself, which no possibility of want, maim, or defect can touch. Besides, whereas ordinary Labours are both in themselves painful and base in comparison of Festival Services done to God, doth not the natural difference between them shew that the one, as it were by way of submission and homage, should surrender them-

* Οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἕξωτάτω φερομένην φορὰν, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζῶν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεσάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. Arist.

selves to the other, wherewith they can neither easily BOOK v.
 concur, because painfulness and joy are opposite, nor
 decently, because while the Mind hath just occasion
 to make her abode in the house of gladness, the
 weed of ordinary toil and travel becometh her not?
 Wherefore even Nature hath taught the Heathens,
 and God the Jews, and Christ us, first that Festival
 Solemnities are a part of the publick exercise of Re-
 ligion; secondly, that Praise, Liberality and Rest,
 are as natural elements whereof Solemnities consist.
 But these things the Heathens converted to the ho-
 nour of their false Gods; and, as they failed in the
 end itself, so neither could they discern rightly what
 form and measure Religion therein should observe.
 Whereupon when the Israelites impiously followed
 so corrupt example, they are in every degree noted
 to have done amiss; their Hymns or Songs of Praise
 were Idolatry; their Bounty, Excess; and their Rest,
 Wantonness. Therefore the Law of God, which ap-
 pointed them Days of Solemnity, taught them like-
 wise in what manner the same should be celebrated.
 According to the pattern of which institution, David
 establishing the state of Religion ordained Praise to
 be given unto God in the Sabbaths, Months, and 1 Chron.
 appointed Times, as their Custom had been always xxiii. 30-
 before the Lord. Now, besides the times which God
 himself in the Law of Moses particularly specified,
 there were through the wisdom of the Church certain
 other devised by occasion of like occurrents to those
 whereupon the former had risen; as namely, that
 which Mordecai and Esther did first celebrate in me- Esther ix.
 mory of the Lord's most wonderful Protection, when 27.
 Haman had laid his inevitable plot, to Man's think-
 ing, for the utter extirpation of the Jews even in one
 day. This they call the Feast of Lots, because Ha-
 man had cast their life and their death, as it were,
 upon the hazard of a lot. To this may be added that
 other also of Dedication, mentioned in the tenth of
 St. John's Gospel, the institution whereof is declared John x. 22.

BOOK V. in the History of the Maccabees. But for as much
 as their Law by the coming of Christ is changed,
 and we thereunto no way bound, St. Paul, although
 it were not his purpose to favour invectives against
 the special Sanctification of Days and Times to the
 service of God, and to the honour of Jesus Christ,
 doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that
 opinion which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of
 Jewish Legal observations, as if the whole World
 ought for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation,
 to keep and observe the same. Such as in this per-
 suasion hallowed those Jewish Sabbaths the Apostle
 sharply reproveth, saying, *Ye observe Days, and Months,
 and Times, and Years; I am in fear of you, lest I have
 bestowed upon you labour in vain.* Howbeit, so far off
 was Tertullian from imagining how any Man could
 possibly hereupon call in question such Days as the
 Church of Christ doth observe,* that the observation
 of these Days he useth for an argument whereby to
 prove, it could not be the Apostle's intent and mean-
 ing to condemn simply all observing of such Times.
 Generally therefore touching Feasts in the Church of
 Christ, they have that profitable use whereof St. Au-
 gustin speaketh, *By Festival Solemnities and set Days,
 we dedicate and sanctifie to God the memory of his Bene-
 fits, lest unthankful forgetfulness thereof should creep upon
 us in course of time.* And concerning particulars, their
 Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lord's
 Day; that as the one did continually bring to mind
 the former World finished by Creation, so the other
 might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far
 better World, begun by him which came to restore
 all things, to make both Heaven and Earth new.
 For which cause they honoured the last Day, we the

1 Mac. iv.
54.

Gal. iv. 10.

Aug. de Ci-
vit. Dei,
lib. x. cap. 4.

* Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et mensium et annorum erasit Apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Lib. advers. Pſych.

first in every seven throughout the Year. The rest BOOK V.
of the Days and Times which we celebrate have re-
lation all to one Head. We begin therefore our Ec-
clesiastical Year with the glorious Annunciation of Luke i. 26.
his Birth by Angelical Embassage. There being
hereunto added his blessed Nativity itself; the My-
stery of his Legal Circumcision; the testification of Luke ii. 21.
his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which
brought him into the World, his Resurrection, his
Ascension into Heaven, the admirable sending down
of his Spirit upon his Chosen, and (which conse-
quently ensued) the notice of that incomprehensible
Trinity thereby given to the Church of God. Again,
for as much as we know that Christ hath not only
been manifested great in himself, but great in other
his Saints also, the days of whose departure out of
the World are to the Church of Christ as the birth
and coronation-days of Kings or Emperors; there-
fore especial choice being made of the very flower of
all occasions in this kind, there are annual selected
Times to meditate of Christ glorified in them, which
had the honour to suffer for his sake, before they had
age and ability to know him; glorified in them,
which knowing him as Stephen, had the sight of that
before death, whereinto so acceptable death did lead;
glorified in those Sages of the East, that came from
far to adore him, and were conducted by strange
light; glorified in the second Elias of the World,
sent before him to prepare his way; glorified in those
Apostles, whom it pleased him to use as Founders of
his Kingdom here; glorified in the Angels, as in
Michael; glorified in all those happy Souls, that are
already possessed of Heaven. Over and besides which
number not great, the rest be but four other Days
heretofore annexed to the Feast of Easter and Pente-
cost, by reason of general Baptism usual at those two
Feasts; which also is the cause why they had not,
as other Days, any proper name given them. Their
first institution was therefore through necessity, and their
their

BOOK V. their present continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals whereupon they still attend. If it be then demanded, whether we observe these Times as being thereunto bound by force of divine Law, or else by the only positive Ordinances of the Church? I answer to this, that the very Law of Nature itself, which all Men confess to be God's Law, requireth in general no less the Sanctification of Times, than of Places, Persons, and Things, unto God's Honour. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore, as of the rest, so of Times likewise, to exact some parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be dispensed withal, nor remitted; again, to require some other parts of Time with as strict exaction, but for less continuance; and of the rest which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily unto like religious uses. Of the first kind, amongst the Jews, was the Sabbath-day; of the second, those Feasts which are appointed by the Law of Moses; the Feast of Dedication, invented by the Church, standeth in the number of the last kind. The Moral Law requiring therefore a seventh part throughout the age of the whole World to be that way employed, although with us the Day be changed, in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Christ; yet the same proportion of Time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of Creation, and now much more of Renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the World to come, we are bound to account the sanctification of one Day in seven a duty which God's immutable Law doth exact for ever. The rest, they say, we ought to abolish, because the continuance of them doth nourish wicked Superstition in the minds of men; besides, they are all abused by Papists, the Enemies of God; yea, certain of them, as Easter and Pentecost, even by the Jews.

71. Touching Jews, their Easter and Pentecost BOOK V.
 have with ours as much affinity as Philip the Apostle with Philip the Macedonian King. As for imitation of Papists and the breeding of Superstition, they are now become such common guests, that no Man can think it discourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare observation and strange;* you shall find, if you mark it (as it doth deserve to be noted well) that many thousands there are, who if they have virtuously during those times behaved themselves, if their devotion and zeal in prayer have been fervent, their attention to the Word of God such as all Christian Men should yield, imagine that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithstanding to think is a very dangerous error, in as much as the Apostle Saint Paul hath taught that we ought not to keep our Easter as the Jews did for certain days; but in the unleavened bread of Sincerity and of Truth to feast continually: whereas

Exceptions
 against our
 keeping of
 other Festi-
 val-Days,
 besides the
 Sabbath.

* T. C. lib. vi. pag. 151. If they had been never abused neither by the Papists, nor by the Jews, as they have been, and are daily; yet such making of Holidays is never without some great danger of bringing in some evil and corrupt opinions into the minds of Men. I will use an example in one, and that the chief of Holidays, and most generally and of longest time observed in the Church, which is the Feast of Easter, which was kept of some more days, of some fewer. How many thousands are there, I will not say of the ignorant Papists, but of those also which profess the Gospel, which when they have celebrated those days with diligent heed taken unto their life, and with some earnest devotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, do not by and by think that they have well celebrated the Feast of Easter; and yet have they thus notably deceived themselves: for Saint Paul teacheth, 1 Cor. v. 8. that the celebrating of the feast of the Christians Easter is not, as the Jews was, for certain days; but sheweth that we must keep this Feast all the days of our life in the unleavened bread of Sincerity and of Truth. By which we see, that the observing of the Feast of Easter for certain days in the year doth pull out of our minds, ere ever we be aware, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and causeth us to rest in that near consideration of our duties, for the space of a few days, which should be extended to all our life.

the

BOOK V. the restraint of Easter to a certain number of days, ——— caufeth us to reft for a fhort fpace in that near confideration of our duties, which fhould be extended throughout the courfe of our whole lives, and fo pulleth out of our Minds the Doctrines of Chrifts Gospel ere we be aware. The Doctrines of the Gospel, which here they mean, or fhould mean, is, that, Chrifh having finifhed the Law, there is no Jewish Pafchal Solemnity, nor abftinence from four bread now required at our hands; there is no leaven which we are bound to caft out, but malice, fin and wickednefs; no bread but the food of fincere Truth wherewith we are tied to celebrate our Paffover. And feeing no time of fin is granted us, neither any intermiffion of found belief, it followeth, that this kind of feafting ought to endure always. But how are ftanding Festival Solemnities againft this? That which the Gospel of Chrifh requireth is the perpetuity of virtuous duties; not perpetuity of exercife or action; but difpofition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Juft, valiant, liberal, temperate and holy Men are they, which can whensoever they will, and will whensoever they ought, execute what their feveral perfections import. If virtues did always ceafe to be when they ceafe to work, there fhould be nothing more pernicious to virtue than fleep; neither were it poffible that Men, as Zachary and Elizabeth, fhould in all the Commandments of God walk unreprouable; or that the chain of our converfation fhould contain fo many links of divine virtues, as the Apoftles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exercife of each virtue perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poffible at one and the fame time to be difcharged; duties of all forts muft have neceffarily their feveral fucceffions and feafons; in which refpect the School-men have well and foundly determined, that Gods affirmative Laws and Precepts, the Laws that enjoin any

any actual duty, as Prayer, Alms, and the like, do BOOK V.
 bind us *ad semper velle* but not *ad semper agere*; we
 are tied to iterate and resume them when need is,
 howbeit not to continue them without any inter-
 mission. Feasts, whether God himself hath ordained
 them, or the Church by that authority which God
 hath given, they are of Religion such publick services
 as neither can nor ought to be continued otherwise
 than only by iteration. Which iteration is a most ef-
 fectual mean to bring unto full maturity and growth
 those seeds of Godliness, that these very Men them-
 selves do grant to be sown in the hearts of many
 thousands, during the while that such Feasts are
 present. The constant habit of well doing is not
 gotten without the custom of doing well, neither can
 virtue be made perfect but by the manifold works of
 virtue often practised. Before the powers of our
 Minds be brought unto some perfection, our first
 essays and offers towards virtue must needs be raw;
 yet commendable, because they tend unto ripeness.
 For which cause, the Wisdom of God hath com-
 manded, especially this circumstance amongst others
 in solemn Feasts, that to Children and Novices in
 Religion they minister the first occasion to ask and
 enquire of God. Whereupon, if there follow but so
 much piety as hath been mentioned, let the Church
 learn to further imbecility with prayer; *Preserve,*
Lord, these good and gracious beginnings, that they sud-
denly dry not up like the morning dew, but may prosper
and grow as the trees, which rivers of waters keep al-
ways flourishing. Let all Men's acclamations be, *Grace,*
Grace unto it, as to that first laid corner-stone in *Ze-*
rubbabel's buildings. For who hath despised the day
 of those things which are small? Or, how dare we
 take upon us to condemn that very thing which vo-
 luntarily we grant maketh us of nothing somewhat;
 seeing all we pretend against it, is only, that as yet
 this somewhat is not much? The Days of Solemnity
 which are but few, cannot choose but soon finish that

BOOK V. outward exercise of Godliness which properly appertaineth to such times ; howbeit, Men's inward disposition to Virtue they both augment for the present, and, by their often returns, bring also the same at the length unto that perfection which we most desire. So that although by their necessary short continuance they abridge the present exercise of piety in some kind, yet because by repetition they enlarge, strengthen and confirm the habits of all Virtue, it remaineth, that we honour, observe and keep them as Ordinances many ways singularly profitable in God's Church. This exception being taken against Holidays, for that they restrain the Praises of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning restraint of Men from their ordinary trades and labours at those times. * It is not (they say) in the power of the

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 152. I confess, that it is in the power of the Church to appoint so many days in the week, or in the year (in the which, the Congregation shall assemble to hear the Word of God, and receive the Sacraments, and offer up Prayers unto God) as it shall think good, according to those Rules which are before alledged. But that it hath power to make so many Holidays as we have, wherein Men are commanded to cease from their daily vocations of plowing and exercising their handicrafts, that I deny to be in the power of the Church. For proof whereof I will take the fourth Commandment, and no other interpretation of it than Mr. Doctor alloweth of, which is, that God licenseth and leaveth it at the liberty of every Man to work six days in the week, so that he rest the seventh day. Seeing, therefore, that the Lord hath left it to all Men at liberty, that they might labour, if they think good, six days ; I say, the Church, nor no Man can take this liberty away from them, and drive them to a necessary rest of the body. And if it be lawful to abridge the liberty of the Church in this point ; and instead, that the Lord saith, six days thou mayest labour, if thou wilt, to say, thou shalt not labour six days ; I do not see, why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord saith, *Thou shalt rest the seventh Day*, command that thou shalt not rest the seventh Day. For if the Church may restrain the liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke also which God hath put upon them. And whereas you say, that notwithstanding this fourth Commandment, the Jews had certain other Feasts which they observed ; indeed the Lord, which gave this general Law, might make as many exceptions

Church to command rest, because God hath left it BOOK V.
 to all Men at liberty, that if they think good to be-
 stow six whole days in labour, they may; neither is
 it more lawful for the Church to abridge any Man of
 that liberty which God hath granted, than to take
 away the yoke which God hath laid upon them, and
 to countermand what he doth expressly enjoin. They
 deny not, but in times of publick calamity, that Men
 may the better assemble themselves to fast and pray,
 the Church, because it hath received Commandment
 from God to proclaim a prohibition from ordinary
 works, standeth bound to do it, as the Jews afflicted
 did in Babylon. But without some express Com-
 mandment from God there is no power, they say,
 under Heaven, which may presume by any degree to
 restrain the liberty that God hath given. Which
 opinion, albeit applied here no farther than to this
 present cause, shaketh universally the fabrick of
 Government, tendeth to anarchy and mere confusion,
 dissolveth Families, dissipateth Colleges, Corpora-
 tions, Armies, overthroweth Kingdoms, Churches,

as he thought good, and so long as he thought good. But it fol-
 loweth not, because the Lord did it, that therefore the Church
 may do it, unless it hath Commandment and Authority from
 God so to do. As when there is any general plague or judgment
 of God either upon the Church, or coming towards it, the Lord
 commandeth in such a case, *Joel ii. 15*, that they should sanctify
 a general Fast, and proclaim *Ghuafarah*, which signifieth a pro-
 hibition, or forbidding of ordinary works; and is the same Hebrew
 word wherewith those Fast-days are noted in the Law, wherein
 they should rest. The reason of which Commandment of the Lord
 was, that as they abstained that day as much as might be conve-
 niently from meats, so they might abstain from their daily works,
 to the end they might bestow the whole day in hearing the Word
 of God, and humbling themselves in the Congregation, confessing
 their faults, and desiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce
 wrath. In this case the Church having Commandment to make
 a Holiday, may, and ought to do it, as the Church which was in
 Babylon did during the time of their Captivity; but where it is
 destitute of a Commandment, it may not presume by any Decree
 to restrain that liberty which the Lord hath given.

BOOK V. and whatsoever is now through the providence of
— God by authority and power upheld. For whereas
God hath foreprized things of the greatest weight,
and hath therein precisely defined, as well that which
every Man must perform, as that which no Man may
attempt, leaving all sorts of Men in the rest, either
to be guided by their own good discretion if they be
free from subjection to others, or else to be ordered
by such Commandments and Laws as proceed from
those Superiors under whom they live ; the Patrons
of Liberty have here made solemn proclamation that
all such Laws and Commandments are void, inas-
much as every Man is left to the freedom of his own
mind in such things as are not either exacted or pro-
hibited by the Law of God. And because, only in
these things, the positive Precepts of Men have
place ; which Precepts cannot possibly be given
without some abridgment of their Liberty to whom
they are given ; therefore if the Father command
the Son, or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord
the Servant, or the Leader the Soldier, or the
Prince the Subject, to go or stand, sleep or
wake, at such times as God himself in particular
commandeth neither ; they are to stand in defence of
the freedom which God hath granted, and to do as
themselves list, knowing that Men may as lawfully
command them things utterly forbidden by the Law
of God, as tie them to any thing which the Law of
God leaveth free. The plain contradictory where-
unto is infallibly certain. Those things which the
Law of God leaveth arbitrary and at liberty, are all
subject to the positive Laws of Men ; which Laws,
for the common benefit, abridge particular Men's
liberty in such things as far as the rules of Equity
will suffer. This we must either maintain, or else
over-turn the World, and make every Man his own
Commander. Seeing then that Labour and Rest
upon any one day of the six throughout the year, are
granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we
them

them from the force and power of Ecclesiastical Law, BOOK V.
 except we deprive the World of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not only allow, but command concurrency of Rest with extraordinary occasions of doleful events befalling (peradventure) some one certain Church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when Piety, triumphant with Joy and Gladness, maketh solemn commemoration of God's most rare and unwonted Mercies, such especially as the whole race of Mankind doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow the only cause is, for that the general publick Prayers of the whole Church, and our own private business, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of Rest in the famous solemnities of publick Joy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of natural repugnancy, which maketh labours (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany Festival Praises of God, than offices of Humiliation and Grief. Again, if we list what they bring for proof and approbation of Rest with Fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant, and as strictly command Rest, whensoever the Church hath equal reason by Feasts and gladsome Solemnities to testify publick thankfulness towards God? I would know some cause why those words of the Prophet Joel, *Sanctify a Fast, call a solemn Assembly*, Joel ii. 15. which words were uttered to the Jews in misery and great distress, should more bind the Church to do at all times after the like in their like perplexities, than the words of Moses to the same People in a time of Exod. xiii. joyful deliverance from misery, *Remember this day*, 3. may warrant any annual celebration of benefits no less importing the good of Men; and also justify, as touching the manner and form thereof, what circumstance soever we imitate only in respect of natural fitness or decency, without any Jewish regard to

BOOK V Ceremonies, such as were properly theirs, and are
 Esth. ix. not by us expedient to be continued. According to
 the Rule of which general directions taken from the
 Law of God, no less in the one than the other,
 the practice of the Church commended unto us in
 holy Scripture, doth not only make for the justifica-
 tion of black and dismal days (as one of the Fathers
 termeth them), but plainly offereth itself to be fol-
 lowed by such Ordinances (if occasion require) as
 that which Mordecai did sometimes devise, Esther
 what lay in her power help forward, and the rest of
 the Jews establish for perpetuity; namely, that the
 fourteenth and fifteenth days of the Month Adar
 should be every year kept throughout all Genera-
 tions, as days of Feasting and Joy, wherein they would
 rest from bodily labour, and what by Gifts of Charity
 bestowed upon the poor, what by other liberal signs of
 amity and love, all testify their thankful minds towards
 God, which almost beyond possibility had delivered
 them all, when they all were as Men dead. But this
 Decree, they say, was Divine not Ecclesiastical,* as

* T. C. I. iii. p. 193. The example out of Esther is no suf-
 ficient warrant for these Feasts in question. For first, as in other
 cases, so in this case of days, the estate of Christians under the
 Gospel ought not to be so ceremonious as was theirs under the
 Law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a
 special direction of the Spirit of God, either through the ministry
 of the Prophets which they had, or by some other extraordinary
 means, which is not to be followed by us. This may appear by
 another place, Zach. viii. where the Jews changed their Fasts
 into Feasts, only by the mouth of the Lord, through the ministry
 of the Prophet. For further proof whereof, first, I take the
 28th verse, where it appeareth, that this was an order to endure
 always, even as long as the other Feast-days which were instituted
 by the Lord himself. So that what abuses soever were of that
 Feast, yet as a perpetual Decree of God it ought to have re-
 mained; whereas our Churches can make no such Decree, which
 may not upon change of times, and other circumstances, be al-
 tered. For the other proof hereof I take the last verse: for the
 Prophet contenteth not himself with that, that he had rehearsed
 the Decree, as he doth sometimes the Decree of prophane Kings,
 but addeth precisely, that as soon as ever the Decree was made,
 it

may appear in that there is another Decree in another Book of Scripture, which Decree is plain not to have proceeded from the Church's authority, but from the Mouth of the Prophet only; and as a poor simple Man sometime was fully persuaded that if Pontius Pilate had not been a Saint, the Apostles would never have suffered his name to stand in the Creed; so these Men have a strong opinion, that because the Book of Esther is Canonical, the Decree of Esther cannot be possibly Ecclesiastical. If it were, they ask how the Jews could bind themselves always to keep it, seeing Ecclesiastical Laws are mutable? As though the purposes of Men might never intend constancy in that, the nature whereof is subject to alteration. Doth the Scripture itself make mention of any divine Commandment? Is the Scripture witness of more, than only that Mordecai was the Author of this Custom, that by Letters written to his Brethren the Jews throughout all Provinces under Darius the King of Persia, he gave them charge to celebrate yearly those two Days, for perpetual remembrance of God's miraculous Deliverance and Mercy; that the Jews hereupon undertook to do it, and made it with general consent an order for perpetuity; that Esther, secondly, by her Letters confirmed the same which Mordecai had before decreed; and that, finally, the Ordinance was written to remain forever upon record? Did not the Jews in Provinces abroad observe at the first the fourteenth Day, the Jews in Susis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniform Order by means of those two Decrees, and so every where three Days

it was registered in this Book of Esther, which is one of the Books of Canonical Scripture, declaring thereby in what esteem they had it. If it had been of no further authority than our Decrees, or than a Canon of one of the Councils, it had been presumption to have brought it into the Library of the Holy Ghost. The sum of my Answer is, that this Decree was Divine, and not Ecclesiastical only.

BOOK V. kept; the first with Fasting, in memory of danger; the rest, in token of Deliverance, as Festival and joyful Days? Was not the first of these three afterwards, the Day of Sorrow and Heaviness, abrogated, when the same Church saw it meet that a better Day, a Day in memory of like Deliverance out of the bloody hands of Nicanor, should succeed in the room thereof? But forasmuch as there is no end of answering fruitless oppositions, let it suffice Men of sober minds to know, that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally Days of Rest and Festival Solemnity to be observed by way of thankful and joyful Remembrance, if such miraculous Favours be shewed towards Mankind as require the same; that such Graces God hath bestowed upon his Church, as well in latter as in former times; that in some particulars, when they have fallen out, himself hath demanded his own honour, and in the rest hath left it to the wisdom of the Church, directed by those precedents, and enlightened by other means, always to judge when the like is requisite. About Questions therefore, concerning Days and Times, our manner is not to stand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memory of * Paul should be rather kept than the memory of † Daniel; we are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true, that the least in the Kingdom of Christ is greater than the greatest of all the Prophets of God that have gone before; we never yet saw cause to despair, but that the ‡ simplest of the People might be taught the

2 Mac. xv.
36.

3 Mac. iv.
55.

* Commemoratio Apostolica Passionis, totius Christianitatis magistra, a cunctis jure celebratur. Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12. l. 7.

† T. C. lib. i. pag. 153. For so much as the old People did never keep any Feast or Holiday for remembrance, either of Moses, &c.

‡ T. C. lib. i. pag. 153. The People, when it is called St. Paul's Day, or the Blessed Virgin Mary's Day, can understand nothing thereby, but that they are instituted to the honour of St. Paul, or the Virgin Mary, unless they be otherwise taught. And if you say, let them so be taught, I have answered, that the teaching

right construction of as great Myſteries as the * name BOOK V.
of a Saint's Day doth comprehend, although the
times of the year go on in their wonted courſe; we
had rather glorify and bleſs God for the fruit we
daily behold reaped by ſuch Ordinances, as his gra-
cious Spirit maketh the ripe wiſdom of this National
Church to bring forth, than vainly boaſt of our own
peculiar and private inventions, as if the ſkill of
† profitable Regiment had left her publick habitation
to dwell in retired manner with ſome few Men of
one livery; we make not our childiſh appeals, ſome- T. C. l. i.
times from our own to foreign Churches, ſometimes P 154.
from both unto Churches ancients than both are,
in effect always from all others to our own ſelves;
but, as becometh them that follow with all humility
the ways of Peace, we honour, reverence and obey,
in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the
Church of God wherein we live. They, whoſe wits
are too glorious to fall to ſo low an ebb, they which
have riſen and ſwolln ſo high that the walls of
ordinary rivers are unable to keep them in, they
whoſe wanton contentions in the cauſe whereof we
have ſpoken, do make all where they go a ſea, even
they, at their higheſt float, are conſtrained both to
ſee and † grant, that what their fancy will not yield
to like, their judgment cannot with reaſon condemn.

teaching in this Land cannot, by any Order which is yet taken,
come to the moſt part of thoſe which have drunk this Poiſon, &c.

* Scilicet ignorant nos nec Chriſtum unquam relinquere, qui
pro totius ſervandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quem-
piam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei ado-
ramus, Martyres verò tanquam Diſcipulos et Imitatores Domini
digne propter inſuperabilem in Regem ipſorum ac Præceptorem
benevolentiam diligimus, quorum et nos conſortes et diſcipulos
feri optamus. Euseb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. cap. 15.

† T. C. lib. i. pag. 153. As for all the commodities, &c.

‡ T. C. lib. i. pag. 154. We condemn not the Church of
England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meet to
be reformed. For it is one thing to miſlike, another thing to
condemn; and it is one thing to condemn ſomething in the
Church, and another thing to condemn the Church for it.

Such

BOOK V. Such is evermore the final victory of all Truth, that they which had not the hearts to love her, acknowledge that to hate her they have no cause. Touching those Festival Days therefore which we now observe, their number being no way felt * discommodious to the Commonwealth, and their grounds such as hitherto hath been shewed; what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all Generations holy, fevered by manifest notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which most may be-token true, virtuous, and celestial Joy? To which intent, because surcease from labour is necessary, yet not so necessary, no not on the Sabbath or seventh day itself, but that rarer occasions in Men's particular affairs, subject to manifest detriment unless they be presently followed, may with very good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinary rule, considering the favourable dispensation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this axiom, *Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for Man*, so far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principal Sanctification thereof, howsoever the rigour of the Law of Moses may be thought to import the contrary; if we regard with what severity the violation of Sabbaths hath been sometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the Jews, by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil, could not suddenly be weaned and drawn unto contrary offices without some strong impression of terror; and also for that there is nothing more needful, than to punish with extremity the first transgressions of those Laws that require a more exact observation for many ages to come; therefore as the Jews, superstitiously addicted to their Sabbaths' rest for a long time, not

Mark ii. 27.
Numb. xv.
32.

* Πολλὰς μὲν δυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσεν· τό τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τῆ ἔτους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζῆμίᾳ ἐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγένετο.
De Claudio dictum apud Dionys. lib. ix.

without danger to themselves and * obloquy to their BOOK V.
 very Law, did afterwards perceive and amend wisely
 their former error, not doubting that bodily labours
 are made by necessity venial, though otherwise, espe- I Mac. i. 40.
 cially on that day, rest be more convenient; so at all
 times, the voluntary scandalous contempt of that rest
 from labour, wherewith publickly God is served, we
 cannot too severely correct and bridle. The Emperor
 Constantine having with over-great facility licensed Neb. xiii. 15.
 Sunday's labour in country villages, under that pre- Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12. l. 3.
 sence, whereof there may justly no doubt sometime
 consideration be had, namely, lest any thing which
 God by his providence hath bestowed should miscarry
 not being taken in due time; Leo, which afterwards
 saw that this ground would not bear so general and
 large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a con-
 trary Edict both reverse and severely censure his Pre-
 decessor's remissness, saying, *We ordain, according to the* Leo Constit. liv.
true meaning of the Holy Ghost and of the Apostles thereby
directed, that on the sacred day, wherein our own integrity
was restored, all do rest and surcease labour; that neither
Husbandman, nor other, on that Day put their hands to
forbidden works. For if the Jews did so much reverence
their Sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, are not
we, which inhabit the Light and Truth of Grace, bound
to honour that Day which the Lord himself hath honoured,
and hath therein delivered us both from dishonour and from
death? Are we not bound to keep it singular and inviolable,
well contenting ourselves with so liberal a grant of the rest,
and not incroaching upon that one Day which God hath

* Hi yacare consueti sunt septima die, et neque arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque terræ culturam contingere, neque alterius cuiuspiam curam habere patientur, sed in templis extendentes manus adorare usque ad vesperam soliti sunt. Ingrediente vero in civitatem Ptolomæo Lago cum exercitu et multis hominibus, cum custodire debuerint civitatem, ipsis sultitiam observantibus, provincia quidem dominum suscepit amarissimum, Lex vero manifestata est malam habere solemnitate. Agatharchid. apud Joseph. lib. i. contra Appion. Vide & Dionys. lib. xxxvii.

BOCK V. *chosen to his own honour? Were it not reckless neglect of Religion to make that very Day common, and to think we may do with it as with the rest?* Imperial Laws which had such care of hallowing, especially our Lord's Day, did not omit to provide that other Festival times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the sudden, as extraordinary occasions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for politick and civil considerations; or, finally, such days as Christian Religion hath ordained in God's Church. The joy that setteth aside labour, disperseth those things which labour gathereth. For gladness doth always rise from a kind of fruition and happiness, which happiness banisheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but only the bestowing of that it hath, in as much as the greatest felicity that felicity hath, is to spread and enlarge itself. It cometh hereby to pass, that the first effect of joyfulness is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth, to give. The root of both, is the glorious presence of that Joy of Mind, which ariseth from the manifold considerations of God's unspeakable Mercy, into which considerations we are led by occasion of sacred times. For, how could the Jewish Congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly Sabbaths what the World reaped through his goodness, which did of nothing create the World; by their yearly Pass-over, what farewell they took of the Land of Egypt; by their Pentecost, what Ordinances, Laws and Statutes their Fathers received at the hands of God; by their Feast of Tabernacles, with what protection they journeyed from place to place, through so many fears and hazards, during the tedious time of forty years travel in the Wilderness; by their annual solemnity of Lots, how near the whole Seed of Israel was unto utter extirpation, when it pleaseth that Great God which guideth all things in Heaven and Earth, so to change the counsels and purposes of Men, that the same hand which had signed a Decree, in the opinion

both

T. C. lib.
iii. tit. 12.
Dies festes.

both of them that granted and of them that procured BOOK V.
it irrevocable, for the general massacre of Man, Woman and Child, became the buckler of their preservation, that no one hair of their heads might be touched; the same days which had been set for the pouring out of so much innocent blood were made the days of their execution whose malice had contrived the plot thereof; and the self-same Persons that should have endured whatsoever violence and rage could offer, were employed in the just revenge of cruelty, to give unto blood-thirsty Men the taste of their own cup; or how can the Church of Christ now endure to be so much called on, and preached unto, by that which every Dominical day throughout the year, that which year by year so many Festival times, Matth. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Apoc. i. 10. Luke ii. 14.
* if not commanded by the Apostles themselves, whose care at that time was of greater things, yet instituted either by such † universal Authority as no Man, or at the least such as we with no reason may despise, doth as sometime the holy Angels did from Heaven, sing, *Glory be unto God on high, Peace on Earth, towards Men good will* (for this in effect is the very Song that all Christian Feasts do apply as their several occasions require); how should the days and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuse to agnize the benefit of such remembrances; that very benefit which caused Moses to acknowledge those guides of day and night, the Sun and Moon, which enlighten the World, not more profitable to Nature by giving all things life, than they are to the Church of God by occasion of the use they have in regard of

* Apostolis propositum fuit, non ut leges de festis diebus celebrandis sancirent; sed ut recte vivendi rationis et pietatis nobis authores essent. Socra. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.

† Quæ toto terrarum orbe servantur, vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum est saluberrima in Ecclesia autoritas, statuta esse intelligere licet; sicuti quod Domini Passio et Resurrectio, et in Cœlum Ascensus, et Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solemnitate celebrarentur. August. Epist. cxviii.

BOOK V. the appointed Festival times? That which the head
 of all Philosophers hath said of Women, *If they be good, the half of the Commonwealth is happy wherein they are*; the same we may fitly apply to times; well to celebrate these religious and sacred Days, is to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendor and outward dignity of our Religion, forcible witnesses of ancient Truth, provocations to the exercises of all Piety, shadows of our endless Felicity in Heaven, on Earth everlasting records and memorials; wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only, by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe.

Of Days appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God,

72. The matching of contrary things together is a kind of illustration to both. Having therefore spoken thus much of Festival Days; the next that offer themselves to hand are Days of pensive Humiliation and Sorrow. Fastings are either of Men's own free and voluntary accord, as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto; or else they are publickly enjoined in the Church, and required at the hands of all Men. * There are which altogether disallow not

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 30. I will not enter now to discuss, whether it were well done to fast in all places according to the custom of the place. You oppose Ambrose and Augustin; I could oppose Ignatius and Tertullian; whereof the one saith, It is *nefas*, a detestable thing to fast upon the Lord's Day; the other, that it is to kill the Lord. Tertul. de Coron. Mil. Ignatius, Epist. ad Philippen. And although Ambrose and Augustin, being private Men at Rome, would have so done; yet it followeth not, that if they had been Citizens and Ministers there, they would have done it. And if they had done so, yet it followeth not, but that they would have spoken against that appointment of days, and *νομοθεσίαν* of Fasting, whereof Eusebius saith, that Montanus was the first Author. I speak of that which they ought to have done. For otherwise I know, they both thought corruptly of Fasting; when as the one saith, it was a remedy or reward to fast other days, but in Lent not to fast was sin; and the other asketh, what Salvation we can obtain, if we blot not out our sins by Fasting, seeing that the Scripture saith, That Fasting and Alms doth deliver from sin; and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that shut out the merit of Fasting. August. de Temp. lxiij. Serm. Ambr. lib. x. Epist.

the

the former kind; and the latter they greatly com-^{BOOK V.} mend, so that it be upon extraordinary occasions only, and after one certain manner exercised. But yearly or weekly Fasts, such as ours in the Church of England, they allow no farther than as the temporal state of the Land doth require the same, for the maintenance of sea-faring Men and preservation of Cattle; because the decay of the one, and the waste of the other, could not well be prevented but by a politick Order appointing some such usual change of diet as ours is. We are therefore the rather to make it manifest in all Men's eyes, that set-times of Fasting, appointed in spiritual considerations to be kept by all sorts of Men, took not their beginning either from Montanus, or any other, whose Heresies may prejudice the credit and due estimation thereof, but have their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in God's sight, were in all ages heretofore, and may till the World's end be observed not without singular use and benefit. Much hurt hath grown to the Church of God through a false imagination that Fasting standeth Men in no stead for any spiritual respect, but only to take down the frankness of Nature, and to tame the wildness of flesh. Whereupon the World being bold to surfeit, doth now blush to fast, supposing that Men, when they fast, do rather bewray a disease than exercise a virtue. I much wonder what they who are thus persuaded do think, what conceit they have concerning the Fasts of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, our Lord Jesus Christ himself. The affections of joy and grief are so knit unto all the actions of Man's life, that whatsoever we can do, or may be done unto us, the sequel thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore considering that they which grieve and joy as they ought, cannot possibly otherwise live than as they should, the Church of Christ, the most absolute and perfect School of all Virtue, hath, by the special direction of God's good Spirit, hitherto always inured Men from their infancy, partly with days of
Festival

BOOK V. Festival exercise for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary sort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit, over and besides this, we must note, that as resting, so Fasting likewise attendeth sometimes no less upon the actions of the higher, than upon the affections of the lower part of the Mind. Fasting, saith Tertullian, is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof, sometimes elevation of Mind; sometime the purpose thereof clean contrary. The cause why Moses in the Mount did so long fast was mere divine Speculation; the cause why David, * Humiliation. Our life is † a mixture of good with evil. When we are partakers of good things, we joy; neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befall us which maketh glad, our Festival Solemnities declare our rejoicing to be in Him, whose mere undeserved mercy is the author of all happiness; if any thing be either imminent or present which we shun, our Watchings, Fastings, Cries and Tears, are unfeigned testimonies that ourselves we condemn as the only causes of our own misery, and do all acknowledge him no less inclinable than able to save. And because as the memory of the one, though past, reneweth gladness; so the other, called again to mind, doth make the wound of our just remorse to bleed anew; which wound needeth often touching the more, for that we are generally more apt to kalendar Saints than sinners days; therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to have frequent repetition of the other. Never to seek after God saving only when either the crib or the whip doth constrain, were brutish servility, and a great

* Tertul. de jejun. Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: semper inedia mœroris sequela est.

† Μηδεὶς δ' ὑπελαβέτω τὴν ἀκρασίαν καὶ ἀμιγῆ λυπῆς χαρὰν ἀπ' ἑρανῆ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐγκέκραται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· ἔ γάρ εἶπεν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπαῖς καὶ ὀδύναϊς καὶ ἀχθεσὶν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρῆμιξί τε καὶ τῆς ἀμείνωνος φύσεως, ἐνδιόσας πάλαι καὶ γαληνιάσας τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιοσύνας. Philo. l. de Abrah.

derogation

derogation to the worth of that which is most predo-BOOK V.
 minant in Man, if sometime it had not a kind of vo-
 luntary access to God, and of conference, as it were,
 with God, all these inferior considerations laid aside.
 In which sequestration, for as much as higher cogita-
 tions do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, John iv. 34.
 the Mind may as well forget natural both food and
 sleep, by being carried above itself with serious and
 heavenly meditation, as by being cast down with hea-
 vinefs, drowned and swallowed up of sorrow. Albeit
 therefore, concerning Jewish Abstinence from certain
 kinds of meats as being unclean, the Apostle doth
 teach, that *the Kingdom of Heaven is not meat nor drink*, Rom. xiv:
 that *food commendeth us not unto God*, whether we take ^{17.}
 it, or abstain from it; that if we eat, we are not
 thereby the more acceptable in his sight; nor the less,
 if we eat not; his purpose notwithstanding was far
 from any intent to derogate from that Fasting, which
 is no such scrupulous Abstinence as only refuseth
 some kinds of meats and drinks, lest they make them
 unclean that taste them; but an Abstinence whereby
 we either interrupt, or otherwise abridge the care of
 our bodily sustenance, to shew by this kind of out-
 ward exercise the serious intention of our Minds fixed
 on heavenlier and better desires, the earnest hunger
 and thirst whereof depriveth the Body of those usual
 contentments, which otherwise are not denied unto it.
 These being in Nature the first causes that induce
 Fasting, the next thing which followeth to be confi-
 dered, is the ancient practice thereof amongst the
 Jews. Touching whose private voluntary Fasts the
 Precept which our Saviour gave them was, *When* Match vi.
ye fast, look not sour, as Hypocrites: For they disfigure ^{16.}
their faces, that they might seem to Men to fast. Verily,
I say unto you, they have their reward. When thou fastest,
anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou seem not
unto Men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret;
and thy Father which seeth in secret, will reward thee
openly. Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the

BOOK V. manner of doing, much less propose a reward for doing that which were not both holy and acceptable in God's sight. The Pharisees weekly bound themselves unto double Fasts, neither are they for this reprov'd. Often fasting, which was a virtue in John's Disciples, could not in them of itself be a vice; and therefore not the oftiness of their Fasting, but their Hypocrisy therein was blamed. Of publick enjoined Fasts, upon causes extraordinary, the examples in Scripture are so far frequent, that they need no particular rehearsal. Publick extraordinary Fastings were sometimes for one only day, sometimes for three, sometimes for seven. Touching Fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but either yearly, or monthly, or weekly observed and kept; first, upon the * ninth day of that month, the tenth whereof was the Feast of Expiation, they were commanded of God that every Soul, year by year, should afflict itself. Their yearly Fasts every fourth month, in regard of the City of Jerusalem entered by the Enemy; every fifth, for the memory of the overthrow of their temple; every seventh, for the treacherous destruction and death of Gedaliah, the very last stay which they had to lean unto in their greatest misery; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when siege began first to be laid against them; all these not commanded by God himself, but ordained by a publick Constitution of their own, the Prophet Zachary expressly toucheth. That St. Jerom, following the Tradition of the Hebrews, doth make the first a memorial of the breaking of those two Tables, when Moses descended from Mount Sinai; the second, a memorial as well of God's indignation, condemning them to forty years travel in the

2 Chron.

xx.

Jerem.

xxxvi.

Ezra viii.

1 Sam. vii.

Judg. xx.

26.

2 Mac. xiii.

12.

1 Sam.

xxx. 13.

1 Chron. x.

12.

Levit. xxiii.

Levit. xvi.

Zach. viii.

16.

Exod. xxxii.

Numb. xiv.

* Philo de hujus festi jejunio ita loquitur : Οὐ σιτία οὐ ποτὸν ἔξες προσενέγκασθαι, καθαρὰς ὅπως διανοίαις μηδεὶς ἐνοχλῆντος μηδὲ ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικῆ πάθους ὅποια φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλεημονῆς ἐνετάζωσιν ἰλασκόμενοι τὸν Πατέρα τῆ παντὸς ὀσίου εὐχαῖς, δι' ἧν ἀμνησίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αἰτεῖσθαι. Pag.

Desart, as of his wrath, in permitting Chaldeans to waste, burn and destroy their City; the last a memorial of heavy tidings, brought out of Jewry to Ezekiel and the rest, which lived as Captives in foreign parts; the difference is not of any moment, considering that each time of sorrow is naturally evermore a register of all such grievous events as have happened either in, or near about the same time. To these I might add sundry other Fasts, above twenty in number, ordained amongst them by like occasions, and observed in like manner, besides their weekly Abstinence, Mondays and Thursdays, throughout the whole year. When Men fasted, it was not always after one and the same sort; but either by depriving themselves wholly of all food, during the time that their Fasts continued; or by abating both the quantity and kind of diet. We have of the one a plain example in the Ninevites Fasting, and as plain a precedent for the other in the Prophet Daniel; *I was* (saith he) *in heaviness for three weeks of days; I ate no pleasant bread, neither tasted flesh nor wine.* Their Tables, when they gave themselves to fasting, had not that usual furniture of such dishes as do cherish blood with blood; but * for food, they had bread; for suppage, salt; and for sauce, herbs. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude, saying, *One believeth he may eat all things, another which is weak* (and maketh a conscience of keeping those Customs which the Jews observe) *eateth herbs.* This austere repast they took in the evening after abstinence the whole day: for to forfeit a noon's meal, and then to recompence themselves at night, was not their use; nor did they ever accustom themselves on Sabbaths, or Festival days, to fast. And yet it may be a question, whether in some sort they did not always fast the Sabbath. Their

BOOK V.

Vide Riber. lib. v. cap. 21. Dan. x. 2, 3.

Rom. xiv. 2. Hieron. lib. ii. contr. Jovinian. Judith viii. 6. R. Mef. in Misne. Torra. lib. iii. Qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Jejan

* Puram et sine animalibus cœnam. Apul. in Asclep. in fine. Patum et potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet sed animæ causa. Tertul. de Pœnit. Vide Phil. lib. de Vita contempl.

BOOK V. Fasting was partly in token of penitency, humiliation, grief and sorrow, partly in sign of devotion and reverence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abstain till noon, as their manner was on Fasting days to do till night. May it not very well be thought, that hereunto the sacred Scripture doth give some secret kind of testimony? Josephus is plain, * that the sixth hour (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the Sabbath always to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable, but that the † Heathens did therefore so often upbraid them with fasting on that day. Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lord's Disciples, for rubbing a few ears of corn in their hands on the Sabbath-day, are not unlikely to have aimed also at the same mark. For neither was the bodily pain so great, that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there useth, is more direct and literal to justify the breach of the Jewish custom in fasting, than in working at that time. Finally, the Apostles afterwards themselves, when God first gave them the gift of tongues, whereas some in disdain and spite, termed grace, drunkenness, it being then the day of Pentecost, and but only a fourth part of the day spent, they use this as an argument against the other cavil, *These Men, saith Peter, are not drunk as you suppose, since as yet the third hour of the day is not over-past.* Howbeit, leaving this in suspense as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Jews to Christians, we find that of private voluntary Fasting the Apostle St. Paul speaketh more than once. And (saith Tertullian) they are sometime

Nehem.
viii. 3, 12.

Acts ii. 15.

1 Cor. vii.

5.
2 Cor. vi.

5, & xi. 27.

Col. iv. 4.

* Hora sexta quæ Sabbatis nostris ad prandium vocære solet, supervenit. Joseph. lib. de Vita sua.

† Sabbata Judæorum a Mose in omne ævum jejunio dicata. Justin. lib. xxxvi. Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabbati jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi. Sueton. in Octav. c. lxxvi.

commanded

commanded throughout the Church, *Ex aliqua sollicitudinis Ecclesiasticæ causa*, the care and fear of the Church so requiring. It doth not appear, that the Apostles ordained any set and certain days to be generally kept of all. Notwithstanding, for as much as Christ hath fore-signified, that when himself should be taken from them, his absence would soon make them apt to fast, it seemeth, that even as the first festival-day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lord's return from the dead, so the first sorrowful and mournful day was that which we now observe in memory of his departure out of this World. And because there could be no abatement of grief till they saw him raised, whose death was the occasion of their heaviness; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulchre hath been also kept and observed as a weeping day. The Custom of Fasting these two days before Easter is undoubtedly most ancient; in so much, that Ignatius not thinking him a Catholick Christian Man which did not abhor, and (as the state of the Church was then) avoid fasting on the Jews' Sabbath, doth notwithstanding except for ever that one Sabbath or Saturday which falleth out to be the Easter-Eve, as with us it always doth, and did sometimes also with them, which kept at that time their Easter the fourteenth day of March, as the custom of the Jews was. It came afterwards to be an order, that even as the day of Christ's Resurrection, so the other two, in memory of his Death and Burial, were weekly. But this, when St. Ambrose lived, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Milan, where himself was Bishop. And for that cause, he saith, that although at Rome he observed the Saturday's Fast, because such was then the custom in Rome, nevertheless in his own Church at home he did otherwise. The Churches which did not observe that day had another instead thereof, which was the Wednesday, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of humiliation, besides that whereon our

BOOK V.
 Ignat. Epist.
 ad Philip.

BOOK V. Saviour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially whereon the Jews are thought to have first contrived their treason together with Judas against Christ. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these, and of all other times of like exercise, is as the Church shall judge expedient for Men's good. And concerning every Christian Man's duty herein, surely that which Augustin and Ambrose are before alledged to have done, is such, as all Men favouring equity must needs allow and follow, if they affect peace. As for their specified errors, I will not in this place dispute, whether voluntarily fasting with a virtuous purpose of mind, be any medicinable remedy of evil, or a duty acceptable unto God, and in the World to come even rewardable as other offices are which proceed from Christian Piety; whether wilfully to break and despise the wholesome Laws of the Church herein be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be said, that penitent both weeping and Fasting are means to blot out sin, means whereby through God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy we obtain or procure to ourselves pardon; which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him bestowed, the phrase of Antiquity useth to express by the name of Merit; but if either St. Augustin or St. Ambrose have taught any wrong opinion, seeing they which reprove them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will think it no error in us so to censure Men's smaller faults, that their virtues be not thereby generally prejudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not subject to power or jurisdiction, discretion should teach us for peace and quietness sake to frame ourselves to other Men's example, is it meet that at home, where our freedom is less, our boldness should be more? Is it our duty to oppugn, in the Churches whereof we are Ministers, the Rites and Customs which in foreign Churches piety and modesty did teach us as Strangers not to oppugn, but to keep without shew of contradiction or dislike? Why oppose they

they the name of a Minister in this case unto the state of a private Man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Laws? That which their office and place requireth, is to shew themselves patterns of reverend subjection, not Authors and Masters of contempt towards Ordinances; the strength whereof when they seek to weaken, they do but in truth discover to the World their own imbecilities, which a great deal wifelier they might conceal. But the practice of the Church of Christ we shall by so much the better both understand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been spoken, there be somewhat added for more particular declaration, how Hereticks have partly abused Fasts, and partly bent themselves against the lawful use thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore Ignatius hath said, * if any keep Sundays or Saturdays (one only Saturday in the year excepted) that Man is no better than a murtherer of Christ; the cause of such his earnestness at that time, was the impiety of certain Hereticks, which thought that this World being corruptible could not be made but by a very evil Author. And therefore as the Jews did, by the Festival Solemnity of their Sabbath, rejoice in the God that created the World as in the Author of all Goodness; so those Hereticks, in hatred of the Maker of the World, forrowed, wept and fasted on that day as being the birth-day of all evil. And as Christian Men of sound belief did solemnize the Sunday in joyful memory of Christ's Resurrection, so likewise at the self-same time such Hereticks as denied his Resurrection did the contrary to them which held it; when the one sort rejoiced, the other fasted. Against those Hereticks which have urged perpetual Abstinence from certain meats, as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath still bent herself as an enemy; St. Paul giving charge to take heed of them, which

BOOK V.

Vide Irenæ. lib. i. cap. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Epiph. Hæref. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, & 41, 42. Vide Canon. Apost. 55.

* Εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἐνὸς σαββάτου, ἕτος χριστιανικός τὸνος ἐστίν. Epist. ad Philip.

BOOK V. under any such opinion, should utterly forbid the use of meats or drinks. The Apostles themselves forbade some, as the order taken at Jerusalem declareth; but the cause of their so doing we all know. Again, when Tertullian, together with such as were his followers, began to Montanize, and, pretending to perfect the severity of Christian Discipline, brought in sundry unaccustomed Days of Fasting, continued their Fasts a great deal longer, and made them more rigorous than the use of the Church had been; the minds of Men being somewhat moved at so great and so sudden novelty, the cause was presently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montanists held these additions to be supplements of the Gospel, whereunto the Spirit of Prophecy did now mean to put, as it were, the last hand, and was therefore newly descended upon Montanus, whose orders all Christian Men were no less to obey than the Laws of the Apostles themselves; this Abstinence the Church abhorred likewise, and that justly. Whereupon Tertullian proclaiming even open War to the Church, maintained Montanism, wrote a Book in defence of the new Fast, and intituled the same, *A Treatise of Fasting against the opinion of the carnal sort*. In which Treatise nevertheless, because so much is found and good, as doth either generally concern the use, or in particular declare the Custom of the Churches Fasting in those times, Men are not to reject whatsoever is alledged out of that Book for confirmation of the Truth. His error discloseth itself in those places where he defendeth his Fasts to be duties necessary for the whole Church of Christ to observe, as commanded by the Holy Ghost, and that with the same authority from whence all other Apostolical Ordinances came, both being the Laws of God himself, without any other distinction or difference, saving only, that he which before had declared his will by Paul and Peter, did now farther reveal the same by Montanus also. *Against us ye pretend*, saith Tertullian, *that the publick Orders which Christianity is bound*

bound to keep, were delivered at the first, and that no new BOOK V.
thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can upon this
point; for behold, I challenge you for fasting more than at
Easter, yourselves. But in fine ye answer, that these things
are to be done as established by the voluntary appointment
of Men, and not by virtue or force of any divine command-
ment. Well then (he addeth) ye have removed your first
footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by
doing more than was at the first imposed upon you. You
say, you must do that which your own judgments have
allowed: we require your obedience to that which God
himself doth institute. Is it not strange, that Men to
their own will should yield that, which to God's command-
ment they will not grant? Shall the pleasure of Men pre-
vail more with you, than the power of God himself?
 These places of Tertullian for Fasting have worthily
 been put to silence; and as worthily Aërius con-
 demned for opposition against Fasting. The one en-
 deavoured to bring in such Fasts as the Church ought
 not to receive; the other, to overthrow such as already
 it had received and did observe: the one was plausible
 unto many, by seeming to hate carnal looseness and
 riotous excess, much more than the rest of the World
 did; the other drew hearers, by pretending the main-
 tainance of Christian liberty: the one thought his
 cause very strongly upheld by making invective de-
 clamations with a pale and withered countenance
 against the Church, by filling the ears of his starved
 hearers with speech suitable to such Men's humours,
 and by telling them, no doubt, to their marvellous
 contentment and liking, *Our new Prophecies are*
refused, they are despised. Is it because Montanus doth
preach some other God, or dissolve the Gospel of Jesus
Christ, or overthrow any Canon of Faith and Hope? No,
our crime is, we teach that Men ought to fast more often
than marry; the best Feast-maker is with them the per-
fectest Saint, they are assuredly mere Spirit; and therefore
these our corporal devotions please them not: thus the one
 for Montanus and his Superstition. The other in a
 clean

BOOK V. clean contrary tune against the Religion of the Church; *these set fasts away with them, for they are Jewish, and bring Men under the yoke of servitude; if I will fast, let me choose my time, that Christian liberty be not abridged.* Hereupon their glory was to fast especially upon the Sunday, because the order of the Church was on that day not to fast. *On Church Fasting-days, and especially the week before Easter, when with us (saith Epiphanius) Custom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the earth, abstinence from fleshly delights and pleasures, sorrowfulness, dry and unsavoury diet, Prayer, Watching, Fasting, all the medicines which holy affections can minister, they are up betimes to take in of the strongest for the belly, and when their veins are well swoln, they make themselves mirth with laughter at this our service, wherein we are persuaded we please God.* By this of Epiphanius it doth appear, not only what Fastings the Church of Christ in those times used, but also what other parts of Discipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient use and custom of bringing all Men at certain times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of publick Penitency; the one belonging to notorious Offenders, whose open wickedness had been scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and unto every severall Person whom the same containeth. It will be answered, that touching this latter kind, it may be exercised well enough by Men in private. No doubt, but Penitency is as Prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in publick or in secret. Howbeit, as in the one, if Men were only left to their own voluntary meditations in their closets, and not drawn by Laws and Orders unto the open Assemblies of the Church that there they may join with others in Prayer, it may be soon conjectured what Christian devotion that way would come unto in a short time; even so in the other, we are by sufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell Men of washing away their Sins

Epiph. Hæ-
rel. lxxv.

Sins with tears of Repentance, and so to leave them altogether unto themselves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous transgressions have we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst us all; and yet clean pass them over unforsorrowed for, and unrepented of, only because the Church hath forgotten utterly how to bestow her wonted times of Discipline, wherein the publick example of all was unto every particular Person a most effectual mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if Penitency were no part of a Christian Man's duty. Again, besides our private offences which ought not thus loosely to be overslipt; suppose we the body and corporation of the Church so just, that at no time it needeth to shew itself openly cast down, in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a special Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of Moses; and being common to the whole Society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every Man in particular, as at some time in solemn manner to require acknowledgment with more than daily and ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised, than that memorable Commination set down in the Book of Common-Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suitable. The head already so well drawn doth but with a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the English Liturgy it may appear, how at the first setting down thereof no less was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words wherein *restitution of the primitive Church Discipline is greatly wished for*, touching the manner of publick Penance in time of Lent. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new Discipline far unlike to that of old, they make themselves believe, it is undoubtedly this their Discipline which at the first was so much desired.

BOOK V. desired They have long pretended, that the whole
 Scripture is plain for them. If now the Communion-
 Book make for them too (I well think the one doth
 as much as the other), it may be hoped, that being
 found such a well-wisher unto their cause, they will
 more favour it than they have done. Having there-
 fore hitherto spoken both of Festival-days, and so
 much of solemn Fasts, as may reasonably serve to shew
 the ground thereof in the Law of Nature; the prac-
 tice partly appointed, and partly allowed of God in
 the Jewish Church; the like continued in the Church
 of Christ; together with the sinister oppositions, either
 of Hereticks erroneously abusing the same, or of
 others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will only
 collect the chiefeft points as well of resemblance as of
 difference between them, and so end. First, in this
 they agree, that because Nature is the general root of
 both, therefore both have been always common to the
 Church with Infidels and Heathen Men. Secondly,
 they also herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cause
 of the one, and grief the well-spring of the other,
 * they are incompatible. A third degree of affinity
 between them is, that neither being acceptable to
 God of itself, but both tokens of that which is accept-
 able, their approbation with him must necessarily de-
 pend on that which they ought to import and signify;
 so that if herein the mind dispose not itself aright,
 whether we rest or fast, we offend. A fourth thing
 common unto them, is, that the greatest part of the
 World hath always grossly and palpably offended in
 both; Infidels, because they did all in relation to
 false gods; godless, sensual and careless Minds, for
 that there is in them no constant, true and sincere
 affection towards those things which are pretended by
 such exercise; yea, certain flattering oversights there
 are, wherewith fundry, and they not of the worst sort,

Isai. i. 13.
 Isai. lviii. 3.

* Con. Laod. c. li. 52. Vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadra-
 gesima celebrari.

may be easily in these cases led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which must be embraced by all means, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility; whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoice with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive; and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, seeing there is manifestly both ways, even in them whom we honour, that which we are to observe and shun. The best have not still been sufficiently mindful, that God's very Angels in Heaven are but Angels; and that bodily exercise, considered in itself, is no great matter. Finally, seeing that both are Ordinances well devised for the good of Man, and yet not Man created purposely for them as for other offices of Virtue, whereunto God's immutable Law for ever tieth; it is but equity to wish or admonish that where, by uniform order, they are not as yet received, the example of Victor's extremity in the one, and of John's Disciples' curiosity in the other, be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithstanding we avoid Judaism: and, as in Festival-days, Men's necessities for matter of labour, so in times of Fasting, regard be had to their imbecilities, lest they should suffer harm, doing good. Thus therefore we see how these two Customs are in divers respects equal. But of Fasting the use and exercise, though less pleasant, is by so much more requisite than the other, as grief of necessity is a more familiar guest than the contrary passion of mind, albeit gladness to all Men be naturally more welcome. For first, we ourselves do many more things amiss than well, and the fruit of our own ill-doing is remorse, because nature is conscious to itself that it should do the contrary. Again, forasmuch as the World overaboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good to other Men, there is no Man so seldom crossed as pleased at the hands of others; whereupon it cannot

BOOK V.

1 Tim. iv. 8.

Ecclef. xii.

13.

Isai. lviii.

6, 7.

Rom. xiv.

17.

Jam. i. 27.

Heb. xii.

14.

Ephes. ii. 4.

Euseb. Ec-

cles. Hist.

lib. v. c. 23.

Matth. ix.

14.

Col. ii. 16.

BOOK V. cannot be chosen but every Man's woes must double
 ——— in that respect the number and measure of his delights.
 Besides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes
 we are to make, our corrupt inclination well confi-
 dered, there is cause why our Saviour should account
 them the happiest that do most mourn, and why Solo-
 mon might judge it better to frequent mourning than
 feasting houses; not better simply and in itself (for
 then would Nature that way incline), but in regard of
 us and our common weakness better. Job was not
 ignorant that his Children's banquets, though tending
 to amity, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of us
 all need to be taught that in things which delight we
 easily swerve from mediocrity, * 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 Grief cured. For which
 cause as all offences use to seduce by pleasing, so all
 punishments endeavour by vexing to reform trans-
 gressions. We are of our own accord apt enough to
 give entertainment to things delectable, but patiently
 to lack what flesh and blood doth desire, and by virtue
 to forbear what by Nature we covet; this no Man
 attaineth unto but with labour and long practice.
 From hence it ariseth that in former ages, Abstinence
 and Fasting more than ordinary was always a special
 branch of their praise in whom it could be observed
 and known, were they such as continually gave them-
 selves to austere life; or Men that took often occa-
 sions in private virtuous respects to lay Solomon's
 counsel aside, *Eat thy bread with joy*, and to be fol-
 lowers of David's example, which saith, *I humbled my*
soul with fasting; or but they who, otherwise worthy
 of no great commendation, have made of hunger,
 some their gain, some their physick, some their art,
 that by mastering sensual appetites without constraint,

Matth. vi.

Ecclef. vii.

4.

Job i. 5.

Ecclef. ix.

7.

Psal. xxxv.

23.

* Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μάλιτα φυλακίον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν, ἐ γὰρ ἀδέκατοι κρύνομεν αὐτήν. Arist. Eth. ii. cap. 13.

they might grow able to endure hardness whensoever need should require: for the body accustomed to emptiness pineth not away so soon as having still used to fill itself. Many singular effects there are which should make Fasting even in publick considerations the rather to be accepted. For I presume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martial enterprises, that lead armies of Men trained in a school of Abstinence. It is therefore noted at this day in some, that patience of hunger and thirst hath given them many victories; in others, that because if they want, there is no Man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themselves, he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them, is sure to make them their own overthrow. What Nation soever doth feel these dangerous inconveniencies, may know that sloth and fulness in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedy a strict observation of that part of Christian Discipline, which teacheth Men in practice of ghostly warfare against themselves, those things, that afterwards may help them, justly assaulting or standing in lawful defence of themselves against others. The very purpose of the Church of God both in the number and in the order of her Fasts, hath been not only to preserve thereby throughout all ages the remembrance of miseries heretofore sustained, and of the causes in ourselves out of which they have risen, that Men considering the one might fear the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind, lest contrary affections coming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute; in which respect it seemeth that Fasts have been set as ushers of Festival-days, for preventing of those disorders as much as might be; wherein, notwithstanding, the World always will deserve, * as it hath done, blame; because such evils being not pos-

* Valde absurdum est nimia saturitate velle honorare Martyrem quem scias Deo placuisse jejuniis. Hier. Epist. ad Eust.

BOOK V. sible to be rooted out, the most we can do, is in keeping them low, and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of Men a love towards a frugal and severe life, to undermine the palaces of wantonness; to plant parsimony as nature, where riotousness hath been studied; to harden whom pleasure would melt; and to help the tumours which always fulness breedeth; that Children, as it were in the wool of their infancy dyed with hardness, may never afterwards change colour; that the Poor, whose perpetual Fasts are of necessity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which Virtue causeth others so often to choose; and by advice of Religion itself so far to esteem above the contrary, that they which for the most part do lead sensual and easy lives, they which, as the Prophet David describeth them, *are not plagued like other Men*, may by the publick spectacle of all be still put in mind what themselves are; finally, that every Man may be every Man's daily guide and example, as well by fasting to declare humility, as by praise to express joy in the sight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church, as sometimes David, so that the speech of the one may be truly the voice of the other, *My soul fasted, and even that was also turned to my reproof.*

Psal. lxxiii.
5.

Psal. lxi.
10.

The Celebration of Matrimony.
T. C. l. i. p.
199.

73. In this World there can be no Society durable otherwise than only by propagation. Albeit therefore single Life be a thing more angelical and divine, yet sith the replenishing first of Earth with blessed Inhabitants, and then of Heaven with Saints everlastingly praising God, did depend upon conjunction of Man and Woman, he which made all things complete and perfect, saw it could not be good to leave Men without any helper unto the fore-alleged end. In things which some farther end doth cause to be desired, choice seeketh rather proportion than absolute perfection of goodness. So that Woman being created for Man's sake to be his helper, in regard of the end before mentioned; namely, the having, and bringing up of Children,

Children, whereunto it was not possible they could BOOK V. concur, unless there were subalternation between them, which subalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, because things equal in every respect are never willingly directed one by another: Woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferior in excellency also unto Man, howbeit in so due and sweet proportion, as being presented before our eyes, might be sooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the Reason why that kind of Love which is the perfectest ground of Wedlock, is seldom able to yield any reason of itself. Now, that which is born of Man must be nourished with far more travel, as being of greater price in Nature, and of slower pace to perfection, than the offspring of any other creature besides. Man and Woman being therefore to join themselves for such a purpose, they were of necessity to be linked with some strait and insoluble knot. The bond of Wedlock hath been always, more or less, esteemed of as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the very Heathens themselves do thereunto oftentimes give * is, *koly*. Those Rites and Orders which were instituted in the Solemnization of Marriage the Hebrews term by the name of conjugal † *Sanctification*. Amongst ourselves, because sundry things appertaining unto the publick Order of Matrimony, are called in question by such as know not from whence those Customs did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason of them shall not be superfluous; although we do not hereby intend to yield so far unto Enemies of all Church Orders saving their own, as though every thing were unlawful, the true cause and reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the liberty of Marriage is restrained; *There is*, saith Solo-

* Τὸς ἱερὸς γάμος. Dionys. ant. lib. ii.

† Kiddushin in Rituali Heb. de benedictione nuptiarum.

Eccles. iii.
I.
Joel ii. 16.
I Cor. v. 1.
5.

BOOK V. mon, *a time for all things, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn.* That duties belonging unto Marriage, and offices appertaining to Penance, are things unfuitable and unfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apostles themselves do witness. Upon which ground, as we might right well think it marvellous absurd to see in a Church a Wedding on the day of a publick Fast, so likewise in the self-same consideration our Predecessors thought it not amiss to take away the common liberty of Marriages during the time which was appointed for preparation unto, and for exercise of general Humiliation by Fasting and Praying, weeping for sins. As for the delivering up of the Woman either by her Father or by some other, we must note that in ancient times * all Women which had not Husbands nor Fathers to govern them, had their Tutors, † without whose authority there was no act which they did warrantable; and for this cause, they were in Marriage delivered unto their Husbands by others. Which Custom retained hath still this use, that it putteth Women in mind of a duty whereunto the very imbecility of their nature and sex doth bind them; namely, to be always directed, guided and ordered by others, although our positive Laws do not tie them now as Pupils. The custom of laying down money seemeth to have been derived from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their Wives. But, seeing there is not any great cause wherefore the memory of that custom should remain, it skilleth not much, although we suffer it to lie dead, even as we see it in a manner already worn out. The Ring hath been always used as a special pledge of faith and fide-

* *Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant vero a Tutoris potestate quæ in manum convenissent.* Boet. in Topic. Cic.

† *Nullam ne privatam quidem rem Fœminas sine auctore agere majores nostri voluerunt.* Liv. l. 4. The reason yielded by Tully is this, *propter infirmitatem consilii.* Cic. pro Mur. Vide Leg. Saxon. tit. vi. & xvii.

lity; nothing more fit to serve as a token of our pur-^{BOOK V.}
 posed endless continuance in that which we never
 ought to revoke. This is the cause wherefore the
 Heathens themselves did in such cases use the Ring,
 whereunto Tertullian alluding, saith, that in ancient
 times, * *No Woman was permitted to wear gold, saving
 only upon one finger, which her Husband had fastened unto
 himself, with that Ring which was usually given for
 assurance of future Marriage.* The cause why the
 Christians use it, as some of the Fathers think, is
 either to testify mutual love, or rather to serve for a
 pledge of conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon
 between them. But what rite and custom is there
 so harmless, wherein the wit of Man bending itself to
 derision may not easily find out somewhat to scorn and
 jest at? He that should have beheld the Jews when
 they stood with a four-cornered garment, spread over
 the heads of espoused Couples, while their Espousals
 were in making; he that should have beheld their
 praying over a cup, and their delivering the same at
 the Marriage-feast, with set forms of Benediction, as
 the order amongst them was, might, being lewdly
 affected, take thereat as just occasion of scornful cavil,
 as at the use of the Ring in Wedlock amongst Chris-
 tians. But of all things the most hardly taken is the
 uttering of these words, *With my body I thee worship* ;
 in which words, when once they are understood, there
 will appear as little cause as in the rest for any wise Man
 to be offended. First, therefore, inasmuch as unlawful
 copulation doth pollute and dishonour both Parties, this
 protestation that we do worship and honour another with
 our bodies, may import a denial of all such lets and im-
 pediments to our knowledge as might cause any stain,
 blemish, or disgrace that way; which kind of con-
 struction being probable, would easily approve that
 speech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in

Isidor. de
 Eccles.
 Offic. l. ii.
 c. 19.

Elias Theob.
 in dict. Hu-
 sha.
 In Ritual.
 de benedict.
 nuptiarum.

Rom. i. 24.
 1 Cor. vii.
 4.

* Aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem sponsus oppi-
 gorasset pronubo annulo. Tertul. Apol. cap. vi.

BOOK V. that the Apostle doth so exprefsly affirm that Parties married have not any longer entire power over themselves, but each hath interest in other's Person, it cannot be thought an absurd construction to say, that worshipping with the body is the imparting of that interest in the body unto another which none before had, save only ourselves. But if this were the natural meaning, the words should perhaps be as requisite to be used on the one side as on the other; and therefore a third sense there is, which I rather rely upon. Apparent it is that the ancient difference between a lawful Wife and a Concubine, was only in the different purpose of Man betaking himself to the one or the other. If his purpose were only fellowship, there grew to the Woman by this means no worship at all, but the contrary. In professing that his intent was to add by his person honour and worship unto hers, he took her plainly and clearly to Wife. This is it which the Civil Law doth mean, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in dignity; a Wife to be taken where conjugal honour and affection do go before. The worship that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent was, that her children became by this means legitimate and free; herself was made a Mother over his Family; last of all, she received such advancement of state, as things annexed unto his person might augment her with; yea, a right of participation was thereby given her both in him, and even in all things which were his. This doth somewhat the more plainly appear, by adding also that other clause, *With all my worldly goods I thee endow*. The former branch having granted the principal, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the publick Solemnity of Marriage with receiving the blessed Sacrament is a Custom so religious and so holy, that if the Church of England be blameable in this respect, it is not for suffering it to be so much, but rather for not providing that it may be more put

L. penul.
D. de concub.

L. item legato sect.
penult. D.
de leg. 5.
L. Donationes D. de donationibus.

in ure. The Laws of Romulus concerning Marriage* BOOK V.
 are therefore extolled above the rest amongst the Hea-
 thens which were before, in that they established the
 use of certain special Solemnities, whereby the minds
 of Men were drawn to make the greater conscience
 of Wedlock, and to esteem the bond thereof a thing
 which could not be without impiety dissolved. If
 there be any thing in Christian Religion strong and
 effectual to like purpose, it is the Sacrament of the
 holy Eucharist; in regard of the force whereof Ter-
 tullian breaketh out into these words, concerning
 Matrimony therewith sealed; *Unde sufficium ad enar-* Tertul. lib.
randam fœlicitatem ejus Matrimonii, quod Ecclesia conci- ii. ad
liat, et confirmat Oblatio? I know not which way I uxorem.
should be able to shew the happiness of that Wedlock, the
knot whereof the Church doth fasten, and the Sacrament
of the Church confirm. Touching Marriage therefore
 let thus much be sufficient.

74. The fruit of Marriage is Birth; and the com- Chur.hing
of Women.
 panion of Birth, Travail; the grief whereof being
 so extreme, and the danger always so great, dare we
 open our mouths against the things that are holy,
 and presume to censure it as a fault in the Church
 of Christ, that Women after their Deliverance do
 publickly shew their thankful minds unto God? But
 behold what reason there is against it! *Forsooth, if* T. C. l. i.
there should be solemn and express giving of Thanks in P. 150.
the Church for every benefit, either equal or greater than
this, which any singular Person in the Church doth re-
ceive, we should not only have no preaching of the Word,
nor ministering of the Sacraments, but we should not have
so much leisure as to do any corporal or bodily work, but
should be like those Massilian Hereticks which do nothing
else but pray. Surely, better a great deal to be like
 unto those Hereticks which do nothing else but pray,

* Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἀνάγκασε τὰς γαμετάς, οἷα μηδεμίαν
 ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποστροφὴν πρὸς ἕνα ἢ τῶ γεγαμηκότῃ ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τὰς
 ἀνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίως τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτε χρέματος ἢ γυναῖκος κρατεῖν.
 Dionysf. Hal. Antiq. lib. ii.

BOOK V. than those which do nothing else but quarrel. Their heads it might haply trouble somewhat more than as yet they are aware of, to find out so many benefits greater than this, or equivalent thereunto, for which if so be our Laws did require solemn and express Thanksgivings in the Church, the same were like to prove a thing so greatly cumbersome as is pretended. But if there be such store of Mercies, even inestimable, poured every day upon thousands (as indeed the Earth is full of the Blessings of the Lord, which are day by day renewed without number and above measure), shall it not be lawful to cause solemn Thanks to be given unto God for any Benefit, than which greater, or whereunto equal are received, no Law binding Men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppose that some bond there be, that tieth us at certain times to mention publickly the names of fundry our Benefactors. Some of them, it may be, are such, that a day would scarcely serve to reckon up together with them the Catalogue of so many Men besides, as we are either more or equally beholden unto. Because no Law requireth this impossible labour at our hands, shall we therefore condemn that Law, whereby the other, being possible and also dutiful, is enjoined us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never sufficiently praise him, nor give him thanks for half those benefits, for which this sacrifice were most due. Howbeit, God forbid we should cease performing this duty when publick Order doth draw us unto it, when it may be so easily done, when it hath been so long executed by devout and virtuous People; God forbid that, being so many ways provoked in this case unto so good a duty, we should omit it, only because there are other cases of like nature, wherein we cannot so conveniently, or at least wise do not perform the same most virtuous office of piety. Wherein we trust that as the action itself pleaseth God, so the order and manner thereof is not such as
 may

may justly offend any. It is but an overflowing of BOOK V.
 gall, which causeth the Woman's absence from the Church during the time of her lying-in to be traduced and interpreted, as though she were so long judged unholy, and were thereby shut out or sequestered from the House of God, according to the ancient Levitical Law. Whereas the very Canon Law itself doth not so hold, but directly professeth the contrary;* she is not barred from thence in such sort as they interpret it, nor in respect of any unholiness forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abstaining from publick Assemblies and her abode in separation for the time be most convenient.† To scoff at the manner of attire, than which there could be nothing devised for such a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of some folly committed, for which they are loth to shew their faces, argueth that some Divines are sometimes more merry than wise. As for the Women themselves, God accepting the service which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great disgrace, though they suffer pleasant-witted Men a little to intermingle with zeal, scorn. The

* Dict. v. cap. Hæc quæ. In lege præcipiebatur, ut mulier si masculum pareret 40. si fœminam 80. diebus a templi cessaret ingressu. Nunc autem statim post partum Ecclesiam ingredi non prohibetur.

† Leo. Const. 17. Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiam, quam ob alias causas in intima legis ratione reconditas, et veteri prohibitum esse lege, et gratiæ tempus traditionis loco suscepisse puto. Existimo siquidem sacram legem id præscripsisse, quo protervam eorum qui intemperanter viverent concupiscentiam castigaret; quemadmodum et alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur et præscribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres stimulus retundatur. Quin et hæc providentiæ quæ legem constituit voluntas est, ut partus a depravatione liberi sint. Quia enim quicquid natura supervacaneum est, idem corruptivum est et inutile, quod hic sanguis superfluous sit, quæ illi obnoxia essent in immunditie, ad id temporis vivere illa lex jubet, quo ipso etiam nominis sono lascivi concupiscentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili et corrupta materia ipsum animam coagmentetur.

BOOK V. name of Oblations, applied not only here to those small and petit payments which yet are a part of the Minister's right, but also generally given unto all such allowances as serve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the Clergy is spent in the service of God, so it is sustained with his revenue. Nothing therefore more proper than to give the name of Oblations to such payments, in token that we offer unto him whatsoever his Ministers receive.

Of the Rites
of Burial.
T. C. lib.
iii. p. 236.

75. But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth owe to the Faithful departed, wherein forasmuch as the Church of England is said to do those things which are, though not unlawful, yet inconvenient, because it appointeth a prescript Form of Service at Burials, suffereth mourning Apparel to be worn, and permitteth Funeral-Sermons; a word or two concerning this point will be necessary, although it be needless to dwell long upon it. The end of Funeral duties is, first, to shew that love towards the Party deceased, which Nature requireth; then to do him that honour, which is fit both generally for Man, and particularly for the quality of his person; last of all, to testify the care, which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope, which we all have concerning the Resurrection of the Dead. For signification of love towards them that are departed, Mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient; as in truth the Scripture every where doth approve lamentation made unto this end.

John xi. 36. The Jews by our Saviour's tears therefore gathered in this case that his love towards Lazarus was great. And that as Mourning at such times is fit, so likewise that there may be a kind of Attire suitable to a sorrowful affection, and convenient for Mourners to wear, how plainly doth David's example shew, who, being in heaviness, went up the mount with his head covered, and all the People that were with him in like sort? White Garments being fit to use at Marriage

2 Sam. xv.
30.

riage

riage Feasts, and such other times of joy, whereunto BOOK V.
 Solomon alluding, when he requireth continual
 cheerfulneſs of mind, ſpeaketh in this ſort, *Let thy* Ecclef. ix.
Garments be always white; what doth hinder the 8.
 contrary from being now as convenient in grief, as
 this heretofore in gladneſs hath been? *If there be*
no ſorrow, they ſay, *it is hypocritical to pretend it*; and
if there be, to provoke it by wearing ſuch attire, is dan-
gerous. Nay, if there be, to ſhew it, is natural;
 and if there be not, yet the ſigns are meet to ſhew
 what ſhould be, eſpecially, ſith it doth not come
 oftentimes to paſs, that Men are fain to have their
 mourning gowns pulled off their backs for fear of
 killing themſelves with ſorrow that way nourished.
 The honour generally due unto all Men maketh a
 decent interring of them to be convenient, even for
 very humanity's ſake. And therefore, ſo much as
 is mentioned in the Burial of the Widow's Son, the Luke vii.
carrying of him forth upon a Bier, and the accompanying 12.
 of him to the Earth, hath been uſed even amongſt
 Infidels; all Men accounting it a very extreme deſti-
 tution not to have at the leaſt this honour done them.
 Some Man's eſtate may require a great deal more,
 according as the faſhion of the Country where he
 dieth doth afford. And unto this appertained the Pſal. lxxix.
 ancient uſe of the Jews, to embalm the Corſe with 3.
 ſweet Odours, and to adorn the Sepulchres of cer- John xix.
 tain. In regard of the quality of Men, it hath been 40.
 judged fit to commend them unto the World at their Matt. xxiii.
 death, amongſt the Heathen in funeral Orations, 27.
 amongſt the Jews in ſacred Poems; and why not in
 funeral Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Uſ, it 2 Sam. i.
 ſufficeth, that the known benefit hereof doth coun- 19.
 tervail millions of ſuch inconveniencies as are
 therein ſurmised, although they were not ſur-
 mised only, but found therein. The life and the
 death of Saints is precious in God's ſight. Let
 it not ſeem odious in our eyes, if both the one and
 the other be ſpoken of then eſpecially, when the
 preſent occaſion doth make Men's minds the more
 capable

BOOK V. capable of such speech. The care, no doubt, of the living, both to live and to die well, must needs be somewhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not be folded up in silence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their Brethren in their last need, besides the praise which they give to God, and the joy which they have or should have by reason of their fellowship and communion with Saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their own dissolution? Again, the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute in life, but it causeth them one time or other to wish, *O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like his!* Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of publick instruction common unto funeral with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whose Minds are through natural affection pensive in such cases, no Man can justly mislike the custom which the Jews had to end their Burials with funeral Banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet Jeremy spake concerning the People, whom God had appointed unto a grievous Manner of destruction, saying, *That Men should not give them the cup of consolation to drink for their Father, or for their Mother, because it should not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Ancestors unto the grave with weeping eyes, have notwithstanding means wherewith to be re-comforted. Give wine,* saith Solomon, *unto them that have grief of heart.* Surely he, that ministereth unto them comfortable speech, doth much more than give them wine. But the greatest thing of all other about this duty of Christian Burial is an outward testification of the hope which we have touching the Resurrection of the Dead. For which purpose, let any Man of reasonable judgment examine, whether it be more convenient for a Company

Jer. xvi. 7.

Prov. xxii.

6.

1 Chro. xix.

2.

Job ii. 11.

pany of Men, as it were, in a dumb show, to bring a BOOK V.
 Corte to the place of Burial, there to leave it covered
 with Earth, and so end, or else have the Exequies de-
 voutly performed with solemn recital of such Lec-
 tures, Psalms and Prayers, as are purposely framed for
 the stirring up of Men's minds unto a careful confi-
 deration of their estate both here and hereafter.
 Whereas therefore it is objected, that neither the
 People of God under the Law, nor the Church in the
 Apostles' times, did use any form of Service in Burial
 of the Dead; and therefore, that this order is taken
 up without any good example or precedent followed
 therein; first, while the World doth stand they shall
 never be able to prove, that all things which either
 the one or the other did use at Burials are set down
 in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of pur-
 pose deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but
 toucheth only sometime one thing, and sometime
 another, which was in use, as special occasions require
 any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated.
 Again, if it might be proved that no such thing was
 usual amongst them, hath Christ so deprived his
 Church of judgment, that what Rites and Orders so-
 ever the latter ages thereof have devised, the same
 must needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the
 Jews before our Saviour's coming had any such form
 of Service, although in Scripture it be not affirmed,
 yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of
 Priests to be present at Burials letteth not but that
 others might discharge that duty, seeing all were not
 Priests which had rooms of publick function in their
 Synagogues), and if any Man be of opinion that they
 had no such form of Service; thus much there is to
 make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this
 day have, as appeareth in their form of funeral
 Prayers, and in certain of their funeral Sermons pub-
 lished; neither are they so affected towards Christians,
 as to borrow that order from us; besides that, the
 Form thereof is such as hath in it fundry things which
 the

BOOK V. the very words of the Scripture itself doth seem to allude unto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulchre unto the house whence the Dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their Burial-feast, and a consolatory Form of Prayer, appointed for the Master of the Synagogue thereat to utter; albeit I may not deny, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatsoever the Jews custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of that either Church or Christian Man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, indecent, unfit for Christianity, till these miserable days, wherein, under the colour of removing superstitious abuses, the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true Religion are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to shew at Burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the Dead; and in the manner of those dumb Funerals what one thing is there whereby the World may perceive we are Christian Men?

Of the nature of that Ministry, which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God; and how happiness, not eternal only, but also temporal, doth depend upon it.

76. I come now unto that Function which undertaketh the publick Ministry of holy things according to the Laws of Christian Religion. And because the nature of things, consisting as this doth in action, is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope 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 happiness by means which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the sum of our whole labour in this kind is to honour God and to save Men. For whether we severally take, and consider Men one by one, or else gather them into one society and body, as it hath been before declared, that every Man's Religion is in him the well-spring of all other sound and sincere virtues, from whence both here in some fort,

fort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full joy and felicity ariseth; because while they live they are blessed of God, and when they die their works follow them: so at this present we must again call to mind how the very worldly peace and prosperity, the secular happiness, the temporal and natural good estate both of all Men, and of all Dominions, hangeth chiefly upon Religion, and doth evermore give plain testimony, that, as well in this as in other considerations, the Priest is a pillar of that Commonwealth wherein he faithfully serveth God. For if these assertions be true, first, that nothing can be enjoyed in this present World against his will which hath made all things; secondly, that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to have, yet impiety permitteth them not to enjoy, no not temporal blessings on Earth; thirdly, that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as handmaids upon Religion; and fourthly, that without the work of the Ministry, Religion by no means can possibly continue, the use and benefit of that sacred Function even towards all Men's worldly happiness must needs be granted. Now the * first being a Theorem both understood and confessed by all, to labour in proof thereof were superfluous. The second perhaps may be called in question, except it be perfectly understood. By good things temporal therefore we mean length of days, health of body, store of friends and well-willers, quietness, prosperous success of those things we take in hand, riches with fit opportunities to use them during

* Si creaturæ Dei, merito et dispensatio Dei sumus; quis enim magis diligit, quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quam is qui et fecit et diligit? Quis vero sapientius et fortius ordinare et regere facta potest, quam qui et facienda providit et provisiva perfecit? Quapropter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnemque ordinationem, et qui non legerunt sentiunt, et qui legerunt cognoscunt. Pauli Orat. Hist. advers. Pagan. lib. ii. Οὗτος τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέρτηται βροτοὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελέμεθα. Eurip. Phœnis.

BOOK V. life, reputation following us both alive and dead, Children, or such as instead of Children we wish to leave successors and partakers of our happiness. These things are naturally every Man's desire, because they are good; and on whom God bestoweth the same, them we confess he graciously blest. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteem the gain of honour an ample recompence for the loss of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodness, Nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their own sake, but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of virtue and speculation of Truth. None, whose desires are rightly ordered, would wish to live, to breath, and move, without performance of those actions which are befitting Man's excellency. Wherefore having not how to employ it, we wax weary even of life itself. Health is precious, because sickness doth breed that pain which disableth action. Again, why do Men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life, being many, do need many helping hands to further them? Between troublesome and quiet days we should make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold our liberty of action. Furthermore, if those things we do, succeed, it rejoiceth us not so much for the benefit we thereby reap, * as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well-guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a sign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious Minds thirst after it, their endeavours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of Nature to possess that body, the very

* *Οἰόμεθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα παντ' ἐπιγασθαι καλῶς.* Eurip. Heracl.

shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally, such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsaketh us, still our desires to continue action and to work, though not by ourselves, yet by them whom we leave behind us, causeth us providently to resign into other Men's hands the helps we have gathered for that purpose, devising also the best we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth, therefore, how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which useth them as instruments, and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth ever stay or rest itself. Now temporal blessings are enjoyed of those which have them, know them, *esteem them according to that they are in their own nature*. Wherefore of the Wicked whom God doth hate, his usual and ordinary speeches are, that *blood-thirsty and deceitful Men shall not live out half their days*; that God shall cause a pestilence to cleave unto the Wicked, and shall strike them with consuming grief, with fevers, burning diseases, and sores which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all Men should tread them down, and none shew countenance of love towards them, as much as by pitying them in their misery; that the sins of the ungodly shall bereave them of peace; that all counsels, complots and practices against God shall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjust is beggary; that the name of unrighteous Persons shall putrefy, and the posterity of Robbers starve. If any think that Iniquity and Peace, Sin and Prosperity can dwell together, they err, because they distinguish not aright between the matter, and that which giveth it the form of happiness, between possession and fruition, between the having and enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly because they receive it not as at God's hands, which only consideration maketh temporal blessings comfortable; and partly because through error, placing it above things of far more price and worth, they turn that to poison which

BOOK V.

Psal. lv. 23.

Deut. xxviii.

22.

Prov. x.

BOOK V. which might be food, they make their prosperity their own snare; in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those eggs out of which their woful overthrow is afterwards hatched. Hereby it cometh to pass, that wise and judicious Men, observing the vain behaviour of such as are risen to unwonted greatness, have thereby been able to prognosticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked Man doth prosper on Earth, but either sooner or later the World may perceive easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortunate, they had but only the good estate which fat oxen have above lean; when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruin.* The gross and bestial conceit of them which want understanding is, only that the fullest bellies are happiest. Therefore the greatest felicity, they wish to the Commonwealth wherein they live, is that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without stint; that the poor may sleep, and the rich feed them; that nothing unpleasent may be commanded, nothing forbidden Men which themselves have a lust to follow; that Kings may provide for the ease of their Subjects, and not be too curious about their manners; that wantonness, excess and lewdness of life may be left free; and that no fault may be capital, besides dislike of things settled in so good terms. But be it far from the Just to dwell either in, or near to the tents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirm, that Religion and the Fear of God as well induceth secular Prosperity as everlasting Bliss in the World to come, this also is true. For otherwise Godliness could not be said to have the promises of both lives; to be that ample revenue wherein there is always sufficiency; and to carry with it a general dis-

* Prov. xvi. 18. Ante ruinam elatio. Φιλίες ὁ Θεὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κολύσει· ἐ γὰρ οὐ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑαυτοῦ. Herodot. lib. vii.

charge of want, even so general, that David himself BOOK V. should protest, *he never saw the Just forsaken.* However, to this we must add certain special limitations; as first, that we do not forget how crazed and diseased Minds (whereof our heavenly Physician must judge) receive oftentimes most benefit by being deprived of those things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the Wise Man hath noted concerning them, whose lives God mercifully doth abridge, lest wickedness should alter their understanding; again, that the measure of our outward prosperity be taken by proportion with that which every Man's estate in this present life requireth. External abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise Artificers to have their instruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for use, than huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a Servant do not need that which may be necessary for Men of calling and place in the World, neither Men of inferior condition many things which greater Personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects that have wherewith to perform sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they have no more. For, by reason of Man's imbecility and proneness to elation of mind, † too high a flow of prosperity is dangerous, too low an ebb again as dangerous, for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the hand of necessity stronger than ordinary virtue is able to withstand. Solomon's discreet and moderate desire we all know; *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor penury.* Men over-high exalted either in honour or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrary hand

* Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἰκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. Eurip. Phœniss.

† Ταπεινότερων ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' ἔν ἀσφαλτεσίῳ, ἵνα ἀπίχθην καὶ ὕψος καὶ πτώματος. Greg. Nazian. Ap. l. iii. They may haply be the most deject, but they are the wisest for their own safety, which fear climbing no less than falling. Arist. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 11.

BOOK V. sunk either with beggary, or through dejection, or by baseness, do not easily give ear to reason; but the one exceeding apt unto outrages, and the other unto petty mischiefs. For greatness delighteth to shew itself by effects of power, and baseness to help itself with shifts of malice. For which cause, a moderate, indifferent temper, between fulness of bread and emptiness, hath been evermore thought and found (all circumstances duly considered) the safest and happiest for all Estates, even for Kings and Princes themselves. Again, we are not to look that these things should always concur, no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the course of Men's lives, or of publick affairs should continually be drawn out as an even thread (for that the nature of things will not suffer), but a just survey being made, as those particular Men are worthily reputed good whose virtues be great and their faults tolerable; so him we may register for a Man fortunate, and that for a prosperous and happy State, which having flourished doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration, such as might cause them to be a spectacle of misery to others. Besides, whereas true felicity consisteth in the highest operations of that nobler part of Man, which sheweth sometime greatest perfection, not in using the benefits which delight nature, but in suffering what nature can hardliest endure; there is no cause why either the loss of good, if it tend to the purchase of better, or why any misery, the issue whereof is their greater praise and honour that have sustained it, should be thought to impeach that temporal happiness wherewith Religion, we say, is accompanied; but yet in such measure as the several degrees of Men may require by a competent estimation, and unless the contrary do more advance, as it hath done, those most heroicall Saints whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither misery nor prosperity is able to move from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatsoever doth outwardly happen without

without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of sound and impartial Judges to have proceeded from divine revenge, it passeth in the number of human casualties, whereunto we are all alike subject. No misery is reckoned more than common or human, if God so dispose that we pass thorough it, and come safe to shore; even as contrariwise, Men do not use to think those flourishing days happy, which do end with tears. It standeth therefore with these cautions firm and true, yea, ratified by all Men's unfeigned confessions, drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare Men of Note in the World with others of like degree and state, or else the same Men with themselves, whether we confer one Dominion with another, or else the different times of one and the same Dominion, the manifest odds between their very outward condition, as long as they stedfastly were observed to honour God, and their success, being fallen from him, are remonstrances more than sufficient, how all our welfare, even on earth, dependeth wholly upon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet such as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wane or grow. Of the Jews, did not even their most malicious and mortal Adversaries all acknowledge, that to strive against them it was in vain as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apostasy? In the whole course of their own proceedings did they ever find it otherwise, but that, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every Man of them was in war as a thousand strong, and as much as a grand Senate for counsel in peaceable deliberations? contrariwise, that if they swerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forsook them utterly, their Soldiers and military Men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entered into mutual conference and state in counsel for their own good, that which Chil-

BOOK V. dren might have seen their graveſt Senators could not diſcern; their Prophets ſaw darkneſs inſtead of viſions; the wiſe and prudent were as Men bewitched, even that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to utter; or if any thing were well propoſed, it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the reſt to approve and follow it, but, as Men confounded with ſtrange and unuſual amazements of ſpirit, they attempted tumultuoſly they ſaw not what; and by the iſſues of all attempts they found no certain concluſion but this, *God and Heaven are ſtrong againſt us in all we do.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret fear which took heart and courage from them; and the cauſe of their fear, an inward guiltineſs that they all had offered God ſuch apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be the cauſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not the like force towards temporal felicity. Search the ancient records of time, look what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteen hundred years, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea all things ſo maniſeſt, that for evidence and proof herein, we need not by uncertain dark conjectures ſurmize any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithful obedience towards true Religion more than only them, whom we find in that reſpect, on the one ſide, guilty by their own confeſſions, and happy on the other ſide by all Men's acknowledgment; who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and virtuous, impute boldly the ſame to God's moſt eſpecial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cauſe to be more offended. For Virtue is always plain to be ſeen, rareneſs cauſeth it to be obſerved, and goodneſs to be honoured with admiration. As for Iniquity and Sin, it lieth many times hid; and becauſe we be all Offenders, it becometh us not to incline towards hard and ſevere ſentences touching others, unleſs their notorious wickedneſs

ness did sensibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to pass. Wherefore the sum of every Christian Man's duty is, to labour by all means toward that which other Men seeing in us may justify; and what we ourselves must accuse if we fall into it, that, by all means we can, to avoid; considering especially, that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempestuous storm, the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldness in affection and from backwardness in duties of service towards God; so if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point should be here set down, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollify an heart of steel. On the contrary part, although we confess with St. Augustin most willingly, that the chiefest happiness for which we have some Christian Kings in so great admiration above the rest, is not because of their long reign; their calm and quiet departure out of this present life; the settled establishment of their own flesh and blood succeeding them in Royalty and Power; the glorious overthrow of foreign Enemies, or the wise prevention of inward danger, and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our unquiet life it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which have no society or part in the joys of Heaven, giving thereby to understand that these in comparison are toys and trifles, far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands; but in truth the reason wherefore we most extol their felicity is, if so be they have virtuously reigned, if honour hath not filled their hearts with pride, if the exercise of their power hath been service and attendance upon the Majesty of the Most High; if they have feared him as their own Inferiors and Subjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleasure more than Heaven, if revenge hath slowly proceeded from them, and mercy willingly offered itself, if so they have tempered rigour with lenity, that neither extreme severity might utterly

BOOK V. cut them off, in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easiness of pardoning offences embolden offenders; if, knowing that whatsoever they do, their potency may bear it out, they have been so much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the best, rather than usual with greatest Personages; if the true knowledge of themselves hath humbled them in God's sight, no less than God in the eyes of Men hath raised them up; I say, albeit we reckon such to be the happiest of them that are mightiest in the World, and albeit those things alone are happiness, nevertheless, considering what force there is even in outward blessings to comfort the minds of the best disposed, and to give them the greater joy when Religion and Peace, heavenly and earthly Happiness are wreathed in one crown, as to the worthiest of Christian Princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen; let it not seem to any Man a needless and superfluous waste of labour, that there hath been thus much spoken, to declare how in them especially it hath been so observed, and withal universally noted, even from the highest to the very meanest, how this particular benefit, this singular grace and pre-eminence Religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly shield from all calamities, or else conducteth us safe through them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giveth honours, promotions and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plenty of all good things, or maketh a sallad of green herbs more sweet than all the sacrifices of the ungodly. Our fourth Proposition before set down was, that Religion without the help of spiritual Ministry is unable to plant itself, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their own accord. Which last Assertion is herein as the first, that it needeth no farther confirmation: if it did, I could easily declare how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderful art and wisdom sodered as it were

were together with the glue of mutual assistance, appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest to themselves what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the Church, being the most absolute of all his works, was in reason to be also ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh might, no less in grace than in nature, be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated unto the Power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humility of Man, which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himself; and of no small effect to nourish that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as Men, but as Angels of God. Ministerial actions tending immediately unto God's honour, and Man's happiness, are either as Contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the Ministry, or else they are parts of that principal work of Administration itself, which work consisteth in doing the service of God's House, and in applying unto Men the sovereign medicines of Grace, already spoken of the more largely to the end it might thereby appear, that we * owe to the Guides of our Souls even as much as our Souls are worth, although the debt of our temporal blessings should be stricken off.

Luke xii.
42.
1 Cor. iv.
1.
Tit. i. 7.
1 Pet. iv.
10.
Ephes. iii.
2.

77. The Ministry of things divine is a Function, which as God did himself institute, so neither may Men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting unto Man in necessaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly Truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our endless perdition and woe, hath, in the like abundance of mercies, ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite Parts and Offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole World, which Men thereunto assigned do hold their Authority from him,

Of power given unto Men to execute that heavenly Office; of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of Order may be sought or sued for.

* *Καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφέλεις.* Epist. ad Philem.

BOOK V. whether they be such as himself immediately, or as
 ——— the Church in his name investeth; it being neither
 possible for all, nor for every Man without distinction
 convenient to take upon him a charge of so great im-
 portance. They are therefore Ministers of God, not
 only by way of subordination as Princes and civil
 Magistrates, whose execution of Judgment and Jus-
 tice the supreme hand of Divine Providence doth up-
 hold; but Ministers of God, as from whom their au-
 thority is derived, and not from Men. For in that
 they are Christ's Ambassadors and his Labourers, who
 should give them their commission but he whose most
 inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the
 Father of Spirits? Are not Souls the purchase of
 Jesus Christ? What Angel in Heaven could have said
 to Man, as our Lord did unto Peter, *Feed my Sheep?*
preach? baptize? do th's in remembrance of me? whose
Sins ye retain, they are retained; and their offences in
Heaven pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth for-
give? What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds,
 or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds
 above? The power of the Ministry of God translateth
 out of darknets into glory; it raiseth Men from the
 Earth, and bringeth God himself from Heaven; by
 blessing visible Elements it maketh them invisible
 Grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost, it hath to dis-
 pose of that Flesh which was given for the life of the
 World, and that Blood which was poured out to re-
 deem Souls; when it poureth Malediction upon the
 heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh
 the same, they revive. O wretched blindness, if we
 admire not so great power; more wretched if we con-
 sider it aright, and notwithstanding imagine that any
 but God can bestow it! To whom Christ hath im-
 parted power, both over that mystical Body which is
 the Society of Souls, and over that natural which is
 himself, for the knitting of both in one (a work
 which Antiquity doth call the making of Christ's
 Body), the same power is in such not amiss both
 termed

termed a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other Men, and maketh them a special Order consecrated unto the service 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 St. Paul himself dividing the Body of the Church of Christ into two moieties, nameth the one part *ἰδιώτας*, which is as much as to say the Order of the Laity, the opposite part whereunto we in like sort term the Order of God's Clergy, and the spiritual power which he hath given them, the power of their Order, so far forth as the same consisteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affairs of God. For of the power of their Jurisdiction over Men's persons we are to speak in the Books following. They which have once received this power may not think to put it off and on like a cloke, as the weather serveth, to take it, reject and resume it as oft as themselves list; of which prophane and impious contempt these latter times have yielded, as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostasy, strange examples. But let them know, which put their hands unto this plough, that once consecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suspensions may stop, and Degradations utterly cut off the use or exercise of power before given; but voluntarily it is not in the power of Man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through misdesert Degradation, as there may be cause of just separation after Matrimony; yet if (as sometimes it doth) restitution to former dignity, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the first knot. Much less is it necessary, which some have urged, concerning the Re-ordination of such, as others in times more corrupt did consecrate heretofore.

BOOK V.

Tertul. de
 Aul. c.
 Castit.
 Heb. ii. 17.

Matth. xix.

Which

BOOK V. Which error, already quelled by Saint Jerom, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I grant there are which make for restraint of those Men from admittance again into rooms of spiritual function, whose fall by Heresy, or want of constancy in professing the Christian Faith, hath been once a disgrace to their calling. Nevertheless, as there is no Law which bindeth, so there is no cause that should always lead to shew one and the same severity towards Persons culpable. Goodness of nature itself more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other Men's offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecility. Besides also them that wander out of the way * it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, lest strictness used towards such as reclaim themselves should make others more obstinate in error. Wherefore after that the Church of Alexandria had somewhat recovered itself from the tempests and storms of Arianism, being in consultation about the re-establishment of that which by long disturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer sort gave quick sentence, that touching them which were of the Clergy, and had stained themselves with Heresy, there should be none so received into the Church again as to continue in the order of the Clergy. The rest, which considered how many Men's cases it did concern, thought it much more safe and consonant to bend somewhat down towards them which were fallen; to shew severity upon a few of the chiefest Leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation, without any other demand, saving only the abjuration of their error; as in the Gospel that wasteful young Man which returned home to his Father's house was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder Brother

Ruffin.
Hist. Eccles.
lib. cap. 28.

* In 12 tabulis cautum est, ut idem juris esset sanantibus quod fortibus, id est bonis et qui nunquam desererunt a populo Romano. Fest. in ver. Samnites.

hardly thought of for repining thereat; neither com-^{BOOK V.}
 mended so much for his own fidelity and virtue, as
 blamed for not embracing him freely, whose unex-
 pected recovery ought to have blotted out all re-
 membrance of misdemeanors and faults past. But of
 this sufficient. A thing much stumbled at in the
 manner of giving Orders is our using those memor-
 able words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, *Receive*
the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost, they say, we can-
 not give, and therefore we* foolishly bid Men re-
 ceive it. Wise Men, for their authority's sake, must
 have leave to befool them whom they are able to
 make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding,
 if it may please their wisdom, as well to hear what
 Fools can say, as to controul that which they do,
 thus we have heard some wise Men teach, namely,
 that the Holy Ghost may be used to signify not the Eccles. Dif.
 Person alone, but the Gift of the Holy Ghost; and cap. fol. 52.
 we know that spiritual gifts are not only abilities p. 2. l. 1.
 to do things miraculous, as to speak with tongues which
 were never taught us; to cure diseases without art,
 and such like; but also that the very Authority and
 Power which is given Men in the Church to be Mi-
 nisters of holy things, this is contained within the
 number of those gifts whereof the Holy Ghost is
 Author; and therefore he which giveth this Power
 may say without absurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy*
Ghost, such Power as the Spirit of Christ hath endued
 his Church withal, such Power as neither Prince nor
 Potentate, King nor Cæsar on earth can give. So
 that if Men alone had devised this form of speech,
 thereby to express the heavenly well-spring of that
 Power which Ecclesiastical Ordinations do bestow, it
 is not so foolish but that wise Men might bear with

* Papisticus quidam ritus, stulte quidem ab illis et sine ullo
 Scripturæ fundamento institutus, et a disciplinæ nostræ autoribus
 (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primum judicio acceptus,
 minore adhuc in Ecclesia nostra retinetur. Ecclesiast. Discip.
 pag. 53.

BOOK V. it. If then our Lord and Saviour himself have used the self-same form of words, and that in the self-same kind of action, although there be but the least shew of probability, yea or any possibility that his meaning might be the same which ours is, it should teach sober and grave Men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impossible to have in it more profoundness of wisdom, than flesh and blood should presume to controul. Our Saviour, after his Resurrection from the dead, gave his Apostles their Commission, saying, *All power is given me in Heaven and in Earth: Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. In sum, As my Father sent me, so send I you.* Whereunto St. John doth add farther, that *having thus spoken, he breathed on them, and said, Receive the Holy Ghost.* By which words he must of likelihood understand some gift of the Spirit which was presently at that time bestowed upon them, as both the speech of actual delivery in saying *Receive*, and the visible sign thereof, his breathing, did shew. Absurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear, and also to the very eye, express a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It resteth then that we search what special Grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit most apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promise thereof was to be shortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power are therefore set down with signification of the time to come, *Behold I will send the promise of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high.* Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was some other effect of the Spirit, the Holy Ghost in some other kind, which our Saviour did then bestow. What other likelier than that which himself doth mention, as it should

Matth.
xxviii. 18.

John xx.
22.

Luke xxiv.
49.

should seem of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to declare that the Holy Ghost which he then gave was an holy and a ghostly authority, authority over the Souls of Men, authority, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retain sins? *Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Evangelists had set down, that Christ did before his suffering promise to give his Apostles the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and being risen from the dead promised moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghost, St. John addeth, that he also invested them even then with the power of the Holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin, wherein was fully accomplished that which the Promise of the Keys did import. Seeing therefore that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish? The cause why we breathe not, as Christ did on them unto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor spiritual authority may be thought to proceed from us, who are but Delegates or Assigns to give Men possession of his Graces. Now besides that the power and authority delivered with these words is itself χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow, we may most assuredly persuade ourselves, that the hand which imposeth upon us the function of our Ministry, doth under the same form of words so tie itself hereunto, that he which receiveth the burden is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him, and in him, for his assistance,* aid, countenance and support in

BOOK V.

John xx.
23.

* Et si necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris est autor, ipse fiet administrationis adjutor; et ne magnitudine gratiæ succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem. Leo. ter. i. in anniver. die A. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐθετο ἡμῶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην. Greg. Nazian.

BOOK V. whatſoever he faithfully doth to diſcharge duty. Knowing therefore that when we take Ordination we alſo receive the preſence of the Holy Ghoſt, partly to guide, direct and ſtrengthen us in all our ways, and partly to aſſume unto itſelf for the more authority thoſe actions that appertain to our place and calling, can our ears admit ſuch a ſpeech uttered in the reverend performance of that ſolemnity; or can we at any time renew the memory and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof, but with much admiration and joy? Remove what theſe fooliſh words do imply, and what hath the Miniſtry of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now, foraſmuch as the Holy Ghoſt, which our Saviour in his firſt Ordinations gave, doth no leſs concur with ſpiritual vocations throughout all ages, than the Spirit, which God derived from Moſes to them that aſſiſted him in his Government, did deſcend from them to their Succeſſors in like authority and place, we have for the leaſt and meaneſt duties, performed by virtue of miniſterial power, that to dignify, grace and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give abſolution, or whatſoever; as Diſpoſers of God's Myſteries, our words, judgments, acts and deeds are not ours, but the Holy Ghoſt's. Enough, if unfeignedly and in heart we did believe it, enough to baniſh whatſoever may juſtly be thought corrupt either in beſtowing, or in uſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe than is meet. For profanely to beſtow, or looſely to uſe, or vilely to eſteem of the Holy Ghoſt, we all in ſhew and profeſſion abhor. Now becauſe the Miniſtry is an office of dignity and honour, ſome are doubtful whether any Man may ſeck for it without offence; or, to ſpeak more properly, doubtful they are not, but rather bold to accuſe our Diſcipline in this reſpect, as not only permitting, but requiring alſo ambitious ſuits, or other oblique ways or means whereby

Numb. xi.
17.

Author.
Lab. Diſcip.
Eccleſiaſt.

to obtain it. Against this they plead, that our Sa-^{BOOK V.}
 viour did stay till his Father sent him, and the
 Apostles till he them; that the ancient Bishops in
 the Church of Christ were examples and patterns of
 the same modesty. Whereupon in the end they infer,
*Let us therefore at the length amend that custom of re-
 pairing from all parts unto the Bishop at the day of Or-
 dination, and of seeking to obtain Orders; let the custom
 of bringing commendatory letters be removed; let Men
 keep themselves at home, expecting there the voice of God,
 and the authority of such as may call them to undertake
 charge.* Thus severely they censure and controul
 ambition, if it be ambition which they take upon
 them to reprehend. For of that there is cause to
 doubt. Ambition, as we understand it, hath been
 accounted a vice which seeketh after honours inordi-
 nately. Ambitious minds, esteeming it their greatest
 happiness to be admired, revered, and adored
 above others, use all means lawful and unlawful which
 may bring them to high rooms. But as for the
 power of Order considered by itself, 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 need encouragement to bear contempt,
 than deserve blame as Men that carry aspiring
 minds. The work whereunto this power serveth is
 commended, and the desire thereof allowed by the
 Apostle for good. Nevertheless, because the burden ^{1 Tim. iii.}
 thereof is heavy, and the charge great, it cometh ^{1*}
 many times to pass, that the minds even of virtuous
 Men are drawn into clean contrary affections, some
 in humility declining that by reason of hardness,
 which others in regard of goodness only do with
 fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the least
 degree in this service, but it may be both in * reve-

* Τῶν παλαιῶν τὸς εὐδοκίμωλάτους ἀνασκοπῶν εἰρίσκη ὅσως πῶποτε εἰς
 ἐπισκοπίαν ἢ προφητείαν ἢ χάρις περιβάλετο, τὸς μὲν εἴξαντας προθύμως
 τῇ κλήσει, τὸς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, ἢ ἐδδέρων μειπτήν ἔτε τῶν
 ἐποχῶν.

BOOK V. rence shunned, and of very devotion longed for. — If then the desire thereof may be holy, religious and good, may not the profession of that desire be so likewise? We are not to think it so long good as it is diffembled, and evil if once we 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 whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are those desires allowed, the accomplishment whereof it is not lawful for Men to seek. Power therefore of Ecclesiastical Order may be desired, the desire thereof may be professed, they which profess themselves that way inclined may endeavour to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessity of evil. Is it the bringing of testimonial Letters wherein so great obliquity consisteth? What more simple, more plain, more harmless, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, than that Men, where they are not known, use for their easier access the credit of such as can best give testimony of them? Letters of any other construction our Church Discipline alloweth not; and these to allow, is neither to require ambitious suings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act. The Prophet Ely receiving his message at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly vision, heard the voice of the Lord, saying, *Whom shall I send? Who shall go for us?* Whereunto he recordeth his own answer, *Then I said, Here, Lord, I am; send me.* Which in effect is the Rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very Order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for solemn Ordination is but the publick demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himself, *Whom shall I send? Who shall go for us?*

Ely vi. 8.

ἰποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν, ἔτε τῶν ὀρηκσάντων τὴν προθυμίαν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔδρακον τὸ μέγεθος εὐλαβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν καλῶν πιερίσαντες ἠκολούθησαν. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

The

The confluence of Men, whose inclinations are bent that way, is but the answer thereunto, whereby the labours of fundry being offered, the Church hath freedom to take whom her Agents in such case think meet and requisite. As for the example of our Saviour Christ, who took not to himself this honour to be made our High Priest, but received the same from him which said, *Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck*, his waiting and not attempting to execute the office till God saw convenient time, may serve in reproof of usurped honours, forasmuch as we ought not of our own accord to assume dignities, whereunto we are not called as Christ was. But yet it should be withal considered, that a proud usurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingness to obtain admittance; which willingness of mind, I suppose, did not want in him whose answer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, *Behold I am come to do thy Will*. And had it been for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his commission signed with the hands of Men, to seek it might better have befeemed his humility, than it doth our boldness to reprehend them of pride and ambition, that make no worse kind of suits than by letters of information. Himself in calling his Apostles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be said of them, *Ye chose not me, but I of my own voluntary motion made choice of you*. Which kind of undesired nomination to Ecclesiastical Places befel divers of the most famous amongst the ancient Fathers of the Church in a clean contrary consideration. For our Saviour's election respected not any merit or worth, but took them which were farthest off from likelihood of fitness; that afterwards their supernatural ability and performance, beyond hope, might cause the greater admiration; whereas in the other, mere admiration of their singular and rare virtues was the reason why honours were enforced upon

BOOK V. them, which they of meekness and modesty did
 what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge
 it a thing unlawful to wish or desire the office, the
 only charge and bare function of their Ministry? Towards which labour, what doth the blessed Apostle
 else but encourage, saying, *He, which desireth it, is desirous of a good work?* What doth he else by such sentences but stir, kindle and inflame ambition; if I may term that desire ambition, which coveteth more to testify love by painfulness in God's service, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour itself, and of other emoluments annexed to such labours for more encouragement of Man's industry, we are not so to conceive neither, as if no affection could be cast towards them without offence.

Eccles. vii.
6. Only as the Wise Man giveth counsel, *Seek not to be made a Judge, lest thou be not able to take away iniquity, and lest thou, fearing the person of the mighty, shouldest commit an offence against thine uprightness;* so it always behoveth Men to take good heed, lest affection to that, which hath in it as well difficulty as goodness, sophisticate the true and sincere judgment which before-hand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof many forward minds have found, instead of contentment, repentance. But forasmuch as hardness of things in themselves most excellent cooleth the fervency of Men's desires, unless there be somewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of speculative knowledge doth, by things which we sensibly perceive, conduct to that which is in nature more certain, though less sensible, and the method of virtuous actions is also to train beginners at the first by things acceptable unto the taste of natural appetite, till our minds at the length be settled to embrace things precious in the eye of reason, merely and wholly for their own sakes), howsoever inordinate desires do hereby take occasion to abuse the polity of God and Nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unseemly means that
 which

which was instituted, and should be reserved for BOOK V.
 better minds to obtain by more approved courses, in which consideration the Emperors Anthemius and Leo did worthily oppose against such ambitious practices that ancient and famous Constitution, wherein they have these sentences: *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or upon request, who should be so far sequestered from all ambition, that they which advance him might be fain to search where he hideth himself, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yield. Let nothing promote him but his excuses to avoid the burden. They are unworthy of that vocation which are not thereunto brought unwillingly;* notwithstanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition to traduce and draw into hatred every poor request or suit, wherein Men may seem to affect honour; seeing that ambition and modesty do not always so much differ in the mark they shoot at, as in the manner of their prosecutions. Yea, even in this may be error also, if we still imagine them least ambitious, which most forbear to stir either hand or foot towards their own preferments. For there are that make an idol of their great sufficiency, and because they surmise the place should be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave pageants, observing whether Men do not wonder why so small account is made of so rare worthiness; and in case any other Man's advancement be mentioned, they either smile or blush at the marvellous folly of the World, which seeth not where dignities should offer themselves. Seeing therefore that suits after spiritual Functions may be as ambitiously forborne as prosecuted, it remaineth that the * evenest line of moderation between both

* Μέσος εἰμί τις τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν τελευτηῶν ἢ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσαις ἐπιπηδῶντων προσασίας δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ Φευγόντων πάσαις Σαρσαλιώτερος. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

BOOK V. is, neither to follow them without conscience; nor of pride to withdraw ourselves utterly from them.

Of Degrees, whereby the power of Order is distinguished; and concerning the Attire of Ministers.

78. It pleased Almighty God to choose to himself, for discharge of the * legal Ministry, one only Tribe out of twelve others, the Tribe of Levi; not all unto every divine service, but Aaron and his Sons to one charge, the rest of that sanctified Tribe to another. With what Solemnities they were admitted into their Functions, in what manner Aaron and his successors the High-Priests ascended every Sabbath and Festival-day, offered and ministered in the Temple; with what Sin-offering once every year they reconciled first themselves and their own house, afterwards the People unto God; how they confessed all the iniquities of the Children of Israel, laid all their trespasses upon the head of a sacred goat, and so carried them out of the city; how they purged the Holy Place from all uncleanness; with what reverence they entered within the Veil, presented themselves before the Mercy-seat, and consulted with the Oracle of God; what service the other Priests did continually in the Holy Place, how they ministered about the Lamps, morning and evening; how every Sabbath they placed on the Table of the Lord those twelve Loaves with pure incense, in perpetual remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers, the twelve Tribes, had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger caused them to leave their natural soil, and to seek for sustenance in Egypt; how they employed themselves in sacrifice day by day; finally, what Offices the Levites discharged, and what Duties the rest did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I should collect that which Scriptures and other ancient Records do mention. Besides these, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to

* Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φιλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ ἑυσσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. Philo, p. 297.

time some called of God as Prophets, foreshewing BOOK V.
 them things to come, and giving them counsel in
 such particulars as they could not be directed in by
 the Law; some chosen Men to read, study and inter-
 pret the Law of God, as the Sons or Scholars of the old
 Prophets, in whose room afterwards Scribes and Ex-
 pounders of the Law succeeded. And, because where
 so great variety is, if there should be equality, con-
 fusion would follow, the Levites were in all their ser-
 vice at the appointment and direction of the Sons of
 Aaron, or Priests; they subject to the principal
 Guides and Leaders of their own Order; and they all
 in obedience under the High-Priest. Which differ-
 ence doth also manifest itself in the very titles that
 Men for honour's sake gave unto them, terming
 Aaron and his Successors, High or Great; the An-
 cients over the companies of Priests, Arch-Priests;
 Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and Interpreters of the
 Law, Masters. Touching the Ministry of the Gos-
 pel of Jesus Christ, the whole body of the Church be-
 ing divided into Laity and Clergy, the Clergy are
 either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather term the one
 sort Presbyters than * Priests, because in a matter of so
 small moment I would not willingly offend their
 ears to whom the name of Priesthood is odious,
 though without cause. For as things are distinguished

* T. C. lib. i. pag. 198. For so much as the common and
 usual speech of England is to note by the word Priest, not a Mi-
 nister of the Gospel, but a Sacrificer, which the Minister of the
 Gospel is not, therefore we ought not to call the Ministers of the
 Gospel Priests. And that this is the English speech, it appeareth by
 all the English Translations, which translate always *ιερευς*, which
 were Sacrificers, Priests, and do not on the other side, for any that
 ever I read, translate *πρεσβυτερον* a Priest. Seeing therefore a Priest
 with us, and in our tongue, doth signify both by the Papists' judg-
 ment, in respect of their abominable Mass, and also by the judg-
 ment of the Protestants, in respect of the beasts which were offered
 in the Law, a sacrificing office, which the Minister of the Gospel
 neither doth nor can execute; it is manifest, that it cannot be
 without great offence so used.

BOOK V. one from another by those true essential forms, which being really and actually in them do not only give them the very last and highest degree of their natural perfection, but are also the knot, foundation and root whereupon all other inferior perfections depend; so if they that first do impose names did always understand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the terms of vulgar speech we should still be taught what the things themselves most properly are. But because words have so many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with so many varieties, it is not always apparent what the first Inventors respected, much less what every Man's inward conceit is which useth these words. For any thing myself can discern herein, I suppose that they which have bent their study to search more diligently such matters, do, for the most part, find that Names advisedly given had either regard unto that which is naturally most proper; or if perhaps to some other speciality, to that which is sensibly most eminent in the thing signified; and concerning popular use of words, that which the wisdom of their Inventors did intend thereby is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in gross; as may appear in that if you ask of the common sort what any certain word, for example, what a Priest doth signify; their manner is not to answer, a Priest is a Clergyman which offereth sacrifice to God; but they shew some particular Person whom they use to call by that name. And if we list to descend to Grammar, we are told by masters in those Schools, that the word Priest hath his right place ἐπὶ τῆ ψιλῶς προεσῶτος τῆς Θεραπειᾶς τῆ Θεᾶ, in him whose mere function or charge is the service of God. Howbeit, because the eminentest part both of Heathenish and Jewish service did consist in Sacrifice, when learned Men declare what the word Priest doth properly signify, according to the mind of the first imposer of that name, their ordinary

Schools

* Schools do well expound it to imply Sacrifice. BOOK V.
 Seeing then that Sacrifice is now no part of the Church-Ministry, how should the name of Priesthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely even as St. Paul applieth the name of † *Flesh* unto that very substance of fishes, which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon, when Philosophers will speak warily, they ‡ make a difference between flesh in one sort of living Creatures, and that other substance in the rest which hath but a kind of analogy to flesh: the Apostle contrariwise having matter of greater importance whereof to speak, nameth indifferently both flesh. I Cor. xy. 39.
 The Fathers of the Church of Christ with like security of speech call usually the Ministry of the Gospel *Priesthood*, in regard of that which the Gospel hath proportionable to ancient Sacrifices; namely, the communion of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it hath properly now no Sacrifice. As for the People, when they hear the name, it draweth no more their minds to any cogitation of Sacrifice, than the name of a Senator or of an Alderman causeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one so termed must needs be ancient, because years were respected in the first nomination of both. Wherefore, to pass by the name, let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministry, it skilleth not: although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *Priest* with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. For what are they that embrace the Gospel but Sons of God? What are Churches but his Families? Seeing

* Ἱερεῦσαι, Δουσαῖσαι.

† Hesy. Christus Homo dicitur, quia natus est; Propheta, quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos, quia pro nobis hostiam se obtulit. Isid. Orig. lib. vii. cap. 2.

‡ Ἐχει δ' ἀπορίαν τὸ τὸ αἰδητήριον τὸ τῷ ἀπτῷ ἀπλικόν, πότερον ἢ σάρεξ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλοσον ἢ ἔ. Arist. de Anim. lib. ii. c. 11.

BOOK V. therefore we receive the Adoption and state of Sons
 ——— by their Ministry whom God hath chosen out for that
 purpose; seeing also that when we are the Sons of
 God, our continuance is still under their care which
 were our Progenitors, what better title could there
 be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters*,
 or fatherly Guides? The Holy Ghost throughout the
 body of the New Testament, making so much men-
 tion 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 analogy. A Presbyter,
 according to the proper meaning of the New Testa-
 ment, is he unto whom our Saviour Christ hath com-
 municated the power of spiritual procreation. Out of
 twelve Patriarchs issued the whole multitude of Israel
 according to the flesh. And, according to the mys-
 tery of heavenly birth, our Lord's Apostles we all
 acknowledge to be the Patriarchs of his whole Church.
 St. John therefore beheld sitting about the Throne of
 God in Heaven four and twenty Presbyters, the one
 half Fathers of the old, the other of the new Jerusa-
 lem. In which respect the Apostles likewise gave
 themselves the same title, albeit that name were not
 proper, but common unto them with others. For of
 Presbyters, some were greater, some less in power,
 and that by our Saviour's own appointment; the
 greater, they which received fulness of spiritual
 power; the less, they to whom less was granted.
 The Apostles' peculiar charge was to publish the
 Gospel of Christ unto all Nations, and to deliver
 them his Ordinances received by * immediate rela-
 tion from himself. Which pre-eminence excepted,
 to all other offices and duties incident unto their Or-
 der, it was in them to ordain and consecrate whomso-
 ever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did him-
 self assign seventy other of his own Disciples inferior
 Presbyters, whose commission to preach and baptize
 was the same which the Apostles had. Whereas there-

Esay lxvi.
21.

Rev. iv. 4.
Rev. xxi.
14.
Matt. xix.
28.
1 Pct. v. 1.

Acts ii. 41,
17.

* Οἱ ἑβδομήδεκα ἀποστόλοις ἐπιτιθέμενος. Dionys. Areop. p. 110.

fore we find that the very first Sermon which the BOOK V. Apostles did publickly make, was the conversion of above three thousand Souls, unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place permitted them for the exercise of Christian Religion, think we that twelve were sufficient to teach and administer Sacraments in so many private places, as so great a multitude of People did require? This harvest our Saviour (no doubt) foreseeing, provided accordingly Labourers for it before-hand. By which means it came to pass that the growth of that Church, being so great and so sudden, they had notwithstanding in a readines Presbyters enough to furnish it. And therefore the History doth make no mention by what occasion Presbyters were instituted in Jerusalem, only we read of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elsewhere. To these two degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Christ, his Apostles soon after annexed Deacons. Deacons therefore must know, saith Cyprian, that our Lord himself did elect Apostles; but Deacons, after his ascension into Heaven, the Apostles ordained. Deacons were Stewards of the Church, unto whom at the first was committed the distribution of Church-goods, the care of providing therewith for the Poor, and the charge to see that all things of expence might be religiously and faithfully dealt in. A part also of their office was attendance upon their Presbyters at the time of divine Service. For which cause Ignatius, to set forth the dignity of their calling, saith, that they are in such case to the Bishop, as if Angelical Powers did serve him. These only being the uses for which Deacons were first made, if the Church have since extended their Ministry further than the circuit of their labour at the first was drawn, we are not herein to think the Ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appear some prohibition which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it seemeth a thing

Cypr. Ep.
ix. l. 3. ad
Rogationum.

Ignar. Epist.
ad Tral.

BOOK V. so monstrous that Deacons should sometime be
 licenced to preach, whose institution was at the first to
 another end. To charge them for this as Men not
 contented with their own vocations, and as breakers
 into that which appertaineth unto others, is very hard.
 For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is part
 of their own vocation, it appertaineth now unto them
 as well as others; neither is it intrusion for them to
 do it, being in such sort called, but rather in us it were
 temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppose we the
 office of teaching to be so repugnant unto the office
 of Deaconship that they cannot concur in one and
 the same Person? What was there done in the Church
 by Deacons, which the Apostles did not first discharge
 being Teachers? Yea, but the Apostles found the
 burden of teaching so heavy, that they judged it
 meet to cut off that other charge, and to have Dea-
 cons which might undertake it. Be it so. The mul-
 titude of Christians increasing in Jerusalem, and wax-
 ing great, it was too much for the Apostles to teach,
 and to minister unto tables also. The former was not
 to be slackted, that this latter might be followed.
 Therefore unto this they appointed others. Where-
 upon we may rightly ground this axiom, that when
 the subject wherein one Man's labours of sundry kinds
 are employed doth wax so great, that the same Men
 are no longer able to manage it sufficiently as before,
 the most natural way to help this is, by dividing their
 charge into slips, and ordaining of Under-Officers;
 as our Saviour under twelve Apostles, seventy Pres-
 byters; and the Apostles by his example seven Dea-
 cons to be under both. Neither ought it to seem less
 reasonable, that when the same Men are sufficient both
 to continue in that which they do and also to under-
 take somewhat more, a combination be admitted in
 this case, as well as division in the former. We may
 not therefore disallow it in the Church of Geneva, that
 Calvin and Beza were made both Pastors and Readers
 in Divinity, being Men so able to discharge both. To
 say

say they did not content themselves with their pastoral vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alledge against them, *He that exhorteth on exhortation*, as against us, *He that distributeth in simplicity*, is alledged in great dislike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient custom of the Church was to yield the Poor much relief, especially Widows. But as poor People are always querulous, and apt to think themselves less respected than they should be, we see that when the Apostles did what they could without hindrance to their weightier business, yet there were which grudged that others had too much and they too little, the Grecian Widows shorter commons than the Hebrews. By means whereof the Apostles saw it meet to ordain Deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out those first occasions, for which the Deaconship was then most necessary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other services, and so remain, as at this present day, a Degree in the Clergy of God which the Apostles of Christ did institute. That the first seven Deacons were chosen out of the seventy Disciples, is an error in Epiphanius. For to draw Men from places of weightier, unto rooms of meaner labour, had not been fit. The Apostles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom, committed the ministry of tables unto Deacons. And shall we think they judged it expedient to choose so many out of those seventy to be ministers unto tables, when Christ himself had before made them Teachers? It appeareth therefore how long these three degrees of Ecclesiastical Order have continued in the Church of Christ; the highest and largest, that which the Apostles, the next that which Presbyters, and the lowest that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were such Men as having otherwise learned the Gospel, had from above bestowed upon them a special gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreshewing things to come. Of this sort Agabus was, and besides him in Jerusalem

BOOK V.

Rom. xii.

3.

Epiph. l. i.
c. 21.

Acts xxi.

10.

BOOK V. Jerusalem sundry others, who notwithstanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergy, because no Man's gifts or qualities can make him a Minister of holy things, unless Ordination do give him power. And we no where find Prophets to have been made by Ordination; but all whom the Church did ordain were either to serve as Presbyters or as Deacons. Evangelists were Presbyters of principal sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad, and used as Agents in Ecclesiastical affairs wheresoever they saw need. They whom we find to have been named in Scripture Evangelists, Ananias, Apollos, Timothy and others were thus employed. And concerning Evangelists, afterwards in Trajan's days, the History Ecclesiastical noteth that many of the Apostles' Disciples and Scholars which were then alive, and did with singular love of wisdom affect the heavenly Word of God, to shew their willing minds in executing that which Christ first of all requireth at the hands of Men, they sold their possessions, gave them to the Poor, and betaking themselves to travel, undertook the labour of Evangelists, that is, they painfully preached Christ, and delivered the Gospel to them who as yet had never heard the doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apostle nameth Pastors and Teachers, what other were they than Presbyters also, howbeit settled in some charge, and thereby differing from Evangelists? I beseech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the Church with questions about Degrees and Offices of Ecclesiastical calling, because they principally ground themselves upon two places, that, all partiality laid aside, they would sincerely weigh and examine whether they have not misinterpreted both places, and all by furnishing incompatible offices, where nothing is meant but sundry graces, gifts and abilities which Christ bestowed. To them of Corinth, his words are these: *God placed in the Church, first of all, some Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers; after them Powers, then gifts of Cures, Aids, Governments,*

kinds

Acts xi. 27.

Acts ix. 18.
Acts xviii.
24.
2 Tim. iv.
5, 9.
1 Tim. iii.
15, 16, 14.
ii. 8.
Euseb. Ec-
cles. Hist.
l. iii. c. 34.

1 Cor. xii.
28.

*kinds of Languages. Are all Apostles? Are all Pro- BOOK V.
phets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have
all grace to cure? Do all speak with tongues? Can all
interpret? But be you desirous of the better graces. They
which plainly discern first, that some one general
thing there is which the Apostle doth here divide
into all these branches, and do secondly conceive that
general to be Church-Offices, besides a number of
other difficulties, can by no means possibly deny but
that many of these might concur in one Man, and
peradventure in some one all; which mixture, not-
withstanding, their form of Discipline doth most shun.
On the other side, admit that Communicants of spe-
cial infused grace, for the benefit of Members knit
into one body, the Church of Christ, are here spoken
of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole
Discourse; and see if every thing do not answer in
due place with that fitness which sheweth easily what
is likeliest to have been meant. For why are Apostles
the first, but because unto them was granted the reve-
lation of all Truth from Christ immediately? Why
Prophets the second, but because they had of some
things knowledge in the same manner? Teachers the
next, because whatsoever was known to them it came
by hearing, yet God withal made them able to instruct,
which every one could not do that was taught? After
gifts of edification there follow general abilities to
work things above Nature, Grace to cure Men of
bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and
impediments, dexterities to govern and direct by
counsel; finally, aptness to speak or interpret foreign
tongues. Which Graces, not poured out equally, but
diversely sorted and given, were a cause why not only
they all did furnish up the whole body, but each be-
nefit and help other. Again, the same Apostle, other-
where in like sort, *To every one of us is given Grace,* Ephes iv:
7. *according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore*
he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led captivity Phil. lxxviii.
18. *captive, and gave gifts unto Men. He therefore gave
some**

BOOK V. *some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edification of the Body of Christ.* In this place none but gifts of instruction are expressed. And because of Teachers some were Evangelists, which neither had any part of their knowledge by revelation as the Prophets, and yet in ability to teach were far beyond other Pastors, they are, as having received one way less than Prophets, and another way more than Teachers, set accordingly between both. For the Apostle doth in neither place respect what any of them were by office or power given them through Ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infusion of the Holy Ghost. For in Christian Religion, this being the ground of our whole Belief, that the promises, which God of old had made his Prophets concerning the wonderful gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the Reign of the true Messias should be made glorious, were immediately after our Lord's Ascension performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apostles did take more often occasion to speak. Out of Men thus endued with gifts of the Spirit upon their conversion to Christian Faith, the Church had her Ministers chosen, unto whom was given Ecclesiastical power by Ordination. Now, because the Apostle, in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace, doth mention Pastors and Teachers, although he mention them not in respect of their Ordination to exercise the Ministry, but as examples of Men especially enriched with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, divers learned and skilful Men have so taken it, as if those places did intend to teach what Orders of Ecclesiastical Persons there ought to be in the Church of Christ; which thing we are not to learn from thence, but out of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it clearly appeareth that Churches Apostolick did know but three degrees in the power of Ecclesiastical Order; at the first Apostles, Presbyters and Deacons; afterwards,

afterwards, instead of Apostles, Bishops, concerning whose Order we are to speak in the seventh Book. BOOK V.
 There is an error which beguileth many who do much entangle both themselves and others by not distinguishing Services, Offices and Orders Ecclesiastical. The first of which three, and in part the second may be executed by the Laity; whereas none have, or can have the third but the Clergy. Catechists, Exorcists, Readers, Singers and the rest of like sort, if the nature only of their labour and pains be considered, may in that respect seem Clergymen, even as the Fathers for that cause term them usually Clerks; as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered when years and experience should make them able. Notwithstanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that work of service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable Ordination, we find them always exactly severed from that body, whereof those three before rehearsed Orders alone are natural parts. Touching Widows, of whom some Men are persuaded, that if such as St. Paul describeth may be gotten, we ought to retain them in the Church for ever, certain mean services there were of Attendance; as about Women at the time of their Baptism, about the bodies of the Sick and Dead, about the necessities of Travelers, way-faring Men, and such like, wherein the Church did commonly use them when need required, because they lived of the Alms of the Church, and were fittest for such purposes; St. Paul doth therefore, to avoid scandal, require that none but Women well experienced and virtuously given, neither any under threescore years of age should be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the Church so highly esteemed as Virgins. But seeing neither of them did or could receive Ordination, to make them Ecclesiastical Persons were absurd. The ancientest therefore of the Fathers mention those three degrees of Ecclesiastical

T. C. l. i. p.
 191.
 1 Tim. v.

9.

BOOK V. *fiastical Order specified, and no more. When your*
 Tertul. de *Captains (saith Tertullian), that is to say, the Deacons,*
 Peise.ut. *Presbyters and Bishops fly, who shall teach the Laity that*
 Optat. I. i. *they must be constant? Again, What should I mention*
Lay-men (saith Optatus), yea, or divers of the Ministry
itself? To what purpose Deacons, which are in the third,
or Presbyters in the second degree of Priesthood, when the
very Heads and Princes of all, even certain of the Bishops
themselves were content to redeem life with the loss of
Heaven? Heaps of allegation in a case so evident and
plain are needless. I may securely therefore conclude,
that there are at this day in the Church of England
no other than the same Degrees of Ecclesiastical Or-
ders, namely, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, which
had their beginning from Christ and his blessed
Apoffles themselves. As for Deans, Prebendaries,
Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Archdeacons, Chancellors,
Officials, Commissaries and such other like names,
which being not found in holy Scripture, we have
been thereby through some Men's error thought to
allow of Ecclesiastical Degrees not known, nor ever
heard of in the better ages of former times; all these
are in truth but titles of office, whereunto partly Ec-
clesiastical Persons, and partly others are in fundry
forms and conditions admitted, as the state of the
Church doth need, degrees of Order still continuing
the same they were from the first beginning. Now
what habit or attire doth besem each Order to use in
the course of common life, both for the gravity of his
place and for example sake to other Men, is a matter
frivolous to be disputed of. A small measure of wis-
dom may serve to teach them how they should cut
their coats. But seeing all well-ordered Polities have
ever judged it meet and fit by certain special distinct
ornaments to sever each sort of Men from other when
they are in publick, to the end that all may receive
such compliments of civil honour as are due to their
rooms and callings, even when their Persons are not
 known,

known, it argueth a disproportioned mind in them whom so decent Orders displeafe. BOOK V.

79. We might somewhat marvel what the Apostle St. Paul should mean to say that *Covetousness is Idolatry*, if the daily practice of Men did not shew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, we honour for the most part wealth as God. Fain we would teach ourselves to believe, that for worldly goods it sufficeth frugally and honestly to use them to our own benefit, without detriment and hurt to others; or if we go a degree farther, and perhaps convert some small contemptible portion thereof to charitable uses, the whole duty which we owe unto God herein is fully satisfied. But for as much as we cannot highly honour God, unless both our Souls and Bodies be sometime employed merely in his service; again, sith we know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of so great a part of the time of our lives quite and clean from our own business, and the bestowing of the same in his; suppose we that nothing of our wealth and substance is immediately due to God, but all our own to bestow and spend as ourselves think meet? Are not our riches as well his, as the days of our life are his? Wherefore, unless with part we acknowledge his supreme dominion by whose benevolence we have the whole, how give we honour to whom honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are God's? I would know what Nation in the World did ever honour God, and not think it a point of their duty to do him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly set down as a Principle clear in Nature, an Axiom that ought not to be called in question, a Truth manifest and infallible, that Men are eternally bound to honour God with their substance, in token of thankful acknowledgment that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by spending them in lawful manner, and by using them without offence, but also by alienating from ourselves some

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion, which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of Church-livings be made frustrate.

BOOK V. reasonable part or portion thereof, and by offering up
 ——— the same to him as a sign that we gladly confess his sole and sovereign dominion over all, is a duty which all Men are bound unto, and a part of that very worship of God, which, as the Law of God and Nature itself requireth, so we are the rather to think all Men no less strictly bound thereunto, than to any other natural duty, inasmuch as the hearts of Men do so cleave to these earthly things, so much admire them for the sway they have in the World, impute them so generally either to Nature or to Chance and Fortune, so little think upon the Grace and Providence from which they come, that unless by a kind of continual tribute we did acknowledge God's dominion, it may be doubted that in short time Men would learn to forget whose tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their own absolute, free and independent inheritance. Now, concerning the kind or quality of gifts which God receiveth in that sort, we are to consider them, partly as first they proceed from us, and partly as afterwards they are to serve for divine uses. In that they are testimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt but such they should be as becometh most his glory to whom we offer them. In this respect the fatness of Abel's sacrifice is commended; the flower of all Men's increase assigned to God by Solomon; the gifts and donations of the People rejected as oft as their cold affection to Godward made their presents to be little worth. Somewhat the Heathens saw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they unto their gods did not think they might consecrate any thing which was * impure or unsound, or already given, or else not truly their own to give. Again, in regard of use, for as much as we know that God hath himself no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them because it is our good to be so exercised, and with no

* Purum, probum, profanum, suum. Fest. lib. xiv.

other intent accepteth them, but to have them used for the endless continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controversy, but that we in the choice of our gifts are to level at the same mark, and to frame ourselves to his own intents and purposes. Whether we give unto God therefore that which himself by commandment requireth, or that which the publick consent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which every Man's private devotion doth best like, in as much as the gift which we offer proceedeth not only as a testimony of our affection towards God, but also as a means to uphold Religion, the exercise whereof cannot stand without the help of temporal commodities; if all Men be taught of Nature to wish, and as much as in them lieth to procure the perpetuity of good things; if for that very cause we honour and admire their wisdom, who, having been Founders of Common-weals, could devise how to make the benefit they left behind them durable; if, especially in this respect, we prefer Lycurgus before Solon, and the Spartan before the Athenian Polity, it must needs follow, that as we do unto God very acceptable service in honouring him with our substance, so our service that way is then most acceptable when it tendeth to perpetuity. The first permanent donations of honour in this kind are Temples. Which works do so much set forward the exercise of Religion, that while the World was in love with Religion, it gave to no sort greater reverence than to whom it could point and say, *These are the Men that have built us Synagogues.* But of Churches we have spoken sufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the Ornaments of Churches, memorials which Men's devotion hath added to remain in the treasure of God's House, not only for uses wherein the exercise of Religion presently needeth them, but also partly for supply of future casual necessities, whereunto the Church is on earth subject, and partly to the end that while they are kept they may continually

BOOK V. serve as testimonies, giving all Men to understand that
 ——— God hath in every Age and Nation such as think it no
 burden to honour him with their substance. The riches first of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Jerusalem, arising out of voluntary gifts and donations, were, as we commonly speak, a *Nemo scit*, the value of them above that which any Man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furnished with all necessaries, and set up, although in the wilderness their ability could not possibly be great, the very metal of those vessels, which the Princes of the Twelve Tribes gave to God for their first presents, amounted even then to two thousand and four hundred shekels of silver, an hundred and twenty shekels of gold, every shekel weighing half an ounce. What was given to the Temple which Solomon erected we may partly conjecture, when over and besides wood, marble, iron, brass, vestments, precious stones and money, the sum which David delivered into Solomon's hands for that purpose, was of gold in mass eight thousand, and of silver seventeen thousand cichars, every cichar containing a thousand and eight hundred shekels, which riseth to nine hundred ounces in every one cichar, whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount unto thirty cichars. After their return out of Babylon, they were not presently in case to make their second Temple of equal magnificence and glory, with that which the Enemy had destroyed. Notwithstanding what they could they did. Inasmuch that the buildings finished, there remained in the coffers of the Church, to uphold the fabrick thereof, six hundred and fifty cichars of silver, one hundred of gold. Whereunto was added by Nehemias of his own gift a thousand drams of gold, fifty vessels of silver, five hundred and thirty Priests vestments; by other the Princes of the Fathers twenty thousand drams of gold, two thousand and two hundred pieces of silver; by the rest of the People twenty thousand of gold, two thousand of silver, threescore

Numb. vii.
85, 86.

1 Chron.
xxix.
Exod. xxv.
28. &
xxxvii. 24.
Ezra ii. 68,
69.
Hag. ii. 4.
Ezra viii.
24.

Nehem.
vii. 70.

threecore and seven attires of Priests. And they furthermore bound themselves towards other charges to give by the poll, in what part of the World soever they should dwell, the third of a shekel, that is to say, the sixth part of an ounce yearly. * This out of foreign Provinces they always sent in gold. Whereof Mithridates is said to have taken up by the way before it could pass to Jerusalem from Asia, in one adventure, eight hundred talents†; Crassus after that to have borrowed of the Temple itself eight thousand; at which time Eleazar having both many other rich ornaments, and all the tapestry of the Temple under his custody, thought it the safest way to grow unto some composition; and so to redeem the residue by parting with a certain beam of gold about seven hundred and an half weight, a prey sufficient for one Man, as he thought who had never bargained with Crassus till then, and therefore upon the confidence of a solemn oath that no more should be looked for, he simply delivered up a large morsel, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moveable treasures are subject, the Law of Moses did both require eight and forty Cities, together with their fields and whole territories in the Land of Jury, to be reserved for God himself, and not only provide for the liberty of farther additions, if Men of their own accord should think good, but also for the safe preservation thereof unto all Posterities, that no Man's avarice or fraud, by defeating so virtuous intents, might discourage from like purposes. God's third endowment did therefore of old consist in Lands. Furthermore, some cause no doubt there is why be-

BOOK V.

Neh. x.

32.
Joseph. Anti. l. xiv. c.

7.

Num. xxxv.
Levit. xxv.
34. & xxvii.
28.

* Cic. orat. pro L. Flac. Cum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus vestris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari solet, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asia exportari liceret.

† Every talent in value six hundred crowns.

BOOK V. fides fundry other more rare donations of uncertain rate, the Tenth should be thought a revenue so natural to be allotted out unto God. For of the spoils which Abraham had taken in war, he delivered unto Melchisedeck the Tithes. The vow of Jacob, at such time as he took his journey towards Haran, was, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this voyage which I am to go, and will give me bread to eat, and clothes to put on, so that I may return to my Father's house in safety, then shall the Lord be my God; and this stone which I have set up as a pillar, the same shall be God's-house, and of all thou shalt give me I will give unto thee the Tithe.* And as Abraham gave voluntarily, as Jacob vowed to give God Tithes, so the Law of Moses did require at the hands of all Men the self-same kind of tribute, the Tenth of their Corn, Wine, Oil, Fruit, Cattle and whatsoever increase his heavenly Providence should send. Insomuch, that Painims being herein followers of their steps, paid Tithes likewise. Imagine we that this was for no cause done, or that there was not some special inducement to judge the Tenth of our worldly profits the most convenient for God's portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort, that the forms which give them their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter weight? Three being the mystical number of God's unsearchable perfection within himself; Seven the number whereby our own perfections, through grace, are most ordered; and * Ten the number of Nature's perfections (for the beauty of Nature is Order; and the foundation of Order, Number; and of Number, Ten the highest we can rise unto without iteration of numbers under it) could Nature better acknowledge the power of the God of Nature, than by assigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all she possesseth?

* Δεκάς αριθμῶν ἔσσι ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πάρας τελειότατον. Philo. περὶ Ἀποικ.

There

There are in Philo the Jew, many arguments to shew BOOK V. the great congruity and fitness of this number in things consecrated unto God. But because over-nice and curious speculations become not the earnestness of holy things, I omit what might be farther observed, as well out of others, as out of him, touching the quantity of this general sacred tribute; whereby it cometh to pass that the meanest and the very poorest amongst Men yielding unto God as much in proportion as the greatest, and many times in affection more, have this as a sensible token always assuring their minds, that in his sight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptance, protection, divine privileges and pre-eminences whatsoever, equals and peers with them unto whom they are otherwise in earthly respects inferiors; being furthermore well assured that the top as it were thus presented to God is neither lost, nor unfruitfully bestowed, but doth sanctify to them again the whole mass, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bless all. In which consideration the Jews were accustomed to name their Tithes, the **bedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge do only fence and preserve that which is contained, whereas their Tithes and Offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heap out of which they were taken. God demanded no such debt for his own need, but for their only benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the same, they hurt not him whom they wrong, and themselves, whom they think they relieve, they wound; except Men will haply affirm, that God did, by fair speeches and large promises, delude the World in saying, *Bring ye* Mal. iii. *all the Tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in mine house* (deal truly, defraud not God of his due, but bring all), *and prove if I will not open unto you the windows of Heaven, and pour down upon you an immea-*

* Massoreth sepes est legis; divitiarum sepes decimæ. R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.

BOOK V. *surable blessing.* That which St. James hath concerning the effect of our Prayers unto God, is for the most part of like moment in our Gifts; we pray and obtain not, because he which knoweth our hearts, doth know our desires are evil. In like manner we give, and we are not the more accepted, * because he beholdeth how unwisely we spill our gifts in the bringing. It is to him, which needeth nothing, all one whether any thing or nothing be given him. But for our own good, it always behoveth that whatsoever we offer up into his hands, we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, *Thou, Lord, art worthy of all honour.* With the Church of Christ, touching these matters, it standeth as it did with the whole World before Moses. Whereupon for many years Men being desirous to honour God, in the same manner as other virtuous and holy Personages before had done, both during the time of their life, and, if farther ability did serve, by such device as might cause their works of piety to remain always, it came by these means to pass that the Church from time to time had treasure, proportionable unto the poorer or wealthier estate of Christian Men. And as soon as the state of the Church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to think it most natural and most fit that God should receive, as before, of all Men his ancient accustomed revenues of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and Nature have taught to convert things temporal to eternal uses, and to provide for the perpetuity of Religion, even by that which is most transitory. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the Law requireth precisely the best of what we possess; and to prevent all damages by way of commutation, where, instead of natural commodities or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the

* Nemo libenter dedit quod non accepit sed expressit. Sen. de Benef. l. i. c. 1.

Law of Moses determined their rates, and the pay-^{BOOK V.}ments to be always made by the Shekel of the Sanc-^{Levit. xxvii.}tuary, wherein there was great advantage of weight^{25.} above the ordinary current Shekel. The truest and surest way for God to have always his own, is by making him payment in kind, out of the very self-same riches which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yield. This, where it may be without inconvenience, is for every Man's conscience sake. That which cometh from God to us, by the natural course of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps best accepted, because least spotted with the stain of unlawful or indirect procurement. Besides, whereas prices daily change, Nature, which commonly is one, must needs be the most indifferent and permanent standard between God and Man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the security of these things dependeth as far as any thing may be ascertained amongst Men, is that the title and right which Man had in every of them before donation doth by the act, and from the time of any such donation, dedication, or grant, remain the proper possession of God till the World's end, unless himself renounce or relinquish it. For if equity have taught us, that one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours no other can alienate from us, but with our own * deliberate consent; finally, ^{Lib. xi. de} that no Man having passed his consent or deed, ^{Reg. Jur.} may † change it to the prejudice of any other, should we presume to deal with God worse than God hath allowed any Man to deal with us? Albeit therefore we be now free from the Law of Moses, and consequently not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes; yet because Nature hath taught Men to honour God

* Cujus per errorem dati repetitio est, ejus consulto dati donatio est. L. i. D. de cond. indeb. This is the ground of consideration in alienations from Man to Man.

† Nemo potest mutare consilium suum in alterius præjudicium. L. lxxv. de Reg. Jur.

with

BOOK V. with their substance, and Scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion, which for moral considerations hath been thought fittest by him whose wisdom could best judge; furthermore, seeing that the Church of Christ hath long since entered into like obligation, it seemeth in these days a question altogether vain and superfluous, whether Tithes be a matter of divine right: because howsoever at the first, it might have been thought doubtful, our case is clearly the same now with theirs unto whom St. Peter

Acts v. 4. fometime spake, saying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine.* When our Tithes might have probably seemed our own, we had colour of liberty to use them as we ourselves saw good. But having made them his whose they are, let us be warned by other Men's example what it is *νοσφίσασθαι*, to wash or clip that coin which hath on it the mark of God. For that all these are his possessions, and that he doth himself so reckon them, appeareth by the form of his own speeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou shalt give them me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My House shall be called the House of Prayer*; touching Tithes, *Will a Man spoil God?* Yet behold, even me your God ye have *spoiled, notwithstanding ye ask wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what injury there hath been offered in Tithes: ye are heavily accursed, because with a kind of publick consent ye have joined yourselves in one to rob me, imagining the commonness of your offence to be every Man's particular justification; touching Lands, *Ye shall offer to the Lord a sacred portion of ground, and that sacred portion shall belong to the Priests.* Neither did God only thus ordain amongst the Jews; but the very purpose, intent, and meaning of all that have honoured him with their substance, was to invest him with the property of those benefits, the use whereof must needs be

Exod. xxii.
29, 30.
Mat. xxi.
13.
Mal. iii. 8.

Ezech. xlv.
3, 4.

* Non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit. L. lxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

committed to the hands of Men. In which respect BOOK V.
 the style of ancient Grants and Charters, is, *We have* Mag. Char.
given unto God both for us, and our Heirs for ever. Yea, c. i.
We know, faith Charles the Great, that the goods of the
Church are the sacred endowments of God, to the Lord our Capit. Ca-
God we offer and dedicate whatsoever we deliver unto his rol. l. vi.
Church. Whereupon the Laws Imperial do likewise c. 284.
 divide all things in such fort, that they make some to
 belong by right of Nature indifferently unto every
 Man, some to be the certain goods and possessions of
 Common-weals, some to appertain unto severall Cor-
 porations and Companies of Men, some to be pri-
 vately Men's own in particular, and some to be sepa-
 rated quite * from all Men; which last branch com-
 priseth things sacred and holy, because thereof God
 alone is Owner. The sequel of which received opinion,
 as well without as within the walls of the House of
 God touching such possessions, is, as hath been ever,
 that there is not an act more honourable than by all
 means to amplify and to defend the patrimony of
 Religion, not any more † impious and hateful than to
 impair those possessions which Men in former times,
 when they gave unto holy uses, were wont at the Altar
 of God, and in the presence of their ghostly superiors,
 to make as they thought inviolable by words of fear-
 ful execration, saying, *These things we offer to God,*
from whom if any take them away (which we hope no
Man will attempt to do), but if any shall, let his account
be without favour in the last day, when he cometh to re-
ceive the doom which is due for Sacrilege against that
Lord and God unto whom we dedicate the same. The best
 and most renowned Prelates of the Church of Christ
 have in this consideration rather sustained the wrath,
 than yielded to satisfy the hard desire of their greatest

* Nullius autem sunt res sacræ et religiosæ et sanctæ. Quod enim divini juris est, id nullius in bonis est. Inst. l. ii. tit. i.

† Soli cum Diis sacrilegi pugnans. Curt. l. vii. Sacrum sacrove commendatum qui demserit rapseritve, parricida esto. Leg. xii. tab. Capit. Carol. l. vi. c. 285.

BOOK V. Commanders on Earth, coveting with ill advice and counsel that which they willingly should have suffered God to enjoy. There are of Martyrs, whom posterity doth much honour, for that having under their hands the custody of such * treasures, they could by virtuous delusion invent how to save them from prey, even when the safety of their own lives they gladly neglected; as one, sometime an Archdeacon under Xistus the Bishop of Rome, did, whom when his Judge understood to be one of the Church-stewards, thirst of blood began to flake, and another humour to work, which first by a favourable countenance, and then by quiet speech did thus calmly disclose itself: *You that profess the Christian Religion make great complaint of the wonderful cruelty we shew towards you. Neither peradventure altogether without cause. But for myself, I am far from any such bloody purpose. Ye are not so willing to live, as I unwilling that out of these lips should proceed any capital sentence against you. Your Bishops are said to have rich vessels of gold and silver, which they use in the exercise of their Religion; besides the same is, that numbers sell away their lands and livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers; by which means the devotion, that maketh them and their whole Posterity poor, must needs mightily enrich you, whose God we know was no coiner of money, but left behind him many wholesome and good Precepts, as namely, that Caesar should have of you the things that are fit for, and due to Caesar. His wars are costly and chargeable unto him. That which you suffer to rust in corners, the affairs of the Commonwealth do need. Your profession is not to make account of things transitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forego that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both safety of life, and freedom of using your conscience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth. Which fair parly the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it necessary to make*

* Deposita pietatis. Tertul. Apologet. Prudent. Peristeph.

some shift for the safe concealment of that, which being now desired, was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards sought, he craved respite for three days to gather the riches of the Church together, in which space against the time the Governor should come to the doors of the Temple, big with hope to receive his prey, a miserable rank of poor, lame and impotent Persons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true inventory of the Church's goods, and some few words used to signify how proud the Church was of these treasures. If Men did not naturally abhor Sacrilege, to resist and defeat so impious attempts would deserve small praise. But such is the general detestation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or war more uphold Men's reputation than prosperous success, because in common construction, unless notorious improbity be joined with prosperity, it seemeth to argue favour with God; they which once have stained their hands with these odious spoils do thereby fasten unto all their actions an eternal prejudice, in respect whereof, for that it passeth through the World as an undoubted rule and principle that Sacrilege is open defiance to God, whatsoever afterwards they undertake, if they prosper in it, Men reckon it but Dionysius his navigation; and if any thing befall them otherwise, it is not, as commonly, so in them ascribed to the great uncertainty of casual events, wherein the providence of God doth controul the purposes of Men oftentimes much more for their good, than if all things did answer fully their hearts desire, but the censure of the World is ever directly against them both * bitter and peremptory. To make such actions

* *Novimus multa regna, et reges eorum, propterea cecidisse; quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, Episcopisque et Sacerdotibus, atque, quod magis est, Ecclesiis eorum abstulerunt, et pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt; sed terga multi vulnerati, et plures interfecti verterunt,*
regnaque

BOOK V. therefore less odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many colourable shifts and inventions have been used, as if the World did hate only wolves, and think the fox a goodly creature. The * time it may be will come, when they that either violently have spoiled, or thus smoothly defrauded God, shall find they did but deceive themselves. In the mean while there will be always some skilful Persons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with jaws that shall scarce move, and yet devour in the end more than they that come ravening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an instant; others also, who having wastefully eaten out their own patrimony would be glad to repair, if they might, their decayed estates with the ruin they care not of what nor of whom, so the spoil was theirs; whereof in some part if they happen to speed, yet commonly they are Men born under that constellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to enrich themselves as they are ready to impoverish others; it is their lot to sustain during life both the misery of Beggars and the infamy of Robbers. But though no other plague and revenge should follow sacrilegious violations of holy things, the natural secret disgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of such actions in the eye of a wise understanding heart, † is itself a heavy punishment. Men of virtuous quality are by this sufficiently moved to beware how they answer and requite the mercies of

regnaque et regiones, et, quod pejus est, regna cœlestia perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt, et hæctenus carent. Verba Carol. Ma. in Capitu. Carol. I. vii. cap. 104.

* Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum

Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque

Oderit.

Virg. Æn. lib. x.

† Ἡ ἴπραγματων ἀρχὴν ἐδεμίαις ἐλάττων ζήμια τοῖς γε σώφροσι.
Demosth. Pœnam non dico legum quas sæpe perrumpunt, sed ipsius turpitudinis quæ acerbissima est non vident. Cic. Offic. I. iii. Impunita tu credes esse quæ invisâ sunt? aut illum supplicium gravius existimas publico odio? Sen. de Benef. I. iii. c. 17.

God

God with injuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not absolutely say concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no case be seized on by Men, or that no obligation, commerce and bargain made between Man and Man, can ever be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certain cases I grant there are, wherein it is not so dark what God himself doth warrant, but that we may safely presume him as willing to forego for our benefit, as always to use and convert to our benefit whatsoever our Religion hath honoured him withal. But surely under the name of that which may be, many things that should not be are often done. By means whereof the Church most commonly for gold hath flannel; and whereas the usual saw of old was *Glaucus bis change*, the Proverb is now, *A Church Bargain*. And for fear lest covetousness alone should linger out the time too much, and not be able to make havock of the House of God, with that expedition which the mortal Enemy thereof did vehemently wish, he hath by certain strong enchantments so deeply bewitched Religion itself, as to make it in the end an earnest Solicitor, and an eloquent Persuader of Sacrilege, urging confidently that the very best service which Men of power can do to Christ, is without any more ceremony to sweep all, and to leave the Church as bare as in the day it was first born; that fulness of bread having made the Children of the Household wanton, it is without any scruple to be taken away from them and thrown to dogs; that they which laid the prices of their lands as offerings at the Apostles' feet, did but sow the seeds of Superstition; that they which endowed Churches with lands, poisoned Religion; that Tythes and Oblations are now in the sight of God as the sacrificed blood of goats; that if we give him our hearts and affections, our goods are better bestowed otherwise; that Irenæus, Polycarp's Disciple, Iren. lib. iv. should not have said, *We offer unto God our goods as* tokens ^{c. 34}

BOOK V. *tokens of thankfulness for that we receive ; neither Origin, He which worshippeth God, must by Gifts and Num. hom. Oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all ; in a word, xi. that to give unto God is error ; reformation of error, to take from the Church that which the blindness of former ages did unwisely give : by these or the like suggestions, received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the Christian World, they have brought to pass that as David doth say of Man, so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Service of God ; The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten years, or if strength do serve unto fourscore, what followeth is likely to be small joy for them whosoever they be that behold it. Thus have the best things been overthrown, not so much by puissance and might of Adversaries, as through defect of counsel in them that should have upheld and defended the same.*

Pfal'm xc.
10.

Of Ordinations lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is, that enter into holy Orders.

80. There are in a Minister of God these four things to be considered, his Ordination which giveth him power to meddle with things sacred ; the charge or portion of the Church allotted unto him for exercise of his office ; the performance of his Duty, according to the exigence of his charge ; and, lastly, the Maintenance which in that respect he receiveth. All Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons which either concern the bestowing or the using of the power of ministerial Order have relation to these four. Of the first we have spoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient discharge of Ecclesiastical Duties, as the body of the People must needs be severed by divers precincts, so the Clergy likewise accordingly distributed. Whereas therefore Religion did first take place in Cities, and in that respect was a cause why the name of Pagans, which properly signifieth a country People, came to be used in common speech for the same that Infidels and unbelievers were ; it followed thereupon that
all

all such Cities had their Ecclesiastical Colleges, consisting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom first the Apostles or their Delegates the Evangelists did both ordain and govern. Such were the Colleges of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Corinth, and the rest where the Apostles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now because Religion and the cure of Souls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them, neither had any one Presbyter his several cure apart, till Evaristus, Bishop in the See of Rome, about the year 112, began to assign precincts unto every Church or Title which the Christians held, and to appoint unto each Presbyter a certain compass whereof himself should take charge alone, the commodiousness of this invention caused all parts of Christendom to follow it, and at the length among the rest our own Churches about the year 636, became divided in like manner. But other distinction of Churches there doth not appear any in the Apostles' Writings, save only, according to those Cities wherein they planted the Gospel of Christ, and erected Ecclesiastical Colleges. Wherefore to ordain *κατὰ πόλιν* throughout every City, and *κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν* throughout every Church, do in them signify the same thing. Churches then neither were, nor could be in so convenient sort limited as now they are; first, by the bounds of each state, and then within each state by more particular precincts, till at the length we descend unto several Congregations, termed Parishes, with far narrower restraint than this name at the first was used. And from hence hath grown their error, who, as oft as they read of the duty which Ecclesiastical Persons are now to perform towards the Church, their manner is always to understand by that Church, some particular Congregation or Parish Church. They suppose that there should now be no Man of Ecclesiastical Order which is not tied to some certain Parish. Because the names of all Church-

Acts xv.]
36.
Apoc. i. 20.

Tit. i. 5.
Acts xiv.
23.

BOOK V. Officers are words of relation, because a Shepherd must have his Flock, a Teacher his Scholars, a Minister his company which he ministereth unto, therefore it seemeth a thing in their eyes absurd and unreasonable that any Man should be ordained a Minister, otherwise than only for some particular Congregation. Perceive they not how by this means they make it unlawful for the Church to employ Men at all in converting Nations? For if so be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Ecclesiastical Function, unless it tie the party admitted unto some particular Parish, then surely a thankless labour it is whereby Men seek the conversion of Infidels which know not Christ, and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their special Congregations and Flocks. But, to the end it may appear how much this one thing among many more hath been mistaken, there is no precept requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in such sort and not otherwise. Albeit therefore the Apostles did make them in that order, yet is not their example such a Law, as without all exception bindeth to, make them in no other order but that. Again, if we will consider that which the Apostles themselves did, surely no Man can justly say, that herein we practise any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained only in each Christian City a College of Presbyters and Deacons to administer holy things. Evaristus did a hundred years after the birth of our Saviour Christ begin the distinction of the Church into Parishes. Presbyters and Deacons having been ordained before to exercise Ecclesiastical Functions in the Church of Rome promiscuously, he was the first that tied them each one to his own station. So that of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more near the Apostles' example, and the tying of them to be made only for particular Congregations may more justly ground itself upon the example of Evaristus than of any Apostle of Christ.

Christ. It hath been the opinion of wise and good BOOK V.
 Men heretofore, that nothing was ever devised more
 singularly beneficial unto God's Church than this
 which our honourable Predecessors have to their
 endless praise found out by the erecting such houses
 of study, as those two most famous Universities do
 contain, and by providing that choice Wits, after
 reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the
 length either enter into that holy vocation for which
 they have been so long nourished and brought up,
 or else give place and suffer others to succeed in their
 rooms, that so the Church may be always furnished
 with a number of Men whose ability being first
 known by publick trial in Church-labours there
 where Men can best judge of them, their calling
 afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be ac-
 cordingly. All this is frustrate, those worthy founda-
 tions we must dissolve, their whole device and re-
 ligious purpose which did erect them is made void,
 their Orders and Statutes are to be cancelled and
 disannulled, in case the Church be forbidden to grant
 any power of order unless it be with restraint to the
 Party ordained unto some particular Parish or Con-
 gregation. Nay, might we not rather affirm of
 Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of
 their Ordination is unto necessary local restraint a
 thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperor Jus-
 tinian doth say of Tutors, *Certæ rei vel causæ tutor*
dari non potest, quia personæ, non causæ vel rei, tutor
datur. He that should grant a tutorship, restraining
 his grant to some one certain thing or cause, should
 do but idly, because Tutors are given for personal
 defence generally, and not for managing of a few
 particular things or causes. So he that ordaining a
 Presbyter or a Deacon should, in the form of Ordi-
 nation, restrain the one or the other to a certain
 place, might with much more reason be thought to
 use a vain and a frivolous addition, than they reason-
 ably to require such local restraint as a thing which

Just. lib. i.
 tit. 14. sect.
 4.

BOOK V. must of necessity concur evermore with all lawful Ordination. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated unto places, but unto functions. In which respect, and in no other, it is that sith they are by virtue thereof bequeathed unto God, severed and sanctified to be employed in his service, which is the highest advancement that mortal creatures on earth can be raised unto, the Church of Christ hath not been acquainted in former ages with any such prophane and unnatural custom, as doth hallow Men with Ecclesiastical Functions of Order only for a time, and then dismisst them again to the common affairs of the world. Whereas, contrariwise from the place or charge where that power hath been exercised, we may be by sundry good and lawful occasions translated, retaining nevertheless the self-same power which was first given. It is some grief to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to uphold it, especially sith they themselves that teach it do not seem to give thereunto any great credit, if we may judge their minds by their actions. There are amongst them that have done the work of Ecclesiastical Persons, sometime in the families of Noblemen, sometime in much more publick and frequent Congregations; there are that have successively gone through perhaps seven or eight particular Churches after this sort; yea, some that at one and the same time have been, some which at this present hour are, in real obligation of Ecclesiastical Duty, and possession of commodity thereto belonging, even in sundry particular Churches within the land; some, there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their liberty, as to be fastened or tied unto any place; some which have bound themselves to one place, only for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given unto other places the like experience and trial of them. All this I presume they would not do, if their persuasion were

were as strict as their words pretend. But for the avoiding of these and such other the like confusions as are incident unto the cause and question whereof we presently treat, there is not any thing more material, than first to separate exactly the nature of the Ministry from the use and exercise thereof; secondly, to know that the only true and proper act of Ordination is to invest Men with that power which doth make them Ministers, by consecrating their persons to God and his service in holy things during term of life, whether they exercise that power or no; thirdly, that to give them a title or charge where to use their Ministry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's Ministers; and therefore the laws which concern only their election or admission unto place of charge, are not applicable to infringe any way their Ordination; fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Constitution, Law, or Canon, is alledged concerning either Ordinations or Elections, we forget not to examine whether the present case be the same which the ancient was, or else do contain some just reason for which it cannot admit altogether the same rules which former affairs of the Church, now altered, did then require. In the question of making Ministers without a title, which to do, they say is a thing unlawful, they should at the very first have considered what the name of Title doth imply, and what affinity or coherence Ordinations have with Titles, which thing observed would plainly have shewed them their own error. They are not ignorant, that when they speak of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Minister in some charge, that the place of charge wherein a Minister doth execute his office requireth some House of God for the People to resort unto, some definite number of Souls unto whom he there administereth holy things, and some certain allowance whereby to sustain life; that the Fathers at the first named Oratories, and Houses of Prayer Titles; thereby signifying how

BOOK V. God was interested in them, and held them as his own possessions. But because they know that the Church had Ministers before Christian Temples and Oratories were, therefore some of them understand by a Title, a definite Congregation of People only, and so deny that any Ordination is lawful which maketh Ministers that have no certain Flock to attend: forgetting how the seventy whom Christ himself did ordain Ministers, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certain charge could be given them. Others referring the name of a Title, especially to the maintenance of the Minister, infringe all Ordination made,* except they which receive Orders be first entituled to a competent Ecclesiastical Benefice, and (which is most ridiculously strange) except besides their present Title to some such Benefice they have likewise some other Title of annual rent or pension whereby they may be relieved, in case, through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment, they grow unable to execute their Ecclesiastical Function. So that every Man lawfully ordained must bring a bow which hath two strings, a Title of present right, and another to provide for future possibility or chance. Into these absurdities and follies they slide by mis-conceiving the true purpose of certain Canons, which indeed have forbidden to ordain a Minister without a Title; not that simply it is unlawful so to ordain, but because it might grow to an inconveniency if the Church did not somewhat restrain that liberty. For, seeing they which have once received Ordination cannot again return into the World, it behoveth them which or-

* Unlawful to ordain a Minister without a Title. *Abstra.* p. 243. et p. 246. The Law requireth, that every one admitted unto Orders having for his present relief some Ecclesiastical Benefice, should also have some other Title unto some annual rent or pension whereby he might be relieved in case he were not able through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment to execute his Ecclesiastical Office and Function.

dain to foresee how such shall be afterwards able to live, lest their poverty and destitution should redound to the disgrace and discredit of their calling. Which evil prevented, those very Laws, which in that respect forbid, do expressly admit Ordinations to be made at large and without Title; namely, if the Party so ordained have of his own for the sustenance of this life; or if the Bishop which giveth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till some place of administration from whence his maintenance may arise be provided for him; or if any other fit and sufficient means be had against the danger before-mentioned. Absolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church, which is or ought to be with us in force, doth make Ordinations at large unlawful; and as the state of the Church doth stand, they are most necessary. If there be any conscience in Men, touching that which they write or speak, let them consider as well what the present condition of all things doth now suffer, as what the Ordinances of former ages did appoint; as well the weight of those causes for which our affairs have altered, as the reasons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predecessors did some time strictly and severely keep that, which for us to observe now is neither meet nor always possible. In this our present cause and controversy, whether any not having Title of right to a Benefice may be lawfully ordained a Minister, is it not manifest in the eyes of all Men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth signify some standing Ecclesiastical Revenue taken out of the treasure of God and allotted to a Spiritual Person, to the end he may use the same and enjoy it as his own for term of life, unless his default cause deprivation, the Clergy for many years after Christ had no other Benefices, but only their canonical portions, or monthly dividends allowed them according to their several degrees and qualities, out of the common stock of such Gifts, Oblations and Tithes,

BOOK V. as the fervour of Christian Piety did then yield?
 ——— Yea, that even when Ministers had their Churches and Flocks assigned unto them in several, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till such time as Bishops and Churches Cathedral being sufficiently endowed with lands, other Presbyters enjoyed, instead of their first Benefices, the Tithes and Profits of their own Congregations whole to themselves? Is it not manifest, that in this Realm, and so in other the like Dominions, where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded on military Laws, and held as in fee under Princes which are not made Heads of the People by force of voluntary election, but born the sovereign Lords of those whole and entire Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitors, obtaining by way of conquest, retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the rest to others with reservation of sovereignty and capital interest; the building of Churches, and consequently the assigning of either Parishes or Benefices was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principal Owners of Land; in which consideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did so far benefit the Church had by common consent granted (as great equity and reason was) a right for them and their Heirs till the World's end, to nominate in those Benefices Men whose quality the Bishop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest, that from hence inevitably such inequality of Parishes hath grown, as causeth some through the multitude of people which have resort unto one Church to be more than any one Man can wield, and some to be of that nature by reason of Chapels annexed that they which are Incumbents should wrong the Church if so be they had not certain Stipendiaries under them, because where the corps of the Profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can be but one Man's, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore

therefore any other reason whereby it may clearly appear 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 untrue their confident asseverations, that only through negligence of popish Prelates the custom of making such kind of Ministers hath prevailed in the Church of Rome against their Canons, and that with us it is expressly against the Laws of our own Government when a Minister doth serve as a stipendiary Curate, which kind of service nevertheless the greatest Rabbins of that part do altogether follow. For howsoever they are both peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendiaries they are, and the labour they bestow is in other Men's Cures; a thing not unlawful for them to do, yet unseemly for them to condemn which practise it. I might here discover the like oversight throughout all their Discourses, made in behalf of the People's pretended right to elect their Ministers before the Bishop may lawfully ordain. But because we have elsewhere at large disputed of popular Elections, and of the right of patronage, wherein is drowned whatsoever the People under any pretence of colour may seem to challenge about admission and choice of the Pastors that shall feed their Souls, I cannot see what one duty there is which always ought to go before Ordination, but only care of the Party's worthiness as well for integrity and virtue as knowledge; yea, for virtue more: inasmuch as defect of knowledge may sundry ways be supplied, but the scandal of vicious and wicked life is a deadly evil.

81. The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that threefold blot or blemish of notable ignorance, unconscionable absence from the Cures whereof Men have taken charge, and unsatiable hunting after spiritual preferments without either care or conscience of the publick good.

Whereof,

Of the Learning that should be in Ministers, their residence and the number of their Livings.

BOOK V. Whereof, to the end that we may consider as in
 God's own sight and presence with all uprightnes,
 sincerity and truth, let us particularly weigh and
 examine in every of them, first, how far forth they
 are reprovably by reasons and maxims of common
 right; secondly, whether that which our Laws do
 permit be repugnant to those maxims, and with what
 equity we ought to judge of things practised in this
 case, neither on the one hand defending that which
 must be acknowledged out of square, nor on the
 other side condemning rashly whom we list for what-
 soever we disallow. Touching arguments therefore
 taken from the principles of common right to prove
 that Ministers should be learned, that they ought to be
 resident upon their Livings, and that more than one
 only Benefice or spiritual Living may not be granted
 unto one Man; the first, because St. Paul requireth
 in a Minister ability to teach, to convince, to distri-
 bute the Word rightly; because also the Lord him-
 self hath protested they shall be no Priests to him
 which have rejected knowledge, and because if the
 blind lead the blind, they must both needs fall into
 the pit; the second, because Teachers are Shepherds
 whose Flocks can be no time secure from danger;
 they are Watchmen whom the Enemy doth always
 besiege; their labours in the Word and Sacrament
 admit no intermission; their duty requireth instruc-
 tion and conference with Men in private; they are
 the living Oracles of God, to whom the People
 must resort for counsel; they are commanded to be
 Patterns of Holiness, Leaders, Feeders, Supervisors
 amongst their own; it should be their grief, as it
 was the Apostles', to be absent, though necessarily,
 from them over whom they have taken charge;
 finally, the last, because Plurality and Residence are
 opposite; because the placing of one Clerk in two
 Churches is a point of merchandize and filthy gain;
 because no Man can serve two Masters; because every
 one should remain in that vocation whereto he is
 called;

T. C. lib.

i. p. 70.
66.

69.

1 Tim. iii.

2.

Titus i. 9.

2 Tim. ii.

15.

Hef. iv. 6.

Matth. xv.

14.

Luke ii. 8.

Acts xx. 2.

1 Sam. i.

19.

1 Tim. iv.

12.

John' x. 4.

1 Pet. v. 2.

Acts xx. 38.

1 Theff. ii.

17.

Coun. Nic.

cap. 15.

Matth. vi.

24.

1 Cor. vii.

24.

called ; what conclude they of all this ? Against Ig- BOOK V.
 norance, against Non-residence, and against Plurality
 of Livings, is there any Man so raw and dull, but
 that the volumes which have been written both of old
 and of late may make him in so plentiful a cause
 eloquent ? For by that which is generally just and
 requisite, we measure what knowledge there should
 be in a Minister of the Gospel of Christ ; the Argu-
 ments which Light of Nature offereth ; the Laws
 and Statutes which Scripture hath ; the Canons that
 are taken out of ancient Synods ; the Decrees and
 Constitutions of sincerest Times ; the Sentences of
 all Antiquity ; and in a word, even every Man's full
 consent and conscience is against Ignorance in them
 that have Charge and Cure of Souls. Again, what
 availeth it if we be learned and not faithful ? or what
 benefit hath the Church of Christ, if there be in us
 sufficiency without endeavour or care to do that good
 which our place exacteth ? Touching the pains and
 industry therefore, wherewith Men are in conscience
 bound to attend the work of their Heavenly Calling,
 even as much as in them lieth bending thereunto
 their whole endeavour, without either fraud, sophis-
 tication, or guile ; I see not what more effectual
 obligation or bond of duty there should be urged,
 than their own only vow and promise made unto God
 himself at the time of their Ordination. The work
 which they have undertaken requireth both care and
 fear. Their sloth, that negligently perform it, maketh
 them subject to malediction. Besides, we also know
 that the fruit of our pains in this Function is life
 both to ourselves and others. And do we yet need
 incitements to labour ? Shali we stop our ears both
 against those conjuring exhortations which Apostles,
 and against the fearful comminations which Pro-
 phets have uttered out of the mouth of God, the
 one for prevention, the other for reformation of our
 sluggishness in this behalf ? Saint Paul, *Attend to* ACTS XX.
yourselfes, and to all the Flock, whereof the Holy Ghost 27.
hath

BOOK V. *hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God*
 ——— *which he hath purchased with his own Blood. Again,*
I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ,
which shall judge the quick and the dead at his coming,
 Jer. xxiii. *preach the Word; be instant. Jeremiah, Woe unto the*
 2. *Pastors that destroy and scatter the Sheep of my Pasture;*
I will visit you for the wickedness of your works, saith
the Lord; the remnant of my Sheep, I will gather to-
 Ezek. *gether out of all countries, and will bring them again to*
 xxxiv. 2. *their folds; they shall grow and increase, and I will set*
up Shepherds over them which shall feed them. Ezekiel,
Should not the Shepherds, should they not feed the Flocks?
Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe yourselves with the wool,
but the weak ye have not strengthened, the sick ye have
not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor
brought home again that which was driven away: ye
have not enquired after that which was lost, but with
cruelty and rigour have ruled. And ver. 8. Wherefore,
as I live, I will require my Sheep at their hands,
nor shall the Shepherds feed themselves any more;
for I will deliver my Sheep from their mouths, they
shall no more devour them. Nor let us think to
 excuse ourselves if haply we labour, though it be at
 random, and sit not altogether idle abroad. For we
 are bound to attend that part of the Flock of Christ,
 whereof the Holy Ghost hath made us Overseers.
 The residence of Ministers upon their own peculiar
 Charge is by so much the rather necessary, for that
 absenting themselves from the place where they ought
 to labour, they neither can do the good which is
 looked for at their hands, nor reap the comfort which
 sweeteneth life to them that spend it in these travels
 upon their own. For it is in this, as in all things
 else which are through private interest dearer than
 what concerneth either others wholly, or us but in
 part, and according to the rate of a general regard.
 As for Plurality, it hath not only the same incon-
 veniencies which are observed to grow by absence;
 but over and besides, at the least in common con-
 struction, a shew of that worldly humour which Men
 do

do think should not reign so high. Now from hence BOOK V.
 their collections are, as followeth; first, a repug-
 nancy or contradiction between the principles of
 common right, and that which our Laws in special
 considerations have allowed; secondly, a nullity or
 frustration of all such acts as are by them supposed
 opposite to those principles, and invalidity in all
 Ordinations of Men unable to preach, and in all
 Dispensations which mitigate the Law of common
 right for the other two. And why so? Forsooth, Abstract. p. 117.
 because whatever we do in these three cases, and not
 by virtue of common right, we must yield it of ne-
 cessity done by warrant of peculiar right or Privi-
 lege. Now a Privilege is said to be that, that for
 favour of certain Persons cometh forth against com-
 mon right; things prohibited are dispensed with,
 because things permitted are dispatched by common
 right, but things forbidden require Dispensations.
 By which descriptions of a Privilege and Dispensation
 it is (they say) apparent, that a Privilege must license
 and authorize the same which the Law against ig-
 norance, non-residence, and plurality doth infringe;
 and so be a Law contrariant or repugnant to the
 Law of Nature and the Law of God, because all the
 reasons whereupon the positive Law of Man against
 these three was first established are taken and drawn
 from the Law of Nature and the Law of God. For
 answer whereunto we will but lead them to answer
 themselves. First therefore if they will grant (as
 they must) that all direct oppositions of speech re-
 quire one and the self-same subject to be meant on
 both parts where opposition is pretended, it will
 follow that either the maxims of common right do
 enforce the very same things not to be good which
 we say are good, grounding ourselves on the reasons
 by virtue whereof our Privileges are established, or
 if the one do not reach unto that particular subject
 for which the other have provided, then is there no
 contradiction between them. In all contradictions,
 if the one part be true, the other eternally must be
 false,

BOOK V. false. And therefore if the principles of common right do at any time truly enforce that particular not to be good which Privileges make good, it argueth invincibly that such Privileges have been grounded upon some error. But to say, that every Privilege is opposite unto the principles of common right, because it dispenseth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath gross absurdity. For the voice of Equity and Justice is, that a general Law doth never derogate from a special Privilege; whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a general Law being in force should always dissolve a Privilege. The reason why many are deceived by imagining that so it should do, and why Men of better insight conclude directly it should not, doth rest in the subject or matter itself; which matter indefinitely considered in Laws of common right, is in Privileges considered as beset and limited, with special circumstances; by means whereof to them which respect it but by way of generality, it seemeth one and the same in both, although it be not the same, if once we descend to particular consideration thereof. Precepts do always propose perfection, not such as none can attain unto, for then in vain should we ask or require it at the hands of Men, but such perfection as all Men must aim at; to the end that as largely as human providence and care can extend it, it may take place. Moral Laws are the rules of politick; those politick, which are made to order the whole Church of God, rules unto all particular Churches; and the Laws of every particular Church, rules unto every particular Man within the body of the same Church: now, because the higher we ascend in these rules, the further still we remove from those specialties, which being proper to the subject, whereupon our actions must work, and therefore chiefly considered by us, by them least thought upon that wade altogether in the two first kinds of general directions, their judgment cannot be exact and sound concerning either Laws of Churches, or actions of Men in particular,
because

because they determine of effects by a part of the ^{BOOK V.} causes only out of which they grow; they judge conclusions by demi-premises and half-principles; they lay them in the balance stript from those necessary material circumstances which should give them weight; and by shew of falling uneven with the scale of most universal and abstracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reason why Men altogether conversant in study do know how to teach, but not how to govern; Men experienced contrariwise govern well, yet know not which way to set down orderly the precepts and reasons of that they do. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, must join with his forms and conceits of general speculation the matter wherein our actions are conversant. For by this shall appear what equity there is in those Privileges and peculiar grants or favours which otherwise will seem repugnant to Justice, and because in themselves considered they have a shew of repugnancy, this deceiveth those great Clerks, which hearing a Privilege defined to be ** an especial right brought in by their power and authority that make it for some publick benefit against the general course of reason*, are not able to comprehend how the word *against* doth import exception without any opposition at all. For inasmuch as the hand of Justice must distribute to every particular what is due, and judge what is due with respect had no less of particular circumstances than of general rules and axioms; it cannot fit all sorts with one measure, the wills, counsels, qualities and states of Men being divers. For example, the Law of common right bindeth all Men to keep their Promises, perform their Compacts, and answer the Faith they have given either

* Jus singulare est, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem auctoritate constituentium introductum est. Paulus ff. de Legib.

BOOK V. for themselves or others. Notwithstanding he which bargaineth with one under years can have no benefit by this allegation, because he bringeth it against a Person which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain Men from the Law of common right is against God, against Nature, against whatsoever may avail to strengthen and justify that Law before alledged; or else acknowledge (as the truth is) that special causes are to be ordered by special rules; that if Men grown unto ripe age disadvantage themselves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done is strong and in force against them, because they are able to dispose and manage their own affairs; whereas youth for lack of experience and judgment, being easily subject to circumvention, is therefore justly exempt from the Law of common right whereunto the rest are justly subject? This plain inequality between Men of years and under years is a cause why Equity and Justice cannot apply equally the same general rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a special Privilege. Privileges are either transitory or permanent: transitory, such as serve only some one turn, or at the most extend no farther than to this or that Man,* with the end of whose natural life they expire; permanent, such as the use whereof doth continue still, for that they belong unto certain kinds of Men and causes which never die. Of this nature are all immunities and pre-eminences, which for just considerations one sort of Men enjoyeth above another both in the Church and Common-wealth, no Man suspecting them of contrariety to any branch of those Laws or Reasons whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being general Laws and Rules whereby it can-

* Privilegium personale cum persona extinguitur, et privilegium datum actioni transit cum actione. Op. de Regulis, p. 1. 227.

not be denied but the Church of God standeth bound BOOK V.
 to provide that the Ministry may be learned, that they which have charge may reside upon it, and that it may not be free for them in scandalous manner to multiply Ecclesiastical Livings; it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the Laws of the Church of England do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what special consideration they seem to admit the same. Considering, therefore, that to furnish all places of Cure of this Realm, it is not an army of twelve thousand learned Men that would suffice, nor two Universities that can always furnish as many as decay in so great a number, nor a fourth part of the Livings with Cure, that when they fall are able to yield sufficient maintenance for learned Men, is it not plain that, unless the greatest part of the People should be left utterly without the publick use and exercise of Religion, there is no remedy but to take into the Ecclesiastical Order a number of Men meanly qualified in respect of Learning? For whatsoever we may imagine in our private closets, or talk for communication sake at our boards, yea, or write in our books through a notional conceit of things needful for performance of each Man's duty, if once we come from the theory of Learning, to take out so many learned Men, let them be diligently viewed out of whom the choice shall be made, and thereby an estimate made what degree of skill we must either admit or else leave numbers utterly destitute of Guides, and I doubt not but that Men endued with sense of common equity will soon discern, that, besides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to descend to a lower step, receiving knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When we commend any Man for Learning, our speech importeth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when Laws do require Learning as a quality, which maketh capable of any function,

BOOK V. our measure to judge a learned Man by must be
 — some certain degree of Learning, beneath which we
 can hold no Man so qualified. And if every Man
 that listeth may set that degree himself, how shall we
 ever know when Laws are broken, when kept, see-
 ing one Man may think a lower degree sufficient,
 another may judge them insufficient that are not qua-
 lified in some higher degree? Wherefore of necessity
 either we must have some Judge, in whose conscience
 they that are thought and pronounced sufficient are
 to be so accepted and taken, or else the Law itself is
 to set down the very lowest degree of fitness that
 shall be allowable in this kind. So that the question
 doth grow to this issue. St. Paul requireth Learn-
 ing in Presbyters, yea such Learning as doth enable
 them to exhort in Doctrine which is sound, and to
 disprove them that gainsay it. What measure of
 ability in such things shall serve to make Men ca-
 pable of that kind of office he doth not himself
 precisely determine, but referreth it to the conscience
 of Titus, and others which had to deal in ordaining
 Presbyters. We must therefore of necessity make
 this demand, whether the Church, lacking such as
 the Apostle would have chosen, may with good
 conscience take out of such as it hath in a meaner
 degree of fitness, them that may serve to perform
 the service of publick Prayer, to minister the Sacra-
 ments unto the People, to solemnize Marriage, to
 visit the Sick, and bury the Dead, to instruct by
 reading, although by preaching they be not as yet so
 able to benefit and feed Christ's Flock. We con-
 stantly hold, that in this case the Apostle's Law is
 not broken. He requireth more in Presbyters than
 there is found in many whom the Church of Eng-
 land alloweth. But no Man being tied unto impos-
 sibilities, to do that we cannot we are not bound.
 It is but a stratagem of theirs therefore, and a very
 indirect practice, when they publish large declama-
 tions to prove that Learning is required in the Mi-
 nistry,

Tit. i. 9.

nistry, and to make the silly People believe that the BOOK V. contrary is maintained by the Bishops, and upheld by the Laws of the Land; whereas the question in truth is not whether Learning be required, but whether a Church, wherein there is not sufficient store of learned Men to furnish all Congregations, should do better to let thousands of Souls grow savage, to let them live without any publick service of God, to let their Children die unbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this World like Pagans, without any thing so much as read unto them concerning the way of life, than, as it doth in this necessity, to make such Presbyters as are so far forth sufficient, although they want that ability of preaching which some others have. In this point therefore we obey necessity, and of two evils we take the less; in the rest a publick utility is sought, and in regard thereof some certain inconveniencies tolerated because they are recompensed with greater good. The Law giveth liberty of Non-residence for a time to such as will live in Universities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that so they may afterwards the more edify and the better instruct their Congregations. The Church in their absence is not destitute, the People's salvation not neglected for the present time, the time of their absence is in the intendment of Law bestowed to the Church's great advantage and benefit; those necessary helps are procured by it, which turn by many degrees more to the People's comfort in time to come, than if their Pastors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in some part to remedy and help that evil which the former necessity hath imposed upon the Church. For compare two Men of equal meanness, the one perpetually resident, the other absent for a space in such sort as the Law permitteth. Allot unto both some nine years continuance with Cure of Souls. And must not three years absence

BOOK V. in all probability and likelihood make the one more profitable than the other unto God's Church, by so much as the increase of his knowledge, gotten in those three years, may add unto six years travail following? For the greater ability there is added to the instrument, wherewith it pleaseth God to save Souls, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwise hardlier effected. As much may be said touching absence granted to them that attend in the families of Bishops; which Schools of gravity, discretion and wisdom, preparing Men against the time that they come to reside abroad, are, in my poor opinion, even the fittest places that any ingenious mind can wish to enter into, between departure from private study and access to a more publick charge of Souls; yea no less expedient for Men of the best sufficiency and most maturity in knowledge, than the very Universities themselves are, for the ripening of such as be raw. Employments in the families of Noblemen, or in Princes' courts, hath another end for which the self-same leave is given, not without great respect to the good of the whole Church. For assuredly, whosoever doth well observe how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbs, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the Angels assisting them should be driven to betake themselves to other stations, although by Nature they were not tied where they now are, but had charge also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending their rooms above should become vacant. For we are not to dream in this case of any platform which bringeth equally high and low unto Parish Churches, nor of any constraint to maintain at their own charge Men sufficient for that purpose; the one so repugnant to the majesty and greatness of English Nobility, the other so improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of
 both,

both, seem not indeed to have conceived what either BOOK V. is. But the eye of the Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and secret dispositions of Men, it beholdeth how far one star differeth from another in glory, and as Men's several degrees require, accordingly it guideth them; granting unto principal Personages Privileges correspondent to their high estates, and that not only in civil, but even in spiritual affairs, to the end they may love that Religion the more, which no way seeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminishes their dignity and greatness, but to do them good doth them honour also, and by such extraordinary favours teacheth them to be in the Church of God, the same which the Church of God esteemeth them, more worth than thousands. It appeareth therefore in what respect the Laws of this Realm have given liberty of Non-residence to some, that their knowledge may be increased, and their labours by that mean be made afterwards the more profitable to others, lest the houses of great Men should want that daily exercise of Religion, wherein their example availeth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the Laws themselves with the common sort. A third thing respected both in permitting absence, and also in granting to some that liberty of addition or Plurality, which necessarily enforceth their absence, is a mere both just and conscionable regard that as Men are in quality, and as their services are in weight for the publick good, so likewise their rewards and encouragements by special Privilege of Law might somewhat declare how the State itself doth accept their pains, much abhorring from their bestial and savage rudeness, which think that oxen should only labour, and asses feed. Thus to Readers in Universities, whose very paper and book-expences their ancient allowances and stipends at this day do either not, or hardly sustain; to Governors of Colleges, lest the great overplus of charges necessarily enforced upon

BOOK V. them, by reason of their place, and very slenderly supplied, by means of that charge in the present condition of things which their Founders could not foresee; to Men called away from their Cures, and employed in weightier business either of the Church or Commonwealth, because to impose upon them a burden which requireth their absence, and not to release them from the duty of Residence, were a kind of cruel and barbarous injustice; to Residents in Cathedral Churches, or upon Dignities Ecclesiastical, inasmuch as these being rooms of greater hospitality, places of more respect and consequence than the rest, they are the rather to be furnished with Men of best quality, and the Men for their quality's sake to be favoured above others—I say unto all these, in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore given leave while themselves bear weightier burdens, to supply inferior by reputation, and in like consideration partly, partly also by way of honour to Learning, Nobility, and Authority, permitteth, that Men which have taken Theological Degrees in Schools, the Suffragans of Bishops, the Household Chaplains of Men of Honour or in great Offices, the Brethren and Sons of Lords Temporal, or of Knights, if God shall move the hearts of such to enter at any time into holy Orders, may obtain to themselves a faculty or licence to hold two Ecclesiastical Livings though having Cure; any spiritual Persons of the Queen's Council, three such Livings; her Chaplains, what number of promotions herself in her own princely wisdom thinketh good to bestow upon them. But, as it fareth in such cases, the gap which for just considerations we open unto some, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom such favours were neither meant nor should be communicated. The greatness of the Harvest, and the scarcity of able Workmen hath made it necessary that Law should yield to admit numbers of Men but slenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon, because
whom

whom all other worldly hopes have forsaken, they commonly reserve ministerial vocation as their last and surest refuge ever open to forlorn Men; the Church, that should nourish them whose service she needeth, hath obtruded upon her their service that know not otherwise how to live and sustain themselves. These finding nothing more easy than means to procure the writing of a few lines to some one or other which hath authority, and nothing more usual than too much facility in condescending unto such requests, are often received into that vocation whereunto their unworthiness is no small disgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of Jeroboam's prophane apostacy, than that he chose to have his Clergy the scum and refuse of his whole land? Let no Man spare to tell it them, that they are not faithful towards God that burden wilfully his Church with such swarms of unworthy creatures. I will not say of all degrees in the Ministry, that which St. Chrysoftom doth of the highest, *He that will undertake so weighty a charge, had need to be a Man of great understanding, rarely assisted with divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other virtues, to have in him more than a Man: but surely this I will say with Chrysoftom, We need not doubt whether God be highly displeas'd with us, or what the cause of his anger is, if things of so great fear and holiness as are the least and lowest duties of his service, be thrown wilfully on them whose not only mean, but bad and scandalous quality doth defile whatsoever they handle.* These eye-fores and blemishes in continual Attendants about the service of God's Sanctuary, do make them every day fewer that willingly resort unto it, till at length all affection and zeal towards God be extinct in them through a wearisome contempt of their persons, which for a time only live by Religion, and are for recompence, in fine, the death of the nurse that feedeth them. It is not obscure, how incommodiuous the Church hath found both this abuse of the liberty

Chrysoft. de
Sacerd. lib.
iii. c. 15.

BOOK V. which Law is enforced to grant; and not only this; but the like abuse of that favour also which Law in other considerations already mentioned afforded touching Residence and Plurality of spiritual Livings. Now that which is practised corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church against the purpose of those very Laws which notwithstanding are pretended in defence and justification thereof, we must needs acknowledge no less repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants to the principles of just Sovereignty. Howbeit not so those special Privileges which are but instruments wrested and forced to serve malice. There is in the Patriarch of heathen Philosophers this Precept, * *Let no Husbandman nor no Handicraftsman be a Priest.* The reason whereupon he groundeth is a maxim in the Law of Nature; *it importeth greatly the good of all Men that God be revered,* with whose honour it standeth not that they which are publicly employed in his service should live of base and manuary trades. Now compare herewith the Apostle's words, *Ye know that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and them that are with me.* What think we? Did the Apostle any thing opposite herein, or repugnant to the rules and maxims of the Law of Nature? The self-same reasons, that accord his actions with the Law of Nature, shall declare our Privileges and his Laws no less consonant. Thus therefore we see, that although they urge very colourably the Apostle's own sentences, requiring that a Minister should be able to divide rightly the Word of God, that they who are placed in charge should attend unto it themselves, which in absence they cannot do, and that they which have divers Cures must of necessity be absent from some, whereby the Law apostolick seem-

Act. x.
16.
1 Cor. iv.
12.
1 Theff. ii.
6.
2 Theff. iii.
5.

* Οὔτε γεωργὸν ἔτε βάναισον ἱερεῖα καλασάσειον ὑπὸ γῶ τῶν πολιτικῶν κρέπει τιμᾶσαι τὰς θεῶς. Arist. Po. vii. c. 9.

eth apparently broken, which Law requiring attend-^{BOOK V,}ance cannot otherwise be understood than so as to charge them with perpetual Residence: again, though in every of these causes they indefinitely heap up the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient edicts of imperial authority, our own national Laws and Ordinances prohibiting the same, and grounding evermore their prohibitions partly on the Laws of God, and partly on reasons drawn from the Light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and infer contradiction between those Laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain cases have allowed the ordaining of sundry Ministers whose sufficiency for Learning is but mean; again, the licensing of some to be absent from their Flocks, and of others to hold more than one only Living which hath Cure of Souls, I say, to conclude repugnancy between these especial permissions and the former general prohibitions which set not down their own limits, is erroneous, and the manifest cause thereof ignorance in difference of matter which both sorts of Law concern. If then the considerations be reasonable, just and good, whereupon we ground whatsoever our Laws have by special right permitted, if only the effects of abused Privileges be repugnant to the maxims of common right, this main foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatsoever they have built thereupon falleth necessarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon surmise, or vain supposal of opposition between our special and the principles of common right, they gather that such as are with us ordained Ministers, before they can preach be neither lawful, because the Laws already mentioned forbid generally to create such, neither are they indeed Ministers, although we commonly so name them, but whatsoever they execute by virtue of such their pretended vocation is void; that all our grants and tolerations, as well of this as the rest, are frustrate and of no effect; the Persons that enjoy them possess them

BOOK V. them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all hours; finally, that other just and sufficient remedy of evils there can be none, besides the utter abrogation of these our mitigations, and the strict establishment of former Ordinances to be absolutely executed whatsoever follow: albeit the answer already made in discovery of the weak and unsound foundation whereupon they have built these erroneous collections may be thought sufficient; yet because our desire is rather to satisfy, if it be possible, than to shake them off, we are with very good will contented to declare the causes of all particulars more formally and largely than the equity of our own defence doth require.

There is crept into the minds of Men, at this day, a secret pernicious and pestilent conceit, that the greatest perfection of a Christian Man doth consist in discovery of other Men's faults, and in wit to discourse of our own profession. When the World most abounded with just, righteous and perfect Men, their chiefest study was the exercise of piety, wherein for their safest direction they reverently hearkened to the readings of the Law of God, they kept in mind the Oracles and Aphorisms of Wisdom which tended unto virtuous life; if any scruple of conscience did trouble them for matter of actions which they took in hand, nothing was attempted before counsel and advice were had for fear lest rashly they might offend. We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgment is riper, but because our desires are another way. Their scope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeavour was reformation of life, *our virtue nothing but to hear gladly the reproof of vice; they in the practice of

* Ἄλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράττεον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οὐκ ἔβουλον φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ ἕτως ἔσειδον σπευδαῖσι ὁμοίον τι ποιῶντες τοῖς κήρυξι, οἳ δὲ ἱατρῶν ἀκούουσι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιῶσι δὲ ἕθεν ἢ προσασπιόμεναι ὡς περ ἐν ἕδῃ ἐκείνῃ εὐ ἔχει τὸ σῶμα ἔτι θεραπευόμενοι, ἕδῃ ἔστι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔτι φιλοσοφῶντες. Arist. Eth. lib. ii. c. 5.

their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, BOOK V.
 we especially our ears and tongues. We are grown
 as in many things else, so in this, to a kind of in-
 temperancy, which (only Sermons excepted) hath
 almost brought all other duties of Religion out of
 taste. At the least they are not in that account and
 reputation which they should be. Now, because
 Men bring all Religion in a manner to the only
 office of hearing Sermons, if it chance that they who
 are thus conceited do embrace any special opinion
 different from other Men, the Sermons that relish
 not that opinion can in no wise please their appetite.
 Such therefore as preach unto them, but hit not the
 string they look for, are respected as unprofitable,
 the rest as unlawful; and indeed no Ministers, if the
 faculty of Sermons want. For why? A Minister of
 the Word should, they say, be able rightly to *divide*
 the Word. Which Apostolick Canon many think they
 do well observe, when in opening the sentences of
 holy Scripture they draw all things favourably spoken
 unto one side; but whatsoever is reprehensive, severe
 and sharp, they have others on the contrary part
 whom that must always concern, by which their
 over-partial and un-indifferent proceeding, while
 they thus labour amongst the People to divide the
 Word, they make the Word a mean to divide and
 distract the People. *Ὁρθοδοτομεῖν* to divide aright, doth
 note in the Apostles' Writings soundness of Doctrine
 only; and in meaning standeth opposite to *καινοτομεῖν*
the broaching of new opinions against that which is re-
ceived. For questionless the first things delivered to
 the Church of Christ were pure and sincere Truth;
 which whosoever did afterwards oppugn could not
 choose but divide the Church into two moieties; in
 which division, such as taught what was first be-
 lieved, held the truer part; the contrary side, in
 that they were Teachers of novelty, erred. For
 prevention of which evil there are in this Church
 many singular and devised remedies; as namely, the
 use

BOOK V. use of subscribing to the Articles of Religion before admission to Degrees of Learning or to any Ecclesiastical Living; the custom of reading the same Articles, and of approving them in publick Assemblies wheresoever Men have Benefices with Cure of Souls; the order of testifying under their hands allowance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Book of ordaining Ministers; finally, the discipline and moderate severity which is used either in otherwise correcting or silencing them that trouble and disturb the Church with Doctrines which tend unto innovation; it being better that the Church should want altogether the benefit of such Men's labours, than endure the mischief of their inconformity to good Laws; in which case, if any repine at the course and proceedings of Justice, they must learn to content themselves with the answer of M. Curius, which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the body of the Commonwealth; in whose behalf because it might have been pleaded that the Party was a Man serviceable, he therefore began his judicial sentence with this preamble, *Non esse opus Reip. eo civi qui parere nesciret; The Commonwealth needeth Men of quality, yet never those Men which have not learned how to obey.* But the ways which the Church of England hath taken to provide that they who are Teachers of others may do it soundly, that the purity and unity as well of ancient Discipline as Doctrine may be upheld, that avoiding singularities we may all glorify God with one heart and one tongue, they of all do least approve that do most urge the Apostles' Rule and Canon. For which cause they alledge it not so much to that purpose, as to prove that unpreaching Ministers (for so they term them) can have no true nor lawful calling in the Church of God. St. Augustin hath said of the will of Man, that *simply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our well-willing is from Grace.* We say as much of the Ministers of God, *publickly to teach and instruct the Church, is necessary in every*

Valer. lib.
vi. c. 5.

every Ecclesiastical Minister; but ability to teach by Sermons is a grace which God doth bestow on them whom he maketh sufficient for the commendable discharge of their duty. That therefore wherein a Minister differeth from other Christian Men is not, as some have childishly imagined, the *sound preaching of the Word of God*; but as they are lawfully and truly Governors to whom authority of Regiment is given in the Commonwealth according to the order which Polity hath set, so Canonical Ordination in the Church of Christ is that which maketh a lawful Minister *as touching the validity of any act which appertaineth to that Vocation*. The cause why St. Paul willed Timothy not to be over-hasty in ordaining Ministers, was (as we very well may conjecture) because imposition of hands doth consecrate and make them Ministers whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable discharge of their duties or no. If want of learning and skill to preach did frustrate their vocation, Ministers ordained before they be grown unto that maturity should receive new Ordination whensoever it chanceth that study and industry doth make them afterwards more able to perform the office; than which what conceit can be more absurd? Was not St. Augustin himself contented to admit an Assistant in his own Church, a Man of small erudition, considering that what he wanted in knowledge was supplied by those virtues which made his life a better orator than more learning could make others whose conversation was less holy? Were the Priests sithence Moses all able and sufficient Men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? Or was it ever imagined that this defect should frustrate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by virtue of their Priesthood? Surely, as in Magistrates the want of those gifts which their office needeth is cause of just imputation of blame in them that wittingly choose insufficient and unfit Men when they might do otherwise, and yet therefore is not their choice

BOOK V.

Ox. man.

p. 27.

BOOK V. choice void, nor every action of Magistracy frustrate
 ——— in that respect; so whether it were of necessity, or even of very carelessness that Men unable to preach should be taken in Pastors' rooms, nevertheless it seemeth to be an error in them which think the lack of any such perfection defeateth utterly their calling. To wish that all Men were qualified as their place and dignities require, to hate all sinister and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any lett, to covet speedy redress of those things whatsoever whereby the Church sustaineth detriment, these good and virtuous desires cannot offend any but ungodly minds. Notwithstanding, some in the true vehemency, and others under the fair pretence of these desires, have adventured that which is strange, that which is violent and unjust. There are which in confidence of their general allegation concerning the knowledge, the Residence and the single Livings of Ministers, presume not only to annihilate the solemn Ordinations of such as the Church must of force admit, but also to urge a kind of universal proscription against them to set down Articles, to draw Commissions, and almost to name themselves of the Quorum, for inquiry into Men's estates and dealings, whom at their pleasure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what punishment themselves list, and that not for any violation of Laws either spiritual or civil, but because Men have trusted the Laws too far, because they have held and enjoyed the liberty which Law granteth, because they had not the wit to conceive as these Men do, that Laws were made to entrap the simple, by permitting those things in shew and appearance which indeed should never take effect, forasmuch as they were but granted with a secret condition to be put in practice if they should be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God; which condition failing in all Ministers that cannot preach, in all that are absent from their Livings, and in all that have divers Livings (for so it must be presumed, though never as yet proved) therefore

The Author
 of the Ab-
 stract.

as Men which have broken the Law of God and Nature they are deprivable at all hours. Is this the justice of that Discipline whereunto all Christian Churches must stoop and submit themselves? Is this the equity wherewith they labour to reform the World? I will no way diminish the force of those Arguments whereupon they ground: but if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another glass, there are Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Unsufficiencies, Non-residences, and Pluralities; yea the reasons which Light of Nature hath ministered against both are of such affinity, that much less they cannot enforce in the one than in the other. When they that bear great offices be Persons of mean worth, the contempt whereinto their authority groweth * weakeneth the sinews of the whole State. Notwithstanding, where many Governors are needful, and they not many whom their quality can commend, † the penury of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of Men capable. Cities, in the absence of their Governors, are as ships wanting pilots at sea: but were it therefore ‡ justice to punish whom superior authority pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elsewhere? In committing § many offices to one Man there are apparently these inconveniencies; the Commonwealth doth lose the benefit of serviceable Men which might be trained up in those rooms; it is not easy for one Man to discharge many Men's duties well; in service of

BOOK V.

* Μεγάλων κύριοι καθεστῶτες ἀν' ἐυτελεῖς ὡς μεγάλα βλάττεισι. Arist. Polit. ii. c. 11.

† Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria-meliorum solere deferri. Mamertin. Paneg. ad Julian.

‡ Neque enim æquum visum est absentem Reipub. causa inter reos referri dum Reipub. operatur. Ulpian. l. xv. Si maritus ad legem Julian. de Adulter.

§ Arist. Polit. l. i. c. 11. See the like Preamble framed by the Author of the Abstract, where he fancieth a Bishop deposing one unapt to preach, whom himself had before ordained.

BOOK V. warfare and navigation, were it not the overthrow of
 ——— whatsoever is undertaken if one or two should ingross such offices, as being now divided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Nevertheless, be it far from the mind of any reasonable Man to imagine, that in these considerations Princes either ought of duty to revoke all such kind of grants, though made with very special respect to the extraordinary merit of certain Men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their offices with speech to this or the like effect: *Forasmuch as you A. B. by the space of many years have done us that faithful service in most important affairs, for which we always judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time very great and weighty offices, which hitherto you quietly enjoy; we are now given to understand, that certain grave and learned Men have found in the books of ancient Philosophers divers Arguments drawn from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderful discommodities which use to grow by dignities thus heaped together in one; for which cause, at this present, moved in conscience and tender care for the publick good, we have summoned you hither to dispossess you of those places, and to depose you from those rooms whereof indeed by virtue of our own grant, yet against Reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other to think us rash, light, or inconstant, in so doing: for we tell you plain, that herein we will both say and do that thing which the noble and wise Emperor sometime both said and did in a matter of far less weight than this; Quod inconsulto fecimus, consulto revocamus, That which we unadvisedly have done, we advisedly will revoke and undo.* Now for mine own part the greatest harm I would wish them who think that this were consonant with equity and right is, that they might but live where all things are with such kind of justice ordered till experience have taught them to see their error. As for the last thing which
 is

is incident into the cause whereof we speak, namely, BOOK V.
 what course were the best and safest whereby to
 remedy such evils as the Church of God may sustain,
 where the present liberty of Law is turned to
 great abuse, some light we may receive from abroad,
 not unprofitable for direction of God's own sacred
 House and Family. The Romans being a People
 full of generosity, and by nature courteous, did no
 way more shew their gentle disposition than by easy
 condescending to set their Bond-men at liberty.
 Which benefit in the happier and better times of the
 Commonwealth, was bestowed for the most part as an
 ordinary reward of virtue, some few now and then
 also purchasing freedom with that which their just
 labours could gain, and their honest frugality save.
 But as the Empire daily grew up, so the manners
 and conditions of Men decayed, wealth was honoured,
 and virtue not cared for; neither did any thing seem
 opprobrious out of which there might arise com-
 modity and profit, so that it could be no marvel in a
 State thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenu-
 ous sort were become base, the baser laying aside all
 shame and face of honesty, did some by robberies,
 burglaries and prostitution of their bodies, gather
 wherewith to redeem liberty; others obtain the same
 at the hands of their Lords, by serving them as vile
 instruments in those attempts, which had been wor-
 thy to be revenged with ten thousand deaths. A
 learned, judicious and polite Historian, having men-
 tioned so foul disorders, giveth his judgment and
 censure of them in this sort: *Such eye-sores in the
 Commonwealth have occasioned many virtuous minds to
 condemn altogether the custom of granting liberty to any
 Bond-slave, forasmuch as it seemed a thing absurd that a
 People which commands all the World should consist of so
 vile refuse. But neither is this the only custom wherein
 the profitable inventions of former are depraved by latter
 ages; and for myself I am not of their opinion that wish
 the abrogation of so grossly used customs, which abrogation*

Dionys.
 Halicar.
 Rom. Ant.
 lib. iv.

BOOK V. *might peradventure be cause of greater inconveniencies ensuing: but as much as may be, I would rather advise that redress were sought through the careful providence of chief Rulers and Overseers of the Commonwealth, by whom a yearly survey being made of all that are manumised, they which seem worthy might be taken and divided into Tribes with other Citizens, the rest dispersed into Colonies abroad, or otherwise disposed of, that the Commonwealth might sustain neither harm nor disgrace by them.* The ways to meet with disorders growing by abuse of Laws are not so intricate and secret, especially in our case, that Men should need either much advertisement or long time for the search thereof. And if counsel to that purpose may seem needful, this Church (God be thanked) is not destitute of Men endued with ripe judgment, whensoever any such thing shall be thought necessary. For which end, at this present, to propose any special inventions of my own, might argue in a Man of my place and calling more presumption perhaps than wit. I will therefore leave it entire unto graver consideration, ending now with request only and most earnest suit, first, that they which give Ordination would, as they tender the very honour of Jesus Christ, the safety of Men, and the endless good of their own Souls, take heed lest unnecessarily, and through their default the Church be found worse or less furnished than it might be: secondly, that they which by right of Patronage have power to present unto Spiritual Livings, and may in that respect much damnify the Church of God, would, for the ease of their own account in that dreadful day, somewhat consider what it is to betray for gain the Souls which Christ hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the sacred bond of fidelity and solemn promise given at the first to God and his Church by them, from whose original interest together with the self-same title of right, the same obligation of duty likewise is descended: thirdly, that they unto whom the
granting

granting of Dispensations is committed, or which otherwise have any stroke in the disposition of such Preferments as appertain unto learned Men, would bethink themselves what it is to respect any thing either above or beside merit; considering how hardly the World taketh it when to Men of commendable note and quality there is so little respect had, or so great unto them whose deserts are very mean, that nothing doth seem more strange than the one sort because they are not accounted of, and the other because they are; it being every Man's hope and expectation in the Church of God especially, that the only purchase of greater rewards should be always greater deserts, and that nothing should ever be able to plant a thorn where a vine ought to grow: fourthly, that honourable Personages, and they who by virtue of any principal office in the Commonwealth are enabled to qualify a certain number, and make them capable of favours or faculties above others, suffer not their names to be abused, contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholesome Laws, by Men in whom there is nothing notable besides covetousness and ambition: fifthly, that the graver and wiser sort in both Universities, or whosoever they be, with whose approbation the marks and recognizances of all learning are bestowed, would think the Apostles' caution against unadvised Ordinations not impertinent or unnecessary to be borne in mind, even when they grant those Degrees of Schools, which Degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindnesses bestowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a testimony given to the Church and Commonwealth concerning Men's sufficiency for manners and knowledge; a testimony upon the credit whereof sundry Statutes of the Realm are built; a testimony so far available, that nothing is more respected for the warrant of divers Men's abilities to serve in the affairs of the Realm, a testimony wherein if they violate

BOOK V. that religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and do thereby induce into error such as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in question, let them look that God shall return back upon their heads, and cause them in the state of their own Corporations to feel either one way or other the punishment of those harms which the Church through their negligence doth sustain in that behalf: finally, and to conclude, that they who enjoy the benefit of any special indulgence or favour which the Laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the Church and in conscience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by using to their own advantage whatsoever they see tolerated; no Man being ignorant that the cause why absence in some cases hath been yielded unto and in equity thought sufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through industry elsewhere; the reason likewise wherefore Pluralities are allowed unto Men of note, a very sovereign and special care, that as Fathers in the ancient World did declare the pre-eminence of priority in birth by doubling the worldly portions of their first-born; so the Church by a course not unlike in assigning Men's rewards might testify an estimation had proportionably of their virtues, according to the ancient rule Apostolick, *They which excel in labour, ought to excel in honour*; and therefore unless they answer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unless sincerely they bend their wits day and night both to sow because they reap, and to sow so much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other Men, whereunto by their very acceptance of such benignities they formally bind themselves, let them be well assured that the honey which they eat with fraud shall turn in the end into true gall, forasmuch as Laws are the sacred image of his Wisdom who most severely punisheth those colourable and subtle crimes that seldom are taken within the walk of human Justice.

Justice.* I therefore conclude, that the grounds ^{BOOK V.} and maxims of common right whereupon Ordinations of Ministers unable to preach, tolerations of absence from their Cures, and the multiplications of their Spiritual Livings are disproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful universally and without exception; that the Laws which indefinitely are against all these things, and the Privileges which make for them in certain cases are not the one repugnant to the other; that the Laws of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abused Privileges; that neither our Ordinations of Men unable to make sermons, nor our Dispensations for the rest, can be justly proved frustrate by virtue of any such surmised opposition between the special Laws of this Church which have permitted, and those general which are alledged to disprove the same; that when Privileges by abuse are grown incommodious, there must be redress; that for remedy of such evils, there is no necessity the Church should abrogate either in whole or in part the specialties before mentioned; and that the most to be desired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands which may give passage unto any abuse.

* For the main hypothesis or foundation of these conclusions, let that before set down in the 9th, be read together with this last the 81st Paragraph.

End of the Second Volume.

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