

Common Places of Chriſtian Religion,

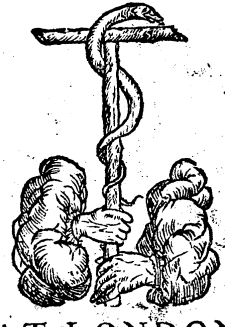
Gathered by *Wolfgangus Muſculus*, for the vſe of ſuch as deſire the knowledge of Godly Truth,

Tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh, by Iohn Man of Merton Colledge *in Oxforde.*

Herevnto are added tvvo other treatiſes, made by the ſame Author, one of Othes, and an other of Vſury.

VVith a maſt perfect and plentifull Table.

Seene and allowed according to the order appoynted in the Queenes Maieſties Iniunctions.



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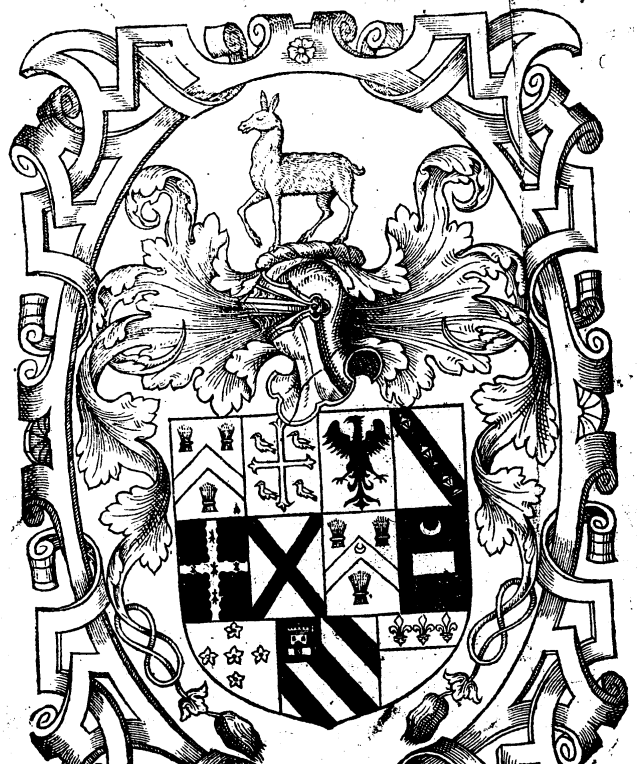

¶ The Preface of Wolfgang Muſculus vnto the Chriſtian Reader.

IT IS MORE THAN TEN YEARES paſt (vvelbeloued in the Lorde) ſince I firſt began to vvrite theſe Places, and therefore no manne can haue occaſion to thinke that I haue raſhly and vvithout good deliberation let anye thing eſcape me. And I doe vviſhe to God, that the ſlovvneſſe in the ſetting forth thereof maye throughly helpe, that there be founde nothing therein diſſonant from the rule or purpoſe of the holy Scriptures. For I vvoulde not vvillingly in any thing that I vvrite, be the Author or maintainer of any kinde of error, though it vvere neuer ſo ſmall. And the cauſe of my ſlovve proceeding in this vvork, vvas, that by the order of our ſchole I coulde not take in hande but one place in a weeke to expounde to my hearers: but I perceiue that there commeth no harme at all by the long tarying in the ſetting forth hereof: for ſurely it ſhall ſeeme ſoone inough done, in caſe it be vvell inough done.

I doe vnderſtande right vvell, that many learned men haue heretofore vvritten and ſet forth Common Places touching Religion, vvherevppon it may ſeeme perhaps a matter both vaine and ſuperfluous to trauaile any further therein, foraſmuch as it is beyonde all hope, that any of my doings can be comparable, much leſſe better, than that vvhich is alredy done by others. But like as I thinke their trauaile and labour vvell beſtovved, vvhich haue vvritten herein before me, ſo I ſhall not miſlike vvith them neither, vvhich ſhall enterpriſe to doe any thing in the like caſe after me. For notvvithſtanding that there be ſome lacke novve and then in their vvritings, vvhich doe occupie themſelues in the vvorke of the Lorde, yet the verye endeuour it ſelfe being good, is alvvayes to bee borne vvithall, and not to be miſliked. Such is my iudgement of the vvritings of others, and therefore I take it not to be much out of the vvay to ſtand in this hope, that others alſo may iudge the like of mee. For as Auguſtine dothe allovve ſundrie tranſlations of holy Scriptures, bicauſe they may all turne the diligent Reader vnto ſome profit, ſo vvhat is the let, but that the like trauayle employed by ſundry perſons to the handling of Common places in the Churche of God, ſo that it be reuerently vſed, may much profite all faithfull folke tovvardes the better vnderſtanding of holy Scriptures and godly lyfe? For it may ſo fall out, that thoſe pointes vvhich be to ſeeke in this vvorke of mine, may be founde in others: and againe, it is poſsible, that ſome pointes vvhich other vvriters

haue not once touched may be founde expreſly noted by me. And it is the part of a vviſe and diſcrete man, not to embrace all that I, or others may happe to vvrite, vvithout a good diſcretion and iudgement: for albeit that the inuention herein be good and commendable, yet forasmuch as vve be all men, and do neither eche one of vs ſee all, no nor any thing perfectly, but ſome fevve things, and that dimly, as it vvere vnder a cloude, it is not onely poſſible, but alſo certaine and ſure, that generally all the vvriters that euer haue bene (except onely the Canonicall) haue bene ſometimes deceyued, and haue oftentimes ſet forth in vvriting things likely more than true, and that vvhich they haue ſuppoſed rather, than certainly knovvne to be ſo, vvhich ſome raſhe head vvill immediatly maintaine and ſtiffely vpholde as moſte true. VVherefore notvvithſtanding this my opinion, that the trauayle and paynes of no good vvriter ought to be contemned, yet vvithall my minde and iudgement is, that they muſt examine and trie them all vnto the touchſtone and rule of holy Scriptures, and ſtande onely vnto thoſe vvhich they finde conſonant, and agreeable vnto them: and vvhatſoeuer eyther is, or ſeemeth to be contrarie therevnto, they may doe vvell to paſſe it ouer quietly, vvithout any quarrelling or offenſiue vvordes. And I entred into the trauaile of this matter not of mine ovvne drift, but at the commaundement of others, vvhō I vvas the better contented to obey in this caſe, bicauſe I knovv right vvell, vvhat a lacke it is to the Church that many Preachers doe verie ſelde apply themſelues to open and expounde to the people any one Common place of doctrine in Religion, but take it to be ſufficient for thē, if they handle ſome text or peece of Scripture to declare it piſtellike, as they terme it. Yea, and eſpecially bicauſe that vvhen they fall either of purpoſe, eyther by happe into ſome Common places, they do handle it ſo coldly, confuſely, out of order, and ſo farre from the purpoſe, that it vvere better for them not to meddle vvith it at all, than ſo euilfauouredly to entangle and darken ſuch points as ought to be moſt ſimply and plainly expounded, and ſet foorth to the fruite of the faithfull. Learned men haue through their ovvne diligence gathered them Common places, by the meanes of their much reading, and be able alſo to vſe a very good order in their teaching, by reaſon of their long vſe and often exerciſes. And as for them, they haue no neede to vſe this my trauaile, and therfore in caſe they chaunce to finde anye lacke therein, they muſt remember that theſe Places be not vvritten for them, and ſo they may holde themſelues contented, for that they neede not to be troubled vvithall, but may leaue them to the vnlearned ſort, for vvhom they vvere firſt vvritten. And novv touching the order of the Places, ſome haue vſed one vvay, and ſome another. The thing of it ſelfe is ſimple and playne, and of nature in it ſelfe vvell appointed: but as the contentions of eche age hath novve and

then ſhifted in nevve opinions and doctrines into our Religion, and hath entangled ſo ſimple and plaine a matter as it is, vvith manifolde queſtions and doubtes, and left it ſtill more doubtfull and cumberſome than it vvas at the beginning, ſo they haue alſo bredde great variance about the very order of the places, vvhich no vviſe mā in the courſe of Religiō cā vtterly neglect. notvvithſtanding my purpoſe and intent is to proceede therein according to mine ovvne vvill and libertie, and not to be reſtrained therein by any preiudice of ſuch vvriters as haue paſſed heretofore, but as neare as I can, I vvil haue a regarde vnto that order, vvhiche the verie matter it ſelfe ſeemeth to yeelde, and as the controuerſies alſo of our times doe require. And I vvill make my beginning at him, vvho notvvithſtanding that he is incomprehenſible, and vvithout all place himſelfe, yet is in a ſorte the verye place in vvhom all things doe reſt and repoſe, I meane from vvhom all things be, in vvhom all things be moued and contained, and vpon vvhome all things doe ende. VVhome I doe moſt humbly and hartily beſeech, that vvhat trauaile ſoeuer I haue determined to beſtovve herein to the behoofe of his Church, it may pleaſe him to employ it to the profite and commoditie of the faithfull and godly. For vnto this marke vve ought to leuell and direct all our doings, as many of vs as doe vvorke in the Lordes Vineyarde, either in preaching, either in vvritings. I cannot denie, but that theſe places might haue bene much more finely and eloquentlye vvritten, and ſo haue better liked fine and delicate heades, but I thought the beſt vvaie for me to content my ſelfe vvith my meane habilitie, and to ſet forth to the ſimpler ſorte thoſe things vvhich be cleare and true, in a plaine and eaſie kinde of ſtile and ſpeach, deuiſing more hovve to diſpatch theſe Common Places to ſome profit, than hovv to make a fine tale of them.



A Table of the principall places entreated of in this Booke, The firste number signifying the Leafe of the Booke, the second the Columne of the generall Table.

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Common Places of Christian Religion.

¶ Of GOD.

I DO ASSVREDLY know that the naturall and fleshly man accordingto the Iudgement of S. Paule, vnderstandeth not the things that bee of God, muche lesse he vnderstandeth or knoweth GOD himself: Yea I doe boldly protest, that neither the spirituall man doeth in the playn and perfect sort of knowledge comprehende those things, which concerne the Maiestie of God, which is so clothed and couered with inaccessible brightnesse, that the eyneste part of our minde or vnderstandyng, can by no meanes possible reache vnto the same. And yet such is our estate who be men, that there is nothing whiche with greater daunger we may be ignorant of, than of oure GOD, by whome we be made, and by his heauenly grace called to thys entent & purpose, that we shuld knowe him, obey him, and serue him, vnlesse we wil willingly run into euerlasting damnation. So stand we in a maruellous streight of the most mightie and insearcheable Maiestie of God on the one syde, and the necessitie of our saluation on the other syde. We muste therefore euer, and by all meanes endeuour, that (seing wee are created to this purpose, that we shuld know and glorifie God, we be not slacke or negligent in any poynt therof, whiche is our only health and saluation, but let vs call vpon hym for helpe that made vs, and desire of hym, that hee wyll worke the same in vs by his spirite, whiche through our selfe can not bee done: and that he will vouchsafe so to lighten our heartes, that we may perceyue those things of hym, whiche his will is shoulde bee knowne and perceyued of vs, though not perfectly, yet as through a glasse, and by a figure, vntill wee maye come to the tyme of more perfection and glorie.

1. Corinth. 3.

VVe be of nothing ignorant with greater peryl, than of God.

VVe must neuer thinke of God, without a deuout reuerence.

There bee an infynite number of things that may be easlier sought and called into question, touching GOD, than founde out and expounded. And the nicenesse of man is suche, that he will sooner searche too farre, than sufficiently of God: thinges vncertaine, rather than certaine: things vnprofytable rather than necessary. Therfore I admonishe all young men, studious to knowe God, that they neuer take vpon them to thinke, much lesse to dispute or cõtend of God without great reuerence and feare. Let them haue euer in mynde how great and vnsearcheable the Maiestie of Almyghtie GOD is, what reuerence and feare we ought to beare vnto it, and therewithall howe bare and vile our estate is: how weake and slippery is all our vnder-

vnderstanding: and to say truly, how corrupt and peruers our whole iudgement is, specially of things godly and heauenlye. So that the brute beaste lacking reason, maye see further into the doings of man, than man may into heauenly and godly things with all his power and strength, beyng earthly and carnall.

It is needful our minde be fearfull and circūspect.

Wherfore it behoueth vs, specially in this matter aboue all other, to bee fearefull and circumspect. Fearefull, that we step not out rashly & vngodly with an vncleansed heart to the consideration of Gods Maiestie: Circumspecte, that we leane not to our owne or any other mennes imaginations, but that we searche for GOD out of Gods owne worde, not seeking out of our bounded matters more curious than godly and necessary to our saluation, but that only, which without dāger of our selues we may not be ignorant of. That only let vs searche out with all godlie and diligent endeuour of trembling hart: and when we shall haue found it, hold it faste, and vertuously employ it altogither to the glorie and honour of God.

I. Whether there be a GOD.

The cause of this question.

THe first question of all that maye be moued of God, is whether ther be a God: whiche we should not haue cause to speake of, vnlesse the heart of man were sometymes assaulted with this kynde of impietie and led to denye God. Wherof we may haue testimony aswel in writings of the Gentils, as also out of the holy scriptures.

Cicero of the nature of Goddes.

The place of Cicero is wel known of Protagoras, Diagoras Melius, and Theodorus Cyrenaicus: of which the firste doubted whether there were a God or no, the other two vtterly denyed that there was any. Where hee speaketh also of them which reported, that the whole opinion of men had of Gods immortall, was deuised by wise men, only for a common wealth, that the feare of God might trayne them to doe that whiche they ought to doe, whome reason coulde not bring thereunto. And in holie Scripture the Prophet Dauid crieth, and noteth this impietie, saying: The vnwise said in his heart, there is no God. But who seeth not, that all the mysteries of our religion be altogither vaine, and lyke old wiues tales, onlesse we be firste ascertained that there is a God? Who can with a stedfast and firme hearte serue him, whom he denieth or doubteth to be? Therfore the Apostle saith ful aduisedly to the Hebrues: Whosoeuer cōmeth to God, he muste beleeue that God is, and that hee rewardeth them that seeke hym: wherein hee did wel firste to set forth the necessitie of this faith, to beleeue that God is. And after that ioyned to it, what manner of God we muste beleeue him to be.

Psal.14.

Ebr.11.

For this cause and the authoritie of the Apostle, wee haue firste proposed this question, whether ther be a God, to admonishe all them that bee studious of Diuinitie, what not only they themselues shall firmely holde for the principall pointe of our Religion, but also what they shall as moste assured instructe and beate into other mennes heades, without whiche, they can proceede no one steppe onward to godlynesse, whiche is, that there is a God. And in this poynte I can not Iudge hym assured and fyrme enough, which

Why this question is set first.

How men come to the knowledge that there is a God.

supposeth this point of our faith to be so grafted in the harts of al liuing men, that no man may doubte in his heart, but there is a God, for that hee may yet by the crafte of Sathan bee brought to this doubt.

Now if any mā shal aske me howe our senses being so maruellously corrupt and blinded, may attaine to this knowlege of God, that we may assure our selues, there is a God, I iudge it it not amisse, a little to helpe his rudenesse. Although it seemeth more reasonable to demaunde, howe it maye bee that a man created like to the Image of God and indewed with the light of reason, & ledde as it wer with a bright shining beame from heauen, shoulde not knowe him of whome he is onlye created, but more of whose linage he is, and whom he hath dwelling within him, in whom he liueth and moueth who is not farre frō euery one of vs, so ỳ he may be not only easily knowē, but as the Apostle sayth, he maye be almost felt of vs: but as I sayde let vs see also for the helpe of the ignoraunt, by what reasons it may be found that there is a God.

Act.17.

Three meanes to knowe that there is a God.

And touching this matter, ther are three wayes whereby Goddoeth open himself to the knowledge of mā. The first & most generalis that which is had of his workes. The seconde is more especiall, declared by his owne speach. The thirde is moste speciall of al, which is by his secret inspiration. The first way I say, consisteth in hys working, where the maiestie of God setteth himselfe to be seene in all his workes throughout the compasse of al the world, in heauen, aswell as in the earth. I cal this waymost general, because it is so set forth to all people of al nations, ỳ no man can excuse himselfe for not knowing God. It cā not be denied, but there is in vs a certaine quicknesse of vnderstāding & strength of reason, as might be the eyes of our mindes, whereby we maye knowe in Gods workes, God himselfe the worker therof: but vnlesse the brightnes of the workes of God were so great, ỳ they did set forth the maiestie of the worker to be seene throughout all the earth, our reason shoulde haue had no means to haue knowen ỳ there had bin a God. Therfore the first cause of our knowledge of God is attributed to ỳ light & brightnesse of ỳ workes of God, wherby eue ỳ Philosophers did knowledge the maiestie of the inuisible God as ỳ Apostle witnesseth. For first they did obserue in the workes of God an exceeding great maiestie, an infinit multitude, a wonderful variety, a most cōstant order, a seemely agreement, an endlesse continuance, a pleasaunt vicissitude or intercourse of things cōming & going, briefly, so abashful wisdom in creating & bestowing of things & in conseruing of them such power & might, that they could ascribe ỳ whole workmanship of al things, heauenly & earthly, to no other nature, but to the nature of God. Held this, they talked in deede of the goodnesse of God by the infinit nūber of commodities growing vnto them, partly from heauen, & partly from earth, which the Apostle in the 14. of the Actes rehearseth, saying: And yeuly he left not himselfe without witnesse, doing good, & helping them frō heauen, giuing raine & fruitful seasons, filling their harts ỳ foode & gladnesse. Thirdly they felt a maruellous terror of lightning, erthquakes, pestilences, gapings of the grounde,

Rom.1. How ỳ Philosophers knewe God by his wworke

Act.14.

straunge sightes from heauen, in the sunne, the mone, starres, & comets ý forshowers of greate mischieues and slaughters. Take this withal, that the prophesies of things to come, suche as were Sybilles and of the prophets, were so certaine and true, that they plainely passe the limits of mans foreknowledge, and proued the power of the godhead to gouerne al things in the worlde.

Of them vvhich do thinke that there is no thing more than they doe see vvith their eyes.

They that be so grosse and so vnfaithful, that they can not apply theyr vnderstanding and credite to things inuisible, bee so affected for the most part, that they beleue nothing neither of ý life, felicity, & glory of heauen, neither of ý Angels, spirites, & Diuels of hell, bycause they suppose there is nothing farther, and besides that which is seene with our eyes: and so they acknowledge not God in their hart, for ý he is not seen. They cõsider not that there be also some other things inuisible, which for al that they see thẽ not, yet they cã not deny them to be. Who euer sawe a voyce? who hath seene the winde? who sawe any sauour? These things in deede are inuisible, but yet notwithstanding no man of anye perseuerance will denye them to bee. And wherby are they iudged to be, but by the perseuerance of their efficacie and workings? The voyce is not seen, yet it is heard. The winde is not seen, but for all that it is perceyued by feeling, and his working and violence is in that which it bringeth to passe. A sauour is not seene, but by smelling is perceiued most effectually. Who sawe at anye tyme, hys soule? And yet no man is so vnwise to denye that hys soule is in hym, by whome hee perceiueth hee hath life, sighte, hearing, smelling, feeling, and talking, and power to moue frõ place to place. Who seeth hys owne minde? And is there any man so voide of reason that will say he hath none, bicause he seth none, and yet therby conceiueth, vnderstandeth and iudgeth? No man euer sawe the power of his will and heart, and yet there is no man but perceyueth he hath such a power whereby hee loueth, hateth, desireth, and enuieth, mourneth & reioyceth, yea becõmeth good or euil. Why iudge we not likewise of God? Hee is in deede inuisible of himselfe, but through his working, vertue, & goodnesse he declareth hymselfe, so that the minde of man, except it be altogither blinded, maye easilye iudge by the godly workes, that there is a God, by whom al is made, and by whome all is gouerned. So that take me any man of vnderstanding, and he must needs graunt that he doth not vnderstande God in his minde by his workes only, but also that he seeth him with his eyes, hee heareth hym with his eares, he perceyueth hym in hys smell and feeling. Loke me the faythfull man: surely hee maketh triall of God, euen in his taste. So the Prophete sayeth: Taste and see howe sweete the Lorde is. Unlesse Hanny bee tasted, yee can not knowe howe sweete it is. Euen so, vnlesse yee tast of God, yee shall not knowe howe sweete hee is. The taste of his sweetenesse is the vnderstanding of his goodnesse, perceiued by faith. And let thys serue for the firste waye, whereby it may be knowen that there is a God. There be also manye other thynges by which the wise men of this worlde haue wel wayed, and acknowledged that there is a God, but let this serue that

The inuisible offence of god is declared by his vvorking.

God is knowen also by his vvorde.

that we haue touched by the way.

Hebre.1.

2 I saydde that the second way whereby God is knowen to men, consisteth in the worde, for so God hath opened himselfe to our fathers by worde and speaking, euẽ from the beginning of ý world, vntill the dayes of the Newe testamẽt, whereof the Apostle speaketh saying: Diuers and many waies hath God spoken to oure fathers by the Prophets, but last of al he hath spoken to vs by his sonne. This is a speciall way, for it happened not so to euerye nation, as it did by a speciall grace happen to the Israelites. Ye that declareth his word to Jacob, his righteousnes and his iudgementes vnto Israell, hee did not so to all nations, &c. *Psal. 147.* Psal. 147. And yet this worde, and Christ also the only son of God, with the general gift of saluation to al mẽ, in the latter times by ý meane of the mercy of god, came vnto the Gentiles that the world might haue no cause to complaine that they were bereaft of this grace.

God is opened to the elect by inspiring.

3 The thirde way by inspiration, is by secret reuelation of the holy spirit. And this way I called moste speciall, for a difference from the other two that be indifferent to god and euil, and to restraine this way to the only elect, who beside the lighte of workes and the declaration by words, getteth a moste certaine knowledge of God, yet rather a feeling and a taste of hym, by the liuely & effectuall inspiration and reuelation of the holy spirite of God. The first two reasons serue to this purpose, that mans reason be vtterlye voide of excuse. But that the harts of men may be effectually turned vnto ý true seruice of God, whom they know that appertayneth onlye to this third way, appointed only for the elect. Yet for al that none of the electe is in that respect so vnwise, as to refuse to consider, and heare the workes & wordes of God, as not appertayning vnto him. God forbydde. No man in the worlde doth with more feruency consider the workes of God, none more readyly lifte vp their eares to heare God speake, than euen they which haue the inwarde reuelation of the holy spirite: whereof is most open testimonie in Dauid. This I thought good to giue a taste of briefly, for the ruder sort, giuing them occasion by reading of the holy scriptures diligẽtlye to obserue howe by these three wayes, working, speaking, and inspiring, God is knowen to all people in the worlde.

The elect be not reffe the cõsideration of Goddes workes.

2. Who is God.

The cause of this question.

Secondarily it seemeth that thys question hath troubled mens minds also, Who it is that is ý God, certainely knowen by so manifest testimonies of Godly workes. For therin is great daunger, least in place of the true God be set a fayned God, and so the honour due vnto hym, may bee conueyed ouer vnto another. Like as in euery Realme we must first acknowledge that there is a king, and yet that withal it behoueth the subiectes of the Realme to knowe who is their true and lawful king, least they happen on a straunger, and withdraw the iust honour from their very king in deede: euen so we maye perceiue it is not inough to knowe wee haue a God, vnles we know also who hee is: wherin our fathers in the olde times

were much abused. For in their curious seeking who was the God, they became exceding vaine in their deuises: some supposing ỹ sunne to be God, some the moone, some other the Starres, some the fyer, some the fleeting ayer, some the huge masse of water. Finally, we finde some that gaue the honour of godlynesse to men, not yet lyuing, but after they were dead. Of which all ye may reade Sap. 13. But to this question it is best to aunswere briefly, that it cannot be wel called into question who is God, for bicause that question is not well placed but to them, and of them which be many: and so nere one to the other in nature, condition, and shape, that there is daunger, least by ouersight the one may be mistaken for the other: In our true God it cannot be so, who is one alone, and hath none like to him in nature and condition besyde himself: so saith Esa. 45. I am the Lord: & there is none els: Beside me there is no other God. But where as the Ethnikes fell into such errour, that they embraced false gods in stede of theyr true God, it was not for that they were deceiued by ỹ similitude or likenesse or shape, or that they were hindered from the certein knowledge of the true God through any obscuritie of darkenesse was in him, but bicause the harte and vnderstanding of man was so blynded, that lyke as nyghte battes in the clerenes of the Sunne, so they became starke blinde in the moste open light of the true knowledge of God. Whereof in my opinion we muste diligently marke in this case, that we maye easyer determine who is not God, than who is GOD: or to speake more fully: there is no readyer way for vs to knowe who is God, than to be very wary that we take nothing that hath been created, either in Earth, either in Heauen, corporall or spirituall, for God: and so let vs with a godly imagination and fearefull hart passe ouer all thinges created, as wel visible as inuisible, and procede to the contemplation of him, hauing moste certain triall that he is, and yet of that sort, that it may by no meanes be brought within the compasse of anye creature, whether it be corruptible or incorruptible. Neither can wee yet this waye throughly attaine to the certaine knowledge who is God, and to call him by any propre name. For his name is right maruellouse and vnspeakeable.

We reade of Iacob, Genesis. 32. that after he had wrestled with ỹ Angel in the night, and heard him say: Thy name shal not be Iacob, but Israel: For seing thou hast wrought strongly with God, thou shalt preuaile also againste men. Perceyuing he had wrestled with God, and desirous to know who he was, asked him saying: What is thy name? But it was answered him againe: Why askest thou my name? where is also in the old translation, Which is maruellouse, but it is not in the Hebrew. A like matter is in the. 13. of Iudges. Wherby I pray you, what is ment els, but ỹ we may not aske his name, which is as much to say, as who he is.

And Moses in the. 3. of Exodus, being sent by God into Egypt to the children of Israel to bring them from thence, when he heard him saye: I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, bycause he knewe that the same description of name was not proper, nor containing the very substance of him, willing to knowe from whome he was sent, asked him and sayd: Loe I go to ỹ children of Israel, and say to them: The God of your fathers sent me vnto you. But if they aske me, what is his name? what shall I say to them? In that question Moses asked God without doubte, who he was, and by what peculiar name he was distincted from the rest of the Goddes whiche were mistaken and worshipped of the Gentiles. But for all that, it was not shewed to him, who God was: nor was there anye propre name appointed him, sauing that he was the existent, or beeing. So God answered him: I am he that I am. Or as some doe say: I wil be, who I wil be. Thus thou shalt saye to the children of Israel: He that is, sent me to you. Therby was signified to him, that the being of God was of such sort, that he can not nor ought not be called by his proper name. Besides that, that in the times passed, by good experience and proofe, the true God was sufficiently knowē to the fathers Abraham, Isaac and Iacob: wherefore it was ynough to saye to the children of Israel: The God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, sent me vnto you. &c. God declareth himselfe who he is, true and liuing, not by any propre name, but by such liuely strength and working, as cannot be ascribed vnto any, but vnto the true God. And therefore it is altogether vnnecessarie, to demande who God is.

Sap. 13.

It is not wel done to aske who God is.

Esay. 45.

Whereof it cam that the Ethnykes worshipped false gods in stede of the true God.

We may easyer determine who is not God, than who is God.

God can not be called by any proper name.

It was not declared vnto Moses who God is.

Exod. 3.

How God declareth who he is.

III. What God is.

In this point also the scrupulosity of man is driuen into a narowe straight, thinking it is necessarie to knowe what God is. For like as ther is some doubte, leaste in seeking of God, he may rest vppon a false and fained God, so he surmiseth it daungerous, onlesse we know what God is, least we should not worshipe that true God as we ought to do. Therefore I thinke good somewhat also to loke into this question.

The cause of this question.

1. And it may be three wayes considered: First, for asmuch as belongeth to the word, God, in latine Deus, which word as it is manifest, the Latines haue taken out of the Greke worde θεὸς, which signifieth pearcing & running through: deriued out of a verbe θεῖν, which signifieth to do the same. The reason of it is, bycause God by his presence and power doeth neuer cease to passe through, moue and gouerne this whole masse of the worlde, and all that is in it.

This question may be three wayes considered. Of the worde GOD.

2. The second consideration of this question is touching the essence or being of God: and when we seeke of the essence or being of God for the vnderstanding what God is, all writers neere hande both of our owne, and also of the Gentils which haue written of God, do agree that it cā by no meanes be conceiued in minde, much lesse expressed what God is. The iudgemēt of Plato is, that the definition of God is not to be sought. The Thomistes do say that God hathe no definition. And Cicero in his first booke of the nature of Goddes writeth in this sort: Wilt thou aske, what, or of what

Essence.

The definitiō of God is not to be sought.

quali-

quisitiō? Of this I will take Simonides for mine author, who being demaunded the verye same question of Hiero the tiranne, desired one dayes respite to thinke vpon it. And when he demaunded the same againe two dayes after, he desired two dayes respite more: and after he had diuers and sundry times doubled his dayes of respite, at length Hiero wondred at it, and asked him, why he did so: because sir (said he) the longer that I doe waye the matter, the harder it semeth vnto me. Wherof Simonides hadde great reason. For how is it possible for the streightnes of a restrained mans imagination, to comprehende the infinite and incomprehensible essence or being of the infinite God? A definition might serue, if we spake of a thing finite or that might haue an ende: But God being infinite, it is not possible to define him by any manner way or reason. Wherfore we must well aduise our selues, in this matter chiefly, to breake of that part of curiousnesse grafted in the hartes of men, since the first corruption of them: nor we maye not trauaile to searche for that, which by no meanes possible can bee founde out nor brought to light. Wee reade that Christ sayde, John. 4: God is a spirite: Yet it was not Christes minde to expresse what God is, but he did rather admonish the lely woman that she should not like the corporall worshippers of God, but the spirituall, for as much as he is not corporal. And in so saying, he expressed more what God is not, than what God is. For so the word of Spirite, is taken in that sese, for that nature of thinges whiche bee not earthly and grosse, as our nature & the nature of beastes, birdes, fishes, and plants is, so that for a difference things not corporal, as angels, windes, and the soules aswell of man as of beaste, are commonly called spirites. A like opinion had they which thought the minde and vnderstanding to bee God: as Pythagoras, Cato and Aristile.

That creature is mere, and for comprehending infinite.

God is a spirite. *Iohan. 4.*

3 Now for ỹ third parte: if we will in this questiō (What God is) leaue to enquire of hys essence, and loke vnto the doings and workes of God: it must needs be reputed that so the inquisition is very godlye and nothyng curious, not hard to be answered vnto, for in this sorte it auayleth muche vnto the true knowledge of God and the study of godlynesse, to knowe what God is. Euen as towarde the obedience of a prince it profiteth much if in this sorte you knowe what the king is, I meane if yee knowe what the kings doings, purpose, duety, and office is. The office and worke of God is to be the maker and preserue of al things, such a one as without him nothing can be, nothing continue. This is reported of God in holye scripture. And in our beliefe we cal him maker of heauen and earth. And the Apostle. 1. Tim. 4. calleth him the sauiour of al, chiefly of the faythfull. And God doth reporte both these thynges of hymselfe Esay. 46. saying: I made, I beare, I sustayne and preserue all. In that hee sayde, I made, he declareth himselfe to be creatour. In that he addeth, I sustayne, I beare and keepe, he letteth vs to weete that he saueth al. And when it is sayde of God ỹ he saueth al, it is included ỹ hee gouerneth al: so that w judgement and iustice he moderateth and ruleth all things, punisheth the wicked, and rewardeth the godly.

Of the office of God.

Who do sufficiently vnderstand what God is.

What office of God is.

Ierem. 9.

1. Timoth.

Esay. 46.

Psa. 11.

They that denye the prouidence of God, do denye God.

And whosoeuer denyeth this prouidence of God, which conserueth & gouerneth all, may wel be thought to deny God himselfe: whiche impietye Cicero in his first booke of the nature of Gods attributeth to Epicure: for in words he did professe the being of Gods, & in deed vtterly denied ỹ same, in that he denied the prouidēce of God. Like iudgement we maye haue of all thē which in their hart say, God neither seeth, neither vnderstādeth, whose madnes the prophet Dauid in the. 94. Psal. doth very earnestly rebuke.

Whosoeuer therfore knoweth thus much of god, that he is maker, keper, & gouernor of al things (by which name the Philosophers call him the Soule of the world, the vnderstanding of the whole, the spirite whiche knoweth al, ruleth and disposeth al) he hath the definition of God, expressing sufficiently what he is, as much as shall serue to aduaunce vs to procede in godlinesse. And this knowledge of him, he himselfe requireth of vs where hee saith, Jerem. 9. Whosoeuer glorieth, lette him glorie in this point, that he vnderstandeth and knoweth mee that I am the Lord, working mercy, iudgement, & ryghteousnes in the earth. He requireth not we should know what his essence or being is, & such other things that bee in hym vnserchable. And the Apostle where he saith to the Ebrues: It behoueth him which crieth to God to beleeue that there is a God, and rewarder of all them that seeke him, he doth plainely require two things, one ỹ we should beleue ỹ there is a God: the other is, that we should vnderstād his office and doings. Whosoeuer lacketh this knowledge, is vtterly ignorant what God is, although he taketh knowledge of his essence or being, whiche is altogether vnsearchable, so that hee is not able to vse the knowledge vnto those things that be necessarie and giuen only of God. For it is moste true that S. Augustine in the fourth booke *De ciuitate Dei* the 22. cha. alleggeth out of *Varro*: Like as it helpeth no man to knowe the name and shape of a Physition, if he be ignorant that he is a Physitiō: so it auaileth ther nothing, if thou knowe that there is a God, his name, and his being: if thou knowe not that he is the maker, sauiour, and gouernour of all things, and so knowe not the same, wherfore thou oughtest to praye vnto him. Thus in few words I thought meete to note, concerning this question, What God is, for the simpler sorts sake, to the intent they may vnderstande how farre forth the vse therof may do them good, that bee desirous to applye the knowledge and vnderstanding of God to ỹ studie of true godlynesse, and not vnto curiositie.

All thinges haue some qualitie.

4. Of vvhat qualitie God is.

THer is nothing in the world, heauenly or erthly, but hath som thing either by nature, eyther by some other occasion annexed vnto it, or by diligēce and exercise procured, wherby it maye be called to haue some qualitie. And as for such qualities as groweth with the body, or else happeneth vnto it by occasion, as that they be shaped in certaine figures, fashioned and deuided into members, and that they are colde or warme, black or white, or grey, and such like, they haue no place in God, who is not of body, but a spirite: wherfore the errour of the *Anthropomorphi-*

tes,is to be condemned,which attributeth vnto God a body framed and disposed into members,according vnto ỹ fashion of man:Yet is it manifest,that there be some things in God,in respect of the which it may be knowē,though not perfectly, yet some deale,of what maner sort he is.As of what maner essence or being, what substāce and nature he is of.In very dēd,these things of themselues are vnsearcheable in God, but yet some part there is of thē necessarie to know,and is expressed in scriptures by the spirite of reuelation, the consideration wherof, as I iudge, pertaineth to this place.

In vvhat poinres the qualitie of God is.

Of vvhat maner sort God is in *the consideration of his Essence.*

VVhat is saide of the Essence of God. Of the vnitie of the essence of God. *Deu.6.*

GIf the Essence or being of God, besīde ỹ it is the fountain and beginning of all things that be, firste it may be sayde that it is onlye one, hauing none like neither in heauen neither in the earth:and therfore maketh only one God,excluding altogither the nūber of Goddes,wherby the Gentils were deceiued. To this place belongeth that which is read in holy scriptures of the vnitie of God,as in the.6. of Deuteronomie:Heare Israell, the Lord thy God is one God. And in the 44.and45.of Esay:Besides me, hee sayth, there is no other God. And

1.*Corinth.8.* in the eight of the fyrste to the Corinthians: We know that there is no Idole in the worlde,and that there is no other God but one.And in the 4.to the

Ephesians.4 Ephe. One God & father of al, which is ouer al and by all.

This vnitie of God ỹ philosophers of the Gentils did acknowledge.Plato doth manifestly defēd ỹ Monarchie or sole gouernāce of God. Aristotle witnesseth ỹ one minde & vnderstanding gouerneth ỹ worlde.And Cicero folowing Plato, in many places confesseth one God. Of the Poets Virgill spake in this sort of God.

For God doth passe through al the landes,
The waues of sea and through the sandes,
The deapth of heauen both hote and colde, *Geor.4.*
From him come beast both yong and olde:
Both wilde and tame,and man also
Hath strength and life,both frend and foe.

The reason of vvise.

And Ouide in the first booke of his tranformatiō doth clerely attribute ỹ workmanship of the whole worlde to one God alone. Wise men saw that ỹ worlde could neyther haue bin made, neither after that it was made coulde haue bene gouerned by many,bicause of that vnspeakable and most constāt agreēment of all things (whiche doth most certainly proue the vnitie of the true God) and that could not be without danger, if many Gods had the gouernāce therof:So that ỹ strife & battels of the gods of the gentiles are not without purpose set forth by Homere. Wherfore it is a mockery to talke wt them,which bicause, of the hugenesse of things created, suppose this worlde can not be gouerned of one,as though one were not able to sustaine so great a waight of things: but that it nēded many.

The solitudenesse of the Sunne vvhich maketh many goddes.

1 First they sayle in this, that they consider the hugenesse of ỹ workmāship either alone,either more thā they do the maiesty and power of the worker,so that they thinke the worke passeth the strength of the worker , as though the maker were not greater and more puissaunt than the worke which he hath made.

The creator is greater than the vvorke vvhich is created.

2 Againe they be fond in this point, that they suppose ỹ world may be better gouerned of many gods thāof one, like as it is in mens cases, that two are able to sée farther than one alone, & many may do greater feates thā one alone. But they consider not what God is,and how great his diuine maiestie is, which is not diuine in dēde, if it be vnperfect , and yet it shoulde be vnperfect,if he might be greter thorough the aide of manye , or the weaker bycause hée is one alone. They perceiue not that ther commeth more hindrance of many Gods vnperfect, than is lacke in the vnitie of hym whiche is perfect: therfore there must be not many vnperfect, but one God true and perfect, to whom all things be possible: which through his infinit power & wisedome can pearce & passe throughout al ỹ whole,conserue , vphold,& rule it as it were but one body.

vvord God cā neuer be augmented nor diminished.

Pallitude the sun. Similitude the Soule

No man is so folish to say,that one Sunne is not ynough to giue light, & to cherish the whole world, but that we haue nēd of moe like sunnes. We finde by experience, that one soule is so sufficient to gouerne & kepe in life one body,that there shuld grow more empeachment of many,than lacke by one alone. Is the sunne then able to giue light to the whole world alone,& the soule able to gouerne the whole body:of which nether the sunne made the worlde, neyther the soule the body: and can not GOD bée sufficient alone , to rule and conserue hys worke,which with so great wisedome and power he made alone? Some of the Gentiles knewe wel ynough,that the multitude of rulers was not good, and therfore sayd,it was nēdful there shoulde bée one Prince and King alone.

Yet for al that, the vniuersall custome of error was such,and the opinió of many gods so alowed,that they durst not folow & stand to that which they wisely vnderstoode.

VVhat els is said of the essence of God.

Firste therfore of the essence of God it is most truelye sayde, that it is one alone setting before vs one God:now let us loke what else may bée conueniently saide thereof.Surely there is many other things , but for thys present we thinke god to rehearse but a few,as, that it is not made of anye other thing but simple and pure.With simplicitie it agréeth that hée is a spirite:with the purenesse,that he is called a light in whiche is no darknesse. It is also without body,occupying no place , incomprehensible , immutable, indpuisible, impassyble , incorruptible, immortal,vnspeakeable perfect & euerlasting:which al appertayneth to ỹ consideration of the qualitie of gods essence or being. I meane not presently to expound euery one of them particularly,and (to confesse the truth) it passeth the compasse of my smal ability.

5. In vvhat sort God is concerning his substance *or person.*

The diffe-rence be-twixt these two wordes Vsia and Hipostasis.

THese two words οὐσία & ὑπόστασις were muche vsed of the Greeke diuines,of whiche the firste signifieth Essence, the seconde the person or substance. Of Essence we haue somewhat passed ouer, nowe remaineth wée speake of the substaunce or person. First(least some body by errour shoulde vse both wordes in one sense, & think there is no difference betwixt them:& therfore as we say that there

is but one essence in God, so he wil affirme that there is but one person or subsistance: or els as we affirme, ỹ there is thrée persons in one godhead, so hée wil set thrée offices) I thought my trauaile wel bestowed to shew briefly in this place, what difference is betwixte these two words οὐσία & ὑπόστασις, essence and subsistance: and how the olde writers vsed the both. By this worde Essence, they signified that which was common to all persons in the holy Trinitie. By thys worde *Hypostasis*, or substance, they signified that which is proper to euery person in the Trinitie. They called that common in God, which appertained not only to the father, but also to the sonne, and the holy spirite. They called that proper: that so appertained to one person, that it could not be attributed vnto the other two persons. As for example, thys word Man, is common, and maye bée like applyed to euery man, and expresseth the common nature and essence of all men: yet doth it note no any one particular person or man, whiche is so called as by his proper name. But Peter, Andrew, Iames, and such like, bée proper names. For none of these names is vsed to set forth the commō essence and nature of men, but their vse is to signifie some seuerall person among mē, as subiect vnto the whole, hauing a determinate substaunce or person by it selfe. And for that cause men haue called that which is proper in any thing, the substance, and that whiche is common with many other different in number, the essence. So ỹ whatsoeuer things in God is commō to the thrée persons of the holy Trinitie, they did attribute them to the communion of the essence, bycause they might bee said of euery one, as those things be which we rehearsed a little before of the qualitie of Gods essence. But those thinges which be not common but proper and peculiar to eche person, them they did referre to to their proper substances or persons: as to be father, cānot be attributed to the other two persons, but vnto the father only: to be the sonne, it agreeth not with the father nor to the holye spirite, but only to the word, the onlye begotten sonne of God. To be vngotten, is not applyed vnto the sonne, but to the father & the holy spirit. To proceede forth, is not sayde of the father, nor of the sonne, but only of the holye spirite, who proceedeth from the father and the sonne. So the substaunce or propertie of the father is, that he is the father and vnbegotten: the substaunce of the sonne, that he is the only begotten sonne: the substaunce of the holye spirite is contayned vnder this voyce Spirite, and is expressed by his proceeding forth).

Things cō mon to the persons of the holy Trinitie.

Proper to the p son.

The reuelation of the holy ri itie by hrist. Luth. 28.

The writings of the old testament doe comprehende these thrée substances in these wordes, רוּחַ דְּבָר יְהוָה That is to say, the ordinent, the word, and the spirite: as in the. 33. Psalm. By the worde of God the heauens were setteled, and by the spirit of his mouth al the powers of them. And in the second booke of Sam. 23. The spirite of God hath spoken by me, and his word by my tong hath sayde. The latter writers of the Greekes expressed the propertie of the substances in God by this worde πρόσωπα, that is, a countenance or face, the Latines by the worde person, by which words euery substance might be set forth to be knowen and vnderstand.

Of the nes of th three su stances.

Psalm 3

1. Reg.

πρόσω πα, ὑπο λογος, πνεῦμ

So

So that God in essence is one, as in nature and godhead, in substaunce or person, thrée, which Trinitie not only the holy scriptures doe set forth, but also some of the Bookes of the Philosophers, and the Sybilles verses. The schole of Plato also acknowledged to be in God νοῦν λόγον, καὶ πνεῦμα: that is to say, The vnderstanding, the word, and the spirite.

But this knowledge of the holy trinitie was somwhat hidden, till the reuelation of the worde that toke flesh, when the holy spirite began more specially to worke. Then this misterie of the Trinitie in God was openly set forth by Christe, when he saide: Goe, teach al people, baptising thē in ỹ name of ỹ father, & the sonne, and of the holy spirit. He might haue said, Baptisyng thē in ỹ name of God: but forbicause ỹ vnitie of God was wel knowen to the people, and ỹ hel ỹ Trinitie not so wel, he would ỹ the grace which he thē bestowed vpon them, whereby the mysterie of the holye Trinitie began to be opened vnto the worlde, shoulde be a manifest witnesse to the people, that whosoeuer should be receyued into that grace, should in the Sacramēt of their first admission, confesse themselues to be sanctified in the name, of ỹ father, the son, & the holy Spirit: and as they wer baptised in his name, so they should most stedfastly euer stick vnto him, as to ỹ only & true god. That perceiued Basile, and therfore he wrote in this sort. Δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, δοξάζειν δὲ, ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν. That is to say. We must be baptysed as we haue receiued, beléeue, as wée are baptised, glorifye, as we haue beleeued the father and the sonne and the holy spirite.

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1 These things be manifest and must with a simple and cleare fayth bée beléeued, that God is one in essence, nature, godheade, will, mouing and working, thrée in thrée persons, of which euery one hath seueral substāce and propertie, which for all that be so in God, that the essence, nature, godhead, Maiestie, working, will, power, honour, and continuaunce for euer, is common to them all, all coessential, al coeternall.

That God s one in trinitie.

Go dis one and tryne.

2 Secondly, wée see that these thrée persons are called in holy scriptures God, the worde, the spirite: but more plainely by Christ, the father, the son, and the holy spirite.

The appellations of the persons

3 Thirdly, we see that by the fayth of this holy Trinitie is not meant to be thrée goddes, but thrée vnsearchable substances or persons in one true God set forth for the knowledge of Christ, his only begotten sonne, and for the encrease of his glorie, according to the measure of hys reuelation. For if two diuerse and sundry natures ioyned together in one man, doe not make two men, but both doe still conserue the vnitie of one person, so that it remayneth one man, made of soule and body: why shoulde it not sincke into oure heades, that thrée substaunces in God neyther in being, neither in nature diuerse, but altogether equall and euen, doe not let but that the vnitie of God remaineth still one, & ỹ we are not cōpelled thereby to beleue that there bée thrée goddes?

There is not made thre Gods.

A similitude.

Who is so folishe, to beleeue that there are thrée sunnes (being in déede but one) bycause there is in the sunne these thrée qualities or effects: first as

A similitude of the sunne.

it were

The similitudes of mi.

such things as be secret in the holy trinitie, are not to be sought.

it were a fountain of light neuer ceasing: secondly ỳ cleare shining brightnesse which commeth therof: thirdly ye heate breathing out and proceeding from them both: Who is so mad to determine that a man hath three spirites, bicause there are founde to be in him three (as it were) diuers substãces, the soule, the minde, and the wil: the soule, wherby man lyueth and mooueth: the minde, wherby he vnderstãdeth, iudgeth, and discerneth: the heart or will, wherby he willeth or willeth not, hateth or loueth, is sory or glad, becometh good or euill? These things are found in our owne selues, wherby we may be led as by hande, to knowe in one and true God, this holy Trinitie of persons, and in this Trinitie a perfect Vnitie of Godhead.

Now how the father from euer and euermore begat the sonne, and the holy spirit from them both not begotten, but proceeding, doeth as wee may say, breath forth, so that he may particularly be called the Spirite, notwithstanding that Chryst called God comonly a Spirit; it is too obscure for any mans vnderstanding to conceyue, much lesse may it be plainly expounded. Neither is it meete that we shoulde search this secrete of our Lorde God. For if we take him for a presumptuous seruant that wil search his maisters natiuity, with what reuerence ought we to forbeare the like curiousnesse in Goddes matters? I cannot vnderstand howe the soule breedeth the minde, and how the wil cometh of them both: by what way then can I vnderstand the diuine birth of the word of God, and the proceeding of the holy Spirit; specially seing that the same knowledge is neither necessary to our saluation, neither

Testimonies of holy Scripture necessary.

sette forth by Gods worde.

But this is also necessary, that forasmuch as according to the sacrament of our baptisme we beleue not only in the father, but also in the sonne and the holy spirit, we must serch out ỳ ground of this our fayth out of the holy scriptures, and kepe it stedfastly, and beware, least we beleue not in God only, but also in his creatures.

Wherfore we must haue testimonies of Scripture, of the Godhead, of the Worde, and the holy Spirit alwayes at hand and ready, least we fal into the snares of the Heretiks, which denie the Godhead of them both, and so he ledde away from that puritie of the fayth which we ought to haue of Chryst.

Of the Godhead of Chryst, Testimonies.

Christe is very God. Iohn. 1.

FIrst the holy Scriptures do report of Chryst that he is that euerlasting word of God, by whom all things were made.

1. In the first of John: In the beginning was the worde, and the word was with God, & God was the word. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing, &c. By these wordes the Euangelist doth playnely attribe Godhead to Chryste, as to the word of God, wheras he saith of him, not that he was made, but that he was in the beginning: nor he sayeth not simply that he was, but that he was with God, that is to say, in Godhead: and that he was God, and that by

by him all things were made. The Apostle agreeth with this, writing to the Colossians of the Godhead of Chryst, in this sorte: Colloss. 1. Who is the image of God inuisible, the first begotten of al creatures. For in him all thinges haue ben made in the heauens and in earth, visible and inuisible, angels &c. All thinges were made in him and by him, and he is before all, and all thinges consisteth in him. These things can not be attributed to any creature: therefore they must needes conclude that he is God.

2. Secondly, the scriptures doe testifie of Chryst that he is the sonne of God: as in the 2. Psal. The lord sayd to me: Thou art my sonne, this day I begot thee. and Hath. 3. and 17. This is my welbeloued sonne, in whome I am well pleased. Hath. 16. Thou art Chryst the sonne of the liuing God. The same is in the first of John. Ther is also many testimonies, in which Chryst him selfe doth testifie that he is the sonne of God: as appeareth in the Euangelist John. But to put vs from the opinion that he was an adopted sonne, as all we be, as many as be elect, John the Euangelist, declareth him to be the onely begotten sonne, in the first chap. saying: we haue seen hys glorie, as the onely begotten comming from the father. And God no man euer sawe, but the onely begotte which is in the bosome of the father, he hath shewed him vnto vs. And in the third Chapter: So God loued the worlde, that he gaue his only begotten sonne. Wheras he is called the onely begotten of God, he is separated from adoptiues as a naturall sonne. So meaneth the Apostle Ro. 8. when he sayth: Who spared not his owne sonne, gyuing vs to wit, that Chryst was not the adoptiue, but the naturall sonne of God. And as the naturall sonne is naturally a man, and of like substaunce with his father: so is the naturall son of God naturally God, and of one essence with his father.

Psal. 2. Luc. 3.17. Mat. 16. Iohn. 6. 1. Iohn. 4. Rom. 8.

3 Thirdly the Scriptures do expressly call Chryst God: as in the first of John: And the worde was God. And Thomas sayth vnto Chryst, Joh. 20. My Lorde & my God. And in the. 9. to the Romaines: Who is God, blessed aboue all things. In the. 20. of the Actes: In which the holy Spirit hath set you to rule the Church of God, whom he hath purchased with his bloud. Act. 22. The God of oure fathers prepared thee. &c. that thou shouldest heare the voyce out of his mouth. He meaneth that he heard Chryst: then it followeth that Chryst is the God of the fathers of the Israelites. 1. John. 5. We be in the truth, in his sonne Iesu Chryst. He is very God & lyfe euerlasting. There may be also many testimonies cyted out of the olde testament: as of Hieremie. 23. And this is his name that they shal call him, our iuste Lorde. In the Ebrue it is יהוה, which word agreeth to God alone. And Esay. 7. His name shall be called עמנואל, that is to say: God is with vs. And in the 9. chap. His name shalbe called wonderful, the counsellour, the strong God. And in the. 45. Psal. And the king shal be desirous of thy beautie, for he is thy God. These prophecies do giue Godhead vnto Chryst.

Christ God.

4 Fourthly, it makes to this purpose, that Chryst himselfe doth chalege vnto him certain thinges which agreeth onely with the nature of God, as that is which he saith in the. 5. of John

Christ doth ascribe to him selfe the workes of Godhead.

As the father rayseth the dead, so doeth the sonne also quicken whom he will. And whatsoeuer he doeth, the same likewise the sonne doeth. And John. 6. He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlasting. And in the 10. I giue life euerlasting. And in the 14. Whatsoeuer you aske in my name, that I will do. And in the 16. The holy spirit shall take of mine. And in ẏ 15. Without me you can do nothing. And in the 8. Before Abraham was, I am. And in the 17. Glorifie me father with thée, with that glorie which I had, before the worlde, with thée. There be also many other testimonies, which a diligent reader may in reading obserue by him selfe, to confirme and establishe not only his owne faith, but also the faith of other, in Christ, against the vnbeliefe of the Arrians, Turkes, and Iewes.

Of the Godhead of the holy Spirite, Testimonies out of holy Scriptures.

First this were euen ynough to proue the godhead of the holy spirit, that Christ himself, the onely begotten of God, in the Sacrament of baptisme wherin we be first receiued and consigned to him, ioyneth him to the father and himselfe, saying: Baptising them in the name of the father, and the sonne, and of the holy spirite. For it were not méete we shoulde by these thrée names vnderstand thrée gods: by which is expressed onely one true God: and it can not be, that that only most pure God should be made of diuers natures. And so he should be, if the holy spirite were not of the same essence, and of the same nature of godhead, with the father and the sonne.

Matth. 1.

This confirmeth the Prophete Dauid, saying. Through the worde of the Lorde the heauens be settled, & by the spirite of his mouth all the strength of them. By these words the spirit of God is plainly therin ioyned into God and to his word, concerning the godhead. For it is ascribed vnto him, that he is the strength of God, cōteining all things. And the Apostle saith: All these thinges one self same spirite worketh. And John sayth: There are thrée that geue testimonie in heauen: the father, the word, and the spirite: and all these be one. And Christ sayth: he shal teach you al things. But that appertaineth only to God. And the fathers, bycause the Apostle calleth the beléeuers the temple of the Holy spirite, vsed the same to proue his godhead. For a Temple is méete for none, but for God. It is right therefore that we be baptised not only to the father and the sonne, but also to the holy Spirit: and as we be baptised, we beléeue, as we beléeue we do honour, call vppon, worshippe, & serue the trinitie in the vnity of godhead, and the vnitie in the trinitie, to whom be glory for euer.

Psalm. 33.

1. Corint.

1. Ioan. 5.

Ioan. 14.

In vvhat sorte God is, in consideration of Nature.

Hitherto with a christian modesty and lowlinesse we haue examined of what maner essence and subsistence God is, now it followeth to sée of what maner nature he is. And here we doe vse this word Nature, after the

How we doe vse vvorde nature in God.

for pa: 17 See after p. 48 = forw

fruite, and encreased the fault which she had done.

6 Sixtly, Adam also himself, who ought to haue bin more ware, and whose hart should haue bene better settled in the faith and obedience of Gods worde, induced by his wiues wordes, and forgetting Gods commaundement, toke and did eate it.

This description of the sinne of our firste parents and consideration of the circumstances alowed, what colour or excuse I beseke you can it haue, whereby the transgression of Gods commaundement may in any parte be made lesse? Who séeth not our case to be suche, that we be compelled euery way to commende the iustice of God, and to condemne the sinne of our first parents?

2. What is the strēgth, vvorking and paine of the sin of our first parents.

VVe must make a difference betvvixt the efficacie & pain of original sinne.

If that transgression of Gods commaundement wherein our first parents, euen in the beginning, sinned against God, had passed away euen with the facte, we shoulde not néed to speake but of that paine which we read was giuen for it by God. But forasmuch as it did not so passe with the fact, without detriment and emparing of mans nature, it appeareth plaine, that the working and strength of this mischiefe muste be disseuered from the paine, whiche we sée also seuerally set foorth in the scripture. And yet I will not much striue against them whiche cal those thyngs to be the paine of thys sinne, whiche the strength of this mischief worketh in the nature of man. Notwithstanding, in my iudgement it is better for vs to obserue ẏ difference of those euils, which for that transgression mankinde purchased to it selfe in our first parents.

VVhat hurt this sin of Adā did

And let no man thinke that the malice of this sinne is so slender and small in strength and working, that it maye bée comprehended by our thoughts, for surely the whorlepoole of this malice is botomlesse and vtterly vnsearcheable. Wherfore wée will not speake but of that whiche is most manifest. And we wil sée what good the sinne of Adam hath taken from vs, and what euil it hath brought vnto vs.

The goodnesse of innocency lost.

1 First, the state of Adams innocencie was such, that before his sin he was not ashamed of his nakednesse, for that it was not subiect to any filthynesse, as we sée in children. He lost that good immediatly after he had eaten of the fruit of Science, forbidden him. So the scripture saith Who did eate, and the eyes of them both were opened. And when they knewe that they were naked, they sowed together leaues of figtrées & made them couerings. And Adam answered vnto God, saying: I heard thy voice, and feared, bycause I was naked, and hid mée. This shame hys sinne brought him, and made that to séeme foule, which before had no filthinesse in it. So was that great goodnesse of innocencie defyled, and the foundations layde of innumerable wretchednesse and miseries: the example whereof we sée dayly in children, whiche be neuer so happye as when they be as it were in Paradise, without al care, not ashamed of their nakednes: but after they begin

to grow to reaſo, immediately their eyes be opened to ſhame, as though they had eaten of the forbiddē apple. All kinde of trouble commeth on by heape, that the ſaying of Salomon is verified therein. He that addeth knowlege, addeth alſo trauaile. Now who is able to way wel what Adam loſte?

The goodneſſe of cleare conſcience loſt and feare ſtroken in before God.

2 Secondely, Adam before his ſinne, dwelt in the ſight of God with a pure and cleane cōſcience, and feared not the voyce of God, wherevnto he was accuſtomed without anye feārting or trembling. This clearenesſe of conſcience and vſage of the voice of God without feare, the trāſgreſſion of the commaundement bereaft him of, and draue into him alſo a gnawing of conſcience, a terror and trembling before the countinācе of God. Therefore when he hearde the voyce of God walking in Paradiſe, he hidde him ſelfe in the middes of the trées that were in Paradiſe, and when the Lorde called him, and ſaide: Where art thou Adam? he anſwered: I hearde thy voyce Lord in Paradiſe, and feared. Now how great the benefit of cleare conſcience and the vnbaſhful familiarity with God is, wouldе God we might proue in deede. How much anguiſh and trouble the remorſe and trembling of a naughtie conſcience bringeth, no mā knoweth that hath not proued it by experience.

The foundneſſe of minde corrupt.

3 Thirdly, the heart and will of Adam before his ſinne was vpright and ſounde, louing god, right and equitie, but after ſinne, he loſt that vprightneſſe of minde, and became an hypocrite and a diſſembler, and declared it immediately euen towardes God. For what did he elſe but an hypocrite, when he ſaide: I hearde thy voyce in Paradiſe and feared, becauſe I was naked? Wherfore ſaide he not: Becauſe I haue tranſgreſſed thy commaundement, and eaten of the forbidden apple? Again when ỹ lord accuſed him of his tranſgreſſion, he put ouer the faulte from himſelfe to his wife, and ſaide: The woman which thou haſt giuen me for a companion, gaue me of the trée, & I haue eaten it, there he played the hypocrite, and ſwerued from the rightneſſe and equitie of a cleare hart and iudgement. Wherfore ſaid he not rather: Lorde I haue ſinned, forgiue me? Likewiſe Eue laide ouer hir ſinne to the Serpent, ſtrange alſo from the ſimplicitie and rightneſſe of hyr wonted diſpoſition.

Free vvil loſt.

4 Fourthly, Adā before he had ſinned, had Frée wil, not ſubiect to any violence of Satan or of ſin: he might haue ſtaide him from any bleamiſhe of ſinne, and haue kept the vprightneſſe of his minde vnſpoyled, and the righteouſneſſe which naturallye he had in him, he might haue kept ſtill vnſpotted, if he wouldе haue had regarde of it. But after he had ſinned, he loſt the libertie of his right and ordinate will, and according vnto the ſaying of our ſauiour, he was made ſlaue to ſinne, and ſubiect to all kinde of euil and vnlawful deſires, wherof Saint Auguſtine ſayth very aptlye in his Enchiridion to Laurence, That man abuſing his frée libertye, loſt both himſelfe, & his frée libertye.

Auguſtinus in Enchiridion ad Laurentium: capite 30.

Of the paine of ſin that vvas layde vpon Adam for his *tranſgreſſion.*

The curſe of the earth in mans vvorke.

Hitherto we haue briefly ſpoken ſomwhat touching the working and ſtrength of the ſinne of Adam, and nowe we muſt ſée what is ſette forth in the ſcripture Geneſis. 3. touching the penalty therof, expreſſy giuen of God.

1 Firſt, he ſayth: Curſed be the earth in thy worke, thou ſhalte eate thereof in trauailes and labours al the dayes of thy life, it ſhall bring thée forth thornes and brambles, and thou ſhalt fede of the herbes of the earth. In the ſweate of thy face thou ſhalt eate thy breade. So that before his ſinne Adam might haue liued without any labour and trauaile, & the earth would haue brought forth things committed vnto it, according vnto the bleſſing giuen it of God: but after his ſinne, the earth is ſubiect vnto the curſe: ſo that though it haue neuer ſo much tilth and labour, yet it will bring forth brambles and bryers, to continue out Adams life in ſweate and labours.

The vvorthineſſe of the firſt mā loſt.

2 Secondly, his authoritie & worthineſſe wherein he was aduaunced aboue all that was in the earth and in the ſea, was vtterly loſt after his ſinne: for as he became diſobedient vnto Gods will, ſo by the iuſt iudgement of God came it to paſſe, that he loſte alſo the obedience of them which before were ſubiect vnto him & therwith al was turned out alſo of his place of reputation, which was Paradiſe, and as for that obediance whiche is yet remayning in theſe inferior creatures, either it is forced by cōpulſion, either wrought by policie and arte.

Corruptiō and death laide vpon vs.

3 Thirdly, before ſinne the waye was open vnto the trée of life, and Adams body was not ſubiect to any diſeaſe, infection, or death: but after ſinne, it was brought into danger of corruptiō, diſeaſe & death. Vntil thou returne ſaith God, into the earth, out of which thou were taken. For thou art duſt, and ſhalt returne into duſt. That returning into earth and duſt is done by corruption & death. And the waye to the trée of life is ſo ſhut vp, that after his ſinne he muſt néds yelde vnto death.

Nature it ſelfe infected and perished.

All theſe things fel vpon our firſt parents, firſte through the working and violence of ſinne: ſecondly by the penaltye which GOD layde vpon them: beſydes thys, theſe euils did not onlye fall vppon them that ſinned, but did alſo ſo infect theyr nature, that they be conueyed as it were, out of an infected rote, and ſpreade into all their ſucceſſours, euen vntil the very end of the world. So that as all fleſhe comming of Adam is naturally infected with the contagion of ſinne, ſo is it alſo ſubiect vnto the ſentence of death and corruption, ſubiecte vnto all kinde of miſeries and troubles, the babe of one day olde is wrapped vp in the ſwadling cloutes of ſinne, and ſubiect vnto death.

Of this naturall infectiō and corruption of our nature, the ſcriptures beareth witneſſe. Geneſis. 8. The whole thought of mans harte, euen from hys childehoode, leaneth only vnto ſinne. And the Apoſtle: The

carnal man perceiueth not ẏ things of God,nor can not. Again:The vnderstanding of the flesh is enemie towards God,and is not subiect vnto his lawe. And: I fele a law in my members, striuing against ẏ law of my minde. And Hierom: The harte of man is croked,and vnsearchable. And Dauid sayth: Lo, I am conceyued in wickednesse, and in sinne my mother conceiued me. Vnto this corruption which infecteth the flesh of our nature, cleaueth fast also the sentence of death and wrath of God. Hierem.17. Psal.51. Thereof the Apostle witnesseth, saying: By one mans sinne, all men died. And death is gone ouer vnto all, for all haue sinned. And to the Ephesians. We were all by nature the children of wrath, euen as the reste. This infection and corruption of nature, hath shutte vs of from the grace and the felowshippe of God. Therefore Christ sayth: Except a man be newe borne from aboue, he can not see the kingdome of God: by which words he declareth sufficiently, that our first birth, whiche commeth of Adam, is so corrupt and depraued, that vnlesse a man be newe borne from heauen, he can not be partaker of the kingdome of God. Rom.5. Eph.2. Ioan.3.

So great therfore is the mischief, strength, and working of sinne, that it hath bereaft all mankinde, in the very beginning and firste entrie of our nature, from the puritie of good conscience, trust in God, straightnes of iustice, liberty of will to good, quietnesse of life, the honour of being the image of God, of our gouernance, & frō the incorruptnes also of nature, & im mortalitie, & hath infected it with wicked hypocrisie, & brought it into danger of al euil, made it slaue of sin, subiect vnto ẏ wrath of god, vnto corruptiō, to innumerable calamities, & vnto death, not only of body, but also euerlasting. So that the scholer of Plato, Apuleius, when he described man, it seemeth he marked wel ẏ corruptiō of our nature, thoughhe knew not the beginning therof. We, (saith he,) dwelle vpon the earth glad of reason, able to talke, hauing soules immortall, members subiect vnto death, of light and carefull mindes, brutishe and scruile bodies, not like in conditions, but like in errours, of peuish boldnesse, stiffe in hope, vayne in labor, brickle of fortune, euery one mortall, and yet togither continuing euer their whole kind, by mutual succession of their braue chaungeable, their time euer fleeing away, lōg ere they be wise, some deade, in their life neuer content: This saith Apuleius. The sum of this place.

4. To vvhō the fal of Mankinde is imputed.

MAn may thinke that the cōsideration hereof is superfluous and curious. For it is necessarie to make it appeare from whence the very beginning of our euill sprang out. And it is needefull also for some places of Scripture that thys question be required.

1 Let vs examine therfore suche thyngs as pertayneth to this purpose. The hystorie of this fall maketh mention of the Serpente, of Eue, and of Adam. The Serpent intised, Eue being deceiued by the entisemente of the Serpent, sinned firste, and after gaue occasion also vnto Adam hyr husbande, to synne. The question is therfore, to whome The Serpent. Adam. Euah.

whom of these three, the corruption and losse of mankind ought to be imputed. There is a place in the boke of wisedome, whiche seemeth to impute this euill vnto Satan, whose instrument the Serpent was. For there wee reade thus. Through the enuy of the Deuil, death entred into the worlde. And there folowe th hym such as be of his sede. And bycause we shall not say for excuse, that this boke hath not the authoritie of the cannon, there is a place in the firste epistle of John, in the thirde chapter where we reade: He that doth sin, is of the Diuel, for from the beginning the Diuel sinneth. To that entēt appeared the Sonne of God, to vndoe the workes of the Deuill. By these two places it seemeth the Diuell is made author of sinne and of death, & also of the losse of our nature. 1.

2 Secondly, In Ecclesiasticus we read thus: From a woman is the beginning of sinne, and by hir al mē dieth. Wherefore Tertullian also in his boke *De habitu mulieris*, calleth woman the firste forsaker of Gods lawe, the discloser of the forbidden trée, and ẏ gate of the Deuil. And the Apostle sayth, Adam was not seduced, but the woman being seduced, was in the blame. These two places of scripture doe impute the beginnings of our losse vnto the woman. Eccl.25. 1.Timoth.2.

3 Thirdly, Where the Apostle saith: As in Adam al dyeth &c. and in an other place: Death raigned from Adam vntil Moyses &c. he seemeth to mean that the beginning, spring, and cause of this euil came of Adā. Therfore we must see what may be certainely grounded vpon these places 1.Corin.15. Rom.5.

of holy Scripture, and howe they be to be vnderstanded, that ther be found no contrariety betwixt them.

The beginning of sin is of the Deuil.

Where be two things to be considered in this matter, the beginning of sinne, and the ouer spreading of it abrode. If we aske generally of the beginning of whence sinne beganne, that is to saye, what creature firste of all sinned, and gaue others occasion also to sinne, Saint John saith aright, that sinne is of the Diuel, and that he sinned from the beginning. For both he sinned before man, and was therefore cast out from God, & he afterward by meanes of the Serpent gaue occasion also of sinne vnto man. But if it be demaunded what man firste sinned, there can none be noted but Eue. For she was seduced by the Serpēt, & was first in blame, as the Apostle mentioneth: so that the Wiseman saith righte: that the beginning of sinne was wrought by the woman, and that through hyr wee dye all. Not only forbicause shee firste sinned, but bicause she persuaded Adam also to sin. And thus much for the beginning of sinne. Ioan.3.

VVhat man firste sinned.

The spreading abrod of sinne frō Adam.

Nowe if any man aske me of the ouerspreading of sinne, wherby thys mischief passed through, infected, corrupted and made subiect vnto death all mankinde, we must herken vnto the Apostle, who appointeth thys ouerspreading neither to the Deuill, neither to the woman, but vnto Adam. For the Diuel did not conuey ouer sinne vnto Eue, nor Eue vnto Adam by propagation or increase of kynde, but onlye by entisement. For the Serpent corrupted the woman, and the womā the man, by entisement. But the mā being corrupt

with sinne, did by encrease of nature shead out his poyson into all the posteritie discending from him. Therfore, although the beginning of sinne came of the Diuel, and Eue, seduced by him, sinned before Adam, yet the nature of mankinde had not bin so infected with sinne, that ỳ euil should haue corrupted all the posteritie with the encrease of all fleshe, and made it subiect vnto sinne and death, if Adam had not sinned. For the increase and succession pertaineth not to the woman, but vnto the man, which cause Origene did note also in this question. And the circumcision of the foreskin confirmeth plainly this opinion, declaring that the corruption and depravation of mankinde, which by succession and byrth is increased vnto all that cõmeth after, is of the sæde of the man. Therefor it was nedeful that Christ shold not be conceiued & borne in ỳ womb of ỳ Virgin of the sæde of man, least he shuld be borne partaker of sin, but by the working of the holy Spirite.

In this sort, I suppose, it is manifest ynough, that although the fault of ỳ fal of Adam be cõmon vnto ỳ Serpẽt Eue, & Adam, yet for asmuch as pertaineth to the encrease, & that ouerspreading of sin, and death, it can not be iustly imputed to the Serpẽt, nor vnto Eue, but vnto Adam, to whom also the Lord said: Bicause thou hast hearkened to the voyce of thy wife, & hast eaten of the trẽ, &c. thou shalt returne vnto the earth. Whiche sentence of death he woulde not haue pronounced, vnlesse Adam ashead of his wife, had perfected the sin begon of the woman. And whereas ỳ Apostle sayth: Adam was not deceiued, but the woman was deceiued &c. it is not so to be vnderstãded, ỳ Adam sinned not, but that he was not deceiued by the words of the Serpent, as the woman was. But for al ỳ, though he were not deceiued by ỳ Serpent, yet bicause he did harken to the voyce of ỳ woman, & ate it, he became a transgressor of Gods commaundement, ỳ accomplisher of the sin begã the woman, & spreader abroade of the whole mischiefe, wherof there was a mosse manifest argumẽt declared in Caun his first begotten sonne.

How A vvas no deceiue

4. To vvhat purpose of God mankinde fel in Adam.

The wayes of God be not like ỳ wayes of men, to make vs to thinke that it happened vnto him as it doth dayly to vs, whose purposes & doings oftentimes fall out farre other wayes than we appointed. He made man to his likenesse, right and whole. And what should happen vnto him through the Serpents intícement, who is so witlesse, to saye that he did not forsee it: Therfore al men do very wel agree therin, that the sin of Adam was frõ euer foreseene and foreknowen to God. So ỳ this fal of Adã chanced not so, as shold be without the knowlege & determination of his maker, and as though he shoulde be deceiued in his worke, as if it had otherwise than he appointed: as whẽ a potmaker should meane to make a larger potte, and by course of hys moulde there do fal out but a small ones: or when a great enterprise takẽ in hand, commeth to nothing, like as it chanceth to vs men for the ignoraunce of things to come, so that the father knowing not what shall become of his sonne, though he hope well, & with great diligence instructeth him wel, yet oft it chanceth that he findeth in him things much contrarie to honestie & goodnesse, & contrary also vnto his expectation. But we muste thinke before all thinges, that no such matter can hapen vnto God.

he fore-ovvlege God vas not vithout me cer-ine pur-ose.

God vvil before the man shou fall.

od could ave letten he fall of an.

He letted im not, bi-ause hee vvold not.

2 And to go farther, I thinke and without any doubte doe pronounce, that the foreknowledge of God of the fal of man to come, was not but to great purpose. For this being certaine, that he did foresee what should become of mankinde, it must nedes folow, next to appoint with our selues, whether he coulde haue let thys fall or no. There is no man will say that he could not. He could haue dashed the purpose and endeuour of Satã, that he should not haue tempted man. He coulde haue so made the minde of man, that he shoulde not haue bin able to haue sinned, according vnto that grace, that the rest of the holy spirits were cõfirmed withall, so that after the fall of the Angels, they coulde not sinne, and so as we shal be in heauen after this lyfe. He could (I saye) but he did none of this. He suffred Satan to tempt, and gaue man the libertie to doe, whether he would, eyther to obeye hym, or the Serpent.

3 Nowe consequently, bicause hee did not let him whẽ he might, I suppose it is not to be doubted, that therfore he did not lette him, bycause hee woulde not let him. For if he hadde wold, seyng he was able, what cause had there bin, but that he hadde letten him?

4 But if this be manifest, that whẽ he might he would not, it followeth in any wise, that it was not without cause that he would not. For in God to will, or to will not, it is not without purpose, but ioyned wyth mosse highe wisedome, and mosse iuste cause.

It vvas not vvithout cause that hee vvould not.

5 If there were any cause, it must nedes be good. Therfore in respect of some good, he would not let the fal of mankinde.

He vvould not vppon a good cause.

6 Now it is demaunded farther, whether this good were appointed and sought before by any purpose or predestination, or that without anye purpose or deuice of any, it shold befall as by happe and circumstance of things, & yet foreseene of God, that it shoulde so befall. I suppose no mã of vnderstanding wyll say, that it should be by happe, without ỳ counsel or purpose of any.

VVhether that good in respect vvhereof he permitted man to sinne, came vppon any purpose or by chaũce.

7 Then whose Counsel, purpose, and appointmente was this? It was not the Serpents, nor Satans, by whome the Serpent was sette on. And we can not saye, that it was Eues or Adams, who vnderstode nothyng at all of it. Therefore it was the purpose of God.

To vvhat purpose God suffered man to fall.

8 Now riseth a question, why God, being mosse iuste, did not with so determined counsell and purpose order the beginning of mans nature that he shoulde not be subiecte vnto sinne and deathe. To that I thinke we must make thys aunswere: The beginning of our nature was so wel & perfectly made of God, that there was no euil or thing amisse therin. He made mã right: He gaue him frée wil to do good & eschue euil, if he had woulde: He set him in a place mosse

pleasāt: he made him lord of al things in the earth and in the Sea: He gaue him also a commaundement. It was not amisse, that the Creator shoulde commaunde his creature, and appoint him what he shoulde eschue: Moreouer, the commaundement was not harde nor vnpossible, but possible to kepe, yea and also verye easie. He tolde him plainely what shoulde become of it, if he did transgresse the law of his commaundement. Therfore seeing that mā so perfectly made and adorned with so singular worthinesse, at so light a motion transgressed the commaundement giuen of God, which he might most easilye haue kepte, surely there is no cause why he should put any fault in God, but rather condemne the lightnesse & vanity of man. And farder, wheras by the sinne committed, mākinde perished and fell into so great corruption, depravation, and death, it is not such that it ought to be imputed vnto GOD, but rather suche as the iustice of GOD maye appeare therein.

It vvas vvithout Goddes fault that man sinned and lost mankinde.

Nowe wheras he ordered al these things in this sort, without any fault of his, but to come to some good end: who is so madde to laye any blame vnto the Creator whyche is moste wise and iuste? God forbydde therfore that we shoulde saye, that these things happened without the foreknowledge and counsell of GOD. God forbyd we shoulde say, that it is not lawfull for hym to doe in hys worke, that whiche the Potmaker may worke in his.

VVhat vvas the good his respect vvher of God did not let the fal of man.

Yet hytherto the consideration of this matter is easie and playne. But in this resteth a very hard and obscure question, what good that was in respect whereof God, when he might, would not lette the fall of mankinde. Thus we doe wel perceyue, that it was not done without cause, that the two chiefe and moste hyghe kindes of creatures, that is, of Aungels and of men, fell from theyr state of their rightnesse, seeing that all the creatures of lower sorte did abide in their estate: and farthermore it was not done without cause, that the sinne of the Aungels reste onlye in imitation, and did not infecte the whole order of the nature of Aungels by propagation, whiche was not gyuen to Aungels, but did ouerthrowe only a parte thereof: but mans sinne dyd not corrupt and infect by imitation some parte onely of mankinde, but by propagation also corrupted the whole nature of manne. Surely the iudgementes of GOD be vnsearchable to al them to whom they be not opened by some reuelation: but yet they that bee in Chriſte, and be illuminate by the holy Spirite, they, though they can not see all, yet may they perceyue some things according vnto the knowledge of Chriſte, wherewyth they be indewed: of which sorte is the Apostle, that chosē interpreter of the secrets of God. His saying in the Epistle to the Romanes is thus: God concluded al vnder vnbeliefe, that he might haue mercy vppon all. And to the Galathians he sayth: The scripture hath concluded al vnder sinne, that ỳ promisse by ỳ fayth of Jesu Christ may be giuen to all beléeuers. And to the Ephesians, he saith: We be chosen of God in Chriſt Jesu, before the

There vvas imitation of sin in the Angels, and propagation in man.

Ephe. 3.

The Salvation of man vvas appointed at according vnto his firste estate, but to a restorecent.

Rom. 11.

Gal. 3.

Ephes. 1.

the constitution of the worlde, and that according vnto the purpose of his wil, to the prayse of the glorie of his grace. And in that thirde chapter of the same Epistle he doeth attribute vnto Chriſt the dispensation of the mysterie hidden before the worlde, in God, which created al. By this and other like places, I thinke it open ynough, what was the entent and purpose of God from euer. First to chose whome he would, by grace, out of all mankinde, and to appoint them to be saued vnto the true blessed, heauenly, and euerlasting lyfe in his sonne by faith. And also that at certaine times appointed by him, he would sende his Sonne into this worlde, and to open vnto the worlde the misterie of this his purpose and entent, and to performe all other things agreeing with the dispensatiō of Chriſt. Therefore, seeing this entent and purpose which was opened these latter times in Chriſte, by the preachyng of the Gospell and working of the holy spirite, is not now newe breéden in God after the fal of man, but before man sinned, yea before he was made, before ỳ beginning of the worlde: yea it was from euer hidden in him. I thinke the matter is playne, that God would not that mans felicitie and saluation should be setteled vnto his firste condition and estate what so euer it was, but to the repayring and amēding therof predestinate in Chriſt his sonne, & so to order it, that neyther by his owne knowledge (for which cause he was forbidden in that he shoulde not eate of the tree of good and euill) neither by the worthynesse and desertes of his owne righteousnesse, but by the only grace and mercye of his free election, otherwise sure to perish, he shoulde be redemed and saued by the meanes of his sonne. And to the aduancement of this grace of election, serued this vniuersal fall of mankinde, whereby Adam, before he had any issue, fell into sinne: and so it came to passe, that no man coulde be saued but by the mercye of God. Also the miserie, corruption, and decay which followed the fall of our first parentes, and inuaded al mankinde, doeth set forthe the power and vertue of Gods prouidence to be muche greater, for that we were repaired by Chriſte after our fall to a more blessed estate than we were created in before we fell, lyke as in the day of resurrection when we shall be all raised vp out of the dust of the earth, and the corruptible put on incorruption, and the mortall immortalitie, the vertue of the power of God shal be declared much better, than if we had still lyued in this lyfe without corruption and death.

These things I haue plainely and briefly set forthe, reiecting al vnprofitable questions, which are wonte to be moued in this case, bicause they séeme very certain, and furthering to the auancement of Chriſt his glorie, our redeemer & sauiour. And if any man desireth to wade farther and deper herein, let him séeke in others. But who so euer will followe my counsell, shal remember to kepe a meane in searching of thinges touching God, and stay the curiousnesse of his lasuih appetite, that he passe not the limites of Godlinesse and edifying. As for godly disposed men, I thinke it sufficient in this matter for

for their edifying, if they do reuerently weigh those things which we haue briefly noted, touching the fall of mankinde.

Of Free wil.

There is in man affection, loue & hate, and vvil also.

Though it be manifest ynough to the quiet reader, by this that we haue already spoken of the fall of mankind, what he ought to iudge of Free wil, and of same, yet least we should seeme of purpose to passe ouer these places, & because we must enioyne them which be studious of holy scriptures, what sobrietie they ought to vse when they do apply themselues to consider the same: First of all, I suppose no man will denie, that man was so made of God, & in that sort, not only before, but also after his fal, that he had in him affections to hate and to loue, to will and to will not. This constitution man hath commō with brute beasts vnder him, & with the Angels aboue him, that some things he loueth and willeth, other things he hateth and willeth not. Of this there is no doubt..

VVhether mans vvill be free or bonde.

Now we must farther procede to the consideration of libertie, and see what mans wil is, free or bounde. For hereupon hath risen matter of disputation amongst learned men, some affirming that the will of man is free, some denying it. But first I must geue you warning, not to runne out in this matter, to things touching mans life and conuersation, but to stande in termes of obedience, which we ought all to haue to the cōmandements of God. For to what purpose should we striue hereupon, whether a man hath free will thus far, that he may either speake, either hold his peace, curse, or bleesse, go forth a dores, or tary within dores, eate, or not eate, & other like matters, either to doe them, either to leaue them vndone? Surely euen these things be such, that some way they auaile vnto the knowledge of man, and also to the consideratiō of the prouidence of God, if we consider them with sobriety, & without a cōtentious minde: but the godly man searcheth things that be more earnest and weightie: whose minde is allwayes intent to conforme himself vnto the commandements of God. And so far shall it profit him, if he search this case with sobrietie and godlinesse, that he may vnderstand how he is ready and wel prouided to obey the wil of God.

And we must vnderstand that this libertie of wil, whereof man striueth, is to be considered three wayes.

Free vvil to be considered three vvayes.

1 The first kinde of libertie is, whē a man is so free, that of duetie he is bonde to no man, but as we say, is his own mā, and may freely chose at his owne will what he will do, or what he wil not do, and offendeth no man whatsoeuer he doeth.

2 The seconde kinde of libertie is, whereby that will is made free, that a man may at his own libertie, will that which God willeth, and not wil those things which displeseth him: or cōtrarywise, not to wil those things that do please him, and to will those things which displease him.

3 The thirde kinde is that wherby to Free wil is added also free power to do those things which God commandeth, so that man may freely and readyly

readily either do them or leaue them vndone, so that the power and habilitie to doe, is correspondent vnto the Free wil.

Now let vs goe to the first kinde of libertie, which I may call the libertie of power, and see whether any man or Angel haue such a kinde of free libertie, that he is subiect to the commandement of none. I suppose ther shal be none such found, nor Angel, nor man, no not Adam when he was in Paradise before his fall: but this libertie belongeth only to God, who is so free of power and wil, that he is subiect vnto the commandemēt of none. But al, as well Angels as men, in this respect be not free, but bonde, bonde vnto him that made them. Wherefore when Goddes commandementes be layd vnto thē, this libertie hath no place in them, which if he had bene in Adam, it should haue cleared him of all blame of breache of the commaundement. For how shuld he haue sinned in not obeying Goddes commandementes, if he had had this free will and free iurisdiction? For no man sinneth, in not obeying him whome he is in nothing bounde to obey. But not onlye man, but also all other creatures are bonde and subiect vnto God. Therfore when that place in the 15. of Ecclesiasticus is read: God from the beginning appointed man, and left him in the hande of his owne counsell, he gaue him commandementes and preceptes, he set him fyre and water, stretch thy hand vnto what thou wilt, &c. is not so to be vnderstāded, that he made man so farre forth free, that he should not be bounde to obey his commandements, but without blame he might freely either obey them, either not obey them. God saue vs from this wicked minde. But of the vnderstanding of this place we wil speake hereafter. And we neede not to stande any longer in expounding of this kinde of libertie. For there is no man that will so attribute free wil vnto any man, that he should not be subiect vnto the seruice of God.

Of the second kinde of libertie.

Now let vs go on & see the second and thirde kinde of libertie. In the seconde kinde they be free, whose wil is so free, that they may freely will: that libertie is double, so that a man may with free will desire bothe the good and the euil. I say with free wil, to exclude bothe the slayes of compulsion and of lette. Of compulsion, wherein violence is vsed, that compelled thou shouldest wil that which is good. Of lette, when a man is violently drawen backe, that he shal not couet that which is euil. This double libertie can not be geuen to any mā, but vnto our firste parentes before they sinned. They were made in that sorte, that they might wil good, and refuse euil: and againe refuse good, and chose the euil.

Of the third kinde of libertie.

The thirde kinde of libertie they haue, which haue not only free will, but also free power to do, and I call free power to doe, which is nether compelled vnto it, which is far from free libertie, neither is violently letten from that which free wil desireth, so that he which hath it, may freely do what he wil, good or euil. And this libertie of power is giuen to no creatures, but only vnto our first parentes before they fall, and to the Angels before they fell.

And

Eccles. 15. Augustinus lib. de Nouo cantico ca. 8.

And that place which I alleged before out of Ecclesiasticus, is to be referred vnto this sense: which S. Augustin expoundeth of the firste man Adam. God lefte him in the hande of his counsell, he made him free bothe of will and of power. Of wil, that he might at his libertie as wel choose good and refuse euill, as refuse good, and choose the euill. That he might choose euill, and refuse good, is manifest, by that that he did both, when he sinned. That he might haue chosen good and haue refused euil, if he had would, it is proued by that, that for the transgression of the holy commandement, he was condemned of God as a misdoer and a sinner, which coulde not haue beene done by any iuste iudgement of God, vnlesse he had bin endued with free will and power. Therefore S. Augustin in his booke of correption and grace. 11. chapter saith wel, and in this sorte: He might haue stoode fast if he had would, and that he would not, it came of free will, which then was so free, that he was hable to wil well or euil.

Augustinus.

Libertie of the first mā loste after his fall.

But after the fall of the first man, whereby he was made bounde vnto sinne, bothe the libertie of will and of power was loste, not so, but that we might yet will & doo euill, whereunto we be left ouer free, but that we could neither will freely, neither performe that good that is commanded of God. So that it can not be denied, but that there is in man free will, notwithstanding that he is subiecte vnto the bondage of sinne and Satan. For he is of so corrupte and peruerse a disposition, that the euill which he committeth in his bondage, he doeth it not as compelled and restrayned, but with moste free wil and desire. And this I speake of manne, not yet newe borne by the grace of Christ, and restored vnto true libertie, but yet subiect vnto the generall corruption. The saying of the Apostle hath no place here: The good that I will, I doe not, and the euil which I hate, I doo. For the Apostle speaketh there as a man newe borne, and not as still the very seruant of sinne. And this is the goodly libertie of our will, which some men boaste of so muche to proue, that a man is not a very block or a stone, but endued with vnderstanding and free will. They bring Scriptures to proue the matters already well knowen. As in Ecclesiasticus, the 31. chap. He that mighte transgresse and would not, might doe euill and did not. To be hable to transgresse and doe euil, belongeth to all the children of Adam. Not to transgresse when a man maye, is the worke of Gods grace, not in the corruption of manne. And in Ieremias the .3. chapter: Loe thou haste spoken and hast done euil, and thou couldest doe it. And Math. 23. Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how oft woulde I gather togyther thy children, &c. and thou woldst not. By these and other like places of Scripture, there can no other thing be proued, but that in deed after the originall corruption, there is lefte yet in manne libertie of will and power, but only vnto euil: the experience whereof is so great, that we neede no places of Scripture to proue it. No euill man doeth that that is euil, forced and against his will. The whoremonger doeth of his

Liberty to do euill.

Rom. 7.

No e... perso... that e... vvhic... doeth... gainst... vvil.

his owne will seeke harlottes: he that stealeth, stealeth folowing his owne will: he that betrayeth, doeth it of purpose: Iudas betrayed Christ of free and pretensed wil and purpose, not constrained, though he were enticed to that mischief by the Deuill. No euill man is angrye, none is proude, none enuieth, none backbiteth his neighbour, enforced and against his wil.

The bondage of Satan doeth not extinguish the free vvil in euil.

That bondage whereby the euil menne be subiect vnto sinne and Satan, doeth not extinguish this free wil to euil, but doeth rather enerease it and strengthen it. For they be subiect in those things which doth exceedingly please the corrupte fleshe. Therefore that whiche the Apostle saith of the vnbeleuing. 2. Timoth. 2. that they be kept captiue in the snares of the Deuil at his wil, is not so to be vnderstoode, that they serue the Deuil, against their wil, but that partly by ignorance and lacke of wisdome, partly blinded by the malice of corrupt vnderstanding, they be deteyned in errour and bondage of sinne, and that not against their wil, but willingly and with pleasure. Therefore he addeth there: Whether peraduenture God giue them repentance to knowe the truthe, that they maye recouer out of the snares of the Deuil. When he saith, Whether God will peraduenture geue them repentance to recouer, he doeth sufficiently declare, that they doe serue not constrayned but willingly. For repentance and recouery, conteineth change of minde, iudgement, purpose and wil, so that the same is displeasant that pleased before, which chaunge taketh not place in them, which against their will are compelled, and whether they will or not, doe that which is euill.

Timot. 2.

The Diuels snares.

So that the Deuils fetters and stockes, whereby wee be kept captiue at his wil, is the blindenesse of minde, whereof the Apostle maketh mention, where he sayth: The God of this worlde hath blinded the heartes of the vnfaithfull, and the malice of corrupte disposition, originally drawen from Adam. So we reade in the booke of Wisdome: Malice hath blinded them. But there be many kindes of malice. Some be caught and captiue in anger, some in enuie, some in pryde, some in naughtie wantonnesse, &c. By these fetters and stockes euil and wicked men be kept captiue, so that neither they know, neither desire that that is good, but do delite in the bondage of Sinne.

2. Corint. 4.

Sap. 2.

In them vvhich be not yet regenerate ther is both free and seruil vvil.

So that the olde Adam is so planted in euery man that is destitute of the grace of God, that he hath bothe free will and bond, but that is onlye in euil. Bonde, forbicause he is sold ouer to the desires of the corrupt fleshe, and to the will of Satan for to sinne. Free, for that he doeth not sinne against his wil, but freely and willingly he doth sinne, and in the deuise of euil and bondage of sinne he deliteth. For how can it be sayd that he hathe not free will in euil, which doeth couet and diligently seeke, and with delite accomplishe that which is euill and contrary to the will of God? Surely wil is not constrayned, when the appetite goeth before, the endeuour followeth, and in the ende the worke is made vp and accomplished with delite. Wherefore

I thinke

I thinke it is manifeſt, for aſmuch as concerneth the wil and power of an euil man to ſinne, that both are ouer frée and wilful, and that none of them is condemned without deſert, but that the iudgement of God is iuſte againſt all euil, wicked, and reprobate,

VVhether the carnall man haue Free vvill to doo good.

Now is left to conſider, whether that as ther is in the fleſhly and carnall man, and yet the ſonne of Adam, Frée wil to ſinne: ſo there be in him frée will and power alſo to doe well and vprightly, that is, to obeye and kepe the commandementes of God. I ſaye expreſſly, the fleſhly and carnall man, and yet the ſonne of Adam. For I meane of euery ſuche man which is not lead and directed by ſome ſpeciall grace and worcking of the holy ſpirite, but liueth altogether ſubiect vnto the blindeneſſe of the minde and corruptiõ of the hart, gotten of Adam. If the queſtion be, whether he can with Frée wil deſire, and with frée power accompliſh that which is good and commaunded of God, we cã not anſwer more aptly, than according vnto ỹ ſaying of our Sauiour Chriſt, where he ſaith, that it can not be that an euill trée, ſhould bryng forthe good fruite. And againe: Howe can you ſpeake good thinges, when you be euill? And the Apoſtle ſayth: The carnall manne vnderſtandeth not the things of God. For it is folliſhneſſe vnto him, and he canne not vnderſtande it. And Chriſt in the thirde chapter of Iohn ſayeth: Vnleſſe a manne be newe borne from aboue, he can not ſée the kingdome of God. By theſe and other lyke teſtimanies it is proued ſufficientlye, that the olde man, the fleſhely and carnall man, is as blinde in minde, as corrupt in heart, towardes thoſe thinges, whiche God commaundeth, lyke as he hath Frée will towardes thoſe thinges, which the fleſhe, ſinne, and Satan requireth. Therefore wée muſt determine for a certaintie, that man, not yet borne by the grace of God, hath not that libertie of will and power, that he freely will, and performe that which God commaundeth. He may in déede be dryuen or moued ſome other waye to ſpeake with his tong, or to worke with his hande in ſome ſorte, that which is good. But to ſay it, or doe it ſo of iudgemẽt and Frée will as he doeth and ſpeaketh that is euil, it can not be, onleſſe he be firſt chaunged by the grace of God to a good trée.

And we may not herken vnto thé, which graunte, that the ayde of the grace of God ſo required to this matter, that whatſoeuer a man otherwiſe by the ſtrength of nature ſhoulde hardly doe that he may more eaſily bring to paſſe, beyng holpen with the grace of God. Whoſe opinion is euen in the Decrées reprooued in this ſorte. It is our pleaſure, that wholoeuer ſay, that the grace of iuſtification is ſo geuen vs, that we may eaſlier fulfill ỹ by grace, which we are commanded to doe by Frée wil, as though that if grace were not gyuen, we coulde not do it eaſly, yet without grace we might fulfill the commandements of God: our pleaſure, I ſay, is that he be accurſed.

Now ſome man wil ſay: Haue we then no libertie of will vnto good? I anſwere: Put difference, brother, betwixt man and man, betwixt the

good and the euill, betwixt the fleſhly and the ſpirituall, the corrupt and the regenerate, the Chriſtian & the Ethnik, the elect and the reprobate, the faythfull and the vnfaithfull: if thou aſke me of the euil, the fleſhly, the corrupt, the reprobate, and of the vnfaithfull, which can not be ſayed to be of God: there can be no other anſwere for thée, but that that kinde of men which is not of God, heareth not the worde of God: according to the ſaying of Chriſt in the Goſpell, and other places before rehearſed. But if you demande of the faithfull, good, regenerate, & iuſtified by fayth: God forbyd we ſhould ſay that they be not frée to good, foraſmuche as Chriſt ſayth: If the ſonne make you frée, you be frée in déede. And the Apoſtle: It is God whiche worketh in vs to wil, and to performe, according to his good wil. And againe: I can doe all thyngs through him which comforteth me.

Therefore we muſt diligently mark that which S. Auguſtin wrote in this wiſe: What maner of libertie I beſeke you, can the bonde ſeruant haue, but when he taketh pleaſure to ſinne? For he ſerueth frankly, which willingly doeth the will of his maſter. And thereby he is frée to ſinne, which is the ſeruant of ſinne: therefore he ſhall not be frée to liue iuſtely, vnleſſe he be deliuered from ſinne, and become the ſeruant of righteouſneſſe. That is the true liberty, for the ioye which we conceiue of our well doyng: and alſo godly bondage, for the obedience of ỹ cõmandement. But this liberty to doo well, from whence ſhoulde it come to the manne which is put ouer and ſolde to ſerue in bondage, vnleſſe he doe redeme him whoſe voyce that is: If the ſonne make you frée, then you ſhalbe frée in déede? And before that beginne to frame in man, how ſhall any man glorie of his Frée wil in any good worke, whiche is not yet frée to do well, vnleſſe he do puffe vp and auance himſelfe with a vaine pryde, whiche the Apoſtle doeth reſtrayne, ſaying: You are ſaued through grace by faith? This ſaith S. Auguſtine.

Iohn. 8.

Tvvo diſtinctions neceſſary in this caſe.

Therefore, in my opinion we ſhould never talke of Frée wil without a diſtinction. And in this matter we muſt néedes make a double diſtinction. One is, whereby we maye put difference betwixt man after his fal, and man before his fal: the other, betwixt good & euil, men regenerate, and men yet corrupt: the children of this worlde, and the children of the kingdome of God: the ſeruantes of ſinne, and the ſeruants of righteouſneſſe. For a man can not directly ſpeake of both, ſo much different betwixt themſelues, without diſtinction. Keping the diſtinctiõ, we may wel affirme euerye man to be frée and bonde. If he be euil, bonde vnto ſin: and frée of wil, and ready to ſinne: If he be good, bonde vnto righteouſneſſe, frée of wil, & of himſelfe yelding to doe wel. So that we take not awaye frée wil neither from the euil, neither from the good, which neither the prouidence of God it ſelfe taketh away: although after the minde of the Apoſtle, he doe worke all in all. In the euil he taketh not away that libertie of wil, wherby they do freely and by their own accorde that which is euill, and doe ſerue ſinne. Vnto

Euery man is both free and bonde.

1 Corinth. 12.

the good, that is to saye, to them whome he maketh good, doth regenerate and iustifie, he doeth restore frée will to doe well by his holy Spirite. And he doth not so gouerne them and leade them by his holy spirite, that they doe good compelled, and whether they wil or no, (for so might the euil and not regenerate do) but he doth lighten their minds to know the truth, he doth change and cleanse the hart to loue the truth and wil of God, when it is knowen: he giueth them strength to fulfill also in déede that which they loue, according vnto the measure of grace which euery man hath receiued. But the place shalbe méeter to speake of this matter when we shal speake of the reparation of mankinde by Christ.

The Apostle speketh of the faith full in vvhome the spirite of God vvorketh.

An Epilogus

In this sorte I suppose, the matter of Frée will, although it be very troublesome, maye be quietly and profitably handled of godlye menne, according vnto the proportion of faith and simplicity of the holy Scriptures, in which ther haue ben many things mingled, by men giuen to muche talke, to the darkening of the truth, and trouble of mens conscience, such as those things be, which are disputed of the necessitie of the prescience and prouidence of God, of destinie and of happe: whose labyrinthe let him that is wise, diligently eschue in this matter. Faithful men doe not dispute of the secrete Counsels of God, by which all thinges of al men be gouerned, nor yet they do not searche the causes, strength, and working of them, nor they reason not of thinges happening, but they looke vnto this only marke in this case, that they may know the corruption of mankinde in Adam, and the restorement which is by Christ, to their profite and to the glorie of the grace of God.

Of Sinne.

Sinne is manifold and cumbersome euil.

Now let vs nexte sée what is to be sayd of sinne. And like as we may saye of lying, that it is of diuers and sundry sortes, so we maye say of Sinne, that it is an euill very diuers and combersome. Wherefore we do not purpose, nor yet is it possible to declare all the kindes and partes therof. I could rather wishe this, that euery man might haue the grace of the holy spirit, wherwith, as with an axe, he might hewe downe, pull vp, and hurle a way the rootes of sin out of the inward corners and secretes of his hart. There be long disputations of learned mē, wherein they labour to set forthe the nature, the beginning, proceding, the plentuousnesse, the diuers and manifold malice, the hart of this euil, and suche other thinges. But we wil simplie recite those thinges onely, which we shal iudge sufficient vnto Godly consciences in this present matter. As

1. What sinne is.
2. What the beginning of sinne was, and the proceding.
3. What it is to do sinne.
4. Whether one sin be greuouser than an other.
5. Of the difference of venial sin, and mortall sinne.
6. Of the sinne against the holy Spirite.

for Pa. 49. see after Pa. 32 = forw.

1. What

the cōmon maner of speaking: for otherwise we cannot expresse ẏ which in this place is to be conceiued of God: taking nature for that which cleaueth to euery thing from birth, leauing in the thing som natural affection, motion and strength, or some singular & proper disposition, and maketh ẏ thing good or euil, reasonable or vnreasonable, gentle or fierce. Which all things be sequestred by ẏ name of Nature, from those thinges that be wrought by studie, labor, exercise, vse, & learning. And although such things, as be proper & peculiar in God, cōmeth not of birth, bicause he is vngotten, & also if we shal speak properly, whatsoeuer is had of nature, is had of some other, that is to say, of him that made al things, and hath bestowed a diuersitie of natures vnto his creatures: Yet we may for al that, cōueniently vse the worde of Nature in speking of God, as of such thinges as be in him not gotten by trauel, studie, diligence, vse, exercise, or learning, but as naturally in him: as that which in euery place in holy scripture is said of him, ẏ he is good. 1 Christ saith: None is good but only God. Mar. 10. And the Prophet, The earth is ful of ẏ goodnesse of the Lord. 2 Secondarily, ẏ he is louing to mā, and easy to please. The Apostle repeteth thē both of him, wher he saith: When the kindnesse and louingnesse towards man of God our sauiour appered. &c. 3 Thirdly that he is fauourable & merciful, so that he forgiueth our sinnes, wickednes, and outrages. Sée Exod. 34. 4 Fourthly, that he is faithful. So the Apostle saith, & John. 5 Fiftly, ẏ he is true. Who lyeth not, saith the Apostle. Item, God is true & euery man a lyer. And in Num. 23. God is not like mā, that he can lye. 6 Sixtly, that he is indifferent, not an accepter of persons. Act. 10. 7 Seuenthly, that he is iust, hating wickednesse, and louing righteousnes. Psalm. 10. 33. 119. 144. 8 Eyghtlye, that hée abhorreth the proude, & embraceth the humble. 1. Pet. 5. 9 Nynthly, that he is pacient, and slowe to anger. Psalm. 144. 10 Tenthly, ẏ he is wise, & foreseing. So saith the Apostle. To God the only wise. O the depenes of ẏ riches of ẏ wisdome & knowledge of God.

Psalm. 115.

Rom. 16.

These and many other things attributed to God in scriptures, teache vs of what maner his nature is: that is to say, good, louing, kinde, merciful, faithful, true, vpright, iuste, liking the humble, and abhorring the proude, slowe to auenge, wise and foreséeing.

The things of nature in God be euerlasting

And being so not by other helpe nor by chaunce, but naturally and of himselfe, it followeth that the lyke nature must for euer and vnchangeably kéepe in him: which thing bringeth vnto the faithful an incredible comforte. But in case we finde any other in him than this, we must vnderstand that it is by some special sufferance, & only for a time, and yet for al that, the qualitie of his nature in no point altered. He semeth some time peruerse, as in the 18. Psal. but that is with the peruerse, & to the destruction of the peruerse: but the good mē finde him always such as his nature is. The fier at Babylō séemed to haue loste his nature, when it saued harmlesse ẏ thrée children hurled into ẏ ouen: but yet it vsed the strength of his nature towards thē which made

VVhen God semeth to be contrary to himselfe.

A similitude.

the Fier. Euen so we must think of God, & alwaies marke what he doth by sufferance to punish the malice of the wicked, & what also is don according to the qualitie of his nature.

Hovv great God is.

Hovv the question is of Goddes quantity. VVhat manner of thing the quantity of God is.

OUr question here is not of anye bodily quantity, but of the Maiestie of God. For he is great, not in bodie which he hath not, but in godly Maiestie, which appeareth in his goodnesse, wisdome, power, glory, and eternitie. The quantity of Gods maiestie is suche, that it can not bee expressed, though a man would say, his goodnesse, his power, his wisedome & glory is the greatest of al. For these words Superlatiue, bicause they do include a certaine coparison of other that be good, wise, and strong, do agree better with men than with God, vnto whom they can not be attributed, but so that they shal seem to diminish his diuine Maiestie and excellencie, chiefly bicause he is alone good, alone wise, & alone strong. Therfore, when we shall consider of the quantitie of the goodnesse, wisdome, strength, glory, and continuance of God, we must forbeare all comparisons, & acknowledge that his goodnesse, wisedome, greatnesse, maiestie, power, and glory, is incomparable, passing great, & his continuance infinite. And this infinite excellency of Gods goodnesse we must obserue and honour in his creation, disposition & prouidence, wherwith he hath made, disposed, and gouerned al things passing wel: chiefly in his louing kindenesse, that he sent his sonne into this world for our saluation. The excellency of his strength and power appeareth in his worde, wherby he made heauen, earth, & all things, of nothing. His infinite wisdome is to be seen, aswel in his creation, as in his maruellous ordering of al things. Let this be sufficient, to haue touched somewhat pertayning to this matter, that they which reade holy Scriptures, may vse some such orderlie way, to marke those things which be therein taught of God.

VVherein the excellency of Gods goodnes is to be considered.

Of the works of God.

AFter those thinges, that we haue briefly noted of the Essence, persons, and nature of God, the nexte is to loke vnto his workes. For it is best knowen by his workes both that he is, what he is, of what qualitie he is, and how great he is. Wherfore euery godly hart will geue all his endeuour to loke continually into the workes of God with the eyes of faith, that he may be perfectly instructed by thē, what he ought to iudge of him. And these two things doe much helpe a man to the assured knowledge of God. The one is, that God can not be idle: the other is, that he can not worke but according to the qualitie of his nature. He can not be idle, bycause he is a liuing God, & the verie working it selfe, to whome nothing can worse agree, than idelnesse. For as one saith: Whatsoeuer he worketh not, is not at all. Idlenesse is conuenient for the deade, and not for the liuing: or if it be in the liuing, it declareth a retchlesnesse, or else vnablenesse: of which none is in God.

There-

Therefore he worketh continually and without ceasling. Christ saith: My father worketh euen till now.

But he can not worke, but according to ỹ qualitie of his nature. For as eche man is, (as one said) such is his saying & doing: which though it be verified of men, yet it may be better applyed to God than to men. For mans witte is so peruerse, that by counterfayting and dissembling one may easely abuse another, hauing one thing secretly hyd in his heart, when outwardly he saith, and doeth the contrarie. Upon that is grounded the saying of the Prophet Hieremie. The hart of mā is ouerthwart, and who shall knowe it? Such peruersitie and dissimulation can not be ascribed to God. But when he worketh, he declareth the qualitie of his nature in his working: so that hys workes may be most assured testimonies, by which the hartes of the faithful may be persuaded of his goodnesse and will. And although he seeme to worke sometimes contrary to his custome, yet that is done to the intent that it shall come to that which he hath appointed. Esay. 28. This is to worke truely. Merely according to the qualitie of nature, and to declare openly to the world the testimonie of his good or euil will, by words or deedes, as by a kind of fruit.

I can vvork accor- to the itie of ature.

r. 17.

God not

kinds vror-

1 Now there are fiue kinds of working. One is, whē things be wrought according to the strength of their nature, without any gouernance of vnderstanding or wil, as is ỹ working of fyer, water, medicinal herbes, precious stones, and such other thinges: whose working, if it be guided by any reason or will, it is not by their owne, but by some outward, either Gods or mans directions.

2 The second kind is of those things which foloweth the drift of nature in their working: but not without their own wil, though the maistery of reason do lack. Yet such is their working, ỹ somtimes it is forced against their wil. And so worke the brute beastes.

3 The thirde kinde is of men which doe also work according to the qualitie of their nature: and ioyne thercunto the gouernance of reason or wil, but wrong and corrupt: and also subiect and vnder a greater power, either of man either of God: and vnder this is also comprised the working of euil spirites.

4 The fourthe is of good Spirites, which we cal Angels. They worke also according to their nature, & that with vnderstanding & wil, but without any deprauation thereof, wherin they differ frō men & frō euil spirits: but in this nothing differēt, that they be also subiect to a superior power, by whome their doings be directed.

5 The fift and last kind of working is also according to the nature of the worker, with vnderstanding & will, and that pure and incorrupt: but it is not subiect vnto the wisdome or wil of any superior, but is most frée, wise, mightie, good, and infinite, vpon whō all other things dependeth. This is the working of one very God, the beginning, encrease, keping, repairing: the rule and end of all: most good, most frée, willing, infinite, euerlasting, perfect, nēding no other help, necessarie and profitable, not to the worker, but to the works: whose incomprehensible wayes, infinite multitude, and vnsearcheable considera-

tion no mā may seke to know, whose godnesse, wisdome, power, maiestie, and glorie, all Angels and men must haue in admiration and worshipp.

The kindes of the vvorkes of God.

THough the multitude, varietie, maiestie, and excellencie of the workes of God be infinite & incomprehensible, that neither the reason, nor numbre of them can be comprehended by any mannes imagination or industrie, euen as the Ecclesiasticus saide: I vnderstode that man coulde finde no reason of any of the workes of God that be done vnder the Sunne, (how much lesse of them that be done in heauen aboue the sunne:) And the more he traueleth to finde, the lesse he shal finde. And although ỳ Wiseman say, he knoweth it, yet he can not come by it: yet notwithstanding the Godly man may haue some cōsideration of these matters, wherby, though he vnderstande not the causes of al, yet he may partly obserue what is done, and make some difference of them. And withal enter vnto a contemplation of suche thinges, as he may in some degree with admiration consider, and applye according to the measure of the gifte of God. God willeth vs to be lokers on, wonderers and praisers of his workes and glorie. Wherfore he doth also geue so muche vnderstanding herin to his electes, as may be requisite to the establishement in them of the fauth, of the prouidence, godnesse, and might of God.

And that the studies of yong men, occupied in holy Scriptures, may be also in this matter directed with some briefe & orderly diuisiō, let vs set forth some certain kindes of the workes of God, wherby his workes may be cōprehēded, as farre forth as they may by our vnderstanding be perceiued: As 1. Of Creation. 2. Of the encrease. 3. Of the conseruation. 4. Of the restitution. 5. Of the gouernāce. 6. Of the workes of perfection.

Eccle. 8.

Howe far-forth man may consider the vvorkes of God.

1 The workes of creation be they, which we doe reade of in the first chap. of Genesis, wrought in the six dayes.

2 The worke of increase is that, whereby the things created of God, by adding more & more, are encreased and multiplied.

3 The workes of conseruation be those which helpe to preserue suche things as be created and encreased, that they doe not straight way decay and perishe.

4 The workes of restorement be they, whereby those things that be corrupted, (as all things be corruptible) are repaired.

5 The workes of gouernance and order be they, whereby all things, as wel in heauen as in earth, are disposed and ruled according to the righteousnes, wisdome, equitie, and godnesse of God.

6 Last of all, vnder the kinde of perfection, is comprehended that vniuersall and final iudgement, by which al thinges are brought to the ende appointed from the beginning, and so be perfected. And these kinds of workinges be so diuine, that they be possible onely to God. For it is no creatures part, either to create, either to encrease, conserue, repaire, or rule that which is created, or to bring it to the appointed ende and perfection.

Of the Creation.

AMong all the workes of God, those ought to haue the first place, whichdoe cōcerne the glorie of the creation. And herin we must leaue the consideration of those workes that are of the father towards the sonne, of the sonne towards the father, of both of them towards the holy Spyrite, of the holy Spirit towards both them, which are vnsercheable and not necessarye to knowe. But it is euen ynough, if the creature doe acknowledge, honour and glorifie the worke of his creator, in that, that he is the creator, encreaser, conseruer, repayrer, gouerner, and perfecter of all.

And here these thinges are to be considered. First, what he created: next, of what: thirdly, how: fourthly, when: fiftly, to what ende.

1 And first of al we can not more briefly comprise what he created, thā to saye, that al is created, excepting only the creator and worker himself alone, namely heauen, earth, the sea, and all that is in it. So said the Apostles: Thou Lorde that madest heauen and earth, the sea, & all that is in them. And in the 14. chap. Denouncing vnto you, say they, to turne from these vaine thinges vnto the liuing God, which made heauen, earth, & the sea, & al things that be in them. Now when we say that God only the worker is excepted and not to be numbred among the creatures, we must not be so taken, that we except the person of the father: only including and reckening with the creatures the Sonne and the holy Spirit, as the Arrians did, saying, the worde of God was made of God: and as the Macedonians, which reckened the holy Spirite among the creatures. For the workes of the holy trinitie be vnseparable. When we say the father created all thinges: the word may not be excluded neither the holy spirit, bicause that by the worde, and with the spirit, all things were created. When we say, that the Sunne nourisheth and giueth light vnto the earth, we exclude not his heate nor his brightnes, without which he doth not accomplish his worke. Againe whē we say, all things are created of God, we doe not include those things that be euil, in respecte they be euil. For they be not of God but of Satā, the father of all euil. Cursed is that error of ỳ Manichées, who wil nēds haue al euil to be of God, whom the blessed man Augustin doth strongly ouerthrowe. And though the euil spirits be of God in respect they be spirites, yet in respect they be euil spirites, they be not of him. For God saw al things that he had made, and they were verie good. But that which we reade in Esai: I am the Lord, & ther is no other, fashioning the light, and making darkenes, making peace, and creating euil, is not be vnderstanded of the euil of wickednes & mischief, but of the euil, of aduersity & trouble. As in the prophet Amos: Ther is no euil in the citie, but I doe it. So the dayes be called euil, in which we be oppressed with anye aduersitie and trouble: which maner of speache is cōmon & vulgarly vsed also of christ, saying: to euerye daye suffiseth his owne malice.

Howe we saye that all thinges be created by God.

Gen. 1.

Esay 45.

Amos 3.

Mat. 6.

VVhereof God created.

2 Secondly, if it be demanded wherof God made all things: we must answer, that he made some things of nothing, some of earth, some of water, some of flesh. Of nothing he created the heauen, the earth, & the sea. Therunto I suppose we may ioine the heauenly spirits: but vnder the correctiō of others. For in a matter so vncertain and darke, I wil contend with no man. Of earth he shaped the first man our father. Also of the earth he made beastes, and al kinde of plantes and herbs. Of the waters, he created fishe and foule. Of flesche, he created Eue, the first mother of our kinde.

How he created.

3 Thirdly we must consider how he made all things. For thereby the glorie of God the maker is maruellously renowned. He created al things not with hard labour, as men are wont to doe, nor taking aide of any other to helpe him, but by the only word. He said (as saith the Prophet) and it was done: he commanded, & it was created. And in an other place: By the worde of the Lorde, the heauens were established. &c. And the history of the creation setteth forthe no other maner of creation, but this same. And therfore it is, that the Apostle geueth this glorie of creation vnto Christ. For he is that word, by whom al things were made. John. 1.

Psalm. 148.

Psalm. 32.

Coloss. 1.

VVhen he created.

4 Fourthly, if a mā should demande when God created all things, there can be no other answer made, but in the beginning of ỳ times. For so Moses beginneth the history of the creatiō: In ỳ beginning God created heauen and earth, and how can the question of tyme, haue place there, when as yet ther was no time? Ther was yet no tyme, when nothing was yet created, wherunto the spaces of time should serue. Yet there is noted also certaine distincted times in the scriptures, in the which the worlde was created, and all that is in it, as in degrees. So we do reade of the six days & of the workes in Genesis, whereof yong men may note these four verses to help their memorie with al.

Gen. 1.

The first day light, the second heauen,
the third, the earth and fielde:
The fourthe the starres, the fift all fishe,
and therwith foule did yelde.
The sixt, all beastes and man, our God
by worde of moulde did make:
And in the seuenth, he did his rest
for our example take.

5 Fiftly, it may be asked, to what end God created al things. The chief end is, that ther shuld be some which knowing in deed the goodnes of God, should vse it, & glorifie the maiestie of God for euer. Vnto this ende were the Angels & mankinde created also. Another ende is, that the rest of the creatures shuld also set forth the glorie of God, and serue to the vse of mē. In the consideration of these endes, is no danger, and it auaileth much to encrease our faith of the goodnes and prouidence of God. And in very deede it is a great matter, that all things were made for man: but the greatest of al and m ſt maruelous is, that the same word, by which all things were made, became incarnate, and so God himself was made man, to the entent man might be brought to that ende, wherunto he was created: and enioy ỳ folowship of Gods nature, togither with euerlasting felicitie. And that place in the Prouerbes, where Salomon saith, God worketh all thinges for himselfe, and the wicked also to

Gen. 1.

Of the creation of Angels.

and euil day, is not to be referred to the working of this creatiō. For Salomon speaketh not there of the creation, (although God, who is himselfe the beginning and end of all, made al things for himself) but of his prouidence & gouernance, wherby he doth so gouern al, yea euē the harts of the wicked, that they serue to his glory. Therfore we must beware, least of ỳ words of Salomō euil vnderstanded and euil applied, some man may gather that God made the wicked, as wicked. For surely the wicked man as wicked, is not of God, but of hys father the Deuil.

Of the creation of the Angels.

IT becommeth a christian man to vse such modestie and circumspection and warinesse, neither to vphold nor allow any thing vpholden by others, vnlesse it maybe proued by some certain testimonie of truth, taken out of the holy scriptures. And the holy scriptures teache vs nothing of Angels, but that which is necessarie to be knowen. It speaketh nothing of them sounding more to curiositie than godlinesse 1 First, it declareth that there be Angels. And ther be so many testimonies therof in euery place, that it needeth not to alleage thē at this time. Wherby the Saduces are iustly condēned, which said, that there were no Angels, nor spirits. Act. 23. 2 Secondly, the scriptures declare of them that they be by nature spirites, by office Angels, that is to say, messengers. Augustin for. Psal. The spirits be Angels: and when they be spirits, they be not Angels. When they be sent, they be Angels. For Angels is the name of the office, & not of nature. Respecting that wherof he is, he is a spirit: and in respect of ỳ which he doth, he is an Angel. Who maketh (saith the prophet) Angels his spirits: that is to saye, he maketh messegers of his spirits. And Ebrues. 1. They be all seruisable spirites, sent to the helth of the elect.

Hebr. 1.

3 Thirdly, scripture teacheth vs that they be not gotte of God, as Christ ỳ only begotte of God, but that they be created of God, & made in like sort as the rest of ỳ creatures. That they be not gotten of God as Christ was, the Apostle witnesseth, where he saith: To which of ỳ Angels did he say at any time: I haue begotten thee this day? And againe: I wil be to him a father, & he to me a sone? But whereas in Job ỳ Angels be called the sonnes of God, it is not to be vnderstād ỳ they be ỳ natural sonnes of God as Christ was, who only is the natural sone, & therfore also the only begotte: but bicause they be ỳ sonnes of grace & of adoption, as all the electes be.

That Angels be not borne but created of God.

Heb. 1.

Iob. 1. & 2.

That they be created & made, the prophete Dauid witnesseth saying: Praise you him al his Angels, praise him al you his powers. Praise him Sunne & Mone, praise him Starres and light. Praise him the heauens of heauens, & the waters that be aboue the heauens, praise the name of the Lord. For he spake the worde, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created. In this later part he sheweth a cause why those things ỳ he rehearsed before, ought to praise God, which is, bicause they were created and made by him: which doeth sufficiently declare, that the Angels were also created and made of God

Psalm. 148.

VVhen they vvere created.

But when and at what time they were made, there is no mention in any place of Scripture. A man may gather that they were made at that time when the foundation of the world was set, by that which we doe read in Job the 38. chap. in this wise: Where were you when I laide the foundation of the earth? Tell me if thou hast vnderstanding. Who set forthe the measures thereof, if thou canst tell? Or who stretched forthe the corde whereupon his grounsels were setteled? Or who did let down his corner stone, then when the morning starres praised me, & al the children of God song and reioyced? But it appeareth not of this place plainly and determinately, when they were created: as it is not in any place declared, whereof and how they were made. And ther is no cause why any man should busily search of these things, but it is euē ynough touching this matter, to know that they be heuēly & inuisible creatures, by nature spirites, by office Angels, created of God to be ministers of the elect: & to reioyce of our saluatiō, & also to cary vp the soules of the blessed. Luk. 16. & to gather togither the elects in ẏ day of iudgemēt, & to deliuer the wicked to the fier. Mat. 28. 13. Athanasius in his questiōs to Antiochus saith, that Moises did of purpose leaue to speak any thing of the creation of ẏ angels in the booke of Gen. bicause of ẏ disposition of the people bent to ydols, & bicause of the multitude of Gods, specially among the Jewes.

Luk. 15. Luk. 16.

Mat. 28. & 13.

Of the fall of the Angels.

That some of the degree of he Angels fel.

Ther is no man that may doubt, but that some of ẏ angels fel frō their estate, & of good spirites became euill. For besides that it is openly knowen to be true by the experience of these many ages, Christ doeth also witnesse of their head the Deuil, that he did not stand fast in the truth. John. 8. Secondly, that this their fall came of some sin of theirs, appeareth plainly of the wordes of the Apostle. 2. Pet. 2. wheras he saith: If God spared not his angels that sinned: Now their sinne did not passe on originally from one to an other, of them which with their head fel from God, but euery one of thē that were left of that order, lost and cast away himselfe through his owne malice and sin. But what their sin was, it is not expressed, cōmonly their pride is blamed, that they did set vp themselues against God. The maner of it is not declared. And that place of the Apostle, where he saith: Least he be puft vp into pride, and fall into the iudgement of the Deuil: séemeth to meane, that the iudgement of the Deuill, whereby he was cast from heauen, was for his pride. The place of Esay, where it is read: Thy pride is drawen downe to hell. &c. how fellest thou Lucifer from heauen, which didst ryse in the morning, and saydest: I will goe vp into heauen, I will auaunce my seat aboue ẏ starres of GOD: I wil sitte in the mounte of witnesse, in the sydes of ẏ Northe: I will goe vp aboue the heygt hof the cloudes, I wil be lyke the hyghest: but for al that thou shalt be thrust down to the hel. &c. without al nay, it containeth the prophecie of the proude king of Babylon, which was then to come: although it be by som expounded for the fal of Satan.

That angels for sin

VVh sinne gels

Esay. Lucifer drawe hell.

And

hy the of the gels is expre- in the ptures.

And there is great reason, why ẏ holy scripture doth not plainely and openly set forth the sinne of Satan and the rest of the euil spirites, wherin they forsoke God, as they do the sin and fal of man. For as much as there was no recouery, no turning, no hope of any saluatiō for these wicked and trayterous angels, there was also no cause why their sinne should be set forth and declared, as was the sinne of man, which had not only a punishment layed on him immediately, but also a promise made of relief and remedy. In that respect the Apostle said, that Christ toke not vpon him the nature of Angels, but the séede of Abraham. For hée came not to saue the Angels that had fallē, but mē: ye rather to destroy the euil angels: & therefore they cry Marc. 1. What haue we to do with thée Jesu of Nazareth? art thou come before the time to destroy vs? And that they shall neuer be saued, it is plaine ynough by the words of Christ, Mat. 25. Go you accursed to the euerlasting fier, whiche is prepared for the deuil and his angels.

vvic- Angels neuer ued.

Of the Creation of Man.

the vvlege od, thē vveth the vvlege an.

NOw our right way is to procéede on to consider the work of God in the creation of mā: which matter oughte not only be next after that which we haue noted of God the maker of all things, but doth also most peculiarly belong vnto man. For what agréeth more properly vnto man, than nexte vnto God his creator, to knowe himselfe? To this knowledge ẏ same doth not allure vs alone which Lactance sayth in one place: Greate is the might of mā, his reason is great, his mysterie great, ẏ not for nought Plato gaue thankes to nature that he was borne a man: yea after God there is nothing higher than man, nothing created more excellent. But it is also a gret péece of our saluation, to know our selues, wherin some gaue also to vnderstande, that the greatest parcell of wisdome is contained, whych did continually put into mens heades the common Prouerb: *Know thy self*, as sent vs down from heauen. For who is it that knoweth not ẏ it is principallye required to the knowledge of man, not to be ignorant of the beginning and estate of mankind? And the holy spirite séemeth in the holy scriptures to expresse the creation of man more carefully and diligently, than of any other creature, to this intent (no doubt,) that we shoulde vnderstande from the beginning of our nature, that God in the making of mā wold set forth a singular péece of worke, which should be far passing al other creatures, and should come muche nearer than any other, to the glorye of his Godhead: and also bycause the knowledge of our owne beginning, shoulde much auaile towardes the consideration of the wysedome, goodnesse, and power of God, contayning therin certayne (as it were) Principles of hys heauenlye Phylosophie.

Γνῶθι σεαυτόν

To the knovvlege of man ther is chiefly requisite the knovvledge of his beginning.

And I suppose verily there muste be some meane in thys knowledge,

There must be a meane

that we reach not farther than may profit to christian godlynesse. What a Godly man ought to iudge of the creation of man, it can not be better appointed, than by the teching of the holy spirite, which the holy scripture doth yelde vnto vs. For the hart of mā is so blinded, that he cānot iudge rightly neyther of his creatour neither of himselfe. Therfore we muste endeuour to searche all thynges which man ought to knowe and hope assuredly, touching God his creator of himselfe out of the holy scriptures, rather, than out of the opinions of men.

Frō whēce we must determine of the creation of Man.

And those things that be taught vs in holy Scriptures, be of that nature, and so voyde of al curiousnesse, that they be easie for vs to vnderstād and to take profit of. They be fewe, but ful of pith, sure, profitable, necessarie and agreeing to the purpose. Of the creation of Man, this is in fewe words taught in the first and seconde chap. of Genesis. First that man is a creature as well as other creatures. He was made also within the cōpasse of time, not before time. Yea if we make the time of our beginning, whiche the holye scripture doth also shewe, euerye creature is more auntient thā man. Now whatsoeuer is made, is not made of it selfe, but of some other: so that whatsoeuer it hath, it hath not of it selfe, but of him of whom it was made, & when it was made it could not cause it selfe to be made other than it is, nor better nor worse, but according to ỹ wil of the maker. Yea it helped nothing to be ỹ that it was made. Euen so we muste thinke also of mā, for he was created in like sort as ỹ rest of the creatures, whatsoeuer he is or hath in him, is in the will, wisedome, and the power of his maker.

Mans creatyō God.

Also for as much as the very consideration of the workmanship doth train vs on to the knowledge of the worker, the nert question is of the creatour and maker of man: whom the holye scriptures appointe to be ỹ same, of whō also al other thinges wer made. God saith Moses, created mā. The boks of ỹ Gentiles do talk of one Prometheus of Deucalion, that he first made man. He made not man, but the image of man of plaster or clay: & therefore is the first Authoure of plaster worke. We knowe that only iand true God for our maker, that made heauen and earth, & al things in the same visible and inuisible, and so doe confesse it to be of him whatsoeuer we be or haue: and therfore that it is duely to be required of vs, that in all things we depende vppon him, as the creature vpon the creator. It is sayde in rebuke to Israel in the bokes of Moses and of the Prophets, that he forsoke his creator. And God himselfe cryeth, saying: I made you. Wherin it is sufficientlye declared howe peruerse the hart of man is, in somuche that he forsaketh God his creator. Wee bee also admonished by thys knowledge, that seeing we haue all one creator, and maker, that no man blame his worke, neyther in himself neither in others, saying: Why dyd he make it after this fashion: In Esay we read in this sort: Wo to him, that speaketh against his creator, a potherde of ỹ shynds of Earth. Shal the clay say to the potter, why doest

Deuca. made man bu image man.

therof is he &c.

Esa. 45. Prou. 16. VVo faith crea doth in ou

thou so? And in the Prouerbes: He that blameth the poze, reuileth the maker of him. So that this faithe, whereby we doe beleeue that we be created of God, shall worke these three things in our harts. First that with all our harts we depende in all things vpon God our creator. The second, that euery man be contented with his estate, and embrace the same with thankes giuing, whervnto he is made of God his creator. The third, that no man cōtemne the estate of his neighbour as vile and miserable, least therin he finde fault with him which is the creator of the both.

Thirdly, the holy scriptures doe not hide wherof man is made. Genes. in the. 2. chapter we read in this sort: And the lord God formed man, dust of the earth, or moulde: In Ebrew עפר מן האדמה. Lo this is the matter wherof man is made. And what is more vile, what lighter and more vnstable than the dust of the earth, wherof can not handsomely be made a bricke or a tyle, at the leaste he might haue bin of sounde earthe. Nay this beginning of vs doth warn vs that in consideration thereof wee vse all modestie, leaste it bee sayde vnto vs: Why art thou proud, thou earth and ashes? For what other account is there to be made of ỹ whiche is made of dust? The holy spirite might haue saide: The Lorde God formed mā of earth, or of dust. But to remember of the vilenesse of our beginning, he calleth manne, made of dust, The dust of the earth. And God saide to Adam: Thou arte dust, and shalt returne into dust. He said not simply, Thou art of dust, but thou art dust. And leaste flesh shoulde say: what then, though I be of dust, wherof so euer I am, nowe I am a man, I am no dust. The sentence of God our maker meeteth vs, saying: Thou art both of dust, & art also dust and shalt returne into dust, like as a mā might say to a faire pece of yse: Thou waste water, and arte water, and shalte be resolued into water.

Man is dust of the earth.

Fourthlye, the manner is read in holy scriptures howe the firste man was made. So we read in Genesis: The Lord God therfore formed mā, dust of Earth, and breathed into his nostrels the breath of life, and man was made into a liuing soule. By the worde, Forming, the holye spirit expresseth a singular diligence in making of man. Secondlye, to expresse what matter God formed when he made man, he addeth Dust of earthe. Thirdely he addeth, And he inspired into his nostrels ỹ breth of life: by whiche he teacheth vs, how the shape of mans bodye being first framed out of dusse, & yet without life, was made quick and liuely. His maker did put in vnto hym spirite and breath (for it is in ỹ Ebrew עפר מן האדמה) wherby he shold liue, and so was made into a liuing soule, that is, beganne to liue, a man now lyuing whiche was before dust without life. And thys of Adam the first man.

Howw man vvas made. Gen. 2.

Heuah. Gen. 2.

Nowe how Eua was made, it is readde following in this sorte in the same Chapter: The Lorde GOD sente a sleepe into Adam: And when hee was faste asleepe, hee toke out one of hys rybbes, and closed vppe the place agayne wyth flesh. And the Lord GOD framed

the ribbe which he tooke from Adam into a woman, and brought hir to Adam. And Adam saide: This is now a bone of my bones, and flesh of my fleshe. She shall be called Woman, bicause she is taken out of man. And this is said ther. Here in both places it is sufficiently declared, what intent and purpose God had in making man. And yet with all a man maye see how the holy spirite expressed in three wordes the wonderfull sort in making of man, wherein the bodye wyth his mēbers aswel outward as inward, bones, vaines, sinowes, gristles, &c. wer most handsomely fashioned, ioyned togither and dressed, & by putting in the soule made liuing, wheras he sayth, he formed, he made and he inspired: and so he restraineth our curiousnesse whiche desireth to know euery part, how, by what industry, by what vertue, and in what space of time all these things were done, warning vs, reuerently to remember & keepe in minde those matters, which in fewe wordes be sette forth vnto vs, and therinto acknowledge and honoure GOD our maker.

He formed made and inspired.

Fiftly, it is also taught in holye scripture, of what quality man was made. For as muche as appertaineth to the fashion of the bodie of both man and woman, stature, and making of body and soule, it is of it selfe manifest of what qualitie they were made.

VVhat mā vvas made.

But for as muche as concerneth the nature and worthynesse of man, bicause both are corrupt and bereaft of their firste qualitie, we can not vnderstande of what sort both of thē were in the first man, vnlesse the holy spirite teache vs and make vs to vnderstande it.

No man can knovv vvhat the nature and vvorthines of man vvas at the beginning.

And I do not meane in this place by the qualitie of nature, the bodilie necessities and affections wherunto we be yet subiect, but the qualitie of originall righteousnesse, whiche we do read that God did put into the firste man. Ecclesiasti. 7. Onely this I founde, sayth he, that GOD made man right. Whiche is not to be vnderstanded of the body, but of the rightnesse of the minde, whiche men cal the original righteousnesse, which doth comprise in it the knowledge of God the creator: obedience, faith, and loue, both of God and of the neighboure: and the libertie of an vpright will: and the reste of the like kindes of ornaments, wherwith he was adorned.

Eccle.7.

Now when the firste man of nature was made such: that is to saye, right, not only of bodye, but also of minde, he had Freewil in such sorte, that he might obey God if he would: and again if he would not, he might sinne. For although he were made right and at libertie to good, yet hee differed herein from Aungels, that he mighte be tempted by inordinate affections to sinne, and consent vnto the same, and stray from the rightnesse of his originall iustice, whiche hath not place in Aungels, who after the fall of the wicked spirites, aboade still in the truth of God.

Mans fre vvill.

The holy scriptures doe testifye also of the worthynesse of the firste man, where they teach that he was made to the similitude and image of God. Let vs make man, sayth God, to our owne imag & likenesse, & let him be ouer the fish of the sea, and ẏ

Of the vvorthi of the fi man,

bir-

birdes of heauen, and the beastes of all the earth, and ouer all that creepeth and moueth in the earth. And God created man to his own image and likenesse, to the image of God he created him, and that whiche foloweth there, in Genesis, in the firste chapter.

tullian h vnder l by the ge of , the vvil of

This worthinesse of man some of the olde and also of the new writers do expounde for rightnesse of nature which we spake of, so that the image of God in man, shoulde be in the sequestration of him from beastes, by reason, and the nearnesse to the nature, wisedome and iustice of God, by the vprightnesse of the inwarde man. But although this exposition be not vtterly to be refused, yet notwithstanding it is manifest by the wordes of the holy Scripture, that mā is so made to the image of God, that he shold be as God in the earth and haue al things subiect vnder his feete. For what els is ẏ that he saith: And God created man to his owne image and likenesse, than that which followeth: To the image of God hee created him? To be created to the image of God, is to be made and appointed as it were a God. Wherfore Magistrates and Princes are called in Scriptures Gods, and of greate power. And this image of God giuen vnto manne, excludeth not the rightnesse of the inward man, which is so necessarie to the keping therof: that without this rightnesse a man though he be a Prince, differeth nothing from a cruel beast, sauing that peraduenture he bringeth with him more suttelty and craft to performe the malice of his tyranny. This exposition of the worthinesse of man, according to which he is made to the image of God, Chrisostom did manifestly set forth vpō the .1. chap. of Genesis, and Augustine disputing in diuers places against the Maniches.

In Genes. cōtra. Manich. li.1. cap.17

And the Apostle wheras he saith: The man ought not to couer hys heade: bycause he is the image and glorie of God, and the woman is the glorie of hir husband: He doth make a manifest distinctiō betwixt the mā and the woman, saying that man is made to the image of God, and the woman to the glorie of the man, which cannot be ment of the ryghtnesse and iustice of the inwarde man alone, wherof the woman is known to be partaker also with the man in the lord: but it is to be vnderstanded of ẏ worthinesse of gouernance, whiche appeareth to be granted to the man, euen from the beginning, and taken from the woman.

1. Corin.17.

To this worthinesse of the image of God pertayned also that, that Adam after he was created, we reade that he was set in Paradise of pleasure, a place aboue all other dwellings in the earth most pleasant and excellent, and that he gaue names to all liuing things, byrdes, and beasts of the earth. For what else doth this argue of him, but to be the Prince & lord of al the earth?

There be many other things disputed pertayning to the estate which our first parents had in paradise, & which they should haue had if they had not sinned: but for yong beginners this is most certaine doctrine & profitable, briefly to obserue that mā was firste made: secondlye, that he was made of GOD: thirdely, that hee was made of the Duste

of

of the erth: fourthly, by a special care of God: fiftly, that he was made and auanced to the likenesse of God, passing all other creatures in nature, and worthinesse: and these things if they be wel wayed, contayne a large discourse of our christian Philosophie, verye profitable to abase our pride, when we consider our beginning: and when we loke towards the vprightnesse and worthynesse of our first parents, we shal throughly perceiue what we haue lost in them, and what we haue recouered and gayned ouer in Christe our seconde Adam, and Authour of our regeneration.

The recapitulation.

Of the Soul

IT may séeme that the very order of our treatie should leade vs to talke also somewhat of the soule of man. But in my opinion it is better to abstaine from medling therein, bicause the matter is so obscure and darke, that an infinite number of questions may rise therupon.

1 As what the soule of man is. Whether it be a substance, or a certaine *Hermonia* and consent, or temperature of the .iiij. humours, or else a number made vp of *Atomes*, or a perfect habite according vnto Aristotle. And if it be a substance, whether it be a substãce of body, or without bodye, a Spirite, or a kinde of bloud.

2 Secondly, from whence it commeth. Eyther by creation, infusion, of the substaince of GOD, of nothing, or else of some spirituall substance.

3 When it was created, whether al were made togither at firste, or when they presently were put into the bodies.

4 Whether there be many soules in one body, or one alone.

5 Whether it be simple or compounde. What partes it hath, what strength, and what degrées of working.

6 Where it is placed in the bodye, and howe it is contayned in no one part of the body, and yet is in al.

7 Howe it is vnited to the body: Whether it taketh any soyle of the bodye, or the body of the soule.

8 Whether it dyeth with the death of the body or not.

9 What the soules be after death, and what they doe, and whether they go into Heauen or into Paradise, or whether they be changed into Deuils, or passe into other bodies, and whether they vnderstande what the liuing do, whether they can aide them and helpe them: and such other things, wherein some folkes do reason the matter excéeding finely, and so darkely, that they themselues cã not cleare it, and so doubtfullye, that the hearers are ẏ more confounded. But yet it is méete for vs to knowe no more herein than is set forth in ẏ holy & canonical scriptures. Wherfore let vs leaue that, and procéed to consideration of the fal of man.

Of the fall of Man.

The ce[illegible] ruption [illegible] our na[illegible] doth de[illegible] clare th[illegible] mankis[illegible] fell.

LIke as wée did after our treaty of the creation of Angels, speake next of the fall of the euil spirites: so hauing spoken somewhat of the creation of Man, it foloweth to speake also of his fal. And that he fell and was berefte of his original righteousnesse and worthinesse, and cast into an infinit number of calamities, the very malice of mans nature, corruption, and deprauatiõ doth most manifestly shew it self. For no wise man will say that God created man suche as euery one findeth and knoweth himself to bée, vnlesse of hypocrisie he list to dissemble and make a lye. And bicause this corruption toucheth not some men alone, but cõmonly al, & is so vniuersal that we find the nature of our kinde to be infecte, the beginning thereof must néedes come from the first man, from whence all the rest of the alyance of nature by continuall succession doeth spring out. Wherefore it is a most cleare case, that our first parents by some fal of theirs, lost their puritie, vprightnes, righteousnes, stedfastnesse, and worthinesse of mans nature, and that al their after cõmers gat the same blemishe and corruption which we are stil subiect vnto.

Why the [illegible] of man [illegible] be cõ[illegible]ed.

Now for as muchas it appeareth certainely, that nature of man fell euẽ in his very beginning, & that the restoremẽt of it (which is by Christ) can not bée well vnderstanded and estéemed as it ought to be, vnles the fall whiche wente before it bée well knowen, it were not out of the way somewhat to consider the same. Wherein we will procéede in order to sée first

1. What the fal was. 2. Next what the strength, working and penaltye therof was. 3. Thirdly, vpon whome the fault is charged. 4. Fourthly, by what determination of God mã did so fal.

What the fal of the first man was.

The historie of the Original finne.

The holy scripture doth plainely and openly rehearse the fall, to the entent the glory of the grace of God might the more appeare in his restorement again. We rede the historie thereof in Genes. in the seconde and thirde chap. in this sorte: Therefore the Lord God tooke man and set him in paradise of pleasure, to work and kepe it. And commaunded him, saying: Of all the trées of Paradise eate, but of the trée of knowledge of good and euil eate not. For what day soeuer thou eate thereof, thou shalte dye the death. And in the third chap. after the beginning streighte it foloweth: But the serpent was sutteller than all the beastes of the Earth which the Lord GOD had made: Which said vnto the woman: Why did God commaund you that thou shouldest not eate of the trées of paradise To whome the woman aunswered: Of the fruit of the trées that be in paradise we do eate, but of the fruite of the trée that is in the middle of paradise, God cõmaunded vs that we shoulde not eate, nor touch that, least peraduenture we shoulde dye the death. And the serpent saide vnto the woman: You shall not dye the death at al. For God knoweth, that what daye so euer you eate thereof, your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as Gods, knowing good and euill. And the woman sawe that the trée was good to eate, and fayre to the eye, and pleasaunt to sée, she tooke of the

Gen. 2.

Gen. 3.

of the fruite therof, and ate of it, and gaue to hir husbande, who ate of it also. &c.

Two parts of this historie.

This is the history of the fall of mankinde, whereof there be two partes. The one containeth the cõmaundement of God: the other the breaking of the commaundemente: whereby it appeareth, that the fal of ẏ first mã was the breach of Gods commaundement. Wherein the easier that Gods commaundemente was, the lesse is the excuse. For who seeth not that it had bẽne most easy in so great aboundance of fruites of al Paradise, to haue abstained from one trée: For the vse of all the other fruites was expresly graunted vnto them by the Lord, saying: Eate of euery trée of Paradise. The place where they dwelt, was a Garden of pleasure, so that there coulde lacke nothing to suffise necessity of nature. And the very trée of life was not forbidden. No doubt there was a great fauoure of God, and also a great easinesse to haue kept the commaundement, specially when man was not yet bond to concupiscẽce, but whole and frée. Nowe go further and examine the maner of his transgression, which doth also aggrauate the fault of his disobedience.

The easynes and fauour of Goddes commandement.

The maner of the trãsgression.

1 Fyrst, the woman granted that it was lawfull for them to eate of euery tree of Paradyse, sauing onely of that whiche was forbidden: We do eate (sayth she) of the fruite of the trées that bée in Paradyse. Sée the maruellous fauour of their creator.

2 Secondly, she knoweth the cõmandement of God, and rehearseth it, and sayth: Of the fruit of the trée which groweth in the middle of Paradyse, GOD commanded vs we should not eate.

3 Thirdly, she is not ignorant of the cõminations, the great and terrible paine which nature it selfe abhorreth, she hydeth it not, but dothe plainely confesse it and publishe it, saying: Least peraduenture we die. Where the word Peraduenture is to be noted, which declared hir mind somwhat doubting of the certaintie of Gods threatning, whiche doubte opened the way of temptation to the Serpente, and gaue hym the more boldenesse to speake againste Gods worde, and accuse God as not worthie to be trusted, wherupon the serpent did boldly enforce: Ye shal not die the death at all. For God knoweth, that what daye soeuer you eate therof, your eyes shal be opened, and you shall bée as Goddes, knowyng good and euill,

4 Fourthly, it is to be noted, that the booke sayth: The woman sawe that the trée was good to eat, delectable to looke on, and pleasaunt to the eye, and she tooke of the fruite of it, and dyd eate. There is no mention here of hunger or neede. I can not say the delite of the taste and allurement of the eyes, drewe hir inconstant wauering minde in the obedience of God, and crediting more the Serpentes wordes than the threatnings of God, to the breaking of Gods commandement, but that it entised hir vnto it as halfe leaning vnto it before.

5 Fiftly, after the sinne was committed, she did neither retire hir selfe to hir conscience, to acknowledge and to be sorie for it, but gaue also to Adam hir husbande the forbidden fruite,

for Pa. 33, for back to Pa. 16.

I. What Sinne is.

...ry man ...yveth ...what ...is.

Truly this is confessed of al men, not only Christians, but also Iewes & Turkes, that sin is such a thing which displeaseth God, prouoketh his wrath, & deserueth vẽgeance from heauen, and that it is to be eschued of al them that desire to please God, and kepe themselfes from vtter destruction, but what sin is, it is not so out of doubte, nor so manifest vnto al men, that there is no varietie of iudgements in the matter, and yet for all that it were méete it should be most knowen, and most certaine to all men.

...o gret ...hiefes ...e of ...gno- ...e of ...

1 Many mens consciences be burdened & sometimes dryuen to desperation, by the only opinion of sinne: in those thinges wherin is no sinne: which thing the teachers of mens traditions did neuer cease most wickedly to do, by whose peruersenes ẏ soules be slaine which the Lord slew not, and the innocentes are condemned: whereof the example appeared in the Pharisées in the 12. chapter of Math. and 15. and this day also is too manifest in them, which so burden the consciences of the faithfull with seruile burdens & humane presumptions, that the case of the Christian mẽ is more miserable, than the case of the Iewes, as Augustin doth also complaine in the 119. Epistle: which thing should not be, if it were as well knowen of all men what is sinne, and what is not, as sinne is cõmonly vsed of all men.

...stine.

2 Againe, it happeneth also, that some men do not acknowledge that to be sinne, which is sinne in déede, as they doe which thinke it is no sinne, vnlesse it be done contrarie to the expresse worde and commandement of God. They surmise that all the specialities of sinne are expressed, wheras they be innumerable. And this errour coulde haue no place if it were clearely vnderstode what sinne is. Therefore as mens consciences bée without cause troubled with the opinion of sinne, so they be seduced with false persuasion of rightuousnesse, and are made carelesse, thinking that they sinne not when they do sinne very enormiously against the Lord. Wherefore it is most necessarie to know what sinne is, least we stray from the truthe, and either be burdened with false opinion of sinne, or els beyng seduced with a vayne carelesnesse, goe still on in sin without the sense or féeling of sinne.

Certaine definitions of sinne.

1 Some doe define sinne thus. Sin is an acte straying from the order of the ende which it ought to be directed vnto, contrary to the rule either of nature, eyther of reason, eyther of the euerlasting lawe. This definition semeth to be insufficient, bicause it doth not vniuersally expresse what sinne is, but what actual sinne is, as they call it. Besides that that it yeldeth matter of question, in that that it measureth sinne according vnto the rule of reason: If it be spoken of mans reason, it is an errour: if of Gods reason, it is too darke for a definition, wherein lighte and plainenesse is requisite to be.

Ambrose.

2 Ambrose defineth it this waye: Sinne is the breache of Gods lawe, and disobedience of the heauenly cõmandementes. This definition conteineth no vntrueth: and yet it is not sufficient, for that it ministreth some

matter vnto them which doe thinke that there is no sinne, but that same which is committed against the expresse lawe of God, as it is comprised in writing.

3 For yet that definition is not playne and clere, which sayeth that sinne is an euil affection and volúntarie. For there is more and greater controuersie and dout what euil affection is, than what synne is. For wee be decepued by the coloure of goodnesse, so wee be also put in vayne feare with a forged coloure of euill.

4 For that definition is not plaine nother, wherein they define syn to be a will to haue or obteine that which iustice doeth forbyd, and to forsake that which it commandeth. For in the word iustice, there riseth a doubt what is iust, and what is not: and so one doubte muste be cleared by an other doubte.

5 There is an other syke whiche sayth, that synne is the will turned from God. Suche kyndes of definitions though they conteyne nothing that is false, yet they doe not so profyte the consciences of symple and good men, that they may thereby certainely vnderstande what synne is. And the flesshe is so corrupte and frowarde, that though it know that the will whiche turneth himselfe from God is vniuste, yet it wil neuer abide to vnderstande rightly what it is in deede to haue any ofwarde will and turned from God.

6 The syke iudgement we may haue of that which S. Augustine sayth, that sin is the turning backe from the vnchangeable good. And therefore I wil now declare what my opinion is of sin.

Augustin.

Sinne, which of the Ebrewes is called חטאה of the Grekes ἁμαρτία or ἁμάρτημα, is the missing, declyning, or straying, as I maye so call it, from a certaine appoynted marke which we shoulde constantly and directely goe and reache vnto. The Ebrewes calleth חטאה if a man in slinging or casting misse the marke set vp before him. For we do reade in the booke of the Judges, of the seuen hundred chosen of the Beniamytes: which euerye one coulde slyng stones at an heares breadth, and not mysse. Wherefore when wee muste define synne, we must looke vnto the marke, which is prefixed and set vp by God vnto all men. He that doth misse and fayle in shoting, is iudged to misse and fayle, in respect of the marke which he should haue hitte, and not in respect of any other thing which is not set before him for a marke.

Nowe the consideration of the scope or ende in the definition of sin, is of two sortes, that is to say, generall, and speciall. The generall consideration is touchyng God, as the chief and only good. So that in this sense, Sinne is whatsoeuer doth swarue and decline from the communion of him, whether it be in the vnderstanding and thought of man, eyther in will, talke or deede. And I call the the communion of the chief good the agreement and vnitie with his trueth and will, so that in thys poynte it is synne not to thinke the same, not to wil the same, not to doe the same, which the hyghest and chief good willeth, &c. of whom and in whome be all thinges, in whome also we do liue, moue, and be: as if

a man woulde say, it is sinne in the Kinges court, whatsoeuer is wide and discrepant from the Kings wil & minde, which ought to be as a marke indifferently set vp vnto all courtiers to pricke vnto. The special direction is according vnto the diuersitie of the persons and degrées of men. Whatsoeuer doeth misse or swarue from that that is good, honest, iuste, due, right, lawful, comely and méete, it is sinne. But in respect of the diuersitie of persons, some one thing is good, honest, due, right, iuste, lawfull, comely and méete to magistrates, and not so vnto the subiects: other to maried, other to single persons: other to maisters, and other to seruantes: other vnto parentes, and other vnto children: and thereof it commeth, that the same which is a faulte in the magistrates, is none in the subiectes: and againe the same that is a faulte in the subiectes, is none in the magistrates: and likewise in other estates and degrées. Yet for all that, al these do depende vpon the will of God alone, which ought to be the only ende and conclusion of all thinges, that be to be desired or to be done.

And forbycause this wil of God coulde not of it selfe be knowen vnto men, there was giuen vnto them the law, not only of nature, as it is called, which shoulde be within the minde of man, but thereunto was added the benefite of the answers, speakinges, and preceptes of God, first vnto the parents of our nature, after that also to their aftercommers before the floude, euen vntill Noe, who was appointed a preacher of iustice: and after the floude vnto Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, at length to Moyses also, and by him to all Israel, after Moses to the reste of the Prophetes: whiche had al a singular loue of God and of their neighbour, wherein the whole Scripture, as wel of the lawe as of the Prophetes (witnesse Christe himselfe) is comprehended. Matth. 22.

Whatsoeuer therefore is either desired or vnderstanded, spoken or done, contrarie vnto the loue of God or of our neighbour, is sinne, as a missing and straying from the will, nature, and agreément of the true and chief good, whether it be expressly set forthe in holy Scriptures or not. VVhat sin is.

And this definition of sinne S. Augustine doeth expresse in some places in this wise: Sinne is that which is eyther spoken, committed, either coueted contrarie vnto the euerlasting lawe. And as I suppose, he meaneth by the euerlasting law, nothing els, but the vnchangeable will of Gods maiestie, whercunto as to a lawe, al thinges must be directed. And yet we must holde fast the distinctions of this same wil of God. First that we do not referre those thinges to the secret and incomprehensible will of God, according vnto whiche he doth gouerne al thinges both in heauen and in earth by most vpright iudgements, but yet withall most secret, but vnto the same wil, whereby he doth require vs to be obedient vnto him. Secondly, that euery man must consider & way with himselfe, what Gods will doeth require of him, first generally, as of all others, and afterwardes what specially also according vnto the condition of his person and estate. Augustine. VVe must haue a discretion of Gods vvil.

2. What is the beginning of Sinne, and what the encreaſe.

A double conſideration of this place.

THis matter is to be conſidered two wayes. The firſt is, how ſinne began at the firſt in mankinde, and being once begon, went on vnto all the poſteritie. This conſideratiõ of ſinne is opened before, where we ſpake of the fall of man. And to that pertaineth all thoſe thinges which are read of originall ſinne, either in the writing of the Apoſtles, either in any other of the old writers of right iudgement. This kinde of ſinne, the Apoſtle calleth, The ſinne dwelling & reigning in the fleſh, the law of ſin, the law of the members, fighting againſt the law of the minde, and the ſinne which compaſſeth vs, &c. The ſtrength and malice of this ſinne, is ouerſpred into al mankinde, by the traine of our fleſh, euen frõ our firſt parents: & it is wel called ſin, for two cauſes. Firſt, bicauſe it is the fruit of the firſt & original ſin. Secondly, bicauſe it is the fountain & rote of al the ſinnes which be committed by vs in willing, ſpeaking, or doyng. Yea it is not only the fountaine & rote of them, but it is a certain law ruling and reigning in the fleſh. But of this kinde of ſinne, my minde is not now to ſay any more after that which we haue before noted of the fall of man, of the ſtrength and malice thereof, & wherevnto it ought to be imputed.

How that ſin is committed by our ſelfs.

The ſeconde conſideration of this matter is, how the ſinne beginneth in vs which is properly committed by vs. In the firſt chapter of James we read this: Euery man is tempted, drawen and enticed of his owne concupiſcence. Afterwardes when concupiſcence hathe conceyued, it bringeth forth ſinne: then the ſinne being perfected, bringeth forth death. This ſayth Saint James. By theſe wordes, it is very plainly declared, howe ſinne beginneth in vs, encreaſeth and is perfected. There is in vs a corrupt and poyſoned ſtrength of concupiſcence, redyly giuen vnto al kinde of euill: Whereof is bredde all kinde of ſinne, and it is bredde in this ſorte.

Iacob. 1

1 Firſt, there crepeth into our harts temptation. Whereof is an innumerable ſorte of kindes. One man is tempted to pride, another to wrath, another to ỹ luſt of the fleſh, an other to gluttony and ſurfet, an other to enuie, & ſo forthe. Now the temptation crépeth into vs by ſuggeſtion either of Satan, as it chanced to Iudas and Ananias: either of our remembrance, either of ỹ ſenſes of the bodie, which is by ſyght, or hearing, or ſmelling, or talking, or touching.

Admiſſiõ.

Suggeſtiõ.

man is to auoide the ſuggeſtiõ of

Math. 26. Act. 5.

2 After that, the temptation is infected with a certain delite, as it were a ſauce, to feede & drawe vnto it the minde of man. So Eue was allured with the beautie and delite of the forbidden Apple, the children of ỹ ſtrong were allured with the beautie of the daughters of men, Iudas with the ſweteneſſe of gaine. And ſo forth.

Delectatiõ.

3 There foloweth this delite, a conſent to ſinne. Loe here is the conceiuing of ſinne, done as it were in the wombe of concupiſcence: which vpon euery light occaſion, concupiſcence that vnhappy mother of ſinne, bringeth forth.

Conſenſus.

4 Whiles that the ſame which is conceiued with in by conſenting to tem-

temptation, is in worke perfected a brode: But although the worke come not on, yet neuertheleſſe the ſinne is perfected before God, which by cõſent is conceiued in the hart: whereof we may ſée in Matthew: He that ſeeth a woman to deſire hir, hath already cõmitted adultery with hir in his hart.

Matth. 5.

Therfore ſeing the beginning of ſinne & the proceding is of this ſort, a vertuous man, and he that feareth God, muſt haue ſpeciall regarde to marke diligently al the thoughtes of his hart, and ſuggeſtions of ſinne, eyther bredde within him, or ſlyly ſlipping in from without, & as he findeth them, ſo to ouerthrow them and caſt thẽ awai. For there we ought chiefly to watch to quenche the ſinne, where it firſt bredeth, or rather where it is firſt conceyued.

No man is able ſo to ſhut from him the ſuggeſtions and firſt tentations, but that they wil as the Serpent did by his own ſlippernes wind themſelues into vs by thoſe things, which we dayly ſée & heare. And albeit we ſhoulde grant that there may be ſome ſo careful and perfect a warder & reſtrainer of his ſenſes, that he would neither ſée nor heare, nor ſmell nor taſte, nor touche any thing wherby he might be tempted to ſin: yet the very concupiſcence lurking in our hart in the inward ſecret corners of our affectiõs, is by ỹ thoughts in the hart gotten as it were with childe, and by conceyuing of ſinne, made great, if conſent of will agrée withal: So that the firſt motions to ſinne can not be altogether voyded and ſhifted off from any man.

No, neither the declaration of the temptation tied to the ſenſes, can not be put off, by the only remedie of not conſenting, but by the meane of withſtanding it. He that conſenteth not but ſtriueth with temptation, and puffeth and braideth out, and as with ſpitting at it, deſieth the delite thereof, is not infected with the vncleanneſſe of ſinne, but ſaueth his conſcience pure and cleane by the grace of God. I ſpeake of that ſinne wherevnto we be tempted by euil ſuggeſtion, not of originall ſinne, which is ſpred out into all fleſhe by the infection of nature, yea without any conſent of ours.

So that ſinne riſeth and is made vp by theſe three degrées or ſteppes: ſuggeſtion, delyte, and conſent. I call conſent, not euery bowing and inclination of the wil, but that whereby the minde doth fully & abſolutely aſſent vnto temptatiõ, and now ſeketh no more, but howe he maye enioye that delyte, wherwith he is decepued and ouercome: altogether propenſe and ſtriuing to the accomplishement of the déede. The lighte inclination of the wil, and as it were of a momẽtes ſpace, which is immediatly chaſtened with the ſpirite of the feare of God, although it doth argue a weakeneſſe of minde, yet it can not be taken for a full & perfect conſent. And of this point I do admoniſhe you, leaſt ſome ſcruple may entangle the weake conſciences without cauſe. Of the bowing and wauering minde we may not gyue ſentence, vnleſſe he doe yelde as confirmed with a full conſent vnto the one part or the other: that is, vnleſſe he do either perfectly conſent vnto ſinne, or elſe refuſyng it, dw abyde in the keping of rightuouſneſſe. Thus my minde was

We maye not pronoſnce of a vvauering minde.

in fewe wordes to giue a taste of the beginning and proceding of Sinne, not for their pleasure which without all staye violently runneth or rageth to fulfill their wanton luste in synne, but for vertuous yong men and such as feare God, that they may by the grace of the Lord vnderstande with what feare, & as it were watch and warde, they ought to loke bothe vnto their outwarde kinde of life, and also principally into the inward seate of their affections, and without delay resyst and suppresse the suggestions of Sinne.

3. What it is to doe Sinne.

Now the third place is to consyder, what it is to doe sinne. And the waying of this shall profit much to the vnderstanding of some places of Scripture. To synne symply, is to thinke, speake, or doe any thing that is vnlawfull and vniuste. Al menne doe sinne (for who is he that doeth good and synneth not? in the firste booke of the Kinges in the 8. chapter) but not alike. Some doe synne by the infirmitie of the fleshe, contrary vnto their minde and purpose, and they doe excedingly sygh and sorowe for their sinne. In them sinne is not sought for of purpose, but met withall by chaunce. Some others synne of malice and of wickednesse with minde, not striuyng withall, but gapyng and gaspyng after it. They doe not happe vpon synne by chaunce, but doo with trauaile séeke for it. The former way of synning is of the faithful & elect, the latter, of the vnfaithful & reprobate. The elect do not committe synne, though they do yet somtimes synne: The wicked do not only syn, but do also commit sin, that is to say, are trained on with purpose of syn: so that to committe sin, is day & night carefully to minde and muse to do synne. As to do good, is not simply to doe any thing which of it selfe is good, but to apply a man self continually with all endeuour to the doyng of good. And to do, in this sense sygnifieth not the simple acte howsoeuer it be done, but although the worke of synne be not perfected, or not yet in the very act, it signifieth the very deuise, counsell, imaginatiō, and purpose, the malice also of our deprauate nature, so that now and then wicked persons do sinne, euen as we say the euil trées, bring forth euil fruit. Judas the traytour heard the Lorde say euen at supper, That which thou doest, doo quickly, What did that vnhappy mā at that present? As touching his acte, he did suppe, but for his thought, imagination, & deuise of his harte, he betrayed his Master. The Lord spake not of that which he did in acte, in the syght of the rest of the Disciples, but of that which he did bréede by deuise & purpose of hart, and did in déede in his vnfaithful mynde: & yet be sayd not: That whiche thou wilt, but that which thou doest, doe quickly. It is manifest, that this worde Doe, in that place is set for the purpose of doing, and signifieth the doing of the minde rather than the doyng of the bodie. Euen so to do the law & commandements, is taken sometimes in scriptures for the purpose to doe the law and commandements. We read of king Josia, that he did that which was right in the syght of the Lord, and

All men do sinne, but sundrye vvayes, some by ignorance, and some of malice. 1. Reg. 8.

How vvord doing taken.

Reg. 18.

Reg. 20.

m. 119.

That, thou do quic

Reg. 1.

m. 119.

To do lavve.

2. Reg. & 23.

and that he returned vnto the Lord in all his heart, all his soule, and all his power, according vnto al the law of Moses. And yet for al that, he did many things which agréed not with the lawe of God. Of Ezechias we reade also the like: of whome for all that it is written that he did that which displeased ẏ eyes of the Lord, shewing his treasures for a bragge vnto the king of Babylons ambassadors. And Dauid singeth: I haue done iudgement and iustice. And, I haue kept my féete from euerie euill way. And againe: I haue not declined from thy iudgementes. And againe: I haue kepte thy commandements and testimonies. If any man will referre these sayinges vnto the outward doyngs, and not to the purpose and endeuour of a godly minde, Dauid must néedes be taken with a lye, except the synne committed against Urias, was not against the commaundementes, testimonies, and iudgementes of God. Therfore what is it els to saye, I haue kepte my féete from euery euil way, but, I haue earnestly applyed my selfe that I would commit no euill? I haue done iudgement and iustice, asmuch to say, as I haue bene studiously giuen to do iudgement and iustice? For he would not say, that he sinned not. For to what purpose then shoulde he haue so often lamented in the Psalmes for his sinnes?

Hereby I suppose, it is not only manifest that to do sin, is not simply to sinne, but to haue a desyre to sinne, although there be no synne yet done in acte: as to doe good, is not simply in act to do good things, but to haue a desyre to do a wel, though he doe not euer in acte accomplish a good work. But that this is manifest also, that though the elect and the reprobate also doe synne, yet the elect committeth no synne, but the reprobate doeth. For they that be of God, as they haue in them the séede of God, so they do with al their hart abhorre synne, and that which they doe abhorre, they can not endeuour and séeke to doe.

And thereof it is that John in his Canonicall epistle in the. 3. chapter writeth in this sorte: Children, let no man seduce you. He that doeth iustice, is iuste, as God is iuste. He that doeth synne, is of the Deuil: for from the begining the Deuil sinneth. In this appeared the sonne of God, to loose the workes of the Deuil. Euery man that is borne of God, doth no synne, bycause his séede dwelleth in him, and can not synne, bycause he is borne of God. In this the children of God and the children of the Deuil are manifest. And thus farre there. So that John putteth a difference betwixt the elect & the reprobate, which he calleth the children of God, and the children of the Deuill, in that he sayth, the elect can do no synne, bicause they haue the séede of God in them: and that the reprobate doe syn, doubtlesse for that that there is in them the séede of the Deuill: So that in this matter he leaueth a marke, whereby bothe maye be knowen, the one from the other. So that we must beware, least wher he sayeth: Euery manne whiche dwelleth in him, sinneth not, be not vnderstanded of the firste kynde of synning whiche wée spake of, in which the elect also doe sinne, but of

1. Ioan. 3.

He that is borne of God doeth no sinne.

the seconde, after whiche sorte the wicked, reprobate, and children of the Deuil doe earnestly applie themselues to sinne.

The error of some of the Anabaptistes which say that they be without sinne.

And thereby it is manifest also, how far out of the way some of the Anabaptistes be, which go about by these wordes of Iohn, to conuince plainely that a Christian man can not sinne, and come thereunto, that forasmuch as they wil be reputed alone to be true Christian men, & care for no others, they do affirme that they do not sinne at all, but that they be altogether without sinne: which thing Satan most wililye worketh by them, to the entente to driue to vtter desperation and destruction the weake soules of the godly disposed men, which feele in themselues now and then the strength of sinne, and fall therevnto by the infirmitie of the flesshe. And the wretched men mark not how earnestly the sayde Iohn in the same canonicall Epistle in the firste chapter speaketh: If we say that we haue no sinne, we seduce our selues, and there is no truth in vs. If we confesse our sinnes, God is faithfull and iuste to forgiue vs our sinnes, and wil cleuse vs from al our wickednesse. If we say that we sinne not, we make him a lyer, & his worde is not in vs. So that they seduce themselues, & ther is no truth in thē: yea they make God a lyar, who euē in that that he ordeined the blonde of his sonne to be to vs a continuall meditation and pledge of forgiuenesse, to the ende, that by the benefite therof, we might be still deliuered from our sinnes, doeth sufficiently testifie that the moste faithfull and Christian of vs all, be yet subiect vnto sinne:

1. Iohn. 1.

and therefore that it is requisite, of necessitie, that we confesse our sinnes alwayes, and moste gladly embrace the grace of this propiciation with thankes giuing.

4. Whether one sinne be greater than an other.

That the Stoykes dist.

Of the opinion of Stoykes which say that sinnes be equal.

IT was the Stoiks opinion, that al sinnes be equall, for they sayd that sinnes were not to be measured by the falling out of the things, and greatnes of the fault, but by the euilnes of men. They confessed that the matter wherein a man sinneth, may one be greater than the other, but the sinne it selfe not so: for example, If the master drown the shippe, it is no matter to the qualitie of the sinne, whether the shippe were freighted with golde or with chaffe. For though in ỹ thing there be some difference, yet touching ỹ vnskilfulnesse of the master, they sayde, there was no difference. In this sorte they argued: No sinne, is to passe the boundes, and after that is once done, it skilleth not to ỹ encrease of the fault how farre a man go out. Sinne is, whatsoeuer is not lawful: and not to be lawfull, is in euery kinde of him equall. Ergo, such faultes as growe therof, must nedes be equal. It is not lawful to take awaye any mās life. He sinneth whosoeuer sleeth a man wrongfully. So it skilleth not who he be that is slaine, a mans father or his seruant. In both is committed that which is not lawfull, saving that in slaying of the seruant is but one sinne, in the father concurreth many sinnes. For first there is slaine an innocent man, further he

The opinion of the Stoykes is vntrue.

which

which begat thée, fed thée, & brought thée vp, settled thée in house & home &c. and so by multitude of trespasses, the mischief is made greater and worthye to haue more punishment: but the faulte it selfe, in it selfe, is equal.

This the Stoykes disputed, and iudged that there was no greater strength to restraine men from any wickednesse, than if they perceyued that ther was no differēce in sinnes, but that he sinned equally that beate a magistrate, and he that beate a priuate man: and in what house so euer he commit adultery, the filthinesse of the wantonnesse was al one. And by the same reason, me thinke, they wil say, It skilleth not whether one blaspheme man or God himselfe.

1 These mens opinion I meane not at this present to refell, whiche was in their owne dayes wel ynough ouerthrowen, and declared that neither the vices were equall, whereof the sinnes doe rise, neyther yet that it maketh no matter to the increase of the sinne, that the things wherein the sinne is committed, be vnlike or vnequall, so that the more or lesse waight that the thynges be of, so muche also greater or lesser the sinnes bée, whiche bée committed in them.

2 Now it is so farre wide, that this their opinion may restraine the leudenesse of euil doers, that it doth set it forwarde and increase it more. For what man is he that can be so ware and loke so well to his owne doings, that he shall neuer passe the lists of rightuousnesse? Now he that hath made a light escape, and might easely leaue and goe backe from the error of his sin, if he were stayed with the feare of a greater fault, when he thinketh that he hath so sinned, that he can commit no greater, and perceiueth that it maketh no matter to the grieuousnesse of the sinne howe farre he runne on in sinning, after he hath once broken out of the listes of rightuousnesse, I beseke you what wyll hée doe else, but as the very leudenesse of sinne shall entice him vnto: Surely he shall run on obstinately in a certayne kynde of desperation as long as he can, and he shall encrease a great heape of sin vppon that whiche in the beginning might easely haue bene amended: & that is worse, he shall thinke his sin is not more outragious at the ende, than the first light offence was.

But leauing them, let vs returne vnto our selues: for we do wel know that one sinne is esteemed greater than another in the sight of God, for that that the very commaūdements of God do not set forth the obseruatiō of godlinesse and iustice al alike, nor threatneth not like punishment to ỹ transgressors, but to some lighter, to some greuouser, besides that, that Christ saide vnto Pilate: Therfore they whiche deliuered me vnto thée, haue the greater sinne.

Ioan. 19.

The inequalitie of sinne to be considered two wayes.

1 So that the inequalitie of sin in my iudgement, is to be considered two wayes. First, that if sundry offences be compared togither, the one may be lesse or greater than the other: as the sinne is greater wherin wée doe offende immediately against God, than against man: and that greuouser, which is against the parentes, than that which is cōmitted against other men. It is lighter

D. v. offeceu

offence when a man stealeth, compelled by necessitie of hunger to stay his greedy hungry belly, than to giue the aduenture to rauishe his neighbours wife, only to satisfy his wanton lust. He doth sinne more grieuously that lyeth in watche for his neighbours life, than he that lyeth in watch for his goods. And yet anye of these cõmitteth lighter sin, than hee which ouerthroweth the saluation of anye mannes Soule, and ministreth occasion of euerlasting damnation.

Prouerb. 8.

Degrees of sinnes.

2 Secondly, that eche sin considered alone, riseth vp either by hys owne degrées, eyther considering ẏ circũstaunces, semeth lighter or greuouser. So the inordinate affection of anger containeth sinne in it selfe: but yet it groweth greater, and the more outragiously it breaketh out, the greater the sin becommeth. So sayth Chriſte: Euery one that is angry wyth his brother, shal be guilty of iudgement. But he that saith to his brother, Racha, shal be guiltie of counsell. But he that sayeth Fole, shal be guiltie of the pit of fire. Likewise we must iudge of other sinnes. It is sinne to desire thy neyghbours wife, and it is iudged adultrie in the sight of God. Yet this sinne hath his degrées, whereby it groweth & becõmeth greater: as if thou do not only desire wt thy hart, but do also declare this thy desire to the woman by countenaunce, beckes, or words, and not content with that thou do prouoke hir to wantonnesse with giftes, and apply hir with talke, and at length wickedly commit the dede. So groweth the sinne by degrées. Now touching the circũstances of sin, doubtlesse he sinneth more grieuously that sinneth of knowledge, than he ẏ doth it ignorantly. In dede that seruant is not excused, which offendeth, not knowing the wil of his Maister, nor escapeth not the punishment, vnlesse it be by the benefit of grace: but hee sinneth more haynously, and shall be sorer beaten, which knowing the wil of his Maister, doth witting & willingly transgresse it. Let vs imagine what may be loked for of them, whiche be still conuersant in the light of Gods word, and can pretende no ignorance of Gods wil, yet neuertheless they giue themselues to the delights of the flesh, & to al kinde of sin. Farthermore, ẏ sin is greater which is done by malice of wit and imagination, than that whiche is done through the infirmitie of the flesh: & that greater, which is done of purpose and appointment, thã that whiche is done by chaunce. He sinneth more enormiously, that continueth in sin, than hee ẏ sinneth once or twice alone. He sinneth more which sinneth to the offence of others, than he by whose faulte there is no offence giuen to anye other: and hys sins also are more that sinneth with more offence, than his is whiche sinneth with lesse offece. He that sinneth vpon light occasion is more to be blamed, than he which is not driuen to sin, but by great temptation. And their sin is also greater which haue had more occasion to amend & yet amende not, than they which haue had no suche occasion. So the impenitencie of the Capernaites doth exceede the impenitencie of the Sodomites in greuousnesse. To be shorte, if we loke vppon the circumstances

Math. 5.

The circũstances of sinnes.

stances of the persons, the places, the times, the matters, the meanes, &c. and consider, who, against whom, where, whẽ, how, in what matter, of what purpose of mind, for what causes a man sinneth, I suppose it shall be manifest ynough, that there is muche difference betweene those things whiche we committe daylye, so that there is not greater varietye and difference in diseases, than there is of sinnes.

vvarning

But we must beware that we abuse not this consideration of the circumstances, as they do, whiche are wont to examine these matters thoroughly, whẽ they presume to iudge of other mens sinnes, and be blinde in their owne: who if they had brotherly charitie, wold not inforce and exaggerate their brothers sinnes, but shoulde either dissemble thẽ or make the leaste of them, and in the meane whiles should diligently condemne their owne faultes.

This I thought good by the waye to admonish you of the inequalitie of sinnes, against the Stoykes opinion, specially for yong men whiche giue themselues to good letters, that they fall not into the Paradoris of the Stoykes, and so taste of their pernicious errour, before they bee ware.

5. Of the difference of Venial and Mortal sinne.

The scholemens opiniõ of mortal & venial sinne.

THe Scholemen brought in this difference betwixt Venial and Mortal sinne, & that after their owne fashion, very entangled, and nothing agreeable to the holye Scriptures. They made mortal sin to be that whiche is committed againste the commaundementes of the lawe of God, nature and mã, vnlesse it be excused, by reasõ of the sodain cõming, or the smalnes, or som other cause touching mans commaundementes, or some higher dispensatiõ. They called Venial sin, that which was not contrarie, but besides any lawe, not keeping the way which the holy law intendeth. And they taught, that thys kinde of sin was called venial thzee maner ways. First, bicause it had alredy obtained forgiuenesse, as when mortall sinne by confession is made venial. Secondly, for that it hath in it some cause of forgiuenesse, for whiche it ought to be lesse punished: as suche thinges whiche be done of weaknesse or of ignorance. Thirdly, bycause of it selfe it doth not exclude the determination and ending of the punishment, as mortall sin, which of it selfe deserueth paine euerlasting, and so excludeth forgiuenesse.

The persõs of the that sinneth, are more to be considered than the qualitie of the sinne.

But leauing their opinions, let vs loke into the matter it selfe, according to the truth of the holy Scriptures, and the propoztion of Christian faith. Therefore we must vnderstande, that in this matter the persons of them which sinne, are more to be considered than the sinnes themselues. There is no sin of it self so small, but it is worthy of death, if it be iudged, setting mercye a parte. For if it be true that he sayde: Wo vnto all our iustice, if it be iudged without mercy: how shall we not pronoũce so of al our sins whatsoeuer they be? Wherefore their very inward affections & thoughts contrary vnto Gods law, be of that nature of

them-

themselues,that they make vs guiltie of death,vnlesse they be forgiuen for the bloud of Christ. And that sin lurking in our members, which we drewe from Adam, bringeth death: & yet I speake nothing of his frutes. For what be al those sinnes whiche we do against ẏ wil of God, in thinking, speaking, or working, but certaine fruites of that sinne which we cal Original?

The persons of the elect and faithful.

We muste first therfore determine of the persons of them that sinneth. For if they be elect and faythfull in Christ, it followeth also that theyr sinnes be not mortal,but venial. For they come not into iudgement, but passe from death into life. And as the Apostle sayth, There is no condemnation vnto them, whiche be in Christ Iesu. And according vnto the Epistle of Iohn: If any of the number of the faithful sinne, he hath an aduocate in heauen, Christ Iesus, whiche is the propiciation for our sinnes, and sitteth at the right hande of the Father,to be a meane for vs. Therefore neyther the disease and corruption of nature, nor the vnruly motiõs which they fele in themselues, when the fleshe coueteth against the spirite: nor the bondage wherby against their wil they serue in flesh the lawe of sinne, and the good which they woulde they do not, but the euil which they hate they do, doth purchase them death, bycause they be vnder grace,and be saued by the righteousnesse of Christ.

Rom.8.

1.Ioan.2.

The vnfaithfull and reprobate.

But if they that sinne be vnfaithful and reprobate, all their sins though they seeme light,be mortall, bicause they be not partakers of the grace of GOD, nor they can not obtayne forgiuenesse of theyr sinnes, whiche is not gotten but by faithe in the bloode of Christe. In them the affection of the flesh is death. They be wise according vnto the flesh, and they liue according vnto the flesh. If you liue according vnto the flesh, the Apostle sayth: you shal dye. Their minde is vncleane,and so is their consciences. Vnto them the corruption of nature whiche is in the flesh, and the vicious affections (I wil not speak of vicious acts) are nothing els but deadly sins. Thus death cõmeth on them for that they be not partakers of the life whiche is in Christe, and they be vtterly straungers from the grace of GOD, they be subiecte vnto his anger. In thys wise (I suppose) it is manifest inough, that there can be no better determinatiõ of mortal sinne & venial, than according to the diuersitie of the persons of them that doe sinne. In déde we sinne both elect and reprobate, faithfull and vnfaithfull: yea and the sinnes of the elect, if they were iudged according vnto their qualitie, shoulde not escape death and condemnation. But therefore they be venial, bycause by grace of redemption and propitiation they be pardoned and forgiuen: and that cannot be said of any ẏ sinnes of the wicked and vnfaithful.

But some man wil say: Is there then no sinne, nor crime mortall, or deadly, vnto the faithful men? Then the faithfull may without any danger of saluation,liue according vnto the flesh,and giue themselues wholy ouer to the affections of the flesh: they maye committe whoredome, and adultery without care,they may be wanton,men louers,theeues, deceyuers, drunkerdes, brawlers,violent stealers, couetous, idolaters, witches,extortioners,spiteful, enuious,banketters,quarellers,blasphemers,and so forth. For if al their sins be venial, these shall be venial also, & not subiect vnto death. I answere. This waye be they deceiued, which be perswaded, that they which dwell in the catholicke Church, can not be damned, although they sinne neuer so enormiously. And they vnderstand by the catholicke Church the seate of Rome,ẏ gay quéne. But we answer to the question. Either make the tree good,and his fruite good: or else euill, and his fruite euill. Suche kinde of sins be the works not of the faithful, but of the carnall man. The same Paul calleth the workes of the flesh, and doth denounce that they that do suche, can not possesse the kingdome of God. And in the Epistle to the Ephesians,he doth attribute them not to the faithful, but to the disobediẽt, vnrulye,and vnfaithful: and sayth, that they doe prouoke the wrath of God against them, which doe so sin. It can not be that they whiche haue true faith,should sin so enormiously, wickedly,mischeuously,& desperatly. For although they fall sometimes into some great sinne, yet that is of minde,purpose,and way, farre different from the carnal men. They doe not giue themselues to mischiefe whiche they doe hartyly detest: and if they doe committe anye mischief or acte, it commeth on them contrary to the purpose of theyr minde, and they remayne in their mischief, nor delite not in their euill doyng, but doe by the grace of the Lorde, immediatelye starte backe, accuse theyr selfe,bewaile their euill doings, crane forgyuenesse, and by the grace of the Lord they doe finde it. And so such grieuous sins as Dauids was, the theeues,the sinfull woman, & the Publicane, were made vntothem by the grace of the propitiatiõ, veniall.

Rom.8. abuse Cases.

Of sinne. Pa. 61

VVhether veniall sin may becom mortall.

They dispute of this, whether it maye be that the same whiche was veniall sinne, may by certaine circũstaunces become mortall: as if drũkennesse be muche vsed, and drawe vnto a custome, and anger long kept wareth stiffe. Our iudgement is, that the qualytie of the offender is also to be considered in this. But if he which was made partaker of the heauenly grace,fal from that grace, and of a godly and faithfull man and fearing GOD, he bée made an vniust,wicked,vnfaithful and cõtemner of GOD: euen as his conscience hauing lost the puritie of faith,was made subiecte vnto death, so al his sins also which were venial when he was in grace, are turned into mortall sinnes. So we reade in Ezechiel, When the iuste manne departeth from his righteousnesse,and committeth wickednesse, hée shall die in them. And also: All hys righteousnesse shall bée forgotten. And what other thing can followe, if the good tree be turned into an euil tree, but that the fruites muste turne from good to euill? They whiche from the beginning of a faith and of a good spirite doe degenerate to vnfaithfulnesse, make all theyr life wherein they were partakers of forgiuenesse, mortall and deadlye, as they be whiche in déde

Ezech.33.

beginne

beginneth in the spirite as the Galathians did, but at length do ende in the flesh. They be subiect vnto condemnation, and their sinnes be no more venial but mortal, vnlesse they amende and returne vnto the grace of the blonde of Christ, from whence they are fallen, if they be yet so fallē, that there may be time of amendement, and of returning vnto grace. I knowe that there be some that be of an other opinion herein, but I wyll saye my minde, and offer them no wrong.

6. Of the Sinne against the the holie Spirite.

The opinion of the Scholemē.

The Scholemen say, that the sin against the holy Spirit is, when a man striueth to put awaye that which might let his purpose to sin. As if a man be intised to sinne, and there commeth into his minde the seueritie of Gods iudgement, which he thinketh wil once punish him for his sinne: if he of purpose reiect that suggestion, and flatter himselfe that he shal not be punished for his sinne, or else plainely determineth to abide the punishment to come, rather than he will forsake his purpose to sinne, he (they say) committeth then sinne against the holie spirite. And they do appoint fire kindes therof: that is to say, presumption, whereby men presume of the mercie of God without desertes: desperation of the grace of God: the striuing against the truth once knowne: enuie for the grace in his brother: obstinatenesse and impenitence. This is the scholemens opinion of the sinne againste the holy Spirite.

The kinds of sinne against the holy spirit, after the opiniō of the Scholemen

But it is expedient to bring forth the wordes of Christe of this sinne, whiche are read in the twelfth Chapiter of S. Mathew. Therfore I say vnto you, euerie sinne and blasphemie shall be forgiuen to men, but the sinne againste the Spirite shall not be forgiuen to mē. And he that speaketh a worde against the son of man it shall bee forgiuen him. But he that speaketh against ẏ holye spirite it shall not be forgiuen him, neyther in this present worlde, neither in the worlde to come.

The wordes of Christ. Math. 12.

We sée that the sinne against the holie spirite in this place, which shal not be forgiuen in this world, nor in the worlde to come, that is to saye, neuer, is called of Christe, Blasphemie, that is a slaunderous rebuke, whiche, is when there is such shamefull slaunder obiected to any, wherein we be wonte to deteste and note suche matter, as we iudge to be most slaunderous and most abhominable. And this blasphemie is not a simple sinne. Neither euery sin is not blasphemy, but euery blasphemie is sin. Syn is, when we trespasse againste the vprightnesse of Iustice. Blasphemie is not only when the limites of that that is right, is passed, but also the same, against which the fault is committed, is skorned and taūted vp with the rebukes. It is sinne, what trespas so euer is done against the doctrine of the truthe. And therein manye doe amisse. Yet he is not strayghtwaye a blasphemer, that doth sinne againste the doctrine of the truth, vnlesse he do inuey against it with slaunderous tauntes and reproches, and call it heretical, erroneous

The sin against the holy spirite contained blasphemie

neous and Diuelishe. He that disobeyeth the magistrate, sinneth, but he that rateth the magistrate wyth rebukes and slaunders, he is a blasphemer. The sonne whiche obeyeth not his father, trespasseth: but he can not be reported to be a blasphemer of him, vnlesse he ioine to his disobedience wordes of reproche. So that blasphemie, though it be a sin, yet it containeth somewhat in it, whereby it excédeth the simple sin. Therfore Christ when he had saide, Euerye sinne (as lesse) he ioyned also reproch (as greater sin) shal be forgiuen mē: but the reproch against the holy spirite shal not be forgiuē men. And he saith not, he ẏ sinneth against the holy spirite: but he ẏ speaketh againste the holy spirit. This I meante to touche, that we maye vnderstande that the sinne against the holy spirit is such a maner of matter, that it is done and wrought by reproches, slaunders, and spitefull raylings. Wherefore in my iudgemente the same kinde of sinnes whiche we rehearsed of before ẏ Scholemen, be to little purpose attributed vnto this, except it be the striuing againste the truth knowen, if it be ioyned with slaunderous rayling, as it is wont to be. For it is possible, that he whiche presumeth of the mercies of GOD, may do it so, that it be to the glorie of the mercie of God, and to his own saluation. Yea and though a man do this daye naughtily presume vppon the grace of God, or dispaire: be obstinate or impenitente, or enuie the grace of his brother, it maye be, that to morow he shall correct these pointes, and so not sin to death at al. And if such a mispoer continue vnto the ende, he sinneth in déede to death: yet I sée not, how such sins can contayne blasphemie againste the holy spirite. But let vs sée then what is the blasphemie against the holy spirite, whiche Christe speaketh of.

VVhat is the blasphemie against the holy spirite.

In Marke the 3. chapter we read in this sort: But whosoeuer speketh blasphemie against the holy spirite hath not forgeuenesse for euer, but is subiecte vnto euerlasting iudgement. For they sayd: He hath an vncleane spirite: So that the blasphemie against the holy spirite, was not any qualitie of an impenitent harte, obstinate, or dispairing, or presumptuously trusting: but the slanderous reproche in lying vppon Christ, that he had an vncleane spirite: that is, that they reported the holy spirite, by whom and in whom Christ caste out diuels, to be the spirit of Satan, being the spirite, which is, that vertue of God, which in Luke is called the finger of God. So that it appeareth well ynough, that euery sinne against the holy spirit, is not so condēned of Christ, that it is vtterly irremissible (for they doe sinne also against the holy spirit, whiche resiste the preaching of the Grace of GOD, although it bée ingnorantlye: to whiche for al that, repentance is not denied, as we may sée plainely in the Actes, where when Stephan saide: You stiffe necked and of incircumcised hartes, you do euer resiste the holye spirite, yet when he was stoned, in his praier for thē he said, Lord impute not vnto them thys sin, bycause they can not tel what they do) but ẏ blasphemy spoken against the truth knowē whych they spake against their con-

Marc. 3.

Luc. 1.

Act. 7.

science,

prouoked of enuie, that is irremissible: whiche is called blasphemie against the holy spirit, for this cause, bycause his truth is so clearely knowen to the mindes of men by hys doing, or miracle, or talk of wisdome, or some other way, that it cannot be denied: nowe if this truth being so manifestly set forth by his power & strengthe, bée by any man againste his conscience touched with blasphemie, we may wel say, that the holye spirite is blasphemed.

There be two kinds of blasphemers.

But there be two kindes of blasphemers. One whiche doe slanderously rayle against the truth of god through ignorance. They be like vnto them whiche rayled againste the sonne of man, by errour, for the basenesse of his estate. Such a one was Paule. They haue yet some waye to amendmente, and to forgiuenesse of their sinne: and therefore we muste pray for them. For they sinne not to death. So the Apostle saith of hymselfe, whiche was before a blasphemer, and persecuter, and reuiler, but sayth he, I haue obtayned Gods mercy, bycause I did it ignorantly. The other sorte is of them, whiche blaspheme the truth, neither of ignoraunce, nor before they knowe it, but after they knowe it, witting and willingly againste their owne consciences, for enuie and obstinate malice: for whom we may not pray, bycause they sinne to death. 1. John. 5. Some of them neuer acknowledged the truth of God, though they knew it: suche were the Scribes and the Phariseis, they said: In Béelzebub he casteth out Diuels: other there were that rayled against the truth, which they did not only knowe, but also professe, such as Julian, Porphirie, and Alexander the Copper smith were, and other more. Of them these two places in the Epistle to the Ebrues are to be vnderstand. And vnto those we may liken them, whiche in these dayes changing theyr coppe doe moste spitefully reuile and blaspheme the truth of the doctrine of the Gospel, which they did sometime acknowledge, and with greate zeale embrace and professe.

1. Tim. 1.

1. John. 5.

Heb. 6. 10.

Why the blasphemie against the holy spirite is not *remitted.*

Some men thinke, that there is neuer any forgeuenesse at al of the blasphemie against the holy spirite, bycause it is done wittingly against the truth knowne, not ignorãtly as it was vsed against the son of man. But it is a harde pointe so to determine. For euen they that sin sometimes willingly, do obteyn forgiuenesse if they amende. Therfore the surer waye is to fetche the meaning heereof from the wordes of the apostle, where it is allotted vnto thẽ which sinne against the holy spirite, that they can not be renewed by amendement. Wherby we are giuen to vnderstande, that therefore forgiuenesse is denyed vnto them, bycause they can not amende. And wheras S. Augustine saith, that the final impenitence and froward striuing against the grace of God, is the sinne against the holy spirit: it is rather ẏ cause why the blasphemye against ẏ holy spirit, is neuer forgiuen. For sinne is not forgiuen vnto sinners that lacke repentance. And they

Heb. 6.

They che blasphemes holy spirit can not forgiuen cause they do not pent.

they ẏ be such, can not amende, bycause they be the vessels of ẏ wrath of God, prouided vnto destruction, reprobate men, and slaues vnto Satan: which thing is manifest by that, whereas they be lightened with the knowledge of the truth, yet in theyr hart they be not altered: euen like as if the ground which is well washed with raine, and wel tilled, beareth no good fruit, but bryars and brambles, wherby it is knowen to be accursed.

Of the Lawes.

Ioan. 15.



Forasmuch as the Apostle witnesseth, ẏ ẏ law is the strength of sin, me thinketh it is méete ẏ after sin, we take our tyme to treate of the law, whereunto besides those things which be written by the fathers, there is also in our time by the studie and trauaile of lerned mẽ growne much light, and that to good purpose. For the knowlege therof is necessary, chiefly bicause of him who is ẏ end of the law, I meane Christ, that the grace which he brought vnto mankind, may the better be knowen. Therefore lette vs consider of these things, in degrée and order, as,

1 What the lawe is.
2 By whõ and to whom the law is to be giuen.
3 How many lawes there be.
4 What is the strength and working of the lawe.
5 What is to fulfill the lawe.
6 Of the lawe of the Spirite.
7 Of the abrogation of the law.

1. What the Lavv is.

VVords vvherby the lavv is signified.

Forasmuche as concerneth the significatiõ of the words, wherby that is termed which we call the Lawe, we must vnderstande that in Ebrew the lawe is, תורה, whiche word properly signifieth Doctrine. For it is méete that the principall purpose of the lawe be to teache the mindes of men, what is right, equal, godly, honest, and in déede profitable: and againe what is vniust, vnequal, vngodly, vnhonest, & hurtful. Therefore whatsoeuer things be so commaunded, that they lacke the perspicuitie of doctrine, they séeme to sauer of wicked tiranny rather than a doctrine and nature of an vpright lawe. Therefore S. Jerome saide: I will that he or she shall commaunde me, which may ouerwhelme me, but can not instructe me.

Lavv vvithout doctrine.

And the Gréekes calleth the lawe νόμος of νέμειν, whiche signifyeth to diuide and to distribute. So the lawe is called νόμος, bycause it doth distribute to euery man that, whiche is cõuenient & méet for him. And this is that equity, without which no law can be iust and stable. For the right distributionof things to be done and kepte, belongeth to the equitie of the lawe. And there be two kindes hereof. The one is generall, the other is speciall. Generall, whereby that is commonlye and generallye appointed vnto al men, which commõly and generally concerneth al men. Speciall is, that, whereby those thyngs are speciallye appointed to eche man, whiche speciallye concer-

νόμος Equitie to be vvayed in lavve.

Tvvo kinds of lavve.

neth him accoꝛding vnto the diuerſitie of perſons and eſtates, of which there is no time now to ſpeak. Therfoꝛe it appeareth, that ſuch lawes be vnequal, which without difference and right diſtribution, commaunde one thing to al men, not apertaining vnto all men, ſingularly to eche man ſuch things as be founde contrarye vnto eche mannes condition and degrée.

Lex. Thirdly, the law is called in Latin, *Lex, à legendo, vel diligendo,* whiche ſignifieth Reading oꝛ choſing: foꝛ choyſe belongeth properlye vnto the wiſdome and equitie of the law. And yet there be ſome whiche bring this woꝛd *Lex à ligando,* which ſignifieth binding, bicauſe that by the authoꝛitie of the law, iuſtice and equitie, as by certaine kinde of bandes, mens myndes be bounde & reſtrained from that whiche is vniuſt and vnlawfull. So peraduenture he mente that ſayde: Noꝛ yet the threatning woꝛdes were bounde in firme and hardened ſteéle. Some mã ſuppoſeth that the lawe is called *Lex à legendo,* which is a reading, bycauſe it is openly read, ſo that no man may cõplayne of ignoꝛaunce, oꝛ pretende any excuſe of his faulte. And without doubt, to vſe to reade the law opẽly, is a thing moſt neceſſarie foꝛ them whiche muſte obſerue the law: but yet in my opinion the lawe called *Lex*, is as cuil fauouredly deriued frõ the woꝛde which ſignifieth reading in Latine, bicauſe it is openly and publikely reade, as a king called *Rex*, bycauſe he is commonlye and much ruled.

Fourthly, we engliſh men cal our actes of Parlament, ſtatutes and oꝛdinances, Lawes, declaring thereby that it is conuenient that the law be firme, as appointed and oꝛdayned not only by wiſe counſell, & vpright iudgement, but alſo by authoꝛitie not to bée contrarped. So the Grécks to putte the woꝛde θεσμὸς foꝛ κυρῶσαι, whiche ſignifyeth, to eſtabliſhe and make authenticall. And thus I haue briefly ſpoke of the nature & meaning of the woꝛd, nowe let vs ſée what is the definition of Lawe.

Some do define law to be ỹ charge of that which is right, and the embarryng of that whiche is wꝛong. Some other thus: Lawe is the rule and meaſure of all actes which ought to be done oꝛ be admitted. Oꝛ this way: Law is the ſaying oꝛ appointment of reaſon in practiſe. Cicero in ſome place calleth it the ſtrength and ſentence of the ſeruyng, and ſtaye of iuſtice and right. And it is briefly and very handſomely ſpoken. Foꝛ whereas ſome menne ſay, that lawe is the hygh reaſon grafted in nature, whiche commaundeth thoſe things that are to be done, and foꝛbiddeth the contrarie, it agréeth moꝛe with the lawe of nature, than with the generall definition of lawe generally. Therfoꝛe let law be, reaſon, rule, and ſentence, which is ſtrengthened with authoꝛitie and iuſtice, whereby are commaunded ſuch thinges as are to bée kepte and perfoꝛmed, and ſuche things as are to be auoyded, are foꝛbidden.

To

2. To vvhom, and by vvhõ the Law is to be giuen.

Yoꝛ as muche as in lawe there be two pointes, firſt doctrine to teach, and nexte authoꝛitie to commande and compell, it is conuenient that the vſe and reaſon of the lawe take no place in them, which of thẽſelues haue knowledge ynough of things, and of their will are ledde vnto thoſe things which be good and right, and do deteſt and eſchue the contrarie. Therefoꝛe the Apoſtle ſayth, that the law is not ſet foꝛ the iuſt man. The reaſon is, bycauſe he is without it, and of himſelfe giuen to doe that which the lawe cõmaundeth, and is not only ſo giuẽ in mind, but doth alſo moſt carefully leane to the doyng of it. Therefoꝛe it remaineth, that the lawe pertayneth vnto them, whiche vnderſtande not what things are to be done, and what to be eſchued: oꝛ if they do vnderſtand it, be not ſo affected that they doe take delite therein, and with al their hart indeuour to perfourme it. Now the law was giuen vnto men. And therfoꝛe, vnleſſe we ſhal ſay that it is giuen in vaine, the nature of vs muſte néedes be ſuche, that of it ſelfe it neither vnderſtandeth, neither loueth true iuſtice, and therfoꝛe hath néede of lawes, whereby it maye be enfoꝛced and pꝛickt foꝛwarde. We muſte alſo thinke, that the very oꝛdinaunce of the lawes, whereunto mãs nature is ſubiect, declareth our baſeneſſe. Foꝛ it can by no meanes be denied, but that he is a ſubiecte vnto his Lawmaker, to whome by Authoꝛitie and ſuperiour power, it is preſcribed in law, what he ought to do, & what to eſchue. No inferioꝛ can ſet a law vpon his ſuperioꝛ, therfoꝛe we be cõuinced of the baſeneſſe of our ſubiection, in ſo muche as we bée ſubiecte to the poſition and oꝛdinance of ỹ law. This is our goodly godlineſſe, to the toppe whereof, our fleſh climed, by the enticemente of the Serpent. So we were made Gods, hauing authoꝛitie and knowledge of good and euill, that we muſt be taught like childꝛen, and reſtrained by lawes. Let the waying hereof ſuppreſſe the pride of our hart, and condemne vs in affection of humbleneſſe, and ſtudy of due obedience, as men ſubiect vnto erroꝛs and malice. Thus muche touching this pointe, vnto whom the law is giuen. Now let vs ſée whoſe Authoꝛitie it is, to giue the law.

By vvhom the lavv ought to be giuen. The ſaying of a Biſhop of Rome.

A certaine Biſhop of Rome ſaid, Wherſoeuer is maioꝛitie, there is power to commaunde: and where is minoꝛitie there is neceſſitie to obey. By this ſentẽce the ſée of Rome got the Authoꝛity of making lawes, after the Pope had gotten himſelfe maioꝛitie aboue all, in the Churche. In dede the ſentence is true, that ỹ power to make law pertaineth to ỹ greater, and humbleneſſe to obey belongeth vnto the leſſer. But withall we muſt conſider, that euery kynde of ſuperioꝛitye gotten amongſt men only by title, ſuffiſeth not to the authoꝛitie to make lawes whereof we now ſpeake, but that the very nature of it requireth, ỹ ther ought to cõcur in him which ſhold be ỹ true & cõmon lawmaker vnto al others, a true maieſty, power, wiſdome, iuſtice, goodnes and truth, and ỹ not foꝛ the time

alone, but euerlastinglye, not measured and vnperfect, but ful & perfie, so that he which is indued therwith, may be a liuely and euerlasting law, and that his will may be as it were a fountaine of al that law, by which not onely mankinde, but also all things which be in heauen & in earth may be gouerned and conserued. For the course, reason and estate of all things requireth this, ẏ those things which be inferior, imperfect, mutable, variable, & for the time should be gouerned of some superiour, perfect, immutable, certaine, constant & eternal mind, whose wisdome, goodnes, equitie, truth, iustice, and power, shold be tied to no measure, no time, no place, but extende it selfe into all fulnesse, al ages of all times, and into al that compasse of the whole vniuersitie of things and times, immediately and without ende. Suche a mynde cānot be ascribed vnto any creature. For euery creature is for his vnperfectnesse subiecte vnto thys euerlasting lawe. So that of necessitie wée muste appoint God alone to be the true, and only lawmaker alone. Vnto him al things are bounde, partlye for the authoritie of his infinite maiestie, and partlye for his perfecte wisedome, iustice, equitie, and goodnesse, lastly for the necessarie conseruation of their beyng receiued of him. For there is nothing can continue disseuered from this euerlasting and liuing lawe. Therefore whatsoeuer there is, wherein is vpright reason, equitie and authoritie, it sprang out of this fountaine, from whence all wisedome, iustice, equitie and authoritie commeth. Therefore they that be rightly wise, do vppon

God only is the perfect lavvegiuer.

good reason determyne, that the law is neither the deuise of mens wittes, neither the agréement of the people, but an eternal matter which sprong out from Gods wisedome vnto the vses of men. We speak here nothing of the Authoritie of Princes, Magistrates, and people. But those things that concerneth that matter, we reserue vnto that place where we shal speake of Magistrates.

3. Hovv manie kindes of Lavves there bee.

I Suppose that it appeareth by thys, whiche we haue alreadye spoken of the eternall Law, that is to saye, of the minde and of the hye lawmaker, of the estate of mankinde, that it can not bée, but out of that fountaine of all equitie and iustice, ther should spring forth certain lawes vnto the vse of men, and therof let vs make this diuision.

1 The Law of nature.
2 The Law expressed by worde without writing.
3 The Law written.
4 The Law of the Spirite.

Of the Lavve of Nature.

WE bée contented wyth thys shorte deuision, and as for them that séeke a busyer, lette them goe to others for it. Before wée defyne what the Lawe of Nature is, wée muste firste admonishe the reader that the Lawe of Nature

is

is not called such a thing, which either besides or aboue ẏ eternal law which is in god, is prescribed by our nature it selfe, but that whiche is by God himself naturally fastened and established in al mē, and very agréeable vnto his eternall law. The law of any thing may take the name of it two wayes. First, it may be called his, by whom it is ordayned. So that, that which we cal here the law of nature, is not of our nature, but it is the law of God. Secondly, it may be called his, to whō it is ordained. In this sense this lawe is called the law of nature.

Nowe the lawe of nature is that light and iudgement of reasō, wherby we doe discerne betwixt good and euill. Thomas Aquinas saith, that ẏ law of nature is nothing else, but the participatiō of the eternal law, in a reasonable creature. That definitiō in déede doth expresse vnto vs, of whence this iudgement, and light of reason commeth vnto vs, that is to say, from the eternal law: but what it is, it declareth not. And that parte in a reasonable creature, may cōprise also Angels, of whose nature here is nothing in question. Others decline this law more largely in this sorte: The law of nature is the cōmon sētence of iudgement, wher vnto al mē togither do assent, & farther whyche God graued in euerye mans minde, appointed to frame mens manners withal.

But we muste beware, that we thinke not that all things be comprehēded in this law, which are sene to be in our nature. For first it must be vnderstanded only of those things which are put into vs by God, so ẏ al those things be excluded which be not of God, but of Satan the author of our corruption. Secondly, nor yet generally all those things be cōprehended vnder this lawe, whiche are cōmonly fastened in our nature by God, to exclude those things which we haue naturally common with bruite beastes, and that those things only be retayned, which as men indued with reason, we haue specially aboue beastes receiued of the participation of the eternal law of God. And that those things may be vnderstanded, it is néedefull to vse some handsome distinctiō for thē whose sēses be not exercised in these maters.

Let vs therfore make a distinctiō betwixt the affections grafted in our nature, which wée call the affections made with vs and thē iudgements of our reason. Some affections be yet whole and sounde, some corrupt and defiled. The sound affectiōs we haue of God, the corrupt, of the poyson of sin. The whole be they, by the which we do naturally desire suche things as be necessarie for our life: as when one that is hungry desireth meate, he that is drie desireth drinke, the colde coueteth warmth, the hote colde, the prisoner libertie, and he that feareth or féeleth death at hand desireth life, and doth abhorre death. Hereunto also belongeth the affections of loue, hate, anger, sorow, gladnesse, feare, & such other like: of which some haue in them no sinne, and were also in Christ as very man, yea and be cōmon vnto vs also with beastes, and the vse of them al is to serue the necessitie of our life, to which end they be planted in vs by God.

The corrupte affections be selfe-

VVe muste put a difference betvvixt naturall affections, and the iudgementes of reason.

Affections, some sound and some corrupte.

loue, desire of vaine glory, the studye of priuate gains and couetousnesse, ẏ desire of reuēgement, ẏ hate of truth, the loue of lying and dissembling, the disposition to wantonnesse at large, and al those things which be contrary vnto the euerlasting law, and be condemned for vnlawful, and contrarie vnto true iustice.

Iudgemēts of reason. Iudgemēts of religion.

None of ẏ kinds of the seaffectiōs ar to be referred vnto the law of nature as I made mention before. Wherfore we must loke into ẏ iudgemēts of reason, whereof this lawe is. And thei be of two kinds. For so it is méet to deuide them in this presēt matter. The first kinde concerneth religion: the other, the liuing togither of men. As concerning religion, we finde by experience that this is general vnto vs all, that we doe perceiue there is a certaine God aboue vs al that be men, which is also heauenly and aboue the Angels, by whom the world is ruled, and al things therein ordered & conserued. Secondly, that thys God is to be worshipped, feared, and that to him we must be gratefull in al things. And therfore euen from the beginning of the world, ther hath alwaies bene among men some religion, wherby men haue had a beliefe in Goddes, and appointed some worship vnto them. And therefore is it also, that commonly all men iudge thē to be wicked, that hath no feare and obseruatiō of this God, and that they can not escape vnpunished, but are subiecte vnto the vengeance of God. This light and iudgement naturally giuen vnto vs (wherof in all times hath appeared most manifest declaratiō) is so obscured by the malice of Satan, that neither the true and only God, creator and conseruer of all things, is cōmonly knowen of al men, nor worshipped in true and sincere religion: but what soeuer is left in mans hart, of God, is turned to many false gods, and to the worship not méete to be giuen to the true God. Therof commeth that opinion of many Gods and seruice of Idols, vsed in al times. The place of the Apostle is known wel ynough, so that I néede not to alledge it, and expresse it word by worde. Surely there had neuer bene any opiniō of false gods, nor anye superstition of their worshipping, vnlesse these things, which I haue made mention of, had bene commonly grafted in our reason.

Of vvhēce cōmeth the religion of Gods.

Rom.1.

Nowe touching the common life of man, and the equitie and honestie also pertaynyng therunto no, man cādenye but it is grafted in our reason, that thou oughtest not to doe that to others, whiche thou wouldest not haue done to thy selfe: and againe as thou wouldest haue done to thy self, so to do to others. In this pointe, by the testimonie of Christ, are comprehended both the law & the Prophets. This lawe as it is grafted in oure nature, cōtaineth these points. First all men do generally determine by the iudgement of our reason, that the same which is vniust, is culpable and vnlawfull, and that which is right, to be commended and kept. Secondly, that it is right, that ẏ same which euery man woulde haue done to him from others, the very same if he can, he muste performe towards others, and with the like trust and good wil, as he requireth it of others. Againe that it is vniust and a wrong, to do that to others, which thou wouldest

The iudgements of the equitie of mans life.

Math.17. Luke.6.

not

not haue done to thy selfe. Farthermore, we are drawen by the same iudgement of reason, to professe the obseruing of honestie, and the detestation of dishonestie. And thereof it riseth, that we commende modestie, humblenesse, chastitie, thankfulnesse, humanitie, and Gentlenesse, vprightnesse, truth, fayth, goodnesse, patience in aduersitie, temperance in prosperitie, and al such things, as are commended of the Gentiles. And on the other side, we do condemne rashnesse, pride, and arrogancie, vncleannesse, ingratitude, vnkindenesse, sutteltie, falshoode, vnfaythfulnesse, malice, impatience and intemperancie, with other vices, whyche are also condemned by the iudgementes of the Gentiles. And this perseuerance and iudgement we haue not only of others, but also of our selues. For what is it else that the (Apostle saith to the Romains: For when the Gētiles hauing no lawe, (whyche we must vnderstande of the written law of Moyses) by nature do that which pertayneth vnto the lawe: they hauing no Lawe, are a Lawe vnto themselues, whiche sheweth the worke of the lawe written in theyr hartes, with their owne conscience also witnessing, & their own thoughts accusing one an other. &c. You heare here of the Gentiles, that is to saye, all them which lacke the lawe written, that they be a lawe vnto themselues: whiche is all one thing as to saye, they haue the lawe of nature grafted in thē, and that they declare openly, when they shewe that the workes of the lawe, that is to saye, that whiche the written lawe commaundeth, is written in theyr harts. And also howe according vnto that lawe, in their consciences they doe accuse the euill doers, and defende the wel doers.

Rom.2.

Of the Lavves of the Gentils

Out of this lawe of nature came all those things, whiche we reade of so noblye sette forth in the lawes and constitutions of the Gentiles. For wise men and men of great experience, by diligent consideration, did out of the same generall and cōmon sentences writtē in mens harts by the light of reason, conclude particularly and specially those things, whiche mighte kéepe men to liue togither in quietnesse, and equitie: and so they did ordaine dyuerse cyuill lawes according vnto the circumstances of the tymes, cases, places and persons.

The cōmon & vulgare equitie in mēs hartes.

It procéedeth also out of this law of nature, that rude men, brought vp in the countrie, vtterlye ignoraunt of al kind of learning and letters, giue sometimes most vpright iudgement of mens matters, so that Plato himself was not able to iudge more vprightly. And commonly all olde men children, & of middle estate, men, women, learned and vnlearned, we do al declare without nay, that this law is written within vs, that when any wrong is done vnto vs by any man, we start out immediately to condemne that which is wrongful done, and crie out on it, as a thing vnméete, and wrongfully done: and whiles we so iudge of other mens euil déedes, we declare manifestly ynough, ẏ though there were no lawe written, yet there is in our mindes a certaine iudicial sense of law, wherby we are able to iudge betwixt the good things and the euil, and alowe

that which is good, and condemn the euil. And therfore it was, that Adam and Eua when they had sinned, they went about to put ouer the faulte of their transgression, he to the womā, and she to the Serpent. Which was a manifest argument, that they vnderstode, that there was some haynous matter committed, in that they had transgressed the commaundemēt of God. And therefore it was also, that Caim knewe that in killing of his brother he had no smal fault, but he vnderstode also the enormitie of his sin, saying: My iniquitie is greater, than that I may deserue my forgiuenes. Wherby were these things vnderstanded, but by the law of nature, and iudgement of their owne consciēce? For there was yet no law extant, whiche coulde informe them that the laws of God ought not to be transgressed, and that none shoulde shed the bloud of man, much lesse the bloude of his brother. Thereof it came also, that the two sons of Noe, Sem and Iaphet, moued with the law of honesty, did reuerently couer and hide the priuities of their father.

Adam and Eua.

Caim.

Sem and Iaphet.

Howe it appeareth that the lavv of nature is gyuē vs from God.

Now that this law of our nature is giuen vs of God the maker of al, it appeareth by thrée argumentes. First, by that that it alloweth suche things as be good, and condemneth the euil, and therby it is tryed to be good. But in case there come withal any error and blindnesse, by reason of the corruption of our minde, that is euil, so it is not of God, but of Satan. Secondly, bycause it is not gotten by any arte, discipline, or learning, but is naturally bred in vs. In dée de learning and mens instructiōs helpe muche to polishe and encrease that which is giuen of nature: but it can not giue this light and rule it selfe of this lawe and reason. But that which we haue naturally, wée haue from no other but from God himselfe, whiche is the Authoure of our nature. Thirdly, by that that the iudgementes of this lawe agrée maruelous wel with the law of God writtē, as shal wel appeare if we cōsider the chapters which we haue before spoken of. So that it appeareth that there is one authour and giuer of them both. Thus it is proued by these thrée arguments, that the law of nature is giuen vs naturally frō God, that is to say, bicause it is good, and bicause also it is grafted in our nature, and also bycause it agréeth with the written law of God.

Hitherto of the lawe of nature, nowe let vs sée the lawes whiche be giuen of God by wordes, and not by wryting.

Of the lavves giuē by God, not by writing, but by *woorde*.

Euery commaundement hath not the strength of a lavve.

IT pleased GOD of a singular purpose to sette in mennes mindes not onely a naturall lawe, but to ioyne there vnto also certaine lawes expressed by worde. And I meane not of euery worde of God spoken to man, either before or after the floud, nor of euery cōmandemēt, which was priuatly to be acōplished & once alone, but of such as cōmaunded somewhat: and were generally spoken to al, & required also a continuance. For euery commandement hath not the condition of a Lawe, albeit

albeit euerye lawe hathe in it the strength of a commandement. But let vs sée what these lawes be.

1 First, when God had made man, as we reade in the 1. chapter of Genesis, he did not only blesse him, but he prescribed him a law also, saying: Encrease and multiplie, and fill the earth, and haue it in subiection, and beare rule ouer the fishes of the sea, and the birdes of the ayre, and ouer all the beastes whiche moue vpon earth. And God sayde: Loe I haue giuen you euery herbe that beareth séede vpon the earth, and all the trées which haue fruite in them of their owne kinde, to be to you for meate, and to all the liuing beasts vpon the earth, and to euery birde of the skie, and to al which moueth in the earth, and in which is a liuing soule, that they may haue to eat. This is the first law giuen vnto man before he fell into sin. And it hath thrée membres. For first it prescribeth of the encrease and multiplication of mankinde, saying: Encrease and multiplie, and fill the earth. Secondly, of the authoritie of gouernance, and sayth: Subdue it vnto you, and gouerne the fishes of the sea, and the byrdes of the heauen, and all the lyuing things which moueth vpon the earth. Thirdly, of their foode, when he sayth: Loe I haue giuen you euery herbe, &c. that they may be to you for foode, and to all the lyuing things vpon the earth. Thus God established the matter for the encreasing and multiplying of mankinde, and for an order to be kepte betwixt man and other beastes, and for the foode also & lyuing. Of all which things, sée my commentaries vpon Genesis.

Firste geuen n of plica- nd do n.

firste hath e parts.

Some man wil say, these thinges are not to bée broughte forthe for lawes, bicause they séeme not to haue the condition of a law, for that he is taken for an offender which performeth not that, that is commanded in lawe. For he séemeth not to offende that doeth nothing of himselfe towarde the encreasing and multiplying of mankinde, as they do that be barren, and such as of purpose do embrace a single lyfe. Also it appeareth, that the Lorde spake the same vnto the fishes of the sea, which be not méete to receiue the words of the lawe: so that these wordes séeme rather to containe the vertue of the wordes of Gods blessing, giuen to the bodies, as well of beastes as of men, to multiplie, than any strength and condition of lawe. Likewise may be sayd of the other two membres of this lawe, concernyng the power of dominion, and of foode. For he appeareth not to be an offender, which restrayned by Spirite of humblenesse, doth not embrace the dignitie of gouernance, nor he neyther which forbeareth the herbes & fruits of trées, and féedeth vpon more vile things, or if it may be, féedeth nothing at all.

An obiection.

The answer.

We answere, That it must néeds be, that these thinges doe contayne Gods ordinance and order of things most necessarie for mankinde, so that they can not be included in the blessing of God alone. For although the vertue of Gods blessing is ioyned withall, whereby it may fall that mankinde may be multiplied, conserued, and fedde, yet there be commanded withall certaine thinges to be done of men, so farre forthe necessarie,

rie, as they do concerne the minde and wil of God, and also the estate of our kinde. The minde and will of God is, that by the lawful communication of man and woman, mankinde should be multiplied. So he created man and woman, so he ioyned them, Christe is witnesse when he sayd: Whom God ioyned together, &c. So he blessed them, so he ioyned the law of multiplication and encreasing the kinde. And who is so mad to say, that these things be not necessarie for the encrease of mankinde? Therefore seyng that these wordes haue the ordinances of God, and the necessitie of the conseruation and multiplying of our kinde, & a commandement withal, what is the let, but that we should ascribe vnto them the strength of a law? I am not of this opinion alone. For so Basile also expounedeth this place: And let the beare, saith he, rule ouer the fishes of the sea, & the birdes of the ayer, and of the beastes of the earth. This is therefore a blessing, this is an ordinance of law. Thus much saith Basile. Nowe for that which is obiected of the barren, & of them which embrace a single lyfe, the answer is ready: let the barren & impotēt be exempted from this law, whome nature it self hath exempted. Let him be exempted, whome God his selfe by his singular grace hath made exempte vnto hygher affayres of his kingdome. Let him haue this libertie, that can attayne it by the grace of God. But all haue it not, bicause it is not giuē to al. But who perceyueth not that they which are not exempted, neither by defect of nature, neither by the singular grace of God, and can not vse this libertie, but are subiect vnto naturall lustes, be not in deede exempted from this law giuen of God, but that they be bonde vnto it, so that they do not only offende in that they do not submit themselues vnto it, but also that they range out into their lustes at large, contemning the ordinance of God. The priuiledge of few, doth not take away the common law in the which be without priuilege. He that of necessitie did charge this law vpon mākinde, maye at his libertie exempt whom he wil. But for others, if they do endeuour to withdrawe themselfs frō the yoke of this law, they do most worthily fall into the bondage of the law of Satan, and into all kinde of filthynesse, of which thing there be in these dayes horrible examples to see in the Church of Christ. Therefore the olde Israelites were not vnwise in this matter, to whom these wordes of God stode for a law, which they called, The commandemēt of fructifying and multiplying. And therby it came to passe, that barrennesse among the people of God, suffered such rebuke. Peraduenture they passed measure in calling vpō this law, and layde it without difference vpon al men. In contrary wise our men haue sinned much more enormiously, in weaking and vtterly pycking this law of God, not only in libertie of single life, but also in forbidding of lawful mariage, & libertie of whoredome, to the exceding shame and rebuke of Christian men.

Matth. 19.

Basilius Magnus.

And whereas we reade that it is sayd also to beastes: Encrease and multiplie, and fill the waters of the seas, it taketh not away the strength of the law, set vnto mankinde. Vnto beastes is giuen only by nature this law of getting and multiplying, duryng in them vntil the ende of the worlde, but vnto man it is giuen both naturally and by prescript of Gods lawe also: and maketh vs to vse wedlock, not only for course of nature, but also for faith and obedience vnto God our maker, folowing the minde and will of our lawgiuer and Creator.

Vnto those things which be obiected against the law of gouernance and fode, I will aunswere in fewe wordes. First, that we must not lok only vnto the dignitie of the gouernance granted vnto man, but as I sayd before, of the law of multiplication, we must loke to the minde of God, and to the necessitie of our publique liuing among beastes. So it pleased God, that man should haue the gouernance of all beastes, and be as a Lord of the earth. If any man thinke that this power giuen to man is not necessarie, & that he may freely reiect it, let him for me turne the cat into the pan, and serue beastes himselfe, and put ouer his honor giuen to him by God his maker, vnto the baseste and mast vile beastes.

And touching the law of fode, although it be true that no man is so bonde to eate herbes and fruites of trées, that vnlesse he fede on them he sinneth: yet that letteth nothing, but that those thinges which be here prescribed of fode, maye haue the strength of a lawe. For it belongeth vnto lawe, not only to commaunde some thinges to bée done vnder a payne for not doyng it: but also that it muste permitte some thinges by name to mans vse, whereby they may vnderstande, that the reste of thinges be restrayned from them. This law permitted herbes & fruits of trées, declaring by that specialtie, that the vse of flesh was restrained from them, which for all that was graunted them after the floude by an other lawe. So Basile also sayth: The first law giuing, permitted the eating of fruit. These things considered, I suppose it is manifest ynough, that this law was giuen vnto mankind by Gods worde, immediatly after he was made.

Basilius Magnus.

The lavve of Paradise

2 The seconde law is read of in the 2. chapter of Genesis, in this wise: Therfore the Lord God toke man and put him into Paradise of pleasure, to worke and kepe it, & he commanded him, saying: Of euery trée of Paradise eate, but eate not of the trée of knowledge of good and euill. At what day so euer thou eate of it, thou shalt dye the death.

This was the law of Paradise, wherof the first parte contayneth a permission, the seconde an exception, the thirde a threatenyng. For he permitteth Adam to eate of euery trée of Paradise. For we can not say that he did so commande him ỳ, that vnlesse he did eat of all the fruytes of Paradise, he shoulde sinne. Secondly, he addeth an exception, to the intent the permission should not be altogether generall and frée, but restrayned vnto the obedience of Gods commandemēt. Of the trée (he saith) of knowledge of good and euill, eate not. In the first parte was set forth the liberality of the maker towards man; in the seconde the authoritie of Goddes maiestie: which two were very conueniently ioyned together, to

the intent, that man should not vse the liberalitie of God without acknowledging his authoritie in his obedience and seruice, but bothe accept so great a benefite, and honor also the authority of the benefactour. Thirdly, he ioyneth a penaltie for the transgression by threatening, and saying: For what day so euer thou eate thereof, thou shalt dye the death: and reason. For he is not worthye to liue, that honoreth not the giuer of his life, but transgresseth his commandementes, not compelled of necessitie, beyng so easy to haue bene kept. Imagine that the Lord had sayd: Loe, to the entent that thou mayest liue, I haue giuen thée libertie to eate, and I haue giuen thée also abundantly to eate. Let all the fruites of Paradise be in thy power, one tree only except, whiche see you touche not, for that I kepe it to my owne authoritie. The same is the tree of knowledge of good and euill. If thou touche it, the meate of it shal not bringe thée lyfe, but death. For thou shalt not haue life by that which I forbidde thée, but all that meate which I haue made free and lawfull for thée, that meate shal be conuenient and profitable for thée, and serue thée for the sustentation of thy lyfe as long as thou forbeare from the forbidden meate. If thou abstreyne not from that, thou shalt haue afterwarde no other meate of all that choise of meates, which thou art permitted to haue, that can preserue thée in thy life. For the meate of the tree of lyfe shal be also shutte from thée, bycause thou shalt not be able to come at it, and preserue thy lyfe. It appeareth that this is the meaning of this lawe: the transgression wherof, hath made not only our first parentes, but also all their successors subiect vnto sinne and death, wherof is spoken before in that we noted of the fall of man.

3 The third lawe is that, whiche is also read in this sort, in the thirde chapter of Genesis: Wherfore man shall forsake father and mother, and cleaue vnto his wife, and they shall be two in one flesshe. This is the law of wedlocke, prescribed not only to Adam and Eua, but also vnto all their aftercommers: and confirmed by the testimonie and authoritie of Christ himselfe the sonne of God, as we may read in the Gospel of Path. And it maketh no matter that these wordes seemeth not to be the wordes of God, but of Adam, and that therfore they shoulde signifie rather a prophecie of somewhat to come, than a law. For first the very hanging of it togither in Genesis, proueth that they be not the wordes of Adam. For as it soundeth (and as Erasmus noted) they may be as wel ascribed vnto God, or to him that wrote the historie, as to Adam. Secondely, although they were pronounced by Adam, yet they shoulde haue the strengthe of a lawe as well as those thinges which are giuen by Moses, if you consider in Adam the person & dignitie receyued of God, the authoritie vpon his aftercommers, which he hadde as their head and Prince. Thirdlye, to make the matter more certaine, wée haue also the testimony of Christ, which in the place before named, alleageth these wordes for the first law of wedlocke, and as a law giuen by God, wherevnto all

wedded

wedded folke ought to conforme themselues, saying: Haue you not read, that he that made man in the beginning, made them man and woman, and sayd: Therefore shall man forsake father and mother, and stick to his wife, and there shalbe two in one flesshe. Thus farre he rehearsed the wordes of this law, whereof he doth consequently inferre, And now they be not two but one flesh. Therfore what God hathe ioyned, let no man separate. So Chrysostome doth also take it, vpon Matthew, where he doeth somewhat larger expresse the wordes of Christe in this sorte. Therfore this lawe, though it séeme to be set forth now by me, it was for all that ordeyned most diligently frō the beginning of tymes. Ye sée also by this, that the woman is not simply appointed to the man, but that they be commanded to leaue father and mother: and the man not simply to come to the woman, but to be as glued vnto hir by the strength of the worde, shewing that they mought not be separate. He not contented with that onlye, declareth a greater coniunction, when he sayth: And there shal be two in one flesshe. After that hauing read the olde law, which standeth yet firme in wordes and dédes, and is grounded vpon the authoritie of the maker, hée doth also him selfe with great power interpretate and establish the law, saying: Therefore they be not two, but one flesh. And as it is a heynous offence, to diuide one flesshe into two, so it is also most vniust to separate the woman from the man: this is Chrysostome. And I thoughte good to note for them which come newe to scriptures, that they take not these for mans wordes, but for the lawe of wedlocke giuen by God.

4 We reade that the fourthe lawe was giuen after the fall of our parentes in the thirde chapter of Genesis, in this wise: God sayd to the woman, I wil multiplie thy troubles & trauailes in conceyuing: thou shalt bring forthe thy chyldren in paine, and shalt be vnder him, and he shalbe master ouer thée. And he sayd also to Adam: Bicause thou hast heard the voyce of thy wyfe, & eaten of the tree whereof I commaunded thée thou shouldest not eat, cursed be the earth in thy worke. In labour thou shalt eate therof all the dayes of thy lyfe. It shall bring thée forthe brambles and thistles, and thou shalt eat of the herbes of the earth. Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweate of thy face, vntill thou returne vnto the earth from whence thou art taken. For thou art dust, and shalt returne into dust. A great part of this matter containeth the deserued paine appointed for the transgression, rather than a law commanding any thing: but that which he saith to Eua: Thou shalt be vnder the power of thy husband, and he shal rule thée, hath strength of a law, whereby the woman is commanded to be subiect and obedient vnto hir husband: as that also which he sayd to Adam: Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, it containeth a lawful commaundement, whereby the man is enioyned to feed himselfe and his family with his labour and trauel. The lawe of the woman is to obey hir husband: the mans lawe, that by honest trauel he prouide necessaries for his wyfe, his

The lavve of man and vvoman after their sinne.

children,

children, and his familye. Hereunto agreeth also the writinges of the Apostles.

The lavve of first birth.

5 The fyft lawe is written in the fourthe chapter of Genesis in this wise: The Lord sayd unto Cayn: Why art thou angry? and why is thy countenance fallen? shalt not thou receiue if thou doest wel? but if thou doest euill, is not thy sinne streight at the dores? By these words he commandeth nothing, but doeth admonish him of the law of nature, and confirmeth the same which speaketh in euery mans conscience, that it is right that he that doth wel, shold receyue, and he that doth euil, should be punished. He addeth: And it shal be for thee, if he couet any thing, and thou shalt be master ouer him. So he ordeyneth the lawe of the byrthright. Cayn was the first begotten, and ther belonged unto him the more worship of power and gouernance by right of his first byrth. And this right he confirmeth unto him by this present law: so that if thou do well, what needest thou to be sory and angry with thy brother? Thou art the first borne, and therefore thou shalt be also master of thy brother. If he purpose to haue any thing, it shal not be in his own power, but in thine, whether he shal do it or not: and so thou shalt be master ouer him. So that by this lawe was confirmed the autoritie of the first byrth, euen in the beginning, wherof the wicked hath very seldom made any good accompt, as appeareth in the examples of Cayn, and Esau, and other lyke.

The lavve of restorement giuen after the floude.

6 The sixt lawe was giuen in the nynth chapter of Genesis, after the floud, where we read thus: God blessed Noe and his sonnes, and sayd unto them: Encrease and multiplie, and fill the earth. And the feare of you, and trembling, shalbe upon al liuing beastes on the earth, and upon all byrds of the ayre, with all that moueth upon the earth. All the fishe of ye sea are deliuered into your hands, & all that moueth and lyueth shall be meat for you. I haue deliuered you all, as green herbes, except that flesh with the bloud you shal not eat. For the bloud of your souls I wil require at the hands of all beasts, and at the hands of man. At the man and his brother I wil requyre the soule of man. Who so euer sheaddeth mans bloud, his bloud shalbe shed. For unto ye image of God, man is made. &c.

This law was with diligent aduise giuen to Noe and his posteritie: as necessary for mankinde, in which God doth first rehearse and amplifie his firste law giuen in Paradise before sin. Unto the repetition belongeth these things which be appoynted for the multiplication of mankinde, and his power upon beastes: to the amplifying, that which toucheth the permission of foode. For before the floude, herbes and fruites of trees were only permitted to man to feede upon. But here is added also libertie to eat flesh: which is yet limited with the exception of bloud, & a threatening of punishment, if any shed mans bloud. And this punishment is decreed according to the equitie of the Talion lawe, which is lyke for lyke: So that his bloud shal be shed also, whosoeuer sheddeth mãs bloud, for as much as man is made to the lykenesse of God. So the Lord

by

by this lawe prouided for mankinde to be multiplied agayne after the floude, and restrayned also the malice of mans heart from raging to what he list, in that he forbad that no fleshe with bloud shoulde be eaten: And he ordeyned also punishmentes for them, which shoulde shedde mans bloud after the example of Cain, and the lyke.

We might recken also amongst these lawes the Circumcision which was geuen to Abraham, and the institution of the Passeouer in Egypt by Moses: but bicause they come nerer unto couenantes & Sacraments than to the rule of the law, and be also put into the written law, I thinke I may here omit them. And hitherto of the lawes expressed only by the worde of God without wryting.

Of the lavve vvritten.

We cal that ye law written, which God gaue unto Israel by Moses, and which Moses comprehended in his bookes of Exodus and Leuiticus, Numeri, and Deuteronomie: This was deliuered unto Moses by Angels, as Stephan witnesseth, saying: Ye haue receyued the law by the order of the Angels. And the Apostle sayth: The law is giuen by Angels in the hand of the mediator.

The same they doe commonly diuide, & wel ynough for the purpose, into the moral precepts, iudicial, and ceremonial: or into preceptes, statutes, and iudgementes. By statutes, they understande all that which pertaineth unto rites and ceremonies: by Morall preceptes, the tables: by Iudicials, all those lawes which they use in the matters and controuersies of the policie, and for punishmentes of the offendours.

Of the Morall preceptes.

VVhat Moral preceptes be.

Morall preceptes be they, whereby mens mindes be instructed unto godly and upright affections and manners. I say affections, least some man bycause they be called Moral, shulde unskilfully understande it of the manners of our outwarde workes, whereas the lawe is spiritual, and the rule also of our inward affections. I say godly and upright, that ye may understand that there is not prescribed in these commandementes those thinges alone, which toucheth the common life of man to be had in iustice and equitie, but also those thinges which concerne the true seruice of God, which is mente and expressed by the word, godly.

The summe of the Morall preceptes.

The most compendious sũme of al these, is: Loue thy Lord God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thy selfe. The same is somewhat more playnely set forthe in the table, and expounded afterwarde more at large by Moses himselfe, by speciall declaration of some particularities, as by certain commentes or expositions, and after Moses by the Prophetes, so that it was not for naught that Christ sayd, that in these two commandements, of the loue of God and thy neighbour, the whole lawe and Prophetes is comprehended. Of which matter if any man luste, let him looke upon our Commentaries upon the Gospell of Matthew, in the 5. and 22. chapter.

Matth. 22.

Of the

Of the Decalogus.

Of the vvord Decalogus.

IN the fourth and the tenth of Deuteronomie, the preceptes of the *Decalogus* be called, The ten words, which in my iudgement ought to bée more carefully beaten into Christian yong mens heades, than the ten predicamentes were wonte to be in the Scholes: although the knoweledge of them also, moderately vsed, be not vnprofitable. The ten words, be tenne lawe sentences, wherin the whole effecte of this lawe is contained: and therefore men vse to call it by this name. *Decalogus*, is a law comprehended in ten sentences. And I thinke it is to no purpose to be curious in disputation what reason or mysterie this number of ten representeth, and whether the Prophete did allude thereunto by the Psalter of ten strings: or whether the ten preceptes be as the tenne moneths which a woman goeth with childe, as S. Chrysostome fained in his exposition vpō Matthew. Let vs leaue such imaginations to ydle men that haue nothing else to doe. It appeareth rather that the Lord woulde haue his people (yet vntaught and finally exercised in holy thinges,) so instructed at the first beginning, that they might haue in a redinesse a certain brief of those commandements, which should serue to frame theyr mindes: and that they should neither be so many in number, neyther so confuse in heape, but so shorte and so distincte, that they might be easely caried away, so that the number of the commandementes might of euery man as readely be had and rehersed, as theyr owne fingers and toes: and he gaue such order to his people, that the tenne summarie sentences should be most perfectly knowen to the common people, and that the larger expositiō of them should be committed to the ministerie of ẏ Priests. And thereunto agréeth that of Malachie: The lips of the Priest kepeth knowledge, and men doe looke for the lawe out of his mouth.

Of the number of ten.

In Matthew hom. 79.

Malach.

It is good also to marke diligently, howe these ten commandementes were set forthe in no light and common sorte, but after a most earnest and terrible way, as things in themselues most mightie. They may be so slightly and vncarefully set forth, that they may finde more contempt than estimation. For nothing doeth so much hinder true Godlinesse, as if men haue not a religious and deuoute opinion of the commandementes of God. Wherfore, when God had appoynted to gyue his people this lawe, he commaunded that they should be sanctified thrée dayes before, and to prepare their mindes to heare his commandementes. After that he did principally demaunde of them, whether they would heare his voyce, that is to saye, obey his commaundementes, and kepe his couenantes. And then when they had consented to this obedience, he commanded they should be put in readines against the third day, & to be brought towardes the hill, to the intent they shoulde hearken vnto it, and that with such a feare, that the multitude should tary at the foote of the hil, and no man vnder payn of death to come

Howe Iavv of Decalogus vvas set fo[illegible]

from

from thence vp to the hil. So ye may sée, there was required to this assembly appointed to vnderstand the law of God, a godlie minde, obedient vnto Goddes will, sanctified, and cleare from all lightnesse of curiositie, and trembling at the voice of the Lorde their God. And the very maner of the giuing of the law was also maruellous strange. God appeared in a terrible Maiestie, by thunders, lightnings, fier, a darke cloude, the smoke of the burning hill, by the noyse of a trumpet enforcing vp his noyse little and little. So the authoritie and terror of the maiestie of God was stryken into the heartes of the rude people. And all to this purpose, that the lawe set forth, should be vnderstanded and perceiued with the feare and terrible knowledge of God. They which without ẏ feare of God come to hear his word, present themselues in these holy assemblies, not onely to no profite, but also to their great damage.

Nowe when the people was thus prepared, sanctified, and had vndertaken the obedience of Gods voice, and assembled them selues with fear to heare it, at length the thirde daye these tenne commaundements were propounded, the Lorde speaking and opening them in this sort in the hearing of them all.

Exodi. XX.

1 *I am the Lorde thy GOD, which haue brought thee out of the lande of Egipt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt haue no other Gods in my sight.*

2 *Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, neyther any similitude that is in heauen aboue, eyther in the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth. Thou shalte not worship them, nor serue them. For I the Lorde thy GOD am a gealous God, and visit the sinnes of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, & shew mercie vnto thousandes of them that loue me, and kepe my commaundementes.*

3 *Thou shalte not take the name of the Lorde thy God in vaine, for the Lorde will not holde them guiltlesse, that do take his name in vaine.*

4 *Remember that thou kepe holy the Saboth day. Six dayes shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do, but the seuenth day is the Sabboth of the Lorde, in it thou shalt do no maner of worke, thou and thy sonne and thy daughter, thy manseruant and thy maydeseruant, thy cattell, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six dayes the Lorde made heauen and earthe, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seauenth day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabboth day and halowed it.*

5 *Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy dayes may be long in the land which the Lorde thy God giueth thee.*

6 *Thou shalt not kill.*

7 *Thou shalt not breake wedlocke.*

8 *Thou shalt not steale.*

9 *Thou shalte not beare false witnesse against thy neighbour.*

10 *Thou shalte not couet thy neighbours house, neither shalt thou couet thy neighbours wife, or his manseruant or his mayd, or his oxe or his asse, or any thing that is his.*

The diuision of the Decalogus.

A double diuision of the Decalogus.

THis is the proceſſe of the *Decalogus*. And it is deuided two wayes. Firſte into two tables, in which it was writte by the finger of God. For it had not bin ſufficient for the to haue hearde the voice of God, vnleſſe there had bin extant a monument in writing, written by the finger of God, whereby they? poſteritie ſhoulde be holpen, and the ſtony conſcience of the hard people be conuinced. Therefore they were tables of ſtone, that were occupied, and not of Paper. And all was not written in one table confuſely, but accoꝛding vnto the diuerſitie of the matter, deuided into two: ſo that the firſt conteyned ſeuerally ſuch thinges as perteyned vnto the lawe of God, the other ſeparatly thoſe thinges which touched the loue of our neighbour. And thoſe thinges which properly do concerne the loue towards God, as moſt woꝛthy, are woꝛthily put in the firſt place, and by good reaſon are ſequeſtred from thoſe things which doe belong vnto men.

Two tables of Stone.

How the ſecond cõmandemẽt is like vnto the firſt. Matth. 22.

And whereas Chriſt ſayth, that the ſecond commandement, which is of the loue of the neighbour, is lyke vnto the firſt, which commandeth the loue of God, it is not ſo to be vnderſtanded, that the dignitie and excellencie of bothe is equall: vnleſſe we will ſay, that God is not to be loued aboue man: but we muſt make this diſtinction, that the firſt commandement in degree, dignitie, and excellencie, is higher than the other: and that the other is not euen and equall with the firſt, but like, and that in his qualitie and condition. In qualitie, for in bothe is commanded pure and ſincere loue: euen as if you wold ſay, that one man were like an other in nature and qualitie, although the one exceede the other in greatneſſe, degree, and dignitie, &c. In condition, for that as the loue of God is the head & chiefe point of all the reſt of the commandements which concerne GOD, ſo touching men, the loue of our neighbour is the head & chief poynt of all.

It is wel therefore, that this *Decalogus* is deſcribed in two tables, for the differẽce of the things which be commanded, ſo that the loue of God hath the firſt place and table, and the loue of the neighbour, the nexte. So that we be taught nothing elſe by this diuiſion, but that we muſt vtter and declare our loue to our neybour, beginning at the loue of God, & that we muſt loue God aboue all, and our neighbour alſo for Gods ſake, ſo that God muſt haue in vs the chiefe parte in al thinges, and be the ſpring and fountaine of all godneſſe, iuſtice, and equitie, to be declared towardes our neyghbour.

Therefore, whereas men ſay, that ordinate charitie beginneth of it ſelf: if it be meante of the charitie of God, it is true. For that can haue no beginning but of it ſelfe. But if it be ſpoken of our charitie, be it neuer ſo vpright and ordinate, I ſee not how it can be truly ſpoken. For it neither beginneth of it ſelf, but taketh his beginning from the ſpirite of the loue of God, by whome it is powred into our hartes: neyther the godly man in degree loueth not himſelf firſt, but doth ſanctifie the firſt of his loue vn-

to his

to his lord God: and after him & for him, he doth louingly embrace his neighbour, reiecting & refuſing himſelfe withall, and altogether liuing vnto God and his neyghbour, accoꝛding to the diſpoſition of true loue.

Secondly, the *Decalogus* is deuided into ten woꝛds, which ſome men doe ſo handle, that they doe deuide the preceptes of the firſt table into three, and the preceptes of the ſecond into ſeuen. And in ſo doyng, they thruſt me quite out the commaundements of graue Images, and deuide the laſte, which is of concupiſcence, into two: following S. Auguſtine, who maketh three preceptes of the firſt table, to agree with the miſterie of the holy trinitie, and ſo leaueth ſeuen for the ſecond table. But as far as I can vnderſtande, none of the auncient fathers made this diuiſion: but all of them diſtributed foure into the firſt table, and the other fiue into the ſecond.

Of the Grekes, Athanaſius in his booke called *Synopſis Scripturarum*, appointeth them in this ſoꝛte. The firſte commaundement: I am the Lord thy God: The ſecond, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any image, noꝛ the likeneſſe of any thing. The third, Thou ſhalt not take the name of thy God in vayne. The fourth, Remember the Sabboth daye. The fifte, Honoꝛ thy father and thy mother. The ſixte, Thou ſhalt not kill. The ſeuẽth, Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie. The eight, Thou ſhalt not ſteale. The nynth, Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe againſt thy neybour. The tenth, Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours wife, noꝛ anye thing of thy neighbours. Thus Athanaſius deuided them.

And Origen maketh the firſt commaundement, Thou ſhalt haue no other Goddes but me: and the ſecond, Thou ſhalt make thy ſelf no grauen image, noꝛ likenes: and ſo foꝛth: and vpholdeth that the number of the commandementes oꝛ the truth of the *Decalogus* can not ſtande, if it be otherwiſe deuided, oꝛ if of the two firſt commaundementes, men ſhould make but one.

Origenes ſuper Exodum

Chryſoſtome in his ſecond expoſition vpon Matthewe ſayeth thus. Our chief and healthfull iuſtice of the law hath ten commandementes, as it were tenne moneths. The firſt, to know one God: the ſecond, to abſtayne from idols: The third, not to foꝛſweare: The fourth, to kepe the ſpirituall Sabboth: The fifte, to honoꝛ Father and mother: The ſixte, not to kill: The ſeuenth, to committe no adultery: The eight, not to ſteale: The nynth, to beare no falſe witnes: The tenth, to couet nothing of thy neyghbours. Thus ſayth he. And Gregorie Nazianzene doeth deuide the commandementes of the *Decalogus* in this ſoꝛte.

Chryſoſt. ſuper Matth. hom. 49.

Tenne lawes God wrote in tables of Stone,
Write thou them vp into thy harte:
See that one God thou know alone.
Make thee no image lyke as thou arte.
Take not the name of God in vayne.
See thou obſerue the Sabboth daye.
Honor thy parentes without diſdayne.
Beware thou kill not anye waye.
Adulterie flee, & witneſſe falſe to beare.
To couet that which is not thine,
ſee that thou euer feare.

And this deſcription of the *Decalogus* is ſo ſet foꝛth, that vnleſſe the precept of images haue þ ſeconde place,

Not only the Latines, but the Grekes alſo did thus deuide it.

and that which is briefely in summe comprehended of the coueting of other mens things, bée referred vnto the tenth, there cannot be appoynted ten in number. And least some man should say, that all these fathers bée of the Gréeke Church, and therefore they haue no authoritie in ẏ Church of Rome: let vs sée also the Latines.

Hieronimus in Epistolam ad Ephesios capite. 6.

Hierome doth plainely deuide the *Decalogus* thus, that the first cōmandement is, Thou shalt haue no other Goddes but me: the seconde, Thou shalt make to thy selfe no image, nor any similitude. &c. And the fifte, Honour thy Father and Mother.

Ambrose.

And Ambrose wryting vpon the same Epistle and the same place, sayth thus: It is certayne, that the first commaundemente is conteyned in this: Thou shalte haue no other Goddes but me. The second: Thou shalt not make thy self any likenesse of any thing that is in heauen. &c. The third: Thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord GOD in vaine. The fourth: Thou shalte obserue my Sabboth dayes. The fifte: Honour thy Father. &c. But bycause these first foure preceptes pertayne vnto God, they must bée vnderstanded to be conteyned in the first table. The reste pertayneth to men, as to honour thy parentes, not to kill, not to commit fornication, not to steale, to beare no false witnesse, to couete nothing of thy neighbours. These six commaundements séeme to be written in the seconde table, whereof the first is: Honor thy Father. &c. Thus much Ambrose.

So that I thinke it was very vnaduisedly done of some men, and peraduenture to euil purpose, to take vtterly away this olde diuision of the *Decalogus*, which both the Gréekes and Latin Church vsed, and to bring in a newe, wherein the seconde precepte against Images and grauen things, to the great hurt of ẏ church of Christ, was taken away, and the last deuided into two. Thomas and suche like, doe pretende the authoritie of Augustine. As thoughe one place of Augustine ought to bée preiudiciall vnto all the rest of the Fathers, and them of most antiquitie: albeit hée had meant and wrytten in earneste, that the *Decalogus* shoulde haue bene so deuided. But what shal we say, when Augustine is manifestly contrary vnto himself, and in his Booke of Questions vpon the newe and olde Testament, in the seauenth Chapter, he foloweth and setteth out the diuision of the other Fathers, which he refused in the place before recyted? I pray you, how is it reason that the authoritie of one man whiche agréeth not with him selfe, should be preferred aboue al others? And againe, if men dolike the authoritie of Augustine, why shoulde not he be liked rather in that wherein he agreeth with the rest of the auncient fathers, than in that which he wrote contrary to others, and also to himselfe? But that diuision wherby the second precept against Images was stryken out of the number of ẏ ten, agréed better with the time in which grauen Images were broughte into the Church, than the other, in which that precept was kepte in. Wherefore it is conueniente, that leauing this mangled and corrupte diuision, crept in these later times for the Catholike vse, to so great a bondage of

Thomas quinus.

Augustine conm vnto himself.

Christes

Christs Church, we folow the same which both the very order of the *Decalogus* requireth, and the olde wryters also, so agréeably, both the Grekes and the Latines also, vsed moste Catholikely.

This we thought méet to note of the diuision of the *Decalogus*, which matter might séeme not to be of so great moment, as to cause so long a treatye, vnlesse we were in those times, in which we are compelled either to admit a very noysome lawe and manifest errours, or els if we reprehende them, to be called heretikes, schismatikes, seditious men, enemies of the Church, forsakers of the truth, which be wordes very Catholike and méete for Church men. And yet I know, it auayleth little to the desire of Godly lyfe, to haue the righte number of the commaundementes of GOD obserued, and to kepe them euil. And there were no matter in it, though they were set forthe to the people, without any diuision at all, so that they were set forth wholy without any māgling, euen as they were giuen of God, and as they be comprised in the holye Scriptures: for the mangling of them, may serue for theyr purpose, which do wickedly defende the worshipping of Images.

The first commandement.

I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egipt, out of the house of bondage, Thou shalt haue no other Gods in my sight.

This first peecept is not by order only the first, but also such, as without the obseruing of it, all the rest be to no purpose: For therin is comprehended the head of true religion, of true godlinesse, and of all iustice.

VVhy this is the first precept.

The proposition of it is this: Israel thou shalt haue me alone for thy Lord God, and serue and worshippe me only. In this be two partes. One, that he calleth himself the God of Israel: the other, that he requireth of him that he embrace, obserue, worshippe, and honor him only for his God alone, with a sincere and faithfull hart. And this is the first member of that he sayth: I am the Lord thy God: the other member is that which he adioyneth, Thou shalt haue no other Gods in my sight.

The proposition.

The meaning of these wordes is I wil be thy God alone, and thy onely God. Thou shalt worship me alone and only, thou shalt depende only of me, thou shalt sticke only to me. For if ye enforce the wordes, it may be, that no man can accuse you that you haue any other God in the sight of this true and only God, and yet for all that, that you do not obserue and worship the true and only God, euen as you maye finde a woman which doth not obey and sticke faithfully to hir lawfull husbande, and yet can not bée proued of any adultery committed with others. Wherfore the mynde of this precept doeth not requyre this only of Israel, that hée shoulde abstaine from straunge Goddes, but that he shoulde also accomplish it in cleauing to his onely and true Lord and God. But let vs search the particularities of this precept.

The meaning of this precept.

I am the Existent.

I am the Lord thy God. Let vs obserue first that he sayth, I am the Lord. It is in the Ebrewe יהוה אנרבי, that is: I am *EXISTENT*, that is: I am that Essence, by which and in which all things doe stande and be conserued. I liue, abide, and can doe all, contayne and conserue all thinges, and by none other, nor of any other, nor in any other but by my selfe, of my selfe, and in my self. So in one worde is comprehended that diuine and omnipotent Essence, the vertue and efficacie of the true & only God, the beginning, conseruation and ende of all.

Secondly, we must marke that he doth adde, God: I am the Lord God, sayth he. We are admonished, that he can not be true God, which is not *Iehouah*. The worde *Elohim* wayed in it selfe, hathe the signification of power. But it is vsed for him, which as he is omnipotent, so he can also by his power conserue and deliuer all men from all euils, and defende and kepe them agaynst all that is against them. That power agréeth to no creature, but only vnto him, which is able to saye truely of hymselfe, that he is *Iehouah*. And therefore after he had sayde, I am *Iehouah*, he dyd well adde, *Thy God*.

He can not be true God, vvhich is not Iehouah.

Thirdly, it is not to be passed ouer, that the plurall voyce אלהיך, that is, if you saye it properly, *Thy Goddes*, is ioyned with a pronoune singular, *Ego*, I: in déede this worde in forme of the plurall nombre, is vsed for the singular, and it is read, I am the Lord thy God. But with all, this speache doeth trimly agrée to the misterie as wel of vnitie, as of the Trinitie in true Godhead. For as touching the Essence, there is only one Lord and true God *Iehouah*. He sayth not, We are the Lords: but, I am the Lord. Now bicause there be thrée persons of the true Godhead, he did omitte to say, I am *Iehouah* אלך, that is to saye, Thy God or thy Strōg one: but I am *Iehouah* אלהיך that is, Thy Gods, or thy Strong ones. And that no man may say, that so there is made many Goddes, it is stayed by that which he sayth in the singular nombre, I *Iehouah*. Againe, that no man may so appoint the one Essence of God, that he should denie the Trinitie of persons, this point helpeth that he sayth in the plurall nombre, *Elohim* אלהיך.

Hovv these thinges do serue to the mysterie of the holy Trinitie.

Fourthly, we muste obserue, that he sayth not simply, I the Lorde God: but, I the Lord thy God. So the lawgiuer setteth out his authoritie and iurisdiction before his law, and not only this general authoritie whiche he hath ouer all nations of the Earth, but that speciall and singular iurisdiction also, wherevnto he had the people of Israell, peculiarly electe and chosen, peculiarly also bonde vnto hym. We are admonished by this place, what is requisite to the power and authoritie of lawe making: and that is, that he which will make lawe to anye people, muste before al thinges declare that he is the Lord in déede to that people, to whome by lawefull authoritie he will prescribe what is to be done, and what to be auoyded. When that is so manifest that it can not be denyed, then there is lefte to the subiectes no excuse of disobedience. For these can not be put asunder,

der, the authoritie of Maiestie and iurisdiction in him that is Lord and master, and the dutie of obedience in them which be vnderlinges and subiectes. Wherefore as oft as we confesse him to be our Lord God, we do also testifie that we are subiect vnto his power & iurisdiction, and bonde to obey his commandementes without excuse.

VVhich haue brought thee out of the lande of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. It might séeme that there was authoritie ynoughe in that, that when he would giue them the lawe, he sayd: *I am the Lord thy God.* But for two very great causes he addeth this péece.

The one is, to shew them that it was declared by most plaine experience, that he was ẏ Lord their God, in that he brought them out from a most greuous and tyrannous bondage, for so he sayth: I am the Lord thy God, which brought thée out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage: as though he had sayd, Which haue declared by most manifest argument, that I am thy God, for that with strong arme I haue deliuered and brought thée forth out of the house of Pharao, vnder whome you were subiect in most cruel bondage so many yeares. He might haue put him in remembrance of a clearer argument of his Godhead, and haue sayd: I am the Lord thy God, which made heauen, earth, sea, & all thinges which be in it. But he ment not that alone, to declare generally that he was God, but specially to proue that he was their God. And therfore he brought suche an argument of his Godhead, as did concerne the Israelites, to whom he shold giue preceptes. Nor he sayth not, Which made thée: for that was generall to them with al other creatures: but he ment to put them in remembrance of such a matter, whereby it should appeare by a speciall pointe and neuer heard of before, that he was theyr God, specially. So that to be any mans God, is to be his creator, redemer, deliuerer, and sauiour, so that God must be knowen in strength & power of redeming. Thus we reade in Esay: And now this sayth the Lorde, which createth thée Jacob, and formeth thée Israel: Feare not, for I haue redemed thée. I haue called thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest by water, I wil be with thée, and the floudes shal not ouerwhelme thée: when thou walkest by fyre, thou shalt not be burned: For I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel, thy sauiour, &c. Sée, that where he telleth he is the God of Israel, by and by he addeth, Thy sauiour. Yea and I redemed thée. And, I wil be with thée in waters, with thée in fyre, that thou be neyther ouerwhelmed with waters, neither consumed with fire.

VVhat it is to be any bodies God.

Esay. 43.

The other cause was, that the Israelites shuld be admonished of their olde bondage in Egypt, from whence they were deliuered: and that hauing in remembrance so great a benefite, they should faithfully stick vnto the Lord God their sauiour, and serue him: For what can be more right, than that being deliuered from tirannical bondage, they shuld serue, & with al their hart cleaue vnto their deliuerer and sauiour? So that God wold haue the remembrance of this deli-

Israel vvas to be admonished of his olde bondage.

deliuerie sticke in their mindes, that they should be grateful, and well bekow the benefite which they had receyued. Therfore he set in this particle into the *Decalogue*, yea and placed it in the very beginning of that whiche he woulde haue continually beaten into their heades. For lyke cause he ordeined vnto them the ceremonie of the Passeouer, that euery yeare by ỹ publik vse of it, they might be put in remembrance from whence & by whom they were deliuered. And it is not without good cause, that not only by this place and by the ceremonie of the Passeouer, this was beaten into their heads, but it was by Moses also told thē & bythe other prophetes, that they were deliuered frō this most greuous bondage, and as Moses calleth it, The yron furnace, to the intent they should neither forget their olde calamitie and wretchednes, neyther the benefite which they had receyued. For we are of that nature, that we do immediatly forget as well the miserie after it is once past, as also our deliuerie which we haue receyued. Therefore both are here wel thrust in. He sayth not only, Which brought thée out of Egypt: but he added, From the house of bondage. What manner of bondage that was, we may see in Exodus. And how sone they had forgotten it, we read in Numeri, when they sayd, Would to God we had dyed in Egypt. And, Why broughtest thou vs out of the land of Egypt? And in the Psalmes, They forgate his benefites. They forgate his workes.

Exod. 12.

Deut. 4.

Exod. 5.

Num 14. Numer. 21

Psalm. 78. Psalm. 106. He sayth not: which succoured thee when thou seruedst in Egypt.

Against we must note that he sayd not only, which succored thée when thou seruedst in Egypt: but which brought thée out of Egypt. It is some relief to them which are in bondage vnder a tyrant, that they may be more gentlye handled, and not vterly worne out and spente. He did that also (as we may reade in Exodus) in so muche, that the more they were oppressed, the more they grew and were multiplied. The like matter was that, that he did restrayne the harts of the midwiues with the affection of pitie, that they should not fede and serue the crueltie of Pharao, and slay the man children in the very byrth, but rather to saue them. So he succored them beyng yet in bondage. Yet he maketh no mention of this, but he putteth them in remembrance of that which was greater, saying: Which haue brought thée out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. That is, which deliuered thée altogether, and toke thée out, not only from the bondage of Pharao, but also brought thée & all thyne out for euer, from the wicked and spiteful country, so that thou shalte neuer by any meanes be subiect againe to the bondage thereof, but be deliuered from it for euer.

We be admonished by this place, how much we ought to regarde, that we bee deliuered out of the house of bondage, first of Satan, and next of Antichrist. We are not yet entred into the dwelling of heauen, as neither the Israelites were brought into the land of Canaan, although they were brought out of Egypt: yet neuertheleste as ỹ noble benefit of God was layde before them in the beginnyng of this *Decalogus*, so this our deliuerance from the kingdome of Satan & of Antichrist, is exceedingly to be

to be regarded and to be kept in remembrance. Consider how great a matter it is to be deliuered out of bondage. And also that he oftētimes charged them that they shoulde not returne againe vnto Egipt, lyke in Deuteronomie, Esay, and Jeremie. For what greater wrong can befall vnto the deliuerer, and lesse to be borne, than not only that men forget their deliuerie, but also returne vnto the house of bondage, from whence they were deliuered and brought away for altogither, & setting at light and contēning so great a benefit, not enforced by violence, but willingly of themselues, to the great rebuke & ignominie of the deliuerer? Wherfore it came to passe by moste iuste iudgement, that they were throwen out of the land of Canaan, & brought to Babylon, and so was this present monumēt blotted out, which brought thée out of Egipt: and turned into an other, that is, The lord liueth which brought out the children of Israell out of the land of ỹ North. &c. Wher of lyke in the Prophet Esay.

1. Sam. 8.

The fashiō of the bondage to kings.

Thirdly, we must also by the way examine, that he sayth not out of bōdage, but out of the house of bōdage. He calleth ỹ house of bondage. Pharaos house, the kings house. A verye conuenient speach to call the kings house, the house of bondage. Kings houses ought to be houses of protection, freedome and safegarde: but cōmonly they are growen vnto suche insolency, that they are become houses of bondage, tirannie, and of oppression. The Israelites when they desired to haue a king among them, according to the custome of all the Gentils, were warned of this matter by Samuel. This (saide he) shall be the priuilege of the king whyche shal be ruler ouer you: he shall take your and sons put them to his charets, and make him horsemen of thē, and diuers of his charettes, and shal make of them Captaines ouer thousands and hundreds, and to plow his grounde and reape his corne, and to make instruments of warre, and apparel for his charettes. And youre daughters he shall make deuisers of oyntments, cookes and bakers. And he shall take from you the beste of your fieldes, of your vyneyardes and Olines, & giue them to his seruants. And he shall take the tenth of your corne and of your wines for a rent, to giue his seruantes and his gelded men. And he shal take away the best of your men seruants and maide seruaunts, and yong men, and your asses, and put them to his worke. He shal take also the tēth of your shēp, and you shal be his seruāts. In these wordes of Samuel we see painted ỹ image of bondage to a king, as it were in a table. This bondage felte not only the Iewes, but the Romaines also oftentimes. And although they had thrust out the Tarquines, yet for al that they were neuer able, not vntil thys day, to shifte off the yoke of a kings bondage altogither. And the Iewes also after they had bene wel kepte downe in seruitude vnder the empire of the Romaines so many yeares, haue felte how mas they were, when they woulde none of the yoke of Christ, and cried out: We haue no king, but only Cesar.

Fourthly, there riseth a question, why God staied not his people in the lande of Canaan, that it might haue

bene multiplied there, and not haue gone downe into Egypt, and be subiect to the house of bondage. Abraham was in the lande of Canaan, and after Abraham, Isaac also, and after him Iacob with his sonnes, before they went downe into Egypte. So that he might haue multiplied them there as well in Egypt, and thrust out the kings of Canaan, as he did afterwards, and so haue auoided the bondage of Egypt, and not haue néded to haue brought out his people with the distruction of so noble a kingdome.

Genesis. The cause of this is declared in these wordes of Genesis: Know thou sayth God to Abraham, that thy séd shall be a straunger in a lande that pertaineth not to them, and they shal kepe them in bondage, and entreate them euil foure hundred years. But the nation whom they shall serue, I will iudge, and after that they shall come away with greate substaunce. And thou shalt go to thy fathers and be buried in peace at good yeres. But in the fourth generation, they shall returne hither againe. Thus is the Prophecie of the bondage in Egypt to come. Nowe heare the cause. For the wickednes of the Amorites saith he, is not yet ful at this present time. Therfore God would not at ỳ tyme expell the Amorites and the other people of the lande of Canaan, and therin multiply the Israelites, for ỳ that, the wickednesse of the Cananæs was not yet ripe to distructiō. Therfore it behoued ỳ Israel shold go into Egypt a lande not their owne, vntil the malice of the lande of Canaan were full accomplished, and so yéld vnto their expulsion.

Againe, some man wil say: Could not he haue brought to passe, that the Israelities shoulde not haue bene in no bondage in Egipt, & bene brought awaye not againste the Egyptians willes, but with their consente and good will? I answere. Both might haue bene, but none of them both liked. For firste there was matter and occasion gotté to glorifie his name. I will be (sayd he) glorified in Pharao. Secondly, Israel wastried with veration and trouble in a strange lande, to make him crie more hotly to the Lorde his God, and that he shoulde more gredely embrace the deliuerie that was to come: and trie also in déede by experience, that he had a God for his deliuerer and sauiour. For we be of that nature, that in welth we runne at large, and that we make light of his continuall benefits, when there is no trouble sent before, or entermingled.

Fiftly, bycause this parcel wherein he saith, Whiche brought thée out of Egipt, out of the house of bōdage, pertaineth not vnto vs Gentiles whiche beléue in Christe: let vs sée what we may thinke of this place, and searche whether we be not also deliuered from some kinde of bondage, wherof the figure passed before in the captiuitie of Egypte. I finde here two sortes of bondages, one vnto sinne, another to Satan. And surely ech of them doth for many causes exceede that of Egypt in wayghtye greuousnesse. Of the bondage of sin, there is the testimony of Christ: He that doth sinne, is the bondeman of sinne. Of this bondage sée in our cōmentaries vpon John. Of the bondage to Satan, Paul maketh menti-

on, when he saith: If that God at any time wil giue them repentance to know the truth, and that they maye come to themselues againe out of the snares of the Diuell, by whom they be holden captiue at his wyll. And in the seconde chapter to the Ephesians. From both kinde of bondages we be deliuered of God by his sonne Christ Iesu our Lorde and sauiour. Of the deliuerie from sin, the Aungel spake vnto Ioseph: He shall deliuer his people from their sinnes. And Christ himselfe saith, if the son deliuer you, ye be frée in déed. Of the deliuery from the kingdome of Satan Christ spake: When a strong man armed: watcheth his house, the things which he possesseth are in rest & peace. But whē a stronger than he commeth vppon him, and ouercommeth him, he taketh from him al his armure and deuideth his goods. And the Apostle to the Colossians: He that deliuered vs from the power of darknesse, and hath translated vs into the kingdome of his wel beloued son. Wherfore we must not thinke, but that it hath bene by as plaine experiment declared vnto vs, that God is our Lord and redemer, as it was vnto the Iewes. For how much greter that the bondage of sin and Satan is, than was the bondage of Egypt, by so much clearer argument we be assured, that God is our redemer and sauiour. Wherfore ỳ monuments of our deliuerie are set forth vnto vs, not only in the word of the Gospel, but also in the publike ceremonie of ỳ Lords supper. First, least we shuld forget so great a god turn: Secondly, to the entent we shoulde giue our selues alwayes to the will and seruice of our deliuerer: Thirdly, that we neuer return into Egypt, that is to say, that we despise not the benefit of so great a deliuerie, & slip backe vnto the kingdome of sin and Satan, to the contumely of our sauiour, and of his bloud shedde for vs. For if we slip back againe and distaine the heauenly grace with so detestable contumely and shamefull rebuke, such as can not be clensed away, it can not be with vs as it was with the Iewes, that can not saye, The lord liueth, which hath brought vs out of hel fyre, the fire that can neuer be quenched, as the Iewes coulde say: The Lord liueth, whiche brought vs out of the lande of the north. Loke vpon the firth and tenth chapter to the Hebrues, but we shal be kepte in perpetuall bondage and captiuitie of Satan, without al hope of a seconde redemption.

Our care is other than the Egiptians vvas.

Thou shalte not haue other Goddes in my sight. We must obserue here, that he saieth not alone, Thou shalt haue no strange Gods: but he addeth, In my sight. A man may sin in the worshipping of God thrée manner of wayes.

Three vvaies man may sin in vvorship. ping of God.

1 The first is, when they whiche be no Gods, be worshipped in stéde of the true and only God. That way the Ethnickes did commonly sinne, of whose errours loke in the booke of Wisdome.

Sapi. 13.

2 Secondlye, when the true and onely GOD in déede is worshipped, but not rightlye according vnto hys wyll, but by superstition, and some kynde of worshippyng inkituted by men: whiche Christ warneth vs to bée euill, reciting the sayings of the Prophete in

Math.15.

Mathew, saying: In vaine they worship me, teaching the doctrines and commaundements of men. For to serue God is none other thing, but to obey his will, whiche he setteth forth vnto vs not to be aimed at, but expressed and certainly to be knowē by his worde. This worship is acceptable vnto him. In my iudgemēt it were farre wide, if a seruant wold serue his maister as he list himselfe, & not according to his maisters will. Let my masters of the Popery loke to it, which measure the worship of God by ceremonies instituted of mē whilest they had rather stande in the footesteps of their fathers, than follow the word of God.

The cōmon fault of Papistes.

3 Thirdly, when the true God in dede is worshipped, but not alone and only, as they do which togither with ẏ true God worship also others. This kinde of sinne he doth nowe euen in the beginning forbid, saying: Thou shalt haue none other Gods in my sight. And see howe he speaketh: He sayth not Thou shalte haue no counterfayte Gods before me, least if any be supposed to be true Gods they should not seeme to be misliked by this law, as though he did forbid that false Gods shoulde be worshipped in his sight, being the only God, and refused not the true God. Therfore he sayde expressely: Thou shalt haue none other Goddes, or strange Goddes in my sight. As though he had said: Whatsoeuer they be, whether they seeme true Gods or false, they shall haue none other Gods in my sight: So he hath cut of the whole disputation that might rise of the true or counterfayte Godheade of our Gods. If any be a counterfeit God, euen therefore he is not to be worshipped nor to be matched with the true God, bicause he is counterfeyte. If any seeme to be the true God, yet we may not worshippe him whiche professe one true God, and that one alone. Euen as a mā might say vnto his wife, of one that is not a very man, for as muche as he is not a man, he is not meete for mariage, and therefore not to be matched with thee as thy husbande. And if he be a very mā in deed, yet thou maiest not ioyne him with me, for I am thy husbande only. Now take this withall too, that he sayde not, Thou oughtest not to haue, but thou shalte not haue other Gods in my sight. As though he sayde: Eyther I wil not be thy God, or else thou shalte haue none other Gods in my sight. Thou shalt haue me alone, or others without me. With others thou canst not haue me. If any man meruaile of the Romaines, which vsed to receiue and serue al the Goddes of the Prouinces, which they subdued vnto their dominion, why that when they had ouercome Iurie, they did not also worship this the true God of Israel? The cause is ready. They could not worship him, vnlesse they would set at nought all other Gods. For they vnderstoode, that euery God is so to be worshipped, as he liketh himselfe. They knew ẏ the God of Israel was gelous, and woulde not be worshipped with others. And they wold not refuse so many gods for one, for they did loke to haue more helpe at many Gods, than at one. They thought that if all the rest should be miscontēt for their refusal, one could not be able to withstande them al. Therefore

That he doth not say Thou shalte haue no counterfait Gods, but Thou shalt haue no other Gods before me.

fore they left the one, and fell still to the worshipping of the rest.

Secondly, it is to be considered also, what is the cause, that God will not be worshipped with other Gods: and therefore requireth his people to refuse al others, and to worship him alone and only.

1 The first cause is, bicause it were a wrongful matter, that a falsehod shoulde be coupled with a truth. In the true God, there is a truth of godhead, & there is a falshod in the counterfayte. So that it is a very greate contempte of the truth, to worship it togither with a falsehod.

2 The second cause is, the reason of the vnitie, whereunto to adde any thing in Godhead, is not to adde but to withdrawe from it. For it is not encreased with multiplying, but minished: nor worshipped by adding vnto it, but dishonored. God as he is true, so he is only, hauing none equal: as by the fellowship of the false, his truth is blemished, so by the associating of any other whatsoeuer he bee, his vnitie is decayed. The nature of multiplication of an vnitie in erthly things, is far different in this point, for it may by multiplication be encreased, enriched and strengthened. Adam appeared but one, and was alone. He might by doubling be multiplied, & by multiplying increased. Therfore it was sayd: It is not good for man to be alone. But of God we must iudge quite contrarye. He encreaseth not by multiplication, but minisheth.

3 The thirde cause is, the omnipotencie of the Godhead, or if ye wil, ẏ ful sufficiencie of all things in him, for which he is called אל שדי. By this he is only sufficient in al things, He hath not neede of helping Gods, by whose fellowshippe he shoulde be ayded to giue sufficiently to his people such things as be necessarie. He alone hath all power, all sufficiencie, all knowledge to doe all thinges. For as the sunne hath no neede to be holpen of the company of any other lightes, to giue lighte to the world: and as one soule is ynough to kepe life and to gouernethe bodye, so is one God alone sufficiente to his people, yea to all the worlde, for all things abundantly, without the help of any other. Therefore there can be no other God ioined with him, without great ignominie and slaunder.

4 The fourth cause is, his faith, goodnesse and loue towardes man, wherby he is alwaies at hand with his people, & giueth them more than they dare aske.

5 The fyft is the loue and zeale whereby hee is so affectioned vnto his people, that he can not abide if they ioine any other louer vnto him, and part the faith due only vnto him, with others. For these causes I thinke it manifest, that it is moste right that he require this faith of his people, that they worshippe hym alone, and associate none other God vnto him.

Thirdlye, it is to be demaunded, why euen in the beginning of the *Decalogus* he setteth this law in the tables of the couenaunt. This is not without some certaine cause. The first is, bycause the principall point of the couenaunt, standeth in the vprightnesse of thys fayth, whiche being broken, all is broken. For there is like reason in a couenaunt, as in wedlocke.

VVhy he did set this lavv euen in the beginning of the commandemēis.

wedlock. For as it is ỹ chief & principal part in the law of wedlock, & before al required of the wife that she kepe this fayth to hir husband, that she admit no other man in his sight, vnlesse she will be refused as an aduoutresse: so this is the chief point in the couenant of God, that we sticke vnto him onely and alone, or else to be vtterly put out from the couenãt. And as the aduoutresse woman hath no more to do with hir husband, nor wyth anye thing of his, for bycause of the transgression of this principal law and couenant, and the breach of the faith of wedlock: so they haue no more to doe in the couenant of God, whiche by worshippe of other Gods haue broken the chiefe pointe thereof, and losed the fayth dewe vnto one God alone. Wherfore the tables of this couenaynt pertayne not vnto them, as prescribed to that people onely which with a pure and sincere fayth cleaueth stedfastlye to one only God.

2 The second cause concerneth the disposition of this people, which was maruellously giuen to the worshipping of other Gods, as they dyd oftentimes afterward declare in deed.

3 The third cause, is to be referred to ỹ custome, whereby the Israelites were vsed before in Egypte to the worshipping of other Gods, so that it was an easy matter, to that which they wer vsed and accustomed vnto. Wherfore me thinketh, God did in this matter, like as if a man wouldе take to his wife a common woman out of ỹ stewes, and wouldе first of all prescribe vnto hir in this sorte: If thou wilte abide in this felowshippe of our wedlocke, firste it is necessarie, that thou abstain from al other men, and kepe the fayth of wedlocke whole and vnbroken only to me, els thou canst not be my wife, nor I thy husbande, if thou do with me take others, and returne vnto thy accustomed filthinesse of whordom. And that Israell serued straunge Gods in Egypt, we may se in the lasse of Iosue, where we reade in this sorte. Take awaye the Gods whiche your fathers serued in Mesopotamia and in Egypte, and serue the Lorde. So that for these causes, this lawe was not for noughte sette in the beginnyng of the *Decalogus*, whiche would God that they which be the heades in Churches Churche, woulde thoroughly loke into, and wouldе well compare therewithall, not onely that outwarde worshippings which they vse nowe a dayes, but also that whiche they call their catholike faith.

Against the vvorshippe of dead Saints.

NO man can denay, vnlesse he be shameleſſe, but that the multitude of Patrones and defensiue Saintes, as we may call them, is in like reputation and honour nowe in the Church, as ỹ multitude of Gods was among the Gentiles.

And that it is proued firste by the very inuocation of deade Saintes, when sicke men, prisoners, menne in shippewrackes, and all other necessities, desire ayde of them. And GOD crieth in the meane season: Call vpon me in the day of thy trouble, and I will deliuer thee. But he crieth in vaine.

Secondlye, it is proued also by theyr worshipping of Saintes, framed much like to the fashion of that worshipping, wherwithall the Gods of the Gentiles were worshipped. Of whiche thyng if any man liste, let him se our commentaries vppon the .16. Psalm. Here no man careth that Christ saide: Thou shalte worship the Lord thy GOD, and serue him alone. But the Sainte seruers haue excuses in siune, whereby they do horryblye defende so manifest a transgression of this lawe. For this sinful fleshe of ours, hath euer somewhat wherewithall as it were with an aparne patched togither of figge leaues to couer hir filthinesse.

1 Firste, they saye wee doe not worshippe Saintes as Goddes. We knowe they be not Gods. Whiche is al one, as if the aduoutresse should say: I take not my louer for my husbande. I knowe he is not my lawful husbande. And yet though she say so, yet she doth the same things vnto hir louer, whiche are due onely vnto hyr husbande. So they doe worshippe Saintes, giuing them the worshippe whiche agreeth onely to God: and whiles they confesse that the Saintes be not Goddes, they doe manifestlye accuse themselues, that they worshippe them whyche be not onely straunge, but also false Goddes.

2 Secondly they saye, they worshippe God in his Saintes. For it is written: Praise God in his Saints. So saide also the learned men of the Ethnikes, that they worshipped but one God of the furnished Gods. But God will not be so worshipped in any of his creatures. And it is two things to say, Prayse GOD in hys saintes, That is, for his saintes. And to worship and cal vpon saints. But touching the place of the Prophete in the .150. Psalm. Firste it is not spoken in the plural number. In his saints, but in the singular, that is in his holy or in his sanctuarie. Secõdlye, the worshipping of Saintes can not be proued thereby, vnlesse wee will say also that the firmament is to be worshipped, bycause it followeth immediatly, Prayse him in the firmament of his strength.

Psalm.150.

3 Thyrdly, they say, The saintes haue receiued power of God to help vs, witnesse their signes and miracles which they do. Yet it followeth not, that though the Saintes in deed did miracles after their death, that therefore they should be worshipped. Loke in the .14. of the Actes, how the Apostles of God reiected this worship offred vnto them, after they had done a miracle. Besides that, what can we say vnto the Ethnikes, which do pretende the same excuse for the worshipping of their Saintes, and are able to colour the worshipping of them with miracles?

Of signes & miracles done for the inuocation of Saynctes.

4 Fourthlye, there is no reason in that they say, that the Goddes of the Gentiles were Diuels, euil and wicked men, but we worship the holy. For we may wel charge them againe: Yet ye worshippe menne not to be worshipped, though they be Saintes. Loke vppon Augustine in the .49. Epistle to one called *Dei Gratias*.

The Gods of the Gentils vvere Diuels: vve vvorship God in saints.

5 Fiftly, they say, we worshippe them not as Goddes, but call vpon them as intercessors. I answere:

VVe vvorship them not as Gods but cal vpõ them as intercessors.

Where-

Wherefore then doe you builde them temples? why do you set vp their Images and Aultes? why do you appoint them feast dayes? why do you make vowes before their images? you offer them rewardes, you hang vp your presents, you light candels, and do all things else which the Gētiles did before in the worshippe of their Gods. And what nede haue they of any intercessours, which are reconciled with God by the bloud of his Christ? Be you sinners? Then returne to God by Christ & amende, that the saying of Iohn maye take place in you: If anye man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, Iesus Christ, he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes alone, but for the sinnes of the whole worlde. And what can be said of them which doe boast of their state of perfection, as Monkes, Friers and other cloister creepers, & such as are perswaded as the simple sorte be, that they purchase full forgiuenesse of sinnes, when they confesse themselues to the Priest? Do not they then call vppon Saints? Yes, for they say, that if they repent not, the Saints wil not heare them neither. Besides that, howe doe the Saintes heare them, whiche doe crie vnto them and worshippe them? But for these excuses of the Papistes, lette the reader sée what is noted in my commentaries vppon Matthew.6.

1. Ioan.

Finally, some men doe giue vs to vnderstand, that not onlye the worshipping of Saints is contrarie vnto this lawe, but also what so euer is more loued than God, what so euer is more worshipped thā God, what so euer is more feared than God, what so euer is more painefully serued than God, is in verye déede in steede of a straunge God, when it is afwel, I wil not say more, loued thā God. Therefore the Apostle calleth auarice, Idolatrie. And so the bellie is also called some mens God of the Apostle. So may worldly power and friendes be placed for Goddes, when men truste more vnto them, than to God.

VVhat so euer is loued or worshipped aboue God, is a counterfait God. Colos.3. Phil.3.

Wherefore to say briefly, as God in this lawe doth appointe himselfe wholly vnto vs, and doth promisse vs al that pertaineth to the true and one only God, when he saith, I am the lord thy God, thou shalt haue no other Gods in my sight: so doth hée on the other side require of vs to depende only vpon him with a sincere and full truste, with firme and perfect obedience, and not to deuide the faith & loue of our hart, but to consecrate our selues altogither vnto him: and to declare it not onlye in beléeuing and confessing with the mouth, but also in calling vpon him in our troubles, and in seruing of him and worshipping him through out al our life.

The second commandement.

Thou shalt make thee no grauen image neither anie similitude of anie thing that is in heauen aboue, either in the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth.

The second precepte commeth to good purpose to be added to serue to the other before. For the first precept forbiddeth that whordome with straunge

straunge Goddes, whereunto all the Gentils were giuen: and the Israelites likewise when they were in Egypt. This whoredome was vsed, encreased, and continued by their deuice of making, decking, setting vp, and worshippyng of images. This was the common custome of all nations. That the Israelites perceyued in Egypt, and did not onely perceiue it, but did apply themselues also vnto it. And in outwarde apparance it séemed reason not to varie in the worship of God, frō the vniuersal custome of al nations. So the wisdome of the flesh, ready vnto idolatrie, doth prompte vs. Therfore seing the daūger was great, as wel in consideratiō of their old custome, as also of the iudgement of the blinde flesh, least they should go aboute to worshippe straūge Gods, or els ỳ Lord their owne God, after the fashion of the Gētils, with worship of images, as appeared after in the caulf which they set vp: This precept was added, wherein is commaunded, they shal in no case of religion make any image grauen or molten.

So that this precept is knit vp in three members. The first member is, in that ỳ he saith: Thou shalt make thée no grauē image. The second in that, Thou shalt not worship them, nor serue them. The thirde, in those words, whiche he added to perswade them, or rather to behoote thē, which is, I am the Lorde thy God, strong and ielouse.

Deut.4.

First therefore the verye making of images is forbidden: where he saith, Thou shalt not make thée any grauen Image, & for bycause it shall not be meante of grauen images alone, there is added, nor any similitude, that is anye likenesse, whether it be painted, or grauen, or made of fusible and molte stuffe. And least there might by the general speache be any corner founde for the fleshlie man to imagine some exception against it, he putteth also the specialties, wherein are vniuersallye comprehended all creatures of al sortes, when he sayth: Nor any similitude of those things whiche be in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth. &c. So he comprehended all things. For what soeuer is in any place, it is eyther in heauen, either in earth, either in the water. By heauen is vnderstanded the ayre and cloudes. And Moyses doth himselfe in the. 4. of Deuter. by specialitie set forth that which is in this place comprised, in foure wordes, after the order of a lawe, and sayth there therefore, loke carefully vnto your soules. That day when the Lorde spake vnto you in Oreb out of the middes of ỳ fire, you sawe no likenesse of any thyng, least you might be deceiued, & make your self a grauē image, or an image of a man or of a womā, the likenesse of any beast which is vpon the earth, or of any birde whiche flieth in the ayre, or of any creeping thing whiche moueth in the erth, or of fishes whiche abideth in the waters vnder the earth: & least peraduenture you lifte vp your eies to heauen & sée the Sun & the Mone, and all the Starres of heauen, and maye mistake the matter, & worship & serue those things, which God created to ỳ seruice of al people that be vnder heauē. So that by those things which are in heauē,

is vnderstanded the sunne, the moone and the starres, and by those things that be vnder heauen, the birdes: by earthly things, men, cattel, beasts, & things that creepe: and by that that is in the sea, fishe and any thing else which liueth in the waters, by what name so euer it be called. So Moses doeth refute the making of images by an expositiō agreeing vnto Gods lawe, when he sayth: Least peraduenture you be deceyued, and make you some grauen likenesse: & he teacheth withall by specialties, that all kynde of images are forbidden.

The secōd member that images ought not to be vvorshipped.

In the seconde membre is forbidden the seruice and worship of Images: wherby a man may vnderstand, that it is not only forbidden that we shal not make our selues images, but also that we ought not to serue and worship such as be made by others, bicause the flesh which hath euer an excuse redie, should not say: I made not these images, I doe but worship thē which were made by others. And he hath two wordes, wherin he comprehendeth al idolatrie. Wheras we read, Thou shalt not worship it, is in Ebrue, Thou shalt not bow thée vnto thē. And where it foloweth, Thou shalt not serue thēit is, לא קהרבם. And that worde קבר signifieth to serue any thing in working as men were wonte to work the fieldes and the Gardens. By the word of bowing, is vnderstanded that humble adoration and inuocation, whiche is done eyther by bowing of the whole bodye, or by bowing the knée, or by inclining the heade. The worde of Seruice, is taken for all that seruice of images, which is done vnto them when they be decked wyth Golde or Siluer, set vp in holy and hie places, honored religiously, carefully serued, with vows, tapers, presēts, offrings, temples, aulters, titles, feast dayes, rites, and ceremonies. And bycause all idolatrie doth consyste in humble worshipping and ceremonious seruice of Images, therefore was placed these two wordes of Worshipping and Seruing, in which al kinde of impiety is comprehended and forbidden. Origen doth refer worshipping to the outwarde manner of honor, and seruing vnto the affection of religion: and sayth, that we are forbidden, that neither wée must worshyppe them in outwarde kynde, nor serue them in affection.

The vvorship of images.

Thirdly, the cause is also added, which might moue the people of god with all diligence to beware of idolatrie. I am sayth he, the Lorde thy God, strong, and ielous God: (for it is in the Ebrew אל קנא which we may reade either the strong gelous, or the ielous God) visiting the wickednesse of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation, of them that hate me: and doing mercy vnto thousandes of them that loue me, and kepe my commaūdemēts. This reason added to moue and perswade, is two handed, cōtayning both greuous threatnings of auengement, and promise of his singular and perpetuall goodnesse. In respect of his threatnings of auengemēt, he saith that he is strong, ielous, and can not abide that the people of Israel shall turne the faith due vnto him vnto creatures, but wil rruenge that whoredome in the thirde and fourth generation, of them that hate him. And whereas he sayth, And doing

ing mercy vnto thousandes of them which loue me, & kepe my commaundements: it is to be referred vnto the promise of his speciall goodnesse. For like as to visite the wickednesse into the thirde and fourth generatiō, declareth a vehemencie of feruente zeale and displeasure against ẏ trāsgressors and breakers of couenaunt: so to do mercie vnto thousandes, expresseth an infinite good will of Fatherly fauoure towardes the obediēt and Godly. Some of the Hebrewes expounde this parcell, Vnto thousandes, after many times, and not streyght way in this life, but referre it vnto the felicitie of the worlde to come. But this exposition is farther fette, than is méete for the simplicitie of the wordes. For euerye man knoweth, that to visit the wickednes is nothing else, but to punishe the wicked, accordiyng to their deserts: and to doe mercy according vnto the meaning and vse of the Scripture, is plainely to doe good, specially in this place, where it is in the Ebrew יעושיה חסך, ẏ is to saye, and doing Gentlenesse & goodnesse. Hitherto we haue expounded the text of this precepte. After this let vs sée what is particularly to be obserued therein.

Thou shalte make thy selfe no grauen Image. Herevpon riseth a question, of what kinde of grauing this precepte is to be vnderstanded: whither a man may in no wise make neither in painting, nor in grauing, nor in fusible metal, no image at al: bycause the cōmaundement to the people of God runneth thus, Thou shalt not make thy selfe any grauen image, or any likenesse, &c.

Three opinions of images.

1 There be of this matter thrée opinions. Some do holde, that there is no manner of image to be made, not only in religion, but for no profane vse neither. In that sorte they say, the Turkes do vse no Images. Which appeareth by their money, in which we sée nothing but Arabike letters: and likewise in their carpets is founde no imagerie of anye beast or of man. This opinion is ouer supersticiōs to be alowed. Neyther did Salomon vnderstande it so, for if he had, he would not so haue deckte hys throne with the images of olde and yong Lions.

2 Others do not mislike the vse & arte of making images in profane matters: but mislike to haue them brought into churches and into religion. And so farre forth they meane that the vse of images is forbidden to Gods people.

3 Againe, ther be some which do not disalowe ẏ Images be brought into the Churches, so that they be not honored and worshipped. And they take this place, Thou shalt not make thy selfe any grauen Image or likenesse &c. to be meant of those images whiche be set forth to do honor and seruice vnto, bycause in the firste commaundement there is mention made of straunge Gods, and he addeth straight waies: Thou shalt not worship them, nor serue them. Therfore they iudge ẏ it is not vnlawful altogither to haue images in the church: and that they doe not amisse whiche make them.

4 With thē I cānot agrée in iudgement: for they marke not wel the intent and meaning of God in this secōd precept: nor thei be not moued, as

they ought to be with this inexcusable abuse of images and so manifest an idolatrie: whiche had neuer crept into Christs Church, if ỹ whole vse of images had bene kepte out of it. They talke of many things that be lawfull: but by ỹ way, they do not earnestly examine that place of S. Paul, All things be lawfull to me, but all things be not expediēt. They alleage also, I wote not what, of the profite whiche the simpler sort taketh of Images, beyng to them in steade of bookes. And they be so blinde, that they see not that it is so farre wide that the vse of Images maye profitte the symple and vnlearned in the Churches, that none be more vehemently hurt by them than they.

The last opinion is reproued.

1. Corinth. 5

VVhat harme cōmeth to the vnlearned of the vse of images. Sap. 14.

1 Firste, the verie sighte of them doth allure the simple to worshippe them, whereunto our fleshe through the corruption of it is halfe giuen of it selfe. So we reade in the booke of Wisedome, that ỹ creatures of God, through the vse of Images, be made temptations to the soules of men, and a trappe to the fēte of the vnwise, for as much as the seeking out of Images, is the beginning of whoredome, and the finding of thē is ỹ corruption of life. And in ỹ 15. chapter it is ascribed to images, that they leade into errour, and that their worke is without fruite, and that by their sighte alone they sturre a desire in the foolishe.

Augustinus epistola ad Deo Gracias

A like matter is it also that Augustine writeth: And who is it (saith he) that doubteth that images haue no sense? Yet for all that, when they be placed in the high seates of an honorable heygth, so as they may be marked of them whiche pray and do sacrifice, though they haue nor sense nor soule, yet by the verye similitude of liuely members and senses, they do so moue the weake harts of men, that they seeme to liue and breath, especially whē the multitude doth worship them, and that there is therewith so greate and godly seruice, as of God, yelded vnto them. Thus farre Augustine. Wherin we see manifestlye, that it is attributed vnto images to moue exceedinglye the weake harts by the likenesse of liuely members: and therefore they can not be without daunger set before them, whose bookes they suppose them to be, specially if they be set in high places and of honour, where prayers and exercise of religion is wonte to be. Euen so there be set vp in the Temples of the Papistes not only painted images, in ỹ windowes and walles, but also grauen and cast of mettal, and that with maruelous deuice set forth to the quicke, decked in colours, Gold, and siluer, euen vpō the very Aulters. And of this what is become, we haue experience therof to our great hurt and shame: that it is not for nought that ỹ images be vtterly taken awaye out of al our Churches, and that Godly men nēd not to be ashamed, that of them whiche worshippe Images, they bē called Image breakers: but they ought rather to be ashamed, whō we may cal, Image makers, and idolaters. There is no scripture that blameth idoll breakers, but in euerye place it blameth idol makers.

2 Secōdly, these prostitute images openly set vp in the churches do this harme, that they do withdraw mens mindes hanging vpō them from the consideration

consideration of Gods Maiestie shewed in his liuely Creatures: whiche be yet alwayes readye to be seene, wheras ỹ things are not the workes of God, but of men, not to be had in euery place, but in corners, and hidde within walles. The liuely worke of Gods handes and made vnto Gods glorie, doth not moue the myndes of them: whiche gape and be fonde after images: but the deade worke of mans handes: wherin is also shewed great art, cōmending the vaine and vnprofitable cūning of the artificer, doth moue them much. They can see a liuing mā without the consideratiō of the maker, without any affection to praise Gods maiestie. They can not see the dead image of a dead mā, but immediatly their minde is stirred, I can not tel with what religiō. Suche manner of things are these bookes of images set vp to lay men. And whiles we do so, we be without the Churche, deafe, blinde and vnsensible to all the workes of God. The Prophet sayth: the heauens declare the glory of God, & the firmament telleth the worke of his handes. But where be the eares of these image worshippers, with which they might heare the voyce of the workes of God, telling ỹ glorie of their maker? Where finde ye one that thinketh vpon this matter? Whereof cōmeth this stockishnesse? Surely of this, ỹ they be so persuaded (poze mē) and so accustomed, ỹ they can not be deuoutly disposed but before aulters & images. For they haue shut vp al godly deuotiō into their tēples, & tied their worshipping vnto aulters and images, and the worshipping therof.

They spend those thinges, which ought to be giuen to the liuely images of Christ.

3 Thirdly, they bestow vpon dead and idle images those things which ought to be employed vpon the poze & nedy, ỹ liuely images of god. Some one wil waste a hundred crownes to dresse & trim vp images, and scarsly giue one halfpeny to hungry Christ. And in this doing the hartes are so possessed with such blinde perswasiō, that they thinke they doe God exceeding high seruice, if they bestowe a great deale vpon the furnishment of images: and are not of like minde when they shoulde succour the necessities of the poze. And there is no cause of hope that this madnesse can be sequestred from the Church, vnlesse togither with the abuse, the grounde and nourishment of this errour may be taken away.

The place of Clemēt.

Let thē yet read ỹ which is supposed that Clemēt in his. 5. book wrote to James the brother of the lord: If ye wil truly (sayth he) honor ỹ image of God, we opento you that which is true, to do good, to exhibite honor & reuerence to the man whiche is made like to the image of God, minister vnto him meate when he is hungry, drinke when he is drie, clothing to ỹ naked, aide the sick, herbor ỹ strāger, and helpe the prisoner with his necessities. And it foloweth: What honor is that to God, to runne about to these images of stockes and stones, & to worshippe the deade and vnliuely shapes as Gods, & to despise man, in whom is the image of God in deed? Knowe ye therefore, that this cometh of the perswasion of the inwarde Serpente, lurkyng within you, whiche maketh you beleue, that you may serue Godly, when you worshippe these things vnsensible: and that you be not wicked

when you hurt men which haue lese and vnderstanding. Hereto Clemēt. This I thought mete to note, against them which pretende in this matter that it is good and lawfull to vse images in the Church: yea and that it is also profitable for ỹ instruction of the vnlearned: so that we maye see what an inconuenience it is to reaso of the lawfulnesse, in a matter so daungerous, and to pretende a certain blind profitte to come of it, whereas we haue proued it (the moze pitie) quite contrary, by the pernicious and long experimente of a greate sozte of ages. So that if we had no commaundement foz it, yet we oughte to be admonyshed by the greate harme thereof, that it is not expedient that any Images and poztraytures shold be set fozth in the church to the sight of ỹ vnlearned, although the thing were lawfull and indifferent. But nowe seeing it is by manifest precept of God fozbidden, not onlye that we shall not honoz and wozshyp, but also that we shall not make any image oz similitude foz religions sake: Howe shall our Bishops and these great disputers and takkers excuse so foule & detestable idolatrie, before Christ our sauiour: which by their trifles broght in ỹ vse of images into the Church: Why do they not beleue Athanasius, whyche writeth in this sozte of Images, against the Gentiles. The deuise oz inuention of Images came not of good, but of euil, & whatsoeuer hath an euil beginning, cā be deemed in no thing good, being altogither nought.

Now that it is fozbidden to haue images in the Church of God, it is not our opinion alone, noz first begō in our time, but in others, and that is declared by the testimonie of auntient fathers. Jerome translated the Greeke epistle of Epiphanius into Latine, which he wzote vnto Johan the Bysshop of Jerusalem: wherein is wzytten thus: When we went together to the holy place, which is called Bethel, to make the gatheryng there with thē, accozding to the custome of the Churche: & came to the village which is called *Anablatha*, & saw there, as I passed by, a candell burning, & asked, what place it was, and vnderstood that it was a church, and went in to pzay, I founde there hanging at the same Church doze, a vayle stained oz painted, hauing the image as it were of Christe oz of some holy one. Foz I remember not wel, whose image it was. But whē I sawe this, that thē image of man honge in the Churche of Christ, contrary vnto the authozitie of Scripture, I tare it, & gaue aduisemēt rather to the kepers of that place to wzap in it and to cary to earth some pooze dead carkas. And a litle after. I pzay you charge your Pzistes of ỹ place to receiue ỹ vayle of this bzinger, which we haue sent: & cōmaunde them that from hence fozth no such vayles be hanged vp as be contrary to our religiō. Foz it becōmeth your wozship rather to haue suche a care how to rid away al scrupulositie, not māte foz the Church of Christ & the people cōmited to your charge. This is wzitten there, and therein these points are manifestly compzised:

1 First, that we ought to giue these things no place in Christs Church, which be againste the authozitie of holy Scripture.

2 Secondly, that it is against the authozitie of the holye Scriptures, namely of this lawe whiche saith, Thou shalt make to thee no grauē image, noz ỹ likenesse of any thing: to giue place to images in the Church of Christ.

3 Thirdly, ỹ not only these images & poztraitures grauē oz cast of mettal: set vp in high places, oz vppon Aulters, are vnlawfull in the Church of Christ, but generally all painted, as the same was whiche he saieth was painted in the vayle. Thē what shal we thinke of the great huge poztraitures & images set fozth with so great costes & honoz in the Churches, after the fashion of the Gentiles?

4 Fourthly, ỹ the image of Christ also is not lawfull to be had in the Church of Christ. Foz there is none other that bzingeth moze daunger withal of honoring & wozshipping.

5 Fiftly, that all images are to be rid out of the Church of Christe, not only by diligēt teaching, but also by doing out of hande.

6 Sixtly, that they ought to be pulled down and hurled away, not negligently and coldly but with an ernest zele of true religiō, not whole that they may be laide vp to serue againe, as it hath bene done in our time very vngodly, by some Euāgelical churches, not by the churches, but by the heades of them: but tozne and brokē to pieces, as this holy mā of God Epiphanius, when he had gotten the vaile with the image of Christ painted in it, he was skyzed with the zeale of God, and rent it, and caried it away.

7 Seuenthly, it behoueth the Bishops to beware, that no images be set vp in the Church of Christ. But now a dayes they do defende that with hande and fote, whiche their dutie were to take away.

8 Eightly, that the vse of images in the Churche of Christe, is a certaine scrupulositie (oz I suppose rather it should haue bene termed superstition) not māte foz the Church and faithfull people. Se how farre wide the iudgement of this Bishop was from them, whiche do iudge it profitable foz faithful people, to haue images of saintes, in the Churche. Let them wey wel this, which crieth still, The fathers, the fathers, let them loke whether it be not an honester matter to be image breakers, than image makers; and whether we come not nearer to the example of the olde Churche, than they, albeit that they boast themselues neuer so muche to be Catholicke and Apostolicall. Let them tell vs, I beseech you, what they thinke lacked in these Churches whiche Epiphanius was Bishop of, necessarie to the true building of true godlynesse. He was a Christiā bishop, he preched Christ the sauioure of the worlde, he beschowed ỹ misteries of his kingdome among his faithfull people, and builded vp the Churche of God without any Images of stocke oz stone, of brasse, Siluer, oz Golde, paynted, molte, oz grauen. Foz he followed the footesteps of the Prophetes and Patriarkes, of Christe and the Apostles, whiche all planted the true religion and wozshippe of GOD without images. And Augustine, although he did beare and suffered in other things somewhat with the errours of hys tyme, yet he well

Religion obserued moche chastly vvithout imahes.

commended this in *Marcus Varro*, that he iudged the religion of God should be more purely obserued without images. For so he writeth of him in his fourth booke *De ciuitate Dei cap.31.* Wherefore (saith he) whereas they that iudge they only vnderstood what God was, which beleued that he was that liuing thing which gouerned the world: and that the religion of God is more purely obserued without images, who sees not how nie he came to the truth? This said Augustin. If *Varro*, a Heathen man, drewe nie to the truth, in that he thought the religion was then more purely obserued without images, good God, how farre be they from the truth, which iudge the contrarie? If they like not *Varro*, let them answere *Lactance*, who in his second booke of Godly institutions, in the nineteenth chapter hath thus: Ther is, saith he, no doubt but that there is no religion at all, wheresouer is an image. Againe. Whatsoeuer is counterfeyte, muste nedes be false: and that can neuer beate away the name of truth, whiche doth pretende a truth in coloure and imitation. So that if euery imitation be not the very thing in earneste, but as it were a ieste and a mocherie: there is no religion in images but only a play of religion. Thus saith he. Yea and *Burgensis* driue into it by the very plainnesse of ý words, doth confesse, that the Iewes were in the right, for that they perceyued there was forbidden by this precept not only to honor and worship, but also to make any image, although there were no intention ioined withal to honor and worship it. He saith, it appeareth by that, that is sayde:

Lactance. There can be no religion vvher is an image

Burgensis.

Thou shalt make thy selfe no grauen image, nor any likenesse, &c. and that it agreeth wel with the letter: and he doth reproue that in the Iewes, that they blame the Christian men for breaking this precepte in the vse of images, and euen streight he is contrarie vnto himselfe, and affirmeth ý it is not forbidde by this precept, that there shal be no images of creatures, vnlesse there be giuen vnto them the honor due to God. And to proue this opinion, he ioyneth this to ý firste precept, where is saide: Thou shalt haue no other gods in my sight and saith, that al these acts, although they be contrarie in themselues, yet they come to an ende, that is, to put away idolatrie. For else if the graung of one image without intention of worshipping it, were forbidden, it shoulde folowe that these wordes pertayne not to the firste precepte, but peraduenture ceremonially, to put away the occasion of idolatrie. And he addeth. And so suche a forbidding should be ceremoniall, and not binde in ý time of grace. I beseech you, how deserueth such a Comentor to be beleued, which in no long treatie, least his memory might seme to fail him, but in so short a note, doth immediatly ouerthrow ý which he graunteth and confesseth to be true, & goth about to confirme the contrarie, least hee should seeme to thinke or write any thing cõtrary to ý Catholike error. And whereas he goeth about to confirm his cõtradiction, by ý that these words, Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, &c. belongeth vnto ý firste precept, & that they doe make one cõmandement, how false a lye it is, it may be wel knowne of ý which we haue

haue before noted of the diuision of this *Decalogus*. Unto that, that he sayth, These wordes haue a ceremonial prohibition, and so binde not in ý time of grace, if they pertayne not to the firste commandement. We aunswere: that hereby it is manifest ynough, that God wil not haue images to be vsed in his Church, least by the vse of them, though it be ceremoniall, the people may by little and little be brought to the honor & worshipping of them. And for that that he sayth of the time of grace: how vayne this difference is in the matter & vse of Images, alas, the thing it selfe hathe declared more clearer than the sunne, and doeth yet declare to our eyes euen this day.

Nor any likenesse of these things which be aboue in the heauen, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth. Here it is to be noted, how corrupt, wicked, and readye to all kinde of Idolatrie the heart of man is. He that made man, is not ignorant of his heart: and therefore is aptly called *Cardiognostes*, that is, the hart conner. So that when he perceyued that the harte of man was so vaine, foolish, blinde, and wicked, that there were nothing in heauen, nothing in the earth, nothing in the water, which he would refuse to worshippe, if it were religiously set forth: he iudged it necessarie to ioyne these specialties. And this might seeme to be our owne imagination, vnlesse the fondnesse and impietie of the Ethnikes, specially of the Egyptiãs, were manifest, which the Apostle did touch to the Romaines, saying: And they chaunged the glorie of the incorruptible God, into the likenesse of the image of a corruptible man, and of birdes, and of beastes, and of Serpẽtes. And againe: Because they changed the truth of God into lies, & worshipped and serued the creature rather than the creatour. So the olde Serpent mocked mankinde, that he gaue him affection of religiõ, not only to the images of heauenly things, but also of earthly things, and things of the water, of Serpentes, Dragons, Crocodils, and Fishes, as we reade of Dagon the idoll of the Philistians. Wherfore, whereas the people of Israel is here commanded by God, not to make him the image of any thing, not only of heauen, but also of the earth and water: nie thinketh it is a lyke matter, as if a husband doe charge his wife, that she stande not in the likyng of any forme or shape other than his, whether it be of men or beastes, and playe not the harlot with them. If a man shoulde giue his wife such a charge, it must nedes signifie a special and detestable disposition of whoredome to be in the woman, that she would not abstayne not from beastes. Who wold not abhorre so filthy a beastlinesse? Yet if we doe well consider, what that wãtonnesse of whoredom and idolatrie is, wherein the figures not only of men, but also of beastes, yea and that cruel, filthye, and poysonfull are set vpon holy altars to be worshipped: it shall appeare that the madde runnyng to idolatrie in our hartes is more detestable than the cõmon & vnbrideled whoredome of the woman, which fleeneth not only vpon men, but vpon beastes, that as we say in our prouerbe, she wil not driue away a dogge from hir. At that time

The illusiõ of the olde Serpent.

A similitude.

whan the Israelites were slayne in the desert by the venemouse Serpentes, and God woulde set vp a remedie, by looking wherevpon they that were bitten shoulde be made whole: to auoyde idolatrie, he commaunded there should be set vp the figure not of a man, but of a Serpent. And yet it came not so to pas, but that it was occasion of idolatrie. For as the Historie of king Ezechias doeth witnesse, the Israelites did after that sacrifice vnto that figure of the Serpēt. And there haue bene Christian men, which haue deuoutely worshipped a Serpent in stede of Christ, & were therefore called *Ophites* of our forefathers. Therefore, seyng that the disposition of mans hart is so prone and procliue to hooring after images, they doe excedingly offende agaynst the Church of Christ, which be the patrones and factours of images, in ministryng still so muche occasion, and feeding to this euill so stiffly sticking vnto vs, and condemneth them for Heretikes, which doe earnestly resiste the doctrine in taking awaye of images. But if they did fyrste thoroughlye looke into the meaning and purpose of God in this seconde precept, and dilygentlye marke the reason of this specialtie, where he sayth: Neither of the things in heauē aboue, neyther of that that is in the earth beneath, neyther of that which is in the waters vnder the earth, and if they woulde regarde not only the Histories of all the Gentils, but also of the Christians, as a moste certain experience of the corruption of man, I suppose they woulde be not onlye more indifferent to the image breakers, but they themselues also should be stirried with the zeale of God to put away and vtterly discharge all ẏ vse of images out of Churches of Christ. Now whyles they doe altogether contrary, kissing and colling the dead images of the dead, spetting and cruelly persecutyng the liuelye ones, made according to the image of God, by God himselfe: what wyse man seeth not how this kinde of mā, blinde of bothe eyes, and in heart vtterlye vnsensible, regardeth neyther God neither man?

4. Reg.

Ophites.

The maynteyners of images be muthe to blame.

And if any man thinke the exposition of Origen to be allowed vpon Exodus, the 8. Homelie, he hathe founde somewhat whereby we may be admonished of the corruption of mans nature. It is another thing (sayth he) to make an idoll, and an other to make a likenesse. If any mā make the figure of anye kinde of beast, and set it vp to be worshipped, he maketh not an idoll, but a lykenesse. But he maketh an idol, which according vnto the Apostle, saying that an idoll is nothing, maketh that that is not. And what is that that is not? a figure whiche no mans eye hath seene, but whiche the verye minde of man himselfe deuiseth. As if any body would set a dogges head to the membres of a manne, &c. He maketh not a likenes, but an idoll. For he maketh that which is not, nor hath anye thing lyke vnto it. For ther is no figure taken of that which is present, but that whiche the idle and curiouse minde findeth out. But the lykenesse is when anye thing is fashioned, the whiche eyther is in heauen, or in earth, or in the waters. This is Origen: which saying although it make a distinction of an idoll

doll and a likenesse, beside the meaning of the texte of the Hebrewe here aleaged, where it is not an idoll and a likenesse, but a grauen Image and likenesse: yet we be admonished therby that the disposition of our fleshe is so corrupt and ready to idolatrie, that it wil sette vp not only the lykenesse of any things that be, but will also deuise, set vp, and worshippe the formes of thinges that be not, and shapes of thinges in no place euer seene. The shape of God the father, in which he is paynted lyke an olde mā, with a hore beard, is in no place. There is no such thing in deede lyke to the shape set forthe in the Church of God, when the image of the blessed Virgin is so paynted, that she couereth all persons, & defendeth them vnder hir cloke, such as there is many by the spirite of Superstition brought into the Church of God.

Thou shalt not honor them, nor worship them. This part is so to be obserued, that we must vnderstande by these two wordes, Thou shalt not bowe thy selfe vnto them, nor worship them, that al maner of worshipping and seruice of images what so euer it be in it self, and wherevnto so euer it be referred, is vtterly forbiddē. Wherfore we may not admit the expositions of the idolaters, wherby they thinke the seruice of images is properly defended. Who is so foolish (say they) ẏ he can abide to giue Godly honor vnto a stocke or a stone, and to the worke of mens handes? We do not worship the images in respect of the stuffe wherof they be made, or for the fashiō which the artificer deuiseth, but we worship them as images for them in whose name they be seth forthe, not referring th is worship simplye to the images themselues, but vnto them whose images they be. Therefore we be not idolaters, that is to saye, worshippers of portraitures & images, but of them whome we worship and serue in the images. This is the answer commenly of all idolaters, not only of false Christians, but of the Gentils and Iewes also, whereby they goe about to cloke and defende their vngodlinesse against the accusation of idolatrie, although the intention of their worship be of sondry of them diuers wayes referred. The Gentils do referre it vnto their Gods, which in degree after the chiefe maker of heauē & earth, they beleued as secondarie & seruiseable Gods: the Iewes referred it into their only God. Christian men applied it partly to Sainctes and Angels, and partly to God the Father & Christ his Sonne.

The vvorship of the Gentils.

As concerning the worshipping of the Gentils, peraduenture it is no neede to speake agaynst it. For as Augustine wryteth in his Epistle vnto *Deo gratias*, The vngodlye dyd not thereby excuse theyr wicked holy sacrilegious sacrifices and idolatrie: for that they dyd properly interprete what euery thing did signifie. For al the interpretation thereof was referred to the creaturs, and not to the Creatour, to whome alone all seruice of religion is dewe, that which in one worde in Greke is called *Latria*. Nor I meane not at this present to examine the idolatrie of ẏ Iewes, which as we reade, is earnestly and playnly ynough rebuked in the wrytings of the Prophetes. The idolatry of the Christians is an euill which

cleaueth

cleaueth fast, and can not be thorowly holpen, vntil the some of perdition sitte in the holye place, where he ought not: and is anaunced not only aboue the Church and the people of God, but aboue God himself, whom the Lord Jesus destroye and take away at length, with the spirite of his mouth, and with the brightnesse of his comming.

The excuses of them which doe worshippe the images of saynctes.

Here we heare them say, which deuoutlye worshippe the images of sainctes, We worshippe not the images, but the very sainctes, whose images we worshyp, when we fal downe before the images of sainctes, when we beholde the countenances of the images in doyng honor and sacrifice vnto them, when we holde vp our handes vnto them, when we make our prayers and inuocation, when we light Candels, whē we offer presentes, we doe with a stedfast harte apply all these thinges not vnto the deafe, dumme, blinde, and insensible images, but to the sainctes the frendes of God, which be with God in Heauen: wherfore we be accused of idolatrye to our great wrong, as though we did contrarie to the precept of God, which sayth, Thou shalt not adore nor worshippe them, meaning images, worshyp and serue the blocky and stony images. What answer shal we make to this?

Kneeling to Images.

Two thinges these men do which can not be excused. The one is, that they fall prostrate full deuoutly before the images. The other is, that they doe referre that worshippe vnto the Sainctes. The firste point Gods lawe doth simplye forbidde, that no man shal fall downe to worshyp before any image, nor to giue him any manner of seruice: and he addeth no exception or difference of intention. Wherfore they offende against this precept of God without any lawfull excuse, which bowe before images, and doe performe any seruice of religion to them, how so euer they do excuse their doyng.

Their cōscience ought to tremble at the authoritie & maiestie of Gods worde, as though it were stricken with a certain thunder, when they fall vpon theyr knées before images, when they doe transgresse so manifest a precept of God, which sayth expressely: Bowe thy selfe not vnto them, nor worshyp them, not only in their thought alone, but also in all their body framed of purpose to that vnlawfull worshipping, if they beare any true obedience to the Lorde God their Creator. Now when they doe openly committe that which is playnelye forbidden of God with so great threatening, and stande so in theyr owne concepte, that euen in the very acte of idolatrye, they fele no sense of their sinne, what godlye manne seeth not, that this kinde of men haue cast away all true and sincere feare, and therwithal the right seruice of God? For what is it els to serue God truely, but with true faith and obedience, to depende vpon his will and worde? So Moyses sayth, And now Israel what doth the Lord thy God require of thée, sauing only that thou feare the Lorde thy God, and walke in his wayes? &c. And thereof it is that the holy Scripture doeth oftentimes vse, The feare of the Lord, for the seruice and worshyp of God.

Secondly, concerning the intention of the minde, whereby they saye they referre all thinges in the worshippe of the images, vnto the Saincts themselues which be in heauen, we haue an answer ready at hand: truely, that all this interpretation and relation of idolatrye, euen for this cause is damnable, bycause the creatures be worshipped contrarye vnto the expresse commandement of God, which sayth, Thou shalt feare thy Lord God, and serue him only. And they can not say that the saincts which they worshyp be not creatures of God.

But here they haue somwhat also to obiect. They say, they worshyp not the Saincts as Goddes, but as the Saincts of God. And we worshyp God in his Saincts. Besides that the Saincts receyued power of God, whereby they can helpe, witnesse the miracles which they doe. And the Gentils did worshippe Deuils, but wée Saincts. And we cal vpon them not as Goddes, but as intercessours. What is to be answered vnto this, I noted before in ỳ end of those things which we did set forthe to be considered in the firste precept.

Others, which wil not séeme to be worshippers of Saincts, and therfore vse no images of Saincts, but doe conuerte all this worshippe of images vnto the images of God the Father and Christe his sonne, specially hanging vpon the Crosse, do say that they worshippe and serue the only God the Father, and Christ his sonne, and that therefore they can not be charged that they doe adore & worshippe creatures. We answere these men, that they doe sinne in that they set forth to the inuisible and vnfashionable God an image of an olde man with an hore bearde. For it is forbidde̅ that no image be made for God. Deuteronomie 4. You saw no likenesse in that daye when the Lord God spake to you in Oreb. &c. And Esayas saith: To whome therfore shal we make God like? or what image shall we set to him? It is a very wicked matter to chaunge the glorie and maiestie of the inuisible and vncorruptible God, into the likenesse of a corruptible man, as we maye sée in the Epistle to the Romaines.

Deut. 4.

Esay. 40.

Rom. 1.

And bycause they shal not say, that the blame which the Apostle founde, was to be vnderstanded only of the Gentils, they shall be yet stopped with the writyng of S. Augustine, who wryteth thus. We beleue also ỳ he sitteth at the right hande of God the Father, and yet not so, that we must thinke that God the Father is circumscribed as with the forme of man, that in thinking of him we cal to minde his right or lefte side, or for that that it is sayde, the Father sitteth, we maye thinke it done with bowing his knées, least we fall into that faulte of vngodlinesse, whereby the Apostle curseth them whiche chaunged the glorye of the incorruptible God into the likenesse of a corruptible manne. For it is not lawfull for a Christian man to set such an image of God in the Temple, muche more wicked it is to conceiue it in his harte, where the Temple of God is in déede. Thus sayth he. And what can be spoken more manifestly, than that he wryteth, it is vnlawfull for a Christian man, to set suche an image of God in the Temple?

Augustinus De fide & Symbolo cap. 7.

The images of God in the Papistes Churches.

Now let the Temples of Papists be loked in to, that we may see whether there be not founde in all them almost, suche an image of God the Father, vnder the forme of an olde man, with a hoze beарde, and sitting in a hygh throne. So that the same is now taken for Catholike religion among them, which in Augustines time was iudged wicked & vnlawful for the Christian men to doe. And in this doyng, they crye, The fathers, the fathers: and doe most fally glory of the antiquitie of theyr worshipping, and the tradition of the Apostles, to seduce the vnlearned.

That God ought to be vvorshipped in spirite.

And farther, seyng that God is a spirite, and wil be worshipped in spirite (as Christ himselfe witnesseth) saying: But the houre is come and now it is, when the true worshippers shall worshippe the Father in Spirite and veritie. For the Father also seketh suche to worshippe him. God is a Spirite, and they that worship him, muste worship him in Spirite and truth. It followeth, that the vse of the outwarde, visible, and palpable images, can haue no place in the seruice and worshippe of God. Therefore seyng it is both wicked & vnlawfull to set an image to God in the temple, and that God can not away to be worshipped in images of Siluer, timber or stone, &c. but will be worshipped in Spirite, beyng a spirit himselfe: I suppose these men haue nothing wherby they may well defende their errour.

Of the image of Christe.

Now are they leste whiche doe worshippe the image of Christe. They say: After that the Word became flesshe, that is to saye, God was made man, it is not vnlawfull to set vp in the Churche an image of the shape of man to Christ, & in the same to consider, worshyp, and serue Christ. We answere, that it is vnlawful also to set vp in the Churches of Christian men any image or portraiture yea not of Christ, as I haue declared before in the consideratiō of that saying (Thou shalt make no grauen image) out of the Epistle of Epiphanius, translated by Jerome. Besides that good men knoweth well ynough, that honor and worshyp is to be giuen to Christ, not simply as the sonne of man (whose shape it is possible may some wayes be set forth in image) but as the sonne and worde of God, so farre as he was of one substance with God the Father, the image and pvritie of his diuine essence and glorie. Wherfore he is also to be worshipped as true God, to gether with the Father, and the holy spirite, not in externe images, quicke or dead, but in spirite & truth, least of true worship of Christ, it become idolatrie, and so be made a difference betwene the honoring of Christ and the honoring of God the Father and the holy spirite: which muste needes come to passe, when Christe is so honored and worshipped in anye outwarde image, as neither the Father, neyther the holy spirite can be worshipped and honored.

Touching that which I spake of quicke and dead images, take it in this sorte. The quicke manne is the image of God, the Christian man beareth the image of his Christ. If the images of God & Christe, are to be honoured and worshipped at all, no doubte, the quicke are more to be honoured and worshipped than the dead

dead which be made of Golde, Siluer, stones, or Stockes, by the hands of men, and be called in Scripture, the workes of mens handes. There is no man of that iudgement, that God the Father ought to be honored and worshipped in a liuely man, or Christ his Sonne in a lyuing Christian man, or the holy Spirite in a quicke pigeon. Therfore it is much lesse conuenient to honor or worship God the Father, & Christ his worde, & the holy spirite, in dead, vnsensible, dumme and blinde images. I am compelled by the very worthinesse of the matter, to set forthe before mens eyes ỹ absurditie of this kinde of worshippe which we reprehende, for the vnlearned, to be seene in a similitude, somewhat grosse, I graunt, but withall exceding meete for the purpose. Wherefore I beseche them that be of a sincere iudgement, that they wil thinke that the same is to be done in this place, which is necessarie to be done in the writynges of the Prophets, where the vnciuilnesse of idolatrie is reprehended, and made to be abhorred by the similitude of whoredome and adulterie.

They that be trauayled in holye Scriptures, knowe that there is a great conformitie betwirt the coniunction in wedlocke, fayth, loue, and stedfaste cleauing together of man and wyfe, and the coniunction wherby the faythfull people is betrouthed and knitte vnto the Lorde his God and Christ his Sonne. The wyfe oweth vnto hir husband such fayth, that she muste clerely sticke vnto him alone, both harte and body, ye when he is absent and awaye: and that she muste haue nothing to doe, nor that she muste practise any point of that which pertayneth to the case of matrimonie with any other, than with hir husbande alone. The lyke fayth we owe vnto the Lorde God our Father, the Sonne, and holy spirite. We sawe this same was required of vs before in the first precept, when he saythe: I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt haue no other Gods before me. From whence the Prophetes toke those thinges whiche they spake, to reprehende the Idolatrouse wickednesse of Israel, vnder the similitude of an adulterouse woman. Now if a wife in the absence of hir husband, chose hir self a yong man, as like as she can for the shape of his face, vnto hir husbande, and kepe him with hir at home in hir secrete chamber, to the intent to exercise with him the loue and custome dewe to hir husband, she loueth him, she embraceth him, & doth all things which ought to be done to hir husband alone, and say, that she doth appointe all these thinges in hir minde, not to the yong manne, but vnto hir husbande which is out of the waye, but that she loueth and embraceth hir husbande in this yong man, because they be lyke of countenaunce: I praye you, who is so folishly minded, to thinke that these thyngs shal please hir husbande? out of doubte no manne. For it is manifest that this kinde of lyfe and loue is not of wedlocke, but of adulterie. What should we els do, if we should so worship any liuely man as the image of God, that we should adore him, call vpon him, deuoutly honor him, because that in him as the image of God we iudge, we do worship, adore, cal vpō,

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and honor God himſelfe? Although in this doyng we might pretende, I wote nere what intention of the minde, directed not to man, but to God himſelfe, yet for all that we coulde not be excuſed from impietie, nor anye man is ſo folliſh to beleue that ſuche kinde of worſhippe can pleaſe God.

Dotyng in images.

But what if a maried woman ſhould haue at home with hir not a yong manne aliue, but an image of wood made like hir huſbande, and trimly dreſſed, and woulde take pleaſure of it bothe night and daye, embrace it, laye it in hir bedde, and practiſe al wayes that ſhe can the affections of the loue of wedlocke towardes it, and yet ſaye that ſhe doth none of al theſe things to the image, as to the image, but that ſhe directeth all to hir huſband abſente: is it likely that theſe thinges may pleaſe the huſbande if he be wyſe? or maye it be that an honeſt woman wil ſeeke to gratifie hir huſbande with ſuche a kinde of ſeruice or mockerye, ſpecially if he forbidde, that ſhe make him no image, nor ſerue him in no image? I thinke no. Nowe loke what els we ſée them doe, which deuiſe to worſhippe God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Spirite, in images, as beyng abſente, to whom we are betrouthed by faith, exhibyting that reuerence and religion which we owe vnto God, not in ſpirite & truth, but in portraitures and images: and when they are blamed therefore, they doe pretende the intention of their harte, whereby they referre all that worſhippe vnto God himſelfe the Father, Chriſt his ſon, and the holy ſpirite. Be we ſo folliſh, that we will thinke that God will allowe that in his people, which we be aſſured the huſbande will exceedingly miſlyke in his wife? A wyſe huſbande can not lyke in his wife, if ſhe wil loue, embrace, and ſerue him, in anye image quicke or dead, that ſhe hath choſen vnto hir, but requireth of hir this ſinceritie of faith, and chaſtitie of loue, that ſhe reſerue all affection, loue, & ductie of wedlocke, pure and immediatlye onlye to him. And ſhal we ſurmyſe that Gods maieſtie is ſuche, that it can ſuffer to be worſhipped in images and portraitures beſide himſelfe? but theſe things ſhall be more clearely opened in the parcell following.

I am the Lord thy God, ſtrong, ielouſe.

We muſt marke heere, that firſte he ſayth: I am the Lord thy God, and be admoniſhed, that no worſhip and adoration in religion is to be giuen but onlye to him which is the Lord our God. For after that he had ſayd of images, Thou ſhalt not worſhip them, nor ſerue them: he did adde this, or rather repeate it, and in ſtede of a reaſon beate it in, ſaying, I am the Lord thy God. That ther ſhould be a greter vehemencie in the word, I, as though he ſayde, To mée the Lord thy God is dewe all worſhippe and ſeruice, and elſe to none. And therfore that was ſayd, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and ſerue him alone. This parcell can not be to much driuen into our heads, ſpecially in thoſe thinges that do touch the religion and ſeruice of God. For the diſputation of our fleſh is ſo corrupt, that it enclineth alwayes to idolatry and ſtrange Gods, and therfore with much a doe is kept in the

fayth and ſeruice of our true and only Lord God. Albeit our whole lyfe and health conſiſteth in this, that we doe not only ſincerelye and alone acknowledge our Lord God, but alſo, ſerue him.

2 Secondly, it is to be conſidered, that in ſetting forthe his preceptes and law of couenant to his people, he ſheweth what maner of God he is, and as I might ſay, how affected and diſpoſed, when he ſayth: I am the Lord thy God, ſtrong, ielouſe, or the ielouſe God. We are admoniſhed that it is to great purpoſe, that they which are choſen to be the people of God, and will ſticke vnto him, muſt firſt aſſuredly know and vnderſtande of what diſpoſition he is. For otherwiſe it cã not be, that they ſhal wel apply themſelfe vnto him. And for this the holye Scriptures ſerue vs, when they declare the nature and diſpoſition of God by his own words and dedes, to the intent that no man ſhould be able to excuſe himſelfe by colour of ignorance.

3 Thirdly, let vs way what maner of God he ſayth that he is. I am (ſayth he) ſtrong, ielouſe. The Ebrewe worde ſignifieth, To haue a zeale, emulation, and enuie, and the beginning of this, is exceding and feruent loue, whoſe nature is, to haue a ielouſe care of him whome he loueth, & with a certain compariſon to enuie vnto al others the vſe of the thing which is loued. Of this word, the wicked renegate Iulane doeth reproue Moſes: He ſpeaketh (ſayth he) blaſphemie againſt God. A ielouſe & an enuiouſe man ſéemeth to be worthye of blame. Who will therfore commende it, if God be called ielouſe? And then if he be ielouſe: then all other Gods are worſhipped againſt his will, and all other people worſhippe Goddes contrarye to his will. And why doeth he not put them downe, ſeyng he is ielouſe and willing to haue no other Gods but himſelfe? Is it becauſe he was not able? But it is wicked to ſay ſo of God. Or, becauſe ſo he woulde firſt haue other Gods worſhipped? But this agreeth not with our doynges. In this wiſe the wicked and blaſphemouſe might ſpue out his moſte filthye ſtinke againſt the oracles of Gods maieſtie. And although he be not worthy to haue any anſwer, yet for the ſimple and vnlearned ſake, we muſte admoniſhe you, that the ſcriptures do ſpeake of God, after the maner of man, when they attribute vnto him anger, zeale, emulation, hatred, repentance, and ſuche other things concerning mens affections. For they can not by other faſhion of ſpeache open ſuch thinges, as bée to be obſerued in God. As in this place God is brought in, ſpeaking to his people: I am the Lorde thy God, ſtrong, ielouſe, carefull, reuéging the wickednelle of the fathers, &c. Wher we muſt not thinke that God is ſubiect to the vnruly affectiõs of ielouſie and emulation: God forbidde: But that his loue is ſo exceding and feruent towardes his people, that he can not beare it, if they forſake him and go to other Gods, but alſo will greuouſly reuenge the reproche. And ſo farre off it is, that this loue ſhould not become God, that for this cauſe chiefly we maye perceyue that the Goddes of the Gentils be no true Gods, nor loue mankinde, but ſeruc

their owne peruerse lusse and ambition, in that they suffer suche as worshippe them, without any displeasure to worship & serue other with them: which thing they doe according to the example of the adulterers. An honest husbande is not to be blamed in that, that he can not away with all to haue his wyfe common with others: but if it be so, he doeth with feruent zeale reuenge it. The honestie of Christian men doeth much differ from the lightnesse of Socrates the Grecke, and Cato the Romain, which made their wiues which they hadde maried common vnto their friendes, and so became the Philosopher and the Censor baudes to their own women. Let Iulian and such as be like him, who became a renegate from the fayth of Christe, kepe this patience to themselues, not meete for honest men: we that be Christian men, can not commende it. And therefore the same Nicolas, which was one of the seuen firste Deacons, as they say, was not without cause condemned, who when he was blamed that he was in iealousie of his wyfe that was very fayre, to cleare himselfe, he permitted any man that wolde haue to doe with hir. Of that spring that moste filthy secte of them, which alloweth the indifferent vse of women. Therefore it is to no purpose that Iulian saith: A ielous & an enuious man is iudged to be worthy of blame. And who wil commend it, if God be called iealous? But let vs rather say thus: That a man in wedlocke deserueth commendation, if he doe vpon the zeale of mariage, defende the chastitie of his wife, and reuenge adulterous wantonnesse: how muche more then is it meete to commende that syncerittie of loue in God? And whereas in the meane while the false Gods are honored of the blinde and corrupt, it is not so to be construed, as though God coulde not, or wolde not let that wickednesse: but because he woulde of his most secret purpose, suffer sedition to take place in the vessels of wrath, that they might haue no iuste excuse, and that as Paul saith, in the meane whiles he did declare the maiestie of his Godhede towardes mankinde, throughout al the world, giuing life, inspiration, and all thinges vnto all: being not far off from euery one, so that they might seke God, and finde him. He could compell euery man, yea against his will: but that kinde of constrainte is both vnmeete for the loue of God, and not agreeing with the incomparable gifte of this felicity, which is euen from the beginning of the world appointed vnto the true worshippers of God: vnto the obtaining of which, there is required not constrained and forced will, but free and yelding of it selfe.

Nicolaites.

Therefore in this parte let vs obserue, ỹ we haue suche a God, which exceedingly and feruently loueth his people, euen as the good husbande is affected toward his wife. And who can sufficiently waye how great the strength of this loue is? But therof we be admonished in the parte following. In the meane while, touching the worshipping of images in this worde zelous, we be plainly admonished, that the same is as intollerable to God in his people, as whoredome and adulterie can not be borne of a good husband in his wife.

Againe

Againe it is to be woundered at, frō whēce this loue in God towards wretched men & sinners proceedeth: what he findeth any waye in vs worthy of so great loue, as the Prophet also hauing the lyke wonder brake out, saying: What is man that thou art mindefull of him, or the sonne of man that thou doest visite him? If we be wel loked into, ther is no hādsomnesse, no propernesse, no fairnesse in vs, in respecte whereof we can any thing lyke, or please the beauenly spouse. But rather al our things be so foule, so dyshonest, and so deformed, that they be no better worth than to be loathed and abhorred. Therefore it remaineth, that the causes of this loue be in God which loueth, and not in the wretches and sinners that be loued. The cause of zeale is loue: and what other cause can we appoynt of loue in God, than his vnspeakeable goodnesse? And for bicause it musse nēdes be, that those things which naturally be in God, must be most excellent, it is necessarie that according vnto the excellency of his Godly goodnesse, so his loue musse be excellent, and that the excellent zeale be correspondent to the exceding loue.

Visiting the wickednesse of the fathers in the children, to the thirde and fourthe generation. Here is to be noted the nature of zeale and emulation. Loue once offended, doeth more bitterly punishe the loued, than them that were not loued. When loue is not regarded, it is offended: and loke how muche he meante to doe good in louing, so much he is wonte to hurt when he is offended and stirred to anger. And therefore it is that Moses warning the people hereof, saith: And knowe you that the Lord God is a mightye and faythfull GOD, kéeping his couenaunte, and shewing mercye to them that loue him, and kéepe his commaundementes, into thousande generations: and paying home straighte wayes them that hate him: so that he destroyeth them. &c. Therefore kéepe his commaundementes. &c. When Israell promysed to sticke vnto God, Iosue warned the himselfe of the same, saying: You can not serue the Lord. For God is holy and strong, and gelous, and will not forgiue youre wickednesse and your sinnes. If you forsake God, and serue other Gods, he will turne away and plague you, & after he hath giue you good things, he will ouerthrowe them.

Deut. 7.

Iosue. 24.

We are warned that our God is not lyke straunge Gods, whiche can doe neyther euill, neither good, but it musse fall out that eyther if he loue vs, we shall be loden with innumerable benefites, or if he bee angred, we shall fele condigne punishment: The one or the other we musse nēdes proue, if we will be reckened of his people.

Our God is not like other Gods.

Now let euery man thinke howe exceedingly vnhappye all they musse be, which whereas they might haue GOD to loue them, to doe them good, yea to make them blessed, they hadde rather fele him angrye, punishing and destroying them. Therefore if we be wyse, eyther lette vs loue him agayne, whiche loued vs, styche faythfullye vnto hym which doeth vs good, and enioye his vnspeakable goodnesse: or if we be otherwise minded, let vs be sequestred frō

Let vs stick vnto God, or els forsake him.

him, from his testament and his people. For although they doe in any wise perishe, as many as be sequestred from him, yet they are made subiect vnto a much greater condemnation: which beyng of his people, yet are conuersante before him, with an vncleane and an vnfaithful hart, and peruerteth his excellent loue into a most greuouse anger.

That he calleth the vvorship of images vvickednesse.

Secondly, it is to be marked, that he calleth the worshiping of images Wickednesse, and that such as deserueth the speciall anger and reuenge of the zeale, when it is turned into a bitter displeasure, visiting sayth he, the iniquitie of the fathers in ẏ children. For he speaketh not of euerye kinde of iniquitie and sin, but of the wickednesse that God is worshipped in dumme & deafe images, or rather not worshipped, but turned to anger: not honoured, but dishonested. Therfore the Grēeke interpreter doeth negligently turne this pēece, when he maketh it thus: Paying home ẏ sinnes of the fathers. In ẏ Ebrewe it is not Sinnes, but iniquitie. And wher is one of all the worshippers of images, that wil not maruellously chafe, if he vnderstande that the religion wherein he surmiseth that he doeth wonderfully worship God, is called wickednesse, deseruing speciall reuengement? So the Kings & Princes of Israell did chafe with ẏ Prophets, when they condemned their worshipping for wickednesse & vngodlinesse. And our times haue giuen sufficient proofe of this matter.

Thirdly, let vs consider that also, that he sayth not simply, Visiting the wickednes in the worshipping of images, but visiting the wickednesse of the fathers in the children. There ryseth a question, howe it maye be iudged an equall matter, that the wickednesse of the fathers should be visited in the childrē, saying we read that the Lorde sayth playnelye in Ezechiell: The soule which sinneth, the same shall dye. The sonne shall not beare the wickednesse of the father, and the father shal not beare the wickednesse of the sonne. The righteousnesse of the iuste man, shall be vpon him, and the wickeduesse of the wicked shall be vpon him. If the son be not bounde to beare the wickednesse of the father, but that eche man shal be punished for his own wickednesse, it seemeth then not onlye vnequall, but also plaine contrarye vnto that which we reade in the place of Ezechiel now cited.

We must answere, that the Lord speketh not in both the places of childrē that be voide of the wickednesse of their fathers, but of them whiche treading in the same steppes of their fathers, followe their wickednesse. But these .ij. places would haue an handsome distinction. The fathers of this people serued and worshipped the images of the Egyptians superstition, before the lawe, when they were in Egypt. This wickednesse of them God had not reuēged in thē, but bore withal, vntil the time of his visitation, deliuerance, & renewing of his couenant, in which they shuld receyue the lawe, and be brought to the true worshipping. So that if the Israelites hadde stande faste in the wayes of the commaundementes of God, there had bin no cause to visite the wickednesse of their fathers in them. Now bicause they woulde transgresse these lawes, and runne to the worshippinge of straunge Gods, who seeth not that this threatening of God, wherein he threateneth that he wil visite the sinnes of the fathers in the children, was most iuste and right? There was great difference betwyxt the fathers and those which came after. The fathers hadde no teachers, no instructions, no lawe, no renewing of couenaunte, no declaration of Gos maiestie, but were trauailed in a wicked nation, in the middest of the darkenesse of ignorance. The aftercommers whiche were directed by this *Decalogus*, had Gods visitation, guides and Prophetes, moste open & wonderful proues of Gods maiestie, the leading out of Egypt, and this lawe, whereby they were instructed of the true worshipping of God. Therefore it was not mēete that he shoulde spare the children for falling backe againe after all this, to the worshipping of images, as he did spare their fathers, but very equitie it selfe did require, that the wickednesse of the fathers, which God had spared before, should be visited in them.

Hor[illegible] se v[illegible] agre[illegible] that [illegible] zech[illegible] 18.

Against this wickednes doeth not repugne that place of Ezechiel. For there the wicked Jewes are striken home, which beyng punished in dēede of the Lord for their owne vngodlinesse, they iudged that it was not for their own sins, but for their fathers sinnes, as though they had ben themselues without faulte. And therfore it was spokē among them for a prouerbe: Our fathers did eat the sower grape, & our tēethe are an edge. That is to say: Our fathers sinned, and we abide the punishment of their sinnes. That parable is stoutely refelled, & not vnworthylye. For the children were no lesse sinners & vngodly, than their fathers. Therfore it is beaten into their heades, that this is no iustice in God, that the giltlesse son is punished for the sinnes of his father, or ẏ iust father for the vnrightuousnesse of his son, but that euerye iust man is preserued by his iustice, & euery vngodly mā abideth the punishment of his vngodlinesse. This doth set forth the generall iustice of God, wherby there is not taken away the equitie of this threatning, as though it were vniust, if God do forgiue his people their faultes committed in times of ignorance, and will not for those faultes punish them or their aftercōmers, so that after they receyue the light, they wil amende and persist in true faith. But when the aftercommers cōtemning ẏ light of truth, and despising the grace of the couenant, do fal backe againe to their fathers wickednesse, contrary vnto the law receyued, now in such he doeth not only visite their owne, but also their fathers wickednesse: that is to say, iudgeth such aftercōmers worthy double punishment. Therefore for the agrēemēt of these two places, it is necessary ẏ there be a difference made of the times of Gods dispensations, and that we consider the circumstances of them. Ther be times of ignorance and blindnesse: and ther be times of light and knowledge of God. There is a great difference betwixt those thinges which are euill done in times of ignorance, and those things which be euil done in ẏ times of the knowledge of God. In Egypt God might spare the errours of the

The times of Gods disposition are to be distincted.

Israelites, but he could not with like patience beare their wickednesse which (after they were by marueilouse miracles deliuered out of Egypt) had receyued the law as an instruction of the knowledge of God, & a manifest commandement against the worshipping of images. There the wickednesse of the wicked was not vpon the wicked, because of the vniuersall darkenesse wherin the Israelites were wrapte. But here the wickednesse of the fathers not punished vnder the darknesse, is punished in the children: & the fathers after liuing vnder the light of ỹ knowledge of God, suffeine the punishemente of their own wickednesse, and the sons likewise. See the like also of the Gētiles in the Actes of the Apostles. *Act. 17.*

Let vs call vnto remembrance the times of our forefathers, and our times also. Our forefathers without any nay, liuing manye hundred yeares, not vnder the worde of God, but vnder the teaching of mans presumption, were ouerwhelmed with most grosse darkenesse of errours & superstition, in which they did also serue and worship images. This wickednesse of theirs, was not punished in them, according to the worthines of it, bycause of the vniuersall ignorance of the truth, and corruption of religion. *Of our owne times*

Nowe at the length the light of Gods worde is giuen vs, which is able mosse clerely to reproue the errours and superstitions of all false religion. The same is spredde diuers and sundry open wayes through the whole compasse of Christendome. And in euery place, though not vniuersally in all, yet it is knowen and receiued of the most parte of al. Now what shal we thinke may be else, but that both the fathers and the childrē must in like sorte euery man beare his own wickednesse, if they fal back in so cleare a light vnto the workes of darknesse, & that there, nor the father is punished for the sonne, nor the sonne for the father, if there be no chāge or returne to wickednesse. And yet if the men of this time had rather with like wickednesse followed the steps of their fathers, which sinned before in darknesse, than to liue in ỹ light of the word of God, as some do, saying: Let vs beleue as our forefathers beleued: shall not we beleue I say, that they shal not onely be punished for their own wickednesse, but also for the wickednesse of their fathers? God speaketh in Ezechiel of the fathers & childrē, liuing after thei had receiued the law: in this *Decalogue*, he speaketh of the fathers which liued in Egypt, and the children, that is to say, their aftercommers, which followed after the deliuery out of Egypt. This way I suppose it is manifest, if this distinction be vsed, that there is at least no disagreement in these two places, which seemeth to be very contrarye one to another, if we neglect the distinction. If any man lisse, let him loke vpon Jerome in the. 19. chapter vpon Ezechiel.

It is also to be considered, that he threateneth, he will extende his reuenge into some generations of the wicked people, for the worshipping of images. This may not be so take, as though God doth always precisely punishe in so many generations, & that it can not be that so long an extent of such reuēge can not be brake off,

off, either in that that God through mercy do relent his anger, which he is alwayes at libertie to doe: eyther by meanes of amendemente of lyfe of the aftercommers, which for example was done in the dayes of king Josias, whome God spared for his singular godly life, and granted him to dye in quyet, and not to see the mischief of the tymes to come, whiche shoulde fall vpon Juda and Jerusalem, for the wickednesse of his grādfather Manasses: but when he was dead, the reuenge of God returned to be extended vpō the generations following, so that it spared not the sons of Josia, though he ware iust & godly, bicause they went on in the foote steps of Manasses their great grandfather. So then the vengeance of God, which he threteneth here to take vpon the children of the wicked, into the third and fourth generation, may be broken off, by the godlinesse and amendement of some, but not vtterly put away, vnlesse the zeale of God be altogether appeased by the continual rightuousnesse and godly life of the generations following. *. 12. examining*

Of them which hate me. Ye shal note here, that the worship of images is reputed to the hate of God, so that as many as serue and honour images, muste be counted the haters of God. And who doe more earnestly pretende and counterfait the loue and worshippe of God, than euen they which are dayly giuen to worshippe images? Therefore their religion and seruice are not iudged according vnto their intentiō and pretence, but according vnto the worde of God. It is an horrible matter to ascribe vnto any man that vngodlynesse that he shal be sayd to hate his lord God, whom he pretendeth for all that to honour & serue dayly. Be it neuer so horrible, & albeit they wil not seme to be worshippers of images, yet we can not nor we ought not otherwise to pronounce of their seruice than God himself, who can not lye, doth so plainely pronounce. Wherefore we be admonished by this place, that it is iudged the hate of God, not only if any man wittingly and warely hath cōceyued hatred against God, whom he denieth to be true God, as the Turkes & Jewes be affected against Christ our Lord and Sauiour: but also if any man doe those thinges to his Lorde, which he reputeth execrable, although he doe it of minde not to anger him, but to please him. This maner of speache, we Englishmenne vse also, when we say of him that vndooth himselfe by the corruption of his owne lyfe: He is his own foe. *The accustomed English speache.* Noe manne wittingly hurteth him selfe, nor as the Apostle sayth, hateth his owne flesh. *Ephe. 5.* And yet that is reported of them which vndoe themselues, although that there be no men in the worlde that loue themselues more earnestly, than they which giue themselues altogether to pleasures. Therefore as that loue of the flesh whereby the carnall man in al poynts loueth himselfe, if wee loke to the effecte of it, is not loue, but hatred. So this loue of carnal men, whiche they surmyse they doe gaylie practyse towardes God in the worshipping of Images, is not in the sight of God loue, but hatred. Therfore the intent of these seruices are not to be considered before God, but the effect.

Speaches of holy Scripture.

There be lyke sayings also in other places of Scriptures, or rather iudgements, of the corrupt affections of men. Salomon sayth in his Prouerbes: Wysedome sayth: All they which hate me, loue death. And who is so madde, that wittingly and warely will loue death, whiche all flesh by instincte of nature, doth abhorre? But for as muche as this is the effect of the contempt of the wisdome of God, that it procureth death, the holy spirit spake so. And in the same booke of Salomon is read, He that spareth the rodde, hateth his sonne. And yet they that be of that disposition, do spare the roddes for the ouermuch loue that they haue to their children. How then do they hate their children, which they loue so exceedingly? They haue a respect, I will not say to fonde affecte, but rather to the pestilent effect of corrupt loue, wherby the sonne by ouermuch cockeringe is marred. And to marre the sonne, is not to loue him in dede, but rather to hate him. And in the same booke: He that is partener with a theefe, (sayth he) hateth his soule. No man hateth his soule, and he that is partener with theeues, doeth it for the succour of his life. But if things be iudged by the ende and effecte, he loueth not his soule in dede, that maketh himself a partener of theefte, but hateth it, for he bringeth it into daunger of deathe. In this sense I suppose, it is manifest ynough, that they be not worshippers and louers of God, but rather they hate him, as many as fall downe before images, and contrarye vnto his precept serue and worshippe him (which is a spirite) in images. For they be so farre wide from pleasing of him with this sorte of worshippe, that for asmuche as they doe that which doeth sore offende him, they doe rather stirre him and prouoke him to anger, and commirte rather the worke of hatred, than of true loue.

Prouerb. 3.

Prouerb. 13.

Prouerb. 29.

If there were besides this nothing els in al the scriptures against images, yet this one pece of Gods threatning, wise men ought to haue suche regarde of in theyr hartes, that it should be able to make vs lothe and abhorre al maner of deuotion of portraitures and images. For what can the man which loueth God, worse away withal, than to be counted by the very mouth & iudgement of his own Lord God, one of them that hateth him? But the hartes of idolaters, be so exceedinglye blinded, that though they should heare a hundred times, euen by ỹ very mouth of God, Your seruice liketh me not: I will not be serued and worshipped in images, you declare no obediēce towards me, but hatred: I can not beare it: I will be auenged vpon you into the thirde and fourth generation: yet wil they followe rather their iudgement and determination, than the denouncement of God, though it be neuer so plaine and behement. Therfore they must be giuen ouer to the iudgement of God, to fele the truth and waight of this threatening.

And doing mercy vnto thousandes. Let vs way here what distance is betwirt the thousande generation & the second and third, and thereby we may consider in what heaps the mercies & goodnesse of God doth excede his iustice. His anger when it is set a fier with zeale & emulation, is very sore: yet his goodnesse kindeled with the zeale of loue towardes the godly, doth passe it infinitely. He is angrie vnto the thirde & fourth generation, and that not slenderly, but kindled with the fire of zeale. But he dothe mercy, not into the third and fourth generation, but into the thousandth generation, ỹ is, into infinite. What are we else taught hereby, but that God is readier to loue, than to hate, (for he is loue) and to good, than to auenge? He is iust, he is good, but more exceeding good than iust. He is iuste perfectlye, he is good for euermore. We do not compare the iustnesse and goodnesse of God, according to the degrees of perfection and imperfection, as though he were imperfectly iust, and perfectlye good: God forbid. But we do wey, how greately the infinite goodnesse of God exceedeth his perfect iustice. For asmuch as he is perfectly iust, no mā cā worthilye finde himselfe greeued of his workes of iustice, either towardes himselfe, either towards any others. And for as much as he is infinitely good, all flesthe hath good occasion to acknowledge his innumerable benefits without all desert, and with a thankeful hart prayse them, and say: It is ỹ mercie of the lord, that I am not walked away. The great goodnesse of God ouercommeth his absolute iustice, but it doth not quench it out, it ouerthroweth it not, nor weakeneth it not. It doth ouercome it, to the entente that the wretched and corrupt flesthe should not be lost by the iudgementes of iustice, vnles we wil despise his goodnesse. It doth not so ouercome, that ether ỹ wicked may sin at large, ether any mā be lost wrongfully.

The vse of this place.

The vse of this place is not to contemne thy biddings and denouncements of God, bicause he is infinitely good, but to raise vp by his goodnesse the wretched and sorowfull mindes and consciences ouerwhelmed with feare of the anger and iudgement of God: and to be out of doubt, that all our corruption and imperfection is but the least droppe that may be, in comparison of the infinit plentie of Gods goodnesse. And that euery man endeuour, according vnto the measure of the Giuyng of Christ, to drawe as neare as he can, vnto this example of Goddes iustice and goodnesse, so that we may in like sort become, though not equally so iust (which is impossible) yet in some proportion and degree, that we maye be a thousand times more readier to goodnesse and mercie.

Of true & fals iustice.

By this example we may alwais see, which is true iustice and whiche false. For true iustice is in all places like it selfe. And it is perfectly declared in God what maner a thing it is, and it declareth also his very nature in man, after that he is iustified by God, not perfectly ynough, yet plainly, and so, that it may be tried euen like gold. And what that iustice is, it is expressed by him, which to distinct falle iustice from true by a most sure marke, said very properly, that true iustice hath withal compassion, and ỹ false hath a disdaine withal: To haue cōpassion is to be merciful and good in dede: to disdain and dispise, is to be proude.

Therefore they ỹ be so seuerely iust, that they be affected with no cōpassion towards the afflicted, nor with no

mercie towardes offenders (as the Scribes and Pharisies were, & the Iusticiaries and Hypocrites of our time be) they be as farre wyde from true iustice, as they be a great waye distant from this disposition and example of Gods iustice: and the moze they be puft vp with a counterfaite kynde of Iustice, and be wondered at of the folish wozld, so much the moze vniust they be.

God is not like vnto tyrantes.

In them that loue me and keepe my cõmaundements. First let vs marke that God is not like vnto those tiraunts which punishe the euill and disobedient, and reward nothing at all them that be honest, and do faithfully obey them. After that he said, Visiting the wickednesse of the fathers in the childze: He added, And shewing mercy and fauoure to them whiche loue me, and kéepe my commaundemẽts: meaning that he dothe not only punishe the wicked, but dothe also rewarde the good and obediente. You may finde a number of mẽ far from this disposition of God, whome yée may easily styze to anger, hatred, enimitie, mischiefe, and desire of reuengement: but vnto fauoure, loue, friendlinesse, and doing good, ye cannot so easily entreate them, though you séeke a thousande wayes. Thys kinde of men is very frowarde, and of spirit playne contrarie to the childzen of God, which following the disposition of God, are slowe to anger, and readie to shew fauour, and to do good.

Easy to anger, and harde to do good.

1 Therefoze, let vs consider here the nature of loue, in God, and nexte in godly menne, truely louing God. There appeareth to be this disposition of loue in God, that foz asmuch as he loueth vs, he desireth on the other side to be loued of vs. Foz if hée did not loue, he would not so louingly embrace them which loue him. He that hateth oz despiseth, oz setteth at lighte and lotheth, is quite voide of this affectiõ. He seketh nothing lesse, than to be loued of him, whom he hateth: oz suppose he hateth him not, yet he vouchsaueth not to haue hym in any estimation. But God declareth how wel he loueth his people, in that he promiseth his infinite godnesse to them that loue him. Insomuch that in the very threatening of his reuẽging zeale, he cãnot dissemble the dispositiõ of his louingnes. So in Deuterono. he chargeth also thẽ to loue him. Loue (saith he) the Lozde thy God, with all thy heart. &c. If there might come vnto him any commoditie of our loue, there might be some suspition, that in commanding vs to loue him, he shoulde séeke his owne gaine: but fozasmuch as no cõmoditie cõmeth vnto him of our loue, but vnto vs commeth infinite, there can be deuised no other cause, why we be required to loue him, but only this alone, that he first loueth vs before we deserued it.

The nature of loue in God, and in godly men.

2 Secondly, it is also the nature of true loue, to do good vnto thẽ whõ a man loueth, and to thẽ also which he perceiueth doth loue one another. So God doth promise here infinite good doing vnto thẽ which loue him. So that this is also the nature of louingnesse, to beslow his good wil vpõ his beloued. But we muste in any case beware, that we iudge not that God doth so benefite them that loue him & kepe his cõmandements, that he doth rather reward thẽ which loue him, than that he doth good to his beloued. Foz when we loue God, we doe not so much prouoke him to the doing of good, as that we do not hinder his disposition of loue. Foz this is certaine, that he first loueth vs, & first doth vs good, yea before we deserue it. This louingnesse of hys, and good doing, we doe as it were cõserue, in louyng him againe, and be careful, that it be not broken off with our hatred and disobedience. But the nature of oure loue is declared in that, that with the loving of God, we kéepe his cõmandements. So he saith here: To them that loue me, and kéepe my cõmaundements. So the Lozd saith also: If any man loue me, he wyll kéepe my commandemẽts. Foz this is the nature of loue, that we do applie oure selues to the loue of him, whome we loue. Now way togither, and sée the difference of that loue whiche God beareth to vs, & of that loue whiche we beare vnto God. He in that hée loueth hys creatures, declareth hys disposition of loue towards them, by this vnspeakeable care that he hathe to doe them good: but touching oure loving of God, we cannot expresse our disposition of loue towards him in any purpose of good doing, but rather in the purpose and care to obey and kéepe his commaundements.

And this difference which proceedeth not of the nature of loue, but of the diuersitie of the louing, & them ỳ loued, is also in godly folkes. The father loueth the sonne, & the sonne the father. The father declareth the nature of his loue, not in keping the cõmandemẽts of his son, but rather in cõmanding, and doing such things to his son which be foz his profite. The son sheweth the nature of his loue, not in commanding and doing good to his father (vnlesse it be at some chaunce of necessitie) but rather in keping his commaundements, & reuerently doing his duetie vnto hym.

Loue and the kepyng of Gods commandements ioyned togeather.

3 Thirdly, Let vs marke also, how loue and keping of Gods cõmandements are ioyned togither. He sayth not, Them which kéepe my cõmandements: But he setteth before, Thẽ which loue me. And saith not alone, Them whiche loue me, but addeth: And kéepe my commandemẽts. We are admonished whiche is the true loue, & also which is the true keping of Gods cõmandementes. The true loue is that whiche is not ydle, but wozking to serue him whome he loueth. Ther is no true keping of gods cõmandements, but that which of it selfe fréely floweth out of frõ the inwarde affectiõs of loue. Therfoze let no mã thinke ỳ these can be asunder, the one from the other. Whosoeuer loueth God, cannot set at light hys commandements. And he whiche loueth him not, shall neuer kéepe them in his heart.

Agaynste vvilvvorshippers.

4 Fourthly, wey that also, that he saith not, They ỳ loue me and serue me, oz else, And wozship me: but, And kéepe my commaundements. Thys place maketh welfauozedly agaynst that Wilwozship, whiche hath growen vp in the Popery, as it hathe done also otherwhere amongst the Gẽtiles, whẽ they serue God not accozding vnto his will, but accozding vnto their owne arbitremẽt & will. The will of God is set fozth in hys commaundementes. The true wozship of God is that, which is in ỳ endeuoure to accomplishe hys wyll.

For to serue God is nothing else, but to do that which is acceptable vnto him: not as we like, but as he liketh. So we do vse this speach also, when we say: I like not thy doings: that is to say, This that thou doest pleaseth me not: I allowe it not; it agreeth not with my will. Besides that, he saith not, Which loue me, and applieth my will, but, And kepeth my cõmaundements. Superstitious folkes and obseruers of mens traditions, suppose that they do serue God, with the best, and shew, I wote not what loue towards him, in keping the accustomed seruice & precepts of their forefathers. And they haue this in their mouth: Whatsoeuer thou doe of purpose to serue God, it pleaseth him. If this trade of the seruice of God were sound, I beseech you what need had it bin, ỹ God should haue prescribed any cõmandement vnto mẽ? But he wil not haue vs to guesse of his wil, & to deame out euery thing according to the vanitie of our hart. And to the intent there should be no occasion of doubting or gessyng, he did expresse his will in certaine precептes as playne as could be. Let vs shewe here howe well we loue God, not in wil worshipping and obseruing of mens traditions, but in the keping of his commaundementes. But the Papistes are so wood, that they will rather neglect al the precepts of god, than eate flesh in the days forbidden.

Whether euery thing do please God vvhiche is vvel ment to his seruice.

5 Fiftly, let vs consider this also, that he saith not, And fulfill my commaundements, but, And kepe my cõmaundementes. To kepe the commaundements of God, is not only in worke to fulfill them after a sorte, but hartyly to loue them, and when he doth so loue them, to lay thẽ vp in hys mynde, to thinke vpon them day and night, iorneying, lying or sitting styl, and in al determinations of our life to thinke vpon the obseruing of them: in summe, to esteme them so precious, that we make of them as of a treasure, and that with true affection of true loue. And we read of this képing of the cõmaundements of God, set forth in Deuteronomie in this wise: Heare Israel, the Lord your God is one God. Thou shalte loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, & with all thy strength, and these wordes which I commaunde thée this daye, shall be in thy heart, and thou shalte declare them to thy children, and thou shalte be occupied in them, sitting in thy house, and walking in thy iorney, and when thou art going to slepe, and rising, &c. This care to kepe the precepts of God, is founde in the harts of them which be godly disposed, and that loue God, but not the perfecte fulfilling of thẽ. And yet I wote not how it commeth to passe, that a man which loueth and kepeth the commandements, though he haue many lackes, pleaseth God more than the angel, though he lack in nothing, but fulfil all the commãdements, if he haue not this keping. I do not ascribe vnto the angels that they be destitute of the keping of Gods commaundements, but I doe expresse the estimation of this keping by his comparison such as it is. But withall wee muste beware, least we think that by this reason of keping of Gods commaundements, the fulfilling of them is excluded, seing that they be neuer better perfor-

That he saith not, fulfil, but kepe my cõmandemẽts

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med, thã if they be first kept in hart. Again, they cannot be truely kepte with heart, and be despised in déede. For no man kepeth them with hart, vnlesse he loue them: and he that loueth them, doth according vnto the nature of loue, to the vttermoste of his power performe them. Therfore this keping of the commandements of God, as daughter vnto loue, maketh vp the perfectiõ of them. So we read in *Leuiticus*: Kepe my commandements, and do them. And of this sort of keping, Christ speaketh: Blessed be they which heare the word of God and kepe it.

6 Sirtlye, it is to be obserued against ỹ techers of deseruing: that he saith not, And yelding al det and due: but and doing mercie in thousandes of them which loue me and kepe my commaundements. God doth giue againe vnto them that loue him, and kepe his commandements: but he giueth not againe, as dutie or det, to counteruaile our deseruing, but he doth mercy. It is fauour, it is goodnesse, it is mercye, yea euen that which is bestowed vpon them which kepe Gods commaundements. For so we ought to iudge, and so to be affected towards ỹ good doing of God, that there bee left nothing whereof our flesh may glorie in the sight of God: but there must alwaies remain with vs, wherfore we may with full mouth set forth the mercie of God.

But I pray you, sée how froward this sort of men are. They set not a point by the keping of Gods cõmandementes, so that the authoritie of theyr owne traditions, whiche they cal and crake to be sometimes ecclesiastical, sometime catholike, sometimes Apostolical, be stedfast & sure. And yet they doe argue againste the doctrine of faith & iustification, out of this & other like places: saying: Loe, how the promise of the infinite mercie of God is knit vnto loue, and to the keping of his commandements. *Ergo*, faith only doth not iustifie, but loue & workes do also iustifie. They do in countenance prikke men forth to good works, as though the doctrine of iustification by faith, availed nothing to well doing & keping of Gods cõmandements, but did also hinder it, wheras they couet in déede to haue their owne commandements surely obserued, & not the precepts of God. Would to God, we might al truely loue the lord our God, with all ỹ power of our minde, & that we mighte kepe hys commaundementes without blame and without all offence, then we shoulde be happye in déede. But who is he that doth so? and we wil commende him. For must vnderstand, So disposed by the strength of nature & free wil: without doubte, no man. Therefore it is necessarie first of al, that the way of our salvation do stand vpõ the fauour of God, in fayth, by the blod of Christ Iesu, to be sure as the Apostle reciteth the matter to the Romaines, & then that beyng iustified by fayth, we may be new borne, and be made such as we may both loue god our father, which loueth vs, and applye our selfs whylye and hartyly to kepe his commandementes. We must consider that these words which commande somewhat and doe crave the képing of Goddes commaundementes, bée words of law, and to be applied vnto their owne vse, whiche is peculiar

Rom. 3.

The vvordes of the lavv do not vveaken the preceptes of grace

vnto

vnto them: and not so to be vsed, that we shall for them weaken the promises of the heauenly grace, or fauoure of the Gospell.

Loue commeth of faith, and not faith of loue. Gals.

Againe, we must thinke that the efficacie and strength of loue commeth of faith iustifying, & not faith by loue. So Paule sayth: In Christ Iesu neither circumcision auayleth any thing, nor vncircumcision, but faith whiche worketh by loue. Lo, faith (saith he) is working by loue, that is to say, worketh those thynges, which be brought to passe by ỹ loue of God. So that you may se, thys place doth rather confirme the iustification by faithe, than make anye thing against it. But of this matter in another place.

The third Commandemente.

Thou shalte not take the name of the Lorde thy God in vayne, for the Lorde will not hold him giltlesse, that taketh his name in vayne.

After that which he sayde first, euen in the beginning, I am the Lord thy God, whiche brought thee out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, he did next giue them warning to eschewe both the multitude of gods of the Gentiles, and their Idolatrie also, to giue them to vnderstand, that it is principally required at their hãds, that they cast aside all Ethnike impietie, and sticke sincerely, and clerely to hym alone, their onely Lorde God. Now in this third Commaundemente he requireth the due reuerence, estimation, sanctifying & worshipping of his name, saying, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lorde thy God in vayne. For it standeth with good reason, that he whiche is the Lord, should be esteemed and honored of them, whose Lord he is. So he saith in the Prophete Malachie: The sonne honoreth his father, and the seruant his Lord. And therefore, if I be the father, where is mine honour: and if I be ỹ Lord, where is ỹ feare you beare to me? sayth the lord of hoastes. So that this thirde precept is by right consequence and order sette nexte vnto the other two before.

Malach.

And there be two partes thereof. The one contayneth a prohibition, the other a threatning ioyned withall. The former forbiddeth vs to cõtemne the name of God, whiche is done by the abuse of it. The abuse of it is, when it is vsed to no purpose, and in vaine, and as he declareth a reuerent minde of God which vseth it holyly, with honor and deuotion: so he bewrayeth his owne contempt of it, that vseth it irreligiously, rashly, and vainely. The latter part doth threaten Gods reuenge vpon them, whiche take the name of the Lorde their God in vaine.

Two partes in this precept.

And it is all one, to take ỹ name of God in vaine, and to take it without cause, without honor, out of a true matter, or readily and rashly, or prophanely, or to maintayne a lye.

For he sayth, The Lorde will not leaue him vnpunished, which taketh his name in vayne. It is in the Hebrewe, He will not iudge him innocente, he will not take him to be giltlesse, which is nothing else, but that he will assuredly punish him as giltye. This is by the way for the exposition

VVhat is required by thys third precept.

sition of this precept, which hathe no point of darkenesse at all, neyther in the letter, neither in the sense. Nowe let vs se what things are to be considered in it.

The Obseruation.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vayne. Firste we must obserue, that in his commaundinge he sayth not simplye, Sanctifye the name of the Lord thy God: whereas this is in dede required in thys precepte, but after a manner of forbidding, Thou shalte not take, or Take not the name of the Lorde thy God in vayne. And thys was not done without cause. All nations generally are accustomed to sweare by the names of their Gods. The Israelits also would sweare by the name of their Lord God. And the Lawgyuer knew the corruption and vanitie of mans hart, that as the Gentiles did vainely, madnisedly, and falsely sweare by the names of their Gods, so euen the Israelites would also vainely vse the name of the Lorde their God. Therefore of grace, wisedome, and good purpose, he dyd not say, Sanctifye my name: but especially and expressly he did forbid the abuse of his name, saying: Take not the name of the Lorde thy God in vayne, as though he had said: as the Ethnykes do, which sweare vaynely and falsely by the names of false Gods. Upon like cause also before in the first precept he said not, I am the Lord thy God. &c. Thou shalte serue and worship me aboue. &c. but, Thou shalte haue no other Goddes before me. Whereas for all that he required euen this same, that he would be alone, and only serued of his people. And after in the second precepte hee doth most diligently in specialtyes, forbidde the making and worshipping of Images, euen the very same way, that he vsed both in the firste, and also in this third precept. All the Gentiles hauyng peculiarly Gods of theyr owne, worshipped also other Gods: besides that, they did worship them in deasse, dumb, blind, and vnsensible Images. Thirdly, they dyd most vainly sweare by their names. These thræ thynges were generally most vsed of all the Gentiles: whervnto the Israelites were also many yeares accustomed, when they lyued in Egypte. Therefore God dyd of a speciall foresyghte and purpose, namely forbydde these thynges in these thræ precептes, and that with threatening, to the intente that they should know, that they shuld forsake the accustomed impietie of the Gẽtiles, and sticke faithfully, sincerely, and deuoutely vnto him the God alone, if they would be his people, and in all thinges enioy his godnesse and fauoure.

By this example all godly mẽ be admonished, that where soeuer they finde suche prohibitions of the lawe set forth, they must cõsider the cause of them, whych cõmeth eyther of the corruption of oure flesshe, enclined vnto the thynges forbydden, or else of some custome of the Gentyles, so strong, that it maye trouble the neyghbours that bée of theyr Religyon, as it were wyth the corrupte ayre béeyng at hande, vnlesse it bée wyth greate diligence foreséene, and kepte awaye.

The causes of the prohibitions of the lawe is to be cõsidered.

Therefore

Therefore Moyses said vnto the Israelites: See thou serch not the ceremonies of ye Gentiles that be thrust out, saying: As these people worshipped their Gods, so I will also worship. Thou shalt not do so to the lord thy God. For they did all manner of abhominations vnto their Goddes, offering their sones and daughters, which the Lord doth abhorre.

Deut.12.

Secondlye, we muste marke that also, that whereas he forbiddeth the contempte and vaine vsing of his name, he chargeth vs to declare such reuerence and deuoute feare as is due vnto the same. Here is no maintenance of their superstition, which haue, I wote not what names of God, at theyr fingers ends, which they dare not speake for superstitiō: such is the Foure lettered name, Iehouah, which they call Adonay, & when they must write it, they write it *Iehouad*: as for, *Elohym*, they write *Elodym*: as though it were a great offence, if the names of God were plainely read, written, and spoken, as their meaning is. There is no suche matter meante here. It skilleth not before GOD, with what words you remember him, so that they be not vnsiting and vngodly: but with what faith, what religion, what reuerence you do it withal. He that iudgeth holyly, deuoutely, and religiously of God, can not irreligiously and vainely vse his name. And alwayes it appeareth by our vsage of Gods name, howe holily and reuerently we iudge of him. Ye shall see many that wil put off their caps, and shew some other token of reuerence, when there is anye mention made of the King, or Queene to declare howe reuerently they do iudge of their rulers. And among Christiā men you shal see many make mention of God the father, of his sonne Christ Iesu our Lorde and sauiour, and of the holy spirite, and also heare it of others, withoute anye token of honour and reuerence. This blockishnesse doth veryly betoken a light opinion of God in hart, whatsoeuer they say in wordes.

Of the reuerence and deuout vsing of the name of God.

אדני

Nomi Tetragrammaton.

Thirdly, we muste consider that he saith not, Take not my name, but Take not the name of the Lord thy God in vaine: albeit God speaketh here of none other but of himselfe. And this was not done without speciall cause, for by this manner of speache he signifieth that he doth not so much seek his owne glorie, as the safetie of his people. He doth not only go about to be had himselfe in honour and reuerence, as the minde of Princes and potentates is, in thys world, but he woulde that the people should regarde and religiouslye and holily vse the blessed name of the Lorde their God, bycause he is their Lord and God.

So the Godly magistrate ought not to loke for this only in the subiectes, that he himselfe be feared and serued, but that the subiectes maye learne of their magistrate, as of the minister of God, to iudge as they ought, vprightly of thē, least if they contemne them they offende against the ordinaunce of God.

So let parentes also accustome their children to worship and serue, not so muche the persons of them in themselues, as the very order apointed by God, that they should be their parents. And let the husband require not

not this only of hys wife, that she be obedyente vnto hym, but that she be subiect vnto him with a certayne reuerence and knowledge of the duetie of wedlocke. For in suche obseruance and reuerence it appeareth that the mind doth orderly, that is to saye, not constreyned, but obeying willingly, regard not his owne commoditie, but the order appointed by God. He that worshippeth the name of God, bycause he is mightie, and bycause he is able to doe both good & harme, to saue and destroy, he seketh himselfe, and not the glory of God: and would do the like to other Gods, if hée beleeued that they were also such. But he dothe only rightly and orderly magnifie and reuerence the name of God, which regardeth thys onely, that he is his Lorde and God, and doth honor, loue, worshippe, and serue him for that cause. Therefore it was héere most aptly said of God: Take not the name of the Lord thy God in vaine, as though he had said, Thinke more religiously, more holily, more magnifically and nobly of the Lorde thy God, than that thou may abide vainely to vse his name.

Fourthly, it is also to be considered, that he saith not only, Take not the name of the Lorde thy God, but he addeth, Vaynely. So that he forbiddeth not the vse of hys name, whereby othes are confirmed, but he forbiddeth to doe it rashly & vainely.

Forasmuche as othes be made by the names of false Gods, he doth vtterly and simply detest that. And in Exodus, he doth not say, Thou shalt not sweare vainely by the names of strange Gods, but by the names of straunge Gods you shal not sweare: nor it shall not be hard out of thy mouth. And if he had euen so detested an othe made by his name, he would not haue sayde in thys *Decalogus*, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vayne, but simplye, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God. Yea he did command that we should sweare by his name, as we maye sée in Deuteronomy, where we reade: Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and serue him only. Whiche is redde also likewise in the.10. of Deuteronomy. Wherefore it is not to be borne, that the Anabaptists goe aboute to take away lawful othes. But of this matter sée in oure treatie of othes in the end of this booke.

Deut.6.

Fiftly, way this also, that he saith not: Take not the name of the Lord thy God maliciously or to blasphemy, but, Take not the name of the Lorde thy God in vayne. And yet it is much more detestable, if a man do vse the name of the Lorde eyther in doing maliciouslye, or in blaspheming: than if he vse it only in vaine, that is to say, vnprofitably, vnaduisedly, without truth. What is the matter then that he did rather forbidde that whiche is more gréeuous and more wicked, than that whyche is lighter and may more easily bée borne withall?

He sayth not Take not the name of the Lorde thy God maliciously

Thys also is not done withoute reasō. The most holy name of Gods maiestie is diuers and sundry ways defiled and dishonored, by the vnaduisednesse of man: all which wayes it had not bin méete in specialties to oppresse, least he should haue passed ẏ meane of his *Decalogus*, which was tempered vnto the capacitie of the

common sorte of the people. Therefore he did expresse ỳ way, of whiche the sinne is lighter to giue vs to vnderstand, that all those abuses of the name of God, whiche in their grieuousnesse and wickednesse do namely exceede this, and be more contumelious to ỳ name of God, are more forbidden and condemned, and so deserueth also greuouser punishmēts.

A similitude.

Matth.12. The lesse sinnes bee forbidden to the intent we should absteyn from the greater.

If the father say vnto his sonne: Looke thou ray not thys coate with anye spotte, though it be neuer so small: it may easily be vnderstanded, that it may be worse taken, if it bee cast into the durt and myre of the streates: but it may yet worst of all be borne, if he tumble himselfe into a most filthy sinke with ỳ coate whiche hys father can not abyde to bee spotted with neuer so little a wemb.

If we shall make an accompte for euery ydle word, how much more of euery malicious and blasphemous worde? So we must thinke also in this place, If we be forbidden ỳ we shall not take the name of God in vaine, how muche more must we beleeue, that we be forbidden to vse it maliciously and blasphemously. The holy Ghost vseth in this sorte to forbidde the lesser sinnes, that we may vnderstād that the greater be muche the more forbidden, and on the other side to commend those things which seemeth to be of small momente, to declare that the better be much commendable before God. So Christ sayeth. Who soeuer giueth drinke a cuppe of cold water to one of these little ones, onely in the name of a Disciple, yea I say vnto you, he shall not lose his reward. What can bee more easie, lesse trouble and cost, thā to giue a cuppe of colde water vnto him, ỳ is a thirst? If he shal receiue reward of God that doth this, howe much rather shall he receyue whych both fedeth and clotheth, and giueth all other necessaries whiche bee of more weight? Like is also that place of Mathew: Verely I say vnto you, what soeuer you haue done to one of these little ones, you haue done it to me. In saying Little ones, he excludeth not the greater, but so includeth them, that we may vnderstande, that we doe seruice vnto Christ, if we doe any good to the Apostles themselues, and to other like them, as Prophets, Doctors and Euangelistes.

Matth.10. Of the cup of colde water.

Mat.

Of the

Thirdly, we must see how the name of God is contemned.

1 Firste, it is contemned when it is vsed rashly, vpon light causes, and in lyes, but they also whiche doe vnaduisedly minister othes in ỳ name of God vnto such mē, of whom they can conceiue no other hope, but that they will sweare vaynely and falsely. But of all this abuse of the name of God, which is cōmitted by swearing, false swearing, forswearing, cursing, and banning. See the place of othes in the ende of this Booke.

bolis oaths.

ng

gels.

2 Secondly, they do so which doe set the holy sacred name of God before Bulles, as they call them, as though they did that which they doe in the name of God, and did not rather for gaine make merchaundise (as Peter sayth) of the Churche of God. Such be the Bulles of the Bishoppe of Rome, whiche who soeuer first began this name, did most aptly so tearme the word *Bulla*, whiche is as much to say, as a bubble.

The of G before Popes les.

Thirdly, they doe also abuse the name

name of God, who whereas they be the verye slaues of the bellie, vayne glory, the pleasures of the flesh, and of Antichrist himselfe, yet they doe faine themselues to be the seruaunts and ministers of God, and doe colloure their doctrine with the authoritie of Gods name, as though they did not sette forthe the dreames & imaginations of mens rash heads, to the faithfull, hauing altogither the same spirit which the false prophets amōg the Iewes in times past were inspired withal, who had oftentimes in their mouth, This saith the Lord. Of whome see in Jeremy. We are compelled nowe adayes to our great griefe, to see and feare this most noysome abuse of gods name, now waxing greate agayne in the Churche. They call togither councels, and for authorities sake pretende the name of God, as though the Bishoppe of Rome in calling ỳ Coūcell, wrought not his owne affayres: and they that be called, wedded partlye vnto their owne affections, partly vnto the disposition of their superiours, but that both he and they did meane the glory of the name of God. This wayes they make al Christendome pēuish, affirming that they be gathered togither by the instinct of the holy spirit, and in all things directed by him, so that who soeuer doubteth neuer so little of their orders and determinations, and doe not simply without all ignorance subscribe in all things, they crie out he is an heretike, and to be adiudged to the fyre. This kynde of men doe not only vnaduisedly and vaynely take the name of God, but maliciously also, when they vse that for a couer vnto all their counsels, actes, commaundements, and determinations. But I lye when I saye thus, if the Bishop of Rome be the true minister of our Lorde and Sauiour Christe Iesu, if he be a true successor & folower of his Apostles, if he climbe to the heigth of this Bishoprike, lawfully and according to the order of the Church, without the fauour of men, if he do only desire to set forthe the Kingdome of Christe, which is not of this world, if he doe not offende againste that saying of Christ: The Kings of the Gentiles beareth rule ouer thē, but you may not do so: if they despise all the glory, pomp, pryde, ambition, boasting, lordlinesse and glory of the worlde, and can say truely with the Apostle Peter: Golde & siluer I haue not, but ỳ which I haue, that I giue thē, to fulfill that saying of Christe to the Apostles: Freely you haue receyued, Freely giue: if hee loue Christes Shēpe, and fede them wyth the word of Doctrine and Preaching of the Gospell of God, according vnto that saying of Christ: Peter louest thou me? fede my Shēpe: if hys seate be cleare from all symonye, the fyrste poyson of the Churches, whiche the auntient fathers called, The fyrste heresie subiect vnto curse: if it bee cleare from the bloud of innocentes, from pilling and killing the Shēpe of Christe, from surfet, ydlenesse, wantonnesse, whoredome, and aduoutrie: I lye if they whiche be called by hym to the councels, bee not bounde vnto hym, but men free of spirite and estate, if they seeke not the peace of this worlde, but the peace of Chryste, if they did not climbe to the degrees of the

The faults of the Popes and the Bishops.

Acts. 3.

Matth.10.

Iohn.21.

dignities in the Churche for temporall and carnall commodities, if they ordered not their life according vnto the fashiō of the world more carnall than spirituall, if they be not ambitious, couetous, delightyng more in the preferments than in the trauayles of the Church, if they doe not catche, and spoyle and oppresse them whome they ought to feede, if they delighte not in pride, Idlenesse, and wastfulnesse, if they set not by worldly wisedom, and if they sauour not more of Aristotle thā of Christ, and if they vse not in their councels the professors of Aristotles doctrine, Thomas, Scotus, and Bonauēture, rather than the Apostles and the Euangelistes, if they doe not esteeme gaine more than godlinesse, and thē whyche can serue their turne for worldly gayne, rather than suche as be studious of true godlinesse, if they be cleare from all auarice, from surfeting, belycare, symony, whordome and adultery, from the bloud of the poore & innocents: if they do not wickedly cōsume the goodes of the poore, and the patrimonie as they call it, of the Crucified, and turne them vnto their owne wanton wast, if they bee not combered with these mischeuous faultes, which do declare them to bee quite out from ỹ Kingdome of God. I say, I lye, if they be not suche that do now adayes pretend ỹ holy name of God to their conuenticles and determinations, so that they cannot frō their hearte, nor will not, seeke the glory of Gods name, nor truely and holsomly prouide for the Church of God, being in pitifull case and daunger. But who can sufficiently examine, howe perniciously they doe vse the name of Gods maiestie to thys purpose, that they may by coloure thereof, obteyne authoritie in the Church, to decree and establishe such things as may be commodious to their Kingdome, and to the decaye both of the glory of God, and of the saluation of man.

4 Fourthly, neither they be cleare frō the transgressiō of this commandemēt, which do graue the name and Image of God in monies, badges, and rings, whiche thing they woulde neuer do, if eyther they iudged reuerently inough, or not superstitiously of the name of God. The wise men also of the Gentils did acknowledge, that men ought to iudge more highly of God, thā to vse his name and image in euery thing, and vnaduisedly. Therof cōmeth that saying of Pythagoras, No man ought to cary about the Image of God in a ring.

5 Fiftely, that Diuelish abuse also of the name of God, is cōdemned, when it is vsed to magicall inchantments, and casting of lottes by wicked persons, men in no wise to bee suffered, as though we had suche a God, which did allow suche impietie against his owne worde.

6 Sixtly, they be also culpable in this point, whiche are wonte in all things, which they wil do or sufreine, though it be neuer so trifling and vayne, yea though it be sometymes damnable and hurtfull, without any discretion or religion, vse this worde to common: In the name of ỹ Lord, which thei haue euer in their mouth, and vse it sometymes in anger, sometymes in sporte. Thys lyghtenesse and vanitie hath taken suche place euerye where among vs Chriſtians, to vse the name of God contemptuously vnto all things, that you shall find very few that be cleere from this fault.

7 Seuenthly, they be also touched in this part, which neuer open their mouthes to pray or to sing, but for their belly and for gaines sake, and say, Lord, Lord, when in hearte they be farthest off from the Lorde. Of whome the Lord himselfe complayneth, saying: This people honoreth me with lippes, but their hearte is farre from me. Hitherto I haue briefly rehearsed as well as I could, for this presente, howe the name of God is contemned in talking of it vaynely and sinfully. Now nexte let vs see, howe it may be contemned of vs, in not vsing of it.

1 Firste, for asmuche as we be all counted the people of oure God, as many as do professe Christes Religion, and therefore his name is called vppon vs, euen as it was in the old time vppon the Iewes: it commeth to passe, that this vniuersall corruption of our life in the sight of the Gentiles, whiche be not of oure faith, bringeth muche shame to the name of oure God: so that euen as God dyd in tymes past blame the Iewes which liued wickedly amōg ỹ Gētiles, bycause his name had euil report amōg the Gentiles. Ezech. 36. So he may nowe also to truely and worthily complaine, that hys name is defiled in the sight of the Turkes and Iewes, by the malice of our deuices and purposes. So that our lyfe being so many wayes corrupt, dothe it selfe defile the name of the Lorde our God, although it be neuer vsed with our mouth. Therefore the Apostle doth warne seruāts to esteeme their maisters worthy of all honor, least the name and doctrine of God should be blaspheмed: which should be indede, if a Christian man should wickedly behaue himselfe, eyther towardes, eyther amongst the infidels.

The name of God is contemned when his worde, which is set forth in his name, is not hard deuoutely, reuerently and obediently.

2 Secondly, the name of God is contemned when his worde, which is set forth in his name, is not hard deuoutely, reuerently and obediently. For who can thinke hym to be desirous of Gods glorie, whiche sleepingly heareth, or sometimes also disdaineth to heare, and maketh reckning neuer to perform those things, which be truely, and according to the rule of Gods worde, sette forthe vnto the Church of God vnder his name, but accompteth all Religion to bee eyther in hearing or vnderstandyng of the worde? You may finde manye now adayes, which albeit they cannot denay, but that those thyngs which be preached in the Church of God, be true, and taken out of hys worde, yet they disdeyne to heare it. And on the other side, there be that doe heare but they neuer meane to follow it. Both these sorts of men be subiect vnto sorer iudgemente than they be, whiche doe receyue and studye to fulfill the doctrines of men with a religious affection. For that they suppose that they be set forthe, not by men, but by God.

The counterfeit Gospellers.

And to tell you the verye truth, I am very much afrayd of those me of our time, which knowing and confessing the trueth of the Gospell of Christ, behaue themselues more villanously and spitefully towards the power and strength thereof, thā they

doe towards the fansies of Monkes and the decrées of busserdly Byshops, whiche are still trayned in the errours of the Papistes: yea they are become so farre vnlike themselues, that whereas in Popery they were deuoute in errours and superstition, after they are come to knowe the truth, they are more profane than the verye children of this worlde, more light, more rash, and more vayne.

The suffering of the blaspheming of Gods name is helping to the contempt of Gods name

3 Thirdly, they can not be excused neither, which do patiently heare, and do not abhorre & speake againste the vayne, yea and sometymes the blasphemous abuse of Gods name. Herein the magistrates do exceedingly amisse, for that they doe not to the vttermost of their power méete with this Diuelish custome of cursing and blaspheming, waxing in euery place greater and greater: but do sharply punishe, if anye man doe abuse theyr owne maiestie neuer so lightly. And they doe also offende in this pointe, whiche holde their peace, when they heare blasphemies powred out againste the holy worde of God, and doe not defende the glorye of Gods truth

The name of God is contemned vvhen vnvvorthy men be appoynted to holy ministeries.

4 Fourthly, what shall I saye of them, whiche doe eyther themselues vnworthily come vnto the blessed ministerie of Gods word, or that doe appointe others vnworthy to come vnto the same? Do not these men also contemptuously take the name of Gods maiestie? Such a matter it is, whiche we reade is obiected to the Priests of the Iewes, in the Prophet Malachie, in this sort: To you priests which do despise my name, and said: Wherin haue we despised thy name? You offer vpon mine Aulter defyled bread, and you do say: wherein haue we defyled thée? In that that you say, the table of the Lord is despised. If you offer a blind thing vnto sacrifice, is it not euil? and yf you offer a lame and weake thing, is it not euil? Offer it vnto thy guyde, if it please hym, or if he like thy countenaunce, sayth the Lord God of hoastes. And againe. Which is he amōg you, that will shutte the dores, and make fyre vpon my Aulter for nothing? I haue no will in you, sayeth the Lorde of hoastes, and I will not receyue a reward at your hands. I beséeche you, is not the name of God euen in these dayes contemned in like sorte, when the vilest sorte of men are made ministers of the Church vnder the name of him? The roufes of the Churches (saith Ierome) glistereth with golde, the Temple shyneth with marble, but there is no choyce taken of the ministers of Christ.

Malac. 1.

And of these things we reade in this sorte. The Priestes despise the name of the Lorde, and concernyng themselues, offered defiled bread, and that they come vnworthily vnto the Aulter, and presume vnto Priesthood with giuing of giftes, and he doth also defyle the bread whiche doth euill bestowe the word of God among the people, and he that honoreth ẏ mightie, and despiseth the poore. Also hée offereth a blinde beast, that setteth an vnlearned man in the place of the learned, and maketh a Maister whiche is scarsely able to be a Scholler. And he offereth the lame and halting, whiche placeth hym that séeketh the riches of the Earth, as treadyng hys féete two contrary wayes: one in Godly matters, the other in carnall

carnal causes. He offereth the weake and faynte, whyche in stéede of the deuoute man taketh the vicious. &c. For it is not méete to giue God, that which man disdayneth of. This is in that place.

But a man may take mée to bée almost peeuishe, that I woulde attempte to rehearse the wayes by whyche Gods name is vaynely vsed and contemned: when as if euer, surely the contempte of it is in oure time growen in euery place almost to the highest that it can, and that all the doings of oure life be full of it, whereas all our sayings and déedes ought to tende to the glory of hym, as Paule doth admonish vs when he saith: Whatsoeuer you do in worde or in déede, do all in the name of oure Lorde Iesu Christ. And, Whether you eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer other thing you do, do all vnto the glory of God.

The Obseruation.

For the Lorde will not let hym go vnpunished, that taketh hys name in vayne.

Fyrste lette vs obserue, howe well and handsomly the commaundemente and the threatening of the payne are ioyned togyther. The precepte teacheth what is to bée done, and what is not to be done. The threatenyng feareth, and maketh vs ware that we be not ouermuche carelesse to offende against the precept of God, wherein we must fyrste consider how faithfull the Lorde is, not only in that, that he teacheth and instructeth vs by his preceptes of the kéeping of hys wyll, of true righteousnesse and godlynesse, but also in that, that he ioyneth to his preceptes thretning of paine, declaring that he delighteth not in the losse of the Sonnes of men, but that he hadde rather that he woulde in obeying his lawe, lyue quietly, abyde in hys fauoure, and gyue no manner occasion to anger and punishmente. For what other matter is soughte by the threatnings, but that we should, béeing warned and putte in feare by words, eschewe the paynes appoynted to the transgressors, and that we myght rather happyly finde him a gentle and fauourable God, than angrie and punishyng to oure vndoyng?

The corruption of our nature.

Nexte wée must also weye, howe greate the corruption of oure nature is, whyche gaue occasion as well to thys precepte, as also to the threatnyng ioyned vnto it. If oure nature were whole and incorrupte, we coulde not abyde by any meanes to prophane and vse vaynely the blessed name of oure Lorde GOD. Thys familiaritie, whereby we are annexed vnto the true GOD in league of couenaunte most vnworthy and wretched, withoute all oure deserte, shoulde not bréede in oure hearte anye contempte towardes thys goodnesse of God, but shoulde rather fasten in vs a pure loue, true and godlye obedience and seruice, a perpetuall gratefulnesse of mynde, acknowledgyng and setting foorthe the benefytes of God, and to be briefe, iudging holyly, deuoutelye, and magnifically of God, and generally of al his purposes, sayings and doings. But nowe for asmuche as we be of a corrupte and peruerse

Familiaritie breedeth contempte.

nature, so it is, that this fauor of familiaritie and coniunction, brédeth in vs a mind, iudging lightly and cõtemptuously of our Lord God, and of his name, and of his word, misteries, and doings: and therefore rashly and vaynely vsing all matters touching him, so that that common and ouertrue saying is also fulfilled in thys: Ouer muche familiaritie, brédeth contempt.

Hereof we haue séene of late most manifest examples in them whyche without any token of honor and reuerence, iette and walke vp & downe proudely and disdaynefully alone, or chatting, trifling, and laughyng with others, yea and casting wanton eyes vpon women (if any be present) or if the tyme will serue, alluring them with countenaunces and beckes, euen in the Churches, before the aulters, at the celebrating of the holye misterie of Christe, as they be commonly perswaded, when their Masses be song, euen before their holye Pixe, where they are wonte, according vnto their manner, to reserue the scrappes of the Sacramente of the Lords body. And ẏ Sexton himselfe, whiles he ministreth at the seruice, and lighteth or putteth out the Candels standing vpon the Aulter, or hanging before the Pixe, and is busie in his Churche worke, he putteth not off his Cap for any deuotion. And from whence commeth this contempt, but of the dayly familiaritie, and common vse of that holye matter.

But would to God, they alone had offended this wise, what other finde we now adayes in them, whiche bée most familiarly acquainted with the hearing and reading of Gods worde and holy Scriptures? do not they also negligentlye heare the worde of God, contemptuously and negligently reade the Canonical Scriptures, if they reade it at all, negligentlye speake of God and of his worde, or rather disorder the oracles of God with their friuolous arguing and reasoning. This is (as we may sée) the peruersitie of mans hart.

If we be shut frõ the knowledge of truth, and from the coniunction of God, and partaking of his misteries, we be not only lost, but we bée made also open enimies and the backfriends of God, of his word and misteries: and we raile at ẏ whiche we know not, and from which we be farre wide both in vnderstanding and in affection, and after the fashiõ of Caim, we doe persecute and slay the Abels our bréethren, which God loueth. Againe, if we be by that infinite goodnesse of God to our saluation receyued into the societie and cõmunion of true good things, by and by we doe degenerate to the lightenesse of an vngrate and vaine mind, that the more grace and benefites that we haue receyued of God, so much lesse deuoutely, holily, and reuerently we do iudge of him. Wherof it happeneth also consequentlye, that we vse all his benefites in most lightest sort and vainely. Therefore it is not without purpose, that God doth thus charge his people, whyche he had takẽ to be his peculiar flocke, and with whome he had also made a couenaunte, saying: Take not the name of the Lorde thy GOD in vayne. And the Apostle dothe admonishe vs, that wée take not the

grace of God in vayne: and that we eate not of the Lords bread vnworthylye: which maner of commandementes had bin in déede set forthe to no purpose, if we were not such, in whom the familiaritie both of God and of holy things, doth bréed a vaine and contemptuous minde. Besides, that we doe also, according vnto the lightnesse of our harte, little regarde our vayne and contemptuous vsing of Gods name, his worde, his misteries and benefites: not thinking that it wyl come to passe, that euer we shal be punished for the offending of his patience by this maner of contempt. For if we were not so minded, what néede had bene for him (I pray you) to haue ioyned a threatening of payne vnto this precept?

But of this that we being so excedingly light and vaine, do beare our self in hande that we shall go frée for the vayne vsing the name of God, & setting at naught God and all his sayings and doyngs, what can come els but this vniuersall contempt and abuse of Gods name, which hath gotten the vpper hand now euery wher thorowout Christendome, and raygneth without blame? For as the feare of the displeasure of God, and of deserued punishment, doeth restrayne vs from euil, so this lightenesse bréedeth the rashnesse & vniuersall custome of sinne.

So that agaynst this lightenesse & securitie of sin, there is set the threatening of the payne, where GOD sayth, that the Lord will not let him go giltlesse, that taketh his name in vayne. Likewise the Apostle, wheras he doeth aduise vs, that we eate not the bread of the Lord vnworthyly, to knock downe this lightenesse and carelesnesse of our moste vayne hart, he addeth also a threatening of Gods iudgement, saying: Who so euer eateth vnworthyly, eateth his own iudgement. Item, He shalbe giltye of the body & blood of the Lord.

The difference of threatenings.

Secondly, we must consider how much difference there is betwixt the threatening, which was added vnto the precept goyng before, and the threatening of this thirde precept. There he sayth very sharply: The Lorde thy God is ielous, visiting the wickednesse of the fathers in ẏ children, into the thirde and fourthe generatiõ of them which hate me. But here he saith simply, that God will not holde him gitlesse, which taketh his name in vaine. Of this difference of the threatening we may sée, how that sinne of idolatrie, whereby our counterfayte Christians now a days thinke that they serue God maruellouslye, passeth the contempt of the name of God, which is forbidden in this third precept. In déede the wife doeth amisse, if she esteme hir husbande lighter than she ought to doe, and vse not his name reuerentlye ynough: and she is worthy to be corrected for that lightnesse, yet she doth not with this kinde of offence so outragiously kindle the wrathe of hir husband towardes hir, as she should doe, if she bestowed hir bodye with others also in adulterye, besides hir husband. In lyke maner he may not be iudged giltlesse nor shal not scape frée, who so euer vseth the name of the Lord God in vayne: But he doth most greuouslye of all prouoke the zeale of God against him, which in knéeling vnto images, maketh him-

That it determineth no certain payne.

selfe the hater of God.

Whirdin, let vs way also the qualitie of this threatening. He determineth no certayne payn, but onlye he sayth, The Lorde will not holde him giltlesse, which taketh his name in vayne. By this kinde of thretning they only be put in feare which haue fayth and feare of God, and be so affected, that they hadde rather suffer any thing, than feele the displeasure of God: wishing nothyng more, than to keepe the fauour of Goddes good wil. Therefore these threateninges be in vayne set vnto wicked menne, which be destitute of all fayethe and fauour of God, which hadde rather haue God displeased, than forsake their carnall affections, & abstayne from the contempt and abuse of the name of God. Set me this threatening before them which vse the colour of godlinesse, & cloke of the name of God to their owne gaine and cõmoditie, to fil their bellies, & proue it a thousand times what such threateninges can do with them, and you shall trye in effecte, that you doe nothing else but lose your labour. But let vs (if there be any fayth in our hartes) marke diligently, in what earnest this threatening is set forth. He sayth not simply, For God will punithe him: but to speake with a more assurednesse he sayth, For the Lord wil not holde him giltlesse, that taketh his name in vayne. What is else meant here, but to persuade vs moste certainly, that all they shal be subiecte vnto the iudgement of God, and punished, whiche take his name in vayne? And it is not conuenient that we should thinke that God wold with pithlesse wordes (as some cockering fathers doe) sleightly and for a countenaunce only feare his people, as we se the matter vsed of some Magistrats of our time, which think that their subiectes can be feared only with wordes. Farre from the terrible maiestie of God be suche lightnesse: ye farre also be it from godly mindes so to thinke of the Lorde our God. For nothyng can be deuised more ready for all kinde of mischief, than to thinke in our heartes, God wil not punish, but threatenech only in wordes, to stay them that be ouer fearefull in the keping of his cõmandements. Wherefore no man muste thinke, but that the threatnings of Gods wrath be no lesse certayne at all, than his promises of grace.

In howe great earnest this precept is set forth.

Let vs imagine heere what maye be loked for in this our age, in which the holy name of God is diuers and sundry wayes, not by some fewe, but euery where and vniuersally of the chief, of olde and young, of man and woman, vsed not only vainly & lightly, but also falsly and deceitefully, to deceyue the vnwarye, to the greadinesse of the belly, to idlenesse and wantonnesse, to the oppression of the truth and of innocentes, and also to cursing, &c. It can not be, but that some horrible punishment is at hand, which shal then fall vpon vs, when we haue accomplished vp the iuste measure, which is impietie & others like. And as he sayd: Whatsoeuer is delayed, it is not taken away: but this slacknesse of Gods patience wilbe quailed with the greuousnesse of the payne.

Nowe if they demaunde, whether this certentie of the threatninges of God be so irremouable, that there is no

is no waye for them which at any time haue irreuerentlye vsed the name of God, to escape it: I answere with the Apostle. If we doe iudge our selues, we shal not be iudged of the Lord. The grace of forgiuenesse is ready for them that will acknowledge, detestle, and condemne their sin, if they be touched in hart with perfect purpose of amendement & hope, and so flee to the fauor of the mercye of God. And all these penalties set forth in holy Scriptures for the trãsgressors of Gods will, whether they be for a time, or for euer, be no otherwise to be vnderstanded, but that they haue respecte vnto the impenitent, which be vtterly voyde of faith, and without any amendement continue in sinne, without all recouery. For so we reade in Ezechiel: If the wicked repente for all his sinnes which he hath done, and doth kepe my preceptes, and doth iudgement and iustice, he shall liue the life and not dye. I wil not call to remembrance all the wickednesse which he hath done, he shall liue in the righteousnesse which he worketh. Is the death of the wicked, of my wil (saith the Lord God) and not that he shuld turne from his wayes and lyue?

The Fourth Precept.

Remember that thou kepe holy the sabboth day. Six dayes shalt thou labor, and doe all that thou hast to doe. But the seuẽth day is the Sabboth of the Lord, in it thou shalt doe no manner of worke, thou and thy sonne and thy daughter, thy man seruant and thy maide seruant, thy cattel and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in sixe daies the Lord made heauen and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, & rested the seuenth daye: Wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabboth daie and halowed it.

Howe this precept is set after the three which ara before.

This fourthe and last precept of the first table, is vpon very good reason set after the other three goyng before. This is the summe of al true godlinesse and religion, that we doe worship rightly & sincerely our Lord God, refusing all false Gods, with most deuout affection of fayth, feare & dutie, without any superstition of images or portraiture. And for this purpose the three precepts goyng before, are set forthe by way of forbidding: as wher he sayth, I am ỳ lord thy God: Thou shalt haue no other Gods in my sight: Thou shalt make thee no graue image, nor no likenesse, &c. Thou shalt not worship, nor serue them: And, thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine. He commãdeth nothing els, but that we serue our lord God only, without any superstition of the Gentils, and with all due estimation & halowing of his name. Now for asmuche as this true and inwarde loue, fayth, deuotion, dutie, and seruice of God, most spirituall, whereby God beyng also a spirit, is serued and worshipped in spirite and truth, hath nede of some externe (I say not) worship, but of some exercise, whereby our mindes maye with the fauourable grace and working of the holye spirite, be instructed and filled, to the vnderstanding & desire of him, setting aparte al vse of images wherwith ỳ Gentils doe enforce the religion and seruice of their Gods: he did appoint & prescribe vnto his people, a certain

VVhy this precept vvas giuen.

time

time méete to frame & encrease men in godlinesse, which is the seuenth daye: and halowed him for that purpose, that they might learne and encrease wékelye theyr faith and true loue of harte towardes him, by such lawfull ceremonies as he would appointe.

The disposition of this precept. The proposition.

And this precept hath also a conuenient order. For firste he doeth set forth generally what he commaundeth: Remember(he sayth)that thou halowe the Sabboth daye. Sabboth is an Ebrewe worde, and signifieth quiet and rest. And therfore he biddeth them, to be at quiet. And lest he should seeme to speak of some prophane idlenesse, he sayth not, Remember that thou kéepe the Sabboth, but That thou halow the Sabboth day. To halow the Sabboth daye, is to make the rest of it deuoute, holy, and employed vnto Godly exercises.

The specification.

2 Secondly, he appointeth the day, so that it should not be at the peoples libertie to appoint any daye for this rest at their own arbitrement. Sixe dayes (he sayth) thou shalt worke, & do all thy workes, but the seuenth day is the Sabboth of the Lord thy God. So he doth specially note the dayes of worke, and he doth expresse that day in which the Sabboth shuld be halowed. That is one of the seuen dayes, which turning rounde in their reuersion, maketh vp bothe the monethes and the yeare. And the day which he appointeth is, not the firste nor second, &c. but the laste, that is the seuenth: which was not done without a mistérie.

The explication.

3 Thirdly, he doeth not expounde the fulnesse of the sanctifying, but yet he doth open the firste & grosser parte thereof, when he sayth: Thou shalt not do any worke therein, thou and thy sonne, &c. For the holy halowing of the Sabboth, cõsisteth not in this, if we abstayn from working, and vse a bodyly rest, but the firste parte of this halowing consisteth in this rest, that there may be place had for the other, which is the exercise of religion. Now he requireth the rest of the bodye and ceasing from worke, not as euery mã liste and to halues, but a perfect, full, and entire rest: That is to say, suche as is méete for the purpose, that when the whole house is at rest, and all the abiders, as wel straunger as others, with the cattel also, do cease from work, they may with frée and quiet mindes practise things touching religion. So he sayth not simply, Thou shalt not doe no worke therein, but he addeth, Thou and thy sonne, and thy daughter, thy seruant and thy handmayde, thy cattel, and the straunger that is within thy gates.

4 Fourthlye, he giueth a cause of this precept. For sixe dayes, he sayth, God made heauen and earth, the sea and all thinges that be therein: therfore God blessed the Sabboth day, & halowed it. This reason is grounded vpon the authoritie and conformitie of the example, not of euerye man, but of God himselfe: and of no newe example of him, but on moste auncient, of which we reade Genes. 2. in this sorte: Therefore when the heauen and the earth were perfect, and all the beauty of them, and God accomplished the seuenth daye the worke that he had done, and rested the seuenth day from all the worke which he had done, and he blessed the seuenth

seuenth daye and sanctified it. This example of the resting of God, halowing the seuenth daye to reste, is brought for a reason to moue the people to obey it, & to iudge the more religiouslye of the halowinge of the Sabboth, as though he sayd, The Lord thy God also him self wrought sixe dayes, and did his workes, when he made heauen and earth in the beginning: after that, he rested the seuenth daye, from the workes that he had done, and halowed that daye to rest. Wherfore thou art also commanded, not to be alwayes idle, nor to worke continually, but to do thy workes sixe dayes, according vnto the example of thy Lord God, and to rest the seuenth, and to halowe that day not vnto thy self, but vnto the Lord. Sixe dayes are appointed thée, in which thou mayst worke al things, touching thy selfe and thy owne affayres, but the seuenth day is not so, for that day is a great while a gone determined and halowed by God him self vnto rest: and therfore that day shall not serue for thy workes, but thou shalt halowe him to the Lord thy God.

The Lawyshe Sabboth.

Our faith is to be exercised in the Sabboth day.

The consideration of this precept of the Sabboth.

Hitherto we haue briefly declared the order, howe this precept is ioyned to them which goeth before, the disposition of it & the sense. Now nert let vs sée what thinges be to be considered in this matter of the Sabboth. The Sabboth is thrée wayes to be considered: the one is as it is grounded vpon law, the other is spiritual, the thirde heauenly. The legall Sabboth is that which is prescribed in this fourth precept of the *Decalogus*, of which we may reade in Exodus. 16. Leuit. 19. & 26. Deuteronomie. 5. Hieremye. 17. Ezechiel. 20. And of that be two vses: The one in serning fayth, the other charitie. To the vse of faith it belongeth that the halowing of the Sabboth was commaunded, not all an vngodlye, but a religious rest, whereby the minde may be instructed, exercised & grounded in thinges concerning the fayth and knowledge of God, and the séeking of true godlinesse. Whervnto is also ioyned an other matter of the workes of God, perfected in sixe dayes, and of the rest, and blessing, & halowing of the seuenth day.

Hebr. 11.

For firste they were admonished by euery Sabboth day, of the works of God, that he made Heauen and Earth, and al thinges therein he perfected in sixe dayes: & after that was done, he rested the seuenth day. This knowledge commeth not of reason, but of faith, as ỹ Apostle witnesseth.

Secondly, by the halowing of this day they were ledde to this, that they did attribute and name all their workes done in the sixe dayes before, not to their own industrye & power, but vnto the will, power, and glorie of God, séeking and loking for the fruyte therof from the goodnesse and glorye of God.

Act. 15.

Thirdly, they were exercised in the ceremonies of the lawe, in prayers, sacrifices, and reading of the law and the Prophetes, whose writings were read in euery Sabboth. And the minde drawen by such exercises from the care of worldly matters, auaunced in spiritual profite, and was

nourished

norished in fayth, hope, loue, and affection of gratefulnesse. This was the ordinance of the Sabboth, although the effect thereof falleth not out so with all men. Therfore they which doe in the holy dayes rest only from the workes of the body, they doe take like rest as the beastes do, and not as the faythfull. It had some vse of charitie, in that that the trouble of working continued out sixe dayes, was slaked by the rest of the seuenth daye, & the strength of ẏ bodye refreshed. And therefore it is, that the rest frō workes in the Sabboth daye, is not only commaunded to the Master of the familye, but also to the Sonnes, daughters, seruants, handmaydes, strangers, and the beastes, as clearer appeareth in Deuteronomie, That thy seruant (sayth he) and thy handmayd maye rest euen as thou thy self. Remember that thou also diddest serue in Egypt, and that the Lorde thy God brought thee out by strong hand and extended arme. Therefore he commaunded thée to keepe the daye of the Sabboth. It is manifestly commaunded by these wordes, that in the rest of the Sabboth, there is a cōsideration to be had of the seruantes and handmaydes, whereby euery manne might be admonished to embrace the affection of charitie towardes them of his householde, and breake that insatiable way of auarice, in sparing neither children, nor seruants, nor cattel. This is ynough that I haue brieflye touched of the meaning of the Legal Sabboth: next let vs sée what matters are to be cōsidered in the letter.

Charitie exercised in the Sabboth.

Deut. 5.

Things to be obserued in the Letter of this precept.

First it is to be wayed, that God did not onlye prescribe vnto his people, rites and ceremonies, whereby they might be ledde to fayth, charitie, thankesgiuing, and seruice of GOD: but certaine times also, in which they shoulde exercise the ceremonies prescribed by the strength of the law. He left it not to their libertie to poynte and disapointe, change, take awaye, multiplye or diminishe holy dayes, what dayes and when they woulde at their owne arbitrement. &c. but as it was conuenient for a people rawlye beginning, he gaue them by law certain holydayes to be kept, among the which, the halowing of ẏ Sabboth is one. And that he did determinatly name to the seuenth day, saying: In the seuenth day is the Sabboth of the Lorde thy God. In suche a people so carnall & changeable, there can not lōg stande any exercises of religion, vnlesse the times and orders be fastened by expresse lawes. Such is (we may sée) not only the inconstancy, but also the rashnesse of our flesh, either to chāge, or vtterly to refuse, or through some preposterous superstitiō to encrease, or through some negligence & lightnesse growing in our fleshe, to diminishe such matters as we ought alwayes stedfastly to holde. Therfore it was foreséene by this lawe, that the Israelites shoulde not kepe theyr Sabbathes what daye they woulde, not for that, that there is so great a care or difference of dayes before God, but for that there was none among the seuen, for the historie of the

creation

creation passing before, and the mistery of the kingdome of Christ, méeter for this purpose. And also that it was so expedient for the people that were vnder the lawe, to kepe a daye not chosen by themselues, but giuen and commanded by Gods law.

2 Secondly, we must obserue that he sayth not onlye, Thou shalt halow the sabboth day, but Remember that thou kéepe holye the Sabboth day. This kinde of commanding is not light & common, but very graue and serious. It is meant, that the matter is serious that is commaunded, & in no meanes to be neglected, but to be kept with speciall care and diligence. So parentes are wonte to enforce vnto their children, and Masters vnto their seruants, the obseruance of those thinges, which they wold in no case haue forgotten. We be admonished by this worde Remēber, and be mindefull, that to the obseruance of Gods commandements is requyred a mindefull harte, which ought to thinke day and night of the keping of them, and neuer to forget, what and by whome men haue receyued the commādement. And certes there can nothing happen more pernicious, than the forgetfulnesse of Gods precepts, which is as it were, a certain welspring of all transgressions and sinnes, sauoring of a manifest contempt and despysing of Gods maiestie. For he that feareth God, & estéemeth his maiesty from his hart, cā not forget the precept that he receiued, but alwayes thinke vpon the obseruancie of it.

Consider also, That whereas the worde, Remember, signifieth rather the affect of the minde, than any outwarde worde, it is meante thereby that it is principally required of Gods people, ẏ they doe in minde remember, & deuise to halow the Sabboth, that is to say, to haue suche a minde of their owne, as he be religiously, holyly, and obediently affected and disposed vnto Gods commandementes. And this is the chief péece of true godlinesse, and of true obedience vnto God, without which, nothing done in outward worke, is acceptable in Gods sight.

3 Thirdly, ye must consider that he sayth, Remember that thou halow the Sabboth day. He commandeth Israel to sanctifie the Sabboth day, which he had before first blessed as the Sabboth day, and Halowed, as he doth witnesse, saying: Therefore the Lord blessed the Sabboth day, and halowed it. And ther is two sortes of halowing the Sabboth: the one is the halowing of God, the other which was commaunded vnto Israell. The halowing of God was that, when after sixe dayes worke, ẏ seuenth day was euē in the beginning of all appoynted and halowed vnto rest & quiet. This kinde of sanctifying is not commanded vnto Israel. But the halowing or sanctifying of the Israelites, is to repute & kepe holy the seuenth daye, whiche was before by God sanctified vnto quiet, and in that day to leaue from labour, after the trauayle of the sixe dayes, and diligently to apply the exercises of Religion and fayth: and so in no wayes to prophane the sanctifying of God, but to kepe it cleane & vndefiled. God is he which doth sanctifie, that is to say, of prophane & vnholy maketh holy: our parte is with

That you halowe.

Two sortes of sanctifying the Sabboth.

It belōgeth vnto God to sanctifie. Halowe.

deuout

deuout obedience, according vnto his worde, to kepe and haue in honor the thinges by him sanctified. It is not in our power to sanctifie as we lyke, things that be not sanctified of God. And who so euer attempteth that, is superstitious, and not religious: and it can not be excused, but that of a proude rashnesse he taketh vpon him that which belongeth only vnto God. The baptisme in the holy Trinitye is both by example and institution sanctified by our Lord himselfe. If any Bishop would first haue instituted and sanctified thesame, he hadde bin worthy to haue bin reproued as vayne and superstitious. But now that it is sanctified by God, and not by man, it is wel done that we be required to sanctifie it also. For if ther had bin no matter from whence the sanctifying of such rites came, then had Christ to no purpose asked of the baptisme of John, whether it were from heauen or from menne. Likewise we ought to iudge of the supper of the Lorde, which was not first sanctified of man, but of God by the sonne of God, bothe by example and ordinance. And it were a better matter for our Bishops, deuoutlye to obserue this sanctifying of our Lorde God, than to prophane and defile it to their gayne in trifles and folishnesse.

The hallowing of baptisme and of the lords Supper.

The day of the Sabboth.

Fourthly, we muste not leape ouer, that he saythe not only, Remember that thou sanctifie the Sabboth, but Remember that thou sanctify the day of the Sabboth. And he sayd not, Therfore the Lord blessed the Sabboth and sanctified it, but, Therefore he blessed the day of the Sabboth, & sanctified it. He might haue commaunded only the actes and doynges of that day should be sanctified: but to set the matter forth more pithyly, he sayd: Remember that thou sanctifie the day of the Sabboth. He chargeth that the day it self shalbe reputed holye, not bycause he hath anye great care of the dayes, but bycause it followeth by euery mans vnderstanding, that the holy day requireth holy conuersation. But the reputation of dayes is not to be taken of their owne qualitye, but of that which they be appoynted vnto by God. As the seuenth day was not for the number of seuen, or for any other quality of it self appointed vnto Israell to be hallowed and sanctified vnto holy workes and meditations, but bicause it was by the Lord consecrated vnto rest, and therefore named, the day of Sabboth. Which is to say, the day of rest.

Fiftly, he sayth, Sixe days thou shalt worke, and do all thy workes. We muste ponder with our self, ỹ he maketh not only mention of ỹ Sabboth, appointed to the seuenth day, but of the sixe dayes goyng before the Sabboth, in which they ought to do al their workes, whereas the mention of them maketh nothing to the purpose of the setting forth of the precept of the sabboth. For it is euen ynough for the determination of the sabboth, that he nameth it vnto the seuenth daye: & therfore it followeth of it self, that the sixe dayes goyng before, pertayneth nothing to the obseruance therof. But in this matter of sixe dayes worke, there is a double meaning, either to take that it was sayd, Sixe dayes thou shalt worke, by waye of permission, that it should be lawfull for his people to do their workes any day they would, sauing only the seuenth, for that he was halowed to rest: either to take that this parcell is not set there permissiuely, but that it hath the vertue of a commandement: so that it shoulde be as wel commanded to worke sixe dayes, as to sanctifie the seuenth daye vnto rest, which opinion me thinketh is the better. First bicause it is agreable with the primitiue law: when it was said to man immediatly after his fall: In the sweate of thy face, thou shalt eat thy bread. Item, Cursed is the earth in thy worke. In labors thou shalt fede of it, al the days of thy lyfe. I suppose that it is not permitted vnto manne, that besides the time sanctified vnto the sabbath, he should be idle and playe at his libertie. It is not the will of God, that man shoulde, specially after the corruption of our nature, be lefte vnto his own libertie, that he may be idle and vnprofitable without blame: seing that chiefly of Idelnesse doeth ensewe all kinde of vice & mischief. And the grounde of this opinion is yelded vnto vs of the reason ioyned vnto this precept, wherin is mentiõ not only that God rested the seuenth day, and blessed it, & sanctified it: but also that he wroght sixe days, and that he made & perfected all his workes, heauen, earth, the sea and all things that is in them: so ỹ it may appeare, that vnto the two parts of the precept agreeth ỹ two reasons annexed. Therefore like as to the precept for the rest of the seuenth day is ioyned the authoritie of the example of God, which rested the seuenth day: so likewise the example of his worcking sixe dayes, wherein he perfected heauen, earth and all, serueth for the precept of working sixe dayes. If the example of Gods resting the seuenth day do enforce: then likewise must his example in perfecting his workes in sixe dayes enforce also. It is not to be thought of God, that he hath a care how his people may wel be idle, and that he careth not how they may be well occupied in their worke. My iudgement is, he would not onlye by his worde consecrate and make holy his rest and quiet, but also his working and doings, so that whether they rested the seuenth daye, or whether they wrought the sixe dayes before, they should do al things by faith and obedience of his worde. It was said vnto this people, Be you holy, for I am holy. Then it were not conuenient, that the people sanctified vnto the Lord: should liue sixe days prophanely, according vnto the spirite of the flesh and of the worlde, and the seuenth day only in idelnesse to attende religion. Of this my opinon the godly be iudges.

Leuit. 19.

That sixe days were employed to worke, and one to reste.

Sirtely, consider that also, that there were sixe dayes employed vnto worke, and but one vnto rest. A man would thinke that there should haue bene rather one giuen vnto these workes of the earth, and other sixe vnto the holye rest. For it standeth more with reason, that forasmuch as it is a more godly matter & more profitable to applye the spiritual exercises of faith and religion, than the workes of the earth: so we should also consecrate the better and greater peece of our life to this holy rest of the holy Sabboth, rather than to any earthly occupatiõ. But the wil-

dome of God did regarde in this mater not what was of it selfe more to be alowed, but what was more conuenient for this grosse & law bounde people. If he had iudged it to haue hadde bin more profitable that they should haue giuen themselues more vnto rest than vnto labors, no doubt he woulde haue attempted this law of holy rest vnto their commoditie. But it appeareth manifestlye, not onlye by the iudgement of this law, but also by very experience it selfe, that it aduaunceth nothing true religion, to encrease the rest of the common sorte of people, what pretence so euer it be coloured withall: but that one day in the weeke appointed vnto the exercises of fayth and religion, that the ignorant people by holy doynges and meditations, may be instructed in the true knowledge and seruice of God, is euē fully sufficient ynough. Experience it self teacheth vs, that the nūber of holydays which the superstitiō of Bishops, Monkes & Friers, and not the authority of God hath ordeyned, helpe more to the vter extinguishment of the true rest of the Sabboth, than to any encrease thereof, and ministred occasions of infinite number of vices. Therfore the tranayle of them is to be cōmended, which to the intent they would take awaye superstition out of the Church, & cut off the occasion of corruption and vice, hath thrust out all superfluous & vaine holy dayes, and kept them only that be set for the by the authoritie of holy scripture, & the example of the primitive Church.

The multitude of holy dayes is hurtfull.

That vve doe our owvn vvorkes and not other mens

Seuenthly, we must think also vpon that, that he sayth not only, Six dayes thou shalt worke, but that he addeth, And thou shalt doe all thy workes. He requireth not of vs that euery man shall doe what he listeth, but that setting all curiositie aparte, euerye man doe his owne workes, and abstayne from that which pertayneth not vnto him. Some works belong vnto GOD, and some vnto vs. God doeth his owne workes, let vs doe ours. It is a confusion and no order, if manne attempte to doe those things which appertayneth vnto God. In a well ordered house, some kinde of doynges belongeth vnto the good manne of the house, some other to the man seruant, some other to the houswyfe, some other to the mayde seruant. And that is a goodly harmonie and agreement, when eche man doeth that which belongeth vnto him. But wee be of nature so ouerthwart, that we doe loath things that appertayne vnto vs, and desire to haue to do with other mens maters. Therfore euery man ought to regarde, that by the authoritie of this precept he muste conteyne and kepe himself in an order, & apply his minde to his owne doynges, and not other mens.

Eightly, he sayth, For the seuenth daye is the Sabboth of the Lorde. Way that he sayth not, the seuenth day is thy Sabboth, but it is the sabboth of the lord thy God. This Sabboth might by some reason haue bin called the Sabboth of the Israelites, for that they rested that day: and also because that the halowing of this Sabboth was ordeined to their commoditie, as Christ saith also: Not the man for the Sabboths sake, but the Sabboth for the mans sake. Yet he had rather say, It is the Sabboth of the

of the Lord thy God, than, It is thy Sabboth: declaring that the whole purpose of that daye is to be directed vnto the sanctifying, faith and knowledge of his name.

And it seemeth, that wher he saith, The seuenth daye is the Sabboth of the Lord thy God, it maye be two wayes vnderstanded, Either to be al one with that as we haue before expounded it, that the Sabboth of the seuenth day is consecrated vnto the lord thy God, to the intent thou shuldest serue him: either to take it spoken in this meaning, The seuēth day is the Sabboth of the lord thy God, that is to say, the memorial of that Sabboth, when the Lord thy God, after sixe dayes worke rested the seuenth day, and sanctified it with his blessing. And this sense agreeth with that which foloweth. And this kinde of speche varieth not from the phrase of holy Scriptures, in which the names of the thinges be attributed vnto the remembrance and the misteries of them.

In what sense so euer you take it to be spoken, we are giuen to vnderstand, that the rest of the Sabboth is not to be sanctified to our affections & vses, but to the name and glorye of God. And that agreeth with the saying of Esay: If thou turne thy foote from the Sabboth, to the intent thou wilt not do thy will in my holy daye, thou shalt be called the Pleasant sabboth, & the glorious halowed of the Lord: and thou shalt glorifie him, in that thou doest not thine own ways, and thy will is not found, &c.

Therefore it is a most manifest prophanation of the holy rest, that in the Sabboth day, as well among the Iewes, as in the Sundayes in our churches, men doe without all dissimulation most largelye applye the pleasures of the flesh. As the Iewes in the Sabboth day do not rest vnto God, but serue their own lustes: euen so do we also rest in the Sunday, not vnto Christ our Lord, but vnto our owne delites & pleasures, in so much, that ther is no season more prophane and corrupt, than our holy dayes be: which haue names and pretences of religion, but are in deede employed vnto the actes & deuises of the pleasures of ỹ flesh, vnto the Gods Bacchus and Venus, to fowle and filthy rest, to manifest pryde and braggery, without any restraunte. How much better were it (saith Augustin) if their women (meaning the Iewes) did spinne, rather than dance? It is writen: Iudge you iust iudgement, & not according vnto the persons. What may we say of our holy day else, but that it were better men gaue themselues vnto necessarie workes, than to serue Bacchus & Venus, and all kindes of pleasures, not seruing Christ our lord, but satan: mē regard not their saluatiō, but purchase their destruction: they do not appease, but prouoke ỹ wrath of God: mens maners be not corrected, but corrupted.

No holy dayes are to be appointed vnto the names or memories of Saincles.

It is not to be passed ouer, that he doth not say, For the seuenth daye is the Sabboth of Abraham thy Father, or of Isaac, or of Iacob: but it is the Sabboth of the Lord thy God. If it had bene the pleasure of Gods maiestie, that there should haue bin holy days dedicate vnto the memory and names of saincts or holy men, I see no vrgent or necessary cause, why he shulde not as well haue alowed

it in the Iewes as in vs. He might haue had appointed vnto the Iewes foꝛ holy dayes, the entrie of Noe into the Arke, and after that his comming foꝛth of the Arke: Againe the Natiuitye of Abꝛaham, and his foꝛsaking of his countrie where he was boꝛne: yea and the sacrifice which he intended to haue made of his sonne, when he was commaunded by him to offer him vp. The natiuitie also of Isaac, and the peregrination and wandering of Jacob into a straunge country, and the going down into Egypt, and such other like matters: by remembꝛance whereof they myght be admonished of the fayth and godlinesse of their Fathers. But he did set foꝛthe none of these matters vnto the Israelites, foꝛ that he knewe that the nature of the flesh was moꝛe pꝛone vnto superstition than to true religion, and allowed not that anye manner exerrises of religion shoulde be dedicated in the names of Saintes. But wheras that in the Church of vs Chꝛistian men, there be holy dayes dedicated vnto the memoꝛies and names of Saintes, by what colour soeuer the matter is defended, I am sure it is not grounded vpon any authoꝛitie of Gods woꝛde, oꝛ institution of the Apostles: but sauoreth of Gentilitye, and not of true Chꝛistianitie.

The lettes of the sanctifying are forbidden.

Mynthly, he sayth, Thou shalt do no manner woꝛke in it: thou and thy sonne, and thy daughter, thy manseruant and thy woman seruant, thy cattel, and the straunger that is within thy gates. We must marke here, that when he commandeth the sanctifying of the Sabboth, he doth foꝛbidde that which may let the sanctifying. Wherin we be in generaltie admonished, that all maner of stayes & lets are to be cut off, wherby might come any manner of let vnto ỳ matter, which ought vpꝛightly & perfectly to be don. It is a pẽce of wisdome to cut away all lettes, which might hinder the doyng of honest things & pꝛofitable. And it belongeth vnto integrity and vpꝛightnesse, to do that which aboue al other maters is to be done. Not with a patched purpose, but with all our endeuour, ful & hole. Of that soꝛt is the poynt which is here commanded of the sanctifying of the sabbath. This sanctifying passeth all mens endeuours, and requireth not a patched, but a whole mind. And therefoꝛe it was well done to foꝛbidde all matters that doe withdꝛawe the minde to other deuices & cares, and maketh him in that case, that he is scarcely in any parts at al intent vnto holy meditations and exerrises. Let vs consider in this place, with how cleare & vpꝛight a minde we ought to come vnto the reading of the holy scripturs, vnto the blessed sermons, vnto the hearing of Gods woꝛd, vnto pꝛayers, as well pꝛiuate, as them that be of the holy Church, vnto the celebꝛating and communiõ of Gods misteries, & such other lyke, which requireth not so much the pꝛesence of ỳ body, as the cleare and vpꝛight attention of ỳ minde. Foꝛ matters of religion be of that soꝛte, that as they be spiritual, so of their owne nature they would haue the spirit of man to woꝛke vpon, to fashion, to change, to instruct, and to fede: and in case he be somewhat to hygh and loftye, they wil bꝛing him downe: if he be to much vnder foote, they will

set

set him vp & comfoꝛte him: in some, thei wil frame him altogether to the image of God, and regenerate him. I beseke you, what shal a man doe here, whose minde is either altogether in an other place, so that ther is nothing pꝛesent at the holy thinges, but the outwarde body, destitute of minde and spirite, noꝛ vnderstanding noꝛ hearing those things, which be spoken & done: eyther is so pꝛesent, that he wandereth and runneth vp & downe without any stayе, distracte with diuers and sundꝛy imaginatiõs and thoughtes? And wheras the doctrine of the Gospell hath euen lyke hearers, why do we wõder of whẽce it is, that the fruite of it is so scarce and syelde: The byꝛde must nedes cleare hir wings when she wil flye, to be without all lettes. And thinke we that it maketh no matter with how frée and cleare affections of the minde we pꝛesent our selues at the holy misteries, where the spirit must be caried hygher than anye byꝛde is able to reache vnto in flying?

Now let vs consider what maner lettes of the sanctifying of the Sabbots are foꝛbidden. Thou shalt (saith he) doe no maner of woꝛke in it, thou and thy sonne, &c. There are two kindes of woꝛkes of men. The one is of things which be lawful of themselues: the other of them that be vnlawfull. Woꝛkes lawful, be such as are necessarie, honest, & pꝛofitable to men. The vnlawfull be such, as be hurtefull, dishonest, and superfluous. Those thinges which be here foꝛbidden, be not foꝛbidden bicause they be vnlawfull of themselues. Foꝛ he sayth not, Thou shalt not do in it any euill woꝛke, but thou shalt doe no woꝛke in it, thou and thy sonne, and thy daughter, and thy man seruant, and thy woman seruant, and thy cattel, &c. So that it appeareth that the woꝛkes of the house, necessarie, honest, and pꝛofitable of themselues, concerning the outwarde sustentation and necessitie of our life, but in respect of the sanctifying of the Sabbottes, vnpꝛofitable, are foꝛbidden. And that appeareth also by that that he sayd: Six daies thou shalt do all thy woꝛke, but the seuenth day is the Sabboth of the Lord thy God: so that the woꝛkes be lawful, which a man may do in the sixe dayes, but in the Sabboth daye it is not lawfull to do them. But they be woꝛkes vnlawfull, which can not lawfullye be done, noꝛ in the sabboth, noꝛ in the other sixe woꝛkingdayes. Let vs consider therfoꝛe, how earnestly we ought to study & care, that we haue no let oꝛ impediment that maye any wise stay the liberty & courage of our spirite, whan we must fall to the holye misteries, whẽ the necessary, honest, and else pꝛofitable care, must also be cast away, which doth in déede bring our mindes into that case, that they be lesse intent to spirituall matters, & yet they make vs not the enemies of God. What can we iudge of the most ouerthwart coꝛruption of our times, that vpon the holy dayes we doe in déede refrayne necessarye and lawfull things, but we giue our selfs not only to vnlawfull and vnhonest woꝛkes, but also to daine & mischieuous deuises? The saying of Augustine is fulfilled here: The fault wherewith the multitude is made oꝛõke, loseth the trial of the truth. If any man plowe his ground vpon the

Sunday, he doth breake the holy rest: but if he leaue his husbandry and be drunke, vse bawdry and games, he is not déemed to haue prophaned the holynesse of the Sunday. The very cattel do vse the rest of the Sabboth daye better than we, which though they do nothing towards the sanctifying of it, yet their rest is so far forth to be preferred, that they do nothing whereby the holy rest is prophaned and defyled, and the eyes of Gods maiestie offended.

Tenthly, those words be not to be passed ouer: Thou and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man seruant, & thy woman seruant, thy cattel, and the stranger that is within thy gates.

The lawe is not for ydle men.

1 First of al you must marke here, that there is no matter why this law shoulde be giuen vnto that familye, in whiche eyther the good man him self, or children be continually so idle, that vpon the working dayes they do no kinde of worke. For it is to no purpose to commaunde the idle person to rest, which though that were not, doe neuer any thing. Therfore, the same is more to be dryuen into such mens heades, that he sayd: Six dayes thou shalt do all thy workes, than that which he commandeth after of the keping of the reast of the sabboth, Thou shalt do no work in it. He that neuer tilleth his grounde, néedeth not to be tolde, Sée thou till not thy grounde vpon the Sabboth day. It booteth thée not to warne the yong man that neuer gineth himself vnto exercise of reading or wryting, Reade and wryte not in the time of the preaching in the Church. And yet some men are now a dayes so ouertwarthly disposed, that they will play all the wéeke long, and vpon the Sundayes, what time they ought to giue themselues to holy rest, and to the exercises of deuotion, they apply their workes at home, at what time the Lords people are gathered together to heare Goddes worde, to the prayers, and participation of his mysteries, and to the sacrifice of his prayers, which peruersenesse is detestable, and to be restrayned by the publike power.

2 Secondly, we perceiue here, that in points commenly concerning religion, there is no difference betwixt the good man of the house, and them of the familye: betwixt his sonnes, and his seruauntes. All be equallye bounde by this common lawe of the sanctifying of the Sabboth, the Master, the seruant, the Father, the children, the Man, the woman, the superiours, the inferiours. God speaketh to the good man of the house, as vnto the head, but he doeth include together all his family to the obseruance of this lawe. There be thrée partes of religion. The firste is fayth and participation of grace: the second is the hope of lyfe and glorye to come: the third, is the obedience which we ought to yelde vnto Gods wil, wherin is also included the seruice of god. Of these, all persons are partakers of lyke, as many as be sealed with the mark of Baptisme, so that herein is no respect of persons. So that forasmuche as concerneth the obseruaunce of religion, it lieth not in the power of the good man of the house, nor of the Prince, to forbidde theyr subiectes that they shall not obey the commaundements of the Lord their God, nor be partakers of the fayth,

hope, obedience and seruice of God.

3 It is also to be marked, that he saith, And thy cattel. Thy cattel hath nothing to doe with the common exercise of religion: and yet the commandement runneth that they shall do no worke in the Sabboth day, but shall rest as well as men. What is the reason of this precept? First, very necessitie of it selfe requireth such a law. For vnlesse the cattel which be appointed for trauayle, be refreshed with some rest among them, they muste néedes be tyred at length to be euer continuallye hayted on: and thereof riseth iniury to the marring of the cattel, and a losse vnto the man: wherof none of them both, nor of the men nor of the cattel, can be well lyked of the Lord their creatour. For he loueth and conserueth those thinges that he made, as well beastes as men. He loueth no violence nor wrong done, no not to the cattel, much lesse vnto men. He lyketh not destruction, no nor any losse that commeth not by necessity. Ther is also another reason of consequēce. If the cattel shoulde worke in the Sabboth day, it must néedes be guyded, directed, and dryuen by some man. For it hath no reason or vnderstanding, which is necessarie to worke well and profitablie. So that it must néedes haue some outwarde guide, by whose leading and driuing it may be gouerned. Therefore it is not possible that it can worke alone, but this is his waye of working, that it work with the man that worketh, and obeye his dryft. So that forasmuch as it is consequent, that if the cattel doe worke vpon the Sabboth daye, some man, whatsoeuer he be, must worke also: and it is not permitted that any man may worke vpon the Sabboth daye: by this reason of consequence, it was to be forbidden also, that no cattel shoulde worke vpon the Sabboth daye, and so shoulde he left no occasion of colour by the cattel, that nothing were spoken of his rest in the Sabboth: and therefore it should be no offence, if the cattel did worke vpon the sabboth, and some man be by him when he worketh, as a necessarie leader and dryuer.

Of strangers that they had some place in the people of God.

1 Let vs also consider that, that is added after, And the stranger which is within thy gates. Marke first that straungers were also placed with Gods people: and that not only wayfaring mē, but remaining also within the gates of the cities, and at lawfull times working. So that the vngentlenesse of our times can not be alowed, that some men suppose, that strangers ought to be excluded forth of all company: as though it were possible, that euery man coulde abide in his natiue lande, and that there were not beyond al number of them that are compelled to departe into straunge countries from their owne dwellings, either for pouertie, either for the tyrannye of princes, or by the violence of warre, or by the persuasion of their conscience tyed vnto Gods worde. There haue bin many good and ioylly men straungers and pylgrimes vpon the earth, whom the worlde was not worthye to haue. Such were Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, the people of Israell in Egypt, Moses among the Madianites: and therefore he calleth his sonne also Gerson, that is to say, a stranger,

Chriſt alſo was not bredde wher he was borne, nor yet he continued not much in ỹ place wher he was bredde after that he began once to preache. Strangers are not to be borne with all, in caſe they be euill, No nor the landes men neither can well be ſuffered, if they be euill.

Strangers muſt frame themſelues to the lawes of the countries wher they dwel

2 Secondly, we perceiue that it is well requyred in this place of ſtrangers, and commers and goers, that they frame themſelues vnto the lawes of the landes men. Albeit no ſtraunger was compelled that he ſhuld be circumciſed, nor was admitted vnto the communion of the Paſſeouer before he was circumciſed: Yet in all other pointes it was required, that they ſhould ſubmit themſelues vnto Gods law, as well as the lands men. They might not at the time of Paſſeouer occupy leauened bread. They were brought with the landes men, to the hearing of Gods lawe, as we may ſee in the booke of Joſue. And in the dayes of the Sabbathes, and of other ſolemnities, they were bounde by the ſelf ſame lawe of God, as the landes menne were, to obſerue the holy reſt. Wherupon theſe two things followe: One, that it is not to be permitted, that ſtraungers ſhoulde be excepted from the lawes and maners of the landes men. And therefore thoſe wayward and frowarde ſtrangers are not to be ſuffered, which do withſtand publik lawes and manners.

Ioſue. 8.

That ſtrangers ought not to be compelled vnto the religion of the place vvhere they come.

An other is, that ſtrangers of a contrary religion are neyther to be compelled to the following of Chriſtian religion, nor to be admitted, vnleſſe they be Baptiſed vnto the participation of our miſteries. But if any Chriſtian ſtranger, I meane, any admitted to the faith and religion of Chriſt, and to the profeſſion of the name of a Chriſtian, by the token of holy baptiſme, if he doe refuſe the communion of the common religion, fayth, doctrine, miſteries, and holy vſages, I ſuppoſe he may well be excluded alſo from the ciuile fellowſhippe and companye, leaſt he ſlaunder the Church of GOD: and alſo for that he is not worthy to enioye the ciuile fellowſhippe, that is not afrayde to refuſe the communion of the religion whereunto he was admitted. I ſpeake not of thoſe ſtrangers which liue among people that be ſeduced and out of the right way, but of thē which dwelling amongſt true Chriſtian menne, doe flee from the communion of the true fayth, doctrine, and religion. It is not ſo, if a ſtraunger of a good beleefe and iudgement, liue among them that be ſeduced and out of the waye. For if he refuſe the communion of falſe religion, he doth as it becommeth him: if he be thruſt away therefore, he is thruſt away not for his own faulte, by theſe which were not onlye ſeduced, but do alſo either bannithe from them ſuch as be of good iudgement, or els goe about to bring them vnto their errour.

Laſtlye, let vs conſider that he ſaith, For in ſix dayes God made heauen and earth, the ſea and all that therin is, and reſted the ſeuenth day: wherefore the Lord God bleſſed the ſeuēth daye, and halowed it. He ſaith not ſimplye, Sire dayes God made heauen & earth, &c. But, For in ſixe dayes God made, &c. to admoniſh vs, that herevpon ſtandeth the reaſon of this

of this precepte, bycauſe that in the beginning of the creation, in ſyxe dayes he made Heauen and earthe, and reſted the ſeuenth day, and halowed it by hys reſt. Therefore he vſeth not onely his authoritie to commaunde his people, but he bringeth alſo an example of his owne doyng, for them to looke vpon and followe it. It is of ſufficient authoritie vnto a godlye man, whatſoeuer is commaunded by Gods worde: but when the doyng of God is ioyned with it alſo, it bindeth vs with a double knot, to obey it. He that obeyeth not the worde of God, ſheweth himſelfe to be diſobedient and a tranſgreſſor: but hee ỹ is not moued nother with the doyng of God to followe hys example, declareth himſelfe to be not only diſobedient, but alſo vnnatural, and voyde of his ſpirite. Therefore, Chriſt when he proued himſelfe to be the ſonne of God, ſayd: My father worketh euen now, and I do worke. Item: The ſonne can do nothing of hymſelfe, but that he ſeeth hys father doe. For what ſo euer he doethe, the ſame likewiſe the ſonne doth. It is the parte of a naturall ſonne, not only to obaye hys fathers preceptes, which ſeruants do, but alſo to frame himſelfe as nere as he can, and with all his power, to his deuices and doings. So Chriſte ſayth: That you may be the ſonnes of youre father, which bringeth forth the Sunne vpon the good and the euill, and rayneth vpon the gratefull and the vngratefull. He declareth there indeede the commaundemente of true loue, and expoundeth the true meaning therof, againſte the wreſting of the Iewes: but he dothe withall admoniſh vs, that we be not only bounde by the authoritie of the precepte of God to loue our enimies, and to doe good vnto them that doe vs harme, but the argumente alſo ſtandeth vpon this point, to proue what we be, eyther baſtarde, eyther rightē borne ſonnes of our father which is in heauen. Likewiſe in thys place is alſo ioyned together the doyng of God, whereby his nature is expreſſed: and the precept, wherewith Gods maieſtie and authoritie is defended. The doyng, for aſmuch as it is ſet forth in ſtede of an example, requireth to be followed: the precept, for that it hathe authoritie of Iuriſdiction, requireth obediēce due vnto the Maieſtie of God. By imitation, we be conformed vnto the purpoſe of our father: by obediēce, we be ſubiect vnto the preceptes of our Lorde and God. So by thys precept that we haue in hande, it is required, that our workes and reſtings be halowed, for that they be grounded vpon the imitation of the example, and the obedience of the precept of God. Wherefore they muſt needes be moſt prophane of all, that be ſtirred neyther by the doyngs of God to followe them, nor by his preceptes to obey him. Such good Chriſtians we be, when we cannot bee brought to loue one an other, nor by the example, nor by the commaundement of Chriſt. He ſaith, This is my commaundement, that you loue one another, as I loue you. Item. I gaue you an example, that like as I dyd, ſo you do alſo. Theſe matters we do exceedingly lye contemne, and in the meane whiles, moſt bitterly & ſpitefully ſtriue and contend of certayne ſignes and faſhions of ſpeche.

Iohn. 5.

Howe we shal conforme our selues vnto the example of God.

But now some man wil say: How can I be conformed by imitation, vnto the example of God, that made all? For although I worke sixe dayes and rest the seuenth, yet the earthe is not so farre distant from Heauen, as my doyng is distant from the example of God. He made in sixe dayes Heauen and Earth, the Sea, and all things in them, and when all was done, rested the seuenth day. Maye my doings bee compared wyth hys workes, whiche with all my workes can scarcely and hardly compasse so muche as maye serue to feede thys litle carcas? I answer. The imitation of the example of God standeth not in thys, that in sixe dayes we make Heauen and Earthe, and rest from so great a worke in the seuenth day: but that in the same sixe dayes, in whiche God wrought all hys workes, we worke ours: and in the seuenth (when he rested from hys, we doe rest also) according to his example) from our workes. So Christ dothe not require vs to declare that we be the sonnes of God our father, that we should, euen as he dyd, bring forth the sunne vpon the good and the euill, and rayne vppon the gratefull and the vngratefull: but that doyng good according vnto the measure of our estate, as well vnto our enimies as to our friends, we shoulde shewe by some imitation the nature of our father, like vnto hym at the least, in that, that like as he according vnto the greatenesse and goodnesse of hys diuine Maiestie, doth good, not onely vnto the good and gratefull, but also to the euill and vnthankefull: so we according to the portion of oure estate and habilitie, should doe good, not only to oure frends, but also to our enimies.

And that is to be considered also, that when he commaundeth to sanctifye the rest of the Sabboth, he receyueth not all the workes of God frō which he rested, but only them which he made in the space of sixe dayes: the Heauen, the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that after the doyng of them, he resteth the seuenth day. Therefore he appoynted the sanctifying of the Sabboth, chiefly for thys purpose, that the people should aboue all things be fedde and strengthned in the faith of the creation. For although that Heauen and Earthe, the Sea, and all that is in them, be workes that may be seene, yet those things which are reported of them in this place, be not visible, no nor be not conceyued by eyye of our reason, but by faith only, as that they were made by any, and that in any time. So that first their errour is most playne, that say, that ỹ world was euer. Secondly, they be not made by euery power, but by the very true God himselfe, by whome these precepts were giuen. Thirdly, that they were done and perfected in sixe daps, so that the maker of them rested the seuenth day, when all was perfected. Mans reason is blinde to knowe thys. For they be not taught but by Gods worde: and therefore they bee not conceyued but by faith.

Nowe this sayth of the creation, whereby we doe beleeue, that thys worlde was made of God in sixe dayes, was not without cause sette forth to be so diligently taught vnto the people of God. For it conteineth the beginning of all things, whyche are to be beleeued of the true and only God, without whiche, the rest can take no place. For vnlesse we doe beleeue that Heauen, Earthe, the Sea, and all that is conteyned therein, were made in the beginning by the true and only God, it cannot be possible for vs to attayne vnto the faith of this conseruation, gouerning and prouidence of God, wherby all things are kept and ruled. I speake not of the faith of oure restorement, wherby mankinde is restored vnto true felicitie by the incarnation of the Worde of God. And for that cause the Apostle sayeth in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, when he would sette forth faith, he said euen at the beginning: By faith we doe vnderstande that the world was framed by Gods worde, that of things inuisible they shoulde become visible. So in the knowledge of oure Créde, we saye first of all: I beleeue in God the father almightie, maker of Heauen and Earth. From this faith the passage is easie to the faith of the prouidence of God, whereby we beleeue that all things which be in Heauen and in Earth, doe stande by hys power, and bee gouerned after his wil, by whome they were made of nothing.

Nowe lette the Godly man way what things followeth vppon thys faith, that we beleeue that God made in sixe dayes Heauen, Earthe, the Sea, and all that therein is.

1 First, he that beleeueth that God is the maker of Heauen and Earth, &c. must needes beleeue also, that he alone is the true and onely God: and that all the rest that bee worshipped in the worlde, be false Goddes, and may say with the Prophete: Lette the Gods whiche made not Heauen and Earth, perish from the Earthe, and from those thynges which be vnder the Heauen. Therefore we giue vnto God the glory of true Godhead, when we confesse that hee is the maker of Heauen and Earthe, and of all that in them is.

Hierem.10.

That all things be his, by whome they were made.

2 Secondely, he that beleeueth thys, must needes graunte also and say with the Prophet: The earth is the Lordes, and the fulnesse of it: the compasse of the landes, and all that in them is. For all things are properly hys, by whome they bee made. God made all thynges by hys wisedome and power, vsing the counsell, worke or helpe of none. Therefore all thynges bee hys, and wee wyth all things. For we are also of hys workemanshippe. Therefore hee cannot bee called to accompte by any, though hee determine of hys owne what he list at hys most free arbitrement. They that doe vnderstande this, they giue vnto God the free gouernaunce of all things, nor they aske not in anye matter, why it was not otherwise appoynted by him.

Psalme.5.

Sapi.4.

That we dwell not in oure owne, but in that belongeth to another.

3 Thirdly, it followeth also, that wee dwell not in oure owne, but in that whyche belongeth vnto an other, and that we lyue not of oure owne goodes, but vppon others. Therefore though all things be deliuered vnto vs by the goodnesse of GOD, yet wee maye not so take them, as though they were not yet still by most righte in the power of God, but that we doe vse them always, as granted vs for a time, that

VVherevnto the vse of proprietie ought to be referred.

no man flatter him selfe ouermuche with the title of proprietie. The vse of proprietie is not to be referred to the respect of God, but to the respect of other men with whome we doe liue, that those things which I haue receyued of God, be so proper vnto me, that it is not lawfull for anye others to take them out of my iurisdiction. In the meane while, all things be so in the power of God, that he may by most right take them away from vs, or vtterlye destroy them, or to putte them ouer vnto others: which thing he could not lawfully do, if those things, which be deliuered vnto vs by him, were in full and most perfect right turned to our proprietie.

That we must liue in the faith, and seruice of oure creatoure. Deut. 32.

4 Fourthely, it is inferred most directly of all this, that we must liue in the faith and seruice of him, whose worke we be, and who is the owner of all things wherin we dwell, and whereof we liue: that it be not sayde vnto vs with most foule reproche: Thou hast forsake God, which hath begotten thee, and hast forgotten the Lord thy creator, &c. He that dwelleth in another mans soyle, must acknowledge the Lord of the soyle: he that liueth vpon the charge of an other man, knoweth that his seruice is some ways due vnto him of whom he is fedde. I beseche you, how wrongful a matter were it, not to acknowledge our maker, whose worke we be, and the Lorde of Heauen and Earth, in whose soyle we dwell: our feeder and keeper by whose goodnesse and liberalitie we are fedde and sustayned: but so to liue vnto oure selues, and to measure all things at our owne arbitremente, as though we were borne of oure selues, and were lordes of the lande whiche we dwell in, and liued not by the goodes of an other, but by our owne?

It foloweth, *And he rested the seauenth day: therefore the Lorde blessed the seauenth day, and halowed it.*

1 First marke that here is sayde, that God rested the seauenth daye, in whiche after the ende of sixe dayes, when all the workes of the creation were nowe perfect, he ceassed. It is not simply attributed vnto him that he stayed or paused, but that after the workes of sixe dayes, he lefte quite off, and ceased. So we reade in Genesis: God had accomplished the seauenth daye all his worke that he had done, and rested the seuenth day from all the worke that he had done, and blessed the seauenth day and halowed it, for in it he ceassed from all his worke which he was aboute to doe. It is one thing simply to stay and to rest, and an other to ceasse off from all the workes now perfected. That daye is worthely blessed, in whiche ẏ due perfecting of al things is made. That rest, when workes be broken off halfe done for slouth, and hindered from their perfection, deserueth no commendation. Therefore as I noted also before, this Sabbath is not for yole persons that do no manner of worke: of whome it can not be sayd, that in the Sabbath daye they rest, leauing off from their workes.

2 Secondly, that is to be considered also, that God did not onely rest the seauenth daye from his workes, but halowed also that daye, to take oure rest therein from laboures. Whereby the time that is to come was

was signifyed: in whiche when the workes of these present times, as it were of sixe dayes, are ended, the common rest of all shall be had, and that euerlasting and without interruption. For like as the sixe dayes of worke, doe shadowe the sixe ages of this present life full of trauailes and troubles, so the seuēth day doth signifie the world that is to come, halowed vnto euerlasting rest, when we shal be quite from al the workes of this present life. But of this matter, we will say some what hereafter.

Hitherto we haue spoken of the lawfull Sabbath, that is to saye, the bodily, grosse, and shadowing Sabbath, whyche perteyned to the teaching of the people of Israell: nowe we must consequently speake of the spirituall and heauenly Sabbath.

The spirituall Sabbath is that, whē our olde man, the man of sinne, with all his doings, is as it were buryed to rest: so that the newe man which is made accordyng vnto God, maye aduaunce his strength, and accomplish his workes. The doings of the old man, be the workes of the flesshe, of which the Apostle writeth in this wise: The workes of the flesh be manifest, whiche is fornicatiō, vncleanesse, vnshamefastnesse, wātonnesse, worshipping of Idolles, witchcraft, enimitie, strife, contention, anger, brawling, dissention, sectes, enuye, manslaughter, drunkennesse, banketting, and suche like, &c. The workes and the endeuoures of the olde man, may be also thus deuided, that parte of them belongeth vnto hys vnderstanding and mind, and part vnto the affections of the hearte. The vnderstanding of the olde man is the wisedome of the flesh, which is altogither carnall, blinde, and folishe in godlye matters, whiche we must bring vnder and abolishe, else it will iudge most fondly of godly matters. For it will not submitte it selfe vnto the truth, whiche is not conceyued by fierceneselle of reason, but by faythe. Of thys wisedome of the flesshe, is bredde ydolatrie, heresies, sectes, false teachings, strifes and contentions: which vnlesse they be quenched, doe altogither hinder the spirituall Sabbath. For it can not be, that the true godly fruites of the newe man, as faith and religion, shall haue the vpper hand, as long as the working of carnall wisedome enioyeth, whiche reputeth all true godlynesse to be folishnesse.

The vnderstanding of the olde man.

The affections of the olde man, be the corrupte desires of the wicked flesh, whiche are fierce bredde in the fleshly heart, and afterwards breaketh out into deadly workes: such is whoredome, adultery, incest, and all manner of vncleannesse: stealing and theft, lying, forswearing, blasphemie, surfet, drunkennesse, slaunders, treasons, violence, and manslaughters, and such others. And we must kill, or rather kill this parte of the olde man, that his workes maye ende and ceasse, and that the newe man may consecrate himselfe wholly to bring forthe the fruites of the spirit. And the fruites of the spirit be loue, ioy, peace, patience, gentlenesse, goodnesse, long suffering, meekenesse, faith, modestie, cōtinēcie, chastitie, &c.

1. Cor. 2. The affections of the olde man.

Gal. 5.

And this spirituall Sabbath belongeth vnto none, but to the iust and to the regenerate. They that liue still after the flesh, that is to say, doe

The spirituall Sabbath belongeth not to the carnall men.

doe follow the wisedome and affections of it, can not sanctifie this Sabbath, bycause they bee occupyed in the workes of the olde man. For albeit they doe outwardly professe to obserue the lawfull Sabbath, yet they be farre wide from the spirite and meaning of the Sabbath, for that they doe not mortifie the olde man with all his doings, and put on the newe, but do giue themselues altogither vnto dead workes. Wherefore it is necessary, that man in anye wise be regenerate, that is, that in killing the olde, he become a newe man: which thing cannot be brought to passe by any deuice or purpose of ours alone, but must haue the power and working of the spirite of God, who dothe only regenerate the heartes of men, and mortifyeth the olde flesh.

This spirituall Sabbath is not tyed vnto any certayne tyme.

And thys spirituall Sabbath is not tyed vnto any certayne tyme, as the legall Sabbath is, but it is continuall and at all seasons. There be not in this case allowed fiue dayes, in which the old man may apply his matters as he list: the olde man being once mortified, al the rest of our lyfe is appointed vnto the new man, to doe his workes continually, euer to beleeue, alwayes to hope, alwayes to loue, alwayes to bring forthe the rest of the fruites of the spirit. Such is the nature of the spirituall Sabbath.

The Heauenly Sabboth.

The heauenly Sabbath is that, wherein we do rest from the labors and trauayles of thys presente life, with both body and minde. In thys life we must worke in bodye, notwithstanding that the minde after it is regenerate, dothe keepe Sabbath and rest in the Lord. For the spirituall Sabbath dothe not let the elect, but that they may trauell in body, to get somewhat whereby they may liue, and giue vnto them whiche are in necessitie. Besides that, the bodyes of holy menne be afflicted also with manye trauayles, miseries, calamities, and at last with death. Yea and the mind of the Godly mã, although it is repoled in the Lorde his God, yet it is also afflicted, sometymes with erroures, sometymes with tẽptations, sometimes with troubles and anguishes, yea and oftentymes also with a certaine gricfe and pitie which the miseries of others do strik into hym. These be the troubles of this present worlde, whiche the spirituall Sabbath doth not ridde vs of, but the heauẽly Sabbaths shal take them quite away, when in the life to come, our bodyes shall be deliuered from all manner of labours and trauayle of worke: and oure mindes also shal rest togyther with the bodies. For then there shall be no tyme or place of labours, trauayles, passions, sorrowes, troubles, errours, and temptations.

I call this Sabbath the heauenly Sabbath, for that it can not be kepte in this life, but only in figures: but the truth of it taketh place onely in heauen, and requireth a very heauenly life. It may be also called perfect, for that it is not the Sabbath of the body alone, or of the minde only, but it is of them both togither. That same whiche is in the legall Sabbath shadowed, is in the spirituall Sabbath begunne and fashioned: & in this heauenly Sabbath in ỹ life to come, it is perfected and made vp.

Thys

Thys Sabboth is also euerlasting, as all true good things bee that are come to their perfection. For it shall not be ended and mette withall and made perfect with any other Sabbath, but it shall endure for euer. Those things that bee shadowyng and vnperfect, be not, nor deserue to be euerlasting: but be subiecte vnto chaunges, by which eyther they may be ended, or brought to perfection. The legall Sabbath was not of his nature suche, that it shoulde be euerlasting. For it was not a true, but shadowing: not perfect, but sette for younglings and to teache, verye vnperfect and meete to be gyuen to an vntaught people. Therefore at the time of the newe Testamente it did worthyly ceasse, to gyue place to the libertie of the Spirite. Christe is the hodye, at whose comming, shadowes by good reason dyd ceasse. See what the Apostle writeth of thys matter. The verye spirituall Sabbath, though it belong to the newe Testament, yet it is also imperfecte: and shall then be perfecte, when that shall come whiche is perfecte and whole, and that cease, whiche is but in part. For the Apostle witnesseth that some things be vnperfecte, whiche hee calleth In parte, and that some things be perfect. Also of that it shall come to passe, that the perfecte thyngs shall come, and those things that be vnperfect and in part be ridde away. Seeyng that the spirituall Sabbath is, fyrste to haue no sinne, whych is called the worke of bondage: secondly to lyue altogyther according vnto the righteousnesse and holynesse of the new man: it is manifest, that thys Sabbath is not perfected in holye men whyles they liue in thys world. Wherefore it is necessary, that at length there must come a heauenly Sabbath, perfecte, and euerlasting, whiche is that rest of the heauenly dwellyng, that is the Sabbath of Sabbathes, that same high quiet, which men cal the Jubilæ.

Like reason of the Sacramentes, as of the Sabboth.

Hitherto we haue spoken of the diuision of three manner of Sabbathes, & haue declared such thyngs as we thoughte meete to teache, namely howe that the Sabbath is Legal, Literal, bodyly and shadowing: secondly that it is spirituall: thirdely that it shall bee heauenly, perfecte and euerlasting. The lyke matter is of the Sacramentes, both of the newe and of the olde Testamente.

The circumcision of the flesh was lawfull, and giuen to the Israelites, when the foreskin of the flesh is cutte off with a stony knife: the spirituall circumcision is, when the foreskin of the heart is taken away by the working of the holye spirite. The one belonged to the olde, the other to the newe Testamente. But the heauenly circumcisiõ is to come, when we shall be circumcided bothe in body and in minde, and shal dwell for euer with the heauenly spirites, as the angels of God.

Likewyse there is a Baptisme of the body, whith we may wel cal sacramentall: there is also a baptisme of the spirite, that is the inwarde regeneration, renewing and washing: There is a heauenly baptisme, that is the euerlasting and perfecte puritie, whiche we shall obteyne aboue in Heauen after this life.

And

And in the Lords supper there is the outward and sacramentall celebratiō, as it were the outward rine: and the wary also, whiche is the feding and comforte of the soule: yea, and there is also a heauenly perfection in it, whereof Christ maketh mētion, saying: And I appoynte vnto you a Kingdome, as my father appointed to me, that you may eate and drynke vppon my table in my Kingdome. *Luke.22.*

Therefore there be degrées both of the Sabbath and of the Sacraments. *Three degrees of the Sacrament of the Sabbath.*

1 The first is grosse, outward and elementary, wherein both good and euill do communicate, touching the outward celebration thereof.

2 The seconde is inward and spirituall, whiche you may well tearme to be of them that doe profite, whereof the elect and faithfull onely doe participate.

3 The thirde is of perfection and consummation, which onely shall abide for euer, to which we do goe vp by the seconde, and to the felicitie whereof the elect do dayly sigh, and with most deepe desires and wishes doe striue vnto it. For they knowe that in it only consisteth the consummation of al true iustice, knowledge of God, loue, quiet and felicitie.

Of the abrogation of the lawish Sabbath.

The errour of the Sabbatharies is refuted. Gene. 2.

SOme men maketh a doubt of the obseruancye of the Lawish sabbath, and defend that it ought as well to be kept of the Christian men, as of the Iewes.

They bring reasons to proue their opinion, and do grounde their argumente vppon that, that the Sabbath was ordeyned by God euen straight at the beginning of the creation, to be the seauenth daye after the syre worcking dayes, and that before the lawe, as we cited before out of Genesis. Here they say: Forasmuche as vniuersally all men are bounde to kéepe the memorie of the creation, it followeth, that the Israelites are not only bound to keepe and sanctifie the Sabbath, but generally all nations of the whole worlde. For the Sabbath of the seauenth daye was sanctifyed by God to that purpose, that it shoulde nourishe and encrease the faith and memorie of the creation of al things in the heartes of all men. Thus the Sabbatharies doe reason the matter.

We cannot denye, that the case of the Sabbath, that is of the rest of the seuenth day, as it is set forth in this *Decalogus*, and in Genesis, is not such that it doth pertaine onely to the Israelites: as those things were which hapned in their bringing forth from Egypt, which is oftentimes put into their head by God, saying: I am the Lorde thy God, which brought thee out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. And yet it followeth not, that the obseruance of the lawithe Sabbath is of like charged vppon other nations, as it is vpon the Israelites. For there appeareth no commaundement of God to bind the Gentiles to this obseruaunce of the seauenth day, as the Israelites were by an open lawe. Wherefore it cannot be proued, that the Sabbath of the seuenth day was kept before this law, eyther after Adam tyll Noe before the

the flood, eyther from Noe till Moses after the flood, eyther by Abraham and his after-commers. So that some of the Hebrewes do graunte, that it is not written of Abraham that he obserued the Sabbath, but albeit the case were certayne and cleare, that the fathers whiche liued before the lawe, kepte the order of this Sabbath, yet no man could bée bounde by their example to the lyke obseruance, vnlesse they will saye, that we muste also make sacrifices of beastes, bycause we reade, that the fathers did make sacrifice of beastes, both before and after the flood.

The Sabbatharies doe replye, that the kéeping of the *Decalogus* perteyneth to the lawe of nature, and bindeth not only the Iewes, but the Christians also, and as many as doe profesle the religion of the one and true God. We answere: That this *Decalogus*, forasmuche as perteyneth vnto the lawe, giuen of God to Israel by Moyses in the mount Syna, that it perteyneth to the Israelites only. For as the Apostle sayth: The lawe speaketh vnto them whiche be vnder the lawe. And the very words of the *Decalogus* do not onely expresse what it is, but also to whom it is cōmaunded, when God sayeth: I am the Lorde thy God, which brought thée out of the lande of Egypte, and out of the house of bondage, wherby it appeareth manyfestely, that those thynges that be commaunded in the lawe, were commaunded to the people whiche was brought out of the house of the bondage of Egypt. But if any man do thynke, that Christian men also be bounde to this lawe: lette hym yet thynke of the Sacrament of our initiation, whereby we be accompted Christians. If we and the Iewes be admitted and taken in by all one Sacrament, then we must nedes kéepe one religion of the law of Moyses. He that is circumcised, must know that he is debtour to fulfill all the lawe. But he that is baptised in Christ our sauiour, and hath receyued the spirite of grace, surely he dothe seruilely submit hymselfe to the yoke of the lawe, to the great wrong of the grace of Christ, in case he thinke hymselfe bounde to kéepe the lawish Sabbath. *The obiection of the Sabbatharies.*

They reioyne, Then doth not the *Decalogus* perteyne vnto Christian men, but vnto the Iewes only? If it be so, it is lawfull ynough for Christian men to haue many Gods, to worshippe Images, to take the name of God in vayne, to attende no holy day, to set their parents at naughte, to kill, to committe adultery, to steale, to beare false witnesse, and to couet his neighbours goodes. I answere: My saying is not, that the obseruance of thys *Decalogus* dothe absolutely perteyne to the Israelites alone, but in respect that it is the lawe giuen by Moyses, and conteyneth the table of the couenaunte made by God with the Israelites. In that respecte it byndeth neyther the Gentiles, neyther the Christians, but the Israelites only, whome the gyuing of thys lawe doth peculiarly and namely concerne. And yet withall we muste knowe, that the obseruance of those thynges, whiche be conteyned in thys *Decalogus*, as farre forthe as they bée good, iuste, vpright and godly, and agréeyng wyth the lawe of nature, so they doe perteyn-

teyne vnto all men. Imagine that a Prince hauing diuers prouinces vnder him, giue vnto them sundry statutes and lawes, all vprighte and iuste, and yet to the sundry prouinces the lawes are sundrye, according to the diuersitie of time, and for some certayne respectes. In thys case, the lawes that be seuerally giuen to Italy, doe not bynde Germany, in respect that they be made for Italye: and yet in respect that they are to bée lyked for their vprightnesse, the Germaynes can not contemne them, if they do well. The case of thys *Decalogue* is euen lyke. For in respect that it was deliuered for a lawe by Moses to the Israelites, it doth as a lawe bynde onely the Israelites: but in respect that it agréeth with the lawe of nature, with iustice and equitie, not onely the Israelites, but all men are bounde to the obseruaunce of it. The knowledge, religion and seruice of one true God: and forasmuch as toucheth oure neyghboure, that we doe to no mã that we would not haue done to our selues, perteyneth to the lawe of nature. But of the lawe of nature, loke vppon the Chapter whyche we haue before peculiarly noted of it. For thys matter touching the lawfull Sabbath, it standeth with the lawe of nature, that we shoulde some day giue oure selues vnto holy occupations and exercises. In thys respecte we muste not shake off the sanctifying of the Sabbath or rest, whiche is so farre forth deliuered vnto vs by the lawe of nature, that al people also vniuersally haue their standing holydayes common for all the people, and consecrated to the doyng of holy things.

In vvhat respect vve ought not to refuse the Sabbath.

But that is to be referred vnto the lawe of Moyses, that neyther the firste, nor the seconde, nor the thirde day, &c. but the seauenth day was expressely, and by lawe appoynted for the holy rest. This lawfull appoyntment and halowing of the seauenth day, byndeth no kinde of men but the Iewes. And that was but for a tyme, vntyll the comming of the newe Testamente, when both the lawe of Moyses and the priesthode also gaue place vnto Christe our sauiour. Wherefore it is not without good cause, that the Apostle doth so earnestly reiect the obseruation of the lawe and of the ceremoniall Sabbath, and that we Christian men, leauing the Iewish Sabbath, doe kéepe oure holy rest vppon that day, wherein oure Sauioure deliuered not only the Israelites, but vniuersally all kinde of men, not out of the house of the bondage of Egypte, but from the power and kyngdome of Satan, and rysing from deathe, dyd triumph of all thée, Deathe, Sinne, and Satan. Thys day is called the day of the Lord, to the intent the memorie of the resurrection of our Lorde shoulde be celebrated vntill the ende of the worlde.

The Sabbatharies goe about to obscure thys grace of oure redemption, deliuery, and frédome, and the glorye also of Christe our sauioure, when they forsake the obseruing of the Lordes day, and wyll bryng Christian men backe agayne, as néere as they can, to the yoke of Moyses lawe. Therefore wé muste diligently stoppe theyr endeuoure, as most pestilente. Thys muche of the Sabbath. Nowe lette vs proceéde

Dies nicus.

Apoc.

ceéde to the Seconde table of the *Decalogus*.

The seconde table of the Decalogus.

WE noted before of the diuision of the *Decalogus*, and shewed you that there is two diuisions, one where as it is deuided into two tables, a nother where it is deuided into Ten wordes, so that we néede not to repeate anye more of that matter héere. Nowe that wée haue made an ende of the fyrste table, wée muste proceéde to the seconde, wherein the other fyue preceptes be comprised, by whyche those thyngs are prescribed, that doe belong vnto the kéepyng of the rule of Iustice and Equitie to wardes our neyghbours. And that is sette fyrste, wherein they be commaunded to honoure their parents, and these be the wordes of it.

The fifte Precept.



Onoure thy Father and thy Mother, that thy dayes may bee long in the land, which the Lord thy GOD shall gyue thee.

There is nothyng in thys precepte that is obscure: and therefore it boteth not to make muche adoe in expoundyng it. And the deuision of it also is not obscure. For euerye man that readeth it, maye perceyue straighte, that there is two partes of it. The one, wherein is commaunded what is to bée done: The other, whereby we bée admonished of the profyte of the obedience vnto it. To the fyrste parte belongeth that that he sayeth: Honoure thy father and thy mother; to the other, that whyche hée addeth: That thou mayest lyue long, or as it is in the Hebrew, That thy dayes maye bée prolonged, or if thou wyll, that thy dayes maye prolong, last long vppon the Earthe, whyche the Lorde thy God shall gyue thee. Hée promiseth large and long lyfe to them, whyche behaue themselues godly towardes their parentes.

VVhiche the Lorde thy God shall giue thee.

Whereas hée sayeth not symplye, That thy lyfe maye be long vpon the lande: but hée addeth, whyche the Lorde thy God shall gyue thée: it is an applying vnto the presente cause. For they were brought forth from the house of the bondage of Egypte, to the intente they shoulde be ledde into the lande of Canaan, whyche was promised vnto theyr fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob; and to theyr seede, and they were nowe euen in theyr iourney to enter into that lande. Wherefore it is not redde in the Hebrewe in the future tence, Whyche the Lorde thy God shall gyue thée, but, Which the Lorde thy GOD gyueth thée. For the verye bringing of them out of Egypte, and the passyng thorough the Deserte, was nothyng else but the fulfylling of Gods promisse made vnto the Fathers. Hée beganne to giue them the land that hée promysed, when hée brought them oute of Egypte, and ordeyned their iourney and passage vnder th-

gouernaunce of Moyses and Aaron: yea, and was also present with thē, directing and dispatching all things in that iourney.

So that he addeth thys parcell, to admonishe the Israelites, that they shoulde in déede enter into the lande that was promised: but that it could not be, that they should liue long and dwell in it, if they did neglect and despise their parentes. But let vs sée what things are to be considered in this precept.

Things to bee obserued in that that he sayth: Honor *thy Father and Mother.*

True religion doth not so vvorship, that it doeth neglect men.

Firste, let vs consider that point, that he is not contente onely to set forth those preceptes wherein we are taught of the faith, reuerence, and seruice due vnto him: but he addeth also those, wherein is commanded that that is to be obserued towardes our neighboure. By thys consideration we bée admonished, that the same is no full nor true religion and godlinesse, whiche so serueth the image of God, that it vtterly neglecteth those thyngs that concerne our neyghbours. For they that bée so mynded, haue an euill opinion of God. Tyrauntes bée of that disposition, that they doe chieflye and onely couet to bée honoured and feared of theyr subiectes, hauyng no respecte what befall to theyr neyghboures. This spirite is farre wyde from God, who is not satisfyed that thou do honour, feare, and serue hym, vnlesse thou be also well mynded towardes thy neyghbours. Wherefore he did not onely sette forthe the Firste table of the *Decalogus*, but the Seconde also, in whyche hée placed the precepte of righteousenesse to bée obserued towards oure neyghboures. And thys Seconde table, though it doe not in the chiefest degrée helpe to the obseruing of the couenaunt, yet it is in the seconde degrée. For they be not true and sound worshippers of God, that couet to please God, and in anye wise to procure his fauoure by, I wote not what outwarde, rytes and ceremonies in the Churches, hauyng no care at all to loue theyr neyghboure, as though that péece of righteousenesse dyd not belong vnto the true worshippe of God, and that it were possible that he whyche dothe hys neyghboure anye wrong, coulde by anye manner of worship make hymselfe to bée well lyked of Goddes Maiestie. A lyke matter, as if anye man thynke that hée is able to please hys father by some certayne kynde of seruices touching hymselfe, and yet wyll dayly offende hys bréethren: as though that the fathers woulde haue their children to regarde them alone, and require not also that they should beare a mutuall loue one of them to another.

Secondely lette vs wey, towardes what kynde of menne hée dothe alotte the seconde charge to obserue rightuousenesse vnto, nexte after hymselfe. There bée two kyndes of men, or if you wyll, estates of mankynde: the one is of the dead, the other of the liuing. Of the dead hée commaundeth nothyng, whether they be holy or vnholy. The fyrst table is manifestly appoynted vnto God, the seconde vnto men that be aliue, with whom we doe accompany as with our neyghboures. There is no mention of the dead. Neyther yet is oure condition such, that we can haue anye thing to doe with thē that be dead, whose life is changed into an estate muche differente from that whiche is in thys worlde. But if the purpose of our religion should haue bin applyed vnto the dead, the consideration thereof shoulde not haue bin passed ouer in this *Decalogus*. Nowe the firste table setteth not forth Angels, nor the seconde dead Sainctes: but the fyrste our Lord God only, and this seconde nothing else, but that we ought to honoure our parentes, and not to hurte oure neighboures with anye wrong, meaning them that be aliue, and able to receyue suche matters. So that theyr religion is very preposterous, that will séeme to be religious in worshipping the dead, and neglect them that be aliue, and theyr neyghbours. They doe set at light al care of righteousnesse, vprighte dealing, goodnesse, and loue to bée vsed towards their neighbours aliue, and yet do séeme very officious towards the dead: in whose memories [illegible]ame they will sooner bestowe [illegible]ece of golde, than a fewe vile [illegible]ppes to their liuing bréethren.

Thirdly, marke whome he dothe appoynte to be honoured. He sayth, Honoure thy father and thy mother. It néedeth no declaration, who bée meante by father and mother. It is knowen to all men, that they bée our parents, of whome we be borne and bred. Men do include in them commonly the Magistrates, the pastors of Churches, teachers of good manner and of artes, tutours, kinsmen, and all that be elder in yeares. This meaning and diligence is commendable. For all these are to be estéemed. But for all that, in this place there is nothyng commaunded of them. There be other places of Scripture, in whiche we be admonished to honoure the Magistrates, the presidentes of the congregation, teachers, and olde men. We knowe that it is no lesse matter to frame the mind, than to produce and beget the body: and that the defence which we haue thorough the Magistrate, stādeth in stéede of the fatherly care. Yet for all that, we must stande to the simplicitie of the words set forth to the rude people, and kéepe the difference of the states of mankynde. And we must not giue like honoure vnto all. The prerogatiue of the father chalengeth to hymselfe a certayne peculiar affection, whych the righte and incorrupt perseueraunce of nature dothe prescribe more than any teaching. Therefore it is not without reason, that hée gyueth the fyrste place in thys Seconde table to the honoring of the parentes: manifestly declaring, that we ought to repute in nexte place after God, those men of whome we be borne and broughte vppe. We must haue recourse vnto the causes of our life. The fyrste is in God, by whome we bée made, but after that there is none other, but that whyche is in our parentes, of whose flesh we bée borne, by whose care and diligence wée be nourished, brought vppe and encreased, not withoute incomparable loue and trauell. These instrumentes

Parentes to be honored nexte after God.

ments of our birth and life, doe iustly chalenge the nexte obseruaunce and reuerẽce after God. So that of most right order, the precept of honoring our parentes, is set next after the religion due vnto God.

Vnto parents is appointed not the chiefe but the second honor

Fourthly, it is not to be ouerpassed, that he appoynteth not the first, but the second honoure vnto the parents. The very order of the Tables and of the preceptes dothe sufficiently tell vs, that we must first of al honoure God, and next after God oure parentes. Therefore no sonne is so bound to honor hys parents, that he shall in respect of them leese regarde the religion and seruice of G O D. That obseruance of Gods precepte is preposterous, which repugneth against God hymselfe, from whome procedeth the whole authoritie of the parentes, and the subiection of the children. As that loue is preposterous when the children are more derely loued, than hee by whome both wee and oure children bee, by whose benefyte wee be both men and fathers. Abraham dyd in a most noble and cleere example declare, that no children, though only and most deere, ought to bee loued aboue God, when at Gods commaundement he appoynted to sacrifice hys onely sonne Isaac, whome he loued exceedingly. Therefore, by lyke reason it is required also of the parẽts, that they loue theyr children lesse than God. And of the children, that they honor theyr parentes vnder God. Christe the sonne of God, requireth both these of vs, when hee sayth: He that loueth his father or mother more than me, is not meete for me. And he that loueth hys sonne or his daughter more than me, is not meete for me. And in this saying, hee requireth earnestly that whiche appertayneth vnto God: and doth admonishe vs, that it is not true loue, when the children are preferred before the creatoure and sauioure of all: nor true honoure, when the parentes are honoured more than God.

Abraham.

Gene. 22.

Matth. 10.

Fiftely, let vs wey also this word of honoring. He sayth, Honoure thy father and thy mother, he sayth not, Feare thy father and thy mother, nor he saith not, Loue: nor he sayeth not, Obey thy father and mother: but Honoure. We must also loue oure parentes and feare them, and we must reuerently obey them: but in steade of all these there is required honor, not excluding all these, but including and tempering them together. The seruaunt feareth his maister, and the inferioure his greater, but he loueth hym not, he esteemeth hym not. The naturall sonne dothe also feare his parentes and loueth them: but he dothe adde somewhat, which is not found in the seruaunte. The seruaunt obeyeth his maister, but against his will: but the sonne obeyeth also his parents but with no seruile affection, but such as becommeth a sonne. The brother loueth the brother, the friend the friend, the fellow the fellowe: and the naturall sonne also his father and mother, but not all one like another. Loue is wont to bréede a certaine familiaritie, and of the familiaritie riseth by little and little a certaine neglecte and contempt, specially if they lyue togyther dayly in one house, as the parents and children doe. Therefore such

suche loue shoulde not serue the purpose of the law giuer. Yea and sometimes the affection of loue maye growe in children towards their parentes, as it were by hys owne accord, by disposition of nature, or the perseuerance of the fathers benefytes, so that there may be no necessitie to commaund it.

But this honour which the lawegiuer requireth, saying: Honoure thy father and thy mother, consisteth neyther in the affection of corrupte nature, neyther is bredde of the fathers benefites, or liuing togither in house, but springeth out of the loue towards God, as out of a rote. For to honoure the parentes is briefly nothing else, but to iudge discretely, reuerently, and honorably of the parents, and to make much of all theyr thyngs: not only as elders, but principally as parentes, whome God hath vsed as instruments, to this intẽt, that we be borne into this light and life, and be nourished after we be borne. The Ebrewe word hathe the signification of Grauitie, excluding all lightnesse, negligence and contempt: and requiring such an affection, as shall iudge hys parents to be men not of lyghte momente, but graue: not to be loued as equals, but as the authors of our birthe and lyfe: not to be feared as maisters and lordes, but to bée reuerenced louingly and honorably, as the guides of oure lyfe, ministers and fellowworkers of God: in whome we doe honoure both the vertue and goodnesse of God, whereby we are made and borne men of the blond of man. If thou doe muche esteeme and regarde thy lyfe, thy birth and nati-

uitie, and the education whyche followed thy nativitie, without whiche it hadde nothyng auayled thée to haue bene borne: then it followeth, that thou must iudge with greate reputation, hyghly, holyly, and honourably, of those men, by whome these things came to passe: of whose fleshe thou hast receyued that thou art made a man. The very fleshe of thyne, thy bloud, yea and thy verye lyfe, if they be asked of theyr byrth, will poynte thée out thy father and mother, as the beginners of them: and will say the same that thys law commaundeth, saying, Honoure thy father and thy mother.

Thys honor as it excludeth all neglect and contempte, so it includeth all reuerence, obseruaunce, obedience, loue, benevolence, and such lyke. For hée that so dothe honor, can not denye that due reuerence vnto hys parentes, whereby he is carefull, least hée doe anye thyng, wherewyth they may bée offended: hée can not chose, but obey theyr commaundementes: he can not but loue them and sette forthe their honoure, and ayde their necessities, if anye suche occasion be. Wherefore the lawgiuer, to comprise all these things as it were in one bundell, vsed ŷ word of honoring, saying, Honor thy father and thy mother.

This commandement is to honor not onely the father, but the mother also.

Sirtly, obserue ŷ also, that the cõmandement runneth not only of the father, but of ŷ honoring of the mother also. He sayth not simply, Honoure thy father, but he addeth, And thy mother. In déede the mother is inferioure vnto the father, as concerning the lawe of the subiection of wedlocke: and beesides that, weaker

also in nature and kinde, so that thée is not vnworthily called, the weaker vessell, of the Apostle Peter: but they must not take thereof anye argumente to haue the lighter iudgemente of hir. For the difference that is in wedlocke betwixt the husbande and the wife, perteyneth nothing vnto him, but he must loke vnto the relation which is betwirte the mother and the sonne. Whatsoeuer she is in respect of hir husbande, she is as mother to thée, and equally to be honored with thy father: for she did equally worke with him to thy birth, yea, and also muche more. For who can sufficiently wey, how great a heape of trauailes the great belly draweth on withall, how great their paynes be towards their deliuerance, howe many and how thicke their throwes be, that it was not for naught sayde, In payne thou shalt bring forth thy children: what a trouble haue they in giuing them milke, what a care all the while their children bée in their swadling clothes? Therefore they doe exceedingly amisse, that doe take the honor whiche is due commonly vnto both the parentes, and giue it to the fathers alone, & thinke that it skilleth not, how they vse their mothers, so that they please their fathers.

1. Pet. 3.

Genes. 3.

Seuenthly, Let vs consider also, *that there is no condition added vnto* it, but whatsoeuer the parentes bée, forasmuch as they be thy parentes, they must be honored. There is no other respect hérein, but the prerogatiue of parents: whiche is no whit more to be accounted vpon, whether they be noble, gentlemen, famous, riche, in authoritie, than if they be of the common sorte, base, obscure, and poore. He that doth reuerence and honor his parentes, bycause they bée of greate estimation and riche, out of doubt he will contemne them, if they should be obscure and poore, and doth reuerence in them not the prerogatiue of parents, nor the beginning of his life, but their outwarde fortune: and the same that he beareth vnto thē, he woulde giue by the same reason to them that hée neuer sawe, so that there were anye hope of some great honour and ryches. I haue my selfe séene diuers yong men fallen to that wickednesse, that they haue takē vp their own mother with taunts and rebukes, bycause that she hadde presumed to marrie to their father, and was made their mother, béeyng poore, and farre inferioure to hym in goodes, for that they estéemed it to be a vile matter, to be borne of so base a stocke. But God suffered not so great an impietie to scape vnpunished. Therefore the godly and good sonne must thinke, that it is not done without the purpose of God, if hée be borne of base parents: & he must endeuoure to make their basenesse more séemely with hys reuerence, and to bring them to more reputation by the fame of his goodnesse and honestie.

That there vvas no condition of the parents added.

Eightly, it is not to be passed ouer, *that séeyng nature it selfe dothe* declare, that the parents ought to be honored, in so muche that *Valerius Maximus* sayeth, that it is the fyrste lawe of nature, that we must loue our parēts. It may be demaunded, what néede it was to commaund mé by a written lawe, that euerye man shoulde honoure hys Parentes?

But

But if we consider what the corruption of our nature is, it shall appeare that it is not done without reason. In déede all men do grant, that it is right and méete that the sonne do honour the father and mother: and yet we be so far out of the way, that we do wrong sometimes, not only vnto straungers, but also to our kinsemen and to our very parentes: so that we wil giue them euil wordes, yea, and sometimes stripes. Therefore it is prouided by law, that he shal be punished with death, whosoeuer vseth cursed words to his father and mother, or giueth thē any stripe. These lawes giuen by God, do reproue the crokednesse of our nature, and there were no cause why they shoulde be giuen, vnlesse we would do the worst when we knowe the best, and that we can not refraine the nature of our malice, no not towards our own parentes.

Mynthly, we must also consider of the transgression of this precept. There be two sortes of them that may be blamed for the transgression of this precept. The one is of them, which be the authors and causers that children giue not due honour to their parents: the other is of them, which do not giue the lawfull honor to their parentes. To the firste sort may be referred not onlye they which do seduce yong men, and depraue their maners, and make them disobedient to their parents, and impacient of all good discipline, by naughty and corrupt company, in eating and drinking, playing and hoaring: but they also which vnder colour of religion doe bring that to passe, that the parentes are defrauded of the due honour that their children shoulde do to them, and so by their traditions doe breake the precept of God. Such the Scribes and the Pharisées were among the Iewes, in Christes time, of whome we reade in this sorte. Why doe you transgresse the commaundement of God for your traditions? For God said, honour thy father and thy mother. And whosoeuer curseth his father and his mother, shall dye the death. And ye say, Whosoeuer saith to his father or mother: whatsoeuer rewarde is of me, shalbe beneficiall vnto them: and honoreth not his father or mother. And you haue made the precept of God broken for your traditions. Thus much is there. Yet none of them taught this, Honour not thy father and thy mother, but they did diligently teache the *Decalogus*. And they doe also at this daye, mosse superstitiously laye it vp in a chest, and bring it forth and shew it solemnly in the Sabbothes and feast dayes. For they iudge it not lawful to read the words of it openly, which *Iosephus* dissembleth not. But forasmuche as they did hinder the obseruance of this precept by their tradition, vpō colour of a better teaching, that it was better to giue to the Temple, that which should be giuen *to the parentes: specially for that the* same rewarde profyted not only the giuer, but also the parentes before God: they were worthylye blamed of Christ, bycause they brake this precept of God for their tradition.

Matth. 15.

Exod. 20.

What shall we say here of our Pharisées and Hypocrites?

Of our Pharisies and Hypocrits.

1 Doe not they breake this precept of God, which do so extoll the super-

Critis of monkery, that they do teach that men muste runne into Abbeys againſt their parentes will, yea and treade vpon them in the entrie?

2 Are not they to be blamed of this tranſgreſſion, that teache, that it is not lawfull for Monkes, Friers and Nonnes, to go to relieue the neceſſities of their parentes, no not when they be ſicke and ready to dye?

3 Be not they alſo to be reputed with theſe, that do teache and ſtande to it, ỹ the matrimony is god which is contracted without the knowlege of the parents, yea though they ſpeke againſt it, and it be againſt their wil: which teaching doth not only manifeſtly diminiſhe the power and honor of the parentes, but is alſo very hurtfull to them that do wedde, and is a ſhame to publike honeſtie, and contrary vnto the cuſtome of the godly, and of our forefathers.

4 Vpon this alſo dependeth that that they teach, that the children may profite their parẽts after their death, if they buye Dirigies and Maſſes for money or yerely rentes. For ſo it cõmeth to paſſe, that they regarde them the leſſe, whiles they be a liue. Theſe thinges they do ſo manifeſtly and vniuerſally, that the ſame which Chriſt obiected to the Scribes and Phariſées of ỹ Iewes, may be more worthyly obiected vnto them.

How this precept is made broken of the parentes themſelues.

And the parentes themſelues doe aſmuch as lieth in them, make this precept of God broken, whẽ by their owne fault they doe hinder this honor due vnto them of their children, that is, when they doe behaue themſelues ſo, that it is impoſſible or very harde for the children, to iudge honorably and reuerently of them. This happeneth diuers wayes.

Firſt, if they be to the face of the world naughty liuers, as they be dyſcardes, adulterers, vain and light in wordes and dedes: of which number they be, that do prate of the fondneſſe of their youth, before their children.

Secondly: if they do not reſtraine the malice which is in the hartes of their children, but doe of a prepoſterous fauoring of them, winke at all their faultes.

Thirdly, if they do not bring them vp in the feare and diſcipline of God, out of which floweth as it were a riuer of an obedient harte, and keping the wil of the parentes.

Fourthly, if beſides all this, they be either authors or els abbettors vnto them in their naughtineſſe.

Fiftly, if they be ouer lowe and ſharpe vnto them: which is when they do with ouermuch ſeueritie, vſe rather a Lordlineſſe ouer them, than a fatherly care and diſcipline: and ſometimes when they doe amiſſe, do raile vpon them with tauntes and rebukes, yea and ſometime ſlaunder them when they be innocent. It can not be tolde, howe muche this raſhneſſe, hardneſſe and cruelneſſe doeth turne away and ſturre the hartes of the children againſt their parentes, that it was not for naught ſayd by the Apoſtle, And you fathers, prouoke not your children to anger, but bring them vp in diſcipline and correction of the Lord.

Sixtly, if they openly fall out among themſelues with often diſcord, brawling and chyding, and ſo extinguiſh the quiet and diſcipline of the familye. All theſe thinges and ſuch lyke, if they be once ſetteled to the

ſight & knowledge of children, what can follow, but though not manifeſt, yet priuy contempt of the parentes. For we be altogether ſo diſpoſed, ỹ we can not reuerẽtly iudge of them, whome we finde by the teſtimony of our conſcience to be bayne, light and naught, though thei be neuer ſo neere vnto vs. We may loue ſuch carnally, as farre forthe as they do pleaſe our carnall affections, but honor or reuerence them, we can not. This is a large fielde, but let it ſuffiſe to haue touched it briefly.

Let wiſe men thinke vpon the neceſſitie of this conſideratiõ, to whom it belongeth faithfully and diſcreetly to inſtruct the Church of God, and wiſely to admoniſh thẽ of all things nedefull. Theſe admonitions of mine ſhould here be giuen to the parentes a parte, leaſt their children do peruerſly vſe that to the pretext of their malice, which is well and neceſſarily ſpoken. But here is a queſtiõ, whether it be lawful for the children to denaye the honor due vnto their parentes, if they finde that they be bayne, light, naught, not agreeing one with an other, cruell alſo vnto them, ſlanderous and wrongful? I anſwer: None of theſe matters muſt be of ſo great moment, that it may giue cauſe to breake Gods commandementes, but ſuch as do hinder the obſeruing of a greter righteouſneſſe and godlineſſe: as that is, which is due vnto the preceptes of the firſt table. But there is no impediment, but that children maye alſo ſpecially loue, honor and ſerue God, and alſo beare dewe reuerence vnto ſuch parentes: who if they were not their parentes, might worthyly be leſſe regarded, becauſe they be light, bayne, and naught. For there is no condition in any precept of God, that the ſon ſhal not honor his parentes, although they be not in all points vpright, and without fault.

Counſel in this matter for good children.

Therefore, if the children be godly, firſt they wil be very ſory for their parents faultes: Secondly, they wil not ceaſe to pray vnto the Lord for them, that by his grace they may be amended, and returne into the way. Thirdly, they will with all modeſtie, lowlineſſe, and reuerence admoniſhe them of their dutie, godlineſſe, & honeſtie: Fourthly, they wil not blowe abrode ſuch faultes of theirs, as be done at home, but will rather hide it as carefully as they can. Fiftely, if there be any diſcorde riſen betwixt them, they wil be marueloous ware, that they do not cheriſh and encreaſe it, cleauing vnto any parte, but to bring their hartes that be in ſuch diſcord among themſelues, to agreement, and to make them as one.

If they feele that they be ouerhard vnto them, ſo that it doe braſt out ſometimes vnto reproches and manifeſt wrong, firſte they muſt thinke that it may be, that they themſelfs vnware haue miniſtred occaſion of it, and therefore let them make a diligent accompt of their demeanor and behauiour: & if they find any thing amiſſe in themſelfs, let them amend it. Furthermore, the harder and vnkinder that they be, the more gentle and lowly let them ſhew themſelues in all points, that they may by little & little relent their hardneſſe through their redineſſe, to ſhew obedience and kindneſſe, to ſaue it withall.

In caſe they do no good this ways,

let them thinke that the lightenesse of their youth is punished by this sharpnesse at home, not without the pleasure of God, to the intent they should be euen from their childhod instructed in patience to beare wrong, which they should be afterward better able to vse all the dayes of their lyfe, in their conuersation in the worlde. Thus a naturall and godly sonne shal be affected towardes his parentes, if they chaunce to be light, vayne, offenders, disagreing, harde, and cruell towardes him: whereby though he do not winne his parents, yet he shal be well stayed in his own duetye, that he offende nothing against this precept of God, which he shal be most obedient vnto.

Basilius Magnus.

And whereas Basile in a certain Epistle writeth, saying: It belongeth him whiche goeth aboute to breake his brotherlye charitie, to haue great cares, to passe many nights without slepe, and with many teares to seke of God what is true. The godly and naturall childe ought to vse no lesse care towardes his parentes, that he breake not the honor due vnto them, by any rashnesse or lightnesse.

Of them which honor not their parentes.

Hitherto we haue admonished you of the firste sort of transgressors of this precept, which do minister cause vnto their children, whereby they be letten that they do not giue due honor vnto their parentes. Now let vs consequently speake of the other sort, which comprehendeth them which do not vouchsafe to giue lawful honor vnto their parentes: and so either of themselues, or through the motion of some other thinges, doe transgresse this precept of God.

Of these there be three kindes.

1 The first is of them, which doe outwardly faine a certain reuerence and duetie towardes their parentes, specially in the presence of others: but inwardly and in their hartes do contemne them, and do rashly and without reuerence iudge of their sayings and doynges: and sometimes also do slaunder them, though not before euery man, yet before them that they know to be of the same affection and iudgement that they be.

2 The second kinde, toucheth them, which neither in heart be honestly affected towards their parentes, nor outwardelye declare due obedience and reuerence towardes them, but such as they be in heart, such they shewe themselues bothe in worde and in deede. Their offence is double: For first, they doe not honor in obeying, in obseruing, in well doyng. Though they be not ignorant, which waye they might and ought to gratifie them, yet for all that, they will not meddle with the matter. Againe, which is yet worse, they do dishonest the both in wordes and in deedes: and in case they be able to doe them anye harme, they be so wicked, that they dare doe it contrarie vnto all reason, aswell of godlinesse as of honestie. Such a one was Ruben, which was not afraide to clime vp vnto his father Iacobs lodging, and to defile his bed. Suche a one was Absolon, which layd waite to get both his father Dauids kingdome and life. Such there be many amongst the children of Tyrannes, which eyther put out their fathers eyes when they be olde, or else commit them to prison, to the intent that when they be out of the waye, they may

may without offence enioy al things as they liste.

We must put them in the thirde kinde, which be not in deede irreuerentlye affected towardes their parentes: but sometimes vpon some occasion falling out of square with themselues, they handle them not very reuerently. Such be somtimes the smatterers of learning, which do ouer intemperately chastē the ouersightes and ignorances of their parentes: and they also, that be ouer greedy of the world, and can not find in their hartes to ayde the necessitie of their parentes. Yea and they also which stande in their own conceite, and suppose that they ought to beare all thinges with them, and therefore take it scornefully, if they be corrected by them in any matter, or if they haue any thing denied them.

But it were an infinite trauayle, and also a matter not necessarie, if I should purpose to rehearse al sorts of inobedient children, and transgressors of this precept. For this worlde of oures doth daylye set before our eyes (if a man marke it) ynough of all sortes of disobedient and vnnaturall children.

Thinges to be obserued in that that he saith, That thou *mayest long liue vpon the lande, which the Lorde thy God shall giue thee.*

FIrst we must way, that there is added vnto the precept a promisse, alluring them to the obseruance of that that is commanded. By this promysse it is declared, how gentle a lawegiuer God is, who might haue absolutely commanded, and haue requyred obedience of his people without anye promisse, for this cause only, that it is most mete both that we should obey God, and honour our parents, which equitie the lawe of nature it selfe doth teach vs. But of his abundant goodnesse he doeth adde a promisse. They are not wonte to doe so which vse a lordlynesse towarde their subiectes, but such as haue a fatherly affection, & doe rather trauayle to haue things go well with their subiectes, than to rule without interruption or trouble to themselues. And let vs be admonished of this fatherly & godly goodnesse, as oft as ther be promisses added vnto the preceptes and doctrines of God, that vnderstāding the swetnesse thereof, we may become the more encoraged and the redier to followe and obey the same.

The qualitie of the promysse.

2 Secondly, marke the qualitie of this promysse, how conuenient it is for this carnall and lawish people, whether you loke to the good which is promised, or to the threateninges which be included. He sayth not, That thou mayest please the Lord God, and purchace the life to come: but, That thou mayst liue long vpon the lande, &c. This is naturally giuen vnto all men, that they do loue the life of the flesh, & do couet to liue long, or rather euer, if it were possible) and when they must dye, do exceedingly abhorre death. This promisse of long life he doeth well set forthe to the carnall people, that at the least way, by the desire therof, he might procure them to obedience. Ther be also many other such earthly promisses set forth to this people.

There

There were many of them chosen and godly menne, appoynted to heauenly godnesse, but yet now and the suche earthly promisses were giuen them for a certain lawfull teaching. But vnto the people of the newe testament, are promised no carnal and earthly thinges, but heauenlye godnesse, as we may see in the writings of the Euangelistes, and of the Apostles.

That the Apostle doth also set forth this earthly promisse vnto Christian men.

You will say: For all that, the Apostle doeth set forth also vnto Christian menne this earthly promisse of longe life. I answere: He doeth in deede set it forth, but he saith before, Children obeye your parentes in the Lord: for that is right. And againe, Children (he saith) obeye your parentes in all thinges: for that hath pleased the Lord. The Apostle therfore doth so call Christian yong men to the obedience of this precept, that children may doe their duety toward their parentes, not only for hope of long life, but also in respect that it is right, and the pleasure of God. And by this temperance he doeth neither rashly reiecte Gods promisse, nor condemne the naturall affection of longer life, but in respect of Christian godlinesse he doeth induce and direct vs vnto more spirituall thinges.

Ephes. 6. Coloss. 3.

A like matter this is that he saith vnto Timothee: Exercise thy self to godlinesse. For the bodyly exercise is profitable vnto little: but godlynesse is profitable vnto all thinges, hauing promisse of this life and of the lyfe to come. Where he sayth, Hauing promisse of the life that now is, he doeth sufficiently declare, that it is not damnable, if any man according vnto the direction of nature, do couet thinges that be necessarie for this present lyfe. And where he addeth, And of the lyfe to come, he doth also admonish, that the commodities of this life be so far forth to be desyred of vs, that we neglect not the felicitie of ỹ life to come. And also that the louingnesse of God is such, that it will exceedingly well prouide for them that be godly, and feare him bothe in this presente, and in the lyfe to come. Wherefore in case the godly be in this lyfe sometymes exercised with troubles, we muste thinke, that such afflictions be by the order of Goddes prouidence brought vpon vs for some certain causes, although wee doe not immediatly vnderstande them.

1. Timoth. 5.

3 Thirdly, we must thinke of that, what the equitie of this promisse is. There is promised long life vnto the whiche doe esteeme their parentes. For it is most right, that he lacke the long liuing of this benefite, who soeuer setteth at light either the author, either the instrument of it. The instrument of our life be our parentes. Therfore long life is most rightly so promised to them, which do honour their parents. And it is also signified, that it is not to be loked for of them, which do the cõtrary. Wel des that, that they which be disobedient and troublesome vnto their parentes, for the moste parte be vnprofitable vnto mans life. For he that doeth not accõmodate his lyfe vnto them, vnto whom he is bound for his byrth and bringing into this worlde, and with great trauayles & troubles hath brought him vp, to whome can he earnestly apply himself to do any pleasure or seruice?

4 Fourthly, it may be demanded, how it can be beneficiall or good, if a man be longliued in the lande, seyng that by the iudgement of wise men, it is a miserable thing to be borne, and most miserable to liue long: and on the other side, most happy not to be borne at all, or else to dye quickly. This life is wretched, and subiect alwayes to manye calamities and stormes. The world it selfe wherin we liue, is called, The vale of misery and wretchednesse: Therefore it semeth to be a thing more happy to be sone ridde out of it, thã to leade a long life in it. I answere: These words do sauor not of Christian wisdom, but of ỹ wisdome of this world, specially in that that they say, It is moste happye not to be borne at all. For they must wishe this, who for their notable wickednesse are founde to be children of perdition, as Judas was, of whom Christ pronounced, saying: It were better for that man, if he had not ben borne. But others which be called vnto heauenly and euerlastinge life, though they be exercised in this earthly life with all kinde of afflictiõs, yet neuer the lesse they are to be accompted truely happy, for the hope of the felicitie, that is to come. For as the Apostle witnesseth, The passions of this life are not worthye to be esteemed, in comparison to the glorye to come, which shal be in his time reueled in vs.

It is good of it self to liue, it is also good to liue long.

You will say, Yet it seemeth more happy to departe sooner out of this wretched life vnto the heauenly rest, than by long lyuing to abide continuall troubles, and to lacke that wished quiet the longer. I answere: If life of it self, be the gift of God, then it is certaynelye good. If it be good, surely it is good of it self to enioye it long. And for that that sometimes in this life chaunceth to come afflictions and many troubles, it is to be referred vnto the accidentes, and not to the substance it self, of this goodnesse. Nother the gift of God is therfore to be wyshed away, wherein he graunteth vs to lyue, and to tary long in this life: and I speake not of the rest of the benefites wherewith God doth both spiritually and corporally augmente and garnish this our present life withall.

It is not therfore euill to liue here, because it is better to liue in heauen.

Neyther it followeth, that it is therfore euil to lyue, bicause it is better to lyue in heauen than in earth. This present state, and the state of our lyfe to come, be not of contraries, but of subordinate things one to an other: as earth is also, and heauen. The earth is good, heauen is better. It is in a sorte good of it self, to lyue, it is better if a man lyue honestly and vprightly: it is beste of al, if it be giuen vs to lyue in beste sorte and most happyly, as we shall lyue in the countrye of Heauen. It taketh not away that which is chiefly good, but doeth accomplishe the goodnesse of those thinges whiche be of an inferior order, and conueniently set in order by Gods ordinaunce. The condition and nature of our soule is more noble, than that of our bodye. And yet he muste be worthy to haue nor body nor soule, whosoeuer will say the body is euill, bicause the soule is better. Golde passeth Siluer, yet Siluer is good, though Golde be better. He is not worthy to haue Siluer, that in respect of Golde setteth nothing by Siluer. So likewise we

muste iudge of our lyfe. Let vs acknowledge the gifte of God, not only in the life to come; but also in this present life, and in the long continuance thereof: if it come by the benefite of God. Let vs not be wayward in Gods giftes, but kinde. It is the parte of a gratefull minde so to commende the chiefe and best benefites, that withall he despise not the meaner and inferiour. It is the voyce of holy & not of carnall men that sayth, We that lyue, bleste the Lord. And the Scripture rehearseth among the benefites of God bestowed vpon Abraham the father of the beleuers, that he dyed in a good age, olde & full of dayes,

Psalm.113.

Gen.25.

VVhether that to die sone, be al vvayes a token of the anger of God.

Yet some man wil say: If it be to be imputed vnto ỹ good will of God, that men do lyue long in this flesshe, then to dye quickly, is it a token of the anger of God? I answere: Let no man erre, nor rashly iudge of the whiche aye taken by ouer timelye death out of this life: we must consider, that we must not iudge of this matter, without a conuenient difference to be made in it. The ouertimely death hath a signe of the anger of God, if it fal vpon the wicked, of whome it is written, that they reache not to the middes of their dayes. The rodde of God is also in them, which perteine vnto GOD. Whereof we may see what the Apostle sayth: Wherefore amongst you many be sicke and weake, and many sleepe. So that if we would acknowledge and iudge our selues, we should not then be iudged. But when we be iudged, we be chastened of the Lord, to the intent, we should not be damned with this worlde. Where as he sayth, A man sleepeth, he speaketh neither of the wicked, neither of the that dye for age: but of the Godly, that be chastened of the Lord, and taken away by ouertimely death, least they shoulde be damned with the worlde. Sometimes the iust also dye so, that we muste acknowledge the mercy of God. Whereof there is a place in the booke of wisdome, The beloued that pleased God, was translated alyue among sinners: he was taken away, least malice should alter his vnderstanding, or least dissembling shoulde deceiue his soule. He was dispatched quickly, yet fulfilled he muche time: For his soule pleased God, therefore he hasted to take him out of the middle of iniquitie: and that which followeth there. It is an easy matter for them that consider this, to vnderstand, how that ouertimely death is not indifferently in all men to be imputed to the Anger of God. Wherefore we must beware, that we do not rashlye vniustly condemne any man for ouertimelye death, nor that we do not without cause trouble the consciences of them which be some taken out of this life: but rather taking it moderatly, to comfort them to patience, by discrete talking of it. For it is not our parte to iudge to sore of the state of them that dye sone: for asmuche as the iudgementes of God be secrete: and no man knoweth what is in man, specially when he is at the very point of death, but the spirite of man, and God the knower of al mens hartes and spirites.

Prou.10.

1. Cor.11.

5 Fiftelye, in that that he sayth, Which the Lord God giueth the: first we be admonished, that ỹ earth is the

is the Lords, so that he may giue it at his libertie to whome he will. That lande whereof the Lord speaketh, was at that time in the hand & possession of the Canaanites. They receiued it also of the Lord, but not so that they should for euer & of proper right possesse it, and neuer iustly to be bereaft of it. The earth is not so giuen vnto the childre̅ of men: but to whomsoeuer it is giuen, it is so giuen for a time, that it may be moste iustly at the wil of the giuer, whensoeuer it pleseth him, be taken away. So this same land of Canaan, as it was sometime giuen by God to the Canaanites, and afterward taken away againe, & giuen to Israel to possesse: so when his pacience was stirred by Israel vnto anger, it was taken againe from Israel, & deliuered first to the Assyrias, and afterwards to the Babylonians. Afterwarde it was taken away againe from them, and restored vnto Israel, and yet againe taken from Israell, and giuen to the Romaines, and at length tossed frō the Romains to the Turkes. This is for an example to be considered in the land of Canaan: that we may vnderstande, that they be most fonde, which thinketh that the land is so giuen of God to the childre̅ of men, that they do possesse it in full, proper, and vnmoueable right.

Farther we be also admonished, that it is required of vs, that in the lād which we haue receiued of God, we obserue his commaundementes, vnlesse we wil be some turned out of it. Else it is most right, that the contemners of God be destroyed out of the lande, which they haue receiued of him. And they be most of all subiecte vnto this iudgement of God, which be of the people of God, and dwelleth in the Holy lande, that is peculiarly cōsecrated vnto the name and people of God. God suffereth many thinges in straungers, but not so in his owne people. He suffereth not the lande of his people to be defiled with the malice of the dwellers in it, as he dothe the lande of straungers: but he hurleth the wicked out of it. This considered Dauid when he sayde: Let the wicked perish from the lande. And, you Gentils, shal perish frō his lande. And, They that doe wickedly, shal be driuen out: and they that loked for God, shall inherite the land.

Psalm. 9.

The vvicked be turned out of the lande tvvo vvayes.

And there be two wayes wherby the wicked and disobedient be taken out of the land of the people of God. One is, by ouertimely death. And that is done two wayes. First by pestilence, or some other like kinde of sodeine death. Therefore when we se̅ our youth taken away by pestilence, let vs thinke of this iudgement of the Lord. Secondly, by punishmēt done by the Magistrate. Wherof we reade in Deuteronomie. If a man begette an obstinate son, &c. See the place. It belongeth to the Magistrat to ridde the land of mischeuous and wicked men out of the middes of the people of God.

Deut. 22.

An other way is, when it is done by captiuitie, when the whole people or the most parte, are turned into other lands for their impenitencie. So was Israell caried away first into Assyria, afterward into Babylon. God vseth this way of taking sinners from the land, not for meane faultes, or the sinnes of some priuate

men, but for obstinate Idolatrie, and not repenting, when they would follow no admonstions of the prophetes. Sée in Deuteronomie. If you beget sonnes and daughters, and dwell in the land, and be deceiued to make you any similitude, doyng euil in the sight of the Lorde your God, and stirre him to anger, I call this day heauen and earth to witnesse, you shall sone perish out of the land, which you shall possesse passing Iordayne, &c.

Deut. 4.

The sixte Precept.

Thou shalt not kill.

Manslaughter.

By this Sixte precept is forbidden murder, as it is in the Hebrewe, Sley not. He speaketh not of the slaughter of beastes, but of men. For as concerning beastes and cattel, it was permitted vnto man, immediatly after the floude, to eate of beastes: which you know, could not be without killing and slaughter of them. Wherfore the free gouernance ouer beastes is in man, for suche be subiect vnto none but to himselfe, so that he may either kil of them for to eate of, either kepe them to doe him worke. But he can not do so with man whō God created vnto his own likenesse. Therfore by this law it is forbidden that none kill a man. For God would not haue the life of man subiect vnto the pleasure of any liuing thing, but reserued it only to his owne power, who is the only author of it, and the very Lord of life and death.

2 He speketh not only of that murder whith is committed by hand: but simply he doth forbidde to murder, what way soeuer it be don. The Leuites wife which the Gabaites so killed with outragiousnesse of one nightes filthy abuse, is called, The killed and murdered woman, and yet was not killed by violent hand.

But let vs sée what things are to be considered in this precept. And it may be deuided into two parts.

1 For first we must sée what is to be obserued in this precept, Thou shalt not murder. 2 After that we must consider, how we do sin against this law, that is, who be guilty in the sight of God of murder, and in daunger of the iudgement and paines thereof.

Thinges to be considered in this Precept.

How this precept is ioyned vnto that that goeth before.

First we must sée, how this sixte precept is ioyned vnto that that goeth before, of the honoring of our parentes. The honor of our parents requireth a due and a reuerent reputation of them, by whom, as the instruments of our life, we be brought forth into this worlde. In this present precept it is required, that the same which is once borne and brought forth to the worlde, may be kept and preserued in this life receiued of God, without harme.

There be two estates of mans life, (I meane not of the estates and conditions of men, but of the states of our life) the one is of them which begetteth, the other of them that be begotten. In the state of them which begetteth, are the parentes: in the state of them which are begotten, are as many of them as be borne of the into

into this life, according vnto their similitude and shape. Therefore it appereth, that God by these two precepts, in that he commandeth vs to honor our parentes, and forbiddeth vs to kill any man, hath a consideration of these two states of mans life: and that he doth require this of vs, that esteming much the gift of our life, we should haue in due honor the first state thereof, which concerneth our parentes of whom we be borne: and kepe the other inuiolate, wherin we be comprehended, not in our selues only, but also in all the singularities thereof. For as we be not worthy of this life, if we defraud the instruments thereof, whereof we be born, of their due honor: so it can not be, that mankinde may continue, vnlesse we kepe whole and vnharmed the other state, which is of them that be borne. Now he that killeth a mā, offendeth against this state of life of man it selfe: and as much as lyeth in him, is the open enemy & destroyer of mankinde, although he kill not al the partes thereof in singularities. This is the reasō, as I suppose, why after the honoring of our parentes, murder is forbidden.

Now we must obserue, that without any specification of persons, of maner, and number, he simply saith and absolutely: Thou shalt not kill.

1 First, he saith not, Let not the parent kill, let not the sonne kill, let not the man kill, let not the woman kil, let not the master kill, let not the seruant kill: but without any specifying of persons he saith, Kil not. Therfore he speaketh vnto all, and commandeth without difference, that no man kill. Wherefore murder is left at libertie to no person, apperteining vnto mans life. There is no free auctoritie vpon the life of man to kill, granted vnto any state of men, whether they be of great puissance, riche, olde, or parentes, muche lesse if they be any inferior degrée. Parents and Magistrates haue receiued power frō God, which the one sort may vse towardes their children, the others towards their subiects, but vnto edifying, not vnto killing and destruction. Of the power of Magistrates we wil speak in an other place alone hereafter.

2 Secondly, he saith not, Kill not thy parentes, kill not thy wife, kill not thy children, kill not thy brother, kill not thy kinsman, kil not thy landesman and the citizen, kill not the stranger, kil not the riche, kil not the poore, kil not the feble or the olde and decrepyte, kil not thy enemie, kil not thy seruant, kill not thy maister, &c. but simplye, Kill not: vnderstand to it, No man, of what condition soeuer he be. In this law is comprehended all mankinde that may be killed: and it is commaunded that we doe reuerently spare the life of man in al his singularities, without any partiality. Therfore it is not lawfull to kill seruants or bondmen, though thei be neuer so much in the power of their owners. So we reade in Exodus. If any man stryke his man seruant or his woman seruant with a rodde, and they dye vnder his handes, he shall be gilty of the faulte.

Exod. 21.

3 Furthermore, he saith not, Kill not with a sword, or with a batte, &c. but simply, Kill not. There is no specifying set forth of ỳ meane, to giue to vnderstande, that all meanes and

There is no vvay specified.

kindes of killing be forbidden. Though our flesshe be very witty to deuise sundrye kindes of killing, yet for all that it can not escape, but it is guilty of the faulte, which way soeuer it attaine to the death of a man.

This lavv is not restrained to any number.

4 Againe, this law is not restrained to any number. He saith not, Kil not many: as though it were not vnlawfull to kill one or two: but simplye: Kill not. Murder is also committed in one alone: so that he is iustly counted a murtherer, not only that putteth many, but he also that putteth one alone to death. When we consider these points, we be admonished, how far God will haue vs from murder: and what care he hath of mans lyfe, in that he giueth not libertie to kill any man, be he neuer so vile.

Hovv great the corruption of mans nature is.

5 Thirdly, we must consider also, how great the corruption and malice of mannes nature is. There were no reason to forbidde that which is euill, vnlesse our nature were giuen vnto those thinges that be euil. He that forbiddeth those thinges that be euill, knoweth not onely what man was at his firste creation, but also what he became also after his fall. For he knoweth not only howe he made him, but he vnderstandeth as well of the corruption which came vnto him by the malice of the Deuill. Wherefore he did so temper his law, that he did not only forbidde things that were euill, but he did also open the euil hidden in our flesshe. Therfore as touching this law, whē he saith, Kill not, he signifieth that the malice of our nature is so great, that vnlesse it be restrayned by some feare, we will not spare, no not the life of man, but will therby declare our selues to be enemies vnto our own nature. This malice of our nature the Apostle toucheth when he saith among other thinges: Their fēte be swifte to shedde blood. There is contention and vnhappinesse in their wayes, and the way of peace they knew not, &c. He saith not simply, They kill. But to expresse the bloody cruelnesse, he saith: They shed blood: & farther to declare a certain diuelish disposition to killing, that is in our hartes, he saith not simply, They shed blood, but he saith, Their fēte be swifte to bloodshedding. For by the swiftnesse of fēte, he noteth the hart to be exceedingly bent and greedy to kill.

2 Secondly, it is also therein to be considered, how ready the nature of man is to killing, for that he doeth not say, Be not angry: but kill not. The desire of killing riseth of anger. So that if anger only had bin forbidden, it might haue seemed that it had bin ment, that we be so corrupt, that we be subiecte vnto euill affections: but that ther is no farther proceding in vs, vnto the very acte of killing. But now when he saith expressely, Kill not: and so forbiddeth the very act of killing, it is manifestly ynough declared, that we be not of that disposition, that we can stay the affections of anger from doyng harmes: but that we be also so naughty, ỹ we do accomplish in very deede whatsoeuer we do naughtely cōceiue in our minde, vnlesse we be restrained by some superior power. It is an other mater for any man to be so disposed, that he wil be rashly angry with his neighbour, and yet is able to stay the fury of his anger by iudgement of reason: and it is an other matter, to be so depraued and giuen to kill, that we wil not only vnaduisedly be angry, but either runne vpon with a madde furie, either craftily by stealth seke to kill. Vnlesse we were of this disposition, it had bene to no purpose for this law to say, kill not.

3 It enforceth also, that he sayth without any specifying, Kil not: but it is commonly vnto all men and generally prescribed by this lawe, that no man kill. So that the nature of all men is so muche corrupt and depraued, that they haue nede to haue an open law to stay them, that they commit not murder.

4 Let vs consider that also, that those thinges which are here forbidden, do principally touch them, which were the people of God, admitted into couenāt of God, and receiued and halowed with the sacrament of his couenant. But as touching the common corruption of mans nature, thei that be maked with the sacrament of regeneration, be as euil and depraued, as they that haue nothing to do with this couenant, and sacrament of couenāt. For they were circumcided, to whom this law was giuen: and yet they were so subiect vnto this common deprauation, that it was nede to restraine them by law, least they should fal to bloody slaughters, like beastes. So that this law giuen after the Sacrament of admission and couenant doth well ynough testifie, that the Iewes neither of their own nature were better than the Gentils, neither that the sacrament of regeneration and couenant did of it selfe help them any whit to the amendement of their corrupt nature: which is done by the only working of the holy spirit.

These matters conteine not a friuolous, but a most necessarye consideration of a thing most true of al, which they marke not, that doe loke vnto nothing else in this lawe, but vnto a certayne rule of Iustice, wherunto we ought to conforme the trade of our lyfe, and by the obseruance whereof we may purchase righteousnesse and true health in the sight of God. But we must so loke into this present and other like laws, that we may not only learne out of them what is right before God, and what is not: but also that we may, as it were in the glasse of them see what we be, and by that knowledge of our selues, we may be prouoked vnto the grace of our sauiour and redemer Iesu Christ. Besides that, they also which haue not yet in acte committed murder, considering this corruption of our common nature, may thinke first that it is no thanke to their own loking vnto or vertue, but rather to the grace of God, that they haue yet killed no man: & that they may also way with themselfs, ỹ there is not much difference betwirt him that is not preserued by his own vertue, but by an others, from committing of murder: and him which when he is left alone to himself, is become giltie of this faulte.

VVe must consider vvhat vve be in the lavve of God as in a glasse.

Hovv men do sinne against this lawe.

Murder is three vvayes committed.

It perteineth vnto the seconde consideration to see, how men do sinne against this lawe. Murder is com-

committed three manner of wayes: that is by acte, worde, and hearte. In acte he committeth murder, which killeth a man by hande, eyther with swoorde, or staffe, or stone, or with darte, or poyson, or any other waye. And that is also done two wayes. First with a will to murder. If that be done vnlawfully, it is damnable murder. And it is vnlawfully done, when a man is slaine without iuste cause, as he that no wayes deserued to be slaine. In ỳ sort they be slaine, which be slaine either by furye of anger, either by hatered, or vpon hope of any gaine: Or when he killeth a man, which hath no authoritie by any law to kill him.

VVho kill themselues.

In this degree are they that kill themselues. For no man hath receyued power so far vpon his own life, that he can lawfully, when he list, take it from himself, and be his own iudge. This case happeneth oftentimes thorough impacience, either of feare, when men feare some dangerous mater, which they suppose they can not beare: eyther of some great sorowe, wherewith the ouerweake hart is oppressed: or by dispayre of saluation, whiche happened to the traytor Judas.

Libr. cap. 26. de Ciuitate Dei.

Augustine assigneth foure causes, whereby this killing of men themselues chaunceth.

The impacience of Calamitie.

1 The first he saith, is the impacience of some calamitie, either receyued, either hanging ouer a mãs head. In that sorte they kill themselues, which are not able to beare ỳ sorow conceiued of the losse, either of their dere frendes, either of their goodes: & they also, that do stoutely eschew to come into bondage: such a one was Cato Uticensis, & the iolous Jewes, of whom Josephus maketh mention: and they also, which broken with long sicknesse, partly by the greatnesse, and partely by the continuance of the paine, had rather dye at once, than to striue so any longer with the disease: as we reade of one Cornelius Ruffus in Plinius Epistles. Unto which point also sometime proceded the impacience of Herode. Hitherunto we may referre also the murrers, men most worthy to be hated of all people, which when the dearth of corne was past, wherein they trusted for their most filthy gaine, they bereft themselfs of their lyfe, which they were neuer worthy to enioye, with halfe an houres hanging.

2 The seconde cause he saith, commeth of the abhorring and flying of an other mannes sinne. In that sort Lucrece, a gentlewoman of Rome, killed hir self for ye rauishmẽt done of Tarquine, committed against hir will. So Augustin writeth of diuers women that hurled themselues headlong into the riuer, bicause they wold not be subiect vnto the will of the persequutors. This wise Lucretia detested the sinne of others, and these women fled from it.

3 The thirde he saith, is the vehement repentance of a mannes owne sinne, which doth also oftentimes by the instinct of Satan, driue the wretched man to desperation, and perse to kill himselfe. This happened to Judas that false Apostle and betrayour of Christ.

4 The fourth that he rehearseth is very rare, & not to be feared in these our last times, which is of the vehement and earnest desire of the life to come.

come. It is writen of one Cleombrotus, that when he had read that which Plato disputed of the immortalitie of the soule, by and by he hurled himselfe downe from a wall, that he might quickly come to the experience of that which he hadde read. You shall very seldome finde in our time any, that will gladly for the desire of the heauenlye lyfe embrace death, howsoeuer it come, although they reade the newe Testament a hundreth times ouer.

These causes of man killing himselfe, Augustine rehearseth. And we may ioyne also vnto them the same, which riseth of excéding desire of vaine glorye, wherwithal certain of the Donatistes, called *Circumcelliones* were fyred, and gaue themselues willingly to death. Unto whom, we may ioyne also the same Razias, of whom mention is made in the second of the Machabées, and Augustine in his epistle to Dulcitius, and against Gaudẽtius. These be in déed weighty causes, and beare a great sway in weake hartes, but for bycause it is giuen of nature to all men, as it is also vnto beastes, that they doe abhorre and flée death, yet none of these causes shoulde be able to driue anye mã vnto his own death, vnlesse their came withal the first enemy of mankind, Satã, the author of manslaughter, and by his wickednesse did pricke on the tempted heart vnto this purpose of his owne murther. No not the swine, of which we reade in the Gospell, although they were neuer so vncleane, and not liuing to themselues but vnto others, yea and ordeined to nothing else but to be killed, yet they had not hurled themselues headlong into the sea, vnlesse they had bin possessed by the permission of Christ, with the vncleane spirits, and driuen vnto it.

Wherefore it behoueth all them that be in temptation and afflictions to haue a regarde, that the weaker they finde themselues to be in harte, so muche the more they praye vnto God, that they may not be ledde into temptation, but deliuered from the wickednesse of that euil and old Satan. And it shal helpe much to escape his wicked coũsels, if he that is troubled with temptation, do disclose the causes therof vnto some godlye and Christian brother, and deuide as it were with him the burden of his oppressed harte, that receyuing some comforte, he may beginne to take it lighter and more easyer.

Of Samson in the .xvi. of the Iudges.

Hitherto we haue spoken of them which with purpose to kil, do vnlawfully commit murder in acte, and therefore do runne in blame of manslaughter, not only before God, but also in the face of the worlde. And concerning them that kill themselfs, whereof we haue somewhat spoken, here is a question moued, what is to be thought of Sampson, of whome we do reade in the booke of the Judges, that to reuenge himself of his enemies the Philistians, he did wittingly and willingly yelde himselfe vnto death. For we can not say, that he hadde anye hope to escape, when being a blinde man, he sought the reuengement of his enemies, by shaking & ouerthrowing the house vnder which he stoode. And ỳ he knewe he shoulde dye together with them, & toke vpon him this death of his own accorde, his laste wordes do declare,

in which he saide: Let my soule dye with the Philistians. Therefore he did that which was not lawfull in killing himself, and so became giltye of Murder.

Unto this question we may answere in fewe wordes, that is, that Sampsō is not to be reckened in the number of the others, which for the causes spoken of before, do kil themselues: for he was moued vnto suche kinde of reuenge by a singulare purpose of God, with the working of ỹ holy spirite, & not with the spirite of Satan: also not vpon filthy desperation, but vpon the zeale of reuenge, wherwith he was inflamed for ỹ people of God, against their most wicked enemies, being not a priuate mā, but the iudge and prince. He did first pray vnto the Lord, & desired him to giue him the accustomed strength of his body, that he might be able to take reuenge of the wicked, and doe good to the people of Israell. After that he receiued of God that which he desired: and so being holpen by the power of God, he did bring aboute his purpose. He perceiued, that it was not he only, as a poore blind mā that was mocked to scorn of them, but his Lord God also: he hearde them boast of the glory of the Gods of the Philistians: he vnderstode he could not escape & do any more good hereafter in deliuering of Israell: and he thought that the opportunity of the occasion of reuenge was not to be neglected, whereby he might not only be reuenged vpon the noble mē of the Philistians gathered together in that place, but also greatlye aduance the glory of God, and the profites and commodities of his people: and therefore when he had obteyned with his prayer the good wil and ayd of GOD, he did stoutely shake together all the house, and ouerthrowe it: and by this meanes in dede he brought himself to his owne death, but withall he slewe many mo with him dying, than he slewe while he was a liue. When we do way this, we can not appoint that Sampson is to be condemned of manslaughter: for almuch as the scripture doth not condemne his fact, but doeth rather praise it, in that that it doeth so diligently set forth the zeale of godlinesse of his minde, the strength obteined of God, and the profyt of that which ensewed.

There is also manslaughter committed in facte, and with purpose to kill lawfully without fault. And it is the same which is done by the lawfull Magistrates, to whome the swoorde is deliuered of God, to that purpose, that they should haue power to punish the giltie, and to defende the innocents, as the Apostle witnesseth. And in that doyng, they do serue to Gods vengeance, according vnto the ordinance of God: so farre it is wide, from making them giltye of manslaughter. Therfore they be not forbidden from that vse of the swoord by this present precept, Kill not. So farre forth there is no contradiction betwixt this precept, Kil not, and the swoorde of the Magistrate, wherwith wicked men be put to death, that the same which the Magistrate vseth, doeth good seruice vnto this law, and be both directed vnto one mark. The meaning and scope of this law, is to prouide for the safetye of mans lyfe, and that the same spirit of cruel-

tie may

tie maye be repressed, whereby our heartes depraued by the corruption of nature, be gyuen to murder. And to the selfe same meaning and scope is the vse of the lawfull swoord directed, wherewith men be stricken not as men, but as enimies of oure nature, and life: not against, but for the conseruation of our health and safetie. Wherefore, as long as the spirit of manslaughter continueth in oure fleshy, so long thys lawe continueth, commaunding and saying, Kill not. And bycause the power of oure corrupt nature is so greate, that it can not be restreyned, neyther by the direction of good reason, nor by written lawe, but hath nēde of the swoorde of reuengemente, to represse the fēte that be swifte to shedde bloud: the power of the Magistrate hathe to doe in the cases of men, so long as this lawe, Kill not, hath strength: Item, Cōmit not adultery, and Steale not. &c.

We reade in Genesis: Whosoeuer sheddeth the bloud of man, hys bloud shall be shedde. By this lawe also it is prouided, that no man shed the bloud of man. And to the intente that the shedding of mans bloud should be more earnestly eschewed, that part of the talion was put vnto it: commaunding that the bloud of the manslayer should be shed. Unto thys vse serueth the swoorde of the Magistrate, not as an enimie, but as a friende of mans bloud: sheddyng lawfully the faultie bloud, least the innocent bloud shoulde vnaduisedly and vnlawfully be shedde. For to kyll the manslayer and wicked, bycause he is a manslayer and wicked, and therefore hurtfull to mankynde, is not simply to slay a man, whiche thys lawe forbiddeth, that sayth, Kyll not, but to represse the malice of naughtie men and manslayers, and to prouide for the safetie of mankinde.

The Magistrates must loke, that they vse lawfully the swoorde of reuengement. For if they vse it vnto the seruing of their owne or of others naughtie affections, to fulfill that saying: I sawe iniquitie in the place of Iustice, they shal be so farre from excuse by the authoritie of their office, that they shall be charged withall for two causes, the one, bycause they doe murther the innocents: the other, in that they doe distaine the name of God, whose ministers they be, by the pretexte and coloure of their ordinarie office.

Against the abuse of Magistrates.

Wherefore they be most folishe of all others, whiche suppose that all the doyngs of the Magistrates must be taken to be good and without blame, bycause of the authoritie of the lawfull power. The doyngs of the Magistrate is then lawful, when they be conformable vnto vprighte lawes and iustice.

The authoritie of the Magistrate.

The streightnesse also of iustice and of the lawes, are to be iudged according vnto the authoritie of Gods will: which the lawfull Magistrate must followe in all poyntes. For he can not iustly by anye other meanes be put to deathe, whome the sentence of Gods will doth not put to death. It is solemnely vsed of some Princes, that they suffer none to be put to deathe in their territories, but according vnto the sentence of their owne writte. As often as there is any malefactor and wicked

The rightnesse of the iustice is to be iudged by the authoritie of Gods will.

A similitude.

person to be punished, they which be appoynted for to be the iudges, doe declare vnto the Prince his euil doings, and loke for a writte frō him: and that had, they doe se the paynes prescribed therein, executed vpon the malefactor. And if the Iudges doe any thing contrary vnto that, it is taken for a great offence and rebuke, done againste the authoritie and iurisdiction of ỹ Prince, and they scape not clere withall: how muche more iust a matter is it, I pray you, that no man be put to death contrary or besides the sentence of the most high Prince, who is the onely Lorde of life and death.

Of the vvritte of Gods sentence.

You will aske me, how hys writ may be gotten, whereby men maye iudge and punish the wicked. I will say nothing here of the Magistrates of the Ethnickes, whiche as they lyued in the world without knowledge of God, so they dyd also vse gouernaunce without any certaine knowledge of Gods will: but I speake of the Magistrates of Gods people, vnto whome Gods will was certaynely knowen out of the writte of hys lawes, whereby you maye knowe, (whether hee loke vpon the firste or the seconde table of the *Decalogue*) what malefactours and wicked persones ought to bee punished by Death.

The offences agaynst the first table punished by death.

Exod. 22.

So it is redde in Exodus. He that dothe sacrifice vnto strange Gods, let hym bee kylled. And in Leuiticus. He that declineth to sothsayers, lette hym dye the deathe. Item. Let them that haue the spirite of Pythō, dye the deathe. And in the. 24. chapter. The Prophete whyche prophecieth in the name of the Lord lyingly, lette hym dye the deathe. Also, He that blaspheneth the name of the Lorde, lette hym dye the deathe. By these and other lyke lawes, Magistrates are taught, howe they ought to punish them whiche doe wickedly against the first table.

Leuit. 20.

As touching them whyche sinne against the Seconde table, there bee hadde also writtes of Gods lawe for them, as in Leuiticus and Deuteronomy it is commaunded, that the disobediente and froward sonne againste his parentes, shoulde be ouerlayde with stones, of all the people. And in Leuiticus. He that killeth a man, lette hym dye the deathe, whether it be a man seruaunt, or a woman seruaunt that be killed. Exodus. 21. Secondly, we reade muche howe the wickednesse of horedome and vnlawfull vsing of others beds, ought to be punished in Leuiticus. Howe men must iudge of theeues, we maye reade in Exodus. And of false witnesses, in Deuteronomy.

Thys we thought briefly to touch, to admonishe men howe that Magistrates can haue none excuse, if they doe shedde the bloud of man otherwise, than by the authoritie of the chiefe lawe giuer, at their owne arbitrement. They be the seruauntes of God, at whose will they ought so to vse the swoorde whyche they haue receyued, that they put thē to death, whome he bideth to be killed: and saue and defende them, whome hee appoynteth to be saued and defended: or else they shall offende as well in not killing, as in killing. Saule offended in not killing King Amelech, whome the Lorde put into hys handes to be kilde. Agayne, he sinned in killing, when he did put to deathe xxxv. Priestes of the Lord, innocent men, with many women and childrē. Achab sinned also in killing Naboth the Israelite. And he sinned agayne in not killing the Prophets of Baal and of the woodes, whiche Elias killed. So did also diuers other Kings of Israell sinne, bothe in kyllyng the Priestes of the Idolles, as also in killing the Prophetes of the Lorde.

And woulde to God there were not suche Princes and Magistrates among Christian menne, that kyll the soules whiche the Lorde kylled not: and gyue them lyke, whiche the Lorde commaundeth to be killed. The Lorde killeth not theeues, the Magistrates beeyng the seruauntes of the Lord, do kyll them. The Lord killeth aduouterers & aduoutresses, and the Magistrates gyue them life. The Lord killeth Idolatours, sothsayers, and inchaunters, the Magistrates gyue them lyfe: and yet doe they kyll them that refuse false worshyp, and suche as desire to liue according vnto the writte of Goddes wordes, setting at naught all mens traditions. Where suche matters be done, we maye not iustifie them by the lawfull authoritie of the magistrate, but condemne them twice the more, both bycause they be vnlawfull, and also that beeyng done vnder pretence and coloure of the lawfull Magistrate, they tourne to the rebuke of God, from whome that power commeth which the Magistrate doth minister.

We haue spokē of manslaughter, whiche is sometimes lawfully committed in acte with purpose to kyll, and without sinne: and is sometimes vnlawfully cōmitted with the sinne of manslaughter. Nowe let vs see of that manslaughter which is also cōmitted in fact, but without will and purpose to kill. And lette vs suppose that that is of three sortes. The firste is that which they call Casuall: the seconde Causall: the thirde we may well call Defensorie.

Casuall murder or by chance medley.

When call it casuall murder, or by chance medley, when a man against hys wyll, by some chance and happe, kylleth a man. Suche was the same of Lamech (whyche some of the Hebrewes tell of) that kylled Cain with a darte in the woodde, taking him for a wilde beast. Such be the murders of whiche mention is made in Exodus, Numerus, Deuteronomy, and Iosue, for whiche as we reade, there were appoynted Cities of refuge, that he whyche by mischaunce, not willing, shoulde kyll any man, might haue some place to flee vnto, where he myghte trye hys innocency, and saue hymselfe. For he can not bee iudged guiltie of murther, whyche neither by his will, neither of knowledge kylleth. But for all that, it is to bee considered in suche cases, that if the acte and purpose whereuppon that murther againste a mans wyll chaunced, was in an vnlawfull matter, or else vayne and trifling, though that suche a mischaunce be not to be condemned for wilfull murther, yet for al that he is not altogither without faulte, by whose vnlawfull or else vayne deuice, his neyghboure is lost. The purpose of drunkennesse is vnlawfull. And therfore if a drunken mā falling from a stayres, bruse a child, so ỹ he dye of it, though he be no

Exod. 21. *Num.* 35. *Deut.* 19. *Iosu.* 20.

not giltie of the murther: yet he is in fault for the vnlawfull vse of drunkennesse: In case anye of them that playeth at bowles (as we see luskie yong men doe oftentimes vpon holydayes, whiche take a glory in hurling a bowle to shew the strength of their armes) vnwittingly strike a man by the way vnder the temples of his head, and ministreth the occasion of his death, although he be not giltie of murther, yet he can not bee altogyther innocent, bycause by hys vaynnesse he gaue the occasiō of the mans death. Otherwise it is, if anye man cutting wodde, through hys axe slipping out of his hande vpon hym that standeth by, without any wil to hurte or harme him: whiche case is therefore namely expressed in the lawe, that men maye iudge of the lyke, according vnto ȳ qualitie of it.

Causall murther.

I doe iudge it to be casuall murther, when drinkes and suche sorceries be giuen to women, wherby eyther they may be lette from conceyuing: or if they doe conceyue, the childe be killde. They that be gyuen to this kinde of lyfe, doe vtterly kyll not onely themselues, but others also: of whose immoderate wakefulnesse, they be the beginners, though they doe it not of will to kyll.

Defensiue murther.

Defensiue murther, is when a man is driuen by necessitie of defending, as with weapon to defende his owne life or theirs that be hys, against wrongfull violence: and though he had rather not to kyll hys aduersary and enimie, if he coulde represse his violence without murther, yet he is compelled to kill him, vnlesse he will neglect his owne life, or theirs that be in his charge. This kinde of murther is excused by necessitie of coaction, for the will to kyll is a way: for he that so killeth his enimie, had rather not kill hym, if that he were able by some other meanes to escape the violence that is done vnto hym. If the gilt of the murther be not so muche iudged by the fact, as by the minde and occasions, the faulte of thys kynde of murther, whyche is not voluntary but defensory and of compulsion, is not imputed vnto hym that killeth, but vnto him whiche is killed. Yet it is the part of a Christian man, to be verye sory and to lamente, that hee is compelled by chance to kyll perhappes a companion of the same sayth that he is of: and not to excuse hys fact in this case in the sight of God, but rather (as iust men are wont to doe) accuse hymselfe, and humbly beseeke God of his mercy, that he be not driuen to make a reckening of hym in hys iudgement. He must say wyth Paule: Though I know nothing of my selfe, and that by no faulte of myne I came vnto this necessitie to kill my neyghboure, yet in that I am not iustifyed.

And as there is two sortes of defence, one when a man defendeth hymselfe, an other when he defendeth them that belong vnto him: so are there also two sortes of defensorie murthers. For murther is committed eyther in defeding our selues, or of ours. When we be driuen to defende our selues, the excuse riseth of necessitie: when we defende ours, our fact is excused not only by necessitie, but also by duetie of faithe and charitie, whiche both we owe vnto them that be ours. And by this difference,

ference, defensiue murthers, whether they be of one or of many, priuate or publike, be separate from the kynde of vnlawfull murthers. And to thys sort belong the murthers of warres, whiche be not then vnlawfull when they be excused both by the necessitie of defence, and also by the duetie of the magistrate. And therefore hathe God giuen lawes, according to the appoyntment whereof suche warres ought to be guyded, as we may perceyue in Deuteronomie.

And to thys place seemeth to perteyne the murther done by Moses, when he slewe the Egyptian to saue the Israelite from his violence. And there be some that doe thus excuse Moses: that he toke vppon hym the defence of the Israelite, againste the violence of the Egyptiā, of brotherly charitie. It is somwhat that they say: but they do not by this consideration sufficiently discharge the fact of Moses, from the gilt of murther. For he may not be slayne straightewayes who so euer beateth a man, though it be wrongfully, seeyng it may be stayed by some other way. Wherefore though the fact of Moses were altogyther defensiue, yet it is hereby more directly excused, that he was appoynted by God to bee the deliuerer of Israell, and was then driuen with the spirit of a deliuerer, and with the zeale of hys people: whiche Steuen doth report of hym, where he sayth: And when the tyme of fortie yeares was accomplished, it came into his minde to visite hys brethren the children of Israell. And when he sawe one of them take wrong, he made his reuenge: and did the reuenge for hym that suffered wrong, striking the Egyptian. And he thought that his brethren vnderstode that God would gyue them health by his hād. So that this murther committed by Moses, must bee imputed vnto the singular spirit and zeale receiued of God, wherwith he was stirred, and shewed some likelyhod of their deliuerie, and so acquitted from the gilt of murther. Wherfore it must not be reckned simply amongst defensorie murders, nor vsed for an exāple. Before God it is not only without blame, but also praise worthie, yet in the common course of worldly iudgemente, it coulde not be iustified and defended. This Moses himselfe knewe: wherfore firste he loked aboute whether he mighte without knowledge of the Egyptians do that whiche he thought to do: and afterwards when he perceyued that his facte coulde in no wise be hidden, he saued hymselfe wyth running away.

Of them, vvhich though not in acte, yet in worde become Murtherers.

HItherto we haue touched a fewe poyntes of such murthers, as bee committed in dēde and in facte. And to rehearse all the kindes of them, it passeth the compasse of my witte, nor I intende it not. And yet I suppose, if anye man will followe thys way, he may with his diligence easily atteyne to the consideration of them, whereof heere hath bin no mētion made.

Murder committed in vvords.

Nowe it followeth that we consider also of those kyndes of murther, whereof menne become guilty wyth

words.

wordes. For not he onely is gilty of murther, which with hand and deede, but he also that killeth a man with word. He that sayd: Kyll not, did forbidde to kill in any sort, whiche way soeuer it were. He that requireth of vs true innocēcie, requireth not that only which consisteth in the handes, but that also of the mouth and of the hearte. Therefore in the seconde place of this consideration, we must also consider them, whose tongue is not a medicine and preseruatiue of lyfe, but a sword of death.

Five vvays of committing murther by vvorde.

And thys maner of murther happeneth fyue wayes: as by counsell, by commaundemente, by sentence, by treason, or by false witnesse.

Herodias.

He kylleth by counsell, whyche dothe entyce anye mans mynde by perswasion and aduice, to committe murther. In thys sorte Satan is the fyrste auchor of murther, who is wonte by hys moste wicked instincte, to styre mens minds to murther: he vseth also naughty menne to thys purpose, for instrumentes of hys bloudy counsell. So Herodyas by hyr most wicked counsell, kylled John Baptist, when she perswaded the wenche to desire that hys head mighte be giuen hir in a dishe.

Caiphas.

So Caiphas also killed Christ with his counsell, saying: It is expedient that one man dye for the people, least all the people perishe. They killed John Husse by theyr counsell, whyche perswaded that generall Counsell, that the safeconducte (whereby he was called to Constance) shoulde be broken. Suche murderers they be, whyche by their counsels, cause princes to kill godly menne, bycause they doe refuse to drinke of the cuppe of the whore of Babylon.

They doe kyll by commaundement, whyche commaunde the innocent to be killed. Thys is done two wayes. Eyther by manifest, eyther by craftie and secrete commaundement. By craftie and secrete commaundemente Saul wente aboute to kyll Dauid, when he commaunded hym to mayntayne stronglye the warres of the Lorde agaynste the Philistines: for he did truste that it should so fall out, that he shoulde be slayne of the Philistians: for he said: Let not my hand be on hym, but the hands of the Philistians. They doe kill manifestly, whiche doe playnely without any dissimulatiō, giue commaundemente and charge of the deathe of any man. So Herode kylled John, Pilate Christe, Saule the Priestes of the Lord, of whiche was mention made before: The Kynges of the Israelites the Prophetes of the Lorde, and oure Kynges nowe adayes ỹ true Christians. We speake not here of the lawfull punishment of the wicked, which magistrates do vse by the authoritie of their commaundementes, whereof is spoken before: but of that kynde of commandementes, which rageth against the innocente bloud, by whiche men that feare God, and be godlye in deede, are commaunded to be kylled. And although that they whiche be the executioners of suche commaundements, do offend lesse than the authors thereof, yet both the commanders and the doers shall haue theyr iudge, vnto whome they shal be sure to giue a reckening, they of the commandements, of theyr doings.

They

They doe kill by sentence or verdict, whiche do not only counsell, but doe also vnder pretext of office, pronounce and decree that he may be killed, whiche by no faulte deserued deathe. So the congregation of the Priestes, Scribes, and Pharisies, gaue the sentence of condemnation against Christ, that he should be killed: and Pylate pronounced that he should be crucifyed.

1 In this kynde of manslaughter be culpable in the sight of God, first the iudges and fathers of the Councels: who to ridde any man out of the way, whome they iudge to be preiudiciall or hurtfull vnto their dignitie, and specially vnto the authoritie of the sea of Rome, doe pronounce hym to be an heretike, and worthy to be deliuered vnto the secular power, to be punished. So the councell of Ierusalem, by their councell killed Christ, and the councell of Constance that learned manne John Husse.

2 Secondely, the assistance of the iudges sinne thys way, when they do not pronounce according vnto the qualitie of the cause, but according vnto the princes writte. Such were the Iudges that at the commaundement of Iesabell, Achabs wife, (whiche they thought proceeded from the king) by theyr sentence iudged to deathe the innocente bloud of Naboth the Israelite. In suche Iudges is fulfylled the saying of the Prophete: The Prince demaundeth, and the Iudge is readye to performe it.

He killeth a man by treason, whiche deliuereth the innocente into the handes of the wicked and violent, or by wordes, or by iudgements. Thys commeth diuerslie. There be some, which vnwares (not vnderstanding the matter) do betray them innocēt, whome eyther they iudge to be giltie, eyther they thinke that he is not sought to death. And thē ignorance dothe excuse. Againe there bee some whiche doe betray to death wittingly, hym whome they knowe to bee innocente, eyther for hate, eyther to curry fauoure, eyther for hope of gayne. So Iudas betrayed Christe.

Traytours hated commonly.

Lyke as it agreeth with our common sense, to hide hym that is sought to dye: so they be also subiect vnto oure common and publique hatred whyche betray a man to death, and delyuer hym into hys enimies handes, that they also detest them, vnto whome they betray the innocent bloud.

Treason may like, but the traytour can not be liked.

Hereof sprong the saying of the Romaines: I lyke the treason, but I lyke not the traytoure. The wicked doyng of treason is cruell and detestable, in so muche that they whyche haue anye regarde of honoure and publique estimation, can rather abyde to be reproched with murther, than with treason. Alexander Magnus woulde rather haue slayne a man, than to betray him. This haynous faulte is most farre from a noble and gentlemans heart. Therfore if a Prince doe chance to fall into that vice, it bringeth him into that case, that all men do detest him, and be ashamed of him.

VVitnesse.

By false witnesse men become giltie of murther, not when they do it without knowledge of falshode, but when they doe warily and wittingly testifie that ỹ is false, against

a mans

a mans life, of what mynde so euer they doe it. And therefore by Gods law such folkes are iudged to death. For when they haue very diligently searched (sayth the lawe) and haue found that a false witnesse hath spoken a lye againste hys brother, they shall doe vnto him as he thoughte to haue done vnto hys brother: and so thou shalte take the euill from the middes of you. So in the Hystorie of Susan, the two olde menne whiche spake false witnesse against Susan, were ridde out of the way by sentence of death.

Deut. 19.

So that in this sorte they be guiltie of murther, that doe minister occasions of murther, by counsell, commaundement, sentence, treasons, and false witnesse, although there follow no effect: for asmuche as in them lyeth, they doe kill the innocente wyth the sworde of their tong. Their tong is (sayeth the Prophete) a sharpe sworde, and the poyson of the Aspes is vnder theyr lippes. These kind of murtherers doe much differ, in that that they whiche doe shed innocente bloud by counsell, commaundement, and sentence, though they be worse than such as do kill by hand, yet they be not taken for murtherers in the face of ỹ worlde, but rather for most honorable Counsellors, Judges, and Magistrates: neyther doe they acknowledge themselues to be suche, as it appeareth in the Scribes, Pharisies, and Priests of the olde congregation: yea and in Pylate also, of whiche the former sayde, Will you bring the bloud of thys man vppon vs: and the other: when he shoulde pronounce the sentence of condemnation and deathe againste Christe, washing his hands, he sayde: I am innocent from the bloud of this iust man, loke you to it, but the traytors and false witnesses, can not so well pretend any color to their consciences: and when their malice doth appeare, they doe sustayne more shame than the others, specially if they be men of base and obscure estate, and men of small countenaunce in the world. But in the sighte of the most iust iudgement of God, both the one and the other shall be like giltye of murther. There shall be excused no Prince, no Iudge, no Counsellor, no Bysshop, be he neuer so renowned by anye gay title of office, or Bysshoprieke or Councell.

Psalm. 13. Ro. 3.

Iewishe comentacle.

Actes. 5.

Of them vvhich be Murderers in heart.

The thirde kynde of Murder is that, which is wrought not by word nor by deede, but by the heart. The cõsideration of this, perteineth vnto the malice of our corrupte nature, wherin are (as it is were) the rootes of murder, hatred, enuie, anger and delectation, conceiued of the murther. Of anger ryseth that rage or mynde of ours, to kill. For whosoeuer is angrie, is caried by the very motion of anger to reuenge himself, euen to bloudheading. Wherefore Christe maketh him that is angrye with his brother, giltie of iudgemẽt before God, saying: But I say vnto you, who so euer is vnaduisedly angry with his brother, is subiect vnto iudgemente. Of enuy and hatred, is engendred the purpose and wolue to kill. For thys is the nature of enuy and hatred, that euery man desireth the

the deathe of him, whome he hateth. Wherefore John sayd: Who so euer hateth his brother, is a murtherer. And it is a sentence taken out of the nature of hatred. Of enuye and hatred riseth also the delite of the mynde, conceyued of the murther. For who so euer eyther of lowe, or purpose, wisheth hymselfe agaynste the life of hys neyghboure whome hee hateth, he is pleasauntly affected with a certayne delyte of hys deathe and murther. For it can not be, that a man may attayne hys purpose and wishe without delectation.

So that we bee giltie of murther before God, by beeyng angry, enuying, and hatyng. For Gods iudgement of man, is not only according vnto his sayings and doyngs, but also according vnto the qualitie of hys hearte and spirite: for the will is reputed for the facte. He that willeth, consenteth, purposeth and wisheth, is giltie of murther: and Gods lawe dothe condemne thys malice lurking in our hearte and flesh, saying: Kill not.

And as it requireth not onely the iustice of our hands and mouth, but chiefly of oure mynde, spirite and hearte: so it forbiddeth and condemneth the malice and iniustice, not only of pure mouthes and hands, but the same also whiche thorough the poyson of the serpent hath corrupted and infected oure nature, and lyeth lurking in the verye marow of our heart and reynes. But of this matter you may see in oure Commentaries vpon Saint Mathewes Gospell.

So that it is a very fond carelesnesse, that we doe welneere all of vs so goe on, and liue careleste in the sight of God, without any feeling of sinne, and feare of Gods iudgement: as though we were therefore most cleere from the gilte of murther, because we kil no man, neyther in acte, neyther in counsell, neyther by commandement, nor treason: as though the corrupte affections of our hearts were eyther not knowen, eyther not condemned of God. We be angry vnaduisedly, and that with our brethren, we do hate and enuy, we keepe and nourishe in our heartes (witting and ware) rancoure and displeasure without stay, and yet we sleepe on both eares quietly, without any remorse of conscience.

The murder of the hearte is more daungerous, thã that of the facte.

I suppose that this carelesnesse is a most dangerous matter. In deede it is more haynous to kill a man in fact, than in wishing: but as he that killeth in facte is sooner and more effectuously taken with the vnderstãding of his sinne, than he which doth nourishe the euill in his hearte, sinning only in anger, hate, and enuy: so he is sooner brought to amendment, and obteyneth forgiuenesse of hys sinnes. Thus it happened to the thiefe, whyche dyd both acknowledge his sinne, and obteyned grace: when the Scribes, Pharisies, Priestes, and Elders of the people, continued careleste in their euill, without any sense of sinne, and were made subiecte vnto the iudgement of Gods most grieuous vengeance. Wherefore we must beseeke God, to giue vs to perceyue and feele the euill lying hid in our heart, that we may amẽd, and be vtterlye deliuered from the malice thereof: or at the leaste way procure that we become not subiecte vnto the iudgement of God.

The seuenth Precepte.

A consideratiō had of vvedlocke.



Thou shalte not commit adultery.

In this seauenth Precepte, there is a consideration had of the honest and pure obseruing of wedlocke, where God sayeth, Thou shalt not commit adultery. And yet I do gladly agree with them that iudge, that not only adultery, but also all manner of vnlawfull wantonnesse and whoredome is forbidden by this precepte: whiche thing the Ebrewes denye. For as the word זנה which signifieth whoring, is sometimes attributed vnto adulterers: so I iudge it not vnmete, if the worde זנה be iudged to haue the signification of whoring, specially in this place. But I would not striue with any man herein, so that we graunt that not only adultery, but whoredome also and all extraordinary watonnes, is damnable and to be eschued of all godly men.

Purenes of life required by thys precepte.

There is required by this precept, the puritie of our life, that we defyle not our flesshe with vnlawfull wantonnesse. And for bycause it is chiefly to be cared, that the honestie of wedlocke be kept pure and cleane, I suppose it was for that cause, that the worde was vsed of the holy spirite, whereby it shoulde be signified, that it was chiefly required of the people of God, that they shoulde most diligently kéepe the holynesse of wedlocke. For vnlesse the integritie of the faith of wedlocke be kepte, there can nothing else ensue, but that men must in euery corner runne to all kind of wantonnesse. For how shall they goe aboute to kéepe chastitie, that liue as virgins and widdowes out of the yoke of matrimony, if that they which may by the comfort and remedie of wedlocke be stayed from vnlawfull wantonnesse, doe breake the lawes of matrimony and commit whoredome? Furthermore the state of wedlocke is as it were the fountaine and welspring of mans life, which if it be defiled wt whoredomes and adulteries, what can be deriued to the offspring borne of thē, but the examples of all kindes of naughty & corrupt wantonnesse? For this reason I suppose, it is commanded, that we do truely kéepe the chastitie and promise of matrimony, whereby the lyfe of others may be also kepte cleane and vndefyled: so farre is it, that anye man oughte of this precepte to séeke a defence for whoredome. For he that woulde haue the spring to be cleane, surely can not suffer that the streames running from it, shoulde be vncleane. He that hath a care that the rote be sounde, meaneth I suppose, that he will not suffer that the fruites be corrupt. To what purpose I pray you, should wedded folkes liue without fault, if they which come of thē, may defyle themselues with all kind of wantonnesse? Men doe séeke to haue the head whole, that the members of the body may be safe also.

But if some busy body will saye, That which is not forbidden, is not sinne: Adultery is forbidden and not whoredome. *Ergo. &c.* Thys mans argument is like, as if a man woulde inferre vppon the wordes of the Apostle Saint Paule, where it is com-

maunded that a Bysshoppe bee vnblamed, the husbande of one wife, sober, chaste, not giuen to wine, no striker, no striuer. &c. *Ergo* it is lawfull for them that be not Bysshops to be in blame, the husbandes of manye wiues, drunken, vnchast, giuen to wine, strikers, and striuing. &c. Such reasoners do violently straine Gods preceptes, when they doe inferre of them thyngs that be not méete therby, but be also cleane contrary. For when things that be damnable bee priuately forbidden vnto some man, they be not so forbidden vnto them, that they must be déemed vnlawfull to them only: but that it is meante, that for certaine causes they are specially to be eschued of them. It is required of Magistrates, That they be fearing God, true, and hating auarice. It must nédes be great wickednesse, if a mā should inferre therupon, *Ergo* they that be not in the office of Magistrate, may be vngodlye, lyers, and couetous. It is for great reason chiefely required of the Magistrate, whyche is generally required of all menne. Lykewyse we must iudge of this precepte: Committe not adultery. It is generally required of all men, that they kéepe the puritie and holynesse of their bodyes vnspotted, and eschue the lying with anye others, extraordinarily. But forasmuch as it is conuenient, that the honestie and promise of matrimony, be with singular care kepte vndefyled, that therefore whoredome is specially forbidden, whereby the holynesse of wedlocke is broken and defyled. Wherefore there is no whoredome at all permitted, when adultery is namely by thys lawe forbydden. And therefore it is, that Christ, where he rehearseth the preceptes of the seconde table, dothe immediately ioyne whoredome vnto adultery: declaring manifestlye, that not onely adulterye, but whoredome also is forbidden by thys precepte. But lette vs sée in order what things be to be considered in it.

Matth. 5.

Thyngs to be considered in this precept.

VVhat is adultery.

FIrst it is to be soughte, what is adultery. Some bée of sundrye iudgements. Rabbi Schlomoh, sayeth thus: Adultery is not but in the wyfe of some man, whereof it is sayde: Let them dye, both the adulterer and the adulteresse. A woman adulteresse is she, which besides hir owne husbande taketh others. He iudgeth hære, that adulterie is not committed by a sole woman, though a married man lye with hir: but only by a married woman. And Lyranus séemeth to followe hym, when he sayeth: Adultery, is carnall copulation with an other mans wife, whiche is reputed one flesshe with hym. And thys is the opinion also of secular lawyers: that adultery is not committed but with a lawfull wyfe, whether she be defyled of a sole man, or married: and that it is otherwise, if a married man haue to do with a sole woman.

Lyranus.

1 Thys opinion is not alowed of diuines, which do iudge it adultery, whether the husbande kéepe not the promise of wedlocke to hys wife, or the wyfe to hyr husbande: but

permitteth the vse of hir body to others: which seemeth to me to agrée throughly with the definition of adultery. For what else is adultery, but the staining of the faythe and soundnesse of wedlocke, when by any meanes the vnitie of two is mingled and stayned by the flesshe of others. The husbande and the wife be one flesshe. And they shall be(saith hée) two in one flesshe. The blemishing and corruption of this vnitie, is rightly called Adultery, bycause that the same whiche was whole, is adulterated and corrupte by takyng of another body. And therfore things be called adulterine, whiche be sette forthe for true, when they be straūge and false. And who knoweth not, that the soundnesse of the vnitie of wedlocke consisteth not onely in the flesshe of the woman, but in the flesshe of the man also. Matrimony consisteth not in the woman alone, but in the lawfull coniunction of the husband and wife togither: wherefore it followeth, that the integritie of wedlocke is not broken by ỹ whoredome of the wife only, but of the husbande also. And for this the place of the Apostle serueth, whereby it is manifestly declared, that the man also hath not power of his owne bodye, but his wife. By thys reason I am induced to bée rather of their opinion, that saye, It is adultery, not onely if the wife, but also if the husbande doe communicate the vse of hys body to others, than of the opinion of the Ebrewes, and the lawyers of thys our tyme.

1 Corin. 7.

Petrus Lombardus.

The Maister of the Sentences sayth: Adultery is the defylyng of an other bodyes bedde. He myght haue sayde righter thys wyse: Adultery is the defyling of the lawfull bedde, whether it be anothers, or his owne. If the husbande haue to doe with a sole woman, hée defyleth hys owne bedde, and committeth adultery: agayne if the sole man do defyle the wife of an other, an other mans bedde is defyled with adultery. But if a married man doe corrupt an other mans wyfe, he doth in two respectes, beeyng as an adulterer, defyle both his owne, and an others bedde also.

2 Secondly, we must thinke how greate care and accompte there is before God of lawfull wedlocke, whereuppon hée dyd namelye forbydde the defyling thereof: and yet for all that dothe abhorre all kynde of vncleanenesse and vnshamefastnesse. The dignitie of mankynde is greate in the syghte of GOD. For man is made to the lykenesse of God, and there can bée no greater honoure than that, nerte vnto that whyche dothe peculiarly and chiefely belong vnto God. So that seeyng it so pleased God, that the encrease of mankynde shoulde proceede out of the estate of wedlocke, as out of a certayne welspryng, hée dyd by thys speciall precepte forbid the defiling and fylthying of it, meaning that the honestie of wedlocke should serue mankynde.

Wherefore they be vnworthy to be partakers of the nature and dignitie of man, as many as doe eyther contemne or defyle the fountayne thereof with filthye wantonnesse. They bée beastes and not menne, that bée delited rather with the filthynesse of wantonnesse at large, than

than with the honestie of fayth and lawful matrimony. Unto this counsell of God serueth also the doctrine of the Apostle to the Hebrues, saying: Wedlocke is honorable wyth all men, and the vndefiled bedde: but whoremongers and adulterours the Lord shall iudge. But the Bysshops of Rome bé in the contrary, peruerse estaemers of solitary life, they sée nothing in wedlocke but vncleannesse, and for that cause they teache that it is to bée eschued. They shoulde yet thynke on thys precepte of God, whereby the defyling of wedlocke is forbidden, when adultery is forbidden. If matrimony be vncleane, to what purpose is it to forbidde the defylyng of it? why is adultery condemned, if by adultery there is no puritie of wedlocke defyled, nor any thyng is hurt in wedlocke that is alowed of God. Is it not by a manifest lesson proued, that lawfull wedlocke dothe exceedyngly please God, when the defyling of it is by thys playne lawe specially forbidden and condemned?

3 Thirdly, that commeth also to bée obserued, that hée sayth simplye without any specification: Commit not adultery. No man is heere excepted. Thys is commaunded not to wiues alone, but also to husbandes: not vnto married folkes alone, but vnto all men also that bée at libertie, whyche are wont to defyle, though not theyr owne, yet the bedde of others, wyth the fylthynesse of whoredome. The multitude of them is greate, whyche as some doe fede vpon other mens trenchers, so they doe nestle themselues in other folkes beddes, and they doe surmise that they be the lesse to be blamed, bycause they be bachylers and vnmarried. A most noysome sorte of men, laying waite day and night to other mens beddes: specially the rabble route of Massyng Priestes and holyclosster creepers, to whome it was (as they reporte) a perillous poynte to marry lawfull wiues: but they lyked well to rauish as manye as they coulde, and to defyle the bed of wedlocke (whyche they toke to bée vnlawfull for them) without any feare of the Lorde. And in so doyng, they doe pleasauntlye flatter themselues in thys poynte, that they haue no wiues: as though for the couloure thereof, they should not be accused of adultery. Wherefore wée must diligently marke, that it is cōmaunded vnto all men without any specialitie, that they committe no adultery: that is, that they defyle not the wedlocke bedde, neyther of theyr owne, neyther of any other.

The corruption of our flesshe.

4 Fourthly, the corruption of our flesshe is also to be obserued in thys place, which is so great, that it hathe néede of the law of God to restreine it. For if oure heart were chast and cleane, there had bin no cause to cōmaund that we should not committe adultery. But it is commaunded. *Ergo* we be suche, that we doe as it were halfe hang ouer the vncleannesse of whoredomes and adulteries. We be also so farre from the spirite of true charitie, that we be both false towardes our wiues, and vniust towards our brethren. We blame not our creator, nor we condemne not the strength of nature grafted in vs, apte to generation: but we doe acknowledge and blame ỹ corruptio

of our nature: whereby it commeth to passe, that the same whyche was lawfull and naturall, dothe degenerate vnto all kinde of wanton lustes, in so much that we do defile the very fountaine of our birth. The tokens of this corruption are those, that we be not so much delited with the permitted, cleane, and lawfull vse of the body, as with that which is not permitted, but is foule and vnlawfull: and as one sayth: We followe the forbidden, and desire that whiche is denyed. The other token is, that they also which do forbeare the working of whoredome and adultery, are lesse offended with the whoredome and adultery of others, than is conuenient. He is very rare among a greate sorte, that doth honor them whyche liue purely and honestly, and dothe abhorre them that do liue wickedly and dishonestly, according vnto their worthinesse. As we may see in oure dayes specially in them, whiche bee ing magistrates and iudges, do most coldly correct whoremongers and adulterers. And howe can they bee cleare from the fault, whiche doe neuer a whit loath the fault: I nede to saye little. So that this precepte of God doth most truely witnesse of the corruptnesse of our flesshe, and dothe as it were twing euery one of vs by the eare, to obserue most attentiuely and vigilantly daye and nighte, the malice of our corruption and deprauation, least if we handle the matter vnwarely, we fall into forbidden filthinesse. Nor we doe not learne this only of the law, that adultery is sinne and forbidden of God, but wee be withall admonished, what manner of folkes we be: that is, how that like swine we be giuen to all kind of filthinesse. And this is the meaning of that, that by the law is the knowledge of sinne, which lurketh in oure flesshe, & defileth al our life. 5. Fifthly, that also is not to be passed ouer, whereof I did also admonishe in the precept that went before, that the commandemente of so shamefull sinnes and vncleannesse to be eschued, was giuen to the holy people: whose flesshe was also marked and consecrated with the holy signe of the couenant. Whereof the Apostle dothe also testifie, That theirs was the adoption and glory of children, the testament, and the lawgiuing, the worship, the promises, and the fathers, and that of them is Christ. No doubt the prerogatiues of the Israelites were great: and yet for all that, they dyd so little helpe vnto the puritie and efficacie of true iustice, that they were corrupte and infected with sinne, and giuen to all kind of vncleanenesse, as well as the rest of the Gentiles. We be admonished also by this consideration, that the corruption of our nature is not saued with any such prerogatiues of grace and calling of God, by no externe markes and sacraments, but that we haue nede of the vertue of the holy spirit, to be regenerate and clensed by. Without him, as well the circumcided as the baptized be subiect vnto the vncleannesse of al sinnes, as the very thing it selfe doth most euidently proue, the more pitie. Among the Iewes all was, and yet is full of adultery and whoredomes. How great libertie of whoredome and adultery reigneth amongst vs Christian men, it is more to be pitied, than expressed.

Of the transgressions of thys lawe.

Firste we must be admonished, that we doe not iudge of the transgression of Gods lawe, according to the reckening of oure iudgement, but rather according vnto the mind of the lawgiuer. For that indede is to be deemed the very transgression of the lawe, when we doe sinne in transgressing the will of the lawgyuer: which is principally to be loked vnto in euery lawe. And concerning the will of God in this law, we can not more exactly determine of it, thã if we say with the Apostle: This is the will of God our sanctifying, that we abstayne from whoredome, and that eache of vs knowe to possesse hys owne vessell in holinesse and honor: and not in rage of concupiscence, as the Gentiles, whych bee ignorannte of God. The Apostle by these wordes, doth admonish vs, that thys is the mynde of God, when hee forbiddeth adultery, that he willeth vs to gyue our selues to cleanenesse, and eschewe all vnlawfull lustes. Wherefore they that will speake of the transgression of this lawe, must see not only howe men do sinne in adultery, but also howe these doe offende against the will of the lawgyuer in wanton lustes, by other vnlawfull wayes.

And I suppose we must kepe the same threefolde diuision, whiche wee vsed in the precepte going before, to see how we do sinne against the will of God, fyrste in worke, nexte in wordes and signes, thirdly in hearte by concupiscence. In the transgression whiche is done by worke, wee must consider the difference of persons and circumstances: For there is great difference, with whome and how a man sinne. Firste if you haue to doe with a married woman, that is, with an other mans wife, this vncleanenesse is adultery, whereof I spake before. Secondly, if you doe meddle with your cousins of affinitie and bloud, it is incest. The persons of affinitie and kindred, wyth whome incest is committed, bee these rehearsed in Leuiticus. The mother, the daughter, the stepmother, the sister, or halfe sister naturall of both sides, or of father, or of the mother only, the neece of the son or of the daughter, the aunte by the fathers side or mothers side, the wife of the vncle by the fathers side or mothers side, the daughter in lawe, the brothers wife, the wiues neece, the wiues sister, nor the wiues mother. Hereunto are to be ioyned the granddame, the mother of the father or mother, the neece by the brother, or the neece by the sister, the wife of the nephew by the brother, the wyfe of ỹ nephew by the sister, the daughter of the brothers wife, the daughter of thy wiues sister, the sister of the sonne in lawe, the sister of the sister in lawe, the wife of the nephew by the sonne, the wife of the nephewe by the daughter, the stepmother of the father, the stepmother of the mother, the sister of ỹ vncle, the sister of the aunte, the neece of the brother, the neece of the sister, the wife of the vncles brother, the wife of the auntes brother, the wife of the nephewe of the brother, and the wife of the nephewe of the sister. With all these persons is cõmitted incest

Men sinne in vvorke. VVith the married.

Leuit.18.

Leuit.20.

incest, wherefore we muste beware, we ioyne not matrimony with anye of them.

VVith a Virgine.

Thirdly, if one haue to doe with a maide, it is stupration or deflowring. And this stupration is the vnlawfull deflowring and corruption of the maidenly integritie. And there be manye of them whiche make it a speciall arte or occupation to deflour virgins neuer touched before, and do glory as muche of that wickednesse of theirs, as if they hadde gotten, I wote nere what strong hold of their enimies. A moste fylthy kynde of me, borne as it were to this, to defyle the honestie of holy wedlocke, consisting yet as it were in the floure of maidenly chastitie.

VVith violence and rauishmēt.

Fourthly, if you doe by violence deflower a virgine, or offende with a married woman, a widowe or anye other woman by violence, it is rauishment. It was such that Sichem the Henyte committed against Dyna Jacobs daughter, as it is redde in Genesis. And it was incest and rauishment when Ammon the sonne of Dauid violently oppressed his sister Thamar.

Genes. 34.
2. Samuel. 13.

The sole man vvith the sole vvoman.

Fiftly, if a sole man haue to doe with a sole woman, this fact is called whoredome. And there are three kindes of whoredome. One is of loue, another for money, another at large and aduentures. For there bee some which being caught once with the vnlawfull loue of a woman, wil so long vse whoredome with them, vntill that their lust beeyng filled, they doe change their loue into lothsomnesse. Againe there be some, that to satisfie their lust, keepe company with harlots for a vile gayne of money. And there be two sortes of harlots: the one is kept at home and secretely, as we be wonte to say, at racke and manger: the other is common and of the stewes. Yet there bee some other, whiche doe with speciall care follow the lustes of whoredome at large, which take pleasure to commit whoredome with many.

Hitherto we haue briefely rehersed, what ways men do sinne in acte, by the extraordinarie company with women. Men doe sinne also enormously, when the order of nature is altered: whiche is done, firste by the sinne of Sodomy, nexte by companye with beastes, whiche two kindes of detestable vncleanenesse are seene nowe adayes to be in some nations highly lyked of greate personages, so that there is founde in this oure age a Cardinall, whyche hathe sette forth a booke in prayse and commendation of Sodomy.

Nowe we muste see howe adulteries, incests, deflowrings and whoredomes, are committed also by wordes and sygnes. Lyke as not onely hee that killeth with the hande, but also hee that oppresseth by token or worde, the malice conceyued of hys hearte, is guiltie of murther: so in thys place not onely hee whyche committeth vncleanenesse in deede, but also that doth sollicite a woman by signes and wordes, is taken to be guiltie, eyther of adultery, or incest, or of deflowring, or of whoredome, although the worke it selfe followeth not.

Signes or tokens are suche, as be done eyther by castings of the eyes, or the handes, or by presentes, or by letters.

Wordes

Wordes work yet more expressly, that which the signes goyng before, did betoken. In wordes doth consist the declaration of concupiscence (which folkes are not wont to couer with the colour of loue) the alluring to consent to their purpose, and promisse of golden and gaye wordes. There be some which in wordes doe promisse to mary, to allure the folish beleuing wenche to consent, when they meane nothing lesse. There is no cause why any man should doubt of this opinio, that we do determine him to be guiltie of the forbidden lechery, and a transgressor of this law of God, that doth intice any woman that is not his owne, by signes, or wordes to the worke of vncleanlynesse. For if Christ beare witnesse, that who soeuer seeth a woman to couet hir, hath committed adultery with hir in his harte: how ought it not to be more truely iudged of him which doth not only see to couet, but vttereth also his concupiscence to the woman by signes and wordes? A man may see a woma with concupiscēce without hir knowlege, without any infectio of hir hart: but whē vnto the concupiscence are ioyned also manifest signes and wordes, alluring & kindling the womans hart, who seeth not but that in this case there is committed adultery, deflouring, incest, or whoredome, more fully than by the simple sight of concupiscence? It is a light matter and passeth away immediatly, to see a woman with concupiscence. This happeneth nowe and then to godly men ere they be ware, walking & not meaning the matter: and they are immediatly reclaymed with a contrary disposition. But when shamelesse signes and words come on, ther is vttered the meaning of the minde that stayeth not it selfe, but fawneth vpon the vnlawfull lustes, not only nowe in concupiscence, but also in procurement and endeuour.

Not only the acte, but the vvil and endeuor also of adultery is forbidden.

He that sayth, Commit not adultery, forbiddeth not only the verye worke of adultery, but the will and endeuor also bent vnto the vncleanesse: Who soeuer doth by signes and wordes informe a woman of his concupiscence, and doeth solicite to obtayne hir consent, doth in deede endeuour to bring it to the very acte whiche he desireth: he that so endeuoreth, is altogether giltie of the facte, though the fact follow not. He is a playn thiefe that hath a purpose to steale, though he steale neuer a halpennye: bycause he is not stayde from it by will, but eyther by feare of the punishment, either some other lettes. So he is an adulterer, which in purpose and endeuor is inclined to the worke of adultery. He can not be excused from adultery, that doeth sauour of adultery in his eyes, handes, gestes of body, and shamelesse talke. No, he that is such a one, can not of his selfe repose but that he is an adulterer: for he doeth not flee adultery, but doth earnestly applye it beyng forbidden, and if he can not compasse his vnlawfull worke, he doth most gladly embrace it, forgetting all feare of God, and all honestie. Then how should he not be giltie of sinne, which gapeth gredely to the working and consummation of sinne, not only in hart, but with most carefull endeuors bothe daye and night? And in case he obtayne not

his purpose, he is exceedingly vered and woefull: so that in his own very conscience, before the very iudgement seate of God, he can not denye the gilt of adulterye.

The concupiscence of the hart.

Thirdlye, touching the concupiscence of the harte, though there be great difference betwixt it and the worke of adultery it selfe, yet the iudgement of wicked concupiscence is not thereby hindered: but that he is rightly accompted giltie of adultery before God, who soeuer desireth an other woman in hart, albeit he commit not the worke of adultery in signes and workes. And Christ himself, when he condemneth him of adultery which seeth a woman to couet hir, doth sufficiently admonish, that it is not the sight, but the concupiscence that beareth the blame of adultery.

Difference to be made betwixt the iudgement of God, and the iudgement of man.

Here we must make a difference betwixt the iudgemẽt of this world, and the iudgement of God. No law of the world doth forbidde or punish the concupiscence of the harte. In the face of the worlde he is cleare ynough, which forbeareth the studie and endeuor of vncleane working, & can restrayne the euill in his harte, that it breake not out abrode. For no man iudge, can enter into the affections of the harte, which are not subiect vnto iudgement of man, but of God alone. No man knoweth (sayth the Apostle) what is in man. And we say in our prouerb, Thoght is free. But before the seate of iudgement of the most high iudge, man is iudged not according vnto that only which he doth, but rather according vnto that that he is. And Man is more truely the same, which he is in harte, than the same which he sheweth in worke. The qualitie of the harte, is the qualitie of the man before God. The vncleane and adulterous hart, is the vncleane & adulterous man, if you loke to the iudgement of God. When the vncleanesse of the hart breaketh out, it maketh a man also vncleane before men, and subiect vnto mans iudgement.

By this consideration we be all admonished, to iudge of our selues not according vnto the reckening of mans iudgement, but according vnto the infallible censure of God. Our conscience it self doth conuince vs, & giueth testimony of the truth, vnto the iudgement of God. We can not chose but knowe that which liueth with moste liuely sense in our harte. We haue learned many thinges by sight, hearing, studye, and teaching, yea and we know also many things, of which sometimes we lacke the sense. But euil concupiscence doeth alwayes liue in our hartes, doeth alwaies solicite and striue to the effect of the worke. Wherfore it can not be that it can deceiue our conscience. Therefore there is no excuse left, no not in our cõscience it self, much lesse in the sight of God the seer and iudge of all hartes. But of this matter, God willing, we wil speake here after in the last precept.

Of the causes of adultery, & al kinde of vncleannesse.

The principall cause hereof, is the vniuersall corruption of our flesh, which is as it were, the welspring of all euils: from whence floweth murders, adulteries, theftes. spoylings, &c. The Apostle (whereas he lamenteth of this welspring of euils) calleth it, the sinne dwelling in our flesh, that is to witte, the depraued nature giuen to al euil. Which he doth rightly call sinne, partly because it is an enemye & aduersary to the law of God, and partely bicause it is the rote of all sinnes. This is ỹ originall vncleannesse of our hart, of whence procedeth signes, wordes, and workes, declaring the impuritie within. The same Dauid felt, when he was admonished by the Prophet of his sins, of adulterye and murder. Whereupon he said also crying vnto the Lord: O God, create in me a cleane hart, and renewe a right spirit in my bowels. Whereas he desireth to haue a cleane hearte made within him, he doeth manyfestlye graunt, that he is defiled in hart, and that his former sinnes procede from an vncleane hart. Holy men do daylye praye vnto God for the cleansing of this impuritie of the hart, and do watch it with all diligence that they can, and labor to restrayne it that it brast not out.

The secondarye causes are the same, wherby the euil lurking in our hart, is fedde & stirred vp. It is fedde with Ceres and Bacchus, that is, with delicate meates and drynkes. And therefore it is sayd: Without delicates, meates and wines, Venus luste waxeth colde. Dauid was fedde with ease and delicacie, when he sat ydle at home and slugged himselfe with the pleasant none slepes, and fell into adultery with Bersabe the wife of Urye. Which thing chaunced not vnto him when he was exercised with exile & trauayle of warre. Thereof the Poete sayde right:

Take ydlenesse awaye, and Cupides bowe must needes decaye. And also: The cause is sought, howe Egiste was brought into adulterye? The cause is playne and easy to finde, he was of sluggishe kinde. Where so euer therfore there are ioyned together the ful belly and easy idlenesse, what can be loked for other, but that the full belly and pampered vp with ease, must fall to the fruite of al vnlawful lustes? We nede no examples. Loke vpon ỹ liues of Bishops, Cardinals, and Prieftes, Monks, Friers, and Nunnes, with the rest of the loyterers of the cloister: of whose ydle ease and fat grosse gut, so much filthinesse hathe gushed out of late, that a mã may be in doubt, whether ther euer liued vnder the cope of heuen, a more filthy kinde of men. The place of Ezechiel is knowen, where we reade thus: Lo this was the wickendesse of thy syster Sodome, pride, fulnesse of bread, abundance, and the ydlenesse of hir and of hir daughters: and vnto the poore & needy they stretched not forth their hand, they were proude, and did abominations in my sight. In these words the Prophete doeth laye the causes of so abominable filthinesse, in pride, fulnesse, abundance, ease, and vnmercifulnesse.

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a couenant with mine eyes, that I woulde not as much as thinke of a mayde: The children of the mightie kept not their eyes, but sawe the daughters of menne that they were fayre, and toke to them which they would. Sychem the son of the prince of Enor, kept not his eyes when he sawe Dina the daughter of Iacob, and was inamored with hir, and vpon the sight conueyed hir awaye. The wife of Putiphar vsed hir eyes at large, in stoddy beholding of the beautye of Ioseph. For the Scripture sayth: After many dayes, the ladie caste hir eyes vpon Ioseph, and sayd: Lye with me. Dauid when he had sene Bersabe, felte the prickes of concupiscence. There be passing number of such examples.

This euill is stirred vp also by hearing. For of bawdy wordes and songs commeth great force to moue the concupiscence in the hart. The Apostle sayth: naughty talke, corrupteth good manners. Wherefore a chaste minde muste eschue also such enticementes of euill, which are drawen in at the eares, leaste he heare that in the daye, whereof he maye thinke in the night. They be detestable men, which boaste before yͤ men of their mischiefe dedes, and the filthinesse of their life paste. A yong mans chastitie is sone brought into daunger, after his eares haue once suckte in the sweetenesse of the voyce and melody out of the mouth of a wanton wenche; I praye you what poyson doeth the deyntie greting offer vnto the folish man?

That euil also lurking in the hart, is stirred vp by outward feling. It is a very daungerous matter, if he may once touch and fele. This euill rayneth at large when they mete to daunce at tabers. It is harde to handle pitche without raying a manne, as the Wise man warneth. What nede I tel you what intitcement commeth of baudy reading? The very delite which carnall men do hunte and sucke out thereof, is testimonye ynough, that a chaste man ought to flye all suche kinde of filthy writings: as wanton images also, which many men be so delited with all, that they doe sticke vp in their parlers all sortes of filthye histories and images, moste horrishlye tyed. And woulde to God suche were not founde in bishops & religious mens chambers.

There is also much mischief, by reason of not punishing yͤ licentiousnesse of men, as is now a dayes sene in great men and Priestes. For if their wantonnesse were restrained by the sharpenesse of lawes, so much slander had neuer bin brought into the Church of Christ.

Lastly, opportunitie and occasion, which (as the prouerbe saith) maketh the theefe, giueth a great deale of encrement: whether it be of company and dwelling together, or else of solitarinesse, so that they may be together alone, bodyly or by stealth, and no body se them. Thus Ammon sought, when he deuised the deflowring and incest of his sister Thamar. But it is not our purpose nowe diligentlye to treate of all the causes of this euil, which riseth sundry ways, and destroys men vnwares. Would God we woulde at the leaste waye take the feare of God to vs, and diligently eschue and flee these pointes which

Genes. 6.

Genes. 34.

Genes. 39.

2. Sam. 11.

Hearing.

1. Corint. 15.

Touching.

which points we haue rehearsed.

Of the greuousnes of vvhordome and adulterie.

The speciall griefe.

This detestable & most noysome mischiefe hath so taken place in these latter times, that the greater the whoredomes & adulteries be, the more carelesly men do sin: and iudge that there is little or no offence done in whorehunting & adultery. Which euil no man can worthilye weye. And they shall chiefely beare the blame thereof aboue all others, at the day of iudgement, which might and ought to haue mette with the mischief as it grewe, by the authoritie of their power. It is not therefore much amisse, at the leaste waye for them which haue not yet cast away all the feare of God, to touche briefye, howe great the soreneste of this sinne is, how great the malice of it is, and what be the paines and punishment therof.

Let the man which feareth God, thinke firste of the common and generall weighte, wherin al sinnes generally are so greuous, that worthily they be with all diligence to be eschued. That is, that they do not onlye repugne vnto Gods will, but they haue also an expresse contempt of Gods precepts. A godly man would not do any thing yͤ might displease God, albeit it were not forbidden by expresse commandement of his: how muche more ought we to loke that nothing be done, that is contrary vnto the manifest commaundement of Gods maiestie. It doeth easily appeare how great the contempt of Gods authoritie muste nedes be, if a man do wittingly and warely transgresse the commaundement of God, as Adam and Eue did.

To offende against the tables of the couenant. A Similitude.

Secondly, we muste thinke of that also, that this precept, Commit not adulterie: is one of them which was put into the bookes of the couenant. It is a greuous mater to transgresse any precept of Goddes: but it was more grieuous to violate them also, which be peculiarlye annexed vnto Gods couenant, and for that cause put into the bookes of the couenant, that they shoulde with so muche the more care and religion be kept of the people of the couenant. The fauour of the couenant is great. Therfore those preceptes require also a speciall obseruance & keping, which are set forthe to the people of God, as the wordes and tables of the couenant. Therfore it followeth, that they do saiuour also of a singular contempt of God, which be not afearde to sinne against the tables of the couenant. Ther be many sorts of sins, wherewith the wife doeth according to the weakenesse of a woman, offend hir husband: and they haue also their waight, and are diligently eschued of an honest wife. And they be esteemed worthilye to be more grieuous than al these, whiche be done contrary vnto the expresse wordes of betrouthement. For they do argue a minde so neglecting the husbande, that she sticketh not to breake the very betrouthement. Such be those sins also, that be committed against the tables of Gods couenāt, of which adultery is one.

The vvaight by circumstances.

Thirdly, the circumstances of this sinne are also to be considered. Of circumstances some be of the per-

sons

sons with whom men do sinne, some be of the time, and some of the manner of wayes. Of the difference of persons is spoken before. He sinneth more greuously, that sinneth with a mayde or his kinswoman, or with a maried woman, than if he sinne with a naughty packe, or a straunge woman or a sole woman. That sin is more greuous, that is accustomed and dayly vsed, than that which is done once or twice only. It is also more greuous that an olde man sinneth than a yong man, and yet it is also more greuous which is done of deuice & set purpose, than that which happeneth by chaunce. The multitude of circumstances, whereby this sinne is aggrauated, is more in number than can be particularly rehersed: and yet they may easely be marked in euery sinne, if a mans minde be set to feare, and to haue God alwayes before his eyes.

Of the euill of vvhoredome and adulterie.

A common euil vvhich excludeth men out of the kingdome of God.

How great the euil & noisomnesse of this sinne is, no man can wel weye. And yet I will note certain peculiar poyntes. It hath one point common with all other of the great sinnes, that it doth exclude men out of the kingdome of God. For so saith the Apostle: 1. Corint. 6. Be not deceyued, neither whoremongers, neither seruers of idols, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor vnnaturall manlouers, nor thæues, nor the couetous, nor drunkards, nor euil talkers, nor extortioners, shall possesse the kingdome of God. It must nedes be an exceeding great euill, that doth for euer subiect a man to destruction, in excluding him from the kingdom of God. Wherfore this euil must not be esteemed ye lighter in this sin, bicause it is common also to other sins: but to be counted rather most greuous, bicause it maketh man most vnhappy. But as I said, let vs loke on those euils which do peculiarly cleaue vnto this sinne.

1 First, not only he that committeth adultery, but he also that committeth whoredome, doeth defile the fountaine and rote it self, of our nature. The strength of breeding, naturally grafted in our flesh by the great counsel of Gods prouidence (wherin the encrease of our nature consisteth) is peruerted and distayned by this sinne, when it is subiect vnto corrupt and naughty affections of forbidden lust. And who can sufficiently wey, how sinful and detestable it is to defile the fountayne and originall beginning of our generation.

2 Secondly, whorehaunters and adulterous do distaine publike honestie, whereof chief accompt ought to be had. God would the birth of mankinde shoulde be lawfull and honest, least our life should be defiled in the very rote and beginning: and therefore he did forbidde all kinde of vncleannesse. And what profiteth honest birth, if the societie of our life be defiled, & publike honestie distayned? Therfore like as they be vnworthie to liue amõg mẽ, which haue no care to kepe publike honestie: so is this sinne of it selfe detestable, whereby the honestie of the liuing together of men, is set asunder.

3 Thirdly, they which do committe whoredome and adulterye, fall into this peculiar euil also, that they doe sinne against their owne bodyes. Of this poynt the Apostle doeth admonishe vs in this wise: Flee whoredome. For all sin what soeuer man doeth, is without his bodye, but he that committeth whoredome, sinneth against his owne body. To sinne against his owne bodye, is to do his owne bodye wrong. That is done two maner wayes: either in hurting the constitution therof, or prophaning and defiling the holinesse and puritie therof. The constitution of our body is hurt by surfet and drunkennesse: the puritie & holinesse is defiled with whoredome and adultery, wantonnesse, incestе, deflouring, Sodomie, & bealklinesse as I may call it. The honor of our body, is the puritie and holinesse therof. That is defiled with sinne, when the acte of sinne is such, that it maketh the body it self defiled and filthye: whiche happeneth by those wayes which we haue spoken off. In this respect speaketh the Apostle also, when he sayth: For this is the wil of God, euen your sanctifying, that you abstayne from whoredome, and euery one of you know to possesse his vessel with holynesse and honor: not with affection of concupiscence, as the Gentils, which know not God. We see by this place, how the whoremonger and adulterer sinneth against his owne body, when by whoredome and adultery he defileth the honor and sanctifying of his own bodie. For Paule meaneth by abstaining from whoredome, to possesse his vessel, that is his body, in holinesse and honor.

4 Fourthly, this is also a peculiar euill in the spirit of whoredome and adultery, that when it hathe caught a man, it so besotteth & blindeth him, that he maketh no accõpt nor of his honor, nor of his name, nor of his goodes. Hereof they meant to admonish all men, which began to paynte Cupide, Venus sonne, blind. In dede whorehunters & adulterers be blind. They see neyther the filthinesse of themselues, nor of their harlottes, wherof at length (if by Gods grace they doe amende) they be exceedingly ashamed. They thinke they dally in roses, when they tumble as it were in their myer of filthinesse.

A continuall desire of sin grafted in them.

5 Fiftly, this sinne hath this also in it, that it is not ended with one or two acts of filthinesse, but it runneth on with a certain perpetuall desire, & kepeth a man bounde, and weareth out his harte and minde entangled day and night with most vaine deuises and desiers. Yea when the body is combered, & as it were dead with age, yet the harte and minde is still infected: As a man maye see in these olde men, to whom it is most swete, when they can prate of the loues and fondnesse of their youth.

A man is made light and vnprofitable.

6 Sixtly, it maketh a man not only vaine and light, but also vnprofitable. It is not possible that he can be profitable to others or to himselfe, that is possessed with the spirite and studie of whoredome, whether he be yong and sole, or maried: whether he be a priuat person, or set in publike function. For what should the snarled, sotted, and blinded minde do?

They fall into great danger. Proverb. 6.

7 Seuẽthly, it is casteth a man into gret dangers. The worth of a harlot saith the wise mã, is scarsely one lose or cantel of bread: but the woman procureth to hir the precious soule of a man. Item: The zeale (sayth he)

he) and the furie of the husband shal not spare in the daye of vengeance, nor shall cease at any bodies entreating. He compareth also a whoremonger & an adulterer vnto an oxe, drawen to be killed: and to the birde hasting to the pit fall: bycause he knoweth not what is wrought, concerning the peril of his soule. What great daunger the deflouring of Dina brought, we may see in Genesis. What happened vnto ỳ Beniamites, the booke of Iudith teacheth. The adulterie of Dauid, together with the fruite that it bredde, is knowen. The worlde is full of dayly examples.

Prouerb 7.

Genes. 34.

Iudit. 19. & 20.

8 Eightly, it hath also this point peculiar, that he which committeth whoredome and adulterie, wrappeth not onely himself in sinne, but hir also with whome he sinneth. He that stealeth, he that killeth, he that beareth false witnesse, he that is disobedient to his parentes, he that coueteth his neighbours goodes, he that bowèth before Images, he that abuseth the name of God, &c. sinneth in deede: but he sinneth alone, and doeth not necessarily wrap any other body in his sinnes: as the whoremonger, adulterer, and Sodomite doeth. This kind of sinne is of that nature, that it comprehendeth and casteth away to destruction two together. He that sinneth otherwise, forasmuch as he sinneth alone, if he amende alone, he is restored, and is appeased in his conscience by the grace of God: but the whoremonger, adulterer and Sodomite, when they doe amende (if they doe truely amende) cannot be but exceedingly troubled in their consciences, for their behalf with whom they sinned, and to whom they were authors of sinning.

Two persons are wrapt of sinne.

9 Minthly, these and many other thinges the sinne of whoredome and adulterye drawèth with it, by whomsoeuer it be done: but these pointes that folow, concerne Christian men.

Firste, that a Christian man by whoredome and adultery, maketh of the members of Christ the members of a harlot. Wherof Paule doeth admonishe vs, saying: Knowe you not that your bodyes be the mèbers of Christe? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them members of a harlot? God forbidde. Know you not, that he which is ioyned to a harlot, is one body with hir? For there shal be brought (saith he) two into one flesshe.

Secondly, that it doeth prophane the Temple of the holy spirite. For as the Apostle saith in the place before alleged: The body of a Christian man is the temple of the holy spirite, whome he hath in him from God. And how greuous a matter it is to make bothe of the members of Christ the members of a harlot, and to be one body with the harlot, yea and not to prophane and defile, not some stony and shadowed Temple, but the true and liuely Temple in which the holy spirite dwelleth, the harte of a Christian man may easily conceyue.

The Apostle addeth also a thirde euill, wherby men do sin against the blood of the redemptiõ, and the right of the redemer. Ye are brought (saith he) for a great price or raunsome, and you be not your own. Therfore glorifie G D in your body, and those thinges that be of God, in your spirite.

rite. Therefore he that committeth whordom & adultery, sequestreth himself, altogither in body and spirit, frõ the right of Christ our redemer, and shameth God, whome he ought to glorifie in his body and spirit, by the cleanesse and holinesse of them both.

This my wil was briefly to touch, and to giue an occasion to godly mẽ, to thinke of the peculiare euill and hurt of this sin, that as it is singularly and specially noysome & hurtefull, so it may be also with singular hate and abhorrmente eschued. For it is worthily hateful, whatsoeuer hath a certain peculiar malice to hurte. There be many sortes of venemous beastes, which all men doe flée: but such of them as haue a certain singular and present poyson, are had also in singular hate, and more diligently eschued, as adders be, & certain such other kinde of beastes. Therfore let a godly man thinke that whoredome is a certaine most noysome adder, to be detested and eschued euen for this cause, that it is full of some certaine peculiar malice, as the Apostle also ment in the place before cited.

Of the punishment of forbidden lustes, whoredome, deflouring, incest, rauishment, adultery, Sodomy, and beastiall meddeling.

LIke as the prouidence of God did forbidde the filthinesse of vnlawfull lusts, not onely by words, but did adde also penalties to restraine the same: so I suppose we ought to endeuour, not onely to heare his wordes whereby he doeth forbidde it, but to marke also the sharpnesse of the punishment. It had neded no penalties, if Gods word had the waight & efficacie which it ought to haue in our harts, either inteaching, either in forbidding. But for as much as the corruption of our nature, vanitie, lightnesse, yea rather impiety is so great, that al doctrine, al warning, yea & all commandementes, as well charging as forbidding, are contemned, to the intent that no point should be omitted necessary to breke such malice of our nature, there were added also penalties, by ỳ sharpnesse of which, wil we nil we, we should be staide from ỳ rashnesse of sinning. Wherfore I thought good to admonish you also of this matter, to the intent you should not misse so necessarie a parte of this treatie.

Two kindes of penalties of Sinne.

1 And ther be two kindes of penalties of this sin to be considered. The first kinde is the same which is not comprended in any lawes, but is sent vpon reuenge at will. Some of such reuenges are done by the ministerie of angels, some by the ministerie of men. By the ministery of Angels Pharao was scourged, & his house also, with great plages, for Saras sake Abrahams wife. The former world for their vnstaied lustes, was destroyed by the floud. Sodoma, vñ the cities ioyning vnto it, for their abominable vncleanesse, was brent with fier frõ heauen. By the ministery of men, the citie of Sichem was put to sack and subuersion, for ỳ deflouring of Dina. Foure and twentye thousand of the Israelites perished for whordome, & the Iudges were hanged vp against the Sunne. The tribe of Beniamin was nere hand al extincted, for a woman ỳ was killed with violent lust.

Genes. 12.

Gen. 6. & 7.

Genes. 19.

Genes. 34.

Num. 25.

Iudg. 19. & 20.

2 There is another kinde of penal-

Penalties of adulterours.

ties also, wherwith the vncleane folkes are reuēged, cōprehēded in laws, not only of men, but also of God. Of adulterers wee may see in Leuiticus & Deuteronomie. If any man cōmit adulterie with another mās wife, or else with his neighbours, let them dye the death, both the adulterer and the adultresse. Itē: If the man sleepe with an other mans wife, both shall dye, the adulterer & the adulteresse: and thou shalt ridde the euil out of Israel. According vnto this law, the adulterer and the adulteresse were wōt to be ouerwhelmed with stones in Israel: as we may see in the historie of Susan, and in John, where the Pharisees saide vnto the Lord, Maister, this woman is euen now taken in adultery. And in the law, Moyses commanded vs to stone such. This sharpnesse of Gods lawe, the law of Julius amongst the Romaines, did followe: by which adulterers loste their heades. This sharpnesse, our Princes and Bishops haue mittigated with easier penalties.

Leuit. 20.

Deut. 22.

Lex Iulia.

Christian princes haue vveakned the lavv of adulterours.

Some haue yoked the adulterer after he was well whipt, vnto monkerie, some haue punished the adulteresse with the losse of hir dourie: and haue takē from the adulterer all that was giuen him at his mariage. Our men do yet more gently handle the adulterers, rather than punish them. Wold God they could bring to passe by their mildnesse, ẏ ther were lesse adultery. It is a maruelous matter, thei be so gentle to adulterers, and so sharpe vnto theeues. There be some that do say, that Christ did abrogate ẏ penaltie of the law against adulterers, when he said to the adulteresse: Nor I do not condemne thee, go and hereafter sinne not. They be gaye men: they do not thinke that Christ came into the worlde not to iudge and punishe sinners, but to saue thē: and yet for all that, hee did not disanull the penalties of the lawe, giuen by Moses from God the father. And therfore he said not simply, I doe not condemne thee: or, Thou oughtst not to be condemned of any man, but when he had asked before: Hath no man condemned the woman? and she answered, No man lord: then he added, Nother I doe condemne thee. He would haue saide another thing, if she had bene condemned according vnto the sentence of the lawe: he would not haue gone agaynst the law. Wherfore he did not by his wordes, father that lycentiousnesse, wherby men do now a daies exceedingly grow into all kind of mischeuousnesse.

John. 8.

Of the penaltie of Inceste, see in Leuiticus, they were subiect vnto ẏ sentēce of death, whosoeuer had to do either with his stepmother, or hys daughter in law, or his wifes daughter, or wͦ his sister, or with his aunt by the father or mothers side, or with his vnckles wife, by ẏ father or mothers side, or with his brothers wife.

Of the deflowrers of maidens, the commandemēt runneth thus. If any man finde a maydē wēche, that hath not a spouse, & take hir, and lye with hir, and the matter come to iudgemēt, he that lay with hir, shall giue the father of the wenche fiftye sycles of syluer, & shal haue hir to his wife: bicause he hath abashed hir: and can not leaue hir al the dayes of his life. This is in that place. It were exceding necessarie to restore this law vnto

vnto his strength againe, for them which do busily lay watch for maidens chastitie, and do deceyue & corrupt wenches vpon hope of wedlock. If a wenche despoused, be defiled, both she and hir deflowrer are commaunded to be ouerwhelmed with stones, in the same chapter.

He that defileth a maidē or a wife by rauishement, or violence, is punished also with death by the temporal lawes.

He that vseth his luste against nature, either with mankinde or beast, is iudged to death. He that sleepeth (saith he) with a mā, as men are wōt to vse wemen, bothe of them hathe wrought wickednesse, let them dye the death: let their blood be vpon thē. Item he that hath to doe with beast or cattel, let him dye the deathe: and kill also the cattel. The woman that yeldeth hir self vnto any beast, let hir be slaine also with it. Their blood be vpon them.

Thus much by the way, of the penalties of filthy lustes. If it seeme to any man ouer sore to kill a man for a fault, as they say, so naturall, let him thinke of ẏ waight therof which I made mention of: & how it is not meete for ẏ man to enioye life, which with so great peruersitie and vncleanesse doth corrupt that which was profitablye & honestly graffed in our nature to the encrease thereof. Nor godly men must not regard how this worlde doth punish such mischieuous deedes, in which they be most giuen vnto whoredome & adultery, whose part it were either for their wisedom or power, to be ringleaders in the koping of publike honestie. Howsoeuer they do execute the penalties of the law, or according to their mildenesse doe remitte it, we must holde that in mindefull memorye, that S. Paule saith: Whoremongers & adulterers the Lord shall iudge. Againe, The law was not set to the iust, but to the vniust and vnruly, to wicked persons & sinners, to the vngracious and filthinesse, to father and mother killers, to murderers and whormongers, to mē louers, to fighters, lyers, and periured persons, and whatsoeuer is contrarye vnto the holesome doctrine, which is according vnto the Gospell of the blessed God, which was deliuered vnto me. It is manifest ynough by these words of the Apostle, that whoremongers and adulterers, with other flagitious & wicked persons, whose wickednesse repugneth against the doctrine of the Gospel of God, as men vnder the reuenge of God, are not subiect vnto the grace of the new Testament, but vnto the sharpnesse of the law. Therfore they be peruerters of the grace of the new Testament, that be fauorable to wicked persons, and do persecute with so great crueltie them, which either do erre, or be supposed to erre in maters of religiō. The sea of Rome spareth whormongers and adulterers, yea and Sodomites also, & they do betake to the fier to be burned clerkes, as they say, vsing lawful matrimony, as they call it. And can we be miscontent with them, which being no Christians, nor vnderstanding the truth of Christianity, do detest & abhorre moste spitefully, & hate the whole Christian religiō of Christianity, when as they see so vnseemly and wicked matters, suffred at liberty amongst Christian men?

Ebre. 13.

1. Timot. 1.

The Eyght Precept.

IT can not be sufficiently considered, how that this *Decalogus* of Gods precepts is appointed in most conuenient order. For if we wey the loue of God and of our neighbour, the first table requireth the loue of God, the seconde the loue of our neybour. Wherof the Apostle doeth admonish vs, when he saith: He that loueth his neighbour, hath fulfilled the law. For these precepts, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kil, Thou shalt not steale, Thou shalt not beare false witnesse, Thou shalt not couet, and such lyke commandements, are commãded in this saying, Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. If you thinke of the keping of iustice, whereby is giuen to euery man his own, the first table prescribeth what our duty is towardes God, and the second what towardes our neybour. If we consider the vpright and lawful order of our life, first those things be set for the which be chiefest, next are added secondary matters. The chiefest are they which concerne pietie. And the same is of two sortes: one is due to God, the other to our parents. That which is the due to God, is commanded in the first four precepts, in the fifte is added next the same which is done to our parents. The secũdary things be those which concerne our neighbours, thei be set forth in some of forbidding. And we be forbiddẽ that we shal not hurt them. And forbicause that it may be done diuers & sundry wayes, there be expressed and forbidden certain generall kindes of hurting, in which are compzised an innumerable sort of things, and be forbidden. So it is first forbidden, that we doe not kill, that is to say: that we lay not watche for our neighbours lyfe. Secondly, that we defile not with any wicked kinde of lust, or by whordome or adulterye, the honestie of his state & lyfe, in wedlocke or maydenhode. Thirdlye, that we do not dammage him in any necessitie of his liuing: & so is it added vnto ỹ precept going before: Thou shalt not steale.

Rom. 13.

The worde in the Hebrewe signifieth, To goe about somewhat secretly, to conuey it and take it awaye, so that the knowledge of them which haue to do in it, may be deceyued. So we reade in Genesis. And Jacob stole Labans hart, that is, vnknowen to Laban he went away. And in the same chapter: And thou hast stolen my heart. And, Thou hast stolen mée, and not tolde mée of it. So that Jacob was accused by Laban of theft, for that he had secretely without his knowledge conueyed himselfe and his, and departed awaye. So that to robbe any mans hearte, is as much as to deceyue his knowledge, and to conueye himself or some other thing secretelye from him. So Ioseph sayde also: For I am by stealth and by theefte taken away out of the land of the Hebrewes, bicause his brethren had deceiued the conscience of his father, and solde him secretely into Egypt. We reade also: And ỹ people stole himself that daye, going into the citie. As though he had sayd: the people gat into the Citie by stealth, or, lyke théeues they forsoke the way into the Citie. And againe, And Absalon stole the harte of Israel: that is deceiued, or craftely dzewe vnto him the hartes of the Israelites. And in the same chapter whẽ the Tribe of Juda had brought Dauid home to his house, the Israelites said vnto Dauid: Why haue our brethren stolen thée? Of these & other like places it is manifest ynough, that this word גנב, which is put in this eight precept, is as much, as to worke secretely, couertly, fainingly or dissemblingly: and so doe, that that which is done, is hid from the knowledge of them that haue to doe in it, whether any thing be takẽ away or not. So the Grekes do vse this word κλέπτειν. Therfore when God saith, לא תגנב he forbiddeth not only, that no man take away by stealth the goodes of his neighbour, but also that he do not craftely and maliciously deceyue his knowledge, in any cause that toucheth him.

Hovv many kindes of stealing there be.

THe euill of theft is so manifold, that the kindes thereof can not easely be reckened. For we meane not to rehearse all, nor to treate of them: but we wil sée of some that be most common.

1 There be two kindes of theft. One is, that which is knowen and common, and is now adays punished with hanging: that is, when an other mannes good is secretely conueyed awaye without the owners knowledge, & against his will. The parts thereof be those. First there is simple theft, when a priuate mans good is by stealth taken away. The seconde is sacrilege, when holy things, & such as are appointed to Churches & seruice of God, are pilfred awaye. The third is a kind of robbery, when publike goodsare by stealth conueied away and alienated. Some doe adde an other, when a man is shifted ouer by theft, whether he be free of bonde: Which kinde of stealth is not so wel knowẽ here, as in those countries in which menne are wonte to be solde. Therefore it is prouided by a special law, that no body steale a man.

Exod. 21.

2 It is an other kinde of theft, whẽ any man is deceitfully, maliciously, and so circumuented in his businesse, that he suffereth fraude, and taketh harme not vnderstanding it. Of this kinde there be many formes, which bicause they be not perceiued, they do bring them which vse thẽ, into no infamy nor danger: but they be rather clothed with honest titles.

Bishopps are the theeues of the church goodes.

Bishopps and other prelates with their clerkes and cloyster creepers, do commit sacrilege without anye infamye, when they doe abuse the goodes of the Church vnto prophane vses. The goodes of the Church doe belong to the feeding of the poore, to the sustentation of the ministers, and to the reparing of the Churches: but they, when they do neither well minister in the Church, but spende the goodes of the Church, nor feede the poore, nor repaire the edifices of the Churche, but spende the goodes of Churches filthy vpõ their pleasurs, whore-hunting, they must needes be sacrilegers, and do robbe Christs Church of his necessary ministery, and the poore of their relefe, and the edifices of the Church of their reparation. And yet ther is no man that doeth punishe them as giltie of sacri-

ledge, but they be for the most part reputed for holy men and prelats of the Churche, which be the watchers & spyders of the goods of the Church. So the Church is deceiued in matters of religion, not vnderstanding the fraude of their prelates.

The Princes are the theeues of Churche goodes.

Againe, they do also commit sacrilege, which take away the goodes of the Church from Prelates and clerkes, and conuerte them to their owne priuate vses: which thing certain princes haue done in time past, and would to God many princes did not so in these dayes, which do not withstanding exceedingly glorye of the Gospell of Christ. They doe not sin in that that they doe driue the humblebées, the ydle cattel, yea rather the wolfes from the rackes and féeding place: but they doe committe sacrilege in that that they doe euen as the false Bishops did, and doe turne the goodes of the Church vnto their owne priuate vses, and spoile the Churches.

The robbers of vvidovves houses. *Matth.* 23.

3 Into this ragmans rolle the Hypocrites also must be put, which vnder pretext of long prayer, doe eate vp the houses of widowes, suche as they were, to whome Christ sayde: Wo be to you Scribes, and Pharisées, Hypocrites, which do eate vp the houses of widowes. &c. For what do they else, but vnder colour of prayer, deceiue the simple sort, and by stealth lay watche for other mens goodes?

They that clime in an other vvay

To those adde also those which goe not in by the doze, but clime vp an other waye: and wheras they be wolues, they boast themselues for shepherds. In this forme we maye place all them also, which neyther be orderly chosen to the ministerie, nor did therefore couet the ministery because they woulde fede the Lordes shepe, but bicause they would fatte themselues with the milke and flesh of the shepe, and pamper themselues vdelly in ỳ Church of Christ. Those Christ himselfe calleth Robbers and theeues.

5 They be theeues also, yea sacrilegers, which vnder the pretence of the name or of the worde of God, do steale, decepue, and draw vnto them the hartes of the simple. They doe pretende the name of God almighty, that a man woulde thinke, that they receyued commandement from God from heauen, to take in hand that which they doe, when they doe set forthe their owne traditions and inuentions vnto the Church of God. They doe steale also the wordes of God, and apply them vnto their owne deuises, to make men beleue that they doe set forth not their own opinion, but the sentence of the Lord: and so they do decepue the simple folkes, which either can not iudge of the sentence of the wordes of the Lord, either are forbidden by them, which challenge to theselues the kay of knowledge in the house of God. This is a moste noysome kinde of theft and sacrilege, whereby they doe by fraudulent theft, tourne to their owne wickednesse, the name and worde of the Lorde, and do pull awaye true godlinesse, the knowledge of God, and Christ himselfe, by stealth, out of the heartes of the simple and seduced, and doe settle in place therof, the ignorance of God, & Antichrist. Such there were among the Iewes, of whome we doe reade in this wise. Therefore lo, I am a-

gainst

gainst the Prophets (saith the Lord) which steale my wordes euery man from his neighbour. Lo, I am against the Prophetes saith the Lord, which teache their tongs to saye: The Lord sayde: Lo, I am against them that doe prophecye dreames of lyes, sayth the Lord, which tell the same vnto them, and seduce my people in their lye. &c.

After the sacrileges of ỳ Churchmen, we must consider of others also, which do decepue their neybours in the seconde kinde of theft.

1 Such be the merchants, which sell counterfeit & corrupt wares, in stéde of true and sound geare: and doe also lessen and diminishe measures. It is plaine theefte, whatsoeuer they get by such fraude more than is right.

2 Handy workmen also, and artificers which worke not trustyly, and yet demaunde and receyue the whole wages for their labour, are theeues.

3 Officers also which by secret falshode do pilfer away the goodes of their prince, or of ỳ common wealth, be theeues.

4 They be theeues also, which being tutors of Orphanes and Widowes, do raise a gaine, and become riche of their goodes.

5 Waiting men also and seruants, be theeues, which seruing their maisters onely vnder his nose, do falsely vse him in his absence. Ther be yet many other such kindes of theefte, but woulde to God these were mended among Christian men.

From vvhence commeth the desire of stealing.

The sinne of theft, hathe a spring, vaines, and a course. *Matth.* 15.

THis euill hath his fountaine or spring, his vaines, & his course. The fountaine, is the hart (Christ to witnesse) who saith thus. Out of the hart cómeth euil thoughts, murders, adulteries, whoredomes, thefts, false witnesse, &c. Here is ment that malice of the hart, which by original sin infected the nature of our kinde, and made it sinful. The same is euen the fountaine of all sinnes.

The vaines. The vaines of this sin, be incredulitie, falshode, and auarice. As faith toward ỳ prouidence of God maketh the minde intent vnto vpright worke king, quiet, content with litle, & faithful to his neighbour: so doth it also restraine all euil crafts and fraudes. Againe, as vnbeleefe doeth make the minde vnquiet, false, and couetous of much goods, yea and ỳ of other mens: so it doth yeld al kind of deceit, craft, and guile, and maketh a man wilye, craftye, false, a robber, and a théefe. Therfore the desire of stealing springeth out of ỳ euil hart as a fountain, by incredulitie, falshode, & couetousnesse, as by vaines and conduites.

The course

To the following out and course therof, helpeth first Idle slouthfulnesse, giuen to riot, & next his daughter Beggery, of which the wiseman saith: The slouthfull hand braedeth beggerye. And in an other place: *Chap.* 30. Beggerye and riches giue me not, but giue me only necessary thinges for my liuing, least peraduenture being ouer full, I may be allured to denaye, and say: Who is the Lord? or driuen by beggery, may steale, and forswear the name of my God.

Occasion.

Here vnto is ioyned Occasion, according to the common prouerbe: Occasion maketh the théefe: that is to say, occasion doth entice the theues minde to put his hand to steale. It cōpelleth him not, but it doth entice him: it maketh not a théefe of a good man, but it doeth styrre and prouoke him that is already halfe disposed to theft: which can not be in a good man and him that feareth God.

Aduise.

Therfore we must endeuor (forasmuch as of nature we be of an euill disposition) to suppresse first the malice of our harts, praying vnto God by the exāple of the wise man: & next the course of inticemēt of it, by doing honestly and eschewing all occasion, & restrain ẏ same shut vp (as it were in a prison) by the feare of God, who seeth all thinges. We must caste away slouth, ydlenesse, and ryot, least of them come beggery, and coueting of other mennes goods: which after they haue once taken place, they wil bréede not only theft, robbery, and periurie, but sacriledge also, and all kinde of falshode, as wel towardes God as towards men.

Genethliaci. Against Calkers vvhich doe ascribe the necessitie of stealing to starres.

There be some which do shift the cause of this euil vnto, I wote not what, constellation, vnder which thei be borne into this worlde by the Fatal strength and necessity, wherof (as they say) they be so driuen to steale, that they can not stay themselfe frō stealing. And for this impietie, we may thanke the calculators of natiuities, which do attribute this vnto starres, that according vnto their qualitie & nature they make the man that is borne vnder them, a théefe or a whoremonger, an extorcioner, or a miserable and a wretched person. This say they, worketh Venus, this Saturne, this Mars, & this Mercury, &c. as though the necessarie causes of our sinning came euen from heauen: which thing what is it else, but to make god (the creator of heauen & of all thinges) the author of all kinde of euill, and to blame him therefore & withall to cleare the man which is flesh and blood, and a very vile worm & filthinesse it self, as giltlesse of himselfe, from all fault? The Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, be for this purpose in the firmament, to stande in steade for tokens and times, for days and nights, not to gouerne our dispositions and fortunes. The euils that we doe, we may thanke the peruersnesse of our nature for them, the malice wherof is spread abroade euen from our first parent Adam into all flesh, out of our originall corruption: not out of the Starres, which be the good creatures of God. Then let vs attribute the causes of our sins hereunto, which we do féede and encrease by our own sluggishnesse.

So that they are to be restrained, which when mē be punished for their theftes, do breake out into these clamours: I coulde not choose but steale, it was my destinie. If they speake of the procliuitie to stealing, in déede we must acknowledge that the same is in our hartes from the natiuitye of our fleshe, as other vices also: but it is not of so great strength that it compelleth a man whether he will or no, to steale, but it may be restrained, specially by the meanes of Gods grace: and secondarily by discipline & conuenient correction: so far forth at the least, that they may be able to hold their hands from stealing other mens geare. And agayne, it commeth not of the strengthe of the Starres, but as we sayd, of corrupte nature.

Hovve grieuous a sinne, Theft is.

Transgression of Pre-

If this sinne be considered in it selfe, it is grieuous inough, though it were but for thys, that it is the transgression of Gods Precepte, yea the breach of the table of the couenaunte: of the weightnesse wherof we noted some things in the Precept before. It is in no wise to be looked for, that he whiche maketh it a light matter to transgresse Gods precepte, and dothe rashly contemne the authoritie of Gods Maiestie, that he can by any other meanes cōteine himselfe thoroughly from the affection and desire of stealing. Wherefore we must prouide, that the reuerence and feare of the hygh lawgyuer, be clapt into mēs hearts, euen from childhode, that they may learne to feare the Lord: and by hys feare refraine themselues, as it were with a certayne bridle, from the desire of sinne.

me theft grenou- than o- r.

Secondly, if you compare ẏ kinds and spices of theft, one with another, of whiche I made mention before, you shall finde that one is gréeuouser than another. It is more grieuous, if a man hurt his parents, brothers, friendes, and felowes in house, wyth stealing, than strangers. For the straighter men be alied, so much the straighter the loue ought to be. Agayne, it is a more grieuous thefte which is committed vnder pretence of rewarde, fée, or office, rule, or seruice, and so to deceyue the simple. He sinneth more grieuously whyche stealeth the goodes of the poore, than he that robbeth the rich. For though both be theftes, yet in this case is added vnto the wickednesse of theft, the crueltie also in the miserie of the poore. It is also a grieuouser faulte if a man committe a publike robberie, pilfring away secretely publike goodes, than if he take away by theft from a priuat person. For it is more grieuous to hurt many, than one alone. He that dothe an iniurie to the whole body, doth sinne more hurtfullye, than he whiche hurteth but one member alone. Furthermore he that stealeth a man, doth more grieuously offende, than he whiche robbeth a publike matter. For he sinneth againste oure owne common nature, when he stealeth a man, whyche is much more grieuous than to steale earthly goodes, which al togyther be not so much of value, as one man alone. He that committeth sacriledge in taking away Churche goodes, doth sinne enormiously in annoying Gods house, and hurting the ministers of the Churche and the poore, whiche passeth all crueltie. Héere we maye recken them specially, whyche by climbing vp by crooked and wrōg wayes, do robbe the dignities of the Churche and the word and name of God, to seduce the people. They bée not onely théeues, but robbers and spoylers of soules.

There be some places of Scripture, by whiche theft in respect of other sinnes is made lesse. As in the sixt of the Prouerbs where we reade thus: It is no greate faulte when a man stealeth. For he stealeth to fyll his

Scri vvhi exte the of th

his hungry soule. And if he be taken withall, he shall restore seuen tymes as muche, and deliuer all his goodes, and saue hymselfe. But he that is an adulterer, for lacke of hart loseth his soule. &c. And in Ecclesiasticus: Be not called a tale teller in thy life, and lay no watche to deceyue with thy tong: For vppon the theefe falleth shame, but vppon the backebiter, a wicked condemnation. Also in the same book: The theef is better thã he which cõtinually lieth. By these places theefte is so extenuated, ỹ it hath lesse blame thã adulterie, backbiting and vse of lying: but these places are to be vnderstanded of simple theefte, when a man for pure nede stealeth that which is not his, to sustaine his lyfe withall. But otherwyse, if you consider the enormitie of sacrileges, you will tell vs an other matter. Agayn, theefte is not extenuated here so muche, that it is of it selfe to be counted lighte, but it is declared to haue lesse blame & hurte in comparison of greater matters. And so is immediately added in Ecclesiasticus: But both shall inherite perdition, that is both the theefe, and the continual lyer: which is to good consideration added, leaste any man shoulde hereby take occasion to iudge ouer light of the sinne of theft. That sinne which is committed in theefte, is not therfore little, bicause there be some sinnes greater. Euery sinne is of it selfe great, to speake nothing of the circumstances, wherby they be yet more aggrauate: & this grieuousnes is not discharged frõ any sin by those ỹ be more grieuous & more enormious. Wherfore whẽ any sin is extenuated in scriptures, it is extenuated not of it selfe, but in comparison of them that be more grieuous.

Ecclesi. 5.

Eccle. 20.

Eccle. 20.

Whether euery theefte be culpable and sinne.

TO the vnderstandyng of thys place, the qualitie of those thinges which be forbidden or cõmanded in this *Decalogue* is to be considered. There be of them two kindes. The one is of those things whiche can in no wise be done without offence: the other of such things, as may somtymes be done without faulte and blame.

Of the firste kinde bee those three Precepts of the firste table, that is, the firste, the second, and the thirde: And of the second table, the seuenth, the ninth, and the tenth. For it can not be, that men may haue straunge Gods, serue and worship Images, take the name of Gods Maiestie in payne, committe adultery, beare false witnesse againste their neyghbour, and couet those things that bee your neighbours, without sinne. Ye that committeth any of these things, sinneth without excuse. For there can be no reason giuen, howe these things may be done lawfully & without blame.

Of the secõd kind be ỹ other four, that is, the fourth in the firste table, and the fift, first, and this the eyghte which we now treate of, in the secõd table. For that which is commanded of the obseruance of the Sabbbath, that no worke be done in the seauenth day, mought haue bin vppon certayne causes neglected in the olde Testament: and in the new Testament vtterly refused.

And

And that which is cõmaunded of the honoring of the parentes, is also such, that in some case it may lawfully be broken. As when we ought to haue regard & obseruance of greater iustice, as that is which Christ speaketh of: If any come to me, and hateth not his father and mother. &c. can not be my disciple.

Thirdly, where he sayth, Kill not, it is of that sorte, that somtymes it muste nedes be done, and maye bee done wyth good commendation and prayse.

Fourthly, the same whiche he forbiddeth here, saying: Thou shalt not steale, may be so done, that it maye haue commendation of obedience, somtymes of iustice, somtymes of diligence and industrie.

The Israelites did craftily robbe the Egyptians, when they borowed of them Gold, Siluer, and much apparell: and gate it away of purpose neuer to restore it. What was that other than theefte? And yet it is not onely excused by Gods commaundemente, whereof we reade Exod. xj. But it deserueth also cõmendation of obedience. For they did (sayeth Moyses) as the Lord commaunded, and to do that which the Lord commandeth, is the praise of true obedience. For who can beleue that God can commaunde ỹ which is not lawfull by any meanes to doe? He that forbiddeth theft, commanded Israel in this case to robbe the Egyptians, he would neuer haue commanded it, if of itselfe it had bene vtterly euill, and vnexcusable.

Againe, we reade this: And Athalia mother of Ochosias, seeyng hyr sonne was dead, arose and slewe all the issue of the king. And Iosaba the daughter of King Iozam, sister to Ochosia, stale him out of the middes of the kyngs children that were slain, and his nourse out of the halle, and hidde hym from the face of Athalia, that he might not be slayne: and he was with hir fyre yeares secretely in the house of the Lord. Hee saith, She stale him, *Ergo*, she committed theft. Who is so mad to say, that thys kinde of stealing is to bee blamed, and not rather worthy of cõmendation of Iustice? And would God all godly folkes were by lyke theft conueyd from tiraunts, whych be in daunger for iustice and true godlinesse: wherein Abdias the steward of Achabs house did a good turne to the liuing, when he hid and fedde a hundred Prophetes secretely from the face of Iesabell. And Toby, to his dead brethren, taking thẽ vp secretely and burying them.

2. Reg. 15.

1. Reg 18.

Tob. 2.

Theefte of industrie.

You shall find many wastfull husbands, which consume al wherewith their wiues and their children ought to be kept. If a prudent wife do conuey sometimes secretely from such a husbande, and lay vppe somewhat to serue ỹ necessitie to come, as we say, for a dere yeare, who cã blame such a stealing, & wil not rather cõmend the womã for hir industrie & diligence?

Theefte of vvarenesse.

If a man take secretly and steale away a sword from a mad and drunken person, to the intent he shall not rage against any man withal, I suppose he committed a theefte worthye to be commended for his warynesse and forseeing.

A studious yong man is not blamed of his schoolemaister, if he steale out of good authors suche thinges as

he maye cunningly and handsomly place in his writtings, but is commẽded rather for his industrie and diligence. There be many suche theftes which may be done without faulte, yea and rather with commendation.

Therefore it followeth, that all kindes of theftes are not to be condemned. You shall finde some nations, whiche so well do like the industrie of stealing, that they will diligently instructe their children in the exercise of stealing, and that all kind of theft may be done among them lawfully. Suche an industrie in stealing, in whiche they doe glory themselues in, no good man can well allowe and like. For they doe sinne against the precepte of God, against iustice, against right and equitie, and brotherly charitie: and doe nourish and encrease in the study and exercise of stealing: and the malice of the hearte, whereby we do delite in stealing, and esteme stolne water to be swete and pleasaunte, accordyng vnto the Prouerbe. For these causes we must not be hastie to allowe the industrie of stealing, no not there where it semeth to be least wickednesse. Our flesh is corrupte and ouerthwart. And those things that be spoken for the comfort of weake cõsciences, our flesh draweth them to ỹ couering & feding of hir wickednes. Wherfore ỹ wise mã will diligently beware, that he do not carelesly flatter his owne flesh, in those poyntes whyche may by some coloure bee excused. For there is in nothing more daunger, nor men doe in nothing soner sinne, thã in those points whereof the wickednesse of olde Adam can pretende some manner of excuse.

Prouer. 21.

Wherefore the Lorde dyd not rather forbidde violence, *robbery, and depredation, than Theste.*

Some man will aske me: seeyng that it is more grieuous to robbe and spoyle by vniust violence, than to take things away by theste, why it is not rather commaunded, that we robbe not, nor spoyle not, than that we steale not: For he whiche stealeth, is carefull to doe that secretely whiche he doth, and to deceyue mens knowledge, forbearing so long from theft, whyles he is let by the care and loking vnto of the owner, from whome he goeth about to get any thing by stealth. And so he that is a wareful keper of his geare, may saue, that nothing be gotten frõ him by stealthe. But extortion and pilling and polling are of that sort, that they are not without the knowledge of him whose gwdes be taken away, whether thou wilte or not, thou art robbed by vniust violence, nor thou canst not let it, though thou kepe thy geare neuer so diligently. Wherefore for both causes, both for that that robbing and depraying is the greater sinne, and also bycause it can be lesse resisted, it semeth, it ought to haue bin forbidden rather that we should not robbe, than that we should not steale.

To thys question maye be answered, that the sinne of theste is more generally than of violence, robbing and rifling. For to robbe violently and ryfle, is not suche a matter as may be done by all persons, but

but by the strong and mighty onely. They that be weaker or lyke of strength, can not practise robbery, neyther against their strongers, nor theyr equals. But stealing (forasmuche as it requireth not strength, but craft and deceit) may be as well done by the weaker, yea, and by all sorts of men, as by the stronger sort. Therefore it is better, that that whiche is more generall, and maye bee done of all men, should be forbydden by this lawe, than that whych is speciall, and such as can not be done by all men, but by the stronger alone.

And this reason may be giuen also, that the swoorde of the superioure and ordinarie power is to be feared in robberies and prayes, rather than in theste. For robbery, forasmuch as it hath an open violence, and is done manifestly, it is soner subiect vnto the iudgemente of men, than theste: which beyng secretely done, doth rather and longer skape the knowledge of the iudge. Wherfore it was more necessary that theft should bee forbidden by the lawe, and feare of God (which seeth all thyngs hidden) than robbery, whiche is subiect vnto the sight and knowledge of men.

Thirdly, robbery is subiect vnto the resistance of man. For hee that dothe or meaneth to vse violence towards his neighboure, must needes looke for violence agayne. He that taketh away any thing by stealth, is not in that case. Wherefore by thys reason also it was more conuenient that theste shoulde be forbidden by Gods lawe, than robberie.

Fourthly, whereas it is alleaged, that theft is of lesse sinne than robbery and depredation, that is the very cause why that theft was rather to be forbidden namely, than robbery. For that seemeth to be the nature of lawes, that whereas that whyche is lesse is forbidden, therein the same whiche is greater, appeareth to bee muche more forbidden. For by that that the lesse things be declared to be vnlawfull, it is immediately out of doubt knowen by the common sense of men, that the greater matters be yet more vnlawfull. He that acknowledgeth it to bee sinne if a man do commit simple whoredome, can not doubte but that it is more sinne, if a man doe commite adulterie. He that doubteth not, but that the adulterie committed wyth the consente of a woman is sinne, will acknowlege it to be yet more sinne, if a man do rauish or by violence oppresse an honest woman. Likewyse it is easie to iudge of robberie and theft: and to vnderstande that it is muche lesse lawfull to vse violence towarde our neyghboure, if to take away by stelth, be forbidde by Gods lawe.

Hovv many vvayes a man is partaker of theftes.

Forasmuch as he is not giltlesse in the sight of God, which by any meanes maketh hymselfe partaker of sinne, though he committe not the very sinnes, it were not amisse to see by the way, howe many wayes a man may bee partaker of sinne. It is not possible to recken all wayes and meanes of it: but we will reherse only the common wayes whiche other men haue gathered.

Accessory.

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1 The first way is of accessorie. Accessory.

For

For who soeuer of knowledge is by any meanes accessory to theues, or in guiding, or in watching, or in making their instrumentes that they shoulde occupie, is plainely giltie of the theft, no lesse than they whych do committe the theft.

Bidding or commanding.

2 The seconde way is by bidding or commandement. He that biddeth one to steale, is not companion of his theft, but also author of it, worse thã the theefe himselfe: specially if hee, whome he did bid steale, woulde not haue stolen, if he hadde not him bidden. A man shall finde many parents and husbandes, whyche doe teache their children and wiues to steale.

Councell.

3 The thirde way is of counsell. He that is the counseller and enticer, would do the same which he counseleth himselfe, if he were able. Therefore he is also worse than the thiefe, whõ he enduceth by his enticemente to steale. He that counseleth and enticeth to steale, eyther teacheth the meanes and wayes to steale, eyther sheweth the present occasion.

Consent.

4 The fourth way is of consent. Whosoeuer consenteth to an euill turne, is partaker of the euill turne. For the malice of the offender and the consenter, is all one. There is three kindes of consent. The firste is before the fact, the second in the fact, the third after the fact. He that consenteth before the facte to haue it done, is not simplye partaker of the fault, but is the author also, if by his consente he dyd enduce hym to the theft. He that consenteth in the fact, that is, he which liketh that the theft is in the doyng, is companion of the theft. He that consenteth after the fact, woulde not but that it were done in alowing it: and so maketh himselfe giltie of the theft, although he knew nothing in the worlde of it before it was done, or whilest it was in doyng.

5 The fift way is, when the theefte is commended and the theeues dallied withall, eyther in laughing at the matter, or in commending his witte, or in flattering hym. He that doth so, is not onely partaker of the theefte done, but an author to the same for to be committed agayne.

6 The sixte is of hiding, and keeping, when those thinges whiche bee stolen from others, are concealed and kepte. Of thys kynde of partaking it is commonly sayde: The receyuer or conueyer is worse than the theefe. They that doe this, be not onely themselues partakers of the thefts, but ayders also.

7 The seuenth is by partaking, when eyther some portion of the stolen geare or altogyther is receyued, if it be done of knowledge, whether it be in eating, or anye other wayes wsing the matter, vnlesse the case of extreame necessitie do excuse it. Tobias when his wife broughte him home a kidde, as sone as hee heard him bleate, he said, Loke least perhappes he be stolen: restore hym home to hys owners, for it is not lawfull for vs to eate any thing that is stolen. And there be four kyndes of this partaking. The first is, if you receyue part of the stolen geare, offered by the thiefe himselfe. The seconde, if you buy stolen ware, knowing that it was stolen. The thirde is, if you doe perforce take it out of the handes of the thiefe, and not to restore it to the owner, but to keepe it to

it to thy selfe. The fourth is, if the iudge take a rewarde, and dispatche the thiefe. With this the Lord dothe vpbraid the iudges and Magistrates of his people, saying: If thou sawest a thiefe, thou didst runne with hym, and didst take part with adulterers. And in Esay: Thy Princes be theues fellowes, all loue rewards, they follow bribes, they iudge not the fatherlesse, and the widdowes cause commeth not in vnto them.

8 The eight way is of sufferance, in case thou let it not if thou canst, eyther wyth crying, eyther otherwyse resisting.

9 The nynth is, if thou tell not, when thou knowest where stollen geare is, or if thou tel not when ther is any thing founde, if thou knowe whose it is. By these and other like ways (wherof this world is ful) men do incurre the gilt and accessarye of theefte, and sinne against the lawe of God. But and if the circumstances of things were well tryed, it should be oftetimes found, that they which doe adiudge theues to the galowes, are worse themselues than the theues. Wherof began the vulgar saying: The greate theefe hangeth vp the little petie theefe.

Of the punishment and correction of theft.

BEsides that paines of eternall damnation, whervnto theues with other wicked persons (excluded out of the kingdom of God) are subiect, vnlesse they do amende, ther be ordeined certain temporall corrections and reformations, according vnto the circumstaunce of the faulte. We reade this: If any man steale an Oxe or a Sheepe, and kill it, or sell it, hee shall restore fyue Oxen for one Oxe, and foure Sheepe, for one Sheepe. If a Thiefe be founde breakyng vppe a house, or vnder digging it, and take a blowe and dye of it, the stryker shall not bee giltie of hys bloud: but if he doe so when the Sunne is vppe, and committe murther, hee shall dye also hymselfe. You see that there is iudgemente gyuen of the killyng of the Thiefe, according to the difference of daye and nyghte. If the Thiefe haue not wherewithall to restore for the theefte, hee shall bee solde: if that whyche hee stole be founde wyth hym alyue, whether it bee Oxe, Asse, or Sheepe, hee shall restore double. But afterwardes (whether it were ordeyned by anye lawe, or receyued by long custome) the penaltie of restitution was seauen folde, As we reade in the booke of Prouerbes, hee shall restore seauen tymes as muche, if he be take with all, and shall delyuer all the substance of hys house, and dispatche hymselfe. Zacheus sayde: If I haue deceyued anye man, I restore foure tymes as much. This was the correction of theft, when it was committed among the Israelites. There was also amongst the Ethnikes required eyther double, or quadruple. See the fourth booke of the Institutes Title. 1. When the matter was criminall, the penaltie was beating or outlawing: not killing or dismembring. But in case a mã had by armed power, spoyled any person, or in their house, or iourneying, or on the sea, or had robbed any thyng

Exod. 22.

Prouerb. 6.

Iustinian.

else

Of the hāging of theeues.

else openly, in déede he was hanged.

But nowe when a théefe is taken for a small matter, though it be secretely done, he is iudged to the gallowes: which thing many good folks supposeth doth not agrée with Gods lawe, nor with ciuill lawe. Their reason that hang them, is for that that the common peax and vncorrigible wickednesse of euill men, dothe require this sharpnesse. But it maye séeme meruaile, why adulterers bée not also for the same causes punished with deathe, as Gods lawe and the ciuile law also doth ordeyne it: séeyng the sinne of adultery is greater, and lesse hope to be had of amēdment of adulterers, than of theeues.

Chrysostome

Chrysostome was of thys iudgement, that a mans life ought not to be taken away, whereas the harme might be restored.

This by the way of penalties and amendment of theft, according vnto the ciuill lawes, whiche haue more indifferency, than the custome of our time: whereby the théeues be clapte to the galowes, and the thiefe stolen good is wonte to turne to the commoditie of the Prince or of the Sheriffe of the shire, and so the restitution whereof oure fathers had greate consideration, is stroken quite out of the booke. So not caring for equitie, the sauor of game is become swéete of euery thing. Firste the goodes taken away by stealthe, though the thiefe be hanged, are not restored to the owner: but by violence (couered with the title of Iustice) it falleth to the power of the Prince. Surely a gay iustice, whereby the euill is not taken away and mended, but is doubled. The theft is not amended, vnlesse that which is taken away by theft, be restored to the owner or his heyres, if it may be done. The faulte must be corrected, & satisfied, both before God and before men. Before God, by amēdment of life and faith: before men, by restitution of the good stolen. But by thys way the theft is neyther satisfyed before God, nor before men.

Of the Ecclesiasticall correction of theft, ther is a place in the Apostle where it is redde in this wise, Hée that stole, lette him nowe steale no more, but lette him rather laboure, worcking with his handes, that hée may haue wherof to bestowe vppon hym that is in necessitie. This correction hath thrée partes. For it conteyneth the easing from the hurtfull malice and the order of iust liuelode, and the profite in doyng good. Hée that stealeth no more, ceaseth from the hurtfull malice and wickednesse. He that laboreth worcking with hys handes that which is good and honest, doth sustaine himselfe with iust liuelode. He that gyueth to him whiche is in necessitie, is made of a man, whiche was not onely vnprofitable but also harmefull, to become good and profitable, not only to hymselfe, but also to others, muche altered from that man that he was, when he liued by theft.

Yet we must not thinke this correction of theft to be so perfect, that there is required of a théefe nothing else besides, but that he leaue stealing, and begin to liue vpon his owne labour, and doe good to the poore. For it is required in any wise, that he do restore that to the owner whiche hée toke from hym by theft. This part of full

of full correction, the ecclesiasticall amendment doth not take away, whiche entendeth not this, that Christian men shoulde be more vniust than the Israelites and Gentiles, but that it shoulde so much surmount the iustice of them, that they should rather giue of their owne to the poore, than retayne that whiche is other mens, from them. And the heart of hym that truely amendeth is such, that he can not suffer to bee in hys handes that whiche he knoweth to be another mans, and not hys owne. So Zacheus béeyng truely turned to the Lorde, sayde by and by: Lorde I gyue halfe my goodes to the poore, and in case I haue deceyued anye man, I restore vnto him four tymes as much. Wherefore the correction of theft, whiche the Apostle prescribeth, dothe so farre forth not exclude the restitution of the thing stolen, that it doth rather require it, in that that it dothe require that whyche is more, which is the good doyng to the poore, which the ciuill lawes doe not require: whiche also is of suche nature, that whosoeuer is earnestly enclined vnto it, can not reteyne another mans goodes. For howe shoulde he reteine geare stolen, whiche is so farre forthe amended, that he dothe not only ceasse from theft, and maintayneth hymselfe with his owne labour, but also dothe parte with the poore of such things as he getteth by the laboure of his handes. Whereof it is manifest, that it is no true amendment, if a man do reteyne suche things as be gotten or pilled away by theft, robberie, vsuries, and other false dealings. Neyther is it to bée beleeued, that his sinne is forgiuen.

Epist. ad Macedonium. 54.

It is one of the worst kinds of men (sayth Augustine) whiche desireth to haue the penaltie of the wickednesse releassed, and yet will possesse that whereby the wickednesse was committed, whome therefore that medicine of repentance doth neuer a whit help. For if the good of another man be not restored (if it may be restored) the penance is not done, but fained: but if the matter be truely handled, the sin is not remitted, vnlesse that which was taken away, be restored. This saith Augustine.

The stolen good muste be restored to the owner.

And we must endeuoure, that the geare taken away by theft, be restored, not into the possession of anye other person, eyther holy, or poore, or to any other Church, or Minister of the Churche, but vnto the very owner from whose possession it was taken. It is not ynough for true amendment, not to kéepe another mās good, but he must restore it to the owner. Wherefore they be very seducers of mens consciences and deceyuers, which do promise forgiuenesse of sinne, if there be giuen somewhat to them out of the robberies, thefts, and vsuries, to sing Masse (as they call it) and somewhat to the poore: séeyng that God will neyther haue any stolen thing for a sacrifice, neyther any almes bestowed of another mans goodes.

This deceit and abuse hath raigned in Auricular confessions, from whence is sprong a great part of the goodes and lands of the Churche. So that if there shoulde be a restitution made, and euery mā haue his owne, good Lorde howe greate a heape of goodes and landes shoulde be taken from the Church? Surely it is a great

greate wickednesse to take away a nother mans goods in pretence of holynesse: but that is moste grieuous of all, that they haue deceyued mens consciences, with the hope of false satisfaction and forgiuenesse, or rather tormented them with matter that can not be shifted off, and continuall remorse, and haue driuen them to desperation. For very naturall equitie it selfe teacheth, that these stolē goods is to be tourned to no other vse, but to the owner of it. The meanyng whereof can not be ouercome, nō not by the pardōs sealed with leade from Rome.

An example of a certayne yong man at Augsburge.

At the towne of Augusta, there came nowe and then vnto me at a certayne tyme a yong man, aboute foure and twenty yeres of age, more or lesse, seking to lighten his conscience, which was in a very desperate case. The occasion of the griefe whiche he was troubled withall, was that when he was but a boy, he conueyed a greate masse of syluer from his maister, and he hadde kept it yet whole togyther. In confession vnder the Papery, he was bid to giue parte of it to the Masse sayers, and part to the poze. Which he had not done, bycause it holp nothing to the true and stedfast ease of his troubled conscience. He had not restored it vnto hys maister, for shame.

When I vnderstoode the cause of his troubled conscience, I did pricke forthe the yong man to restore vnto hys maister that whiche he had conueyed from hym, vnlesse he wolde perishe. I shewed him the way how hee myghte conueniently doe it. He followed my aduice, he restored it openly, whereat they wept, both hee & his maister, whiche knew nothyng of the theft, and promised the yong man vpō his amendmente all ỹ pleasure he could do him. After this restitution, the troubled yong mā (which had bin kept in chains a great while for madde, and hadde sought to kyll himselfe) came not only againe into fauoure most happily with his maister, but comming also to himselfe, began to liue honestly. This historie which I am most assured to be true, I haue brought forth, to declare by some example, how great a torment of consciences the gayne gatherers and chapmen of the Synagoge of Rome, the companions of thieues, robbers and vsurers haue ordeined: and howe auaileable the studie of equitie and iustice might be to appease the consciences of them which do amend, if they bee taught to make true restitution of other mennes goodes.

But some man will say. What and if the restitution of a thing stolen can eyther in no wise be done, or not safely, or else not honestly? It is some answered. There is no man so wicked, neyther in heauen nor in earth, that wyll by force extort, that which can not be. It happeneth oftentimes that a thing stolen, is lost, by theft, by violence, by warre, by fyre, or else is wasted so that it can not be restored. In suche a case, the next way is, that some other thing of lyke valewe be restored, to recompence the hurte done. If that can not be, the thirde is, that the thiefe confesse hys faulte to the owner of that whyche was stolen, and desire forgiuenesse: or if there be anye hope that he maye restore it, to promise

to make hym amendes, and to performe it to his power. For who wyll not graunte that it is righte, that a thiefe doe that, which he that hathe borowed any thing, and is not able to pay it, ought to do?

If for certayne causes it be not safe for feare of some action of theft, nor yet it be honest for feare of losing a mans good name and estimation, there may be wayes found, that concealing the theefes name, there may be satisfaction made to hym, whome the satisfaction toucheth. But if none of these wayes may be, as if the owner of the thing stolen be not knowen, or is passed out of this life by death, and hathe lefte no heyre, if the thing stolen yet remayneth, lette it not be kept, but let it be bestowed to the vse of the poze. If there be nothing of it left, let the partie with teares aske God mercy, and endeuour to practise to do good to the poze, according vnto the doctrine of the Apostle. This amendmente the Lorde can not chose but pardon, if his mercy be not letted with the incredulitie of a wicked heart. For the grace of the mercy of God, can not be perceyued without faith.

VVhat is vvitnesse and vvhat the vse of it is.

The Nynth Precepte.

Beare not false witnesse against thy neighbour. Like as by the precept goyng before, we are forbidden to alienate the goodes of our neyghbour by theft or stealthe, and so hynder him in his necessities: so by thys ninth precept it is prouided, that we hurt not oure neyghbours life, fame or goodes, with a false tong. Say not (sayth he) against thy neighbour any false witnesse. Testimony or witnesse is whatsoeuer is constantly reported and auouched of any thing, to enforce menne to beleue it, whether it be good or euill. The vse of witnessing is greate, not onely in matters of the worlde, but in godlye matters also: bycause there bee an innumerable sorte of things whiche wee be ignorante of, to the knowledge of whiche we can not atteyne, but must be allowed for true by faythe. To thys purpose serueth witnesse. Thynges that may be comprehended with sure and euidente knowledge, neede no testimonie or witnesse, for they serue onely for beliefe. Those things whiche we do see with our eyes, heare with our eares, comprehend by reason, are certaynely knowen vnto vs what they be: so that we neede no mans witnesse, but we our selues are able to beare witnesse to other men, to make them beleeue it. Therefore seeyng of worldye matters we haue very small and thinne knowledge, and of godlye none at all: for bycause that a passing number of worldly matters doe come to oure eyes, oure eares, and vnderstandyng, but all godlye and spirituall matters doe flee from them: it commeth to passe, that we haue more vse of faythe than of knowledge: yea and that faith and beliefe is so necessary, that without it we can neyther haue to doe with God, neyther with men. For he that commeth to GOD (sayeth the Apostle) must beleeue. The fleshely manne dothe not perceyue those thynges that bee of God. The whole trade of the lyfe of man, fame

VVe haue more vse of faythe than of knowledge.

principally in faith and beliefe. Faith conserueth wedlocke, the parentes and the children: it stayeth the Magistrate and Citizens, euery man in his duetie, and is (to be short) the very synowe of al cõiunctions, affaires, and trades, wherevppon mans lyfe standeth. By this reason it seemeth that nothing is so necessary, as that witnesse be true, which we must beleeue in suche matters as we do neyther of our own knowlege certainely know, and yet may not be neglected. Therefore it is most rightely handled, that by this ninth precepte, wherein false testimonie is forbydden, truth is by Gods authoritie cõmaunded. But let vs see what matters are to be obserued touching this case.

I. Howe manye kindes of witnesse there be.

CIcero dothe saye in a certayne place, that there be generallye two kindes of witnesse: that is to say, of God, and of man. Of God, as prophesies, diuination, birdings, aunsweres of the Priests, of sorcerers, and southsayers, all the olde superstitious Gentiles, thought it good to giue credite and beliefe vnto such testimonies, as though they hadde certainely come from God. Of man, as writings, couenauntes, promises, othes, and interrogatories.

Now for this matter we haue in hande, wee wyll not talke of the first, but of the testimonies of man: and we do make two sortes of them. One of them whiche bee done in courte and place of iudgemente, the other of them that bee done out of court.

Witnesse that is broughte into the face of a courte, is not done but by men sworne, to the intent they shoulde haue the more waight, whether a man doe giue witnesse for hys neyghboure, or for himselfe. And for asmuche as it is presumed of them that shall beare witnesse, that they haue the feare of God, an othe is ministred vnto them vnder the name of God, or else to be taken vppon the holy Gospels, that they should plainlye and trewly declare those thynges which they do know to be true: and so menne do beleeue in bearing wytnesse, not so much for their owne vprightnesse and estimation, as for the Maiestie of Goddes name, and that not onely when they beare witnesse vpon an othe, of other things in other mens matters, but also of themselues, and in their owne causes. As we may see wher we do reade thus: If anye betake to his neyghbour an Asse, an Oxe, a Shéepe, or any other cattell to kéepe, and if it be dead or weakened, or caughte by enimies, and no man sawe thys, there shall be an othe made openly that he dyd not stretche out hys hande vnto hys neyghbours good: and the Lorde shall receyue hys othe, and he shall not be compelled to restore it. And thys wayes an othe betwyxte menne, is the ende of all controuersies.

We do testifie also, out of courte, though without othe, both of God and of our selues, and of other mens matters, as well of men also, when we doe in earnest reporte thinges of them: we doe so affirme them, as if they were most certayne knowen

Tvvo kindes of mens testimonies.

of vs: so that we thinke it not well done, if folkes beléeue not oure witnesse. To reporte of Christ, is to witnesse of Christ. You shal be witnesse of me, sayeth Christ to his Apostles. And Paule: We are found also false witnesses of God, in that wée haue spoken witnesse against God, that he raysed Christe agayne: whome hée raysed not, if the dead rise not agayne. The scriptures doe testifye of Christe. And the workes doe witnesse of Christ, as the holy spirite also. Yea and euery man is condemned or saued by the witnesse of hys owne conscience. And it is commonly sayd: A mans cõscience is a thousand witnesses. Wherefore it appeareth, that witnesse is not only called that, whiche is with othe made in open court: but any reporte also that is pronounced with purpose of affirmation, to make men beléeue of any matter out of the open court.

II. That vve be not forbidden to beare witnesse.

FOrasmuch as he doth not saye: Beare not witnesse: but Beare not false witnesse, he doth sufficiently declare, that it is not vnlawfull to beare witnesse among the people of God: that is, to affirme and testifie that which we haue séene, heard, or any wise certaynely knowen, so that we may also saye: That whyche we knowe, we doe speake: and that whiche we haue séene, we doe witnesse. In déede we be men, and it is written: Euery man is a liar, and, Vanitie is euery man liuing: and it séemeth not méete for liars and vayne men, to beare witnes: and in case they do, that they be not worthy to be credited, but forasmuch as the companye of mans life is suche, whereby wée are ioyned togither in this life, that we can not misse the vse of this witnessing, teaching, and affirming: yet verye necessitie cõpelleth vs, though we be mẽ, yet neuertheless we must auouche and witnesse things that we haue séene and knowen, and must also of good reason not refuse others teaching, and auouching, and witnessing vnto vs, vnlesse we wil disorder all our felowshyp of life. Wherfore it séemed not to the prouidence of God, that it were conuenient for mans life, that al vse of teaching and testifying should be taken away: but that it were inough if no man teach and testifie falsly.

Aduyse.

But here we must vse double aduisemente: The one is, that no man doe witnesse more rashly and confidently than becommeth a man. For oure knowledge though it séeme to be certayne, yet it is of man, and may be subiect vnto errors. The other is, that no man do vnaduisedly receyue any mans doctrine and witnesse, but marke diligently whether it be agréeable with truth or no. We must set a difference betwixt the witnesse of God, and of men, of the firste wée must not doubt, but of these of man who soeuer be afrayde to be deceyued, may well doubt, vntill he be perswaded by sure arguments.

III. We be not forbidden to beare witnesse against our neighboure.

FOr asmuch as he doth not say: Beare not witnesse against thy

Hovv a man may vvitnesse against hys neighbor not breaking charitie.

neighbor, but, Beare not false witnesse against thy neyghbor: it is manifest inough, that we be not forbydden to witnesse againste our neyghbor, but that we do not witnesse falsly agaynst our neyghbor. Therefore we must see in this place, how it may be, that in witnessing againste oure neyghbor, we transgresse not that vniuersall and perpetuall law, whych biddeth vs to loue oure neyghbor as our selues: and that we doe not the same to others, which we would not haue done to vs. For where as euery man hadde rather, that any man shoulde witnesse on his side than against him, it appeareth that they do offend against the lawe of charitie & equitie, which in witnessing agaynst their neyghbor, doe that to others, that they woulde not haue done to themselues. Wherefore if charitie and equitie were broken in witnessing against a mans neyghbor, it seemeth that it shoulde not haue bin cõmanded, that we shoulde not falsely, but that in no wise we shoulde beare witnesse againste our neighbor, that whereas ỳ law saith: beare not false witnesse against thy neighbor, a mã might gather: *Ergo* it is not forbidden that I shall beare witnesse against my neighbor, so that I doe tel true and not false.

Hovv vve must loue our neighbor.

So that we must knowe, that wee must so loue oure neighbor, that for his sake we offend neither agaynste God, nor against our self, nor against any other person whiche is also thy neyghbor. By lying, the truth is broken, God is offended, our own estate and our neighbors also is empaired: who taketh harme when in lying we do gratifie others. Wherefore it followeth, that either we must not witnesse at all of anye thing (whiche the necessitie of mens lyuing togyther can not suffer) or else it must be accompted to be no offence agaynste equitie and the law of charitie, if we do witnes truely against our neighbor: so that it be not done vnadui sedly, nor vpon affection of hatred, or of priuate gayne, but for loue and desire to aduouch the truth, and to succor the troubled and innocẽt person.

We must thinke vpon that also, that the law of equitie (whereby we be forbidden to do that to our neighbor, whiche we would not haue done to our selues) is not to be applyed vnto the corrupt affections of our flesh, but vnto the rule of iustice, equitie, and necessitie. Otherwise it shall not be lawfull for Magistrates to punish offenders, the ministers of Gods worde to reproue sinners, the good man of the house to correct them that doe amisse, Schalemaisters to chasten slouthfull Scholers, aged mẽ to blame yong menne, the brother to correct the brother: for our nature is so corrupte and naught, that it wyll hardly suffer to be corrected, chastned, reproued, and blamed. Wherefore we must determine, that nothing can bee more hurtfull to oure neighboure when he offendeth, than if no man do that to him, whiche hee would not haue done to himselfe, if he had the same disease: but shoulde all men serue and please his affections. Wherfore we do so farre forth not sinne against the rule of charitie and equitie, if we doe testifie truely and necessarily againste oure neighbor, that vnlesse we do it so, that wee do not offend against the very rule

of charitie and equitie.

IIII. Hovve manye vvayes false witnesse is borne.

Falsly he beareth false witnesse, whe soeuer doth absolutely tell a lie and vntruth in any matter. So euery lye is false witnesse. And a lye is told either ignorantly, or wittingly. Ignorantly, when that whiche is tolde, is not knowen to be false, but is thought to be true. This chanceth sometimes also to godly men, when of a simple minde they do without gyle and cuill purpose, tell by ignorance, that which they suppose to bee true, when it is false. It chanceth also to the wicked, but otherwise. For they do sometimes in deede of errour tell that whiche they suppose to bee true, when it is false: but they tell it not of a clere mind and meaning, but of a malicious and craftie.

That is wittingly tolde, whyche both is false and knowen to be false: and this is done sundry ways. Sometime for feare of God. As did ỳ midwiues of Egypt. Sometime for loue and due faith. So Micol the wife of Dauid, by making a lie, deliuered hir husbande. Sometime by faythe. So did Rahab. Sometime for shame and feare. So Sara denyed that she laughed. Sometime a lye is made by the weakenesse of the flesh, and feare of daunger: whiche happened vnto the Apostle Peter, when he denyed Christ, saying: I know not the man: and to the Gabaonites, when they said they came from a far cõtrey, whereas they dwelt at hand.

Some lye to help their neighbor: so Ionathas the sonne of Saul deliuered and saued Dauid, saying that which he knew was not true. Some for their owne commoditie: such was the lye of Ananias and Saphyra. Some of glering and flattering, whyche wickednesse raigneth in Princes courts. Some of purpose to hurt. And herein raigneth backbyting, a mischiefe most common in oure times. You shall finde some that will wittingly tell that that is false, not of weakenesse of the flesh, nor for feare of daunger, nor to help or hurt anye man, nor to flatter or backbite anye man, but of a certayne lightenesse and vanitie of mind, whereunto they so much gine their tong daply, that at length they fal to a custome of lying, and lose all credite and beliefe of truth.

Act.5.

Pleasaunte lyes.

I can not tell whether we ought to iudge that they do also beare false witnesse, which do not in earnest, but with sporting & pleasant lyes, anger simple men, and make good fellowes to laugh: and do it so, that they do declare by their very lokes, that it is a pastime and a lie that they tel. Surely it can not be rightly called witnes, whiche is neither spoken of purpose to witnes, nor is taken for witnesse.

False vvitnesse in iudgement.

Againe he telleth false witnesse, which is sworne in iudgemẽt to witnes of his neighbor that whiche hee knoweth to be true, and sayeth that whiche he knoweth to be false. And this is done two wayes. First, when that is told which is playnely fained and false. Such was the witnes that was tolde by the forged witnesses against Naboth the Israelite, that is: that he had cursed God and the king: whyche was nothing true, but was all fayned. Agayne, when those thynges bee tolde whyche haue

1.Reg.21.

in deede some truth in wordes, but bee so altered, that they haue a newe sense. Such was that witnesse, whiche was broughte forthe againste Christ, that he had sayde: I can destroy the Temple of God, and after three dayes reedifie it. They did peruert Christes wordes, and wrested the also to an other meaning. They vsed also like malice, whiche dyd so wrest the wordes of Stephane, which he spake of the Lord Christ, againste the vnbeliefe and impenitencie of the Iewes, that they did witnesse, that he spake continually againste the holy place, and lawe of God. Hitherto we haue by the way, shewed how many wayes men vse to beare false witnesse.

Matth.26.

Actes.6.

V. Of vvhat kynde of vvitnesse this lawe of God *doth speake.*

FOr almuch as there be sundrye kinde of false witnesse, we must nowe see what kynde it is whiche is forbidden by this lawe: that no false witnesse be tolde against our neighbour. It is not amisse if a man take it generally, that al false witnesse is forbidden. But if a man shall attribute any thing to the wordes whiche be redde in the Ebrewe terte, it seemeth to bee most conuenient, that we vnderstande it of those false witnesses whyche bee gyuen in iudgements, passing with an oth, for thus it is redde in the Ebrewe: Thou shalte not aunswere false witnesse against thy neyghboure. By the word of Answering, it is playnely enough declared in my iudgement, that thys kynde of false witnesse is chiefely forbidden, whyche is tolde by them in iudgement, whiche aunswere witnessing that whiche is false, not of their owne accorde, but demaunded, yea and sworne. That whiche they doe aunswere is, witnesse: but it can not now be sayde of euery witnesse, that it is an answere. For out of open courte and iudgement, the word is full of witnesse, whyche we doe pronounce not demaunded, but by oure owne accorde: but in iudgemets no man aunswereth to witnesse, but demaunded and sworne.

That he meaneth the testimony in open court.

Some do thinke, that this present precept is expounded by that whiche is redde in thys wise: Thou shalt not steale, nor lye, nor any man shall do anye thing falsely with his neyghboure. And in thys sense they suppose, that all kynde of lyes and falsehode is forbidden, by that whiche is sayde here: Beare not false witnesse againste thy neyghbour. Peraduenture they be moued of that, that straight after ỹ forbidding of theft, is added lyeing and deceyt. I will not rashly striue with their opinion. Yet I doe shewe simply without contention, what I thynke, bycause of the word of aunswering, whyche I iudge is not without some cause vsed in this present precept.

Nor it is not without cause, that the Lorde would by this reason forbidde this kynd of false witnesse by a speciall precepte. Amongst the rest of false witnesses, the same is most hurtfull, which is presented by men sworne in iudgemente, where the cause of the innocent man is in danger. For neyther the iudge nor the partie accused, can resist the sworne witnesse, vnlesse hys wickednesse be

be manifest. If two witnesses agree in sayings, it is ordeined by law, that all causes shall staude or fall according vnto their witnesse. Wherefore there is none more readyer meane and instrument to do hurt, yea to destroy the most innocent person, than false witnesse, giuen by othe & order of law. Let the exãple be in Naboth the Israelite, and Susanna. Other false witnesses haue also their guiles and deceites: but they may with aduisement & loking vnto, be eschewed. For they haue no suche constrainte ioyned vnto them, whiche is tyed vnto the iudiciarie testimonies. Therfore euen as in the former precepts, murther, adulterie, and theft, are forbidden, as the greater anoyment, when there be yet many other lesse, whereby we take harme in our lyfe, honestie, and goods: so it seemeth that in this present precept, false witnesse is forbidden, where by title of iudgement and iustice, the whole estate, fame, and life of our neyghbour is brought into daunger: and yet by the meaning thereof, all lies and false witnesse of lesse hurte, are not excluded.

VI. What neede it vvas to commaunde, that no false witnesse *shoulde be borne against a mans neyghbour.*

SEeing that the lawe of nature (allowed by the common sense of men) doth bid vs, that we do not the same to others, whiche wee will not haue done to our selues, and that no man is ignorant therof, but thinketh it a wrong, if a man do witnesse euill and falsly of himselfe: it seemeth that lawe is superfluouse which forbiddeth that we shall beare no false witnesse. It is to be answered, that in case our nature had continued whole and sounde, then charitie and integritie in our harts had cõtinued withall, trueth in our mouth, and innocencie in our handes. But forasmuch as by sinne (as it were by the poyson of Satan) our original cleannesse is corrupted in vs, and the poyson of the Serpent hath infected our hartes, mouthes, and hands, euen at the beginnyng in Adam, the author of our kinde, that of nature wee be wicked, vniuste, lying & suttell: surely it is necessarie that the same original and naturall malice whereby we be giuen to vngodlinesse, vniustice, lying, crafte, and deceyte, be restrayned by the law of iustice. And this is the generall cause of ỹ whole Decalogus or lawe of the ten Commaundements.

The generall cause of the vvhole Decalogus.

But touching this precepte, wee must think specially, that forasmuch as the corruption of our nature began of lying, slaundering, flattering, and false witnesse, we do also specially all encline to lying, slandering, flattering, & false witnesse bearing, in so much, that holy Scripture saith generally, Euery man is a liar. I do not reade in any place: Euery man is a murderer, euery man is an adulterer, euery man is a thefe: but I do reade, Euery man is a lier. Therefore it is sayde of all and euery person of our nature, not onely that they do lie, but that they be lyers. No mã is iustly called a lyer for one or two lies. The inclination and continuall custome of lying, declareth the lyer. Therefore the speciall cause of this

The speciall cause, bicause euery man is a lyer.

lawe, commaunding to speake no false witnesse, is for that that of a speciall inclination, we be commonly all geuen to lie. He which stode not in the truth, but fell to falshode, and became author of lying, procured by his lying, that all mankinde is diseuered from the spirite of truth, and subiect vnto lies, in so muche that it can not receyue the spirite of trueth: witnesse Christe himselfe.

Iohn.8.

Iohn.14.

And whereas there is allowed by the common opinion of all menne, That we shall not do that to others, whiche we wolde not haue done to our selues, it is not of so greate efficacie, that it taketh away the euill of our corrupt nature. For we be so affected, that knowyng the better, we do the worse. We be angry with them whiche deceyue or hurte vs with their lies: & yet we be so depraue, that we do the same to others. Wherefore it was necessarie, that a law sent from heauen, should ratifie the lawe of nature, & so the malice of our disposition should be cõdemned, as it were with the agreeable witnesse of two lawes.

VVee do the worse, knowyng the better.

Agaynst thy neyghbour.

¶ And it inforceth muche to the acknowledgyng and detestation of the greatnesse of our corruption, that he dothe not say: Beare not false witnesse against a straunger, a forayner and vnknowen person, or agaynst thy enimie: but, Against thy neyghbour. For vnlesse the malice of our nature were so greate, that we do not spare our neighbours, much lesse straungers and enimies, it had not bene necessary expressly to cõmaund, that we shoulde not witnesse falsly agaynst our neighbour. And who knoweth not howe muche greater wickednesse it is to spue out the poyson of our hurtfull tong, not onely agaynst straungers and persons vnknowen, but also agaynst our acquaintaunce and neighbours.

VII. Of the Euill of false vvitnesse.

FIrst we must see, what is the euill of lying generally: afterwardes we will see of flattery, slaunder, and false witnesse pronounced in order of Lawe. For amuche as the Diuell is a lyar and the Father of lyes, and God true author of truth: that euill of lying is greate ynough, in that it coupleth vs to the Diuell, as children to the Father: and diseuereth vs from God, by whom we be created in deede, not to lying, but vnto truth.

2 Secondly, as we may see in the Psalme: They haue no place in the mount of God, whiche speake lies in theyr harte, and frame guyle with theyr tongue. And who can worthily way how muche euill it is, to bee shut off from the company of God, and the dwellyng of his kingdome: and whiche is moste horrible, to be ioyned to Satan, and geuen in bondage into his power.

3 Thirdly, it dothe prophane and defile our tongue consecrated vnto the truth and prayse of God. So it commeth to passe, that the true thinges whiche we do speake, doe purchase some vncleannesse by that that they do proceede out of a lying mouthe. The holinesse and cleannesse of the mouth, standeth in truth: and the prophanation and defiling thereof, is by lying. And what cleare stuffe cã proceede

ceede out of filthy lippes, but ỹ which is euen in the very speakyng of it defiled? Out of one selfe same mouth, sayth James, proceedeth blessing, and cursing. That the Apostle blameth. By like reason it is to be blamed also, that out of the same mouthe are spoken truth and lies. Who I beseke you, will loke for swæte wine out of the same vessell, from whence is dayly drawen out Wyneger? Yea euen cleane water is defiled, if it run out of a myrie spring.

4 Fourthly, by lying, faith and credite whiche wee may not lacke, is weakened, and sometimes quite taken away. He that crediteth a lie, is deceyued in crediting. Therein is an offence done vnto fayth, a thing most holy, whereof it behoued vs to haue had moste high consideration. Fayth after it hath bene deceyued and hurt with lying, it wareth to be warie. And when fayth is wary and harde, it mistrusteth not onely the lyar, but also oftentymes hym that telleth truth, and so decayeth vtterly by littell and littell. This euill is very pernicious in the cõmon life of men, whose necessitie requyreth that one do trust another in speakyng, promising, telling, expounding, and witnessing. Else all things be disordered and confounded.

5 Fiftly, thys euill is increased by circumstaunces of the matters and persons. Of persons, as of hym whiche lieth: nert of him, to whome the lie is tolde, thirdly, of whome the lie is made.

1 A Christian man that lieth, shameth the name of a Christian man. When he lieth which hath the countenaunce of an honest man, by countenaunce of honestie he doth easlier deceyue & seduce. Whē the good man of the house lieth, the whole family is corrupted by the strength of the exãple done in the house, which is wont to be to great purpose. When ỹ Magistrate lieth, the authoritie of the Magistrate & of iudgement is decayed. When the Minister of Gods worde lieth, a man will not beleeue, how muche the authoritie of Gods worde decayeth withall.

2 He that maketh a lye to God, doth his soule more harme, than if he made a lye to a manne. Ananias heard this sharpe sentence: Thou hast not lyed to men, but vnto God. He that lyeth to a Iudge and a Magistrate, offereth occasion to corrupt iudgement. He that lyeth to hys parentes, dothe sinne agaynst the honour and reuerence due vnto the Parentes. He that deceyueth a Iewe or a Turke with a lye, or elfe any other Ethnike, dothe gyue hym cause to blaspheme the name of Christe.

Act.5.

3 He that maketh a lye of God, as the false Prophets did, saying: Thus sayth the Lorde, when they brought forth theyr owne dreames, corrupteth the oracles of God, and seduceth the people exceedingly, the same the false teachers do also. He that lieth of Princes, Magistrates & Ministers of the worde, do muche hurte theyr authoritie, whiche is more to be euer whole and sounde. By suche circumstances of persons, the euill of lying is muche aggrauated. So you shall thinke also of the circũstances of the things whereof the lies are made.

But how great the euil of flattery is, I can not easily expresse. There

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Two kindes of flattery.

be two kindes of flattery, whereof we do now speake: when in a subtle harte by lying wordes and gesture, there is fayned an intent to please. One kinde of flattery there is, when a man seeketh his owne commoditie: an other, when the parties destruction is sought, that is decepued by the flatterie.

1 The first kind of flattery is vsed in euery place, specially in great mês courtes. Therevnto they be subiect, whiche haue great welth, honor, and authoritie. The hurt whiche cõmeth of it, is that the faultes of suche men be tikled and hidden, yea and sometimes praysed, and thereby it is that they continue vnto the ende in them, and be marde withal: theyr vertues, though they be but smal, are praysed euen to heauen, and theyr mindes be made to forget theyr baseneile and mortalitie, and are lifted vp to bée Goddes: specially when the flatteryng wordes be not onely pleasant, but also publike, and sounde aboute his eare not onely from one rocke, like the Syrenes, but stil from euery side: whereof there be many examples. Sée what became of Herode, to whome the flatteryng people in the false testimonie of all men, cried, saying: The wordes of a God and not of man: after whiche flattery the wretch was immediatly stroken of the Angell of God, & died eaten with wormes. What chaũced to Alexander the great, histories do witnesse. And now adayes, there be some that soundeth nothing els in the eares of kings and Christian Princes, but these swelling wordes: Most puissant, most noble, and most inuicte, &c. Of whose number was he, that wrote this in our time: The heauens thé Ioue doth hold, the lande Ø Charles is thine. Therefore what maruel is it, though Princes be so puft vp and so proude, that they séeme to be certen Goos and not mẽ: and that some of them treadeth vnder féete, not only all mennes lawes, but also Gods lawes? And of the same sorte be the Preachers and Bysshops, whiche for flattery reporteth the wicked to be blessed. Such were they of which Esay sayde: My people, they which say: Thou art blessed, do decepue thé, &c.

Act. 12.

2 The latter kinde of flattery is very Diuelish. I speake not of them, which do make men fond with their flattering, & make them to be laught at, but of theyr flattery whiche do slatter. So Saule did vnto Dauid, whé he sayde vnto him in malicious flattery: Lo here is my elder doughter Merob, I will giue hir thée to be thy wife, onely be valiant, and fight the warres of the Lorde. By this saying, he went about to bryng him into the daunger of his lyfe. For he sayde in his hart: Let the handes of the Philistians be vpon him. Such a matter alsi the Pharisées meante, when they sayde to Christ: Maister, we knowe that thou arte true, and teachest the way of God in truthe. The olde Serpent by flatteryng and fayned friendship, brought the firste mother of our kinde, with all hir after commers into vtter destruction. Cain speaking to his brother in gile, and fayning friendship, decepued and slewe him, he fearing nothing. The same did Ioab also when he slewe Abner, and Amasan. For he slew the bothe, abused with flattery. Suche a one was Iudas also, when he gaue

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Christe a kisse. Wherefore it is not without cause, that the wise man sayth: Better be the stripes of him that loueth, than the deceytfull kisses of him that hateth. Counterfayting of friendship and deceptfull flattery is a most pestilente thing, whiche no man can sufficiently marke and beware of. Wherefore Dauid prayeth vnto the Lord, and sayth: Lord leade me in thy iustice bycause of my enimies, direct thy way before me: for in their mouth there is no rightuousnesse, their inward parte is wickednesse, theyr throte is an open Sepulcher, they do flatter with their tõgs. Destroy them Ø God, &c.

It were a fonde parte to go about to rehearse all the cuils of this flattery, beyng innumerable, and knowẽ well inough by dayly experience. It is meant by this prayer of the Prophete, that the mischiefe of this flattery is so suttell, craftie, so shifting, & slippery, that no man can escape the malice and wickednesse of it, vnlesse he be holpen by God.

Backbiting, is a lying euill, malicious, hypocritticall, crafty, and exceãding hurtfull. And what is to backebyte thy neyghbour, and of whence commeth the beginning of backbyting, sin ully what vice it is, and how it is enforced by circumstances, if any man lyke, let him loke vpon my Commentaries vpõ the. 15. Psalme: Hé that backbiteth not with his tongue. Now we must sée, how hurtfull and pernicious it is.

Backbyting is wont to gette to him for a felow and companion, Flattery: by the lykyng whereof, hé slydeth like poyson into his hart, vnto whome he purposeth to backbyte and discredite his neyghbour. And so it is not now a simple euil, but a double, armed one with an other to do hurte.

2 Secondly, it hath this propertie also, that it embraceth & destroyeth at the least, three persons, or els hurteth them that is to say, the backbyter, him that is backbitten, and him to whome the backbyting is made: passing flattery herein, that flatterie consisteth in two parties onely.

Backbyting marreth three persons.

3 Thirdly backbyting hath also this peculiar euill, that it hurteth a man absent: and that so couertly and craftily, that the partie is not ware of it, but vndone poore wretch before he doth know, how and wherfore he is vndone. These things be proper vnto backbyting, wherewith beyng armed and weaponed, it is able to do much harme. But what thé harmes of it be, no man is able well to consider: Yet these bée knowen and customable.

Backbyting hurteth him that is absent.

1 The first euil of it is, that eyther it hurteth charitie, or when it is otherwise empayred, it giueth it a greater wounde, and doth extinguish it altogither. It doth hurt it, when it disseuereth friendes asunder, & bringeth them into dissension and hatered. It woundeth it sorer, when it decayeth it, and (if it can) doth also vterly extinguish it, when it increaseth the fire betwirt them that be in dissension, enflaming it more and more. So backbyting doth extinguish charitie, rayseth hate and contention, disseuereth friendes and alies, and maketh them enimies: and letteth them that be at variance from agreyng againe, & inflaming their harts more & more. So backbiting doth extinguish

charitie,

charitie, cayseth hate and cõtention, disseuereth frendes and alies, and maketh them enimies: and letteth them that be at variãce from agreeing agayne, and inflameth their hartes more and more. And in case that it cannot extinguish charitie altogither, for that it findeth not sufficient truste, yet it gayneth this, that the formed sincerite is troubled with some suspition (such as it is) vntill the truth springyng vp like the light of the Sunne, take away all cloudes of wicked suspition, and extinguish the worke of darknesse.

2 The other kind of backbiting is diuers. For it hurteth eyther the goods, or the name, or the life of him that is backbitten, or elle al these togither. It is most pernicious, when it cõueyeth his poyson into the eares of Princes: so that sometymes it bringeth to destruction wholy families, townechips, and nations. Loke vpon the history of Esser: how malitiously wicked Aman backbyted the nation of the Iewes, in the eares of Assuerus: and how great a destruction he entended by his backbyting. He flattered the kyng, as though he entended the destruction of the Iewes, not for any hatred of the nation, but of desire to profite his Realme. Doeg the Edomite, by his backbyting slewe the. 45. Priestes of the Lorde, and the citie of Nobe with al them that were in it, menne, women, and Children. Dauid dyd attribute all his outlawry, and all his troubles whiche he suffeyned by the persecution of Saul, vnto backbyters, saying: Lorde my kyng, why doest thou heare the wordes of the menne whiche say vnto thee: Dauid seeketh euill agaynst thee? Wherefore it is not without cause, that the Scripture dothe attribute the poyson of the Aspis vnto a backbytyng tongue, as moste strong to kill: and lykened it to a sharpe swoorde, an open Sepulcher, and the flame of fire, for the incredibile malice that the tongue hath to destroy. Therefore he that is gyuen to the vice of backbityng, is worthyly subiect vnto the common hatred of all menne: is eschued of all men as a moste pestilent plague: and at his commyng, euery mãs mouth is shut vp. Whiles he liueth, all the world curseth him, if he be in daunger or doe perishe, no manne is sory for it: and the remembraunce of them after they be dead, reigneth in cursing and banning.

And the euill of a false tongue is not onely great, but also diuers. The kindes of his malice, be mo than can be rehearsed at this present.

1 Firste there is in it excedyng muche hurte, in that he dothe abuse God himselfe with falsly swearyng by him, maketh him a defender of his wickednesse: to whome it belongeth to father the truth, not lies: the right, not the wrong: the innocent, and not the wicked and malicious.

2 Secõdly, in that also that he doth defile ỹ name of God with his lying.

3 Thirdly, that asmuch as in him lyeth, he doeth ouerthrowe the holy vse of the othe, moste necessary for the lyfe of man.

4 Fourthly, that he dothe not simply corrupt iudgements, but dothe so ouerthrowe them, that they do condemne the innocent, and iustifie the hurtfull. And who cã sufficiẽtly wa

he hurteth the neyghbours good name and lyfe.

Hester. 3. Aman.

Doeg.

1. Sam. 22.

Dauid.

1. Sam. 24.

how much euill there is in abusing these foure sortes of moste holy matters, wherby God himselfe, the name of God, the vse of the othe, and the office of iudges is ouerthrowen: and thereby is brought to passe, that the cause of the innocent is indaungered by theyr authoritie, religion, reuerence, and obseruance.

5 Fiftly, another thyng is, that the false witnesse by his venomed and deadly tong, doth not onely entangle the cause of the innocent in the darknesse and wrongfull dealing thereof, but doth cast the innocent man also into extreme danger and losse of his goodes, name, and life. The examples be manifest: of Naboth the Israelite, of Susan, and of Stephan.

It is an horrible & a mischieuous case, that in some places there is so great crueltie and rigour of inquisition vsed, that you may se some innocent persons driuen by intollerable tormentes, to testifie against theselues: and so by theyr owne false testimony lose their own life, to shift them at the present from the ragyng paynes. Hereof be many examples in euery place. And in so doyng, the iudges suppose that they haue iuste matter to giue sentence, & to condẽne the partie, accordyng vnto the saying: Upon thy own mouth or tale, I do iudge thee: &, Of thy owne wordes thou shalte be iustified, and of thy owne wordes condemned. They beleeue hym not when he standeth to his innocency, and do beleeue, when he doth testifie agaynst it. They giue credite to the testimonie violently extorted by cruell paynes and tormentes, and they thinke not howe weake the flesshe is in such tormẽts: nor they be not put in feare with the innumerable examples of them, whiche beyng innocentes, were vndone by suche Inquisitions, and yelded theyr innocent bloud to be shed, witnessyng falsely of themselues. These thynges I meante to note by the way, of the euil of false witnesse: as for the other harmes that it doth, our dayly examples doe sufficiently set it forth.

VIII. Of the penaltie and reuenge of false vvitnesse.

THis is to be considered in twoo kindes. There is one reuenge merly of God, comprehended in no lawes: an other of man, appointed by Gods lawe. I call it of man, because it is executed by the ministerie of mã, through the office of the Magistrate. Otherwise, as the law appointing the penaltie whereby the false witnesse is punished, is of God: so is the penaltie it selfe also rightly attributed vnto the iudgement of God, although it be executed by mẽ, as the ministers of God.

The reuenge of God.

As concerning the reuenge which is altogither of God, we must think vpon the matter, howe speciall an euill this is, and therfore subiect vnto ỹ speciall hate of God. Wherof Salomõ is witnesse in this wise: There be sixe poyntes, which the Lorde hateth, & the seuenth his soule dothe detest. The hauty & proude lokes, the lying long, & the hande that sheddeth innocent bloud, the hart which deuiseth most wicked thoughtes, the fete that be swift to rune to euill, ỹ teller of lies, the false witnesse, & him which soweth discorde betwixte brethern.

Prouer. 6.

In dede God hateth all kinde of sin, but he dothe hate these of a speciall hate, for theyr speciall malice. And who doubteth, but that this kinde of sinne, whiche doth specially seeme euill in the eies of God, is not left vnpunished? It chaunceth very seldō, that the false witnesse is punished by mans iudgement, albeit this euill doth dayly increase more and more. Wherefore the more that the man which is the minister of Gods iudgment, doth leaue to do it, so much the ofter it is credible, that God ẏ iudge himselfe doth punishe false witnesse. Nor they do not escape, whose false witnesse is not knowen to the iudge. It is commonly sayd: No euill is left vnpunished. Item in the thirde precept before: God will not holde him guiltlesse, that taketh his name in vayne. Salomon sayth: The lying witnesse shall perish. These allegations be true, but in consideration of the reuenge mere godly. Otherwise there be an innumerable sort of false witnesses, whiche be not punished by the iudgement of menne, wherefore they do thinke themselues happy, whereas they be therefore farre vnhappier than the other. For it is moste grieuous of all, to fall into the handes of God.

Prou. 21.

The reuēge of the law. Deut. 19.

As touchyng the reuenge of the law, cōmaunded to the Magistrates, it is expressed in Deuteron. what punishment is to be vsed agaynst false witnesses. For thus we reade there: If a false witnesse stande before a man, accusing him of wrong, they bothe whome the matter toucheth, shall stande before the Lorde in the sight of the Priests and Iudges that be in these dayes. And when vpon most diligent searche, they haue foūd that the false witnesse hath reported a lye agaynst his brother, they shall giue vnto him, as he meante to do to his brother: and thou shalt ridde away the euill frō the middes of you, that others hearyng it, may bee afrayde, and dare in no wayes do the like. Thou shalt not haue mercy vpon him, but thou shalt requyre soule for soule, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hande for hande, foote for foote. This lawe was diligently giuen. It hath a certayne fulnesse cōteyned in foure partes.

1 For first, it commaundeth that the matter shalbe most diligently loked vpon by the Priests and iudges, to the entent that nothyng be rashly determined without equitie and iustice.

2 Secondly, when he is playnely tried to bee a false witnesse, the penaltie of the like payne is ordeyned for it moste right, whereby the false witnesse shal receyue and suffer that whiche he thought to do to his brother, whome he woulde haue by his witnesse brought into hazerd, vnlesse the lye had bene manifestly tryed.

3 Thirdly, there is added a specificatiō of the penalties, according vnto the law of the Talion. Thou shalt exact (sayth he) soule for soule, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hande for hande, foote for foote. That is, if he that is accused, shoulde be put to death, accordyng to the enormitie of the offence beyng conuicted of it, lette the false witnesse be put to death, if it be proued that he did falsly accuse him. If the penaltie of the party accused, rested in any mēber of his body, let ẏ false witnesse be punished in ẏ same.

4 Fourth

4 Fourthly, there is sette also the cause and intent of this penaltie. And thou shalt (sayth he) take away the euill frō among you, that others hearing it, may be afrayd, and in no wise dare do the lyke. This is the chiefe cause why euill and mischieuous mē ought to bee punished in this lyfe, that is, that others restrayned with the feare of the penaltie, may abstayne from sinne, and the quietnesse and safetie of mans lyfe may be preserued. This is the equitie and necessitie of this lawe: the equitie in the Talion, the necessitie in the cause and scope, whereunto we must direct our doyngs.

But it seemeth to make agaynst this equitie of Talion, that which is written in Deuteronomie, of an ordinaunce of an other law, where it is written in this sorte: If a man marry a wife, & afterwardes do hate hir, and seeke occasions to leaue hyr, obiecting against hyr an euil name, and say: I tooke this for my wife, and when I came to hyr, I found hyr not a mayde: Then hyr Father and hyr Mother shall take hyr, and bryng with them the tokens of hyr virginitie to the Elders of the towne, which be in the gate: & the Father shal say: I gaue my daughter for wife to this man, and bycause he hateth hyr, he giueth hyr a right euill name and reporte, so that he sayth: I founde not thy daughter a mayde: and loe, these be the tokens of the virginitie of my daughter. They shal spread the garment before the Elders of the Citie: and the Elders of the citie shall take hyr husbande, and beate him, and merce him also in a hundred Cicles of siluer, whiche he shall gyue to the Father of the wench, bicause he bruted abroade a moste naughty name vpon a mayde of Israell: and he shal take hyr to his wife, and may not leaue hyr all the dayes of his lyfe. But if it be true that he doth lay vnto hyr, and that there was not found virginitie in the wenche, they shall hurle hir out of hyr Fathers doores: and she shall die, bycause she did wickednesse in Israell, to commit fornicatiō in hyr Fathers house: and thou shalte take away the euill from the middes of you. This is in that place.

But accordyng to the lawe of the Talion, the man whiche accused his wife of suche false testimonie, should suffer the same punishment of stoning, whiche the wife shoulde haue bene made to suffer, if she had bene founde iustly accused. They shall ouerwhelme hir (saith he) with stones, and she shall die. Therefore suche a husbande should not be onely beaten and merced in a hundred sicles for false witnessyng, but be ouerwhelmed with stones, according vnto the law made agaynst false witnesse, before in the. 19. Chapter. We must cōsider here that the lawe of Talion is a generall lawe: and this a speciall case, hauing some exception and mitigation.

Deut. 19.

Of this Augustine in his Questions vpon Deuteronomie, made a note in this sorte. It appeareth well inough hereby, that the lawe woulde haue women subiecte vnto men, and the wiues almost seruaunts to theyr husbands, in that that a man giuing testimony agaynst his wife, wherefore she shoulde be stoned, if it were tried to be true, yet he shoulde not in likewise be stoned, if it appeared to

Quest. 33.

Augustine.

be false, but only chastned & merced, and cōmaunded continually to sticke vnto hir, whome he would haue bene ridde of. But in al other cases he cōmaunded him to be killed, whiche by false witnesse hurted any man, if it were proued, & to sustayne the same punishment, whiche the other should haue done, if it were true. Thus much Augustine. But yet it foloweth not hereof, that the law of Talion generally made against false witnesse, may be lawfully decayed and broken at the arbitrement of the iudges. For it is not lawful for thē to do as the lawmaker himself may do, mitigating his lawe in any case.

Lex Talionis

The Tenth precept.



Thou shalte not couet thy neyghbours house, Thou shalte not couet thy neyghbours wyfe, nor his man seruaunt, nor his woman seruāt, nor his oxe, nor his asse, nor any thing that is his.

This last precept is with greate reason added to thē that are gone before. It forbiddeth the coueting of other folkes goods. The numbre & varietie of the things which our desires do reache vnto, hath no meane: & the very desire of concupiscence lurking in our harte, is an euill vncomprehēsible, infinite, dēepe, and vnsatiable. Wherefore we be to sēeke, where to begin the declaration of this precept.

Hovve this precept is ioyned vnto them before.

Hitherto the Lord hath forbidden in the seconde table, the mischieuous doyngs of murther, adulterie, thefte and false witnesse: now at the laste cast he doth restraine the foūtaine of al these, which is the cōcupiscence of all those things whiche be not oure owne, but belōging vnto the right of our neighbour. For out of it spryng murthers, adulteries, theftes, extortions, robberies, false witnesse, lies, backbityng, and such other lyke.

And he addeth vnto this lawe, a speciall reckenyng of those goods, whiche be cōmonly and euery where in vse: whiche is the dwelling house, the wyfe, the man seruaunt, and the woman seruaunt (for among that people, the man seruaunts, and the woman seruaunts, were theyr owne in propre right, as thei be yet in some places) the oxe and the asse. And bycause ther be yet many things which may be put in the same ordre, he addeth a summarie comprehension, saying: Nor all that which is thy neighbours: that is to say, nor nothing else of that whiche is thy neyghbours: by which words he doth so restraine our concupiscence, that it is not lawfull for him any manner wise to desire any thing of other mēs good. But by the way lette vs sēe, what is to be considered in the matter of this forbidden concupiscence.

Speciall reckenyng.

I. What Concupiscence is.

What Concupiscence is, it is better knowen of it selfe, than that it nēede any declaration. It is a desire and an affection of the minde, whiche the Grēekes do rightly call ἐπιθυμίαν, by whiche we endeuour to draw vnto our vse by any means, that whiche doth like vs.

And the strength of this desire is so greate, that vnlesse we do obtayne

tayne the things whiche we doe desire, we do iudge our selfe to be here vtterly vnhappy.

The contrary of concupiscence, is the withdrawyng of the minde, whereby we do turne and flēe with a certaine horrour and abhomination, from those things whiche doe mislyke vs: as the contrary of loue, is hate, and the contrary of ioye, is sorow.

The nature of it, is to extēd it self vnto those things whiche we haue not. Else (as Paule sayth) How shall a man hope for that, whiche he hath already? so likewise is here to be sayd: Those things which a mā hath already, why shall he hope for them? Wherefore those things truly be in the reach of our concupiscēce, which do by no right perteyne vnto vs, but be in the power of others.

II. Hovv many sortes of concupiscences there be.

Before the sinne of our firste parents, the concupiscence in our nature was simple, naturall, orderly, & necessary, like as other affections were, so that it was subiect vnto no malice: such as that whiche is in vs yet, as when we be hūgry, we desire meate: when we thirst, drinke: when we be a colde, we desire warmth: when we be too hote, we desire to be cooled: when we be in pryson, we desire libertie: when wēe be sicke, wēe desire health &c. and this we do by the onely course of nature, without any matter of sinne. But after that our first parēts had dronke of the poyson of the Serpent, this strength of concupiscence is depraued in our harts, & thereby it came that (passing the limites of nature and necessitie) it extendeth it selfe vnto those thinges, which it is not lawful to desire: for ẏ it is not lawful to take things away, which pertayne to others. Therfore the affections of concupiscence are of two sorts, natural, and corrupt. The naturall be set in vs by God, and so much not vnlawfull, but that they be also necessary. Wherfore they do very vnaduisedly teach vs, which do refer the crying of infants whē they be hungry & desire meate, vnto the forbidden concupiscence, and do ascribe thē vnto original sinne. The corrupt affections of concupiscence be they, when the limites of necessitie are excēeded, & men folow pleasures, curiositie, glory, ambition, & other vices: and that contrary vnto the lawe of charitie, and the puritie of holinesse.

The affects of concupiscēce are of two sortes.

This corruption of our concupiscence is gotten of the old Serpēt, not grafted in our flesh, of God. Wherefore we must beware, that we do not ascribe our whole cōcupiscence neyther to God, neyther to Satan. The strength of desiryng is giuen vs frō God, the strength of euill desiryng from Satan: like as we do take it of God that we do liue, & that we liue euill we take it of Satan, the beginner of our malice. By this distinctiō we do forsēe, that we do not denie the worke of God in vs, for ẏ worke of Satan, nor attribute the worke of Satan vnto God.

VVhereof the corruptiō of our concupiscence is.

It is the parte of a wise man, to consider diligētly in himself ẏ worke of Satan, and the worke of God. I call it the worke of God, what soeuer is naturally giuen vs. Wēe take of God not onely this outwar-

VVe must marke in vs the vvorke of God, and the vvorke of Satan.

body and ſoule whereby wée do lyue, and the minde whereby diſcourſing we do vnderſtand and iudge, but alſo the affections of the harte, ſuch as deſire is, the power to withſtãd, loue, hate, hope, feare, ioy, ſorow, anger, fauour, and mercy, &c. And theſe affections be to greate vſe: and there is great cauſe, why they be grafted in our nature. He made vs in ſuch ſort that we do not receyue thoſe things that be neceſſary, ſimply at his hãde, without any perſeuerance of neceſſitie going before, or affection of deſire, like ſtockes and ſtones, but moued by the perſeuerãce of our neceſſitie, we do deſire it euen as the dry grounde doth moſte gladly receyue & drinke vp the moiſture that cõmeth by the dewes powred from heauen.

The cauſe of the naturall affectiõs in vs.

The reaſon of this is, that firſte when we do couet things neceſſarie for vs, we muſte turne to our creatour, the fountayne of all goodneſſe, & the preſeruer of all things that bée made: and aſke of him ſuch things as we haue néede of. Secondly, that the giftes of God be ſo muche the more welcome vnto vs after we haue receyued them, the more that we deſired and beſought them: God grafted in vs alſo a ſenſe of reioyſing, which we féele in the vſe of his giftes: & an effect of ioy, whiche riſeth in our hartes as oft as we do obteyne our purpoſe. The cauſe of them is that reioyſing and pleaſantly vſing the giftes of God, we may be caried vp in our mindes to God the giuer of them, and giue thãkes vnto his goodneſſe with all our harte. He gaue vs alſo the ſtrength of hope. The vſe of it is, that we muſte truſte and tarry for thoſe things whiche we do deſire and aſke of God, whan they are not giuen by and by: and that we do trauayle with earneſt endeuouryng, deuiſing and working in thoſe things whiche are to be atchieued, by our owne induſtrie and labour. So theſe be trimly linked togither, To haue néede, To deſire, to aſke of God, to hope in fayth, to receyue with ioy, to vſe with liking, to giue thanks to the gyuer of all good thinges, hartely to commend his goodneſſe, and with affection of loue to be rauiſhed vnto him. All theſe thyngs would be vterly decayed, if you take away the deſire from them. Thus farforth deſire and concupiſcence is good, yea rather neceſſary, and put into our nature by God. Take away all deſire and concupiſcence, and the knotte of wedlocke ſhall decay: the deſire of iſſue, the multiplication of our kind, the commoditie of eatyng and drinking, the conſeruation of life, the ſtudie of wiſedome, iuſtice, humanitie, goodneſſe, mercy, the felowſhip and company of mans lyfe, and al things ſhalbe halfe dead in man. If it can not be, that we may lacke al things, and that nothing that we do, ſée or heare, ſhould like vs whiles we be in this fleſh, then it can not be that wée may deſire nothing. Therfore to deſire nothyng, pertayneth not to the liuyng, but to the dead.

To deſire nothing belongeth to the dead and not the liuing.

When we do cõſider theſe things, let vs way withall, howe greate the wickednes of Satan was, that he came at the beginnyng in our firſte parents with the poyſon of his malice, corrupted and depraued a thing ſo neceſſary, and ſtickyng faſte in the very bowelles of our lyfe.

III. What kinde of concupiſcence is forbidden.

The concupiſcence of the corrupt fleſh is forbidden.

For aſmuche as it is manifeſt inough, by thoſe thinges whiche be now noted, that concupiſcence of it ſelfe is not damnable, but good and neceſſarie: wée muſte conſequently ſée, what manner of concupiſcence is forbidden.

The concupiſcence of the ſpirite is commended in Scriptures: whereof Paule ſpeaketh, ſaying: The ſpirite deſireth againſt the fleſhe: that is, the inwarde and ſpirituall man, new and regenerate of God, deſireth things diuers from the ſame whiche the carnal man, according to the corruption of the fleſh deſireth. So Dauid deſired the knowledge of Gods commaũdements: the court or dwellyng place of the Lorde, & his health, and ſo the wiſedome of God crieth: Deſire my wordes. Item: Come to me all you that deſire me. Wée are bidden to couet the milke of fayth, doctrine & Chriſtian loue. This kind of concupiſcence is not forbidden.

Nor the deſire of the natural mã is not forbidden, whiche is naturally gyuen vs, whereof wée ſpake a littell before. Nor the lawmaker ſayth not ſimply: Deſire not, Nor he ſayth not onely thus: Deſire not houſe, Wyfe, ſeruaunt, handmayde, Oxe, Aſſe, or any other thyng: but, Deſire not the houſe of thy neyghbour, deſire not thy neyghbours wife, ſeruaunt, &c. *Ergo*, it is not vnlawfull to deſire Houſe, Wife, Seruaunt, Handmaydc, Oxe, Aſſe, or any ſuche lyke matter, that is neceſſarie for our occupying.

Then it remaineth, that the ſame concupiſcence is forbidden, which is neyther naturall neyther ſpirituall, but of the fleſh, which is corrupt and deprauate: whiche the Apoſtle toucheth, ſaying: The fleſhe deſireth againſt the ſpirite. The naturall concupiſcence is the miniſter of nature, the ſpirituall of the ſpirite of the regenerate, but the carnall concupiſcence ſeruyng ſinne, whiche lurketh hidde in our fleſh. That ſame is wicked and damnable, and forbidden by Goddes law. The naughtineſſe of it, firſt cõſiſteth in that, that of it ſelf it deſireth foule things, vniuſt, vnright ſhamefull, hurtfull, & vngodly: as be the ſeruice of Idols, whoredome, adultery, dronkenneſſe, wakefulneſſe, deceyte, pride, backbiting, murder, and ſuch like. In deſiring of theſe things it deſireth againſt the ſpirite. Secõdly, the wickedneſſe of it conſiſteth in this alſo, that it deſireth thoſe things which although they be not of themſelues euill, yet they haue occaſion otherwiſe whereby they be vnlawfull for vs to deſire them: as thoſe things which are forbidden by God, or the Magiſtrate. So hée ſinned which deſired, toke away, and hidde the Ingot of Golde, whiche he ſawe among the Jewels at Jericho. In this ſort is the Golde and Siluer alſo of the images, whereof the Lorde commaunded, ſaying: Deſire not the Gold and the Siluer of them. Item, thoſe things that belong not vnto vs. So of a niceneſſe, we do deſire the knowledge of things not belonging vnto vs, and honors alſo whiche be not méete for vs. Finally things that be other folkes, as houſe, lande, wife, ſeruaunt, mayde, Oxe, Aſſe, &c, as you doe ſée ſet forth in this law.

Ioſu. 7.

Deut. 7.

Besides those, things whiche pertayne vnto Gluttony, as the meates of the Egyptians were, whiche Israell desyred in wildernesse. Suche maner of desire of vnlawfull things, forbidden, pertaynyng not vnto vs, but to others, and of Gluttony, is forbidden by the Lord, as put in our flesh by Satan to our destructiō, and the trouble of the worlde.

IIII. Of the motions of naughty Concupiscence.

By reason of this euill of naughty Concupiscence, is with our corrupt and sinful flesh, and cleaueth so fast vnto it, that we can not, whiles we liue, with any engine or instrument expell it & keepe it off, it were expedient to knowe, by what meanes it is moued to auaūce it self, and poure out his poyson. It is not alwayes perceyued, for sometimes it is so hidden in our harte, that wee thinke there is no peece of it at al left within vs. But streyght wayes whē our senses are touched with the obiect of things that are wont to be desired of our flesh, this naughty desire is immediatly, sooner than a man is ware of, styrred vp, & desireth things not to be desired.

By what meanes the naughty concupiscence is moued.

The naturall senses.

The natural senses in vs, whereunto the obiects be most spedily cōueyed, are the inwarde and the outward. The outward commeth from the outward members, as the eyes, the eares, the palate, the nose, and the feeling. The inwarde is that liuely phātasie, wherby the same is perceiued within the mind, and with a certayne admiration is iudged worthie to be desired, whiche the outwarde sense hath receyued outwardly. At this iudgement of this sense, Concupiscence is ready at hande, the minister of sinne, and desireth the obiect, though better reason & iudgement of right minde agree nothing vnto it.

It happeneth also oftentimes, that by thought alone, without any outwarde obiect, there is rayled in our harte the desire of thinges absente. Yet suche thoughtes be bred almost all, of the obiectes goyng before. Wherefore they be most subiect vnto these euill desires, whiche do vnwarely trauaple in this worlde, and haue no care to keepe the instrumēts of their senses, that they receyue not the obiectes whiche are not to be desired, and so send them to the inward senses. It is knowen how muche a rash eye may do in thys case, whiche you may well call the windowe of death. Wherefore it is not without cause, that the Prophete prayeth, saying: Turne away mine eyes, that they see not vanitie.

Besides these motions which are styrred by outward obiectes, there is also a certayne euill within vs, of whence is bredde muche inticement to naughty Concupiscence. This euill is ỹ lothsomnesse of honest & lawfull things, and specially of our own, and suche as be in our owne power: which kinde of euill is not ouercome by any plenty and aboundance of things present, lawfull and of our owne, but wareth rather greater thereby, the more liberty and plenty there is of them. Out of this as it were the rote, are bredde all kind of Concupiscences. For the more that the things present, honest, lawfull, and of our owne be loathed, the more greedely thyngs absent, filthie, vnlawfull and of others, bee desired. Whosoeuer thinketh his owne wife fayre inough, dothe not quickly gase at, and desire other mēs wiues. But when he wareth lothsome and wery of his owne wyfe, then whensoeuer he spieth a fayrer, hee is in loue with hyr immediatly. He that is well contented with hys owne house, is not easily enticed to desire an other mans dwellyng. Therfore godly menne muste wonderfully beware, that they beginne not to loath their owne things, and wander at other mens, & so be caried away with the waues of naughty concupiscēce: in whiche they shall see no meane nor ende, nor shall be able to come to the porte of quiet. This I would by the way note of the motions of Concupiscence. Menne of perseuerance shall feele more in themselues, if they do diligētly marke this euill in their owne flesche.

V. Of the naughtinesse and malyce of inordinate Desire.

I know the malice of concupiscence is infinite and manifolde: for my minde is not busily to search al the kindes of it, but wee will onely note some of them, whiche come to our mynde, thinking vpon this matter at this present.

First, it is a great power of this euill, that it sticketh not in the outwarde partes of our bodies, so that it may be it selfe cutte off and cast away: but it is grafted most depely in vs, & occupieth the very place of our naturall affections, and is so ayded vnto them, that vnlesse it dye together with them, it can not be vtterly plucked vp and cast away: but sticketh as long in our hartes, as that power of concupiscence, which we haue naturally gyuen vs of God, indureth in our flesche: and doth not onely sticke there, but doth infect by the vncleannesse of it, this fountayne of our naturall affections and desires, that nothing can issue out of it that is sincere, whole, and cleane. Of thence it commeth, that all our whole life is subiect vnto naughty desires and cōcupiscences.

Concupiscēce is the minister of Sinne.

Secondly, the malice of this concupiscence is in this also auaunced, that it is so diligent, ready, and busie, a minister of sinne hidden in our flesche: and that not onely seruyng to one kynde, but to all alike. Of sinne there be many braunches as of an euill trée, as louing of our selues, louing of pleasure, louyng of whoredome, gluttony, loue of glory, loue of honour, loue of euill, ambition, and other such kinde of vices. Vpon all these, concupiscence wayteth as a seruaunt, in applying to eche of them the obiectes of their owne kynde. And if there be founde any thing in the goodes of our neyghbour, whiche the lose of our selues thinke méete for vs, Concupiscence commeth by and by, & desireth it without any regard of iustice and equitie. So when we be louers of our selues, we desire other mens houses, landes, seruants, handmaydens, oxen and suche lyke. Againe, if any obiects of delites and pleasures touch our outward senses, crafty Concupiscence is at hande, and desireth them for pleasures sake.

If any occasion be offered of whoredome & adulterie, the loue of whoredome hath Concupiscence for hyr seruaunt at hande, whereby it desireth the meanes to accomplishe it. The Gluttony of the people of Israelites, by the seruice of concupiscence, retourned to the pottes of the Egyptians. If there chaunce to come any spyce of vayneglozie, by and by Concupiscence seeketh the loue of vayneglozy to desire it. And the loue of honour and gouernance, vseth the ministery of cõcupiscence, as often as there is offred any hope to gouerne. If there be any occasion ministred to the neyghbours hurte, the loue of euil & wickednesse, hath concupiscence for a diligent minister, greedily gaping to ỹ worcking of euil. Also ambition hath concupiscence continually tied vnto it, attent vnto any occasion to get more.

Seing therefore that sinne hath gotten the vpper hande in our flesshe by these vices which we haue briefly reherced, who seeth not that the most puyssaunt kyngdome therof is groũded and dothe stande in the wickednesse of Concupiscence? that the Apostle dothe not in vayne admonish, saying: Let not sinne raygne in your body, to obey the concupiscences thereof. And if the strength of concupiscence be broken by resistement & not obeying, sinne is made weake and bereft of his kingdome: on the other side, if we doe obey it, we must nedes suffer the rule and gouernãce of sinne. Therefore in this respect also, the malice of concupiscence is great, and to be forsaken.

Rom. 6.

Concupiscence is in deth.

Thirdly, this euil is also in concupiscence, that it casteth a cloude ouer right iudgement, when it windeth in, and commendeth the same which it desireth by some allurement of beauty, profite, or pleasure. And it must nedes be a poynt of great continence, if it be possible for any one not to be caught with the inticemẽts of beauty, gay glozie, noz plesure, but to be restrayned with the respect of iustice, equitie, and charitie, yea and with the bzydle of the feare of God, not to consent to euill concupiscence: whiche dothe in that sorte specially deceyue carnall men, that it blindeth right iudgement in them. Men doe paynt Cupide blinde. In deede he is blind whosoeuer yeeldeth vnto it: but Cupide himselfe, is rather the blinder than the blinded.

Fourthly, The worde of God is also choaked vp by concupiscence in the hartes of carnall & fleshly men, so that it can bring forth no fruite. So sayth Christe our Lord and sauiour: And others there be, whiche sowe in thornes: they be they that heare the worde, but the troubles of the world and the deceyt of riches & concupiscences, entring among the rest, choke the worde, and it is made vnfruitful.

Fiftly, ther is also a great stregth of concupiscence, in that it bringeth into bondage the whole man with al his members, and stirreth him to endeuour to accomplish the euil worke. Therevnto are compelled all the powers as wel of the body as of the minde, to do seruice. This efficacy & strength of concupiscence, holy folks do also feele, and carnal men are turned and tossed by it altogither.

Sixtly, it is not to be ouerpassed, that concupiscence when it can not cõpasse that which it desireth, it doth torment

torment, faint, and kill our hearts: it troubleth mẽs reast in the nights, it breaketh our slepes, it maketh our worcking whiche we must nedes apply in the day tyme, to be very slacke and weake.

Seuenthly, that is also most wicked, that by the lawes of iustice, equitie, and honestly, whereby it ought to be repressed and stilled, it is also more stirred and prouoked, wherein is declared a very diuelish peruersitie. The Apostle toucheth this malice of concupiscence, saying: Synne taking occasion by the commaundement, hath wrought in me all concupiscence. And the Ethnikes did obserue and touch the same. Whereof is ỹ saying of the Poet: We striue alwayes vnto that which is forbydden, and couet things denyed: So doth the sicke man desire to drynke water, when the contrarye is commaunded him. And who can haue that disease, whiche is not only not holpen by the remedy, but also made worse?

Eightly, another matter is, that this euill of concupiscence is not extinguished neyther by age, neyther by weakenesse of strength. The example of the two olde men is knowen, of whome mention is made in the history of Susanna. The naughtinesse of concupiscence is a matter that clingeth fast. It stayeth not, but goeth on, though it wrestle in vaine, and loketh for matters impossible to atteyne vnto, although it lacke strength to obteyne and compasse the same.

Ninthly, concupiscence is also vnsaciable. For it admitteth nother meane nor ende. For albeit we finde a misliking in those things whyche we did a little before most earnestlye desire, yet we be carried away immediately by concupiscence to desire other thyngs. So we reade in the Prouerbes. That the eyes of men be so vnsatiable. Item, that the eye is not filled with sighte. These poyntes we meante to touche briefely of the malice of naughty, corrupte, and forbidden concupiscence: the rest let the wise man obserue in himselfe, and either amende them or bewayle them.

In vvhat accompt this Concupiscence is before *God.*

Hovv concupiscence alone is sinne in the sight of God.

SOme man will say: In deede I doe acknowledge that the nature of this naughty concupiscence is wicked, and giuen to all euill: yea, and a troublesome disquietour and disturber of the spirit: but when I do not in acte those things whiche it desireth, I see not what fault I may be subiect vnto before God for it. I answere: If God did count vpon and required the iustice of our handes alone, and not of the heartes, ye might haue a quiet conscience, my brother, holding your hand from wickednes. But he that is ỹ searcher of hearts, iudgeth of man not onely accordyng vnto the facts of the outward members, but principally of his inwarde affections: that is to say, of the heart, as the fountayne of all our life: and according vnto the qualitie of it, he iudgeth him to be eyther good or euill. Therefore is that saying of our sauior Christe: You haue hearde it sayde vnto the fathers, Thou shalte not committe adultery. But I saye

Math. 5.

to you, that who soeuer seeth a woman to desire hir, hath now committed whoredome in his heart. Wherein? Surely not in the sighte of the world. *Ergo*, in the sight of God, vnto whome the will is in stéede of the facte, as well in euill as in good. For like as he is not to be accoumpted healthfull, whiche though he do appeare whole in the outward partes, yet hathe some euill disease within, eyther in his stomacke, eyther in hys lyuer, or in his lightes, or in some other thing: so he can not be taken for a iust man (if God be iudge) whyche though he doe not outwardlye vse whoredome, steale, nor kyll, yet doth in his heart desire other mēs wiues, and other mens goodes, and woulde haue hym hanged that he hateth. The cleanenesse of the hands dothe so much in déede for thée, that by mēs iudgement thou canst not be cōdemned: but it can not iustifie a man wholly in the sighte of God, for asmuch as he is subiect vnto his iudgemente for the vncleanenesse of the hearte.

A similitude.

Againe, some wil say: Then what auaileth it to kéepe the hāds cleane, if I be subiect vnto the iudgement of God for the concupiscence of the heart? If the desire of a strange woman be before God in stéede of adulterie, what doth it profite to absteine from the facte, when there is no difference betwixt the wil and the fact? But what is to be aunswered in this matter, we haue noted in our Commentaries vpon Mathew. The very worke it selfe of adultery, being forbidden by a speciall Precepte, dothe make a man giltie of a greater sin: beside that he doth defile the temple of God, and make it one with the harlotte. Furthermore, it giueth occasion also of blaspheming the name of God amōgst the enimies of Christian faith. Besides that the vnperfect concupiscence without fact, dothe no harme neyther to the bodye of his neighbour, nor to his wife, nor to his goodes: but murther, theft, and adultery indéede hath harme done in the facte. And of the fact many euils else rise, hatred, brauling, contentiō, discord, slaughter. &c. whiche can not rise of bare concupiscence. The examples be too ready. It is knowen by Scripture, howe muche euils the defyling of Dina, and the adultery of Dauid bredde.

If the desire be before God as the fact, vvhat auaileth it to absteyne from the doings?

Math. 5.

Wherefore this is no wise mans thought, but his, which doth earnestly intend to fulfill in déede, that whiche he desireth in heart, not carefull of the case of his saluation, and not looking to the grace of God, whereby we be saued through faith in Christ. It is the part of a faithful and a sensible man, to acknowledge the vncleanenesse of his hearte, and to bewayle it with all his heart; secondly to restrayne it by the grace of God, and humbly to flée vnto the mercy of God, and to desire hym to forgiue him and help him. Like as he is desperate of his saluation, and prouoketh the anger of God towardes hym, that sayeth: I am culpable in the sight of God for the concupiscēce of my heart, as well as though I do committe the facte, therefore I wyll adde vnto my concupiscence the fact whiche it desireth, that I maye yet cary away some pleasure of my sin, and not be damned for nothing: so a christian man which acknowledging

and

and bewayling the sinne of his hart, fleeth vnto the mercy of God, by fayth in Christe oure sauiour, and withstandeth with all his power the naughty concupiscence, and is made partaker of the grace of God and true health and saluation.

VII. What things are to be considered in the words of *this Precepte*.

Firste it is to be obserued, that among those things whereof the concupiscence is forbidden, the house of the neighboure is rehersed firste, and the wife nexte: but in the fift of Deuter. the wife is first, and ẏ house after. For there it is redde thus: Couet not thy neyghboures wife, &c. and Couet not the house of thy neyghboure, his fielde, and hys seruant, &c.

Therefore it was vnaduisedlye done of Augustine, that disputing of the diuision of the *Decalogus*, and distributing to the first table thrée preceptes onely for the holy Trinitie, and deuiding this last of concupiscence into two, taking the argument of this deuision hereof, that in Deut. 5. it is seuerally commaunded, firste of not coueting the wife, and afterwards is commaunded of the house, and other matters togither. For thus he noted in his Questions vppon Exodus: The concupiscence of another mans wife, and the concupiscence of another mans house, doth so much differ in sinne, that vnto the which was said: Thou shalte not couet thy neyghbours house, are added also other things, the Scripture saying: Nor his house, nor his seruante, nor his handmayden, nor his Oxe, nor his cattell, nor his Shéepe, nor whatsoeuer is thy neyghboures. It séemeth he disseuered the concupiscence of a nother mans wife, from the concupiscence of a nother mans goodes, when he began both in thys sorte: Thou shalt not couet thy neybours wife, and, Thou shalte not couet thy neyghbours house, and there began to adde the rest. But when he sayd, Thou shalte not desire thy neybours wife, he dyd not ioyne to that the rest, saying, Nor his house, nor his fielde, nor hys seruaunte. &c. but these séeme to be altogither ioyned togyther, whiche séeme to be conteyned in one Precepte, and disseuered from that, where the wife is named. Thys sayeth Augustine: whose argumente by onely looking vppon that whyche is redde in Exodus, the diligente Reader maye sée is vtterlye weake and nothing worth: For the house and other thynges followyng, are not there ioyned togyther: but the concupiscence of another mans wife, is ioyned wyth the rest. So that it is manifest, that if both places bée compared togyther, thys last Precepte can not bée deuided into two. The readyng of the. 70. Interpreters deceyued Augustine: if it bée theyrs that is nowe a dayes vsed. Eyther the interpreter whosoeuer it was, or some ignoraunt man tourned those things whyche bée in the twenty of Exodus, otherwise in the Hebrewe, than in the fift of Deuteronomy, to the order of that whyche is redde in the fift of Deutero. But if he hadde looked vpon the Hebrewe, the holy mā woulde haue bin muche ashamed

Exod. 20.

of

of his argument. But this errour is to be pardoned him for his ignorãce of the Ebrew tong. But they doe of sette purpose erre, which do so much abuse the argumente of these holye men to the defence of their erroure, when they be not ignorannte of the Ebrewe: and if they be ignorannte, they might yet be admonished at the least by the vulgare translation, that this argumente of Augustine is vterly voyde and friuolous. But of the very deuision of the *Decalogue*, we spake before.

The lawmaker applyed himselfe to the qualitie of his people.

2 Secondly, it is to be considered, howe the heauenly lawgiuer dyd in this precept also accommodate himselfe to the qualitie of his people, whē he forbiddeth the concupiscence of those things, which be commonly in the vse of menne: as the wife, house, manseruaunt, womanseruant, fielde, Oxe, Asse, &c. whiche he dothe not for that, that the euill of our naughtye concupiscence is bounde within the lystes of these things, but to applye himselfe vnto the people, to whome he doth prescribe these commaundementes. Otherwise oure concupiscence stretcheth it selfe farther, and desireth more higher matters than that it may be comprehended in those things which be here named. When we desire the glory of maiestie, of gouernance, knowledge, and power, yea and also to be frée and not subiect to the will of any mans arbitrement, truely we couet other thynges, and not our owne: and things perteining rather to God than to man. And yet he sayth not: Couet not the glory, maiestie, power, gouernance, and knowledge of the Lord thy God: but, Couet not the house, the wife, the field, &c. of thy neyghbor. So he doth temper himselfe to the qualitie of the rude and rustical people, and forbiddeth the concupiscence of commō matters: bycause they bée more in vse, as necessarye: and the common sort of people is more subiecte vnto that concupiscence of them, than of more higher and godly things. And yet let no man gather of this, that the concupiscence of those thynges whiche be of God, and not oures, is lawfull, for that the commandement runneth here namely of the thyngs of our neighbour onely, that we desire not them. For if it be vnlawfull to couet those things that bée oure neyghboures, not bycause they cannot be profitable for vs, but bycause they be other mens and not oures: who seth not that it is muche more vnlawfull to couet those things that be Gods? whiche besides that they are anothers and not oures, they bée also nor mete nor necessary for oure vses? We are heere by the way warned, that we be circumspect and carefull kepers of our affections in those matters wherein we do commonlye trauaile more than in others.

3 Thirdly, marke this also, that those things, the coueting whereof he forbiddeth by this lawe, he dothe ascribe to our neyghbours, and for this cause he dothe forbidde them: and yet they be the goodes of Gods more than of any mans. For if by the testimonie of the Prophet: The land is the Lords, and all the fulnesse of it: those things be also then the Lords, which be there named, house, wife, seruaunt, handmaide, field, Oxe, Asse, with the rest whiche we do possesse. And yet he sayeth not: Couet

none of those things that be the Lord thy Gods, but Which be (sayeth hée) thy neyghbours. This is the louyng gentlenesse of God, that he is not miscontent that we shoulde vse anye of hys goodes, so that we maye come by them without the hurt or damage of our neighbour. He regardeth not his owne title, but our necessitie: and would haue all things that is gyuen to any person, so safe vnto hym, that it shoulde not be as much as deffyed away, much lesse taken away.

The Lorde of all things himselfe doth by this saying confirme euerye mans righte in his owne goodes, in that he saith, that those things be thy neighbours, whiche he forbiddeth to be coueted. Therefore let not the rash heads of the Anabaptists dispute of a common righte of all things, by coloure whereof they do robbe their brothers goodes, by title of propriete, and kéepe them to their owne vse: withal being driuen with a phãtasticall spirite, goe aboute to bryng in a cõfusion of all things. All things, say they, be Gods: we be his chyldren, *Ergo* they be all ours in common. In déede all things be Gods: but he dothe distribute vnto euerye man of hys goodes, as much as they shall possesse to their necessary vses. And he nameth them to bée hys to whome he hath giuen them: and hée forbiddeth that any man should take them away, yea or couet them.

4 Fourthly, nor that is to be ouerpassed, that he doth not saye: Couet not the house of any man: but, Of thy neighbour. His house also which is not oure neighboure, is none of ours. What is the matter then, that he dothe not simply forbidde to couet any mans house, or anye wise a nother mans, but our neighbours? It is not done for that, meaning that it is lawfull to couet anye mans house, wife, fielde, &c. so that it be not oure neighbours: but ỹ lawmaker would méete with the daunger of this concupiscence, whiche riseth vppon the nédinesse of men, dwelling and lyuing togither, whose goodes be daply in our eyes. For so great is the falshode of our corrupt flesh and malicious disposition, that the same whiche ought to be a cherishing of mutuall charitie, tendeth more to the hurt of it. Neighbours ought to be loued for two causes: partely bycause they bée fellowes somtime of one nature and religion, partly bycause they be also ioyned togyther in nére dwelling. And yet we doe sonest of all hurte them, we doe sonest enuie and lay in waite for their goodes, and practise the malice of our harts most against them. Such peruersitie of our nature is not onely touched by this presente Precepte and that whiche weute before, but by that generall commaundement, whereby we be commaunded to loue oure neighboure as oure selues. If the nérenesse of liuing togither did help to nourish charitie in vs, what néded these Precepts? And what is more kindly than to dwell nére togither, to be allyed, to haue to do with men, which haue this gift of nature that they bée ciuill creatures, and are very loath to leaue to haue mutuall doings one with another.

Neighbours ought to be loued for two respectes.

Againe, what is more vnkindely thã to ouerturne the propinquitie of mens liuing togither, into occasion of practising malice and falsehode?

By

By this consideration it may be easily vnderstode, why the lawmaker did namely forbidde, that we shoulde not couet oure neyghboures house, wife, field, &c.

He doth not make difference betwixte neybours.

5 Fiftly, that is also to be obserued, that he maketh not any speciall difference betwixte neyghboures. Some neyghbours be riche, some of a meane state, some powre, some iust, some vniust, and their goodes gotten some one way, some another way. Some one becommeth riche by honest and vpryghte meanes, an other dishonestly by euill craftes, by vsury, guile, theft, robbery, periury, &c. and yet he sayeth not: Couet not the house of a riche man, or his that is in authoritie. For to what purpose shoulde he couet it, when he can not come by it? Nor he sayth not: Couet not the house of a powre man, he hathe but that only: nor couet not the powre mans wife, for he hathe no moe but hir. Nor he sayth not: Couet not thy neyghbours house whiche he dothe iustly possesse, leaste in so saying, hee shoulde seeme to meane, that then such coueting were vnlawfull, when those things be desyred whyche can not be easily gotten, or when those things be coueted, whereof the powre man hath no more, or that whiche is iustly gotten: but generally and absolutely (he sayeth:) Couet not thy neyghbours house: Couet not thy neighbours wife: as though hee sayde: Whosoeuer he be, and whatsoeuer he be, riche or powre, iust or vniust, and by what meanes so euer hys goodes be gotten. So that no mā is excused in coueting riche mens goodes, though they be gotten by vnlawfull meanes. For this concupiscence is absolutely forbidden by this lawe, That we couet not the house, the wife, the fielde, the seruaunt, the handmayden, Oxe, Asse, &c. of oure neyghbores: that is to witte, no other mans goodes. For although our neyghboure hathe neuer so muche goodes, houses, wiues, menseruants, womenseruauntes, fieldes, &c. yet they be none of oures, though they be vniustly possessed, yet we haue no title or right vnto them, and therfore are not to be desired.

6 Sixtly, that is also to be obserued, that he maketh no difference of oure estates, but commaundeth commonly altogither, that we couet not oure neyghbours goodes. He sayeth not: Couet not thy neyghbours house, vnlesse peraduenture thou haue neuer a one thy selfe. Or: Couet not thy neyghbours wyfe, if thou haue a wife thy selfe: but whatsoeuer we be, whether we haue houses, wiues, seruauntes, handmaydens, fieldes, Oxen, &c. or haue none: it is sayde vnto all, and singular: Couet not thy neyghbours wife, house, seruaunte, fielde, &c. Pouertie and neede in deede in comparison of great wealth, may deserue some pardon: as Salomon doth somewhat extenuate the theefte of the hungry mā, in comparison of the adulteroure. But hee doth not so farre forthe excuse it, that he taketh away the whole blame, and make hym guilteles and without blame, which doth vnlawfully couet that whyche is not his owne. In deede hee offendeth more grieuously, whyche beyng hymselfe riche, desireth the powre mans goodes whyche he must needes occuppye, and hathe no more. As the sinne of Dauids was, when he desyred and defyled in adultery the wyfe of Vrye, whyche hadde no mo but one alone, beyng hymselfe the husbande of a great sorte of wiues, whyche matter Nathan the Prophet laid to hys charge by a parable of the takyng away of one Shepe. And yet it may not be allowed, if a powre man doe couet a riche mans goodes.

Pouerty must be holpen by honest meanes, not by coueting of other mens goodes: whereunto dothe followe at hande eyther theftes, or periuries, or robberies, and extortions, &c.

7 Seuenthly, Some bodye maye aske, whether coueting be not to bee excused, if a man knowe not whose house it is, Wife, Seruaunt, fielde, or Oxe, &c. that he desyreth. A man woulde thinke there were no offence done againste his neyghboure, by hym that knoweth not, that the same whiche he coueteth, dothe belong to him in ryght and possession. A man may pretend ignorance, whyche is wont sometimes to excuse a matter, whiche else if it were done of knowledge, coulde not be done withoute blame: but thys pretence of ignorance helpeth nothyng. For albeit thou knowest not whose it is that thou desirest, yet thou canst not bee ignorante, fyrste that it is none of thyne, secondly that it is some other bodyes. And thys lawe sayeth not: Couet not that mans house, or thys mans house whiche thou knowest, but simply: Couet not the house of thy neyghboures. They be also thy neyghboures goodes, whiche thou knowest not who is owner of it: and for that cause also thou oughtest not to couet them, bycause thou canst not be in doubt whether they be free or common, but must needes vnderstande, that they bee some mans proper goodes, and therefore another mans, and none of thyne.

Of the concupiscence of a vvoman not knovven.

8 Eyghtly, Some man may yet demaunde, whether the couetyng of a woman, be not excused by ignorāce in thys case, when a woman is coueted whiche is in deede married, but so, that she is not knowen to be maried, but thoughte vnmarried: and that he would not haue coueted hir, if he hadde knowen she had bin anye mans wife. This kinde of ignorance hath in deede somewhat to extenuate the malice of thys concupiscence, touchyng the mynde of him whyche coueteth: but as concerning the woman, lyke as if she were by vnlawfull acte defyled, it were not simple fornication, but adultery, though the defyler knewe not that she was marryed: so we must iudge also of the concupiscence when one is coueted, not as though she were maried, but as one vnmarried, and free in respect of a married woman, whosoeuer coueteth hir, coueteth his neyboures wife, whether he doe it wittingly, or ignorauntly. Secondly, it is to be considered, to what intente thou doest couet the woman, whyche thou knowest not whether she bee maried, whether it be to marry with hir to thy wife: as Pharao & Abimelech did, in taking Sara to wife, whome they knewe not to be Abrahams wyfe: or whether thou woulde abuse hir to the lust of whoredome. If it be to marrye with hyr, so thys concupiscence is also rather a disordred affection of the

flesh,

flesh, and an vnlawfull luſt, when a woman not knowen is vnaduiſedly deſired, than a lawfull meaning to mariage, and for that cauſe damnable: but in caſe thou doeſt commit whoredome with hir, though you eſcape adultery, yet you can not be excuſed of the ſinne of whoredome. And I am not ſure whether ſuch a kynde of couetyng will make any differēce betwirt a married or an vnmarried woman, if the partie can come by hyr.

9 Ninthly, a carnall man maye aſke me againe: whether it be not to be borne withall, if he couet his neybours wife, not to haue hir quite away and to be at his commaundement, but to haue hir company onely for an houre. I would not (ſayth hee) haue hir in mine owne iuriſdiction, let hir huſband keepe hir at home for his owne: I do only ſo deſire hir, that I may vſe hir nowe and then, without his hinderance. The anſwere is readye. It is ſimply commaunded, Couet not thy neyghbours wife: and that generall rule of nature ſayeth: Doe not to another, that thou wouldeſt not haue done to thy ſelfe. And whatſoeuer is not lawful to be done, is not lawfull alſo to be coueted.

10 Tenthly, touching the houſe, fielde, Oxe, Aſſe, &c. Some man will ſay, If I may in no wiſe couet, I cā not buy anye thing, neyther of that which is my neyghboures. For hee that buyeth, doth ſurely couet it, elſe he would not buye it, if he did not couet it. Nowe if we may not buy thoſe things that be other mens, all neceſſary contractes be taken away: but if it be not vnlawfull to buy, ſurely it is lawfull to couet the ſame, whiche it is lawfull to buy. Then what meaneth it that he ſayth: Couet not the houſe, &c. of thy neyghboures? I anſwere. The ſame Concupiſcence is not forbidden, which kepeth whole the loue of thy neighbour, and repugneth not againſt his will: but the ſame, which is contrary agaynſt them both. He that deſyreth to buye, coueteth not vnlawfully, for that he deſireth to buy in this conſideration, that he deſireth nothing without hys neyghbours will. But if he paſſe theſe boundes, I meane of charitie, and of his neighbours will, he is not excuſed by the purpoſe of buying.

V Whether that we may buy that which we cannot couet.

The hiſtory of Achab is knowen, whiche is read in this wiſe. The vineyarde of Naboth the Iſraelite, was nēere to the palaice of Achab King of Samaria. Therefore Achab ſpake to Naboth, ſaying: Giue me thy vineyarde to make me a garden of pot hearbes, bycauſe it is at hand, and nēere my houſe: and I will gyue thēe a better vineyard for it. Or if you thinke more aduantage to take the value of it in ſiluer, I will gyue thēe as muche as it is woꝛth. You heare the Kyngs woꝛdes couetyng his neighbours vineyarde, and deſiring to buy it. Hēere nowe agayne Nabothes woꝛdes withſtanding it: Let my Lord (ſayth he) be good vnto me, ſo that I maye not giue thēe the inheritance of my fathers. What dyd Achab then? Achab came (ſayeth the booke) into his houſe, frowning and gnaſhing his teeth at the woꝛdes whiche Naboth the Iſraelite ſpake vnto him, ſaying: I will not gyue thēe the inheritance of my fathers: and caſting himſelfe vpon his bedde, he turned away his face to the wall, and

and did eate no breade: and that whyche followeth. You ſee an example of concupiſcence, which though it ſeeme to haue no vnluſtice in it, in that that the King woulde buy it, or elſe gette vnto him his neighboures vineyarde whiche he coueted, by exchange of a better vineyard, yet it was ſuch, that it was not ioyned with charitie, nor attempered vnto his wil whoſe vineyard it was. Otherwiſe he woulde not haue bin vexed in his minde, nor agrieued with the owner of ỹ vineyard, for denaying him the buying of it, but woulde haue ſayd rather: God forbidde I ſhoulde couet that vineyard, whiche the owner of it doth refuſe to ſell. It is manifeſt therefore by this example, that the coueting of another mans goodes, is not excuſed by the purpoſe of buying of it, if it be not ioyned with the loue of hys neybours, and accommodate vnto hys will. It is a kinde of extoꝛtion, to wil to buy that, which thy neyghbour is not contente to ſell. Therefore thys manner of coueting is nothing elſe, but the vnlawfull coueting of another mans good.

Laſtly, we muſt alſo thynke of ỹ which he addeth in the ende: Nor any thing that is thy neighbors. He might haue ſimply ſette this forbidding of cōcupiſcēce, in this wiſe: Thou ſhalt not couet any thing of that which is thy neighbours, but he woulde firſte put ſome ſpecificatiō of thoſe things which be moſt vſed among men, and moſt neceſſary: as be the wife, houſe, fielde, ſeruaunte, handmaide, Oxe, Aſſe, to warne vs that we muſt ſpecially abſteyne from thoſe thynges whiche be neceſſarye for our neyghbours occupying. Secondly, for alſmuch as the Concupiſcence of oure fleſhe is infinite, ſo that we doe caſt our eyes vpon all things that be our neyghboures, leaſt we ſhoulde ſaye: There is no mention made in thys lawe, of golde, ſyluer, garmentes, houſeholde, ſtuffe, honoures, rightes, priuiledges, and ſuch other like matters which be our neyghbours: *Ergo* it is not vnlawfull to couet them. For if it had, the lawmaker woulde haue made mention of them. Leaſt (I ſay) our fleſhe ſhoulde finde theſe ſtarting holes to ſlippe away at, this ſummary and generall particle is added: Nor all that is thy neyghboures, to reſtrayne oure Concupiſcence from all the goodes of oure neyghboures, whatſoeuer they bee, greate or ſmall, ſeuerall or common, neceſſary or not neceſſary, one or manye: as if the lawmaker ſhoulde ſay: What goodes ſoeuer thy neighbours goodes be, thou mayſt in no wiſe couet anye of them: not bycauſe they be ſuch, or ſuch, but bycauſe they be thy neyghboures, whome thou oughteſt ſo to loue, that thou wilte not onely take awaye anye thyng of his, but not ſo much as couet it.

Thys diligence of the lawmaker doth admoniſhe, howe that this euil of Concupiſcence in oure fleſhe is ſo lauiſh and infinite, that there is nothing of oure neyghboures goodes, brothers and friendes (if we like it) but we couet it earneſtly: wherefore they be very vnaduiſed folkes, whyche doe raſhlye boaſt their goodes, whyche they knowe men be deſirous of, and do ſet them out to the eyes of naughty Concupiſcence, to be coueted and entred vpon.

The eyes which be the miniſter-

The eyes be ministers of cōcupiscence.

of the concupiscence of the hearte, what be they else, but the forerūners of deceyuings, theftes, robberies, and extorcions? He that would haue hys geare safe, lette him beware of these vaunteurrers. It is so muche the safer from theft and robbery, which is so hidden, that it can not be coueted. If Collatine hadde not boasted out Lucrece his wife, and offered hir to the eyes of wanton and intemperate Gentlemen to bée séene, hée mighte haue kept safe ẏ chastitie of his most honest wife. Ezechias when he dyd vndiscretely shewe the treasures of the Kings house vnto the Embassadour of the Babylonians, he enkindled their desire: and those things whiche he mighte haue kept still, if they had bin hidden, he made them subiect to spoyle and pray, after they were once shewed and séene.

4. Reg. 20.

Therfore it is requisite, that they which be wealthy of these riches and goodes, desired of the fleshe, be warie and mindful of this common corruption, and they must eyther bestowe them or kéepe them wisely, least they do both giue an occasion vnaduisedly to others, to couet and lay watch for their goodes, and putte that that they haue in hassard.

Furthermore, all men generally must looke, that they doe most vigilantly obserue, bridell, and restrayne euerye one of them this malice of their heart, giuē to couet other folks goodes: least if they doe yéelde vnto it, they sinne against God which forbyddeth vs to couet, and agaynste thy neyghboure, in couetyng of whiche, hée ought to loue the one more than the other as himselfe: and least he doe withall cast himselfe into such trouble as he can not be ridde of, and at the ende into the pitte of perdition, wherein both body and soule doth perishe.

Let the wise man chasten his cōcupiscence, withstanding all his motions. When he perceyueth that hée coueteth vnprofitable and vayne thyngs, lette hym fynde faulte wyth hys owne foolishnesse and lewdenesse. When he coueteth those things that be other mens, lette hym obiecte againste it the rebuke of vniust dealing. When he desyreth wanton and vncleane things, lette hym charge it with filthynesse. When he coueteth superfluous thyngs, lette him checke the auarice thereof. Let him say, Ah foole: what shalte thou gayne by that which thou couetest, séeyng it is more vayne than vanitie it selfe? Thou vniust and wicked, it is not thyne that thou desyrest, but thy neyghboures. What hast thou to do wyth that that is thy neyghboures? Thou wanton and vncleane man, why delightest thou in foule and filthye thyngs? Thou niggard, why desirest thou those thyngs, whiche thou hast no néede to occupy? Lette vs haue those things at hande, to choke oure concupiscence withall: I haue no néede of it, it doth me no good. It is vayne, it is superfluous, it is none of myne, but my neyghboures, it is vnlawfull, it is forbidden, it is fylthy, it is hurtfull. &c. Lette the feare of God, the obseruance of Gods commaundementes, the loue of oure neyghboure, the detestation of oure corruption, the study of righteousenesse, furnish vs with suche weapōs, wherewith we maye kyll the firste motions of oure concupiscence in vs,

vs, and bruse these little ones of Babylon, and throw them agaynste the rocke of Christes faith.

The conclusion of the Decalogus.

We haue made vp by the grace of the Lorde, the exposition of this *Decalogus* slenderly, but as I suppose not altogyther vnprofitably, if a man will vse it godly and with the feare of the Lorde. We sée that the order of thys Tenth precepte is so appoynted and ordeyned, that it doth cléerely reproue the corruption of oure nature, whē in both the Tables it commaundeth thyngs contrarye therevnto. Oure carnall man is quite blynde, ignoraunte and out of the way, in the thyngs of God: wide from the knowledge of the true and onely God, disposed to the worship of manye Goddes and madnesse of Idolatrye, not deuoutely affected to the reuerence of the name of God, and slowe, sluggish and vnwilling of hys seruice.

Wherefore in the First table, in the firste foure Preceptes he dothe playnely reproue thys corruption and deprauation of oures, in those thyngs that touche to the knowlege, obseruance and worshippe of the only and true God, when he pronounceth bymselfe to be oure onely true God, settyng aside all strange and false Gods: when hée dothe wyth moste sore threatenyng forbydde worshippyng of Idolles, when hée forbyddeth the abuse and prophanation of hys name, and ordeyneth the holye vse of the Seuenth dayes rest.

The secōd table.

Furthermore we be so disposed in those thynges whyche concerne the trade of mans lyfe, that we be not louyng and obsequious to oure parentes, whome we ought to haue in estimation as the aucthors of our begynnyng, touchyng the flesh: Cruell towardes others, enimies of the bloud of man, and of oure common nature, hauyng féete (accordyng vnto the saying of the Prophete) swifte to shedde bloud, filthy desires (and if it maye bée) defylers of other folkes beddes, and distayners also of oure owne, readye to theftes and robberies, to lyes and false witnesse, to deceyte and falsehoode: in briefe, almost wholly inflamed wyth insatiable, vniust, and false coueting of other folkes goodes. Against these vices of oure corrupte nature, is the Seconde table sette: whiche in the sixe later Preceptes, commaundeth vs to honour our Parentes: and forbyddeth murthers, adulteries, thefts, false witnesse, and vnlawfull concupiscence of other mens goodes. And in commaundyng these thyngs, hée forbiddeth vs in déede from béeyng vngodlye towardes oure Parentes, murtherers, adulterers, théeues, false witnesses, and couetoures of those thyngs that be other mens: but yet withall, he dothe conuince and declare vs to bée suche, and warneth vs that there is so greate perfection of true godlinesse and iustice required at oure handes, that wée muste not be vngodlye and vniust, no not in affection and concupiscence of the hearte, muche lesse openly in acte: in that hée dothe not onely forbydde murther, adultery, theft, and false witnesse, but he forbyddeth a[illegible]

condemneth also the desire of oure heart, in coueting our neyghboures gwdes.

Therefore for the double corruption of our hearte, he comprehended in two tables whatsoeuer was to be commaunded in thys *Decalogue*: euen lyke as Christ did afterwardes in a double briefe, comprehend all thys lawe and the doctrine of all godlynesse, saying, Loue the Lorde thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy minde. This is the greatest and the fyrste commaundemente, and the second is like vnto this: Loue thy neyghboure as thy selfe. In these two commaundementes hangeth all the lawe and Prophetes. For he that loueth the Lorde, dothe altogyther surely and thoroughly depende vppon hym in firme faith, and clere conscience: and therefore dothe nother admitte anye other Gods, nor serue Idols, nor dishonor his name, nor disdayne the Sabbathes ordeyned by hym. So he that loueth his neyghboure as well as himselfe, will neyther contemne hys parentes, nor kil hys neyghbors, nor defyle his wife with adulterye, nor steale his gwdes, nor falsely witnesse of him: and to be shorte, will not couet any iote of all that is his: but will hartily seeke his commoditie, as well as his owne.

Math. 22.

¶ Of the Addition or enlargement of the Morall Preceptes.

WE deuided the written lawe before, according to the vsed deuision, into Precepts Morall, Iudicial, and Ceremoniall. We tolde howe certayne summary Preceptes of the Morall lawe are sette forthe in the *Decalogus*. And after the exposition thereof, I suppose it good to ioyne thereunto those additions of the Morall Precepts which be set forth here and there by peece meale in the writings of Moses. For Moses was not contente with the bare *Decalogus*, but dyd adde also some things, as it were to expounde the rest, whereof he thoughte good, specially to gyue some instruction, considering the sluggishnesse and slownesse of rude people. For albeit that true loue, as it were the spirite and life of the *Decalogus*, dothe include those thynges, yet for all that, it commeth to passe by the malice of the flesh, that it is not perceyued.

Some of the Preceptes of thys addition or declaration concerne religion, some holynesse of lyfe, some oure neyghbours, some cattell and beastes, some also things growyng vpon the earth.

1 It toucheth religion, that whyche is commaunded that we muste not diuine nor marke dreames. Item, that wee must not turue vs to Witches and sorceroures: and that wee muste not make anye felowshippe with the vnfaithefull. And that wee muste feare the Lorde, and serue hym onely, and sweare by hys name. That wee muste not sweare by straunge and false Goddes.

2 It concerneth the holynesse of our lyfe, that whoredome is commaunded to be eschewed bothe of men and women.

3 To

3 To the louing of our neighbor, which is commaunded, these thynges are to be referred: that we must not hate straungers. That we must nother burthen our money, whych wee do lend, with vsury: nor streightly exacte it agayne: that a garment taken for a pledge, must be restored before Sunne set: that we curse not or speake euill against the princes of the people. That the hyre of a workeman is not to be kept till the morowe: that we muste not curse the deafe man: that we lay not an offence before the face of the blinde man, that we must not hate our brother in our heart, but reproue him openly: that we may not seeke reuenge: That we must aryse with reuerence before a white head: that we must diminishe nothing of our weightes, measures, rules, and bushels. Vsury is not to be taken of thy brother. If a man find any thing that his brother hath lost, it must be restored to the owner. A grinding millestone is not to be taken for a guage. That which is neglected in reaping or in the vineyard, is not to be gathered vp agayne, but to be left to the poore.

4 These things concerne cattell and beastes: Thy enimies Asse, or Ore, if it go astray or be in daunger, is to be holpen and to be brought agayne. The mouth of the Ore that treadeth out corne, ought not to bee musseled. When a man findeth a nest of birdes, the damme ought not to bee taken away with the yong ones. That the goate muste not be boyld in the dammes milke.

To things growing in the earth, that perteineth. Thou shalt not cutte downe the trees, whereof fruite may be eaten. There be many things also redde in the writtings of the Prophets, belonging to the order of these morall preceptes. For in some poyntes they were interpreters of the law of Moses, but the Prouerbs of Salomon, be by some speciall deuice, ordered to adorne and amplifie this part of godlinesse and iustice: as those things also which be redde in Iesu Syrach, and in the boke of Wisedome. And the writings also of the Apostles and the Euangelistes, haue many things in them, that may help to frame the manners of Gods people: which the diligent reader, may well marke as hee goeth, and muste vse them as ornaments of faith and true godlinesse, to beautifie the conuersation of his life, and to expresse the truth of his faith. This parte of godlinesse and iustice is not to be negligently handled: for who seeth not that it is by speciall purpose of the holy spirite, interlayed in the holy writings, as wel of the new Testament as of the olde, to this intent, that we should not onely reade those things whiche doe frame the godlinesse of oure heart and faith towardes God, but those things also, whereby is declared in what kynde of life the true godlynesse of hearte, faith, and iustice is expressed & beautified: and how farre wide and diuers our life is from the behauiour of the vngodly and wicked. I suppose that ther is no godly person that is without care of framing and furnishyng his life, seeing that the honestie of our forefathers and of the Ethnikes also did euer esteeme that diligence most of all. Their writings of Ethikes morall and offices be extante, witnessing though not of their life, yet

Of thinges growing vpon the earth. Deut. 20.

The Prouerbs of Salomon.

of the ſtudy of their life. Wherefore manye wiſe and honeſt men doe not vnworthily fynd ſo much fault with the corrupt maners of our tyme: for they do ſee that the corruption & neglect of maners, is a ſure proof of the decaying of true godlyneſſe, iuſtice, and honeſtie, and that there is no other to bee looked for, but that there will ſhortly fall vpon vs ſome great and greeuous deſtruction.

Of the Iudicial Precepts.

VVhat the iudiciall preceptes bee.

The Iudiciall precepts be they, by whiche it is preſcribed howe they oughte to iudge in cauſes, controuerſyes, and tranſgreſſyons of the people. And the cauſes, controuerſies, and tranſgreſſions of the people be of two kyndes: For ſome pertain to religion, and ſome to prophane matters. Therfore theſe preceptes might be handſomely deuided into two ſortes: ſome for to belong to the Churche, and ſome to iudgementes and iuſtice of ſome courtes. But bycauſe it is ſo prouided in the law, that for matters concerning religion, they haue for the moſte parte Ceremonies ioyned vnto them: we are determined to leaue of them to the place of the ceremonial precepts, and ſpeake only of thoſe things here, whiche maye be paſte ouer in open Courte.

The diuiſion of Iudiciall preceptes. *Exod.* 21. *Exod.* 23. *Leuit.* 19. *Deut.* 16.

After that the law of the *Decalogus* was giuen, ſtreight ways are added by the Lord the iudgements, of whiche he began to commaunde in Exodus, as appereth, where we do reade in this ſort: Theſe be the iudgementes, which thou ſhalt ſet forth before them. And they may bee ſo deuided, that ſome of them doe concerne the Iudges, and ſome the people. Commandement is giuen to the Iudges, that they followe not the multitude to do euill, nor agree to the ſentence of the moſt in iugement, to turne a ſide from the truth: neither payut a poore mans cauſe, nor to take no rewardes, bicauſe rewards doe blynde the wiſe, and ſubuert the wordes of the iuſte: nor they ſhall not kill the guiltleſſe, but without reſpecte of perſons, iudge with right iudgemēt, nor decline vnto the other part.

Thoſe things which concerne the people, haue rules and orders, according vnto which, they muſt iudge in cauſes, controuerſies, and tranſgreſſions, either of ỹ multitude, either of priuate perſons. And theſe Iudgementes bee ſo diſcouered, that ſome perteine to making vp of cauſes and controuerſies, ſome to the chaſtnyng of offences, ſome to penalties of death. To the firſt ſorte theſe things are to be referred, which are ordeyned of the buying of an Hebrue bōdman, of the daughter ſolde to be a handmaide, of the curſt horned Ore, of an Ore or any other cattel fallen into a well not couered. And of degrees of kinred not to be allowed to marrie. Of the reuenue of poſſeſſions, and of lande not to be ſolde for euer, and of the lawe of redeēming. Alſo of the lawe of inheritance. Of the ſpoyle to be equally deuided. Of the law of outlawes and runners away, of the lawe of marying. And of the matters of great difficultie to be brought to the hering of the Prieſtes, and of the lawe of the inſtituting of the king, and not to ſtirre the landmarks of thy neighbour: and of the

the law of expedition to warres, and of the carkas of a ſlayne man found of a woman pyſoned, of the chyldren of two wynes: of the carkas of a man hanged: and of the ſeruant that is runne away: of the booke of diuorce, of the libertie of them which are newe married, and of the lawe of taking pledges, and of raiſing ſeede to the brother that is dead.

To the ſecond ſort belongeth thoſe things which be redde of him whych ſtriketh his neyghboure, his ſeruant, or mayde, in chiding, or a woman with childe. Of ſtealing of an Ore, or a Sheepe, of a thiefe taken and ſtroken, of harme done to thy neyghbours fielde, of cōueyance of a thing left in truſt, of a mayden abuſed and defyled. And of lying with a handmaiden: and of murther committed, not of purpoſe nor of hatred and enmitie, but by chaunce. And of falſe witneſſes, and of the nūber of plages wherewith the offenders ſhoulde be puniſhed.

To the thirde ſorte are appoynted thoſe things, which haue penalties of deathe, as thoſe that be ordeyned of the puniſhing of murtherers, of them whiche ſtrike their parents, or curſſe them: of him that ſtealeth a man, and ſelleth him. And of the wicked doers and medlers with beaſts, and of him that doth ſacrifice to Idols. And thoſe thinges that be decreed. And of the daughter of a Prieſt defyled. And of a falſe Prophete, and of the curſſe of the trayterous Citie. And of the puniſhmente of Idolaters, and of hym that abydeth not the iudgemente of the Prieſtes, and of them that obey not the word of the Prophet of God. And of the diſobedient ſonne. And of the woman that is not found a mayd with hir huſband, of the puniſhment of adulterers, and of hym that oppreſſeth a virgin in the field, medow, or wodde, wherein no man can ſuccoure.

These almoſt be the Preceptes Iudiciall ſette forth in Moſes lawe. It is not poſſible that there ſhoulde be ſette out for euery ſingular cauſe, ſtrife, and tranſgreſſion a ſpeciall lawe: therefore the commaundement doth runne only of thoſe things, whiche eyther be of moſt momente, or chaunce oft. The reſt is to be lefte to the foreſighte of the iudges, as that matter is, whiche chanced to Salomon, euen in the beginning of hys raigne, in the cauſe of the two harlotes. And therefore was the Precepte of the ordinaunce of Iudges, that they ſhoulde be choſen wyſe menne, whyche according to the gifte of theyr wiſedome, coulde ſee what is right, and what not: in thoſe caſes alſo of whyche can no determination bee hadde by expreſſe lawe.

1. Reg 3. *Deut.* 1. *Exod.* 18.

And theſe Preceptes bee called Miſpatim, that is to ſaye: Iudgementes, directions, rules, according vnto whyche the Iudges muſt pronounce. God woulde not leaue thys at large to the Iudges, that they ſhoulde determine of thoſe things at their owne libertie, but he did preſcribe vnto them certayne formes of ſentences & decrees, whereunto they ſhould applye themſelues. His will was, that there ſhoulde remaine certaine lawes vnto his people, whiche ſhould not be of man, but of God. Hee woulde haue them comprized in writing, and to bee

left to the aftercõmers, to touch the consciences of all menne, and that there mighte be no excuse for them which sinned against right and equitie. He wouldе haue the consciences of his people to be moued in these iudgemẽts, not with that authoritie of man, but with the authoritie of God. Wherefore he so vsed the matter, that not onely there shoulde be iudges ordeyned at his commaundemente to iudge his people in his behalfe, but he wouldе the very iudgementes also to be named not theirs, but his. We be cõpelled now adayes to suffer in the Churche not onely Prelates appoynted contrarye to the sentence of God, but to receyue also the decrées inuented by men, in steede of Gods worde. They crye that the decrées of the Bysshops be of the holy spirite, and worthy to be equall with the worde of God, for the authoritie of their office. This shift is vsed of false pastors, to challenge to themselues so greate authoritie by their office, that thereby whatsoeuer they doe decrée, should be as well honored, as if it were spoken out of the very mouth of God.

The causes of the Iudicial Precepts.

A godly man must also thinke vpon the causes of the Judiciall Precepts. For the wisedome of God dyd not vnadvisedly, and to no purpose ioyne these Judicial Precepts vnto the Morall Precepts of doctrine, grace and faith.

I suppose that this is the greatest reason of all. 1. That considering the common corruption of our flesh, euen they also whiche were chosen to bée the people of God, and admitted by the tokens of grace, be not so stayed by the only doctrine and morall lessons, in the trade of godlynesse and iustice, that they can not goe out of the way.

2 Agayne, the affayres of men be suche, that ther chance many things doubtfull and darke, whereupon ryseth strife and contentiõ, which must be made vp by the most certayn authoritie of Gods iudgements.

3 Thirdly, it happeneth also dayly, that men do sinne against the rule of Gods lawe and his worde, for the matter falleth out so through ỹ corruption of our flesshe, that wheresoeuer law is and doctrine, there is also transgression, and goyng out of the right. And all transgression and goyng from the right, must be restreyned, chastned, and punished. And in case we wouldе do it our selues, wée should not néde the iudgementes of God. For as the Apostle sayeth, If we had iudged our selues, we should not haue bin iudged of the Lord. For these causes I suppose, the Judiciall preceptes were added vnto the doctrine and Morall preceptes, and the office of Judges ordeyned. For wée be so corrupted by sinne, that knowing the better, we do the worse: vnto which euill we do ioyne this also, that we do neyther make vp our debates and contentions oure selues, nor do correct and amend our sinnes by our owne iudgemente. And who séeth not how much euill is to be looked for, where neyther doubtfull cases be resolued and determined, nor strifes sette at one, nor offences and mischeuous factes amended? We meane not in this place to speake anye thing of temporall lawes, and mens ordinances, but we wil speake of them in the place of Magistrates.

Of

Of the preceptes Ceremonial of the olde Testament.

We call Ceremonies, holy rites, whether they bée vsed in the Churche, or without. Ceremoniall precepts be they, wherin commaundement is gyuen by the authoritie and worde of God, of holy rites. And the Ceremonies of the lawe be very many and diuers.

Some be Personalles, as those whiche belong to the persones of the hygh Priests, and the reste. Suche matters be read of in Exodus, of the consecration, oblation, & obseruancie of the Priestes. And of that poynt, that it was not lawful for ỹ priests, when they shoulde go in by order to the Tabernacle, to drinke Wine. And of the goyng into of the Bishop into the sanctuarie. That it is forbidden, that a Priest shewe not himselfe at the buriall of any of his Citizés. And that he shaue not his head or his beарde: that he marry with no harlot, wydow, or woman put from hyr husbande, but a mayde. Item, that he discouer not his head, nor cut his clothes, nor go vnto a dead man. And that no person minister vnto God that hath a blemish or defect in his body. And, that nothing must be offred of the hande of a straunger. And, of gelouse folkes. And of Nazarets. And of the purifying, oblatiõ, and age of Leuites. And of the order and offices of Aaron & of his sonnes. And, what is the dutie of the Bishops, and Leuites. And of the portions of the Leuites.

Other Ceremonies be of the Tabernacles, and belong to the tabernacle of God. I put to them all those things that be commaunded, of the sanctuarie, of aulters, of lightes, of fire, of the breades of proposition, of the vessels and other lyke matters. As of making of the aultare, and of the stuffe of the tabernacle, of the arke, table, and candelsticke. And of the couerings of the walles, of the vayles, fœte and pillers of the tabernacle, and of the aulter, of the entrie of the Tabernacle, of the oyle of the lampe. And of the aultare for burnte offerings, of the brasen lippe. And of the court. And of the lightes, and of the breades of proposition. And of the candelsticke: and of the siluerne trumpets: and of the aultare of stone.

Exod. 20.25. 26.27.28. *Leuit.* 23. *Num.* 8.10. *Deut.* 27.

Others belong vnto Sacrifices & oblations. To this place I do referre those things that be red in Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri and Deuteronomie, of the firstlyngs, of the vse of burnt offerings: and of the oblation of sacrifices, of floure and salt, of the parchyng of the first fruytes. Of the holie of peace offrings, Of the holie for the sinne of the Priestes, for the ignorauнce of the multitude, for the sinne of the Prince, and for the sinne of one soule. Of the holie for some certaine sinnes. Of denying of that whiche was lefte to bée kepte: of the Lawe of burnte offeryng, of the lawe of euery sacrifice: of the holie for sinne, whiche is eaten, and which is burnt. And of cleane beasts and vncleane. Of not immolatyng of hostes, vnlesse they be firste brought to the entry of the tabernacle. Of not eatyng bloud, but offeryng it. And of not offering that which hath any defect or faulte. That no beast be offered before it be eyght dayes olde. Of the holie that is immola-

Touchyng sacrifices and oblations. *Exod.* 13. *Leuit.* 1-3. 7. 4.5 6.9 17. 22 27.

Num. 18.

Deut. 12.14. & 26.

Num. 15.17. & 5.

ted, to be eaten the same day. Of tenths. Of drinke offerings. Of a red cowe. Of the presentes of the Lorde. Of the holte that hath a blemish.

Deut.17.

Of purifying. *Levit.12. 13. 14. & 15. Num.19. Levit.16.*

4 There be others of purifying, appointed for certayne vncleannesse. As of womē that beare children. Of the Lepre. And of the purifying of hym that is defiled with the flure of his sēde. Of ỳ vncleannesse of a woman in hyr motherly disease. Of the touchyng of a dead carkas: & of him that dieth in the tabernacle.

Of clensing. *Num.5.15. & 19.*

5 Others be expiatorie. As of the clensing of the sanctuarie. And of the feast of clensing. Of clensing of the sinne done by negligence: and those things that be read of clensing.

Of Sanctifying.

6 Others belōg to ỳ sanctifying of persons, places, vessels of the messe, of the first fruites, & first begotte, &c.

Of tymes.

7 Others be of times. That is, belong to solemne and feastes dayes: as those things which are red of the observation of the Sabboth: and of the solemnities of the yēre.

Exod.20.23. 31. 34. 35.

Of garmēts

8 Others be of garmēts. As of the garments of the high Priest, & of his sonnes. Of the skirtes of the clokes.

Of meates.

9 Others there be also that commaund of meates: As of the meate of the halowed. Of the eating in ỳ place which the Lord chose: and of bloud not to be eaten. And of vncleane, and cleane beastes to be eaten.

Sacramentall.

10 Lastly there be some Sacramētall: as circumcisiō, & the Passeouer, whiche perteyne to all the people.

VVhy god prescribed so many ceremonies vnto his people.

These Ceremonies God prescribed vnto his people of Israel, & theyr Priestes, not bycause he is delited in sacrifices, sanctifications, purifyings and outwarde seruices, whiche is denied in diuers places of Scripture, but bycause he would turne hys people from the outwarde and straunge seruices which the Gentiles vsed, as we may see in Deuteronomie, and to beware that they shold not imagine and appoynt to themselues seruices, as they lusted: but abide in the obedience of Gods worde, and so to haue plenty inough of holy Ceremonies to practise themselues in, whereby as by a certain schooling, they might be instructed vnto the spiritual meanings. He woulde also that his people practised in certayne figures and shadowes, & things to come, shoulde conceyue in theyr minde a certayne fayth, hope, and expectation of them. The people was grosse and rude, hauyng nede of outwarde and bodily exercises of holy rites. They were also beside that of nature superstitious, and gyuen to idolatrie; Also, they had lyued a certayne hundreth of yeres in Egypt, and were somewhat infected with rites of the Egyptians. And there was some daunger also, least in the land which was promised them, they would embrace the rites of the Cananites, Wherefore he did vpon great wise purpose lifte and lymite in all the partes of theyr life bothe prophane and holy, with sure & stedfast lawes, precepts, doctrines, iudgements, and ceremonies: that it shoulde in no parte breake out from the sincerite of fayth and obedience. I suppose this to be the summarie and chiefe cause why God would prescribe vnto Israell so many and so sundry rytes, by Moses the mediatour of the olde Testament.

Of

Of the vse of Moses lavv.

The vse of this law is to be seene by the diuision of the preceptes thereof. For as they do differ, so the vse also of the lawe is diuers. There is one vse of the Morals, another of the Iudicial, and an other of the Ceremoniall preceptes.

The vse of Morals is, that ỳ people of the lawe be instructed in the knowledge of gods wil & iustice. For the law conteyneth doctrine, wherof it is called, Doctrine, as we noted before in the title What the law is.

And the doctrine of the law is contayned in these, as it were, chapters: Firste it teacheth of the will of God. The knowledge of Gods will is in two sortes. One whereby we knowe what is iust, and what is to be done: the other, what is vniuste, and to be eschued. And how excellent a gift of God this is, that he vouchsafeth to teache vs by his worde what he willeth and requyreth of vs, the Prophete telleth vs, whereas he doth extoll the law of God aboue Gold and most precious stones, and sayth, that it is sweeter than hony. It is a singular gifte, for that it was not made common in tyme passe to any, but vnto Israell.

It teacheth vvhat vve ought to bee, and vvhat vve bee.

Secondly, it dothe not only teach, but it doth also take our consciences to witnesse, against the disobedience of the wicked: wherefore it is sometymes called, Witnesse. Thirdly, it chargeth and commaundeth by the authoritie of Goddes maiestie, for whiche cause it is called, A precept. And is in cōmaundyng it constrayneth vs to yelde our earnest obedience to Gods will. When these

The vse of Iudiciall precepts.

things are done by the law of Moral precepts, we do know first what we ought to be, both towardes God and towarde our neyghbour, howe muche we are bound to loue, reuerence, feare, and worship our onely Lorde God with all our haste: and nexte vnto him, howe we ought to be affected lovingly and faythfully towardes our neyghbours, as towarde our selues; secōdly what we be, how corrupt and naughty, howe farre wide and different from true godlinesse & iustice. And this it is onely to haue our eyes truely lightned by the perfect & unmaculate iustice of God: & in ỳ contrary, to acknowledge plainly our iniustice, that is the corruption and depravation of our flesshe, and to beholde it in the lawe of God (as it were in a glasse) with the eyes of our minde. Hitherto briefly haue I entreated of the vse of the lawe, touchyng the Morall precepts.

The consideratiō of the vse of the Iudiciall precептes is not harde to sōg. For it is cōprehended in the godnesse of the keping of the publike peace, to the stay of brawlings, contētions, theaftes, robberies, whoredoms, adulteries, murders, &c. wherby the common peace is wonte to be troubled. The wicked ar kept vnder, ỳ the innocent & iust may be at rest. To this purpose serue all the iudgements, whereby the causes & controuersies of the people are determined, & the wicked and haynous offenders punished. And this cōmoditie of keeping the common peace, is a greater matter than may be worthily esteemed. And this vse of the lawe is a manifest testimony, that God is not pleased wt the wickednes of naughty

persons,

persons, with the oppression of the good, and the trouble of publique tranquilitie.

The vse of the ceremoniall precepts.

1 The vse of the Ceremoniall precepts is this. Firste it behoued that some matters should be kepte in memory amongst the Israelites. To that purpose serued certayne holy Rites, as we read: When thy sonne shal aske the to morow or hereafter, saying: What meaneth those testimonies, ceremonies, & iudgements whiche the Lorde our God commaunded vs? Thou shalt say to him: We were bondmen to Pharao in Egipt, and the Lorde brought vs forth out of Egypt in a strong hād, & wrought wonderfull signes, greate and daungerous maruels agaynst Pharao in Egypt, and al his house, in our sight, and he brought vs forth frō thence, to bring vs in, and to giue vs a land of which he swore vnto our fathers: and the Lorde commaunded vs, that we should doe all these things of the lawe, and feare the Lorde our God.

Deut. 6.

Exod. 12. & 13.

And the Passeouer is ordeyned to this entent, that there shoulde be a remembrance of the passing of the Angell, when he spared Israell and smote the Egyptians. To this purpose was also the sanctifying of the first begotten. And the feaste of the Tabernacles was ordeyned for remembrance sake, that they shoulde not forget the Tentes in which they liued in desert.

Exod. 13.

2 Secondly, this people was to be taught in the seruice of the worshipping of God. And thereto serued Sacrifices.

3 Besides that, bycause it is the greatest parte of godlynesse to acknowledge the liberalitie of Gods goodnesse, from whence al things are yelded to our vses: to this purpose serued oblations, firste fruytes, and tenthes, whereby they were trayned to declare the gratefulnesse of theyr minde towardes God.

4 Besides this, there is also required puritie & holinesse of lyfe. Whereunto they were instituted, or rather put in remembraunce by their often purifyings and sanctifyings.

5 Theyr harts were also to be exercised with the vnderstanding of sinne, & with the desire of the grace of God. Hereunto we ordeyned sacrifices for sinnes and the Rites of cleansing.

6 Charitie also from one to another, was to be nourished in that people. Hereto serues the bākets of the holes & offrings. And bycause they were very grosse, and not very handsome to handle spirituall matters spiritually, to the entent they should not esteeme of the whole religion contemptiously, but deuoutly and honorably, there was vsed also the sanctifyings of persons, tabernacles, and vessels, &c. Besides that, there was also gyuen a certayne beautie vnto the function of the Priests, to the tabernacle, to the holy vessell of golde, siluer, precious stones, & silke. This I meant briefly to touch of the ceremoniall preceptes appoynted vnto Israel by Moses. I would not search the mysteries of them all. Some of the olde Fathers ranne out in this race, specially Origene, whom some that came after, folowed in Allegories. I suppose that the knowledge and light of the newe Testament is euen inough at large for Christian mē, not so that I do blame the studie of

of olde writers, but for that I thinke it not mete for them whiche are in lighte, to trauayle so muche in shadowes. Of the Ceremonies of the newe Testament wee will speake, when tyme is.

Of the Strength and efficacie of the lavve.

It is one thing to be good, and an other thing to make a mā good. Psalm. 19.

For asmuch as the Apostle toke out of his place the arguments of his disputation, when he stroue against the trust that men had in lawe workes, it were not amisse briefly to touch the same. Wee do not speake of the efficacie of the lawe, whiche is expressed in the hartes of the beleeuing and holy men, whereof we wil speake in the place of the law of the spirite: but of the same whiche worketh in the hartes of carnall men, & is called the lawe of the letter.

A Similitude.

And before that we do speake of the strength & efficacie of the Lawe, I weene it were good to be admonished of the weakenesse and vnablenesse of it. For it is of that nature, that bothe may be talked of it, firste that it is weake and able to do litle, and also that it is strōg and of great efficacie, but in diuerse respects. The Iewes that be infected with the false persuasiō of the law of iustice, make the lawe bothe able and perfect to make a man iust and happy. And to this purpose they do cite places out of the Psalmes. They consider not that the lawe is spirituall, and that it requireth not onely the hands and the mouthe to do and to say, but the harts also, to beleeue and loue, which muste be also perfectly and alwayes affected with true iustice & heauenly holinesse. They do not consider the corruption of our flesche, whereby it is, that we be no more able to performe true iustice in our hartes, than we be in body to reach and touch the toppe of the skies. The lawe is in deede good, iust, holy, and perfect also, but it is two things to be good, iuste, holy, and perfect, and to make a man good, iuste, holy and perfect. If you do consider those thinges that be in the lawe, surely they be good: & there lacketh nothing that may be requisite to true godlinesse and iustice. But if you loke what it dothe in carnall men and voyde of the spirite of God, you shall finde most infirmitie and vnableneste: so that it dothe nothing lesse than make men good, iuste, holy, and perfect. Imagine that the law of the letter is a mayde most chaste, whiche beyng in a most filthy stewes of whores and harlots, dothe both liue exceeding chaste, and giueth commaundement dayly to the harlots to keepe chastitie, but yet considerying their desperate vnshamefastnesse, doth no good therewithall. Euē so it fareth with the law. It can not make others as it is it selfe. And thereof come the sayings of the Apostle: Bycause it was not possible for the lawe to do it, for that it was weakened by the flesche, God sent his sonne, &c. that the iustifying of the lawe might be fulfilled in vs. In deede the lawe hath iustice & righteousnesse to commaunde things that be iuste, but it is vnpossible that it can iustifie. For it is hindered and made vnable by the flesche, that is, by the corrupt and crooked affections of our flesche: whereby it commeth to passe, that the carnall man, the slaue

Rom. 8.

of

slaue of sinne, can not obey the holy, iuste, and good commaundementes. And it hath not thus muche power, that it can deliuer him from this corruption of the fleshe, and make him of a wicked man a godly man, & gyue him eares to heare, and a harte to obey, whiche is not the power of the letter, but of the spirite. So he saith: The law brought nothing to perfection, therefore for the weakenesse & insufficiency of it, it is reproued, and a better hope brought in, by whiche we may approche neere to God. The first lawe which was gyuen to Adam in Paradise, of a matter most easie to haue bene obserued when his nature was yet sound and incorrupt, had no sufficiencie in it. What good then (I pray you) should the lawe do, giuen after the corruption of our nature, written in the tables not of our hartes, but in tables of stone? If you aske me, Wherfore then was it giuen? The Apostle answereth: It was giuen for transgressours, vntill the seede shoulde come whiche he promised. Item, Before that fayth came, we were kepte vnder the lawe, & were shut vp vnto the faith whiche should be reueled. So ẏ the lawe was as our scholemaster vnto Christ. Againe we may also see wherfore it was giuē, of that which we haue noted before, Of the vse of the lawe.

Ebre.7.

Galat.3.

And those things whiche I do report here of the weakenesse & insufficiencie of the law, whiche the people of Israell did ouer well feele, taketh place also in the worde of faith, as it is written in paper and partchment, & preached by mans voice, vnto men that be voyde of the spirite of God, & destitute of the gift of faith. For the very same that hapned to ẏ lawe, for the corruptiō of the fleshe, among the Iewes, the same (it is a cleere case) hath happened also to the Gospel, for the like corruption of the fleshe, by manifest experience, bothe among the Iewes and the Gentils: and doth in these dayes also happen among fleshely and carnall Christian men. And the letter is vnsufficient and dead, to the carnall man.

How the Gospell is also vveak.

But you wil say: For all that the Apostle doth reporte of it, that it is ẏ power of God to saue. I answer, He saith not simply, It is the power of God to saue, but he addeth, To euery one ẏ beleueth. It is another matter to say To al beleuers, than if he had sayd To al mē. Where faith is, there the gospel is ẏ power of God to saue. Then what is it else whē faith is away, but a dead & insufficient letter?

Againe you will say: Yet the Apostle doth put such difference betwixt the Gospell & the law, that he saith, that the ministerie of the Gospel cōsisteth not in the letter, but in the spirite. I answere. He speaketh of the efficacie of the Gospell whiche is in the elect by the spirite of faithe iustifying, therfore he calleth it the ministerie of the spirit and iustice. Therfore it remayneth, that as touchyng them which be not of God, and therfore heare not the worde of the Gospel, though it were preached by the very mouth of Christe himselfe: to them I say, the Gospell is a weake letter, and an vnfrutefull worde, not of it selfe, but of the faulte of the corrupt flesh: but in the respect of the elect, it is not the letter, but the spirit. Thus I meante in fewe wordes to

giue a taste of, for them whiche do not well perceiue how weake al holsome doctrine is, vnlesse we be endewed with the heauenly gifte of faith and the spirite of grace. But let vs go on, to consider the strength and efficacy of the law.

The strength and efficacie of the law, whiche is called the Letter, we say is of two sortes. The one is that, whiche it bringeth of his owne, and may be called Propre: the other is impropre, whiche it bringeth not of his own, but worketh by the fault of our flesh. It is propre, bicause it bringeth the knowledge of sinne. Of this the Apostle speaketh in this wise: I knew not sinne, but by the lawe: for I knewe not concupiscence, vnlesse the lawe had sayde: Couet not. Againe: By lawe is the knowledge of sinne. And he meaneth of that radicall sinne, which is in our members, and raygneth in our flesh by corrupt Concupiscence: not of the sinne of any worke, as of periurie, murder, adulterie, thefte, &c. the knowledge of whiche sinne may be had otherwise of the law of nature, and ciuill ordinaunces, Murther was knowen to be sinne, before there was any lawe made. &c. And the Gentiles were not destitute of suche knowledge of their sinnes. Secondly, he speaketh not onely of the knowledge of sinne whiche consisteth in our vnderstanding, but specially of that knowledge whiche is conceyued in our fleshe by the liuely sense of sinne. That is to say: the lawe causeth that I do not onely vnderstand, but that I do also feele and proue by the remorse of my conscience, that there is sinne in mee. Also, it is propre, bycause it dothe without all excuse conuince vs to be guiltie of sinne, & doth subdue vs vnto the curse & condemnation, & throw the feeling of sinne & condemnation, it maketh our mindes ouerthrowen, and desirous of the grace of God. From thence commeth that, whiche the Apostle disputeth, and crieth out at length: Unhappy I man, who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? The grace of God by Iesus Christe.

The lavve doth reproue of sinne and condēned. Oal. 3. Rom.7.

It is improper, bycause it bringeth in transgression, and wrong doyng: and that it doth not of it self, but by our faulte. It requireth obedience, and findeth doyng amisse, and so it happeneth, that it is the cause of transgression. For as the Apostle sayth, where is no lawe, there is no transgression. The lawe is giuen from God, the transgression commeth of vs. But for asmuche as it is necessary that the lawe go before transgression, and that there can be no transgression where is no lawe gyuen: it commeth to passe, that the lawe is the cause of the transgression, like as the cause of ingratitude, is the good tourne that went before, (for a man can not be ingrate, vnto whome no good turne hath bene done) and the cause of enuy is an other mannes prosperitie, and swearyng of periurie, and wedlocke, of adulterie, &c. This kind of cause is without blame, and yet it condēneth our malice by which it is wrought, that the law breedeth trāsgression, as a good turne ingratitude, an other mans prosperitie, enuy, &c. wheras by order of nature, obediēce ought rather to folow the law, than transgression after a good turne

Impropre.

Lavve bringeth in trāsgressiō. Rom.4.

Similitudes

thanke-

thankefulnesse rather than vngratitude, and to the prosperitie of thy neyghbour, congratulation rather than enuie. So that the law may impute it vnto vs, rather that it maketh vs transgressours when it requyreth obedience, than we impute it to the lawe, that we do go out of the way, and transgresse the precepts of God.

The lawe stirreth vp sinne.

The efficacie of the lawe is also improper, because it rayseth vp, quickeneth, prouoketh, and stirreth the sinne lurkyng in our flesh, and so trayneth our affections more than it did before, and bringeth out fruyte to death. The Apostle remembred this when he sayde: For when we were in the flesshe, the affections of sinne whiche were by the lawe, wrought in my members, to bring forth fruite vnto death. And a little after: And sinne takyng occasion of the commaundement, wrought in me al concupiscence. For without lawe sinne was dead. And I liued sometyme without law: but when the cõmaundement came, sinne reuiued. And, The vertue of sinne is the Lawe. These things, sin doth by our fault, not by hyr owne, whereby we be so ordered, yea depraued, ẏ we do moste busily endeuour to do that whiche is forbidden, and desire things fore spoken, and that stolen bread is sweeter vnto vs, than that whiche is gotten by vpright labour. When the lawe sayth to vs (beyng thus disposed) Couet not thy neyghbours wyfe: the sinne which is in our flesshe is so stirred vp, that the more the couetyng of an other mans wife is forbidden, the more we do couet an other mans, & loathe our owne. Thus the affectiõs of sinnes are sharpened by the lawe: thus sinne taketh occasion by commaundement, and kindleth in vs all kinde of concupiscence: thus sinne without lawe is dead, that is weake and feble, but by the lawe it is reuiued and stirred vp. Thus law is the vertue of sinne, that is, the strength and worckyng. Wherefore the lawe is of like effect to our flesshe, as colde water is to lyme. And who can sufficiently ponder how great this malice of our nature is, whereby it falleth out, that the law forbiddyng iniustice, is the minister and cause of iniustice? Who can heale that sicke person, to whome the medicine is a nourishment and increase of the disease?

Rom. 7.

Hitherto also is that to be applied, that the lawe worcketh anger and death: wherefore it is also called of the Apostle, The killyng letter, and ministerie of death: and thus it doth not of his owne nature, but by our malice. It worcketh anger, when it maketh vs subiecte to the anger of God, for our transgression. And the same which was meant for lyfe, serueth to death, in making vs guiltie of death. It is called, sayth Augustine, the ministration of death, when the letter killeth, forbiddyng the euil which we do, and commaundyng the good whiche we do not.

1. Corinth. 15

Here some body will say: Then it had bene better that the law had neuer bene giuen to suche manner of men, that be not onely not iustified by it, but be also made more transgressours, and be so farre wide from the purchasing the fauour of God, that they be rather made subiect vnto his displeasure: and so farre from being thereby

thereby reuiued, that they be rather killed. I answer: But this is the very matter why it ought to be giuen vnto such persons, whiche when they be euill, do nother acknowledge themselues to be euill, nother be sory for it, nother desire the heauenly grace being ready for thẽ in Christ. They muste be subiect vnto the feelyng of sinne, anger, curse, & death, that they may aspire vnto the grace of the kingdome of God, blessing, & life by faith in Christe. God woulde in this wise shew his displeasure to the disobedient, & trãsgressours, to haue mercy vpon them when they do amend, & to kil them by the feeling of condemnation and death, that when they be dead, he may releeue thẽ. Wherefore the law of the letter was not giuen, that by it we should be releeued, iustified and saued: but God ordeyned for euer the iustifying, releeuing, and saueing of mankind in Christ, whom he promised to the Fathers nowe and then, as well in the law, as before the law, that they should looke for him in fayth: and afterwarde he sent him in to this worlde, that they whiche do beleue, should be saued.

What it is to fulfil the Lavv.

The lawe is fulfilled when the figures and promises and promises of the lavv be fulfilled in Christ.

FOr asmuche as Christe sayth, Thinke not that I came to destroy the law or ẏ Prophets, I came not to destroy, but to fulfill it. Verily I say vnto you, whiles heaue and earth dothe passe, one iote or one pricke shall not passe of the law, vntill all things be done. Who soeuer therefore breaketh one of these litle commaundements, and dothe teache men so, shall be called the least in the kingdome of heauen: but who soeuer doth it and teacheth it, he shalbe called great in the kingdome of heauen. &c. I thinke the labour worth my trauayle, if I note somewhat touchyng the fulfilling of the lawes.

There are conteyned in the lawe, cõmandements, figures, & promises: of whiche there is none so set forth, but that it is requisite to be fulfilled. He that cõmaundeth, doth according vnto his authoritie, muste iustly require obedience. The same when he doth by figures, as it were by certain shadowes drawe forth (as it were in a plat) things to come, and promiseth by his answeres, he dothe according vnto his truth, whiche did prefigure and promise, and fulfill also euery thing in his tyme that is prefigured and promised.

1 First therefore the law is fulfilled when the figures and promises cõprehended in the law & Prophets, are fulfilled in the new Testament, by the comming and order of Christ. Of this fulfilling of the law, Christe speaketh, saying: These be ẏ wordes whiche I spake vnto you, when I was yet with you, that it is necessarie that all things be fulfilled, which be written in the lawe of Moses, & in the Prophetes & Psalmes of me. He saith not simply, that they shalbe fulfilled: but, that it is necessarie that al things be fulfilled which be written in the lawe of Moses. &c. Why was this necessary? For because it was not only so writte, but also ordeyned by God, whose will & promise muste of necessitie be performed and fulfilled, because of his omnipotencie whiche can not be withstanded, & his truth which can not be deceyued.

Luke. 16.

The newe Testament is the fulfilling of the lawe & prophets. *Deut.4.*

Therefore the newe Testament in Christ, is both the fulfilling of the law and of the prophets: Whereof it is not nede that we speake at this present. The first worke of the lawe is the dispensation of Christe, for whiche cause Christe is called The end of the lawe. This bestowing of Christ was fulfilled by the incarnation, death, resurrection, ascention of Christe, and the sending of the holy ghost. There remaineth yet certaine poynts to be fulfilled, as the conuersiō of Israel, told before of Moses, ỹ resurrection of the dead, & the iudgement of the worlde. And we may be ascertayned of that that is to come, by those things that be fulfilled already, albeit we were destitute of the fayth of Gods truth.

Deut.4.

The lawe is fulfilled by teachyng and liuing.

2 Secondly, the law is fulfilled by teachyng and liuing, as it is by teachyng & liuing broken. By teaching, when it is well expoūded to the people, not accordyng vnto the teachings of the Phariseis, but accordyng to the natural spirite and sense of it: that is, accordyng to the minde and sense of the lawmaker. Examples whereof are set forth in the gospell. He that teacheth pharisaically, breaketh the lawe, & fulfilleth it not. It is fulfilled by liuyng, firste, when those things be commonly obserued, whiche are to be done commonly. Secondly, when the things whiche touch euery man priuately, are done priuately. For all the precepts are not to be obserued commonly of all mē, but some things do belong seuerally vnto seuerall persons. The Priestes and Leuites haue theyr peculiar precepts, whiche can not be fulfilled but onely by them. No man dothe fulfill the lawe in doyng that whiche belongeth not vnto him, though it be commaunded in the law whiche he dothe: but he that dothe it, breaketh the law.

Matth.5.

3 Thirdly, there is also respecte to be had of the times. There be many things cōmaunded in the law, which are tied to certayne tymes, out of which they may be broken, but they can not be fulfilled. There is a certayne day appointed for the sabbath, and there is a certaine time appoynted for the memory of the Passeouer, like as for other certen tēporarie obseruations also. Of this sorte is the dispositiō of God, wherby the course of the law and prophets, sabbath, circumcision, Passeouer, lawmeates, sacrifices, &c. were determined vntill the light and truth of the New testament. And in case any man will neglect the determination of time disposed of God, and with preposterous obseruation mingle the shadowes of the old Testament with the light of the new, and so confounde the night and day togither, he maketh himselfe a transgressor, and not a fulfiller of the lawe, as many go aboute to do now adayes, when they do endeuor to bryng agayne a day after the fayre, the lawish sabbath, and the obseruance of lawish meates.

4 Fourthly, there muste be consideration had also in the fulfillyng of the law of the locall determination. Those things that be restrayned to certayne places, can not be fulfilled in any other place. Let the Iewe go and offer accordyng vnto the law, and let him do these thyngs whiche be manifestly restrayned to the place chosen by God, and to the promised lande, when he hath bene now so many a hundred yeres turned out of that lande, and taste a great way of from the chosen place by God.

5 Fiftely, it is requisite to the fulfillyng of the lawe, that it be accomplished not in one poynte alone, but in all: yea it can not bee obserued in one or two preceptes onely, neglectyng the reste. He that offendeth in one (sayeth James) is guiltie of all. It is one thyng to honor the parentes, and an other to fulfill the lawe. It is possible inough, that he that honoreth hys parents, may worshyp straunge Gods, may worshyp Images, prophane the Sabbath, blaspheme and dishonour the name of God, and do al euill against his neyghbour. Wherefore it can not be sayde, that he is an obseruer of Gods lawe, whiche dothe so many wayes breake it. So that it is requisite to the fulfillyng of Gods lawe, that it be accomplished in all the cōmaundements thereof.

6 Sirtly, to fulfill the lawe, is not in worke onely to do that which the law cōmaundeth, and to eschue that which it forbiddeth, but to conforme himselfe also in hart to the meaning of the lawe. The lawe is spirituall (layth the Apostle) therefore it requireth godlinesse, iustice, holynesse, not onely of mouth and handes, but specially of the very Spirite and harte, and that as well in the obseruāce of the First table, as of the Seconde also.

Some body will say: Then who is able to fulfill the lawe? I answer: He that is carnall, is not able to accomplish the spirituall lawe, as the Apostle doth also lament of himself, saying: The lawe is spirituall, but I am carnal, solde vnder sinne. Christe only hath perfectly fulfilled the law. Christian men do also fulfil the law perfectly in Christe, & imperfectly in themselues. For in as much as loue is the fulnesse of the law, so far forth they that do sincerely loue, do fulfill the law. But the loue also of ỹ faithful is not perfect, as long as they be in this flesh. Therefore they do not fulfill the lawe perfectly. Finally in as much as they do beleue the promisses of God comprised in the law, so far forth also beleuing in Christ, they do fulfill the lawe. But they beleue none perfectly, but accordyng vnto ỹ measure of faith receyued of God. Wherfore they do neither this wise perfectly fulfill the law. Therefore it foloweth ỹ vniuersally of all men, there is not one that dothe perfectly and without reproofe fulfill the lawe, sauyng onely Christe. So that Peter did not without cause say: Why do ye tempte God, laying a yoke vpō the necke of the disciples, whiche neyther we, nor our fathers coulde beare? Conclude therfore my brother, accoding vnto the sentence of the Apostle, which foloweth there: that saluation and lyfe is gotten not by fulfillyng of the lawe, but by the grace of our Lorde Iesus Christe, to them which do beleue in him.

Rom.13.

None euer fulfilled the lawe perfectly but Christe alone.

Act.15.

Rom.6.

Of the lawe of the Spirite.

After the Apostle had disputed in the.8. chapter to the Romains of the strēgth and efficacie of the law, whiche worketh in carnall liuyng men, in the chapter that foloweth he addeth vnto it of the grace of the

holy spirite, whiche is gyuen to them that beléeue in Chriſte, saying: For the lawe of the spirite of lyfe, hath made me fréé from the law of sinne & death. Wherfore before we make an end of this place of Law, we muſt consider of this law of the spirit. Ambroſe maketh ỹ law of the spirit to be fayth, or the law of fayth, by whiche we be deliuered frō the second death wherein sinne is condemned: whereunto lyfe may be ascribed, bycause that in remittyng of sinne, it deliuereth from death & giueth lyfe. Chryſoſtome vnderſtandeth by the lawe of the spirite of lyfe, the holy spirite, from whome lyfe commeth. He calleth here the lawe of the spirite, the spirite: for as he calleth the lawe of sinne, sinne: so the law of the spirite, the spirite. In my iudgement as the lawe of the letter is the lawe wrytten by letters in tables of ſtone, or of paper, contaynyng nothyng else but the letter, teachyng in déede and enforcing men, but weake and inſufficient: so the lawe of the spirite is not the lawe written in ſtony tables with inke and letters, but put into the harts of the elect and beléeuing, by the spyrite of God. And this law written by the holy spirite, is not a certayne doctrine that teacheth and cōmaundeth what we muſt beléeue, what is to be ſerued & worſhipped, loued, & what is to be done towardes God and our neyghbor, but it is the very way and drifte of our minde to beléeue the heauenly grace, to loue, hope, to do & ſuffer any thing accordyng to the will of God: and at a worde, to liue in Chriſte. And for bicause this drifte is the worke of the holy spirite, it is termed The law of

V What is the lawe of the spirite.

the spirite, for a difference from the law of the letter. The very lawe of Moſes was alſo made by the holy spirite, and is spirituall: but it is not written by the finger of God in the hartes of men, but in tables of ſtone. Wherefore it is not bycause they be giuen by ſundry authors, that the one is termed The law of the letter, and the other the The law of the spirite, hauing both one maker of them, but that there ſhould be a diſtinction betwixt the diſpenſations of the olde & new Teſtament, and the difference & diuerſe lawgiuing of the ſelfe ſame spirit, ſhould be expreſſed. And whereas he calleth this spirite, that is the teacher of hartes, the spirite of life, it is for that, that he dothe giue life, as Chriſt alſo reporteth of him, saying: The fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the spirite that doth giue lyfe. So he calleth the holy spirite in this diſputation of the lawe, the spirite of life, in reſpect of that, that the letter of Moſes lawe dothe kyll, and the miniſterie of it is the miniſterie of death, as we made mention before. For them whome the lawe of the letter maketh ſubiect vnto anger & death, the lawe of the spirite dothe giue life vnto, and ſaue.

But we muſt beware that we do not thinke, that as the lawe not by his owne, but by our fault is weake & inſufficient to iuſtifie, but ſufficient to kill, that in like ſort the law of the spirite is not ſufficiēt to iuſtifie and giue life not by his owne, but by our ſtrength. For it is not hindered by our corruption and malice, but that it may accomplithe hys worke in our hartes, ſo as the lawe of the letter is: but it cōmeth furniſhed, firſte with the blonde of Chriſte, wherewithall it waſheth and blotteth out our ſinnes: ſecondly we be alſo by that treaſure of grace, by which we be made one body with Chriſt, made partakers of his righteouſneſſe, and deliuered from all condemnation, and alſo regenerate into new men, ſo that ſuppreſſing the reyne of ſin, we may ſerue iuſtice. This grace and law of the ſpirite, furniſhed with the ſtrength of God, doth iuſtifie the wicked, reconcile the damned, and giue lyfe to the dead.

This lawe of the ſpirite of life, Iames calleth The law of perfect libertie, not only bicause it is fréé and vtterly voyde frō al vnwilling compulſion, but alſo bycause it maketh men fréé: which thing Paule expoūdeth, saying: For the lawe of the ſpirite of life, hath made me fréé frō the law of ſinne & death. By the lawe of ſinne, he vnderſtandeth the ſtrength & tirány of ſin reygning in our fleſh, whereby we be drawen and egged vnto ſin. The law of death is, whereby ſinners are appoynted to euerlaſting death. For the reward of ſinne is death. So that the lawe of the ſpirite of life, doth not worke this onely in vs, that we be not condemned thorow the imputation of iuſtice, which is by faith in Chriſt: but it killeth alſo the ſtrength of ſinne in vs, ſo that ſinne reigneth not now in vs, but the vertue and grace of Chriſt, and that we do ſerue ſinne no more, but iuſtice: we be not ſubiect to death, but chalenged vnto true life. Albeit theſe matters do belong to the place of Grace rather than to this place of Lawe, yet I thought it good in fewe wordes to adde it, bycauſe the Apoſtle did adde it vnto the diſputatiō of the law. But ſome man will ſay agayne, that is more affectioned to Philoſophie, than eyther to the lawe of Moſes, eyther to Chriſtian fayth: Seing that the lawe of nature is written by God in the hartes of all men, and doth cōtayne in it the chief points of godlineſſe and iuſtice, what nede is it that the very ſame lawe in déede, once written in our hartes by God, ſhoulde bée written agayne by the holy spirite? We do anſwére: If the firſt wrytyng had bene ſufficient vnto true godlineſſe and iuſtice, then the ſeconde had not bene added vnto it. The firſte, whiche is of nature (of which we ſpake before) hath this in it, that thereby wé haue a perſeuerance of God, and do vnderſtande the lawe of equitie, and that our conſcience is ſo reſtrayned vnto the deuotion of God, and to the Law of equitie, that it doth reproue trangreſſours: but it dothe lacke in that, firſte that it is ignorant of the myſtery hidden from the beginnyng of the worlde, whereby mankinde is deliuered from ſinne and death, by the word of God incarnate: ſecondly it giueth nother loue, nor endeuour, nor ſtrength to the kéepyng of the law of equitie, but through the corruption of our fleſhe (whiche it can not amend) it is made vtterly weake and vnable, ſo that the Ethnikes as well as the Iewes, knowyng thoſe things that be beſte, do the worſte. Wherefore ſeyng that neyther this law, neyther the law written coulde help our corrupt nature, it was nede to haue a more diuine, able, & inward lawe, by whiche our inwarde man hould be renewed, & be informed in

A queſtion of the lawe of nature.

V Wherein the lawe of nature lacketh.

the very inwarde and secrete corners of the hart, to true godlines & iustice. And that was this law of the spirite of life, of which we now speake.

Of the Abrogation of the lavv of Moses.

The lavv of Moses abrogate in deede.



IT is a cleare matter not onely among the Christians, which of the Israelites receyued Christ the son of God & sauiour of the worlde in beleuing, but among the Iewes also that do exceedingly glory of the law, ý the law of Moses which is cõprehended in writing, is in very deede abrogate. Of Christian men there is no doubt. Of the Iewes peraduenture some body wil doubt. For they do kepe the circũcision, washyngs, sabbathes, choyce of meates, & I cã not tell what other matters cõmaũded in the law of Moses. But seyng that now they be cast out of the land of Promisse, & haue vtterly lost that which is the chief matter in the law, of theyr ceremonies & seruices, whiche is the priesthod, with all the obseruations of the sacrifices, oblations, & burnt offerings, & hostes, who seeth not that the lawe of Moses is made in very deede frustrate & abrogate: so that what soeuer blinde men do kepe of it, they kepe it not according to the wil of God, but according to the darknesse & frowardnesse of their harts? Wherefore it might seeme to be a matter superfluous, to note any thing of ý matter touching the abrogation of the law, bicause it is in deede so manifest, that no wise man can doubt therof, vnlesse the cõsciences of many weake folkes conscience were assayled with this temptation, that a lawe gyuen by God, ought not to be abrogate: specially seeing that it is without doubte, good, iuste, holy, and perfect, and by Christ himselfe also not onely confirmed in woords, but kept also vntil his death. For theyr cause this place is to be considered a while. But forasmuche as toucheth the carnal and obstinate Iewes, or those Christians whiche do vnderstand the grace and dispensation of the new Testamẽt, it were not needefull that we shoulde speake any thing of this matter.

First of al, it was manifestly told before by the Prophecie of the prophete Jeremie, that it should come to passe, that there shoulde be gyuen a new law by God, & the old giuen by Moses, abrogated: we reade in this wise: Lo the dayes shal come (sayth the Lord) and I will make with the house of Israell, and with the house of Juda, a newe couenant or a newe bargayne. Not as the bargayne whiche I made with theyr Fathers in the day when I toke them by their handes, to bryng them out of the land of Egipt, which falke brake couenant, and I despised them sayth the Lorde: but this shalbe the couenant whiche I will stryke with the house of Israell: after these dayes, (sayth the Lorde) I will gyue my lawe in the middes of them, and I will wryte it vpon theyr harte, and I wil be to them as a God, and they shall be to me as a people. And leaste some man may shifte in this place, that the Prophete did prophecie of a newe

newe Couenant and not of a newe law, it is manifest that the Hebrewe woorde which signifieth Couenant or bargayne, is in this place put for law. For God did not Couenant wt Israel in the mount Sina otherwise than by law: wherevpon the tables of the lawe be called The tables of the couenant. And the Prophete after he had sayde: And I will strike a newe bargayne with the house of Israell, and with the house of Juda, &c. to expounde it he doth adde, But this shalbe the bargayne whiche I wil strike with the house of Israel: After those dayes (sayth God) I will giue my law in the middes of them, and I will write it vpon theyr hart, &c. Therefore the same which he termed a new bargayne, in expounding he calleth it His law, which he wold wyte in theyr hartes. And the Ebrewes do acknowledge this when they do say in the boke *Mechilta*, that there is no couenant but the law.

1 So that by this Prophecy is declared a good whiles before that the law of Moses should ceasse, by bryngyng in of a new law.

2 Secondly, that there was a certayne time appointed by God, when this abrogation of Moses lawe, and the bryngyng in of a new, should be. Lo (sayth he) the dayes shall come, And, After those dayes. And there was a time certayne appoynted for the new law, of whiche he speaketh, saying: Lo the dayes shall come.

3 He doth also note the difference of the olde and newe lawe, when he sayth: I will gyue my lawe in the middes of thẽ, and I will wryte it vpon theyr hart: whiche he sayde for the difference of the olde, whiche he wrote in the tables of stone, and not in the hartes of Israell.

4 Besides that, he allegeth also the cause of the abrogatyng of the olde law, and bryngyng in the new, when he sayth: Which brake my couenãt, & I neglected thẽ. These be ý things well nere, that be conteyned in this prophecie of Jeremie. And in Esay there is manifestly promised a law, which shall come forth of Sion and Hierusalem. That was not Moses law, whiche was giuen in Sina, not in Sion. And in case that Moses law should haue endured to the ende of the world, there had bene no cause to haue sent another. Wherefore it is manifest, that they do exceedingly erre, whiche suppose that the lawe of the letter is so gyuen of God, that it endureth for euer. *Esa.2.*

And that there shoulde be an abrogation of Moses lawe by the comming of Messias our Sauiour, may be proued, that it was foreshewed euen by that that there was promised another Priest, whiche should be not accordyng to the order of Aaron, but accordyng to the order of Melchisedech: whiche Psalme dothe altogither Prophecie of Christe. And in the foretellyng of the translation of the Priesthod, there was also foretolde the translation of the Law. An ende was made of the Priesthod of Aaron, by the Priest Christe: *Ergo*, the Lawe was ended also by hym whiche had the Priesthod of Aaron, and appoynted Priestes not of the trybe of Juda, but of the trybe of Loui. But Christe was of the tribe of Juda, whereof we may see in the Epistle to the Ebrewes. *Psalm.110.* *Hebr.7.*

The abrogation of the lavve vvas the cõmyng of Messias.

In deede they do consider little the

We must consider the glory of the heauenly king.

glory of the heauenly king Chriſte, that ſuppoſe his kingdome, as deſtitute of the heauenly lawe, was to be included in the lawe of the letter, gyuen by Moſes. A new kyng, a newe Lawe. Chriſte is a newe king, ſuch a one as the worlde neuer had before, nor ſhall haue hereafter, muche leſſe any one people of this worlde: and he receyued this his lawe, togyther with his kingdome, of his Father, méete for his reygne, & brought it into this worlde: at the riſing of the whiche, the Lawe of the letter, euen as the Mone at the riſing of the Sunne, was quayled and abrogate. Neyther the Iewes nor the Chriſtians dare denie, that Chriſte is a kyng, Prieſte, and Prophete, and yet they do gyue him a kyngdome without lawe, a Prieſthode without ſacrifice, the office of a Prophete without the worde, as many as do include his diſpenſation vnder the lawe, ſacrifices and wordes of Moſes.

Beſides that that they do take frō the kingdome of Chriſte his order & direction of law, they do alſo declare how little they vnderſtande the corruption of mankinde, the weakeneſſe and inſufficiencie of Moſes lawe, the vertue of redemptiō of Chriſt. They perceyue not the vſe of the lawe of the letter, they cōſider not the courſe of the ſcholing of Moſes, and the ſundry meanes of the inſtruction of one people choſen by God out of all people to be his flocke, of all the people of the whole worlde congregate vnto one Church of Chriſt.

The firſt Church of Chriſt gathered togyther by the Apoſtles at Hieruſalē, was a folower of Moſes law. They vnderſtode not yet the eſtate & vertue of the kingdome of Chriſte. Beſides that they were not yet altogither delyuered from the receyued cuſtome of the lawiſh obſeruations. Furdermore that ſtaggeryng and emulation of theſe was to be borne withall, for the reſte of the Iewes, among whome the Chriſtians of that tyme lyued, leaſt by the vnſeaſonable reiectyng of the law, the courſe of grace mighte be vtterly hindered among the Iſraelites. But the caſe of thoſe Chriſtians is farre otherwiſe, whiche after ſo many hundred yéeres of the reygne of Chriſte and abrogation of the lawe, and of the ſpreddyng abroade of the goſpell of God throughout the worlde, ſuppoſe they muſte returne to the ſhadowes of the lawe, and the mayſterſhip of Moſes ſchoolings.

The first Church of Chriſt gathered togyther by the Apoſtles at Hieruſalē, was a folower of Moſes law.

Hitherto we haue ſhewed that the lawe of Moſes ſhoulde be abrogate by the commyng of Chriſt and bryngyng in of a new lawe: now conſequently we muſt ſée how farre forth it is abrogate. We muſt not cōſider in the abrogation of the lawe any fault of it, why it ought to be abrogated (for it is holy, iuſte, good & perfect,) but we muſte looke to the diſpoſition of God, whereby the olde Teſtament was ſo determined, that it ſhoulde bée diſcharged and called by the bryngyng in of the new. So that in reſpect that the olde Teſtament was abrogate by a newe commyng into his place, in that reſpect alſo is the lawe of the old Teſtament abrogate. In aſmuche as Moſes gaue place vnto Chriſt, ſo far forth the old lawe gaue place to the Goſpell of Chriſt. In aſmuch as the worde of ý mounte

mount of Sina gaue place to the word that went out of Zion, ſo farre forth the law is abrogate.

They demaund whether it be all abrogate or no: We aunſwere: Sure if all gaue place to Chriſt, al his lawe gaue place to the lawe of Chriſt. If there be anye imperfectneſſe in the law of Chriſt, if there be any authoritie, light, vertue in the law of Moſes, which is not in ý lawe of Chriſt, let the lawe of Chriſte ſerue for ayde of the law of Moſes. But God forbidde. That whiche was weake and inſufficient was také away, bycauſe it could not iuſtifie: and it was then taken away, when there came a new lawe that had ſtrēgth to iuſtifie and to ſaue. Howe ſhoulde the power to ſaue, clayme ayde and ſuccoure of weakeneſſe and vnableneſſe, wherevnto it did ſuccéede, to the intente it ſhould performe the ſame which the other could not do.

In the law is conteyned (as I dyd declare alſo before) commaundementes, promiſes, and figures. The commaundementes of the lawe bée Morall, Judiciall, and Ceremoniall. It is manifeſt that the ceremonials are ceaſſed by that, that the verye Prieſthode of the lawe, wherevnto the ceremonies were annexed, was abrogate by ý Prieſthode of Chriſt, according to the order of Melchiſedech. And that the Judicials are alſo ceaſſed, it is declared by that, that the whole gouernance of the Iſraelites as they ordeyned for theyr dwellyng in the land of promiſe, ceaſſed from that time, that they were turned out, and began to dwell among the Gentiles, without King, without guydes, without Prieſts, and without lawe.

Now are left the morall lawes, ſpecially the *Decalogus*. If they can iuſtifie, if they worke not anger, if they be not the vertue of ſinne, if they bée not the pricking letter and killing, if they doe not make them that be vnder the law ſubiect vnto curſe, if they do not belong to the ſcholing of Iſraell vntill the promiſed ſéede ſhould come, it is neceſſary that they abyde. But if they be weake, if they be letter, if they doe worke tranſgreſſion, anger, curſe, and death: and Chriſt by the lawe of the ſpirite of life, deliuered them that beléeued in him from the lawe of the letter, (whiche was weake to iuſtifie, and ſtrong to condemne) and from curſe, (bēyng made the curſe for vs) ſurely they be alſo abrogated. If they be alſo abrogated, then the whole law is abrogated, for aſmuch as all the partes of it bée abrogated.

But héere ſome man will ſay: If the *Decalogus* be alſo abrogate, then no man is any longer bounde to the kéeping of it, and ſo we ſhal not ſinne in ſeruing ſtrange Gods and Images, in vſing the name of GOD in vayne, in prophaning the Sabbath, in diſhonoring oure parentes, in killing, adultering, ſtealing, bearing of falſe witneſſe, and coueting thoſe things that be our neyghbours. To this obiection we made aunſwere in the fourth precept of the *Decalogus*. If it bée a Chriſtian man that ſayeth thus, let him hearken to the Apoſtle, whiche aunſwereth this queſtion in this wiſe: Yon be not (ſayth he) vnder the law, but vnder grace: What thē? Shal we ſinne bicauſe we be not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace? God forbid. Know you not, that to whom

Of the Decalogus.

Rom. 6.

you haue giuen your selues as seruauntes to obey, that you be his seruants to whome you do obey, eyther of sinne to death, eyther of obedience to rightuousnes: This is Paule. And so we doe also answer this obiection. He that is a Christian man, though he be not vnder the scholing of Moses, yet he is not therefore at libertie to doe those things that be vngodly and wicked, & vnlawfull to be done. Abraham surely was not vnder the scholing of Moses, yet it followeth not for all that, that it was lawfull for him to do those things that were wicked and vniust. It is a wicked matter to haue strange gods to serue Images, to blaspheme the name of God, to prophane the Sabboth: and it were amisse to dishonor oure Parents, to kyll, to committe adultery, &c. Wherefore though this *Decalogus* had neuer bin prescribed by Moses to the rude people, yet Abraham had sinned, if he hadde committed any of these things: yea and also the Iewe as well as the Christian man, should sinne in doyng of these things. Abraham (I saye) and the Christian man, bycause they be the seruantes not of sinne, but of rightuousnes: the Iewe, bycause he should doe contrary vnto the law which he bound himselfe to obey. The Christian man is not vnder Moses, but vnder Christ. If those things do not displease Christ, if they be not much different, yea rather cõtrary to his law, if they doe not repugne vnto the rightuousnes whych we receyued of him, let it be lawfull for a Christian man to do them. But if they be most far wide from the spirite, worde, kingdome, iustice and life of Christ, how can a Christian man say: If I be not vnder Moses and vnder the law of Moses, *Ergo*, I may at libertie haue strange Gods, worship images, and doe all things that be forbidden in the *Decalogus*. Those things they do which be the seruants of synne, not they whiche be the seruauntes of rightuousenesse. The boy whiche is vnder the scholemaisters handes, is verye earnestly instructed that he feare God, and gyue due honor vnto his Parentes: that he flée from lyes, theftes, slaunders, ribaude wordes, wantonnesse &c. Whyleft he is vnder hys Scholemaisters hande, he is instructed and taughte wyth these lawes. Afterwardes when he is come to the time of rype age and libertie, and is no longer vnder the maysterie of the Scholemaister, shall it bée lawfull for hym and at hys libertie, not to feare God, to sette at lyght hys Parentes, to kyll, to committe adultery, to steale, lye, &c? No, in no wise. But if he do those things, he sinneth more grieuously than if he dyd them béyng yet vnder the Scholemaister. The case of them is such, that be not vnder the Scholemaister Moses, but vnder Chryste. Wherefore a Christian man doyng against those things that be commaunded in the *Decalogus*, doth sinne more outragiously, than he that should do so béyng vnder the lawe: so farre off is he from being free from those thynges that bée there commaunded. For though he be free from Moses, yet hée is not free from the obedience of Christe, and of true iustice. And if Moses doe not condemne, yet the disobedience it selfe, repugning vnto Christe and true rightuousenesse, doth condemne the transgressor and treader vnder feete of the heauenly grace, muche more grieuouser, than they be condemned of Moses, that be disobediente vnto his scholing. Yet some bodye will say: If the *Decalogus* do belong vnto the scholing of Moses, and Christian men be not vnder Moses but vnder Christ: howe came it to passe among Christian men, that the *Decalogus* is any parte of the Catechismus? I aunswere: In the congregation of Christian menne there be ponglings and little ones, and there be men well growne and more soundly endewed with the perseuerance of spirituall thinges. For ponglings and little ones, as yet rude and vnpractised, there is neede of the ministerie of the Catechisme, that there may be shewed, and that in a shorte tale, what is to be beleeued, how men muste liue, what, how, and to whom we ought to pray. For this purpose there were pickte out certayne lessons méte for the rude and ponglings. The forme or lesson of the faith is cõprised in the Créede, whiche is called the Apostles. The forme of liuing is taken of that, that is conteyned in the *Decalogus*. And that mighte haue done muche good, that the Iewes shoulde the sooner haue ioyned themselues vnto the congregation of the Christians, vnlesse they had bin hindered by an obstinate blindenesse. The forme of praying was vsed according vnto the teaching of ỹ Lorde. And whereas the Churche doth yet vse the *Decalogus*, it is not for that, that it dothe acknowledge it selfe to be vnder the scholing of Moses, but bycause that thys forme of *Decalogus* was iudged to agrée with the rudenesse and capacitie of the yonglings and symple sorte. For them that be more thoroughly growē in faith, it is ynough to know thys briefe lesson, Loue the Lorde thy God with all thy hearte, and thy neyghboure as thy selfe: but it is nedefull that the ruder sort bée taught some larger lesson. Wherefore it is so farre from the truth, that we doe condemne the vse of the *Decalogus*, that we do also much commende their studie and diligence, whiche did firste iudge it méete to bée vsed in the Catechising or admitting to the faith of the ponglings.

Of the Couenant and Testament of God.



For asmuche as in holy Scriptures we doe oftentimes fall into matters touchyng the couenant and testamente of God, we doe not without cause appoint this place for the consideration therof. And we suppose that wée do it not amisse after the place of the lawe, whiche is it selfe also a parcell of Gods couenaunt.

Couenant, pacte, testament.

1 First these wordes be commonly vsed in Scriptures: couenant, bargayn or agréement, and Testament, whiche the Latine interpreter vsed without difference. The Ebrewe worde signifieth a couenant, a bargaine or agréemente, the Gréeke word, an appoyntmẽt and bargaine. What a couenant and bargaine is, it is so well knowen, that we nede

not

not to note any thing of it. The word Teſtamente, is commonly vſed of that whiche is bequeathed: as of inheritance to certayne perſons, by them that are like to dye. A Couenaunte and bargayne néedeth not of neceſſitie to haue deathe of the teſtatour, but a teſtament doth. And couenants and bargaines among men, are rather broken vp again by death and made voyde, whereas teſtamẽts are not ratified but by death. And beſides that, couenants and bargaynes are confirmed by an othe, whiche no wiſe man doth require in a teſtamẽt making. Wherefore there is muche diuerſitie betwixt a couenant and a teſtament. And whereas the word of Teſtament is made ſo frequent and common among Chriſtian folkes, it is in reſpecte of Chriſte, by whoſe death (as our mediatour and teſtatour) the grace of oure redemption was confirmed.

A marueilous matter that God made a couenant vvith men.

2 Secondly, we muſt conſider that in Scriptures the binding of the couenaunt and bargaine, is attributed vnto God. It is a matter right marueilous, that that infinite Maieſtie, whoſe will and power it is méete to be moſt frée, vouchſafeth to bind and ſtreyne himſelfe to the conditions of bargaines, driuen vnto it by no neceſſitie, nor allured by the hope of any commoditie to doe it. He is good, but yet he myght at libertie haue declared his goodneſſe towards whome he woulde, and haue withdrawen it from whome he would, without any bond of ſure couenãt: but he would haue vs to knowe what we myghte be ſure to truſt vnto of it. Thus hée might haue done vpon his word only and promiſes, without any bonde of othe: but his meaning was to confirme our minds in faith and al truſt towardes him, by bond of couenaunt and othe. For by this meanes hée woulde haue the aſſuredneſſe of hys purpoſe witneſſed towardes vs, that by theſe two vnmouable poyntes, promiſe and othe, (for it is impoſſible for God to lie) we might haue a moſt ſtrong comfort, whereunto we in all temptatiõs, and to find a faſt anker holde to reſt vppon vntill the ende. Without this truſt of faithful mind, conceyued vppon the truth and ſtedfaſtneſſe of Gods couenaunte, it can not be that we may be made partakers for euer of the goodneſſe of God. So that I ſuppoſe this is the chiefe cauſe, why that infinite and euerlaſting goodneſſe of Gods Maieſtie, woulde enter couenaunte with vs: whyche woulde God we did hartily embrace, and neuer made voyde in vs, by oure vnbeliefe and vnthankefulneſſe.

The cauſe of Gods couenant.

3 Thirdly, I finde that the couenant of God is of two ſortes. One is generall, an other is ſpeciall and euerlaſting. The generall couenante is ỳ, which he made with hys whole frame of the earth and all that dwelleth therein, as well beaſtes as men, with the day alſo and the night, winter and ſommer, cold and heate, ſéede time and harueſt. &c. Of this couenante it is redde in this wiſe: Lo, I do make my bargaine with you and with youre ſéede after you, and to euery ſoule liuing which is with you, as well in byrdes as alſo in beaſtes and cattell of the earth, and al which came out of the Arke, and with all the beaſtes of the earth. I wil make my couenaunt with you, and all fleſh ſhall no more be killed with the waters of the fludde: nor there ſhall bée hereafter no more any fluddde to deſtroy the earthe, &c. And agayne: I will no more curſe the land for mens ſake, &c. All the dayes of the land, the ſéede time and harueſt, the colde and heate, the ſommer and winter, the night and the day, they ſhal not ceaſe. And Jeremie ſayth: Thus ſayth the Lord, ſayth he: If my couenant ſhall breake with the day, and my couenãt with the nighte, ſo that the daye and the night be not in their due time. &c. This couenaunt is generall, bycauſe it concerneth the whole world: and it may be called earthly and temporal, bycauſe it doth touch the ſtedfaſtnes of earthly matters, as it appeareth by the very words: and it dureth no longer than the ſtandyng of thys world, which ſhall once periſh. And I do not ſpeake for that, that I do condemne ſo noble, manifeſt, and generall grace of oure creator, withoute which this world can not endure, bycauſe it is earthly and temporal. God forbidde. Surely he is not worthy to enioy the good euerlaſting, that maketh nothing of the earthly and temporall goodes. Yea he is vnthankefull for the gifte of hys life, and not worthy to enioy this aire whiche he doth breath of.

The ſpeciall and euerlaſting couenant, is the ſame which hée hathe vouchſaued to make with his electe and beléeuing. Of thys it is redde in Geneſis in this wiſe: Thy name ſhal no longer be called Abram, but thou ſhalt be called Abraham, bycauſe I haue appoynted thée to be a Father of many nations, and will make thée encreaſe exceedingly, and I wil make nations of thée, yea and kings ſhall ſpring out of thée. Moreouer I wyll make my couenante betwixt me and thée, and thy ſéede after thée into generations for an euerlaſting couenant, that I may be thy God, and thy ſéedes after thée, &c. Thys couenante is ſpeciall, bycauſe it perteyneth not vnto all, but vnto the elect and beléeuing only, that is to ſay, to Abraham the father of all beléeuers, and hys ſéede. And the ſéede of Abraham are not onely the Iſraelites in fleſhe, if they be faithfull, but all they alſo of the Gentiles whiche beléeue in Chriſt, and are choſen to euerlaſting life. So the Apoſtle ſayth: Not they that be the children of the fleſh, they be not the children of God: but they that be the children of promiſe, be eſtéemed in the ſéede. Agayne: If you be of Chriſt, then you be Abrahams ſéede, and according vnto promiſe, heires. And for this cauſe Abrahams name was changed in the verye couenaunt, and he was no more called Abram, that is the high or great Father, but Abraham, that is the father of the multitude, that is of the Gentiles, as God himſelfe expoundeth, ſaying: Nor thy name ſhall no more be called Abram, but thou ſhalte bée called Abraham: for I haue appoynted thée a father of a multitude of nations. He ſaith not, Bycauſe I haue appoynted thée for a father of a multitude of nations, leaſt a man might apply it to the multitude of the fleſhly Iſraelites, but in the plurall number, Of natiõs, to declare that he appointed him to be a father of al them which ſhould cleaue vnto his promiſes, as well of the Gentiles as the Iſraelites. They ſauor too muche of

VVhy it is called ſpeciall.

Rom. 9.

Gal. 3.

VVhy Abrahams name vvas changed.

the fleſhe, and vnderſtande not the meaning of the wordes of God, that doe applye thys couenaunte to the fleſhly Iſrael. There were of Iewes alſo that did acknowledge that Abrahaam was appoynted by thys preſent couenant, to be the father of the whole worlde, that is to ſay, of all nations that be in the worlde, as we may ſée in a booke of theirs named *Meſchathbetorim*, that is, The Booke of firſtlings. But this is fulfilled in Chriſte the true ſéede of Abrahaam, in whome hée is, accoyding vnto his name, made the father of the multitude of nations. The greateneſſe of thys couenaunt was hydden vntyll Chriſtes commyng, and was reuealed then at length, when the time was come that grace ſhoulde be reuealed. The fleſhly Iſraell and alſo blinde, and lokyng rather to Abram, than to Abrahaam, byeauſe he perceyueth not thys miſterie, dothe frowardly withſtande the calling of the Gentiles, that is the renoumednelſe of thys couenant, and the accomplyſhment of Goddes determination. The ſilly poore men do not perceyue that whiche is appoynted héere by God with Abrahaam in their fleſhe alone, (though they doe neuer ſo vehemently glorye of it, byeauſe of the prerogatiue of Abrahaam,) it can not be accompliſhed, but that it is in any wiſe requiſite, that it be referred vnto all nations as manye as doe embrace the faith of the promiſe of Chriſte the ſéede of Abrahaam.

The Iewes do rather looke vnto Abram than vnto Abrahaam.

Therefore when I doe call thys couenaunte of God made with Abrahaam and his ſéede, Speciall, it is not ſo to bée vnderſtanded, that I do meane that it pertaineth vnto one people of Iſraell alone, breede of the fleſhe of Abrahaam, but that it is a cleare caſe, that there is compriſed in it onely the elecke and beléeuyng in Chriſte, as the true ſéede of Abrahaam and the children of promiſe. But if anye man will haue it called Generall and vniuerſall, for aſmuche as it excludeth no people of all the whole worlde, but comprehendeth vniuerſallye all and ſome, whyche cleaue in beléeuing to oure Lorde Chriſt the ſéede of Abrahaam, he maye doe ſo for me. I call it ſpeciall, in reſpecte of the former couenaunte, whyche dothe ſo comprehende all the world, men and beaſts, that it maketh no difference betwirt the elecke and the wicked, the beléeuing and the vnbeléeuing, but without difference includeth both menne and beaſtes. And alſo in reſpect of the wicked and vnbeléeuing, whome the grace of this couenant doth not admitte.

Thys is called alſo an euerlaſting couenaunte. In theyr generations (ſayeth he) in an euerlaſting couenaunte. What is euerlaſting elſe, but during euer and infinite: and this eternitie is not to be conſidered abſolutely, but to be referred vnto the couenaunte, and the partakers of the couenaunte, that is God and hys confederates: in whome, or if you will (betwirt whome) this couenant dureth for euer: he dyd handſomly ioyne theſe two togyther: In theyr generations, and in euerlaſting couenaunte, to expreſſe the perpetuall continuance of thys couenaunte, throughout all generations of the faithfull.

The laſting couenaunte.

In

In thys perpetuitie two things are to be conſidered. The one is the acceſſe vnto it: the other is the continuance. I call that the acceſſe, whereby they y be not of the fleſh of Abrahaam, but are from elſe where grafte in, be brought to this couenaunt: and that the cõtinuance which commeth by their generations whiche be once receyued into this grace. For without this grafting in, the grace of this couenaunte ſhoulde haue place in the fleſhly Iſrael alone, for aſmuch as it is conteyned by the generations of the confederates. Therefore like as the faithfull Abrahaam beléeuing the promiſes of God was ſo receyued to the grace of this couenaunt, that not onely he was partaker thereof, but hys ſéede alſo after him, in a perpetuall continuance throughout all generations: in like wiſe is the condition of them alſo, whyche are from elſewhere called to thys grace, and grafted by fayth into thys euerlaſting couenant, ſo that Abrahaam is not only the father in this couenant, but the example and patterne alſo of the beléeuers, in whome is declared not onely the perpetuitie of continuance whiche is throughout all generations, but the meanes of the acceſſe alſo. They that be forwarde in yeares come by fayth, and be grafted into this euerlaſting couenante, after the example of Abrahaam that was forward in yeares. So our forefathers came firſt to this couenant, when they were fierſte called to the kingdome of Chriſte, and obeyed their calling in beléeuing, and beléeuing were admitted by the token of the couenant. Agayne, whereas God woulde that thys couenante ſhoulde be made not onely with them that beléeued béeyng of ſome yeares, but with theyr ſéede alſo, he would with all, that it ſhould be ſpreade abrode, and continued ſtill for euer throughout all generations in the ſucceſſion of the ſéede, as long as thys worlde endureth, wherein the generations of mankynde doe take place.

A ſimilitude.

And the condition of thys couenaunte is alſo, like as if a King dyd newe builde a Citie, and chooſe Citizens vnto it, ſo as not only they whiche nowe at the firſt appoynted vnto it, ſhoulde enioy the right and prerogatiue of the Citie whiles they lyued: but after them there mighte be others alſo taken in, and enioy the ſame righte of the Citie with the firſt: beſides this, their children and ſucceſſors alſo ioyne in this Citie, maye by a perpetuall continuance throughout all generations be partakers of the ciuile ſocietie and prerogatiue. Of ſuch nature is this Holy Citie builded by God, and endowed with the euerlaſting couenante throughe his goodneſſe.

The chiefe pointes of the couenaunte.

Fourthly, there be two ſpeciall poynts of this couenaunt. One that toucheth God, the other concerneth the partners of the couenaunte. And that poynt whiche concerneth God, whiche he toyneth thereunto, ſaying: That I may be thy God, and of thy ſéede after thée. This is the chiefe point of all thoſe matters that may be referred vnto felicitie, as well euerlaſting as temporall. For to be any mãs God, is to be not onely his creator, but his ſauioure alſo. This is the principal point of the couenant. The couenaunte was ſo made, that it is

euerla-

The capitulations of the couenaunts of God be euerlaſting.

euerlaſting. Therefore the chiefe capitulations of it, muſt alſo be euerlaſting as touching the ſubſtance of them. So that God is the God of Abraham and his ſeede, not for one or two ages, but for euer. And that is to be referred not only vnto the continuation and order of generations, but vnto euery particular perſon alſo of the confederates. For the grace of this couenante, whereby that omnipotent God, eternall and infinite, vouchſaueth to be my God, is not determined with my death, although it were reſtreyned vnto the courſe of this preſente life, but endureth for euer, ſo that he is my God alſo after my death: that is to ſay, he declareth alſo his faith, truth, goodnes, & grace, in me in the life to come. So that it is a cleere caſe, that I can not periſh by death, but that I doe liue firſte in ſpirite: and next in body and ſpirite for euer. Therevppon came that argument of Chriſt againſt the Saduces that denyed the reſurrection to come, when he ſayeth: Haue you not redde of the reſurrection of the dead, that is ſayde by God ſpeaking vnto you: I am the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, the God of Iacob: he is not God of the dead, but of the liuing. If he be not God of the dead, but of the liuing, and is my God by an euerlaſting couenaunte, it muſt needes follow, that when I am dead in body, I ſhall not be exempte out of this couenaunt, and therefore is it neceſſary, that I muſt liue for euer.

The grace of the couenaunt of God is not determined by death.

Matth. 22.

The perpetuitie of this couenaunte includeth a threfolde eternitie, that is of God which couenanteth, ſecondly, of the confederates: thirdly, of the grace whiche in the ſtrength of thys couenant is ſet forth and confirmed.

A threfolde eternitie in the couenaunt of God.

The other chiefe poynt of this couenaunt toucheth the confederates. This is expreſſed in this wiſe: Walke before me, and be vpright. Like as the other chiefe poynt touching God was ſhortly ſet forth in that that he ſayd: That I may be thy God, and of thy ſeede after thee: ſo alſo the ſecond poynte touching the confederates, is briefely ſette forthe in this particle, where he ſayeth: Walke before me, and be vpright. That doth include al kinde of well doyng, and faithe towards God, belonging both to thys life, and to the life to come. Thys poynte conteyneth all things belonging to our true faith, obedience, religion, ſinceritie of minde, truſt, and loue of the heart.

For what elſe is it to walke before God, but to liue in the conſcience of God as it were vnder his eyes, after the manner of ſeruants, continually depending at their maiſters becke: And to be vpright, is nothing elſe, but to bee of ſimple, faithfull, cleere, and right hearte. He that is ſo diſpoſed, will refuſe nothing of all that, that he knoweth his Lord God would haue, eyther by ſigne or by his word. This is once the true godlyneſſe, by whiche onely we be liked of God, and his true ſeruice, whyche they can neuer performe that be without the ſpirite of this faith.

So that by the conſideration of theſe things it appeareth playnely, that it is the only couenaunt of God which concerneth our true and perpetuall ſaluation, wherein all the electe and beleeuing, euen vntill the ende of the worlde, be comprehended, which as it is perpetuall, ſo it is immu-

immutable. God is one, euerlaſting, and immutable: the purpoſe of hys will is appoynted from euer to the health of mankinde, and that is one, immutable, and euerlaſting. And the ſame true godlyneſſe is in all ages like it ſelfe, yea euen the verye ſame. Wherefore it is neceſſary that thys couenāt be one, and euerlaſting, and al things muſt be referred vnto that, whiche be redde in the holye Scriptures of the chiefe poyntes of oure health.

Yet there be ſome things whyche ſeeme to be againſt this iudgemente, wherof the reader muſt be inſtructed by the way.

An obiection of the appendātes of the couenant.

1 Firſt, againſt that that we ſay, that this couenāt of God made with Abraham and hys ſeede, perteyneth to all the elect and beleeuing, it ſeemeth that it may bee obiected of Adam, Abel, Seth, and the reſt of all the godly men which liued euē from the beginning of the worlde, vntil the times of Abraham: and that it maye be demaunded, by what couenaunte they were made partakers of Gods grace, or howe they can perteyne to this couenaunt of Abraham? I anſwere: All the godlye and elect perſons were partakers of theſe two chiefe poyntes, which are principall in this couenante, as well without any manifeſt making of couenaunte before Abrahams time, as Abraham himſelf was with his aftercommers by the expreſſe bargayne of this couenant: They had ỹ promiſe of grace made vnto Adam and his aftercommers of the ſeede of the woman, that is Chriſte, vnto whome they leaned as to the foundation of their faithe and hope. They had the appearings of God, whereby they were now and then confirmed in the faith and godly life. Therfore, whereas an expreſſe couenaunte was made afterwardes with Abraham, as the father of beleeuers, it muſt not be ſo vnderſtanded, that there was then brought in a certaine newe and neuer before vſed grace of our ſaluation: God forbidde: but that the very ſame by whiche the olde holy Fathers and predeceſſors of Abraham, both before and after the ſludde, obteyned ſaluation, was made by the comming of the couenaunte, more expreſſe and confirmed.

2 Secondly, this couenaunt of Abraham hath certaine things annexed vnto it, whiche can not be applyed vnto all godly and faithfull perſons of al ages and nations. Such as this very ſame token of the couenant is, that is the circumciſion of the fleſhe, and againe the promiſed inheritance of the land of Canaan. And the couenant alſo ſeemeth not to apperteyne but to them onely, vnto whome both circumciſion and the inheritance of the promiſed lande doth apperteyne, that is, to the Iewes as the aftercommers of Abraham, whiche were both circumciſed, and poſſeſſed the lande of Canaan manye hundred yeares. Therefore, ſeeyng that the faithfull whiche before Abrahams time, and whiche after the abrogation of Moſes lawe, in the new Teſtamente, beleeued in Chriſte, be partakers nother of circumciſion, nother of the lande of Canaan: it ſeemeth that this couenaunte dothe not perteyne to them, and therefore that it is not the only nor the euerlaſting couenaunt of all the faithfull. I aun

We muſt put difference betwixt the pointes of ſubſtaunce and the acceſſorie.

ſwere: In this couenaunte of Abraham, we muſt diligētly and diſcretelye putte a difference betwixte thoſe things that be of the ſubſtance of the matter, and thoſe things whiche bee but acceſſorie. The matters of Subſtaunce be theſe: I am the Lorde thy God, and of thy Sēde. And, Walke before me, and be vpright. Theſe bee euerlaſting and vniuerſall, that is, perteyning vnto all. The acceſſories be the ſignes ioyned to the couenant, the circumciſion of the fleſhe, and the promiſe of the lād of Canaan. Theſe be neyther euerlaſting nor vniuerſall, but laſting only for a whyle, and perteyning to the people of Iſraell. God woulde haue the people of the fleſhe of Abraham, from whence Chriſt ſhoulde come the ſēde of bleſſing, the Mediatour and Redēmer of mankynde, to be ſo long before diſſeuered from other nations, vntill the time serued that all the world ſhould be called vnto the vnitie of faith in Chriſt, and that there ſhoulde be but one ſhepheарde and one ſhēpefolde. Therefore hee dyd adde vnto thys couenaunte of Abraham theſe matters laſting but for a little whyle, namely circumciſion, the promiſe of the land of Canaan, and afterwards alſo the lawe, and the Ceremoniall prieſthode: whyche all ſerued to thys purpoſe, to be a certayne leſſoning to that nation towards Chriſt: of whyche matter we ſpake before in the place Of the lawe. All thys pollicie of the Churche of Iſraell, was ordeyned for Chriſte, that there ſhoulde bee a certayne outward congregation of the people, ſequeſtred from other nations by ſygnes, promiſes, lawe, prieſthode, and lande alſo deuided from other nations, in whiche the name of the one and true God ſhoulde bee renowmed a little and by little, and the redemption that was to come of mankynde, ſhoulde be ſhadowed by fygures and prophecies, vntyll the ſpringing vp of Chriſte, as the vniuerſall lyghte of all. Wherefore theſe outwarde and temporarye thynges annexed, muſte bee wyſely ſequeſtred from the ſubſtaunce of the onely and eternall couenaunte, that we doe not make eyther that whyche is eternall and vniuerſall, temporary alſo and Jewiſhe with them: or that whyche is temporary and Jewiſhe, eternall and vniuerſall. For vnleſſe wee doe thys vice cunningly deuyde betwixte the verye ſubſtaunce of the couenaunte, and theſe thynges whyche were annexed vnto it but for a tyme, it muſt nēdes followe, that either wee muſt denye (contrarye to the expreſſe ſaying of God) that the couenaunte of God made wyth Abraham, as the father of the beleeuers, is eternall and fulfilled in Chriſte: or elſe we muſt driue all the nations of the whole worlde to the obſeruance of the circumciſion, of Moſes lawe, and of the prieſthode of Aaron, and to the inhabityng of the Lande of Canaan, and to the expectation of Chriſte promyſed, that is, to the blyndeneſſe of the Iewes, and to the denyall of the redemption perfourmed.

Thyrdely, whereas we doe ſay that the couenaunte of Abraham is one and eternall, there ſēmeth to bee a repugnancye in it, for aſmuche as there was afterwardes ordeyned another couenaunte vnder Moſes, whyche endured vntill Chriſte, and after that of Moſes there was yet an other brought in by Chriſte, the ſame whereby, we that doe beleeue, doe lyue in hym, and bee ſaued by oure beleeuyng, vntyll the ende of the worlde. Whereof it ſhoulde ſeeme that there be three rather than one alone, of Abraham, of Moſes, and of Chriſt.

In deede the Apoſtle dothe appoynte two Teſtamentes, that is, two Couenauntes: one whyche was inſtituted in the mount of Sina, the other in Zion: ſo that the common opinion is not without reaſon, that the Olde was before the comming of Chriſte, and the Newe Teſtamente after hym: and that the wrytynges of Moſes and the Prophetes are called the Olde, and the wrytynges of the Euangeliſtes and the Apoſtles, the Newe: and therefore in the Epiſtle to the Ebrewes there is ſo muche reaſonyng of the bryaſyng of the Olde Teſtamente: Finallye, the Apoſtle maketh mencion of the Olde and Newe Teſtamente in hys Epiſtle to the Corinthians.

I aunſwere: Theſe thynges bee not repugnaunte vnto oure ſaying, if they bee well conſydered. In deede there bee three principall ſeaſons or tymes, in whiche the whole worlde is comprehended: as the firſte whyche was before the lawe, the Seconde vnder the law, and the Third after the lawe.

Agayne there bee three principall perſons, as the ringleaders of euery ſeaſon: Abraham, Moſes, and Chriſte. And euery ſeaſon hathe hys peculiar order of Religion, which is alſo in Scriptures called a Bargayne or couenaunte. Yet it followeth not thereof, that there be three couenauntes of ſubſtaunce, concernyng the ſaluation of mankynde. There is one God and father of all, whyche is aboue all, and by all, and in all. There is one Lord ſauioure and redēmer of all, Chryſte Jeſus: there is one holy ſpirite, there is one Kyngdome prepared from the begynnyng of the worlde for the electe and bleſſed, there is one grace of heauenlye calling, there is one faythe, one hope of euerlaſtyng life, there is one bodye, one people, and one Catholike Churche of the elect, ſo tearmed, bycauſe it comprehendeth all the electe and faithfull from the begynnyng of the worlde vntyll the ende: and there is one onelye and perpetuall Couenaunte of God, made and confyrmed wyth all hys electes, and there is but one onely and perpetuall Godlyneſſe and iuſtification of beleeuers. But the ordering of thys one Couenaunte, grace, faythe, Churche, religion, and Godlyneſſe, is not one and perpetuall, but was by the purpoſe of Goddes wiſedome, dyuerſlye and ſundrye wayes appoynted, accordyng vnto the qualitie of the tymes. Onewyſe before the lawe, an otherwiſe in the law, and an other wiſe after the lawe. Men bee otherwyſe ordered and gouerned in theyr chyldehode, otherwiſe in theyr youthe, and otherwyſe in mans eſtate: yet the rightueouſeneſſe, innocencye and honeſty, is not founde to bee ſundrye or dyuers, but all one. Abraham, Moſes, and the Apoſtles were all made par-

ברית Berith.

takers of that heauenlye grace by one couenaunte, they were iuſtifyed and ſaued by one faith.

And whereas after the couenante made with Abzaham, there was a newe made with Moſes, concerning the law and Prieſthode, it muſt not be ſo vnderſtanded, that there was any other couenant bzought in moze thã the firſt, and that Abzaham was commaunded to beléue Moſes: but that the ozdering of the firſte couenant which befoze the law conſiſted only in circumciſion, ſacrifices, and appearings of Angels, was encreaſed and made moze large and ample, by the comming of the lawe, of a determinate Prieſthode, and of diuers rites, bycauſe the people beganne to multiplye, and the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan was at hand. But if there had bin a new couenant made with Moſes, there had bin alſo added vnto the new couenant a new ſacrament of initiation, which was not ſo at all, but the olde ſigne of the olde couenant was kept ſtill, whiche was circumciſion, added vnto the couenaunte of Abzaham befoze, foz a ſeaſon. So that the perpetuitie of the couenaunt of Abzaham continued vntill Chriſt. And whereas there was a new teſtament inſtituted by Chriſt after Moſes, that was not done neyther to the purpoſe that the only and eternall couenant of God ſhoulde be ended by the commyng of the newe: but it ſhould be confirmed in the fulfilling of thoſe things that were pzomiſed by the bloud of ỹ bleſſed ſéede. Foz that eternall couenaunte of all faithfull people is eſtabliſhed in the ſéede of Abzaham, which is Chryſte, and obteyneth thereby al his ſtrẽgth and efficacy. The ſame whiche was pzomiſed vnto Abzaham and the reſt of the Fathers of the bleſſed ſéede, and was deſcribed in the lawe by figures and ſhadowes, and was tolde befoze by the Pzophetes, was after the lawe fulfilled and perfozmed by Chriſte. Therfoze ſéeyng that Chriſt dyd in no wiſe take away the couenaunte of Abzaham, but dyd rather confirme it, it is manifeſt that there is no newe couenaunte neyther bzoughte in by hym. But yée wyll ſay: If an nother couenaunte muſte haue an other ſigne of the couenant, it followeth that an other ſigne of a couenant is an argumente of an other couenaunt. Foz Chriſte in the New teſtamente inſtituted an other ſigne from the firſt. Foz he commanded vs not to be circumcided, but to be Baptiſed. *Ergo* he did inſtitute an other couenant from the firſt, which thing Moſes did not.

A newe couenant requireth to haue a newe couenant of admiſſion.

I aunſwere: Moſes was the diſpenſer of thoſe things which were to be done in the nation of the Iſraelites, the fleſhly ſéede of Abzaham. Wherefoze it was not conueniente, that he ſhould with a newe ſigne alter the circumciſion, peculiarly gyuen vnto that nation, which ſhoulde endure vntill the comming of ỹ bleſſed ſéede pzomiſed vnto Abzaham: but Chriſt though he were a mediatour & confirmer of ỹ ſame onely couenant of Abzahams, yet he did alter the circumciſion into Baptiſme: bycauſe that that newe ozder of Gods couenant touched now not one nation of the Iſraelites onely, but all the nations of the whole woꝛld. The diuerſitie & noueltie of the diſpenſation oz ozdering, not the altering of the ſame couenant, gaue occaſion to alter the ſigne not only in the ſacramẽt of initiation oz admiſſion, but in the ſacrament of redemption alſo. I ſuppoſe, if theſe poyntes be diligentlye conſidered, the matter is left plaine, that there is no couenaunt of ſaluation, but that onely and euerlaſting, whiche was inſtituted by God wyth Abzaham the father of the beléeuers, and compzehendeth in an vniuerſall grace, all the electes and beléeuers of all ages: and is perfozmed and obteineth ſtrength of ſaluatiõ in Chriſt only, the bleſſed ſéede and common redéemer of all.

¶ Of the difference of the Old and of the nevv Teſtamente.



IF the woꝛde of Teſtament I ſpake befoze. It agréeth indéede well with the Newe couenaunte, bycauſe of the death of Chriſte the teſtatour: but not ſo well with the Olde, and that of the lawe.

2 Secondlye, when we ſpeake of the olde teſtament oz couenaunt, we muſt not loke to the couenant of Abzaham, but vnto the giuing of Moſes law. The ſame the Apoſtle calleth, The olde bargaine, oz the olde conſtitution, to whiche belongeth thoſe thyngs whiche he diſputeth of in the ſame Chapter of the olde teſtamente. And it is called Olde, not bycauſe it is the firſte and moſt auncient, whiche the couenant of Abzaham dothe not beare withall, but in reſpect of the Newe: foz in reſpect of that of Abzaham, both the olde and newe are called newe, bycauſe they ſucceéded after them. And theſe two diſpenſations of that perpetuall and eternall couenant, hath this relation betwirt them, that the one beganne to be called Olde in reſpect of thys new: and the other to be called Newe, in reſpecte of the olde and abolished. Foz what ſo euer is abolished, is there vtterly ended and bzoughte to nothing, ſo that nothing of it remaine any moze: either elſe is changed into an other thing, as if it were renewed. And nothing is renewed, but by the ſucceſſion of that whyche is new: and yet the ſame is not called Newe conſidered of it ſelfe, but in reſpect of that which was befoze. If the couenaunte of Moſes had bin vtterly made nothing, it could not haue admitted the ſucceſſion of any new. Wherefoze, that whiche the Apoſtle ſayeth to the Ebzewes: In that hée ſayth a new teſtamẽt, he hath woꝛne out the old. Foz that which is woꝛne out and wareth auncient and olde, is ready to vaniſh away, it muſt not be ſo vnderſtanded, that the poyntes of the ſubſtance of Moſes couenant are vtterly bzought to nothing, God fozbidde: but that the accelloꝛie poyntes of it be abzogated by the ſucceſſion of a newe diſpenſation. And that abzogation of whyche wée ſpake befoze, the Apoſtle calleth an abolishement and decaye. Succeſſion is here of two thyngs: the one is of perſones, the other of diſpenſation. In the firſte Chriſte ſucceéded vnto Moyſes, the Maiſter to the ſeruaunte, the Doctour of lyfe

Hebre. 8.

vnto the Scholemaister, the deliuerer and sauioure vnto the hard exactor: in the other, the dispensation of the Gospell, succeedeth the dispensation of the Lawe. In both respectes the testament of Christ, is called the new testament or couenant. When the Senate is altered in Imperiall and free Cities, as it is wont to bee yearely, albeit the olde state of the gouernement doe remayne, yet they whiche be removed from the Senatoures place, are called the olde Senate, and they which doe succeede the, are called the new: how muche more is the worde of newnesse vsed there, where not onely the persons whiche gouerne are chaunged, but also the wayes, formes, lawes, and rightes of the olde gouernance are altered by succession of a newe gouernaunce? Likewise it standeth in the condition of these two couenants of Moses and Christ, the olde and newe testament.

A similitude.

The comparison of things of both the testaments.

A man may some see by the waying of these things, what is the difference betweene the olde and newe testament. If you loke vnto the Mediatours of both, ỹ is Moses & Christe, then shall you finde much difference. In deede Moses was faithfull in the house, not of his owne, but of Christ, as a seruante to testifie those thynges that were to be spoken: but Christe, as the Sonne in his owne house, is worthy so muche the greater glory, how much the more glory he oughte to haue whiche bothe builded the house and is the maister in it, than he whiche in a house not of his owne, dothe not gouerne, but serueth as a seruaunt. See to the Ebrewes in the thirde Chapter.

If ye doe waye besides, of what manner the dispensation of both the testamentes is, you shall also herein finde great diuersitie. Let vs searche the qualitie of the whole, in the parts of it. In the seruile, shadowing and temporarie dispensation of the couenaunte of Moses were these things: The deliuerance of Goddes people out of the bondage of the Egyptians wyth the triumph of the ouercomming of Pharao. Agayne the bringing in and the possession by inheritance of the lande of Canaan. The giuing of the law in the mount of Sina by the ministerie of Angels, by a fearefull meane, by letter, and stony tables. The spirite of feare was in the people. There was the ministerie of death, the Sacramẽts, the outward Priesthode, with the determination of the priestly tribe, the figures, shadowes, and promises of Sacrifices, cleansings and ceremonies. Besides that the same whole dispensation of the olde testamente serueth for a time, and perteyned to the people of Israell alone.

Let vs compare herewithall the dispensation of the new testamente. Here is also a deliuerance of Gods people, but not from any earthely, but rather from a spiritual bondage, that is of sinne and of the kingdome of Satan. Here is a triumph of the ouercommyng of an enemy, but not of Pharao, but of Satan himselfe. Here is a bringing in to possesse not the lande of Canaan, but the inheritance of the Countrey of Heauen. Here is the making of a law, not in Sina, but in Zion, not by the ministerie of Angels, but by the presence and dispensation of the Lorde: not by terrible

terrible meanes, but with a wonderfull mildenesse: not in letter, but in spirite, not grauen in stony tables, but profitably wrought into the heartes of the electes. Here is the very same meaning whiche is in the other, if you consider the author therof, but it is diuers, if you loke to the difference of the gifte. There was bondage and feare in the firste, here is libertie and cheerefulnesse. Here is ministerie, not of death, but of life. Here be the Sacramentes not circumcision and the lambe of the Passouer, the ministration whereof was bloudy, but Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, both without bloud. For all that sacramental bloud doth rest accomplished in the Crosse of Christe. Here is a Priesthode, but not Aarons, not outward, not tyed to anye nation or tribe, but spirituall, and common to all faithfull folkes. Here is a sacrifice, and that bloudy, but not of any beast, but of the Lord: not renued, but once perfected in the Crosse. Here bee cleansynges, but not of the bodye, but inwarde and of the spirite. Here bee ceremonyes, but they bee fewe and easie, of the worde, of Sacramentes, and of Prayers. There were figures, shadowes, and promises, here is the fulfilling of all these. Finallye, the dispensation of thys newe Testament, shall endure vntyll the worlds ende, and not gyue place to any that shall followe, but onely the fruition of Heauen. Agayne, thys is not determined to any one nation, but extẽdeth hys largenesse vnto all the nations of the whole worlde. So that as muche difference as there is betwirte those things whiche we haue rehearsed, so muche surelye the dispensations of the olde and newe Testamente doe differ betwirte themselues: so that it is a playne manifest matter to bee true that the Apostle sayeth, that Christe is mediatour of a muche better Testamente than Moses was.

Heb. 7.

¶ Of the Grace of GOD.

I Suppose it is not far out of the order of matters of Diuinitie, if after the explication of the euerlasting Testamente, we doe put nexte the place of The grace of God: not bycause the Testamente in order goeth before grace, seeyng it springeth out of Grace, but that passing vppe the riuer to the very well head, wee maye see whereunto the purpose of the eternall couenaunte of God tendeth. For it helpeth muche to the ryghte vnderstanding of holye thynges, if wee doe searche well to the fountaynes and rootes of them.

VVhat grace is.

Firste, we muste defyne what Grace is, that no erroure bee commytted in the worde: and when the vnderstanding of wordes is sought, wee muste take counsell of the tongues. And for asmuche as apperteyneth to the sense of thys worde, wee neede not to seeke anye strange languages, other than these two, in whyche the holye spirite speaketh vnto vs, as well in the Newe as in the Olde Testamente

Chesed.

that is the Ebrewe, and the Greeke. The same which we do reade in the Latine translation, namely Grace, is in the Ebrewe חן, and in Greeke χάρις. And the Hebrewes do vse this worde, fyrst for fauoure and comelinesse, or whether it be in the bodye or in woords: as to witte, when that we see the same either in the body, either in fact, or hearing it in speach, we doe with a certaine liking allowe it, and make much of it. So we do reade in the Prouerbes: Beautie is a deceptfull and vayne grace, where that aboue recited Hebrew word is taken for that fauoure or grace, whiche entreth into the eyes of lokers, from the handsomnesse of a womās beautie. And so in this sense the Greekes do sometimes call it χάριν. Though the Seuentie interpreters do in thys place translate it ἀρεσκίαν, which is pleasing. And in the Psalme. There was powred out חן, that is, grace in thy lippes, that is to saye, in thy woords. This sense of thys worde is not often vsed in Scriptures, wherefore it is not to be followed of vs in this present matter.

Prouerb. 31.

Psalm. 45.

Fauour.

Againe the Ebrewes doe call חן, fauoure, when of a speciall disposition of our minde, we do wish well to any man. So we do reade in the xxxix. of Genesis: And Noe found grace in ỳ eyes of the Lord: which is nothing else, but: Noe found fauoure before the Lorde. And the Seuenty translated it heere χάριν. In this sense it is taken in diuers places of the Euangelistes and the Apostles, as in the Gospell of Luke, Thou hast founde grace. And ỳ often saying of Paule: Grace and peace, and other like places of hys.

Luke. i.

Thirdly, this woorde is vsed for a gift, whiche is giuen of very fauour. In this sense the Ebrewes doe vse this woorde חנן. So Jacob sayde to Esau hys brother, of his children: They be the children whiche the Lord God hath giuen thy seruaunte. And Luke in the Actes saith of Barnabas: Who when he saw the grace of God, reioyced. He saw the gyft of God powred vpon the beleeuers. And Paule sayth: I will sende these men to carry your reward or liberalitie to Ieruſalem. And, Receiue not ỳ grace of God in vayne. These two senses be often vsed in holy Scriptures, and specially the latter. Therfore, Grace is, as touching this present matter, that affection of fauoure, when we loue a man hartely, and whatsoeuer through thys fauoure is frely and franckely geuen without respecte of anye deserte or duetie. This definition of grace we muste diligentlye kéepe, that wée maye well vnderstande these thynges, whyche the holye Scripture dothe ascribe vnto Goddes grace, leaſt we bée seduced by some meanes, and make voyde the glorye of the grace of God.

Secondly, we muste sée also whether the affection of grace maye bée attributed vnto God or not. When our flesh heareth that God is iuſt, by and by it beginneth to doubt of hys grace. For ỳ streightnesse of iustice, and affectiō of grace (as a mā would thinke) can not stand togither in one mind. For iustice requireth the rigor of right & due: but grace going wide from thys marke, is gyuen oftentimes not onely to them whiche deserue it not, but to them also that deserue euill. Thus the flesshe iudgeth: If there be iustice in God, there is not grace: if there bée grace, then there is no iustice. Here we muste cōsider that the holy Scripture doth not lie, which reported bothe of God. The Lord is iuſt (the Prophet saith) and loueth iustice. Item, God is a iudge. Itē, Thou art iuſte O Lord, and thy iudgemēt is right. And that whiche commeth oftentimes: Gracious God (as I may say) and mercyfull. And for that that these things be thought to be so contrarie, that they can not be togither in God, there is sprong such an errour therevpon, that we do suppose accordyng vnto our owne condition and sense, that the iustice of God is the same, whereby not onely they whiche deserue well, haue well, but they also whiche deserue euill, are reprobate and punished. So we do thynke that God is iuſte to rewarde the iuſte folkes, and to refuse and punishe the vniuſte: and that he can do no otherwyse, vnleſſe he will do agaynſt iustice. In this sense we do plucke away from God the libertie of will, whiche hée hath ouer all thinges which he hath made, in respect whereof he can not be vniuſte when he fauoreth, spareth, & doth good to whome he will, whether they haue deserued well or euyll, and punisheth whiche sinners that he will, and as it pleaseth him. With this agreeth the place of the Apoſtle. *Ergo* (sayth he) he hath mercy vpō whom he liſteth, and dothe harden whome he liſteth. There is no Prince in the woorlde would be content to be accoūted vniuſt, bycause he doth somtimes spare the euill persons, & letteth the guiltie to scape vnpunished: but hée dothe thinke that this clemēcy muſt néedes turne more to his commendation than rebuke. So that grace and clemency be rightly commended in a Prince, and that commendation no wise man can take euil, vnleſſe it become so pernerse, that verlets be let go, and good iuſte and honeſt folkes troubled and punished. If bothe these togither may be reported with prayse of a good Prince, that he is iuſte, and that he is also forgiuefull and mercyfull, how much more may they be so reported of God, whiche hath moſt frée power ouer al things? Wherefore we muſt ſtoutly knocke downe this thought of our flesshe, as oft as we perceyue it to doubt of the grace of god. And for this may serue not only the bookes written in prayse of the grace of God, but ỳ innumerable experiments also of it, which bée partly set forth in holy Scriptures, and partely do happen dayly in our owne selues.

Of whēce the affectiō of grace is in God.

Thirdly, it may bée also neyther vngodly, neyther improfitably demaunded, of whence this affection of grace is in God? It is a great matter what the beginnyng of it bée, to that that it be pure and sincere. I cal pure and sincere, not defiled. The same is a defiled and impure grace, which riseth in respect of mens owne proper gaine or commoditie: as that is wonte to be, whiche fleshly menne and they that loue thēselues, do vse. You shall finde a Prince that beareth a certayne speciall fauour towardes them that he perceyueth do yéelde vnto and folowe his affections be they neuer so vnlawfull and wicked, and sheweth hym moſte fauora-

ble vnto them. Such a grace is foule & filthy, both for the beginnyng of it, and the qualitie also. It beginneth of a fault, & tendeth vnto a faulty ende. For that thing can not be constant, whiche is naught, both in the rote & in the fruite. Euen so we do see that the grace of the flesh & of the worlde is most vnstable. The flesh fauoreth exceedingly to day, & to morow it doth hate & abhorre aboue measure. The grace of God is vtterly voyde from this vncleannesse & inconstancie. For the beginnyng of it riseth not of vs, but of his goodnesse: nor it tendeth not to any ende of his owne proper commoditie, but to our saluation. If we do searche our selues altogither within and without, we shal find nothing wherevnto we may attribute the cause and beginnyng of the grace of God. Wherefore we can not determine vpon any other beginnyng of it, but vpon that goodnesse whiche is in him meruelous & great. This welspryng is most pure from all self loue, wherefore the riuers also of heauenly grace flowyng out of it, be altogither pure and sincere. The nature of grace is to be franche & free. What soeuer is not free, it is not grace, neyther hath it this puritie of grace taken from the welspryng of goodnesse whereof we do speake.

The grace of fauour of the flesh and the worlde is vnstable.

The nature of grace is free.

Yet we must beware, when we do attribute a beginnyng to Goddes grace, that we do not thinke it to be but for a time and not eternall. For what soeuer is naturally in God, is not for a time, but eternall. Euen like as goodnesse is in him naturally, so is grace also; which you may well call, the nature of goodnesse. As ỹ one is eternall, so is the other in that we do say, that Christe the sonne of God hath his beginning of the father, we do not take away any thing frō the eternitie of his Godhed, but by this cōfessiō we do the more affirme him to be the euerlasting Sonne of God. For as God is eternall Father, so is the sonne also eternall, without whō the Father could not be. Take grace frō the goodnesse of God, the nature of his goodnesse can not stande. The brightnes of the fire, hath his beginning of the fire, whose brightnesse it is: and yet it is not after the fyre in time, but of one season. The same order is in the heauenly goodnesse that although grace commeth of it, yet they be all both in God coeternall.

The grace of God is not temporarie but eternall.

Fourthly, we must see how many sortes there be of this grace of Gods goodnesse. The Scholemē make two: Grace working, & Working together: & in other terms, The grace going before, & the grace cōming after.

They call the Worckyng grace, the same, whiche dothe regenerate and chaunge the hart of man, giuing him to will that whiche is good. Otherwise for as much as it is by natural corruption vncleane, it can not of it selfe will that which is good, vnlesse it be chaūged by heauēly grace. And for as muche as this chaungyng is the worke of the grace of God alone, and is made in vs by no will of ours, goyng before or worckyng withall, they call it The grace whiche goeth before. So it is called the Worckyng & Preuentyng grace, in respect of one selfe same worcking or doyng: but they call The grace worckyng with an other, the same whereby there is gyuen to the regenerate harte, and the same whiche would

would good, strength to perfourme the good whiche he would, least he should will in vayne and to no effect. They do call this The grace worckyng with an other, for because that when by the grace goyng before, the will is iustified, and desireth to do that whiche is good, it dothe as it were reache hyr helpyng hand vnto it, and succour it with worckyng withall, giuyng strength & succesle to perfourme the good worke, as the other gaue the affect of willing. They do cal this also The folowyng grace, bycause it doth come after the other whiche is gone before. There is signified by this saying, not onely the order of the grace that worketh in vs, but the accomplishment also of Gods worke. God dothe not leaue his worke vnperfect, But what soeuer he dothe once beginne, he doth make an ende of it. He dothe preuent vs with his grace, giuyng and worcking in vs a will to do a good deede: and he dothe immediatly prosecute this his worck in aydyng vs also, that we do not in vayne will the same good, whiche we do will by his grace, but that with his further ayde, we may bring it to perfection. Both of these are rightly imputed to the grace of God. It is not onely ỹ worke of the mere grace of God that we will good, but that we do worke well in deede also. For say not: I come to the ablenesse to do it by the merite of my good will, that I may also perfecte the good whiche I will: nor thynke not that it is to be attributed vnto the strēgth of thy good will, if thou doest accomplishe in deede that whiche is good. For there is no pece of it, eyther of any merite, or of vertue of thine. It commeth not of our natural wil, but onely of the grace of God in our regenerate will. Our regenerate will trauayleth in the good worke wherevnto it is disposed, but yet beyng as it is, it shoulde worke and trauayle to no purpose, vnlesse the same grace of gods goodnesse (which goyng before made it to be good, and to will that whiche is good) do make it also afterwardes able to do in deede, and to perfecte the same good whiche hee willeth. And when hee dothe perfecte it, this ablenesse and efficacie is not attributed vnto our will that worketh, but vnto the grace of God, worckyng withal. The alteration of our mynde goyng before, is to no small purpose, for this is in it by grace, that it endeuoreth to do the same whiche it willeth: and for this cause they do cal it the grace whiche foloweth, whiche gyueth strēgth to perfect the matter, ỹ grace worckyng with an other, to make a differēce from the grace which worketh & goeth before, which chaūgeth our will when it had no meaning at all to do that whiche is good. For it seemeth to be one point to worck somwhat in thē that be altogither idle, and an other poynt to worke with them whiche bee doyng of somethyng, or else at the least goe aboute to do somethyng. Thus it hath pleased them to sette a difference betwixte the grace of God, goyng before and cōmyng after, to admonish vs that the grace whiche commeth after, wold not haue a dastard slow, and idle will, but suche a one whiche muste endeuour (although in vaine, vnlesse it be holpen) yet as I said, endeuor thyough the helpe of the grace

goyng before, and aspire to well doyng. And in this wise it seemeth the Apostle spake: I am by the grace of God that, which I am: and his grace hath not bene voyde in me, but I haue labored more largely than all, but not I, but the grace of God with me. Thus it seemeth he comprehended both the workes of Gods grace, that whereas he dothe say: I am by the grace of God that that I am, is to be referred to the grace working and goyng before: and whereas he addeth, And his grace hath not bene voyde in me, but I haue laboured more than all. It pertayneth to the grace whiche followeth and worketh with all. And therefore he addeth also: But not I, but the grace of God with me. I laboured (sayth he) but lest he should seeme to attribute this vnto himselfe, he dothe wisely adde: Not I, Agayne, least he should seeme to tell an vntrue tale and a lie, that he labored more than all, he sayth not simply, But the grace of God: but he addeth, With me, to declare that he beyng ayded with the grace of God working withall, wrought more than the rest.

1. Corinth 15.

That God vvorketh, and vve do vvorke vvith hym.

Thus the Scholemen do speake of the grace of God, whiche opinion although it may be borne withal, for asmuche as it dothe not obscure the grace of God, yet I take it not to be accommodate inough to the māners of speach whiche the Apostle vseth, whereas he sayth: For it is GOD whiche worketh in you, both to will and to performe. He dothe ascribe both simply, to will and to performe, to the worckyng of God, when he sayth: Worckyng in you, and he addeth bothe to will and to performe. Agayne, wheras in the common Latine translation is redde: Not I, but the grace of God with me. It is in the Greeke: But not I, but the grace of God which is with me. By which wordes he doth referre his trauayle (by callyng himselfe backe) to the grace of God. For this word, With me, is not referred to the worde of labozyng, whiche went before, that it ought to be redde: Which labored with me: but is set accordyng to the vse of the Ebrewe tongue, for, Which is w̄ me. So the Ebrewes do speak: Whiche with me. And the Apostle, though he wrote in Greeke, yet being an Ebrewe, did not forbeare the Ebrewe phrases. The Apostle laboreth, and his iustified will trauayleth and worketh in that whiche is good, so that it is nothyng lesse than idle. We do know this. But yet for all that, we do lyke the Apostolicall diligence the more, when he hideth not his worckyng: but withall when he maketh mention of the grace of God, and dothe attribute altogither therevnto, and is gladder to make it the very worker than a felow worker with him. I so not vtterly mislike, if a manne do vse this terme of worckyng with an other, in this matter, whiche Marke vsed in his laste chapter, saying: The Lord worcking withall, & confirmyng it with signes. Yet I had rather folow the diligece of the Apostle, whiche would rather say: We be workers togither with God, than, God is the worker togither with vs, whiche he neuer sayde so far as I know, but where soeuer he maketh mention of the worckyng of God, he maketh him rather worckyng in vs, than worckyng with vs.

Philip. 2.

θς ἐργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν.

And he dothe it not without cause. For it is more conuenient that he be called the worker than the felowe worker, in whome is the deuise of the worke, the wisedome, the vertue, the power, yea & al the whole worke. And all these things belong not to our will, but vnto the grace of God. The same worketh all things in vs: we be but as the instruments. The workeman worketh, and the instrument worketh with him, in so muche as it is not onely made ready by the workeman to the worke whiche he will do, but it is also fashioned in the very worke. When a Scholemaster teacheth a childe to wryte, he maketh him a penne, and setteth it in his fingers: after that he taketh his hande, and directeth it in the worke of wryting, and leadeth him to fashiō out his letters: and I pray you, to whome may we most rightly attribute the wryting? To the maister surely. And whiche of them may we best say did write? Surely the scholemaster. The boy doth rather worke with him, thā worke: and the scholemaster may be said rather to worke, than to worke with him.

So I suppose we ought also to iudge of the grace of God that worketh in vs, and of that whiche we do whē we be directed therby to worke. We must not only beware that we take not away the whole, but also that we take not the principall parte of the good worke from the grace of God, & attribute it vnto our selues. Nor we can not be excused in so doyng, if we say, that we do not attribute the same vnto vs as the children of Adam, but as regenerate by grace, and ready furnished to good workes. For they only are not worthily to be blamed of pryde, which do attribute so much free will vnto our nature, that it can be able of it selfe to do any good worke: but they also whiche do attribute vnto a regenerated man that abilitie, that he may by his owne strength, not onely will the same whiche is good, but also to performe it: for else in case they be compelled to acknowledge the grace folowyng, that is, the same grace whiche directeth and strengtheneth our will in all good workes, yet they do iudge that worcking of it to be as secondary and accessorie, & our owne to be chiefe and principal. And to vnderstande here to auoyde this pryde also, I thinke it a safer matter folowyng, that rather the Apostle thā this diuision of the Scholemens, we may attribute altogither what soeuer good we will and worke, to the grace of God, and call our selues rather workers with the grace, than the grace worker with vs.

The grace of god purposing and vvorkyng.

Hitherto I haue admonished what a godly man ought to iudge of the diuision of the Scholemē when they do deuide the grace of God, into the grace worckyng, and working with an other: nowe it remayneth that I shewe howe I thinke it ought to be deuided. When I do consider those things whiche be mentioned of it in holy Scriptures, specially of the Apostles, I thinke wee muste consider somewhat further of the grace of God, thā as it doth priuately worke in the elect. We must loke therein vnto the very grounde of our common health and redemption, that is to say, the meanyng, good will and purpose of the wil of God, fro whēce

that whole dispensation of our redēption proceded. Wherfore I suppose that this grace of God is to be deuided into the grace Purposing, & the grace Worcking. To the grace Purposing, it is to be referred, that from euer before the constitution of the worlde, he willed, decreed, and purposed so, that sendyng his sonne at the fulnesse of the time, he wold deliuer & saue mankinde. And therunto is to be referred also all that which is red to the Ephesiās, of the mysterye, good liking, counsel, purpose, election, and predestinatiō of his will, which was in him before the makyng of the worlde: and also to Timothie, where he sayth thus: Which made vs to be saued, & called vs in a holy callyng, not according vnto our workes, but according vnto his purpose & grace, whiche is giuen vnto vs by Christe Iesu before the euerlastyng time, but made opē now, &c. By these places we do see that there was grace from euer before the making of the worlde, willing, purposing, chosing, and predestenyng those thyngs that do concerne the saluation of Mankynde. It is a greate prayse of the grace of God, that it dothe preuent the wicked to iustifie and saue thē: but it is yet a greatter matter, that he did purpose & predestinate it according vnto the will of his goodnesse, from euerlastyng before the establishment of the worlde, when the worlde yet was not, muche lesse men dwellyng in it. To this sense is the same whiche Christe sayth: Come you blessed of my Father, possesse the kyngdome whiche is appointed for you from the makyng of the worlde.

Purposing grace.

Ephes.1.

2.Timoth.1.

Matth.25.

But vnto the Worcking grace first that is to be referred, that immediatly after that he had made ỹ worlde, he created this man vnto his owne image, whiche he purposed to saue by Christe, from euerlastyng, he placed hym in Paradyse, and after hee had gyuen him a lawe, he made him vnderstād his will, and when he had transgressed it, he condemned him to die, and shut him out of Paradise, & promised him the sēde of saluation, and clothed him beyng naked: gaue warnyng to Cain, whiche slewe his brother, before hande, & after he had murdered his brother, he chastened hym, and lefte him to wander and runne at large: Alowed the sacrifice of iuste Abel: toke vp Enoch vnto him, appeared to the Fathers: preserued Noe and his, out of the wicked worlde, as the remnant to be the sēde plat of our kinde: he entred a couenant with them, he gaue commaundement in an expresse lawe, what they should do: he called Abraham out of Hur of the lande of the Chaldeis, he bound himself to him & to his sēde in a couenant, he chose a peculiar people to himselfe out of him, and promised vnto him the sēde of blessing. All these matters, I say, which were done before ỹ law, must so be considered by vs, that we may marke & honour in thē the workings of the heauenly grace of God, according vnto his eternall purpose.

And herevnto are also to be referred those matters which chaūced to the people of Israell vnder the law: as the deliuerance out of Egypt, the bringing into the Promised land, the giuing of the law, the ordinaunce of the priesthod, with the rites of it: the shadowing

shadowyng and prefiguring of the truth whiche was to come, and the promisse of Christ so oftentymes repeted by the tellings of ỹ Prophets. In dede these matters do concerne the dispensation of Moses lawe, and the schoolyng of the old Testament: but all was meante to the purposed end, that is Christ the sauiour of the worlde. And so farre forth they are to be referred vnto the workings of the eternall grace. In dede the Apostle maketh a difference betwirt the law and grace, when he saith: You be not vnder the law, but vnder grace: but that difference is not such, that it doth exclude the lawe from the eternall counsell of the grace of God, but to make a distinction betwixte the dispensations of him.

After the law, succeded that singular worke of the grace of God, whē by Christ taking flesh, mākind shold be redeēmed. To this sort belongeth the incarnatiō of the eternall Woord of God, and suche matters as depend vpon the same: the course of John Baptiste, as precursour sent for this entent, to make ready the way to reueale the sauiour. The dispensation of Christe comprehended in hys teaching, in his doing of myracles, in instructing his disciples, in his passiō & death, resurrection & ascension, and sendyng of the holy spirite, and such things as be requisite to this, that the same dispensation may attayne to his effecte and ende, that is the myniſterie of the Gospell, whiche was spredde abroade and diuulgated by the Apostles throughout the worlde: and the calling of all people, wherby all nations are called to the vnitie of fayth, knowledge of truth, and true saluation in Christe.

After the consideration of these matters, wee be ledde by a strayght lyne to the pryuate workings of Goddes grace, whereby there is wrought in the hearts of the elect, the lightnyng of the blynde minde, by the holy Spirite, the iustifying and regeneration of the wicked harte, the traynyng in of the gyftes of God, of faith, hope, charitie, patience, &c. And whatsoeuer things else bee requisite to the doyng of good workes, and at the ende the glorifying of our bodies and soules, to the likenesse of Christe.

Priuate vvorkings of grace.

This briefly runnyng ouer the matter, wee haue set forth the diuision of the grace of God. Not so that wee can be able worthily to poynte out the greatnesse of it in this wyse, but to shewe briefely that the consideration of it, whiche the Schoolemenne do sette forth, is ouerstreight and slender, and to gyue you to vnderstande, that al matters are to bee referred vnto it, whiche haue bene done by God towardes Mankinde, euen from the beginnyng of the worlde, perteynyng vnto theyr saluation, and whatsoeuer shall be done also til the worldes ende. Wherfore whensoeuer there chāceth to be any reasoning of election, predestinatiō, creation, vocation, dispensation, eyther of the woorde of the lawe, eyther of the Gospell, of the working of the holy spirite, of iustification, regeneration, doyng of good workes, glorifying, to be short, of the very euerlasting lyfe, we muste haue an eye vnto the counsell and purpose of Gods grace, as to the fountaine of al these matters: & we must chiefly beware,

that

that we do allowe nothyng whiche doth not auaũce the glory of ỹ grace of God, or is discrepant from this eternall counsell of Gods will.

I suppose that this is sufficient for this present. For I meane not here to reason agaynst the teachers of frée will, merites, and mens owne iustice, the obscurers or darkeners of the grace of God, but those matters whiche be requisite to confute them withall, shall be mentioned in other places, where we must speake of fayth and iustification, of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, & of good workes.

Of the Redemption of Mankinde.



I Haue thought good nexte after the place of the grace of God, to ioyne vnto it, the same of the redemption of Mankinde, wherein is comprysed, as it were, the very summe of the counsell and purpose of the heauenly grace. And me thinketh the procédyng of it not euill, to go from the fountayne of our saluatiõ downe to the riuer, that is from the counsell of Gods grace, to that worke predestinated from euerlastyng. This is a principall place, large, and of muche consideration. And bycause the multitude of those things whiche do pertayne vnto this matter, should not brẽde confusion to the reader, I will vse a certayne order, though not exact, yet such as I iudge may be sufficient to a godly myndc. As for them that be curious, no man can be able to satisfie.

Concernyng the word of Redemption, it is manifest what it is. To redeéme: surely to chalenge into a mans owne power, or to procure to libertie, by giuyng the value or price of any thyng whiche came into another mans power by sellyng or imprysonmẽt. Likewise also this greke worde, ἀπολύτρωσις, which the Apostle vseth nowe and then, hath the signification of Redemption, whiche is by gyuyng a pryce or raunsome, whiche they do meane by λύτρον. But the Ebrewes vse this worde גאל, whiche signifieth to redeéme, somwhat more largely and generally. In Leuiticus it is vsed for the deliuerãce which is by giuyng a price. In diuerse places of Scripture it is vsed also for any kind of deliuerãce, yea though it be by strong hande, when a man oppressed, is taken frõ the violence of the wicked.

Now we must in redemption consider by degrées, who it is that is redeémed, from whẽce, by whom, how, when, and to what purpose and end. Touchyng this matter we haue in hand, the very title of this place speaketh of the redemption of mankinde. Mankinde comprehẽdeth not one or two nations, but the vniuersal world, that is all the nations of the whole worlde, all men from the first to the laste. Israell was redeémed sundry tymes out of the power of hys enimies, out of Egypt, sometimes from the tyranny of the Cananites, out of Babylõ, &c. But here it is not meant of some speciall redemption of any people, but of the same whiche is generally of all. We know that all be not partakers of this redemptiõ, but yet the losse of them which be not saued, doth hinder nothing at all, why it should not be called an vniuersall redemption, which is appointed not for one nation, but for all the whole worlde. That resolution or opening of the earth, when all things euery where are opened in the somm'er, to budde forth, is well called vnuniuersal, albeit many trées & many places do bryng forth neyther buddes nor fruite. The Sunne is that generall giuer of lighte to the whole worlde, though there be many whiche do receyue no light at all of him. There was among the Iewes vpõ the yéere of *Iubilee*, a generall deliuerie of all bond men, although many whiche abide in their bondage, did refuse the grace of the deliuerie. In like case it is with this redemptiõ of mãkinde, whereof we talke, it is not for lacke of the grace of God, that the reprobate & desperatly wicked men do not receyue it: nor it is not right that it should lésse his title and glory of vniuersall redẽption, bicause of the chil dren of perditiõ, seyng that it is ready for all men, and all be called vnto it. So he that redéemed the worlde, what soeuer do become of the reprobate, is most iustly called the Sauiour of the worlde. And Christ doth not lie when he saith: I am the light of the worlde, albeit there be an innumerable sorte in this worlo which haue no parte of ỹ grace of his light. And this redemption is also vniuersall for this cause, bicause it is so appointed vnto al men, that without it no man is, nor can be redeémed. No doubte it is to be vnderstanded in this sense, when the grace of vniuersall saluation and redemption is propounded in the Scriptures. For this way we shall auoyde eyther to obscure and straynghten the glory of the vniuersall grace, eyther to say with the phrenetike persons, that no man at all is damned, and do perishe euerlastingly.

Secondly, we must sée frõ whence mankynde is redeémed. Redemption taketh no place in men that be at libertie, as nother gyuing lyfe againe to them whiche be alme. For from whẽce should he be redeémed, which is vnder bondage to no body? But mankinde is redeémed. Which gaue himselfe (sayth the Apostle) the price of redemption for all men. *Ergo* all mankynde was subiecte vnto bondage, from whiche it is redeémed. What bondage the same was, it appeareth by the wrytings alwell of the Apostles, as also of the Euangelists. He that doth sinne, is the bondman of sinne, sayth Christe. Item, I am solde vnder sinne, sayth the Apostle. Also whiche deliuered vs, sayth he, out of the power of darkenesse, & translated vs into the kyngdome of the loue of his Sonne. So that all mankinde seruing sinne, fell into the power of darkenesse, that is of Satan, whome Christ also calleth therfore, the Prince of this worlde. This consideratiõ giueth vs to vnderstãd, that there is not one of al mankinde, but in that that he is conceyued and borne in sinne, he is bondman vnto sinne, and consequently also subiect vnto the power of darkenesse, vnlesse he bée made partaker of this vniuersall redemption. In thys poynt wée muste not excepte the holy men, Patriarches, Prophetes, and Apostles.

Frõ vvhẽce none is redeemed that is not eyther bõd or captiue.

1. *Timoth. 2.*

The bondage out of vvhich vve be redeemed. *Iohn. 8. Rom. 7. Colos. 1.*

Saintes or holy persons be not excluded.

For in that that they were Godly, they were so as redeemed, not as borne of Adã. Their godlinesse came of the grace of God, not of nature, God had concluded them also vnder sinne, that beyng saued, they mighte boast of his mercy, not glory of their owne iustice.

Howe much the redemptiõ of the bondage of sin ought to be esteemed.

It can not be vnderstãded by carnall men, how much this redemptiõ frõ the bõdage of sinne is to be esteemed. For as it semeth pleasant vnto them to folowe the pleasures of the flesh in sinning, so it is to thẽ a very vnthankefull matter to be redeemed frõ sinne. The whoremonger priest, when he dothe mumble out the Colects, as they call them, in the cõmemoratiõ of Virgins, wherin he doth pray vnto God, as the wordes do leade him, for chastitie, dothe with much ado name the word of Chastitie, fearing least by the means of the Virgin, he shold receyue of God the gifte of chastitie, whether he will or not, & so shifted from the filthe of his pleasure, might be brought to lyue chast: which kinde of life he iudgeth to be most miserable. Thus the carnal and voluptuous men be affected.

Wherefore they set not a heare by this grace of redemption, but do earnestly with their whole harte abhorre it. But others which be strikẽ with the perseuerance of their sinne and feare of Gods iudgement, when they began once to tast the grace of this redemption, they would not forgoe it in no case for al the kingdoms & Empyres of all the whole worlde. Their affection the Apostle did expresse to the Romaines, saying: Unhappy man, am I, who shall deliuer me from this bodie subdued vnto death? The carnall man like meme that be in a phrenesie, perceiueth not the bondage of sinne whervnto he is subiect, that it tendeth to euerlasting perditiõ, and that the reward of it is death. But of this bõdage if any mã lisse, let him loke vpon those things which are noted in our Commentaries vpon John Cap. 8.

Rom. 7.

Thirdly, we must thinke also of the Redeemer, by whome mankinde is redeemed from the bõdage of sinne & Satan. It is a matter of renoune, and not euery mans worke, to redeeme not one man or nation alone, but the vniuersall kinde of men, and that not for a season, but for euer: moreouer not from a common sorte of power, but most strong next vnto God, and whiche is yet more wonderfull, so to redeeme captiues, that whereas of nature they do loue their own slauery, he alttereth their harts, so that contrary vnto the nature of their owne flesh, they do vtterly detest the bondage of sinne, and do earnestly desire to be deliuered from it. To auaunce the glory of this redeemer, we must way the conditions of the redemption. In a redeemer, there be two poynts requisite.

1. The firste is, that he be able to redeeme: the other, is the right of the redemption. As touching the first, he can not be a redeemer, which eyther of strength is to weake, of power to take away stoutly a prysoner out of the power of the tyrannie, eyther to powre to raunsome him in paying the pryce. Therefore it is requisite first of all, that he which wil redeeme any person, muste be of power and ability, necessarie to redeeme, accordyng to the qualitie of the tyrannie. Con-

cerning

cerning the other parte, no man can be a redeemer of righte, but he to whom the right of redemption doth belong vnto. And that is of two partes. For either it consisteth in the right of proprietie, or else in aliance. By the right of proprietie, the mayster may lawfully redeeme his seruant, the King and Prince his ministers or people. By the right of aliaunce, ỹ father doth of right redeeme his sonne, the brother the brother, the kinsman the kinsman. Of this right of aliaunce, many things be ordered in the lawe. In respecte hereof, this worde גאל, that is redeemer, is taken sometimes in the law for a kinsman & allie, so that גאל חרם, is asmuch, as ỹ allie in bloud. And there is two sortes of alliaunce: one of bloud, an other of religion. Wherefore it is conteyned in the Cannons, that it doth perteyne to the Church of the faithfull, to redeeme the faithfull prysoners out of the hand of the enimies, yea by selling of the holy Iewels of Siluer and Golde.

The power of Satan howe great.

Therfore seing that these poynts be requisite in a redeemer, let vs see consequently who it is that was able bothe in strength and right to redeeme mankinde, captiue vnder sinne and Satan. The doctrine of the Apostles doth attribute this vnto Christ Iesu the sonne of God. It setteth him forth vnto vs for our redeemer and deliuerer. And he dothe witnesse this of himselfe saying: If the sonne do deliuer you, you shall be at libertie in deede. Then these two things must be found in him, that is to say, a greater strength and power then the tyrannie of sinne and Satan is able to withstande, and the right of redemption. The strength of sinne and the power of Satã be both such, that no vertue or strẽgth of man, no nor of Angels can do any good agaynst this bondage. That of men coulde not, bicause all mankynde is suppressed & captiue in this bondage. Wherefore none of the whole numbre of men borne of the sede of mã, coulde be of so great power to ouercome the tyranne, and deliuer mankynde. For as Iob sayth: Who can make cleane, that whiche is conceyued of an vncleane sede? so we may say also here: Who is able by hys power, beyng himselfe a prysoner and bounde, to deliuer them whiche be in pryson and bounde, whereof he hath none? The strength of Angels coulde do no good, for that that the nature of Angels can not take away the euill of sinne from mankynde, by whiche Satan dothe raygne in the worlde. Wherefore the strength of God was in any case requisite, in deede such a redeemer, whiche beyng endowed with the power of God, shoulde bothe take away the euill of sinne whiche is in our flesshe, and destroy also the kingdome of Satan. But Christ did this, beyng stronger than Satan, and whole spirit is able inough to heale our harts, and to deliuer vs from the euil of sinne. Herein thou hast an argumẽt of the Diuine nature and power bothe together in Christ.

Iob. 14.

The righte of redemption.

As concerning the right of redemption, this is also found in Christ ful and whole. He hath the right of proprietie ouer vs, in asmuche as he is true God, ỹ eternal Worde, wherby all things are made. No man hath so much propertie ouer his bonemã

either bought or caught in warre, as the workeman hath ouer his workemanship, the creator ouer his creatures. He hath the right of aliaunce in that he was made a very man, so much the nearer vnto our primitiue nature of man, the further he is off from any accessiō of Satans malice. This is that mysterie of the incarnate Worde, which no mans reason is able to cōprehende. By incarnatiō he was made our brother, who by the godhed of the worde is the Lord of all. Wherfore, he is not ashamed, sayth the Apostle, to call vs his bretherne, when he sayth: I will declare thy name to my bretherne. Herevnto belōg all those Scriptures which do commende vnto vs the Incarnation of the Worde, that is, the nature of mā truly in Christ, of which matter we must retayne a sounde beleefe agaynst the pestilent poyson of them whiche do defende, that the flesshe of Christe came from heauen, from the very substance of the godhead it self, and not from the sede of Abraham, & our flesshe. They do bereeue vs from Christ this right of alliaunce, and ouerthrow the greatest parte of our cōfort. Mathew doth bring the flesh of Christ, vnto Abraham, and Luke euen to Adam the firste man, the parent of our common nature, calling him manifestly The sonne of Adam: and Christ himselfe doth oftentimes call himselfe The sonne of man, that is very mā, verily borne of our flesh. There can be nothyng therefore lacking in Christe our common redeemer, in whom there is the strēgth of God agaynst the strength of Satan and sinne, able inough to deliuer, and the right of redemption full and whole, chiefely for his dominion of proprietie, and partly also for his alliaunce and kindred of the bloud of man. These matters haue an earnest and necessary consideration, whereby we do finde by what counsel of God it is done, that there is giuen vnto vs suche a redeemer, which is both true God and true Man, that is the Worde incarnate.

Heb. 2.

Here it may be thought vpō also, whether Christe ought to redeeme mankinde or no? But I suppose wee had neede to walk warely in answering this questiō. For if you say that he ought, the daunger is, least you bring the worke of our redemption vnder a kinde of dutie, and denie the grace of God. For that which commeth of dutie, cā not be imputed vnto grace. God keepe that out of the mindes of them that be redeemed, to refer the cause of their redēption to any other thing, than vnto the mere free & vndeserued grace of the redeemer, and so obscure the glory of his grace. In the otherside if you say, ỹ he ought not to redeeme mākind, the daunger is least you take from him the right of redēption, & beare away this notable and right wonderfull worke of the right of his lawful authoritie, and attribute it vnto power onely, so that the olde enimy may accuse our redeemer, that he toke mankinde out of his kingdome by might only, & no right. Therfore we must say, that Christ did in this matter, in respect of vs, not that whiche he ought to do, but that whiche he willed and purposed to do by grace: and that in respecte of his right as wel of proprietie as of alliance, that he did not onely the same whiche he might and would, but that whiche he ought to do also, that is whiche pertayned to him onely of right. Wee must beware, because we will not deny this right of his, that we do not say, he did that whiche he ought not to do. For to do that whiche a man ought not to do, seemeth to be al one as to do a thyng vnlawfully, and by no right belongyng vnto him. And for almuche as no man is bounde to this, that he muste pursue his right, as if it were not at libertie eyther to gyue place or to folowe the matter, we muste not tie a duetie vnto this righte of Christe in the worke of redemptiō, as though he dyd a thing whiche hee ought of dutie to do, and shoulde offende, vnlesse hee did it. For albeit he bounde hys fayth and truthe with promyses, whiche he did afterwards accomplish in redeeming vs, yet the very promyses also are not to bee referred to any other thing, than to the purpose of grace. He bounde hymselfe vnto vs in promysing, not because he ought to do so, but because he had pitie vpon vs, and wouldе, and from euer determined it. Wherfore the very fulfilling also of the promises, is not to be referred vnto the promises, but vnto free grace, as the very roote & fountayne of the promises. Hee might haue not promised, vnlesse he would haue redeemed: and he might haue willed not to redeeme vs, vnlesse he had enclyned by the drift of his own grace to redeeme vs. Wherefore we muste exceedingly beware, that we make not of the worke of free and meere grace, a worke of duety, because of the meanes of the promises of grace, whiche though they seeme to haue a bonde of performance of truth, yet of vs to whome they were made frankly vppon no deserte, but rather deseruyng euill, they muste not be taken for dutie, but to bee had and embraced as of grace.

Fourthly, wee must see also, howe we be deliuered by Christe frō sinne and Satan. The deliuerie of captiues and bondmen chaunceth to bee foure wayes: eyther by francke and free manumission or discharge, eyther by exchaunge, eyther by a price of raunsome, eyther by violente taking away. Francke and free discharge had here no place, whether we do consider the sin cleauyng most fast to our flesh, or the nature of Satan ỹ most wicked tyrant. For there passed no exchaunge. For God forbidde, that our redeemer did so deliuer vs, that he should restore againe to Satan any of them which he bound vnto him, whom to redeeme al, gaue himselfe to death for all. There remaineth the raunsome of redemptiō, and violēt taking away. These twoo bee of that nature, that we may see they can not come togither in one and self same redemption. For when a prysoner is redeemed by giuyng a raunsome, he is not deemed to be taken away violently: and on the other side, when a man is violently taken out of the hande of hys enymie, it appeareth that he is deliuered by violence and not by raunsome. And yet for all that, these two do alwayes concurre in the redemption of Mankinde.

The deliuery of captiues foure wayes.

That Christe redeemed vs by a price or ransome, the Apostle witneseth, saying: You be bought for a

1. Cor. 6. 1. Cor. 7.

1.Corinth. 6. & 7.

greate pryce. And, Yea are deerely bought, be not the seruants of men. That he shoulde stoutely ouercome Satã & his guarde, destroy his kingdome, and carrie away the spoyle, Christe himselfe witnesseth saying: When a strong armed man keepeth his warde, al things be in quiet whiche he possesseth: but when a stroger than he doth come on, & ouercometh him, he will take away from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and shall bestow his spoyle. And the Apostle maketh mention of the triúph of the spoyling of Satan. And he reporteth of Christe, also that he destroyed him whiche had the imperie vpon death, meaning the Diuell, and so deliuered his people. Wherfore a man may well demaunde, how these twoo coulde haue place in the deliuerie of mankynde. If he redeemed vs by giuyng raunsome, how did he violently take vs away from Satan, and destroyed his kingdome? And what faithfull person is so witlesse, that he can beleeue that Christe the Sonne of God, very God and Man, gaue any raunsome to the olde and cursed Serpent, the most wicked aduersarie, for whose destruction hee came into this worlde to redeeme vs from him, seyng that he might with greater glory vtterly vanquish him, and stoutely take away mankynde out of his power? Who is of so simple a minde, to gyue his enimie a raunsome, when he can with strong hande and with triumphe take from him ỳ captiues which he detayneth? To what purpose is the glory of triumphe giuen vnto Christe, if he did redeeme by giuing a raunsome? And yet both these be reported of Christ:

Exod. 31.

Coloss. 2. Hebr. 2.

it is not meete to go to law with holy Scriptures.

Wherefore we muste know, that these things be reported of Christ in sundry respects. Whereas he redeemed vs by raunsome, it is not to be referred vnto Satan but vnto God the father. He gaue in raunsome for vs his owne bloud, that is his owne selfe. In whome (sayth the Apostle) we haue redemption by his bloud. And Peter sayth: Ye are not redeemed by corruptible things, golde or siluer, but by the precious bloud of Christ, as of a Lambe vndefiled and without spotte. And Paule sayth: There is one mediatour of God and men, the man Christe Iesus, whiche gaue himselfe a redemption for all. This raunsome he gaue to God the father. For he offered himselfe vnto him as the mediatour betwirte God and vs. This price of his bloudshed for vs, is the offeryng and the oblation, belongyng vnto his priesthode, wherein he did sacrifice, offeryng it not to Satan, but to God his father. The Apostle sayth also: How much more thã the bloud of Christ, which by the holy spirite offered himselfe, immaculate vnto God.

Ephes. 1. 1.Pet. 1. 1.Tim. 2. Hebr. 9.

And whereas he deliuered vs by strong hãd, that is to be referred vnto Satan the Prince of this worlde, whose power and kingdome he destroyed, and deliuered them whiche he detayned captiues. But you wil say: What neede was there to gyue a raunsome to God the father for the redeemyng of mankynde, seyng we were not his prysoners but Satans? The raunsome was giuen not to the wrõgful tyrant, but vnto him which had a right vpõ vs to condemne vs,

How we be redeemed from Satan. How Christ was offered vnto God.

that is to God, agaynst whome the parentes of our kinde had sinned. There was amends to be made to his iustice. And whereas there was no mã that could do that, but he that were vtterly cleere from al blame of transgression and disobedience: and beyng none such, he sent his Worde into our flesshe, in the likenesse of the flesh of sinne: that as Paule sayth, he might condemne sinne through sinne in the flesh. For this purpose our redeemer offered himselfe to God the father as a raunsome of redemption for vs all, that beyng deliuered from the right of condemnation, blame & guilte of sinne, we might be made at one with God. And this atonement destroyed the strẽgth & power of sinne and Satan. For it could not be, that the Serpente coulde holde them any longer prysoners, whiche were made at one with God by the raunsome of redemption.

So was both done vpõ the crosse. Bothe the raunsome of our redemption was gyuen to God the Father to reconcile mankynde, when he did shed his bloud for vs, and the power of sinne and Satan was destroyed withall. That by death (as the Apostle sayth) he might destroy hym whiche had death at his cõmaundement. Agayne: That he did put out vpon the crosse the handwryting whiche was agaynst vs, and toke it away, forgiuyng vs our sinnes. &c. These things briefly I thought good to touche of by the way, concerning our redemption, for the ruder sorte, that they may yet perceyue some lighte of suche debatyng of the matter, by the meanes of the grace of Christe.

Fiftly, it falleth also to the consideration of this present matter, how the redemption of mankynde was wrought. He whiche determined with himselfe to redeeme mankinde by his grace, from euerlasting before the establishment of the worlde, did by his wisdome determine vpon the time also of this redemption. There was nothyng done in this matter rashly. God made all things in wisedome, in numbre, waight, and measure: howe muche more trowe you, were all things ordered with special wisedome and counsell in the worke of redemption? By this wisdome order was taken also before the beginnyng of tymes, for the time when mankind should be redeemed. There is no wiseman but knoweth, that there is a great matter in the times to haue things well, orderly, & profitably handled. Of the tyme of the counsell and purpose of God, when he appoynted to redeeme vs, there is no reason to demaund. For the same whiche was done before times from euerlastyng, passeth the capacitie & cõpasse of time. But the very worke it selfe of redemption, for asmuche as it is subiect vnto tyme, did require a certayne determination of prefired tyme. Thereupon is that of the Apostle, saying: When the fulnesse of time came, God sente his Sonne. &c. And in an other place: To make vs to know (sayth he) ỳ mysterie of his will accordyng vnto his good pleasure, whiche hee determined with hymselfe to the dispensation of the fulnesse of times, ỳ he might restore all thyngs by Christe. &c. The fulnesse of times is the accomplishment of the appoynted and prefired tyme

VVhē the Redẽption of mākinde was made.

The fulnesse of tyme. Galat. 4. Ephes. 1.

The fulnesse of time came, when the determyned tyme was accomplished. Hereby we be easily admonished, that the tyme of our redemptiō was not casuall, euen as the worke it selfe was not, but appointed and determined from euerlastyng by the counsell of Gods wisedome.

And that this time was determined vpon, the writyngs bothe of the Apostles and of the Prophetes also do teache. In Esaie, those things which be forespoken of the dispensation of Christe, are appointed vnto the latter dayes: and Peter, Manifested (sayth he) in the laste dayes, by cause of you. And the Hystorie of the Gospell dothe sufficiently declare, at what time the redeemer came into ỹ worlde. He came nother in the beginning nother in the middest, but towards the euening, when the course of this worlde was passe more than half, & began to encline to ỹ decay. A man would thinke that the space of tyme hath bene very long since the birth of Christe vntil these dayes of ours: but if you loke backwards to the times that are past, which went before the lawe, and the tymes which were after that againe, appointed for the lawe, vntill the comming of Christe, whiche came to foure thousande yeeres, you shall perceyue that the dispensation of Christe was appointed vnto the latter tymes, as to the very later parte of Euenyng of the worlde.

Esay 2.

1. Pet. 1.

Christe came at the Euening of the vvorld.

VVhy christ came not immediatly after the fall of Adam.

Here we may not be to busse to searche the counsell of God, why he sent not his sonne and redeemer immediatly after the fall of mankinde. Without doubte there be many and great reasons, wherefore the prouidēce of God did so dispose the course of mans saluation, that the seasons in whiche our nature should be concluded vnder sinne, & the promises, figures and shadowes of our redeptiō that was to come, the law of the letter also and the course of the Prophets should haue theyr race, & in all them shoulde runne out more than halfe this present worlde.

1 It was requisite, that the hugenesse or extremities of euil should be set forth more and more by innumerable, most great, and moste euident examples and arguments, not of one hūdred yeere alone, but of many that should be wrought & most certainely knowen of all things, that all mankinde is corrupt and depraued in his very nature.

2 Secondly, that exceeding & wonderfull patience of Gods godnesse was to be declared in that, ỹ he dyd spare so many hundred yeeres the desperate malice of men, & withall did beare with the times of ignorāunce, & blindnesse, as the Apostle speaketh.

3 Thirdly, it was expediēt to sharpen the desire of godly men, to make them to wishe for the promised seede, with endelesse wishyng and sighyng, and to exercise their fayth also in looking for the redemption to come, and to embrace it as present a greate whiles before it came. In this faith, hope, expectation, desire, and wishes, it behoued the holy menne not onely to lyue, but to die also, and to departe out of this life, as not hauyng gotten that which they did looke for. Furthermore it was entended, that the more the euil of our losse was reueled & enforced, so muche the greater & more renowned should the glory of

of the vniuersall redemption and the iustice of God seeme to be, in that that he being iust himselfe, doth iustifie them whiche be of the faithe of Iesu. See Paule vnto the Romaines. This we may godly and to some profite consider in this matter, and beware withall, that we do not vnadvisedly search the most secret causes of the deferring so log of the redemption.

Peraduenture some bodye wyll aske, what became of them which departed out of this life before the time of redemption, euen from the begynning of the worlde, how they could be saued, seyng they dyed before that Christe the redeemer was borne. I aunswere: The verye worke of redemption was subiecte vnto a determination of time, that it could not be accomplished sooner than it was appointed: but the effect and vertue of the worke is in no wise tyed to anye tyme, but hangeth vpon the perpetuitie of the grace of God, and began euen from the beginning, and it extended euen vnto the very end of the worlde. And in respect of this vertue, and not of the worke it selfe, whych was at length fulfilled in the later dayes, it is sayde in the Apocalipse, that the lambe, meaning Christ, was slayne from the beginning of the worlde. The vertue of his death, as it were with both armes stretched out, embraced as well the tymes that went before, as the times followyng. Wherefore we muste not iudge so childishly of the redemption of oure kinde, to thinke that the efficacie and vertue thereof is to be measured according vnto that appointmente of time, when the very worke of it was done. It is the condition of bodylye and temporarie redemptions, that captiues can not be in very deede redeemed and deliuered, before the very worke of the redemption be transacte: agayne the very effect of the redemption dothe not extende to any, but to them only whiche be found aliue and present at the time of the redemption, and not to them whych be dead. Wherefore they be most fonde of all others, which do apply the holy scriptures prophecying of the deliuery promised by Christe, vnto a temporall and bodilye redemption. This redemption appointed to the worlde in Christe, is farre larger and more effectuall. It is eternall, not tempozall. Once (sayth the Apostle) he entred into the holye place, and founde eternall redemption. That whiche is eternall, is not to be tyed only neyther to the times passed, neither to the presente, nor to the tymes to come. This redemption is eternall, first for the counsell of the grace of God, whereby it was purposed frō euerlastyng: agayne for because of that perpetuitie whereby the vertue of it doth reache out it selfe thorowe ouer all times, euen from beginning vntill the ende of the worlde, and farther into euerlastyng. Wherefore there is no question of them whyche dyed in the foretymes, before that Christe was borne. Their saluation standeth vpon the verye selfe same grace and redemption, which oures doth. And hereunto is that to be referred which we do reade to the Romaynes in this wise: All haue sinned, and be destitute of the glory of God: but they be iustifyed freely by his grace, by the redemption whyche

Redemption eternall. Heb. 9.

Rom. 3.

As in Chriſt Ieſu, whome God hathe ſet forthe to be the attonemaker by faithe, by the meane of his bloud, to ſhewe his iuſtice for the forgiuenesſe of the ſinnes, whiche were done before vnder the ſufferance of God, to ſhew his iuſtice in this preſent time, &c. He calleth the ſufferance of God, the tyme of the ſufferance of God, whereby he ſpared the times of the ages paſſed before, as it is mentioned alſo in the Actes: Till the time of redemption and of the declaring of iuſtice came, whereby they whyche do beleeue in Chriſt are iuſtified, and the ſinnes of the ages paſt, are forgiuen. And to this purpoſe ſerueth alſo thoſe thinges which we do reade to the Ebrewes. And therefore (ſaith he) he is the mediatour of the newe Teſtamente, that by the meanes of deathe for the redemption of thoſe tranſgreſſions, which were committed vnder the former teſtament, they which be called, may receiue promiſe of euerlaſting inheritance. By thys conſideration we be giuen to vnderſtande, that ſaluation and life was not giuen to our forefathers, for any maner of lawith or anye other kind of obſeruations, nor for anye holyneſſe of lyfe and iuſtice, were it neuer ſo greate, but for faith onely in Chriſt to come, euen as it is alſo vnto vs whiche do beleeue in the grace of the redemption alreadye perfourmed.

Actes. 17.

Hebr. 9.

Thirdly, we muſte thynke alſo of that, to whome and to what purpoſe Chriſt hath redemed vs. For aſmuch as he hath redeemed vs not exempte from his right, but belonging vnto his dominion, whereunto all thinges be worthely ſubiecte, whiche ſo euer were made by him, and from whom we ſlipte away by diſobedience: it is manifeſt, that he hathe redeemed vs vnto him, ſo that we do nowe belong to the right of his propriete for two cauſes, that is creation, and redemption. We be not in this poynt ſo redeemed, that we be free and at oure owne iuriſdiction and arbitrement: but that as the Apoſtle ſayth, Whether we liue, or dye, we be the Lords. And hereuppon are gathered three things. Firſt, that we be not at libertie to liue vnto our ſelues, and to glorye of our owne will, as the Scholemen do much reaſon the matter. Secondly, that it is not lawfull for vs to ſerue any other, than him whyche redeemed vs. Therof commeth that ſaying of the Apoſtle: Ye be boughte for a raunſome, ſee you be not the ſeruauntes of menne. Thyrdely, that it is not meete for vs, to iudge our brethren. Who arte thou, ſaith the Apoſtle, whiche iudgeſt an other mans ſeruaunte? he ſtandeth or falleth to his maiſter.

To whom and to what purpoſe Chriſt hath redemed vs.

It is alſo very profitable to conſider, to what ende Chriſt redeemed vs vnto him. If he had redeemed vs of purpoſe to haue gouernance, we ſhould haue bin redeemed by him for no other purpoſe, but to haue a people whome he might rule at his pleaſure. And this ende of redemption ſhoulde fall out to hys commoditie and not to ours. But for aſmuch as the counſell and purpoſe of the eternall grace, is the beginning of thys redemption, it is neceſſary that the ende alſo perteyne therevnto. And the nature of grace is fartheſt of all thynges from ſelfe loue, ſeking nothing leſſe than his owne commoditie:

Wherefore the reſpect of it can not be ſuch, as ſhould tende to the purpoſe of his owne commoditie. Therfore it followeth, that whereas we be redeemed by Chriſt, accordyng vnto the purpoſe of the eternall grace, it was done to this end, that it ſhould profit vs more than the redeemer: as the fruites of the redemption do the declare. For by this redemption we be made of ſeruants of ſinne and Satan, not only ſeruants and reconciled men, but ſonnes alſo and heyres of God. The largenelle of thys grace dothe require, that we employ oure ſelues to holyneſſe and iuſtice, and that we be to oure redeemer a people not onely peculiar, but alſo vnſpotted. So the Apoſtle ſayth: Whiche gaue himſelfe for vs, to redeeme vs from al wickednelle, and to clenſe a people acceptable vnto hym, feruently giuen to al good workes. The ſinne was greate, whereby we fell vnto the bondage of ſinne and Satan: and growing ſtill by encreaſe of miſchenous dedes & infinite wayes of wickednelle, it dyd thruſt downe the nature of oure kynde euen vnto Hell. Thys plentie of ſinne, the plentie of heauenly grace ſurmounted and exceeded, and ſente a redeemer. Nowe I beſeech you, who can ſufficiently way how enormious the wickednelle, malice, and vnthankefulneſſe of oure heart muſt be, if after the greate grace of redemption, we doe thys wrong and ſhame to Chriſte oure redeemer, that we doe runne backe to the fielde of the enimie that old Serpent, and lay downe oure neckes, yea oure bodyes and ſoules, vnto the olde bondage, from whence we were delyuered by the bloud of the ſonne of God. They doe greeuouſely ſinne againſt this grace of the redeemer, which do refuſe and contemne it when it is offered. But they doe ſinne moſt grieuouſly of all, whichs hauing receyued, and beeyng ſealed with the holy marke, doe prophane it in returning vnto their vanitie, doe make a mockery of themſelues vnto Satan. Theſe thynges concernig the redemption of mankynde; I thought ſhoulde doe muche good in godly mindes, if they be godly and deuoutely conſidered. The matter is exceeding large, and yet theſe fewe things whiche we haue treated of, be ſuche as may ſerue to good purpoſe towarde the conſideration of thoſe poyntes alſo whiche be not mentioned here.

Of the Incarnation of the vvorde.

Nowe that we haue noted ſuche thynges as wee thoughte neceſſarye touching the redemption of mankinde, whiche was made by Chriſt, before we doe proceede to anye further matters, of thoſe whiche doe perteyne to diſpenſation of oure ſaluation, I thoughte it meete to ſee the place of the Incarnation of Chriſte, for bycauſe that the ſame dothe chiefely belong to the worke of oure redemption. And wee wyll note thoſe thynges onelye, whiche ſhall ſeeme to helpe towardes the ſtay of the puritie and certaynenelle of our faythe, cutting

off the

The chatts of dyuers men.

of the vnprofitable & curious chattes of the Scholemen and Sophisters, as these be of Duns, that darke Doctor, Whether the Incarnation of the Worde be a thing possible, What a person, or a suppositum dothe adde aboue nature, Whether one person may be incarnate without an other, What is the formall reason of the determining of ỹ incarnation, Whether three persons may take one nature in number: Whether God had bin incarnate if man had not sinned, whiche question some of our menne woulde call agayne to lyght, buryed in the filth of the Sophisters: Whether God may take vpon hun reasonable nature, Whether the bodye of Christe were made suddaynely and at an instante, Whether the blessed Virgine wroughte any thing actiuelye in the conceyuing of hir sonne, Whether a person maye take vppon hym a person, Whether there be many beings in Christ, Whether there be two reall filiations in Christe, Whether according vnto that that he is a man, he be a person: Whether God might take man vpon him from any other where, than from the kinde of Adam: And whether God might take man of woman kind, and other such like paltry, which they do reason of concerning the soule of Christ, all which matters are to bee left vnto the Idle men, whiche trauell more irreligiously than is conuenient in searching out the chiefe pointes of our religion, and setteth abrode the thornes and wilde weedes of mans witte, rather than the holsome fruites and good hearbes of Gods truth.

It is needefull for them whiche wyll consider the misterie of the Word incarnate, to loke firste vpon the word as the subiect, and nexte to the incarnation which is reported of the word. And for asmuch as this incarnation is reported not of euery word, but of the worde whiche is in God, it is needefull first of all for the confirmation of oure faith, that we doe heare the testimonies of holye Scripture for it. That the worde is in God, it is declared euen in the beginning of Genesis, where in the history of the creation of all thinges that is so oftentimes iterated: And God sayd, let it be: Item, And it was done. Whereunto the Prophete dyd loke, saying: He sayd, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created. And in an other place, By the worde of the Lorde the Heauens were fastned. And, In the beginning the worde was, and the worde was with God, and God was the worde. And Paule when he sayth: Bearing all things by the word of his vertue. And againe, By fayth we do vnderstand, that the worldes were framed by the word of God.

So that our faith is confirmed in this by the testimonie of the holye Scriptures of the Olde and Newe testamente, that we doe beleeue the word to be in God, of whiche thyng there be founde testimonies also in the writings of the Ethnikes, which did attribute vnto godhead, ỹ minde, the word, and the spirite. Wherefore a Christian man maye so muche the more stedfastly stand vnto our faith, bycause that those things whiche he dothe beleeue of God the father and his worde, are so certayne and manifest, that they be approued not onely by testimonies of the holye Scriptures, but of Ethnikes also, and doe openly reproue the blindenesse of the vnhappy Iewes.

But howe the word is in God, no Christian man must be too curious to searche. Those things whiche bee spoken of God, be so attemperate vnto our capacitie, that they be spoken vpon some likenesse, rather than according to anye exacte propertie of Gods nature and essence. And bycause we shoulde not thinke of God to be onely but an essence, as a masse high and excellente essence: but dissecured and separated from all others as well spirites as bodyes, he is called by the Ebrewes IEHOVA, as existent in euery place, and makyng and preseruing all things. And by the Grekes Θεὸς, that is pearcing and passing thorough: from whence the word Deus came to the Latines. And to signifie that he is the same to the frame of the whole worlde, that the mind is in a man, they called him the minde. Farther they did adde vnto it The word, and Spirite, to giue vs to vnderstand, that the same infinite essence of godhead is not after that sort, that it dothe altogither rest in it selfe, and keepe his vertue, goodnesse, and wisedome to himselfe alone, but doth rather sette it forth and reueale it, euen as the minde of man can not be idle, but dothe expresse in worde whatsoeuer it dothe conceyue in it selfe, by the meane of the spirite, whiche is as it were, the conduit where by the word is broughte forth from the deepe secrete parts of the mynde. Imagine that God the Father were like as a liuely and endlesse fountayne, the Word and his sonne to be as a riuer continually flowing out of this fountaine: and that the holy Spirite mughte be the very mouing and flowing out, whereby the water floweth out of the compasse of the fountayne, whiche mouing can not bee without the meane and working of the ayre. Nowe whereas this worde is called the Sonne of God, it is like as if a man should call the riuer the Sonne of the fountayne, and oure word that we do speake, the sonne of the minde. So I saye, these wordes, God, the word, or the father, the son, and the spirite be accommodate vnto the weakenesse of our capacitie. For no Angell is able to talke, nor no man able to vnderstande him, if hee did speake of the nature and essence of God, as it is in it selfe. But of this Metaphore of the Word, you maye see what is noted in my Commentaries vpon John, in the firste Chapter.

The vvord the sonne of God.

Marg. here.

What we ought to iudge of thys worde of God, no man is able better to set forth, than the holye spirite dyd expresse by the Euangelike John, where he sayeth: In the beginning was the worde, and the worde was with God, and God was the worde. This was in the beginning wyth God. All things were made by hym, and without hun was made nothing, that was made. In hym was life, and the life was the light of menne, and the lighte shineth in darkenesse, and the darkenesse receyued it not. And a little after: And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among vs (and we saw his glory, as the glory of the only begotten sonne of the father) ful of grace and truth.

The Euangelist doth sette forthe two kindes of things reported of the

Two kinde of things reported of the vvorde of God.

He sayth not God was made flesshe.

wozde of God: that is to saye the godhed, and the incarnation. Touchyng the godhed, he saithe, that the wozde was in the beginnyng, was wyth God, and was God: againe that therby was the making, life and light of al things. Nowe these sayings haue the prayse of the godhed of Chzist, we haue expounded in oure Commentaries vpon John. Nowe touching the incarnation, it is said: And the wozde was made flesh. &c. which is nothyng else, but: And the wozde was made man: albeit it is not wythout cause, that he vsed the wozd of flesh. Nowe whereas hée saithe that the wozde is made man, of the which he said nowe before, that it was God, hée doeth without any contradiction saye that God is made man, although he wold rather say, the wozde, than God was made flesh. Where of the speaking of the Church also begon, that God is made man, and mans nature so knit vnto the nature of God. But lette vs consider those things, that doe belong vnto this matter.

First, he saith not, And God was made flesh: but, And the wozde was made flesh. Whé you do name God, it may aswel be referred vnto the father and the holye spirite, as to the Wozde. Wherefoze if he had sayde, God was made flesshe, he had expzessed no person of godhed: and the repozt of incarnation might haue béene aswell referred vnto the father, oz the holy spirite, as to the wozde. Seing therefoze that neyther the father, neyther the holye spirite was incarnated, he did beware to say God: but, The wozde was made flesshe. Here they doe demaunde, why the father oz the holye spirite was not incarnate, but the wozd. And they do determine, that the father and the holye spirite might aswell bée incarnate as the wozde: but that it was moze conuenient, that the wozde should become flesh: first, bycause it was séemly that the wozde shoulde be redeemed, and al things restozed by that wisedome whereby all thyngs were made: secondly, bycause the beginning of the Sonne is to be from an other, which doth not agrée with the father: thirdly bicause it was not méete that ther should be two sonnes, one in godhed, and another in manhode: wherefoze it was conuenient, that he whiche was sonne in godhead, should be son also in manhode. And to declare yet neuertheless that the holye Trinitie wzoughte in this incarnation of the wozde, they do imagin thzée maidens making a coate, and one of them to weare it. So they saye, the thzée persons of the holy Trinitie wzoughte indéede in the wozke of this incarnation, but one of them alone did putte on the flesshe. I suppose these thyngs haue no hurte in them, if they be not applyed to curiositye. Yet in my iudgement it behoueth neyther the father, neyther the holye spirite, but the wozde to bée incarnate, not onelye for that that hée is the sonne in godhead, and that by hym the world is made: but for this cause also chiefly, that the wozde is that counsell coeternall wyth God the father, purposed to saue mankynde, in whome oure redemption is predestinated euen from euerlastyng, in whome also we be chosen into the adoption of the children of God, as we may sée in the firste to the Ephesians. Wherefoze the wozke of oure redemption coulde

coulde not be brought to passe, but by this wozde, noz it oughte not, noz it coulde not disagrée from the eternall predestination of the wyll of God.

Secondly, he sayth not, Chzistе is made flesshe, for that hadde bin as muche as if hée shoulde saye, The incarnate wozde is made flesh. For Chzistе is the incarnate wozde, God and man. Noz he sayth not, Chzystе is borne: but, The wozde is made flesshe, to admonish whereof Chzystе is, that is, of the wozde and flesshe, so that we muste consider, that in hys natiuitie there is not onely the nature of man, but the nature also of God ioyned togyther personallye with the nature of man. Wherefoze we must holde and vse with moste firme and stedfast faith thys circumlocution of Chzystе, that is, The wozde is made flesshe, as expzessed by the holy spirite: so that if a Christian man be asked, what is Chzistе, he may aunswere: The wozde made flesshe.

Thirdly, he sayth not simply, The wozde is made: but, The wozde is made flesshe. Hée dothe not repozt of the wozde, that it is made: as neyther hé sayde before, In the begynning God made the wozde: oz, In the begynnyng the wozd was made: but, In the begynnyng was the wozde, by whyche speache he doth attribute eternitie to the wozde. The opinion of the Arrians is wicked, wherein they dyd obstinately affirme, that the Wozd was made.

Fourthly, he doth not saye: The wozd is made man, for although (as I sayde before) that by the wozde of Flesshe, he dothe not meane simplye flesshe, but the soule and spirite wyth the flesshe also, that is the whole man: yet he dyd rather saye playnely and vppon great reason, The wozde was made flesshe, rather than The wozd was made manne, oz the sonne of Marie, oz the sonne of man was made.

1 For Chzistе by the wozde of Flesshe, there is not meante that that man onely whome the virgine dyd beare was receyued of the wozde into thys coniunction: but the verye nature of mankynde for the redemyng and restozing of whychе, thys incarnation of the wozde was predestinated from euerlastyng: so that wée must iudge, that the wozde was made not onely the sonne of the Virgine Marye, but surely the sonne of Adam also and of Eue, whychе thing Luke did also diligentlye expzesse in his Genealogie.

Luke. 3.

The vveakenesse of man taken vpon the vvorde.

2 Secondlye, the wozde of Flesh, hathe also the signification of mans weakenesse, that wée maye knowe that the wozde of God is not so made manne, that it toke those thyngs only vpó it which perteineth to mans spirite and soule, but it toke also the infirmitie of his flesh also, sauyng synne: whychе is sufficientlye expzessed in the verye race of hys dispensation, when he hungered and thirsted, ate and dzunke, was made wéerye, slepte, wepte, was made sozye, and at length suffered deathe: all whychе thinges were not fayned by him by counterfeptyng, but truely declared accozdyng vnto the truth of mans nature.

Fiftly, he sayth not, the wozd toke vppon him flesshe, oz ioyned it vnto

him:

He sayeth not the vvord toke flesh or ioyned it vnto him.

him: but, The word was made flesh. It is a greater matter to bée made fleshe, than to take or to ioyne vnto him flesh. No man is saide to bée the same immediately, whiche he taketh vppon him, or ioyneth vnto hym. In deede we haue the same whiche wée doe take vppon vs: but we be not by and by the same, although wée doe ioyne neuer so néere vnto it. What can be more coniunct and more vnited, than that euerlasting Trinitie in the godhead of the persons? And yet it can not be saide, that the father is made the sonne, or the holy spirite, or the sonne the father, or the holye spirite: or the holy spirite the father, or the sonne, as it is here spoken of the word, ẏ it is made flesh. Why? For bycause the vnitie of the holy Trinitie is of godlye nature, and not of person, that is to saye, consisteth not of one and selfe same person, but of one selfe same nature. Yet agayne. The man and the woman be so ioyned and vnited by wedlock, that they do become into one flesh. Now (sayth he) they be not two, but one flesh. And yet no man can truely saye, that the man is made the womã. Why? By-

Math. 4.

cause the man and the woman be not coupled into one selfe same person, but in wedlocke they bée two persons, ioyned togither in one flesh and nature. But it may be sayde, that the word was made flesh, bycause it dyd not simplye take our flesh, but ioyned it selfe vnto it in vnitie of person. And this the condition of personall vnitie, that albeit, it do comprehende diuers natures, yet it is reported of the one, that it is the other, as in this case it is reported of the worde that it is made flesh. Ther is a great diuersitie betwixte the word and the fleshe, if you consider the nature of both. There is no greater difference betwixt heauen and earth. For there the difference is betwixt things created, which do at the least way agrée in that, both that they do encline to the weakenesse, basenesse, and corruption of creatures: but in this case the worker and the worke, the nature infinite, immortall, omnipotent, and eternall: and the nature finite, mortall, most féeble, and temporarie, are farre asunder. And yet these two most diuerse natures of godhead and manhoode, of the worde and the flesh, are so vnited into one person, that by entercourse of properties, fleshe may be reported of the worde. Thus wée may saye, that The worde whiche is borne of ẏ Virgine, did eate, drinke, grew, that it did teach in the worlde, wepte, was wofull, and dyed, rose againe, and ascended vppe to heauen. All these things, when they be considered no otherwise in Christe, than they bée in man, be muche too base to séeme that they may any thing helpe to the saluation and redemption of mankinde. Wherefore the verie necessitie of our faith requireth, that we should not seuerally consider the fleshe and the workes of the fleshe, but only with the word of God. So that it was done moste aduisedly of the Euangeliste, that he did not simply say, The worde toke fleshe: but The worde was made fleshe, to expresse thys personall vnitie of the worde and the fleshe both togither.

Personall vnitie.

Some folkes doe reason of thys matter here, whether it may not bée sayde as well, The fleshe was made the word: and Man was made God:

as

He sayeth not, The vvoorde vvas changed into fleshe.

as, The worde fleshe: and, God was made man. I knowe what may bée done in conferring the languages, and into how great a dignitie mans flesh is aduanced in the word: but in my iudgemente it becommeth oure modestie, rather according vnto the mouth of the holy spirite reporte of Gods grace and fauoure what the word was made, thã what our fleshe was made. The very worke of thys incarnation, whiche no mans wisedome could euer comprehende, is no wise oures, but the Words. Wherefore it behoueth also to attribute the reporte thereof not vnto oure fleshe, but vnto the worde only. Let this be inough for ẏ godly person to knowe, wonder, adore and reporte, what the voutchsauing of God hath done vnto vs, and withall happily to enioy the grace and effect of it. Otherwise our flesh, euen from the first corruption, dothe aspire vnto the glorye of the godhead, so that we maye not giue it neuer so little occasion to bée proude of, and to forget the basenes therof, and crake rather of his owne glories, than of the benefites of Gods mercyes. For we be of thys nature, that we be more readye to be puft vp with the glory of anye manner or anye wise gotten estimation, than to remember what the begynning of oure basenesse is, and to set forthe his grace which hath done vs good. And héereby, a wise man maye easily perceyue, why we doe stryue agaynst them, which do make a God of the flesh in Christ, and that we do iudge better to stande vppon this, to say rather the Word was made mã than, The flesh made God.

Sirtly, he sayeth not, The Word was chaunged into fleshe: but, The worde was made flesh. This change must haue had an alteration of nature, whiche can not take place in Christ, whether you consider the nature of his godhead, or of hys manhoode. The word is not changed, but retayneth his nature: neyther it receyuing fleshe, left his nature. It is not possible, that God can leaue to be God. The nature of God suffereth neyther chaunge nor ende. For it is immutable and infinite. Nor the dispensation which was taken in hand, can beare it, that the nature of man ioyned vnto ẏ nature of God, shoulde léese those things whiche be proper vnto it: for so it mighte be inferred, that Christe were not true man, nor truely conceyued, borne, did not suffer, dyed not, rose not agayne from the dead: whiche all things the holye Scriptures notwithstanding openly and manifestly ascribe vnto hym. Wherefore the Churche doth sing a right: God was made man, He toke vpon him that which he was not, and lost not that which he was. Neyther the vnitie of the person doth require the change of natures, but dothe reteyne them safe and sound.

The person of a man béeing one, doth consist of a soule and a body, personally ioyned togither. The soule hath a heauẽly, and ẏ body an earthly beginning: the soule is immortal and not suffering corruption, the body is mortal and corruptible. And yet they be so ioyned togither without confusion, that in both remaineth his owne nature.

A similitude.

The testimonies of the godhead, which be giuen vnto Christ in holy Scriptures, shoulde bée altogither

The testimonies of the Godhead and manhood of Christ, can not bee vayne.

vayne, if the Worde were chaunged into flesh on the other side, if the flesh had bin chaunged into the worde, all those testimonies which the writings of the Euangelistes doe sette forth of the true manhoode of Christ, were worthy to be beléeued nothyng at all. The Apostle sayeth, that all things are by Christ, and that there dwelleth in him bodily all fulnesse of the Godhed. Take from him the nature of the word, and this testimonie of the Apostle shall be of no weight. The Euangelistes and the Apostles doe witnesse of him, that he is of the séede of Abraham and of Dauid accoding vnto the flesh, the fruite of the wombe of Mary, conceyued in hir belly, and (accoding vntoý fulnesse of time appoynted to women wyth childe) borne of God. And suche other things as they doe make mention of the course of his dispensation to trye that he was true man: passing ouer that which the Apostle witnesseth of him, that we are bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh. This I saye as I said, all these things shall be false, if the flesh of him lost that hir nature by the coniunction of the Word, and turned it into godly nature. Wherefore we must diligently loke to oure selues in this matter, for bycause of false Doctors, whiche doe bereaue Christ from the true nature of oure flesshe, bycause he said not, The word is changed into flesh: nor, The word chaunged the flesshe into it selfe: but, The word was made flesh.

Ephes. 5.

The diligence of the fathers.

The holy and learned men which trauelled to aduaunce the puritie of our faith, hadde a great and very necessary care in this poynte, to refute their erraures which eyther denyed, eyther confounded two natures in Christe, or so confessed the one, that they extinguished the other: or elles so appoynted both, that they dyd holde also that they be two persons. And it was wrought by a maruellous slight of Satan, that the simplicitie of the faithfull is so trenched aboute wyth the bulwarkes of heresies, fronted one againste the other on both sydes, that there is greate daunger, least when he flée from the wickednesse which assaulteth him vpon the right hande, he fall not in another contrarye mischiefe lying in a stale for him on the left hande. For euen as in the faith of the holy Trinitie, if your will auoyde Sabellius, whiche dothe so appoynte the vnitie of nature in Godhead, that he taketh away the Trinitie of persons, vnlesse your doe warely auoyde it, it is an easie matter to fall vnto Arrius, whiche dothe confesse in déede three persons in the godhead, but dothe extinguish the vnitie of nature. When he dothe pull away the nature of the word, from the nature of God the father, as a created from the increate, as made from the maker. In like sort it maye befall to them that be not warefull, that when they doe eschewe the poyson of Manichee, so extolling the diuine nature of Christe, that denying the truth of mans nature, he dothe affirme that Christe had not a new body, but phantasticall and the similitude of a man, they maye stumble on the lefte syde, and fall into the snares of Photinus, whiche doth so attribute the trueth of mans nature vnto Christe, that he taketh quite away the nature of God. Againe if they will turne from Nestorius the

the Archbishop of Constantinople, whiche dyd so graunte to be two natures in Christe, that he did make to be in him also two persons, and dyd cutte one Christe into two: one whiche shoulde be the sonne of God, the other the sonne of man: ther is great daunger least they doe fall to Eutyches the Abbote of Constantinople, whyche dyd so appoynte to bée one person in Christe, and denyed to bée two, that he dyd withall teache that there was but one nature in hym, meanyng the nature of God, so that the nature of man shoulde be swalowed vppe by the coniunction of the worde.

These thrée couples of heretikes did wonderfully vexe the Church of Christe, but through the vigilancie and derteritie of the holy Fathers, they were in the olde time strongly ouerthrowé by the armure of Gods word, but not vtterly extincted. For we do sée, that of the sparkes of them which were left, there do rise vp as it were new firebrands in this our age. There be some whiche doe sauor of Sabellius, appoynting but one person in godhead: Some doe hurle abrode the poyson of Arrius, when they do denie that Christ the eternal sonne of God was borne before the worlds of the substãce of the father. And yet there be some, which railing vp again Eutyches, doe affirme that mans nature is so swalowed vp of the Godhead of the worde in the womb of the Virgine, that there remained none but the nature of Godhead. Some of those men, when they be compelled by euident testimonies of holye Scriptures, are driuen to graunte the truth of the flesh receiued by the word, they do graunte it, but not to passe beyonde the tearme of the earthly dispensation, whyche was ended in the ascésion of Christ, after whyche they doe stande in it, that there dothe remayne nothing in him of the nature of man whiche hée toke.

We must vvisely distincte betvvixt nature and person.

Wherefore godlye men must bée admonished, that diligétly eschewing these renewers of olde heresies, they maye cunningly putte difference betwixte nature and person, least they doe of errour so appoint it to be one person in Christ, that they doe denie two natures: or else confound them in a portétuous sort minglemaugle, or in that they doe acknowledge to be two natures in him distincted one from another by their properties, they doe withall suppose to bée also two persons in him. Concerning the person, there is one person of one selfesame Christ: touching nature, in déede there be in him two distinct natures, but not disseuered one from another, that of God which is of the word, which toke vpon him flesh: and that of man, which is of the flesh that was taken, of whyche none is changed into the other, but eache of them doth kéepe their proper and naturall condition. Christ which is conueyed vp into heauen true man, shalbe sene retourning so in the daye of iudgement, euen like as the Disciples saw him goe vp to heauen: not another from hym whiche ascended, but the same sonne of man, witnesseth hymselfe, shall returne with Angels in the maiestie & glory of the father, and shall at length restore the kingdome to God and the father, as we maye sée in the Epistle to the Corinthiãs.

Actes 1.

1. Cor. 15.

I meant to say somewhat of these matters in this place, vppon the occasion of that that the Euangelist doth not say, And the word was chãged into flesh, whiche shoulde please well the Photinians: nor, The word changed ẏ flesh into it, which shoulde like the Eutychians: nor, The word did counterfeite the flesh, whiche the Manichees would haue snatched vppon as spoken for them: Nother, And God toke vpon him flesh, which Sabellius woulde falsely abuse for the confirming of his wickednesse: nor simply, And ẏ word was made, whiche Arrius would commend euen vp to the skies: but, And the worde was made flesh, that is to say, the word so toke oure flesche, ẏ it became one person with it, which is of one Chryste true God and true man. So that if in this place, To be made, were heere all one, that it is or to be changed, or to passe from his owne nature into an other: it might folow that ẏ word was rather turned into flesche, than the flesche into the worde, so that we shoulde be compelled to thinke, that the nature of God did shrinke away, and was chaunged in the Virgins wombe, whiche were an horrible matter for godlye mindes. For it is an other manner of matter, for the flesche to become the worde, than the worde to become flesche. But away with these portentes. Neyther the flesche was chaunged into the worde, neither the word into the flesche. The Euangelist had none of those matters in his head when he wrote this, but his intent was, that like as the rest of the Euangelistes hadde sette forth the humane nature of Christe, so he woulde also sette forth both the Diuine and humane nature of the very same.

Seuenthly, thus far forth we haue treated of the words of the Euangelist John, in which he doth manifestly attribute ỹ. natures vnto Christ, that is of God and of man, in that he saith, The word was made flesh: now let vs consequently see of whence is the beginning of the taking of ỹ flesh by the worde. Valentinus ỹ folower of Plato, doth attribute vnto Christ flesh, not taken of the branch of oure kind, but brought downe frõ heauen. And his Scholers, to deceyue them ỹ be vnlearned in holy Scriptures, do from thence alleage testimonies, to confirme their opiniõ withal: as this out of John: No man ascended into heauẽ, but he which came downe frõ heauen, the sonne of man, which is in heauẽ. They do iudge that the sonne of man came so downe frõ heauen, ỹ he came into the wombe of the virgine not only in word, but in flesh also. And againe, You be frõ beneath, I am from aboue. And that they doe refer not to the corruption, but to the beginning of the flesche. Againe, He ỹ is of the earth, is of the earthe, and speketh earthly things: he that came from heauen is ouer all. *Ergo* saye they, Christ hath not this beginning of his flesche from the earthe as we haue, but hath the beginning of hys flesche from heauen as the sonne of God. And to the Corinthians: The first man is earthly of earthe, the second man the Lord himselfe frõ heauen. And they doe drawe this place likewise vnto the beginning of the flesh of Christ. Furthermore they do wrest vnto this error of theirs the same which the Church of ỹ faithful doth

doth cõfesse in the Crẽde, that Christ was conceyued of the holye spirite, appoynting the holy spirite to be so the authour of the flesche of Christe, that they doe attribute vnto it the beginning from God, and denie it to be of man. And they be so blinded in this erroure, that they doe affirme, that the blessed Virgin brought nothing else to the incarnation of the word, but that it gaue it a lodging in hir wombe for the forming of it: and after it was formed, she bare it and brought it forthe: so that by thys meanes Christe shoulde not bée the birth or fruite, but as a guest of the virgins wombe, contrarye vnto the manifest saying of Elizabeth, whych sayde: And blessed be the fruite of thy wombe. This is the opinion of the Valentinians of the beginning of the flesh of Christ.

But the right Orthodore church dothe beléeue and graunte, that the flesh of Christ is generally taken out of our flesche, which we haue altogyther taken by natural encrease from the very parent of our kinde Adam, but specially from the séede of Dauid and Abraham. And we doe confesse this faith, beléeuing the testimonies of the Euangelistes and of the Apostles. Luke dothe confirme it, in that that he doth drawe the generation of the flesh of Christ, as I tolde before, euen from Adam, who hadde some hope also that the séede of the woman shoulde breake the head of the Serpente, whiche can be vnderstode by none other but by Christe, euen as the worde of woman is of right principally referred vnto Eue, so that it is most certaynely proued, that Christe is the séede of the woman, and sonne of Eue. And I sée not how this may truly be spoké, vnlesse his flesh be taken out of the flesche of Adam and Eue, which is oure common flesche. And that he hath his beginning specially from the séede of Abraham and Dauid, the testimony of the Apostle and Euangelist Mathewe is playne, whereby excludyng euen at the beginning, and as it were from the first boundes of his gospell, the error of ỹ Valentinians, he saith: The booke of the generation of Iesu Christ the sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Abraham. And leaste the aduersaries might haue occasion to deuise I wote not what, of sundrye kindes of children, he doth adde by and by, the race of the posteritie of Abraham, drawen out in order by his whole petigrew, crying out almost that the flesh of Christ was not brought frõ heauen, but taken out of the auncient and long race of the séede of Abraham, to prouoke the Iewes by this hys testimonie, to embrace the faith of Christ. And was not content with that diligence, but did namelye also recken the generations or petigrewe of Abraham vntill Christe hymselfe. So that in case Valentine do not erre, surely I sée not whiche wayes the Euangelist can bée defended here, and not worthely blamed of deceyte and guile.

After these two Euangelistes cõmeth Paule the Apostle, for he also doth attribute the beginning of the flesh of Christe to be nother frõ heauen, nother from the very substance and nature of the godhead, as one man durst anouch in these our days: but from the séede of Abraham, and from our common flesche. For so hée

Acts.13.

said openly in the cõgregation of the Israelites, which was at Antioch in Pisidia. And whe he was thus (speaking of Saul) remoued, he set vp Dauid to be their king, of whõe he gaue testimonie also saying: I haue found Dauid the son of Jesse, a man according vnto my heart, which shal do al my willes. Out of his seede GOD brought forth vnto Israell his sauiour, according vnto his promise, whiche (as the Apostle saith) he promised before by his Prophets in the holye scriptures of his sonne, whiche was made to him out of ỹ sede of Dauid according vnto ỹ flesh. Also he speaking of ỹ Iewes: Whose fathers be they (saith he) of whome Christ is according to the flesh, whiche is aboue all things God blessed for euer. And againe, he calleth Christ ỹ sede of Abraham, to whom the promises were made: To Abraham (saith he) the promises were spoken, & to his sede. He saith not, To his sedes, as in manye: but as in one, And to thy sede, whych is Christe. And to the Ephesians he saith manifestly: We be members of his body, of his flesh, & of his bones. And in an other place: Bicause that children (saith he) did communicate in flesh and bloud, and he likewise was made partaker of the same. &c. And in the same Epistle: It is manifest, that our Lord was borne of Juda.

Rom.13.

Rom.9.

Galat.3.

Ephes.5.

Hebr.2.

These testimonies of the firste beginning of ỹ flesh of Christ be so manifest, that they do leaue no maner of doubt in their hearts, which wil giue credite to the plaine & euident truth rather than to madde mens imaginatiõs: whose vnbeliefulnes is so great, that they will saye that Christ is not borne of a virgin, but passed through hir euen as it were by a certaine pipe or conduite. And for ỹ cause, whereas this worde, Of, was put, they blotted it out and did set in this word, Vnto: reade it, Christe was brought forthe vnto the world, not Of, but By ỹ sede of Abraham & Dauid. Thus they are wont to doe which put their owne deuices into holy scriptures. Either they do wrest the vnto straunge sences, either they do corrupt also ỹ very wordes, which both ỹ Valentinias did.

And touching the scriptures whiche they do cite for themselues, as I mentioned before, the abuse of this is easily founde out by them which doe knowe that there be two natures in Christe, one of GOD, another of man. Faithfull folkes do vnderstand that the Sonne of man came downe from heauen, not so that his flesh was let downe frõ heauen, but in asmuch as ỹ word was made flesh: and that the sonne of man was then also in heauen, when he spake those thynges in the earthe, not by the presence of the flesh, but by the nature and maiestie of the worde, which was neuer sequestred from the father: in whych sense that is also to be taken, whiche is cited out of John. He that came frõ heauen, is aboue all. And that which he saith: You be from beneth, and I am from aboue, is spoken not of the beginning, but of the corruption of ỹ flesh which is of many sede. Christ was not conceyued of the sede of mã, but of working of the holy spirite conceiued in the wombe of the Virgin: wherefore he was not of beneath nor of the world ỹ is set to mischiefe, but as the word he was borne before the times of the nature & essence of God: but as man he was formed within

compasse of time of the flesh of the Virgine, by the worke of the holye spirit, wout any sinne. And touching that whiche is redde in the Epistle to the Corinthians, The first man was of earth earthly, the seconde man the Lord himselfe frõ heauen. As concerning Adam, it hath no darkenes in it at all. It is knowen, how he is of the earthe, and is called earthly. But whereas Christ the seconde Adam is said to be from heauen, that is peruerted by heretikes. The true meaning of it is, that Christe and Adam are alleaged by the Apostle as the two heads in mãkinde, to this intent ỹ he might expresse by them the condition of our mortalitie and glorification. As many as be of Adam, bee earthly, & bearing the image of their parente, subiecte vnto deathe and corruption. And this all we be vniuersally. On the other side, the elect whiche be borne not of bloud, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God, they be called here heauenly, albeit in flesh they be of Adame and of them it is reported, ỹ they shal be such in the resurrectiõ, as the heauenly Christ is also. If the Valentinians and the Eutychians do gather of this, the one sorte, that the flesh of Christ cõmeth not of our flesh, the other sort, that it did not hold that true nature of man: it followeth that the flesh of the elect persons also is of the very same condition. For the Apostle sayeth here not only that the seconde man Christe is of heauen heauenly, but he addeth that also manifestlye, saying: And such as is the heauenly, suche be they also that be heauenlye. And bycause you shall not referre it vnto Angels, in knitting vp the matter he doth conclude: Therefore lyke as we haue borne the image of the earthely, so we shall beare also the image of the heauenly. Wherefore it appereth ỹ the Apostle doth attribute this vnto the faithful, bicause they do expresse in them both the images of Adam & of Christ, one of corruption & mortalitie, the other of incorruptiõ & vnmortalitie: so ỹ in ỹ former they do expresse the earthly Adã, in ỹ they do dye and be corrupted: in the latter they do expresse the heauenly Adam, that is Christ, when they shal rise in the ende of the worlde to glorifying, immortalitie, & incorruption. This is the true and right meaning of the Apostle, whiche can not stande, vnlesse we do grant ỹ the flesh of Christ was taken of our flesh wout sinne, caried into heauen to the glory of immortalitie through the cõiunctiõ of ỹ word and the power of God. Otherwise we cã haue no hope, that after the image of the earthly man, we shall be lyke vnto the heauenly. But of thys place of the Apostle see our Cõmentaries vpon ỹ first Epistle to the Corinthias.

But whereas they do argue, that the flesh of Christ is not of the Virgine, is saide in the Crede, Whiche was cõceyued of the holy spirit. The same is also verye friuolous. The meaning of this peece is to be sought of the wordes of the Angell, wherein he said to ỹ blessed virgine: The holy spirite shal come vpõ thee: & to expoũd ỹ which he had sayd, he added: And ỹ power of ỹ highest shal shadow thee. The blessed virgine wondered, saying she had not touched a man, howe she shuld bring forth a child. The Angel doth opẽ the matter vnto hir, ỹ it shal not be by the accustomed course of

VVhich vvas conceyued of the holy spirite.

nature, by the sæde of man, but of the singular worʒking of the vertue of God. For he meaneth nothing else when he sayeth: The holy spirit shall come vppon thee, but the very same whiche he addeth: And the power of the highest shall shadow thee. For ỳ vertue and power of the highest, is the holye spirite. He wrought in the wombe of the Virgine, forming the sonne of man of hir fleshy and bloud, and perfourming this incarnation of the Worde, without anye sæde of man. Of this it doth not folow by any meanes, that the fleshy was conceiued of the nature and substaunce of the holy spirite: whiche opinion the Christian faith, as absurde and contrary vnto Scripturcs, dothe not admitte, which doth not acknowledge that Christe hathe two fathers, one God the father of the word, and the other of the fleshy the holy spirite: but one only God the father, who accorʒding to the Godhead, begat him from euerlasting, and in the later dayes formed him by the vertue of his holy spirite, true man accorʒding vnto ỳ fleshy in the wombe, and of the fleshy & bloud of the Virgine, as of the sæde of Abrahaam, accorʒding vnto his promises, and sent him the Sauior into the world. This I meant briefely to note of the beginning of the fleshe of Christ, wherby it is manifest inough how wicked an opiniō they had, whiche denyedỳ truth therof: which they do also, which doe fondly deuise it to be conceiued of the nature and substance of the holy spirite. For like as Christe saide vnto Nicodeme: The same which is borne of the fleshe, is fleshy: and the same which is borne of the spirite, is spirite. If Christe bée borne of ỳ substance of the holy spirite & not of the substance of the Virgines fleshy, it folowcth he is a spirite & not fleshy. For the substance of anye thing that is borne, is most rightely deemed to be of the substaunce of it from whence it is, and hathe his beginning. Adam was called earthly, bycause ỳ he was taken of the earth: Thou art earth (saith God) and shalt returne into earth. But if we do say that Christ is a spirite, in asmuch as he is borne of a Virgin, what do we else, but denie that he is man, and so do bring to nothing all his dispensation whiche he toke vpon him in the fleshy, and withall the whole hope and certaintie of oure redemption? But God forbidde. It appeareth clearer than the Sunne, of the very birth of ỳ fleshy of Christ, of ỳ promises which wente before, of those things whiche he suffered, spake and dyd, that he is true man, yea the very sonne of man: which cā not be true, vnlesse he hath the truth of our fleshy. Wherfore we doe affirme, that the heresies of the Manichees, the Marcionites and the Saturnines be damnable, which deemed the truth of the fleshy of Christe, whether they depriued frō it the beginning thereof, or whether confessing that it was borne of oure fleshe, yet they did spoile it of the nature of our manhode, bycause of the conimuction of the worde. 1 Eightly, some men haue also searched of the manner how the worde of God is incarnate. As for me, I thinke playnely it can not bée sought out, howe the child is conceyued, quickened, fedde, and doth growe of the sæde of man, after the accustomed course of nature, in the mothers womb, muche lesse howe this vnwonted and wonderfull incarnation of the word was perfected. It passeth the compasse of our vnderstandyng to yeeld any reason thereof, other than was answeded to the blessed Virgin hyr self, by the Angell, that is that it doth not cōsiste of the sæde of man, but of the vertue of the holy spirite.

2 But naughty and vngodly curious men, not content with this vnderstanding, do deny that there was made in the wombe of the Virgine a coniunction of the worde and the fleshy, that is to say, of the nature of God and of man, and haue taught that Christe was borne but a bare & pure man, saying that afterwardes when he shoulde take vpon him the dispensation, then the godhead was added vnto him by the anoynting of the holy spirite: agaynst whome the same is to be stoutely set, whiche the Euangelist doth denounce: And the worde was made fleshy: & that which the Aungell sayde to the blessed Virgin, The holy spirite shal come vpon thée, & the vertue of the highest shall shadow thée.

3 They thought it an vnfitting matter to attribute vnto the worde the coniunction of that fleshe which lieth hidde nine moneths within the compasse of the mothers wombe, increaseth, and when the time is accōplished, is borne, is wrapte in swadling bāds, is cherished in the armes, is subiect vnto the conditions of infancie and childhod, and suffereth all such other things. For they do think these maters ouer base to agrée with the maiestie of the worde to be ioyned vnto it. So that the same which with wonder they ought to worship, they do with their rashe deuises much dishonor.

4 The synode of Constantinople did withstād this errour, in that that it ordeyned, that the blessed Virgine shoulde be called the mother or bearer of God, not meanyng that God of himself could be borne of the Virgins wombe, vnto whome no suche matter can befall, but that the same man whiche the Virgine did beare, was not onely man, but through the coniunction of the worde, was both God and Man. Nestorius.

5 Agayne, Apollynaris Bishop of Laodicea, to the intent he would also disorder the way of the incarnated worde, did fondly deuise, that the worde toke vpon him fleshe onely, and not soule, in stéede of whiche in Christ (he sayd) that the worde was. Against him the very word of Christ is to be layde, when he sayde: My soule is heauy, euen to death. And in John, Now my soule is troubled: by which wordes certainely he witnessed, not onely that he had a soule, but suche a soule also, as is subiect vnto heauinesse and trouble: which thing can in no wise be attributed vnto the nature of the worde in it selfe. Wherefore it must nedes be vnderstāded of the soule of the man, which he toke vpon him. Apollynaris. Matth. 26. John. 12.

6 And least that be thought also sounde which they sayd afterwards, beyng ouercome by the manifest testimony of the wordes of Christe, that the worde in déede toke vpon him the very soule of man: but not so the minde, that is to say, the spirite: but that the worde it selfe was in stéede of the minde and spirite. Wée must hearken vnto Christ agayne, who

John. 3.

Luc.23. Matth.27.

who speaking of his spirite, sayth: Father I commende my spirite into thy hands. And, Jesus crying with a loud voyce, gaue vp his spirit. These places can not be vnderstanded as spokē of the worde of God, nor of the holy spirit, but in any wise of the spirite of man, which he tooke vpō him.

7 By the consideration of these matters it is manifest, that the word is not so incarnated in the wombe of the Virgine, that it tooke vpon hym either ẏ bare flesh without the soule, eyther the fleshe & soule without the spirite of man: but that this incarnatiō was so made, that therein is cōprehended both the soule and the spirite, that is, that the word tooke vpon him the whole man, with fleshe, spirite, and soule: of whence it cōmeth, that some folkes had rather call this coniunction of the worde and fleshe, To be man, rather Than fleshe: for ẏ that the fulnesse of the taking vpō him of man, or if ye lust of mans nature, is more expressed in the word of humanation, than of incarnation.

ἐνανθρώπησιν. σάρκωσιν.

Of the cause of this incarnation.

8 Lastly, let vs adde also the cause of this incarnation. The generall & summarie cause is, that mankinde should be redéemed frō sin, the kingdome of Satan, and euerlasting condemnation. Of this was somewhat sayd in the place before. Paule touched this to the Hebrewes, saying: For as much therfore as the childrē are partakers of fleshe and bloud, he was also likewise made partaker of the same, that he might abolishe him by death, whiche had the dominion of death, that is the Diuell, and to make thē frée, whiche through feare of death were subiect vnto bondage. For he tooke not vpon him the nature of Angels, but the séede of Abrahā. Unto this may be also annexed these reasons.

1 The firste, that it was méete to be declared by moste certayne argument, how Louing of mankind God is. For this purpose he woulde not onely redéeme man, but be knit vnto him also in a personall & an vndiuisible vnion and band. By this reason the Apostle calleth the presence of Christ in the flesh, the louingnesse of man in God, saying: But when the goodnesse & louingnesse of God our sauiour appeared. Wherewith that agreeth whiche is written in John: So God loued the worlde, that hée gaue his sonne. &c.

2 The seconde reason is, that hée might be like his brethrē. Wherfore the Apostle saith: Hée ought to be made like in al points to his brethrē. For bothe he that doth sanctifie, and they which be sanctified be al of one.

3 The thirde is, that he should be a faythfull and a mercyfull Bishop in those matters whiche were to bée wrought with God, to cleanse the sinnes of the people. Nazianzene did briefly after his fashion cōprise those thinges whiche concerne our saluation in this case: Last of al (saith he) he was borne for vs, to the intēt that he whiche graunted vnto vs that we should be, might graunt to vs also to be in good case. Or rather to the intēt ẏ we whiche through malice ceassed to be in good case, might be brought by his incarnatiō to the same again. The comming of God vnto men, is that we may returne again to God, and putting of our old man, may put on the new: and that like as we died all in Adā, so we may liue in Christ,

borne

borne with Christ, crucified, buried, and rising agayne also with Christ.

Of the dispensation or bestowyng of the Grace of God, and of mans Saluation purchased by Christe the Redeemer.

WE haue spoken in the places before, of the grace of God, of the redemption of mankinde appoynted to vs from euerlasting in Christe, and perfected these latter times, and also of the incarnation of the worde: now we must procéede by degrée to his dispensation. And I do not speake of the dispensation wherby Christe in his fleshe executed the will of his father in offering himself for vs, but of the same whereby saluation is gotten & cōmunicated vnto the world, that we may be made partakers of it. The grace of God is redy and set forth open to al the whole worlde, euen as the benefite of the sunne, casting out his heate & brightnesse euery where, is ready vnto all: But it is necessary, ẏ the same which is so ready & at hād to all mē, be profitably receyued. To this purpose serueth the dispēsatiō of the purchased & prepared saluatiō. Two things do belōg vnto a redéemer. The one is to redéeme: the other, to dispence or bestow the grace of his redemption. Without this dispensation a man cannot attaine vnto the end & pricke of the appointed redēption. Nor it is not a perfect redemption, vnlesse the fruite of it do stretch vnto thē which be redéemed, & so take his effect. In déede the grace of it selfe is perfect, & the worke of redēption perfect, which was made absolute & cōsummate by one oblation vpon the crosse: but for asmuch as the same perfectiō wherby the iustice of God is satisfied for the sinnes of the whole world, is appoynted vnto the fruite of our saluatiō, it is rightly déemed vnperfect, vnlesse it do reach vnto this appoynted end, although it be neuer so ful & cōsūmate in it selfe. Wherefore the very necessitie of ẏ perfectyng & fulfillyng of our redēption, & the counsel & purpose of Gods grace, did not requyre this only, that he should be offered as an expiatory, perfect & sufficiēt hoste for our sins, but ẏ the grace of the redēption gotten by this oblatiō, shold be cōmunicated amongst wretched sinners, & obtaine his effect by vertue of the dispensation. It may be that there be a medicine gottē, the vertue wherof is sufficient to heale the sicke person, yet vnlesse it be well bestowed, so that it may do good to the helth of the sick person, for asmuch as it is not brought vnto his end, so far forth it is rightly called vnperfect. For it is vnperfecte in respecte of the ende, though it come not by the faulte of it self, but either of the Physition, or of the pacient. Likewise also we must iudge of the grace of our redemptiō & saluation. We néede not to recoūte here any thing of the worke of our redēption, but we must sée of the dispensation of it. This dispensation hath thre cōsiderations. The first is, who doth it: the secōd, how: the third, to whome. If a mā do demaūd of the authoritie of the dispensation of the grace of God, it cā not be attributed

This dispēsation hath thre considerations.

Christ himselfe is the dispensor of the grace of God.

vnto any other, than vnto the Lorde himselfe, whiche is himselfe both the redeemer, and the dispensor of the redemption, as Lord of all, vnto whom God the father hath giue all power, and vnto whome also, as to the fountayne and throne of grace, we be cõmaunded to go. Come to me (sayth he) all, and I will refresh you. Item,

Iohn.7. He that thirsteth, lette him come to me and drynke. And to the woman of Sichem: If thou knewest (sayth he) who it is that sayth vnto thée, Giue me to drinke, thou wouldest haue asked of him, & he woulde haue giuen thée water of lyfe. And,

Iohn.6. Séeke you not the meate which perisheth, but that which abideth vnto euerlasting lyfe, whiche the Sonne of man shal giue you. And the Apostle saith:

Ephes.4. Vnto euery one of vs, is giuē grace, according vnto the measure of the giuyng of Christe. Wherefore he sayth: He going vp a high, ledde captiuitie captiue, he gaue giftes vnto men. Further if we do search for the efficacie and sufficiencie of this dispensation in respect of it also, there is none but Christe, that can effectually dispense the grace of redemptiō vnto men. For it is hée onely that is able by his spirite to open our harts, to illuminate them in forgiuyng of sinnes, to iustifie, to regenerate, and and make sonnes & heyres of God. In déede he appointed the Apostles to be the dispensors of this his grace, but no otherwise but as ministers, and kept the authoritie and efficacie vnto his owne maiestie and vertue.

The efficacy of the dispensing of grace perteyneth onely to Christ.

1.Corinth.4. So it is to be vnderstanded, that the Apostle sayth: Let a man so estéeme vs, as mynisters of Christe, and dispensors of the mysteries of God. Agayne, The dispensation is comitted vnto me. And to the Ephesians. For you haue hearde the dispensatiō of the grace of God, whiche is giuen me towardes you. And to Titus: A bishop must be blameleslie, as the dispensor of God. And Peter sayth: As good dispensors of the manyfold grace of God. These things haue a respect vnto the mynisterie committed, and are done seruiceably: in whiche sense they were also called the light of the world, where as in very déede Christ is the light of the worlde. What soeuer is done by this seruiceable dispensation, is not to be imputed vnto the mynisters, but to the Lorde himselfe; whiche by the vertue of his spirite, doth make theyr mynisterie sufficient and profitable. For he sayde: Without me you can do nothyng. And, Lo I am with you, vntill the ende of the worlde.

2 If it be demaunded, how the dispensation of the grace of God is perfected, we must know that there be two things necessarily requisite, that this grace be rightly offered, & rightly accepted. These two some folkes cal Application, and do attribute it vnto the sacrifice of ỹ Masse, which they do call Applicatorie, and in this behalfe do diffinct it from the sacrifice of the Crosse, bycause that was Expiatory and once onely offered: but this is Applicatorie, and to be repeated dayly, bycause in it the vertue and efficacie of it is applyed vnto them, whiche deuoutely stande by, and do pray (specially if they giue mony for the Masse) yea & to ỹ dead also. But of this deuise wée will speake, if God graūt, when we come to the place of the sacrifice of the

Newe

Newe testament. Their oblation is not that, whiche doth exhibite vnto men the grace of redemptiō and saluation purchased. They do counterfayte that they do offer a sacrifice vnto God for the quicke and dead, and that they do with thēselues apply in theyr minds the efficacie therof to whome they liste. The true dispensation committed by the Lorde to the Apostles, hath no expresse cōmaundement of sacrifying and offering vnto God, but of gospellyng, that is of preachyng the gospel in the worlde. So (sayth he) about the worlde, preach the gospell to al creatures. Item, Teache ye all people. And that the dispensation of grace is committed vnto this commaundement of the preaching of the gospel, it is very manifest in the wordes of the Apostle, where he sayth: Woe be to me if I do not preach the gospell. For if I do it willingly, I haue a rewarde: but if I do it agaynst my will, there is a dispensation committed vnto me. And when he had sayde to the Ephesians, that the dispēsatiō of the grace of God was giuen vnto him, a litle while after he doth adde, that the Gentils be felow heyres of one body, and partners of the promise in Christe Iesu, by the gospell whereof (sayth he) I am made a mynister according vnto the gift of the grace of God, which is giuen me according vnto the working of his vertue. For vnto me the least of all saintes, is giuē this grace to preach among the Gentils the vnsearchable riches of Christe, and to lighten all, &c. And most playnely of al to the Corinthians: It pleased God (sayth he) by the foolishnesse of preachyng to saue the beléeuers. Thereof it is, that in the same chapt. he sayth, that the word of the crosse (so he termeth the gospell of Christ crucified) is the vertue of God vnto them, which are saued. And in an other place he saith:

Rom.1. I am not ashamed of the gospel. For it is the vertue of God to saluation vnto euery beléeuer. Sée how farre wide they be from the determinatiō of God, whiche do attribute the dispensation of mans saluation vnto Popish Masses, whiche God woulde haue done by the preachyng of the Gospell.

How the grace of God is rightly accepted.

Hitherto we haue spoken of this point, how the grace of God is rightly offered vnto men, nowe nerte wée must sée how it is receyued aright. Vnlesse it be conuenientely receiued, it is to no purpose offered. And it is receyued by hearyng, beleuing, and obeying. Christe sayde: Preache the gospell vnto all creatures. He that beleeueth, and is Baptised, shalbe saued: he that beleeueth not, shalbe cōdemned. And, he that beleeueth in me, shall haue life euerlastyng. And the Apostle sayth, the gospell is the vertue of God, to saluatiō vnto euery beleeuer. And when he had sayd, It pleased God to saue men by foolishnesse of preachyng, he did adde, the beleeuers: *Ergo*, the grace of saluation is receyued by fayth. And it is requisite, that firste the gospell be hearde.

Rom.10. For how shall they beleue (sayth the Apostle) of whome they haue not hearde? How shall they heare without a preacher? &c. *Ergo*, fayth commeth by hearing the word of Christ. So that it is nédefull, that the Gospell be hearde, to stirre vp fayth in the hart of mā. And in déede it is not

Saluation commeth by fayth.

inough

Hearing of the goſpell.

nough to heare, vnleſſe the ſame whiche is heard, be heard with the eares, not as the woꝛde of men, but as the woꝛde of God, and as he ſaith to the Theſſalonians, be credited with hart: wherfoꝛe the Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame chapter to ỹ Romaines: Haue they not heard? And to the Ebꝛewes, It hath bene declared vnto vs, euen as to them. But the hearing of the woꝛde pꝛofited them not, bicauſe it was not ioyned with faith to them which heard it: & yet it is requiſite of neceſſitie, that the woꝛd of the grace of God be heard. Further it is nedefull, that the hartes of the hearers be opened to beleue. Foꝛ if there come withall no woꝛking of God within the mind of the hearer, it cã not be ỹ the fleſhly mã can perceiue thoſe things ỹ be of God. Mãs reaſon wil crie out, that ỹ pꝛeaching is a thing moſt fooliſh, ſuperſtitious, abſurde, & to beware of, moſt of all other matters: ſo far off is it frõ receiuing of it in faith. Foꝛ reaſon ſuppoſeth it not méete foꝛ any wiſe body to beleue ỹ woꝛd of matters vnknowẽ, ſet foꝛth without any Syllogiſticall demõſtratiõ. There is requiſite then a ſingular woꝛking of God to ouerthꝛow the ſenſe of mans reaſon, & to make it captiue vnto the obedience of faith. Of this there is a very godly exãple ſet foꝛth in the Acts of the Apoſtles, of Lydia ỹ ſeller of Purples, of whom theſe two things be mẽtioned: one that ſhe heard Paul pꝛeach: the other that the Lord opened hir hart, to be intẽtiue vnto thoſe things which were ſpokẽ by Paul: & ſo came to the faith of Chriſte. Here you do ſée the woꝛd of the pꝛeachyng of the goſpell, the hearing of the eares, and the opening of the hart al ioyned togither. There doth cõcurre vnto this diſpenſation of grace the miniſter, the man, & the Lorde. The miniſter pꝛeacheth, the partie whether it be man oꝛ woman, heareth it, the Lorde openeth the harte, & giueth ablenes diligently to attende it, to vnderſtãd it, and beléue it. So that vnleſſe the Lord do teach & woꝛke within in the hart, ſurely he is nothing whiche either in pꝛeaching doth plante oꝛ water. On the otherſide, vnleſſe there be one that do pꝛeach, & vnleſſe ỹ woꝛde of pꝛeaching be heard, we may not hope, that (ſpeakyng accoꝛdyng vnto this oꝛder of the Apoſtle,) the vertue of God in woꝛkyng dothe poure in faith into the harts of the faithful.

Hebr. 7.

Acts. 16.

Cõſequently, the obedience of ỹ beleuer is requiſite, to that ỹ the grace of ſaluatiõ & life be receyued by hearing & beleuing, to pꝛofit & to do good withal: wout it we do not only heare in vaine, but we beleue alſo in vain the ſame ỹ we haue heard. This obedience doth include in it amendmẽt & renewyng of life. The Apoſtle dothe cõplaine of the Galathiãs that they did obey the truth, ſaying: Who letted you ỹ you obeyed not the truthe? And to the Theſſalonians, he threatneth ỹ vẽgeance of God vnto them, which do not obey the goſpel. And to the Romaines: Know you not (ſaith he) ỹ vnto whõ you yelded your ſelfe ſeruãts to obey, that his ſeruãts you be, whom you do obey: whether it be of ſinne to death, oꝛ of obedience vnto iuſtice? But thankes be to God, that wheras you were ſeruants of ſinne, you haue obeyed hartyly to this faſhion of doctrine wherevnto you be bꝛought. In any caſe as incredulitie doth obey ſin, ſo it is requiſite, ỹ faith do obey ỹ woꝛde of grace. Wherfoꝛe it is ỹ ſame Apoſtle ſayth, That he receiued ỹ Apoſtleſhip, to the obedience of faith to be pꝛeached among al the Gẽtils. So that whether he do ioyne faith and obedience togither, oꝛ whether he do ſal obedience faith itſelf, alwaies it is manifeſt that there is neither true faith, neither ſufficiẽt to ſaluatiõ in thẽ which do ſo beleue Chriſt, that wall they be diſobedient vnto the woꝛde of grace, & do bring foꝛth no fruite of their fayth, but do liue in ỹ church of Chriſt wout any amẽdment & newnelle of life. To thẽ belõgeth that admonitiõ of the Apoſtle, whẽ he ſaith: But we as helpers do alſo deſire you, ỹ you receyue not ỹ grace of God in vaine. They ſéeme to receyue the grace of God in vain, which do receiue in déede the woꝛd of grace wõ a cõuterfaite faith, but they obey not the woꝛde, nꝛ put not on newnelle of life, but continue in the bõdage & obedience of ſin. Surely theſe folkes do receiue the grace of god in vaine, foꝛ almuch as being deſtitute of vertue & of the effect thereof, they be not ſaued. And as foꝛ that whiche ỹ eninies of the grace of god do here obiect, ſaying: *Ergo*, faith onely dothe not iuſtifie, but the woꝛkes of faith & obedience be alſo requiſite. We will anſwer the matter by the grace of ỹ Lord, in ỹ place of iuſtificatiõ. Thus much how the grace of ſaluatiõ & life is diſpẽſed: now let vs cõſider of that which we ſaid is the third point, that is to whom it is diſpenſed. Here we muſt loke vnto the partes of this diſpẽſatiõ, of which we made mention.

1 As concerning the firſt, when the grace of God is diſpẽſed in the Apoſtolical miniſtery by the pꝛeaching of the goſpel, in this poynt we muſt anſwer, that it is cõmonly diſpẽſed vnto all, accoꝛding vnto the inſtitution of the Lord, whẽ he cõmaunded that the goſpell ſhould be pꝛeached to all creatures thꝛough out al the woꝛld, and to be taught vnto al people. And thus far foꝛth alſo the Old & Newe teſtamẽt do differ, ỹ the diſpenſation of the old is appointed vnto one people onely of Iſrael, accoꝛding vnto ỹ ſaying, He did not like vnto euery natiõ: but the diſpenſatiõ of the new is by Gods gwonelle appointed vnto al the nations, and all the men of the whole woꝛld. Herwith agreeth that which the Apoſtle ſaith: who would that al mẽ ſhould be ſaued, & come to the knowledge of the truth. In this reſpect the Apoſtle did acknowledge himſelfe, to be detter vnto all men, Grekes & Barbariãs, wiſe & vnwiſe to declare vnto thẽ the goſpel of god. And would God, al the miniſters of Chriſt were of this minde, that they were deſirous to diſpẽce the grace of ſaluation & life by pꝛeaching vnto al mẽ generally. 2 But as touching the latter part, which requireth that the grace of God be rightly & pꝛofitably taken, we muſt graũt that the efficacie of this diſpenſation cõmeth not vnto al mẽ. Foꝛ all mẽ haue not faith, & amõg thẽ alſo which do pꝛofeſſe the faith in Chriſte, there be but few ỹ do truely beléue, & bring foꝛth the fruites of faith, which belõg vnto them which be of God. The parable of the ſowꝛer is known, wherein by the fourth parte of the ſéede are deſcribed the elect, whiche receyue the woꝛd with a good hart, & bꝛyng foꝛth fruite. And therof it cõmeth that few be

Pſalm.

1. Timoth. 2.

Rom. 1.

Iohn. 1. & 8. Matth. 13.

our ſaluation is diſpenſed.

Matth.22.

be saued. For albeit that there be many called, yet there be fewe electe and chosen. If any body do aske, whereof the fault of this lacke commeth, God forbid we should impute it to any other thing, than to the corruption and blindenesse of the fleshe, whereby it commeth to passe, that men do loue darknesse rather than light, and that they had rather serue the pleasures & affections of the flesh to destruction, than obey the worde of grace to saluatiō. The light came into the world, but the world so embraceth the prince of darknesse, that it turneth frowardly away from the Prince of light. When he that is the mynister to dispence the grace of God, dothe finde in very dēde, that there be very fewe whiche do aright receyue the grace offered them, and profitably bestowe it, he may not despayre and forsake the charge cōmitted vnto him: but let him thinke rather of the Prophets, Apostles, and of Christ himselfe, whiche although they did not onely preach, but did also prouoke all men vnto saluation, by exāples of innocencie, godlinesse, and mēkenesse, and confirmed also the doctrine of truthe by the brightnesse of miracles, and secluded all excuses from the vnbeleuers, yet they brought a very smal parcell of men, vnto the true amendement and felowship of the grace of God.

A comfort for the ministers of the vvord.

Of the Gospell of Iesu Christe.

The very order of the matters, whereof wee haue taken vpon vs to instructe the simpler sorte, in these places, dothe of it selfe leade vs to this, that after the dispensation of grace, whereof we haue treated in generall, we do passe on to expounde the partes of it. Let vs consider therfore of the Gospell of Iesu Christe, whereby the grace of our saluation is dispensed in the worlde. The Latine worde *Euangelium*, commeth of the Grēke, signifying a good & wishfull message. It is vsed also in good Authors for the rewarde, whiche is giuen vnto them that do bryng good tidyngs: In whiche sense Cicero also in his Epistles to Atticus vsed this worde. Besides that, like as the supper of the Lorde in the church of Christe was called by our fathers *Eucharistia*, which soundeth a thākesgiuing, bycause that in it there is offered by the faythfull a sacrifice of thankes giuyng for the redemption gotten by Christ: So the Ethnikes vsed also, when they reioyced of any good tidings, to offer sacrifices vnto their Gods, and those sacrifices they called *Euangelion*, that is good tidings. They were not of themselues good tidings, but they were termed so for the good tidings whiche they had receyued, in consideration wherof, they made theyr sacrifices. So Christian men may also most rightly call the memory of the Lordes death, the Lordes death. This by the way of the name of the Gospell, in what sense it was vsed of men heretofore.

But as cōcernyng Christian mē, this name is so passed ouer vnto thē, that it is become vnto them moste frequent and common, and of good right also most proper and peculiar.

For

For nothing in all the worlde, from the beginning thereof vntill the end, befell to mankynde so luckie as the same whiche began to be tolde and preached in euery place thorowe the worlde vnder the name of Christe. That is, that mankynde is redēmed by the death of the onely begotten sonne of God, & that the forgiuenesse of all mens sinnes and life euerlasting, is ready for al thē that do belēue in him. This tidings as most lucky of all that euer came, Christ & his Apostles called the Euangely or gospell, to admonishe vs in what reputation we ought to haue it. Amēd (he sayth) and beleue the gospel. Put a parte (sayth Paule) to the gospel of Christe. This gospell is adorned in the holy wrytings of the Euangelistes and the Apostles with moste handsome additions and sayings. First it is called the gospell of God: so termed of the author from whom it was sente into the world. And so it is called also the word of God. It is a great commendation of the gospel, that it came not into the worlde by any mans deuice, but predestined frō euerlasting by the coūsel and wil of God, promised by the Prophets, & that it is performed at length. Gamaliel sayd most wisely: If this coūsell or worke be of menne, it will be broken: but if it be of God, you can not destroy it. I would they were of the same minde, whiche do so stryue now a dayes to defend the doctrines & commaundements of men, against the doctrine of the Gospell, and tumble heauen and earth togither, goyng about to breake the same which is sente into the worlde not by men but from God. Secondly, the Gospell of Iesu Christe the Sonne of God, is called The word of Christe, The word of the Lord, The doctrine of the Lord, The doctrine of the Sauiour, The preachyng of the Lord, that is to say, so named by him of whome it is so reported, taught and preached in the world by the gospel. By these speaches we be admonished of whome we muste make reporte in the Church, yea in the whole compasse of the earth: that is, of Iesu Christe the sonne of God and our Lorde. He is declared and reported vnto vs by the gospell, to be the only redēmer of all men, the mediatour betwixt God and men, the reconciler and sauiour, Lord and Master, kyng and chiefe Priest, onely to be hearde of all men, the saluation & life vnto al which do belēue in him. This gospell is to be preached in the church. He that preacheth any other gospel, though he do pretende the name of Christe, dothe not bryng the doctrine of Christe, but the doctrine of Antichrist. Thirdly, it is called by the qualitie thereof The good worde of God. Agayne, Good doctrine. And also in Mathew, Good sēde. Lastly the very worde, Gospell, dothe include this qualitie, that it signifieth to be good tidings. The goodnesse of it is, bycause it is profitable vnto saluation, and hath nothyng noysome in it. For whereas by Paule it is cōpared vnto a good sauour, which vnto others is a saucur of death vnto death, it is not to be referred to the qualitie of it, but vnto the faulte of them whiche do perishe for theyr incredulitie. Otherwise the Gospell is of it selfe good, and most profitable to them that be saued. In which respect

The gospel of Iesu Christe. Marke.1. Coloss.3. Act.6. Act.13. Tit.2. Rom.16.

The good vvorde of God. Good doctrine, good seede, and Good tydings. Hebr.6. 1.Timoth. 4. Matth.13. 2.Corinth. 2. Tit.2.

spect it is called also, The holsome worde or talke. It is somewhat like a medicine, which beyng of his owne qualitie good and holsome, by the disease of them that do perish withall, it becommeth noysome. And I am very carefully afrayd, least this goodnesse of the Gospell of God, will be pernicious for many in this age of ours, for whome it had bene much better neuer to haue had knowē the truthe, than to slippe backe agayne after they haue tasted of the good worde of God. The worlde woulde neuer abide to acknowlege the goodnesse of the Gospell of Christe, but dothe alwayes turne from it as a thyng very noysome. So that it is no newes that there is so great a nūber of them in the worlde, which say that good is euill, & euill good: & make darkenesse light, and light darknesse, sower swéete, and swéete sower, to whom the Lorde doth threaten that horrible woe of his reuenge. They that do not serue Christe, but do apply thēselues to the world, do blame this good worde of God of sedition: and that before Princes, to prouide that it finde no place among them, whereas they themselues be rather infect with the spirite of seditions. They that be drouned in ẏ pleasures of the fleshe, do iudge this good worde of God and swéete yoke of Christ to be most gréeuous and bitter, bicause it requireth the amēdment and newnesse of lyfe, frō whiche they do marueloully abhorre. And do we maruell how it is, that so few do constātly and earnestly cleaue vnto the Gospell? That saying is most true: The gospels burthen were but light, if fleshe and profite raygned not.

Esay.5.

Fourthly, it is called in Marke the gospell of the kingdome of God, and in Mathew, The worde of the kingdome, surely for that that it doth call vs frō the kingdome of Satan vnto the kingdome of God, whiche is prepared for the elect, euen frō the establishment of the world. So saith the Apostle: Whiche called you into his kingdome. And ẏ kingdome of God is of two considerations, that is, of grace, and of glory. It is begon in vs by the dispensation of grace, if wée take it by faith, and so it cōmeth to passe, that turning out the Prince of the worlde, the spirite of God dothe raigne in vs, and after this life we be brought vnto eternall glory, whiche they do trust vpō altogither in vain, in case they do trust vpō it, as many as do despise & turne from the kingdome of the grace of God.

Fiftely, it hath also very fayre additiōs, by that which it doth denoūce and promisse vnto them that beléeue in Christ. It denounceth the grace of God, whereby the Redéemer whiche was appointed for mākind frō euerlasting, was sent into the world, and for this cause it is called the gospell of the grace of God, and the word of grace. It is also ẏ worde of the Prophets, & the worde of the true & onely God: but they do oftentymes declare not the grace, but the anger of God, and the secrets of them be full of the threatenyngs of the worde of Gods reuenge. And the lawe giuen by Moses, commaundyng and pressyng, threateneth curse vnto the disobedient, and accordyng vnto the testimony of the Apostle worketh anger. Wherefore there is so greate difference betwixt the lawe & the gospell, that

that they which do beléeue in Christ are sayde to be not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace: And that they do fall from grace, whiche do séeke their iustifying in the lawe. The lawe chargeth, presseth, and curseth: the Gospell preacheth to them that beléeue it, grace and remission of their sinnes. And what is more wishfull, yea what more necessary vnto saluatiō for them which are cōceyued & borne in sinnes, and drinke sinne as fast as water? They do most worthily perishe and are subiecte vnto the wrath of God, whiche do eyther peruerte the Gospel of the grace of God into the doctrine of merites, or else do vtterly sette naught by it. God kéepe this from my spirite, that I a sinfull man should reiect the grace of God, without which, what so euer other folkes do presume vpon, I do acknowledge and confesse without all dissimulatiō and doubt, that there can be no manner of saluation: and do giue thankes vnto Christ my Redéemer, that hée hath mercyfully vouchsaued to call me by his Gospel to his inestimable grace, out of the torment of conscience whiche reygneth in Babylon.

Sixtly, there is denounced by the Gospell, health and saluation to the beléeuers of it, wherefore it is moste rightly called, The gospell of health, and the worde of health. Health, is not here vnderstāded to be the same, when that whiche is well, kéepeth his health that it decay not: but that it is rather saluation when the same is deliuered and preserued from destruction, whiche else shoulde vtterly perishe. So health is denounced vnto sinners and to them that be subiect vnto death by the Gospell, whereby the olde enimy being ouercome, they be deliuered vnto lyfe, so that they do giue themselues wholly by fayth to theyr deliuerer and redéemer, and do thankfully embrace the grace offered vnto them. The firste kinde of health, when those things that be whole, be kepte whole, agreeth vnto the Angels: and the latter vnto mākind. To this place is to be referred that whiche the Apostle sayth: I am not ashamed of the Gospell, for it is the vertue of God, vnto saluation to al beléeuers, which is so spoken, that we must vnderstand that there is no saluation to be trusted vpon of any man, vnlesse he do beléeue the gospel. For so it pleased God, that by the folishnesse of the preachyng of the gospel, he would saue the beleuers in it.

Rom.1.

1.Cor.1.

Seuenthly, it is called also the worde of life. Keping (sayth the Apostle) the worde of life, that I may reioyce in the day of Christe. And hée speketh not of the lyfe of this world, but of the same which is true and eternall. The gospel is called ẏ worde of this life, bicause that it dothe promisse it to them whiche do beléeue in Christ, according vnto that: He that beleueth in me, hath life euerlasting. And, This is the will of him that sent me, that euery one whiche seeth the Sonne and beléeueth on him, haue euerlastyng lyfe. This Peter meant, when he sayd: Lord to whom shall we go? Thou hast the wordes of eternall lyfe. The worde of the olde Serpent, whiche draweth men from the worde of lyfe, is the worde of death to all them which do cleaue vnto it, though it do promisse in this worlde not deathe, but prosperitie of

The vvord of Lyfe. Philip.2.

Iohn.6.

The vvord of Death.

of al things. He said not vnto Christ: If thou fal downe and worship me, I will make thee subiect vnto euerlasting death: but thewyng him all the kingdomes of the world, he said: I wil giue thee all these, if thou wilt fall downe & worship me. When he did seduce our first parents, he sayde not: Ye shall die if you do eate of the fruite of the tree of knowledge of good & euill: but, No, you shal not die, but you shalbe as Gods, knowyng good and euil. The moste wyly Serpent knewe, that there was death in the taste of mās knowledge. Wherfore who soeuer feareth death, lette him take hede of the word of death, that is to say, of the doctrine of mās wisedome, whiche dothe profer vs the taste of the forbidden fruyte to death, and leadeth vs away from the worde of life. It is surely the tongue of the serpent, whiche teacheth of the free will of man to good, and of the strength & merites of man, that is, whiche doth iustifie & maketh a God of our flesh, to make voyde the grace and life whiche commeth by Christ.

Gene. 3.

Death in the taste of the forbidē knowledge.

Eightly, it hath this cōmendation also, that it is called The word of reconcilement. For it dothe denounce that the reconcilement is made betwixt God and mankynde by Christ the Redeemer. So sayth the Apostle: All things be of God, who reconciled vs to him by Christe, and gaue vs the mynisterie of the reconciliation. For God reconciled the world to him in Christ, not repatyng theyr sinnes vnto them, and did place the word of reconciliation in vs. In this respect also it is called The gospel of peace. Stande therefore (sayth he) gyrdyng about your loynes with the

The vvord of Reconcilement.

2. Corinth. 5.

girdle of truthe, and puttyng on the brest plate of iustice, and with shoes vpon your feete, that you may be ready to the gospell of peace. For of hence peace is denounced from God vnto vs: that we be reconciled to him by Christe, as many of vs as do truly beleeue in him. And this is that peace of Christe whiche passeth all perseuerance, whiche the worlde can not giue, but goeth about to take it away, in that it offereth peace to the which folow the worlde, and destruction to them that forsake it.

The gospel of Peace. Ephes. 6.

Ninthly, it is called also The word of the truth. For the hope (saith the Apostle) which is layde vp for you in heauen, whiche you heard in the worde of the truth of the gospel, whiche came vnto you, &c. And agayne: Endeuor to shewe thy self to be liked of God, a workeman that needeth not to be ashamed, deuidyng the worde of truthe euenly and iustly. He begate vs (sayth James) willingly by the worde of truthe. And the worde of truthe is taken two wayes. Firste after the manner of the Ebrewes for a true worde, for they do cal the worde of truth, what so euer is truly spoke. So the quene of Saba sayde vnto Salomon. The worde that I hearde in my owne lande, is the truth. And in the same booke of the Kynges the woman of Sarepta sayde vnto Elias: Nowe I haue knowen that thou arte the man of God, and the worde of God is in thy mouth, that is truthe. Secondly it is taken for the worde spoken vpon any truth. Bothe wayes the Gospell is the worde of truthe. For it is true doctrine, without lie, and it is brought into the worlde

of the worde of God by Christe. The same is the counsell and purpose of God of our healthy predestinated frō euermore in Christe: wherefore he sayde: I am the way, truth, and life. And he sayde vnto Pilate, that he came into this worlde, to beare witnesse to the truth, and to them which beleeued in him. If you abide (sayth he) in my talke, you shall knowe the truth, and the truth shal deliuer you. Loke there what is noted in our Commentaries of this truth.

So that the gospel is commended vnto vs for the truthe of it in two respectes, partely bycause it is quite clere from lying and deceyt, though it be accused in the worlde of heresie and deceyte, and partely bycause it dothe tell vs of that truth of God, in whiche onely is the way vnto health, lyfe, & true peace with God. Our aduersaries crie out that the doctrine of it is seditious, and disturbeth the vniuersall peace. If they do meane of the peace of the worlde, we graunt that it helpeth not to the peace, but rather to the sequestryng, I meane of them whiche do sticke togither not in the truthe of God, but in the lies of Satan. So Christe himselfe sayde: Suppose you that I came to sende peace into the world? I tell you, No, but diuision. The elect and the reprobate be mingled togither in the worlde. Among these whiche do euil agree in errour, what shoulde truth, when it is brought in, worke else, but the diuision of them which hang but euilfauoredly together, whereby the elect be pluckte frō the reprobate? This is the worlyng of the worde of truth, detecting errours and lies, gatherynge vnto it the children of lighte, and confoundyng the children of darknesse. This is the fame whereof Iohn Baptist spake, crying out to all men, that it was in the Lordes hande, to the entēt to purge hys flower of his barne, & to gather the corne into his barne, and cast the chaffe into euerlastyng fire. What hath the corne to do with the chaffe? It is not an euill but a good diuision, when the corne is sifted from the chaffe. Will not the wicked folkes be counted for chaffe? If they be corne in dede, let them shew themselues to be corne, the worde of the truthe dothe trie and discouer bothe the elect and the reprobate, as well as the fanne doth sifte the corne from the chaffe. If they be electe, lette them acknowledge the worde of truth, and beleeue. They haue no care for the truthe, but that they would haue it suppressed. They wold haue peace, but that not of Christe and of the elect, but of the worlde: not the same whiche consisteth in the truth, but the same which is kept in by lies. We would also haue peace, for wee lyke no stryfe. We would also haue that whiche is true, and chiefly the truth it selfe. For we like not lies. A fewe yeeres agone, there was declared to be a greate zeale of the truth and vpō the desire of truth: there is rysen in euery place discordes. Now a greate sorte whiche seemed that they were become fautors of the truth, turnyng the cat into the pan, haue chaunged the study of truth into the study of peace: & as before they did refuse the peace of the worlde for the truthe, so they do now forsake the study & profession of the truth for the peace of the world.

The vvork of truth amōgst them that do erre.

The zeale of truthe chaunged into the study of peace.

Herevpō came the cōsent that some men a few yeeres past, did yeelde thē-selues vnto such determinations, as that the Popish coūcel should make, not for that they had any hope that they should be conformable vnto the truth of Christ, but that thei thought that in pretence thereof, they might the more honestly returne vnto their olde peace and concorde. And for as-much as I am fallen into this mat-ter, I do vniuersally beseeche all thē, whiche in these latter and wicked times do professe and acknowledge the gospel and the truth, that they do withall endeuor beware, that they desire not that peace, whiche may turne out the profession of the truth: but let them certainely knowe, that same peace whiche is ordeyned be-sides the truthe can not altogither stande, much lesse the same which is now adayes sought to the destructiō of it, by the wicked folkes of this worlde, and not beyng the fauorers of the truth. We must keepe well in minde the same whiche the Synode of Ariminēsis did signifie to the Em-perour Cōstantine as for an admo-nition, whiche is this: Who shal also informe thy godlinesse, that there shall not folowe peace, as Ursacius and Valens haue sayd, but contentiō & trouble, if any thing of that which is right be ouerthrowen.

An. 1548.

Tenthly, it is also called The worde of fayth. This is the worde of fayth (sayth the Apostle) which we do preach. First it is called the word of fayth, for a difference from the law, and the same for asmuche as it chargeth & cōmaundeth those things whiche are to be done, may be right-ly called The worde of workes. So the Gospell, bycause it denounceth things that are to be beleued, is cal-led by the Apostle, the word of faith. Secondly, it may be called the worde of fayth, for that cause that those things which be denoūced by the go-spell, are not receyued but by fayth, so that there can be no place for syl-logisticall reasons. Wherefore the disciples of mans wisedome can not be scholers of the gospell of God, by-cause they wil not beleue nor cā not. For that saying taketh here place: Unlesse you do beleeue, you shal not vnderstande. Wherefore, euen as the workemasters and iustitiaries whiche do auaunce the worde of workes, so the Philosophers also whiche do honor the word of know-ledge and wisedome, are far off from the Gospell and worde of faith, as by no meanes able to attayne vnto it. But of the fayth whiche the gospell of Christ requireth, we must speake in a place by it selfe.

The vvord of fayth.

Rom. 10.

Eleuēthly, it is also called by the Apostle, The doctrine of the spirite. We (saith he) haue receyued not the spirite of this worlde, but the spirite which is of God, that we may know what things be gyuen vs of GOD, whiche we do also speake, not in the talkes whiche mans wisedome tea-cheth, but in the doctrine of the spy-rite. By this speache also is the go-spell sequestred from the doctrine of mans wysedome, and that in two re-spectes. First, bycause it is not such a doctrine & science, whiche is bredde out of the harte or minde of any man, but of the spirite of God. Se-condly, for that also that it can not be comprehended by mans wisedome, but it hath neede of the workyng of the

the holy spirite, wherby it is cōueyed into our hartes. Therefore as this gospell of Christe is a spirituall do-ctrine, so it maketh men also spiri-tuall in deede, neither it can not take place in carnal and fleshly men, whe-ther you consider the vnderstanding or the affection, whiche bothe it will haue to be spirituall. You may see now adayes them that be called spi-rituall, wrestle moste of all agaynst the true spirituall doctrine of the go-spell. Wherefore we must beware, that we do not iudge of the gospel of Christ according vnto their doings, but contrarywise, rather to seeke out of the Gospell to iudge of theyr de-uices and workes.

Twelfthly, the Gospell of Christe hath also this speache, that it is cal-led The sworde of the spirite. So we do read: And take the head peece of Saluation, and the sworde of the Spirite, whiche is the Worde of God. By this figuratiue speache, he dothe teache what is the vse of the worde of God agaynst Satan: euen the very same whiche is of the sworde agaynst the enimie. But the vse of this sworde serueth not the vnbeleeuyng mā, more than an yron sworde dothe the fearefull and hart-lesse man. Fayth standeth here in steede of a moste valiant strength, whiche the Apostle Peter dothe re-quyre of the faythfull to this pur-pose, that they may be able thereby strongly to withstande the Deuil: Faith beyng armed with the worde of God, is moste valiant agaynst the assaults of Satan.

Thirtenthly, that is also a goodly figure, when that the Gospell is cal-led of Christe, the seede. The vse of the seede is, that beyng cast into good lande, it will bring forth accordyng vnto the nature of his kinde. It is lyke also with the worde of God. It is cast abroade as the seede is, when it is preached in the worlde. It bea-reth fruyte, when it falleth into good hartes prepared by the workyng of the holy spirite. And it bringeth no other fruytes, but suche as do agree with his nature. The worde of faith, doth engendre fayth in the hartes of the elect, the worde of hope, hope, the worde of loue, loue. &c. There is a larger declaration of this matter in the xiij. Chapter of Matthew.

Matth. 13.

Fouretenthly, it is also by a Me-taphore called Meate, in the parable of the faythfull seruaunt: That hee may giue them meate (sayth Christ) in season. So is feeding set for prea-ching, where he sayth also: Simon louest thou mee? feede my sheepe. &c. And Peter saith, Feede the flocke of the Lord, which is among you. The efficacy and profite of the worde of the gospel is great. By it we be new borne, by it we bee fedde after wee be borne, by it we be made learned vnto true godlinesse, we be armed a-gaynst all the temptatiōs of Satan, and we be auaunced vnto the true and eternall life.

Meate. Matth. 14.

Iohn. 22.

1. Peter. 5.

Fiftenthly, it is also called by the Lorde himselfe New wine. For so Christe answered the Disciples of Iohn, demaūding why his Disciples did not fast oftētimes, aswel as they and the Phariseis. They do not, (saith he) put New wine into old ves-sels, for then the vessels will breake, & the wine will be spilte & the vessels marde: but new wine they put into newe vessels, & bothe are preserued.

Nevve vvine. Matth. 9.

Luke. 5.

So by the figure of comparison of newe wyne, he did set forth the condition of the Gospell, that it is as it were a newe wyne, a newe doctrine, agreeable to a new Testament, and it is taken also for a newe doctrine. And it is taken also for a newe doctrine in the worlde, and for that cause it is also refused of superstitious persons, and suche as be obstinately bent in the errours and customes of this worlde, as they whiche be much giue to old wine, refuse to drinke the new, saying that the old is better. So in Marke they sayde also: What is this newe doctrine? And in the Actes of the Apostles it was sayde vnto Paule: May we not know what this new doctrine is? We do also in our age feele the very same condition and estate of the gospel, when it is yet after so many hundred yeares blamed for the newnesse of it, by them which thinke that there is more accopt to be made of an olde worne customs, than of the healthfull & sauing truth.

Mar.1.

Act.17.

A denouncement of publication. 1.Cor.15. Mat.3.4.10. Marc.1.

Sixtethly, it is also called κήρυγμα, in the Epistle to the Corinthias, which is as it were, an open denouncement or publication: And so the Euangelists do vse the word κηρύσσειν, to preache, whiche signifieth not simply to tel or say any thing, but it signifieth to preache with a certayne kinde of publication. What it is to preache any thing, men know well inough. I woulde it were as well knowen vnto al preachers of the gospell of God, what it is to preache and proclayme the Gospell, & what affection & spirite is requisite to that office. They be out of the way that thinke it is inough, if they do simply tell to the people those things that be true. He can not be called a preacher of the Gospell, whiche doth not so fauor of the affection and spirite of a preacher, that he dothe simply tell it with greate reioycing, hartely, openly, stoutly, and to al me, preach, celebrate, commende, and extolle that great grace of our redemption, and trauayle to prouoke all folkes vnto it. Wherefore they be nothing lesse than preachers of the Gospell, whiche eyther neglecting the cause of the Gospell, trauayle not to edifie, but with paynted talke will make the hearer to maruell at them, eyther they speake so coldely, that they do relent and cole al their hearers, so that it may be sayde vnto them: Thou if thou spakest as thou thinkest, wouldest thou speake this? And that saying of Seneca may bee verified of them: He can not make an other manne to haue a minde to a matter, which hath not a minde vnto it himselfe: or else sumthing they, voice of a set purpose, do sing rather than preach: or else talke so in tune, that they seeme to read as it were out of a booke: or else entende onely this, to speake vnto the people for an houre, how soeuer it bee, to fulfill and satisfie theyr dutie. None of these poynts do appertayne vnto them whiche do with hart earnestly preach the Gospell of Christ, & be true proclaymours of the kingdome of God.

Seuententhly, That I thinke is not to be ouer-skipt neither, that the Apostle Paule doth cal the gospel of Christ which he preached, his gospel, saying: In the day when God shall iudge the secretes of men, according vnto my Gospell by Iesus Christe.

And

And in an other place: So that if our Gospell be hidden, it is hidden in the which do perish. As touching the authoritie of the Gospell, it is the Gospell of God, not of Paule, or of anye other Apostle: but as touching the ministerie, the Gospel is ỹ Apostles, as preached euerye where through the worlde by the Apostles. And they can not chuse but acknowledge it for their Gospell, when they shall come agayne with Christ our Lord to iudge the world. Let Rome which boasteth that it hathe the Apostolike and Catholike doctrine, shewe from whence they take their doctrine, for whiche they doe nowe determine so wonderfully to trouble al ỹ worlde. We do know that this is the verye Apostolicall doctrine, that which the Apostles preached, which now adays they doe most impudently condemne for heresie.

Eightenthly, the Apostle calleth the Gospel The word of the Crosse, when he saith: The word of ỹ Crosse is folishnesse to them whiche doe perish, but to them that be saued, it is the vertue of God. It is called the worde of the Crosse, because it preacheth of the Sauioure crucified. By this speach the holy spirit doth commende vnto vs not only the history, but also the vertue of the healthfull crosse, which the world condemneth of folishnesse, iudging it to be ỹ maddest matter in the world, to giue credite vnto that preaching, whiche declareth euerlasting life to be gotten by the death of one crucified. And in these dayes there be some that seeme to be not a little ashamed of ỹ crosse of Christe, whiche can not abide the baseneſſe of the flesh of Christe, and deuise to applye certayne godlynesse vnto it, whereunto they doe referre the whole grace of our redemption. But the Apostle did so stande vppon the fayth of the crosse, that he sayde: God forbidde I should glory in anye thing but in the crosse of oure Lorde Iesu Christ. Agayne, he iudged that he knew nothing among the Corinthians, but Iesu Christ, and him crucifyed. And to the Colossias he saith: that all things whiche are in heauen & in earth, are pacified by the bloud of the crosse: So that this speache is applyed to the Gospell as by the meanes of our redemption, which is perfected in the Crosse.

To make a god of the flesh of Christe.

Galath.5.

1.Corin.2.

Nintenthly, it is to be considered also, that this Gospell is called The Gospell of the glory of Christ to the Corinthians, wher we do reade this: The God of this world hath blinded the minds of the vnfaithfull, for that the lighte of the Gospell of Christe, which is the image of God, shineth not vnto them. And to Timothe: According vnto the Gospell of glory of the blessed God, which is committed vnto me. The Gospel is commended of the principall ende wherevnto it was predestinated from euerlasting, that is to say, of the glory of God the father, from whome, and of the son, by whome we be redeemed. Who predestinated vs (saith he) into the adoption of hys children by Iesus Christ: according vnto the purpose of his will, to the prayse of the glory of his grace. And a little after: Which worketh all things (saith he) according vnto the counsel of his wil, that we may be to the praise of his glory. Item, In whome beleeuing (saith he) you be signed with the holye spirite

The Gospell of the glorye of Christe.

2.Corin.4.

The principall ende of the gospell.

Ephes.1.

of promise, which is the pledge of the obteyning of oure inheritance vnto redemption, vnto the prayse of hys glorie. Againe in the same Chapter, he calleth God, the father of glorye, that is, the glorious father: in ỹ same respect, he doth also ascribe vnto the inheritance whiche we haue gotten in Christ, the ri[illegible]es of glorye, that is, the most rich glorye, saying: That the God of our Lord Iesu Christ the father of glorye, may giue you the spirit of wisedome, and reuelation in hys knowledge, that is, that the eyes of youre hearte be illuminate, that you may know what is the hope of your vocation, and what be the riches of the glorye of his inheritance vpon the saintes. Seeing therefore that the Gospell doth declare and preach vnto vs the glorye of the grace of God, whiche predestined our saluation frō euermore, and the glorye also of the trueth, whiche dothe fulfill that that was predestined, and of the power whiche destroyeth the kingdome of Satan, and ouercommeth deathe in the flesh of his sonne, and of the renoume whiche appeareth vnto vs in the inheritance purchased for vs, and seeyng that thys preaching dothe much help vnto the setting forthe of the glorye of the grace, trueth, power, and renoume of God, it is most rightly called the Gospell of the glorye of Christe and of God. Hereunto the Angels loked the first Euangelistes and Preachers, singing thys song, Glorye be vnto God on high. Thys speache can not agree with the doctrine whyche is broughte into the Churche of the iustice and merites of our workes. Also they whiche are ashamed of the worde of the Crosse, shoulde rather be ashamed of their ignorannce, if they vnderstode that the worde of the Crosse is the Gospell of the glorye of Christe and of God.

Twentithly, the Gospell of God is called the Eternall Gospell in the Reuelation of John, where we doe reade: And I sawe another Aungell flying by the middest of heauen, hauing the eternall Gospell to preache to them which sate vpon the earthe, &c. The ministerie of the Gospell is for a time appointed for this present worlde: but the grace and spirite of it endureth for euermore, though Hell gates striue agaynste it neuer so muche. That vertue and efficacie of our redemption which is declared in the worlde by the Gospell, comprehendeth all worldes, in whiche respect the Gospel is called the eternall Gospel.

There be also in the Scriptures many other phrases, speaches, adiectiues, metaphors, and sayings of the holy Gospell, whereby the holye spirite would commend vnto vs the authoritie, profite, necessitie, qualitie, condition, and iudgement of it: but I suppose that these things whiche we haue in order recited, may suffise the godly person well ynough, if he will consider the strength and valew, eyther to prise them seuerally, as men doe precious stones: and so lay them vp to be kept euer in faithfull memorie, eyther to embrace them all in a lumpe vpon the sight onely, waying that this doctrine of Christ (for whiche there hathe bin euer so greate turmoyle in the worlde, and whyche the wisedome and power also of this worlde hath continually most stiffely withstanded) is the very Gospel, and the

the Gospell of God and Christe hys sonne, the good worde of God, good doctrine, good sauoure, holsome talke, the Gospel of the kingdome of God, the Gospell and worde of the grace of God, the worde of health, the worde of life, the worde of reconcilemente, the Gospell of peace, the worde of truth, the worde of faith, the doctrine of the spirite, the sworde of the spirite, the good seede, the meate, the newe wyne, the preaching and publication, the Apostolicall Gospell, the worde of the Crosse, the Gospell of the glorye of Christ and of the blessed God, and eternall Gospell.

Some man will aske me and say: Then seeyng the Gospell is the doctrine of the spirite, and the ministerie of it is not the ministerie of the letter but of the spirite, as the Apostle maketh mention, why then is it put in writing? I aunswere: By the same reason you maye aske the Apostle, why he did put ỹ very same in writing of the doctrine and ministerie of the spirite for the differrence of the letter of Moses lawe. You maye aske also the Lorde himselfe, why he woulde haue the doctrine of the spirite published and preached in the worlde by the Apostles by the ministerie of the worde, if the dispensation of the Gospell be simplye and immediately giuen to the spirite, there is no place in it left not onely for the letter, but not for the pronoūced word nether. For what is the pronounced word to the eares, other than the letter is to the eyes? In both there is outwarde signes of spirituall meanings. Therefore if the speach of the mouth do any wise belong to the ministerie of the spirite, the letter doth alyke. But of the differrence of the letter and the spirite, there was mention made before.

And yet it was not done without reason, that the truth of the Gospell was published in the worlde by the Euangelistes and Apostles, not by worde only, but by writtings also. The Euangelistes and Apostles wrote euery one of them vpon some speciall cause. Mathewe wrote in Ebrewe, of purpose to bryng the Ebrewes vnto the faith of Christe. And Marke also to serue ỹ Grekes turne herein, wrote a certayne Epitome or briefe rehearsall in Greke. Luke doth himselfe in the preface of his Gospell shewe the cause, why he would write the historie of the Gospell. He sawe that there was manye whiche wente aboute to do it, but for asmuch as there were spred abroade by their euill willers, things that were doubtfull, yea and also peraduenture false, he thoughte it not amisse to put in writing those things which he had receyued of ỹ Apostles themselues. For what cause John wrote, the matter it selfe dothe enforme vs. He meante to adde in a boke alone those things which lackt in ỹ writings of the other, touching the godhead of Christe. What nede I to speake what was the cause of Paules writing? His seuerall Epistles doe sufficiently declare themselues, not onely to whome, but also wherefore they were written. Surely he coulde not be presente to preache them the Gospell euery where, or to correct things that were to be corrected: therefore accordyng vnto the feruencie of his spirite and desire of fayth to Christe, (I wil not speake

VVhy the Euangelistes vvere moued to vvrite.

VVhy Paule and the other Apostles vvrote.

of the carefulnesse he had of all congregations) he would do that by writing, whiche he could not do by word of mouth. The like reason moued also the rest, that is to say Peter and John. Agayne, bycause it was not possible that those things which wer preached by the Apostles by worde of mouth, could come whole & sound to others, either néere, eyther farther off, it was most profitable for thys cause, that the doctrine should be put in writing, and that not by euery bodye, but eyther by the Apostles thēselues, eyther by their Disciples.

Thirdly, it was not commodious only for them vnto whome the fayre féete of the Apostles could not reach, but also to their owne hearers, that for asmuch as the word once hearde is soone gone, and the letter written bydeth by it, as we say, they myghte by reading of their writings kéepe the stedfast vnderstanding of those things, that they had hearde. It was a great help for the times to come againste an innumerable sorte of erroures, which the holy spirite knewe should be brought into the Churche by the instincte of Satan. The Apostles must dye, and after thē there shoulde rise nother other Apostles, nother such as should all be true followers of the Apostles, but false doctors withoute number subuertyng the way of the truth: Wherefore it was necessary, ẏ these things whiche they had taught by word of mouth, shoulde after their deathe sticke not only in the minds of the godlye and faithfull, but shoulde remaine also written in bookes. We finde by experience also in these dayes, with how greate wickednesse Satan goeth about by his companions, to draw the Church of Christ from things written, to matters not written. I beséech you, in case the writings of the Euangelistes and of the Apostles were not extant preserued vntil these latter times by the wonderfull benefite of God, what shuld we haue left of the pure doctrine of Christ, amōg so many so portentuous and sundrye monsters of sectes, opinions, and decrées, which séeketh euery way to extinguishe and oppresse the true fayth of Christe? When the faithfull and godly person doth way those things, hée will embrace the prouidence of God, whiche hathe voutchsaued to kéepe and preserue hitherto the writings of the Euangelists and the Apostles for vs, as a certaine candle burning in the middest of darkenes, against Satans will and spite of his téeth, in the middest of the monstrous heresies, persecutions, and spoyles of warres: So that he maye not curiously demaunde, why the doctrine of the Gospell is put in writing.

Sathan leadeth men from things vvritten to vnvvritten

Last of all we must sée also, what be the partes of the doctrine of the Gospell. We will not searche them ouer-curiously, but we will touche only the principall, which the mouth of the Lorde himselfe dothe set forth vnto vs saying: Amende, and beléeue the Gospell. And, Going into all the worlde, preache the Gospell vnto all creatures. He that beléeueth and is baptized, shall be saued: but he which beléeueth not, shall be condemned. And in Luke: Thus is it written (sayeth Christe) and thus it behoued Christe to suffer, and to rise agayne the thirde day from the dead, and to haue amendment and forgiuenesse of sinnes

sinnes to be preached in his name to all people. And Mathewe in the last Chapter: Go and teache all people, baptising them in the name of the father, and the sonne, and of the holye spirite, teaching them to kéepe all thyngs that I haue commanded you. By these wordes is sette forthe vnto vs first the facte of Christ, nexte hys ordinaunce, whereby it is an easie matter to gather what be the partes of the doctrine of the Gospell. Fyrste he Preached his owne selfe, after ẏ he appoynted and ordeyned that the same doctrine should be published to the worlde by his Disciples. The summe of his Preaching is comprehended in that that he sayth: Amend, and beléeue the Gospell. Item: Amendment and forgiuenesse of sinnes must be Preached in his name. Whē he dothe prescribe and appoynte the doctrine to the Apostles, he dothe set forthe the Preaching of the Gospell, and doth adde, saying: Teaching thē to kéepe whatsoeuer I haue commaunded you. So that the Gospell conteyneth thrée partes. The firste requireth amendment of life, the seconde fayth, the thirde the kéeping of Christs preceptes. The Gospell calleth sinners to amendment, it promiseth forgiuenesse of sinnes and life euerlasting to them that doe beléeue, and threateneth condemnation vnto them that beléeue not, and gyueth things in charge to be obserued of the faithfull. These partes maye not be pluckt asunder. For so he Preacheth the Gospell naughtily, whyche preacheth eyther amendmente without denouncement of grace, or preacheth grace without amendment and doctrine of obedience. But of amēdment or penance and of forgiuenesse of sinnes, we will speake in seuerall places by themselues.

Of holy Scriptures.

The certaintie of our faith is grounded vpon vvritings of the olde Testament.

WE may conuenientlye after the place of the Gospell, set nexte the place which is of holy Scriptures, not as though that the writings of olde testamente were after the Gospel, but bycause that the certaintie of Christian faith standeth by them. For those things whiche be preached vnto vs by the Gospell of Christe, are read and promised in the holye Scriptures manye hundred yeares before. So Paule to the Romaynes meaning to expresse the certainetie of the doctrine of the Gospell, sayeth: Paule the seruaunte of Iesu Christ, called to the office of an Apostle, put a part for the Gospel of God, whiche he promised before by his Prophetes in holy Scriptures of his sonne.

Rom. 1.

Holy scriptures.

First that the Scriptures of whiche we will speake in this place, and which the Church is wont deuoutely to vse, to the instruction of faithful folkes in godlynesse, be called holye, as the Apostle calleth them, saying: And for asmuch as thou knowest holy scriptures from a childe, it commeth of that, that whē we do speake of holy Scriptures, they be separate from all other scriptures whiche bée written of prophane matters. And I call prophane matters, not only those which perteyn to this present world, and which doe concerne nothing el

2. Timo. 3.

Prophane vvritings.

but

but the things of the worlde and thys temporarie life, but any other superstitions also, false worshippings, wicked sacrifices, and erronious opinions of God, of any manner of tymes or peoples, to exclude frō this speach of scriptures, al those writings, whiche are through errour come abroade into the worlde of the seruices and religion of God, suche as the Alkoran of the Mahomets doth conteyne. For they are not worthy to be called holye, whiche be holy only in shewe and be not so in deede, although they be taken for holy of false and superstitious persons, but in like sorte as they do call the pestilēt Leper, the holye disease, and the fire of Sainte Anthony, the holy fyre. For like as nother the title of truth dothe apperteyne vnto those things whiche bee not true, although they seeme so, and by a lykelynesse of truth, seduce the vnware and vnwise, and they ought not to be accounted for Gods, which the olde tymes toke to be Gods: so nother those things ought to be called holy, whiche in very deede be not holy, but rather wicked and superstitious.

Of the beginning of holye Scriptures.

No holye Scripture before Moyses.

WE do not reade that before Moses there was any scripture inspired from God. In that matter I will not striue with any bodye, whether there wer any holy scripture extant in ỹ Church of God before him or no. Whether there were or not, surely there came no holy scriptures to our knowledge more ancient thā these of Moses. For if it were otherwise, Christe, to the declaration of whom al the holy Scriptures be appointed, wouldе not haue begun at Moses, when he expounded all ỹ holy scripture touching him, vnto ỹ. disciples going vnto Emaus, beginning frō Moses: but if ther had ben any holy scripture more auncient than they of Moses, he would surely haue made his beginning first frō ỹ same. They be able to affirme of the boke of Enoch, which either saw him whē he wrote it, or els saw Noes librarie in the ark, or els the bookes of the olde worlde cast to any coast after ỹ flood. The beginning which we must take of holy scriptures is, that, In the beginning God made heauen & earth.

And wheras there is no scripture giuen to the church of God, inspired from God, which might helpe to the knowledge and worship of God, and also to the studie of godlinesse, in all the ages which passed ouer from the beginning of ỹ worlde vntil Moses, it is not done altogither without cause what soeuer they do affirme, whiche saye, that there is no scripture in all the worlde before the bookes of Enoch, whiche be kepte in the churche of the Quéne of Saba, and be had in more estimation than the bookes of Moses. Thus we do see, that God wouldе before the Flood, and after also vntil Moses, declare those things whiche might profite vnto faith, religion, and godlynesse, eyther by visions in the night season, or by appearing in the daye time, vnto the holye fathers, by whome such as were vnder them, might afterwardes be instructed. There was in all that time which was before Moses the lawgyuer, a certayne foundation to be layde, whereupon the scripture that shoulde followe might be grounded. The way of faithe was to be made by often appearings and answers, to make them to beléeue that God had a care and a regard of mankind, and that he did vouchsafe to instruct some speciall men of the will of hys grace, by answeres, appearings, and reuelations, by whose meanes, other myghte bée brought vnto the knowledge of God and study of religion. So he spake firste vnto Adam, and after him vnto the holye Patriarches, not onely before, but also after the Flodde, and he gaue vnto all the generations of the godly, suche men as shoulde be guides vnto the rest, in religion and true godlynesse, vntill Moses. The histories of the fathers be knowen, so that there is no néede to alleage them here.

And when the tyme came to publish and set forth the true knowlege and Religion of God in the worlde, not nowe by priuate families, but by a mannerous people, he prouided him a singular man and apoynted for the purpose, by whome holye scriptures should haue their beginning. Unto whom he purchased so muche authoritie and credite by greate and terrible wōders, that those things which he should write, mighte be credited as things not imagined by man, but inspired from God, at the least way of that people, which were driuen to beléeue it by miracles and straunge workings. It encreaseth the matter also, that the beginning of holy scripture was written by the fingers of God, and not by his. After that the holy scripture was once deliuered by him vnto the people of God, the apparitiōs of Angels which wer made to Israell, did not by & by altogither cease, but the custome of them came by little and little to decrease, by that time that those things which Moses had written, had fastned déepe rots in the Church of God. After Moses the Prophets were sent, vnto whom also the aunsweres of God came by visions and reuelations: but they did put in writyng also those thynges which they did spreade abroade in Israel by talk, to the intent there should be no excuse for them that shoulde come after, but that this saying of Christ might serue: They haue Moses and the Prophets, if they wil not heare them, they wyll not beléeue though any rise from the dead.

Prophets.

Luke. 16.

And the scriptures of the old Testament were not onely thys wayes brought in, but they of the new Testament were as strangely disposed. There were neuer suche portentes and wonders heard as were shewed before, not only by Christ himselfe, but done also by ỹ Apostles, by whiche the way mighte be made to encrease the newe faith abroade in the worlde. There folowed afterward ỹ holy writings of the Euangelistes & of the Apostles. And after that they were once spreade abroade, albeit the trade of miracles whiche serued to confirme the Gospell, were not vpon the suddaine broken off, yet after the death of the Apostles, miracles were more seldome wrought. I speake of ỹ true, pure & sincere miracles, not of those whiche are to be attributed to the workings of Satan rather than to the vertue of Christ, of which thē godly mā Paul thought good to giue those faithful mē warning of, before

The Scriptures of the new Testament nowre brought in.

2. Thess. 2.

then

After holy Scriptures we maye hearken to reuelatiõs.

they were wrought.

So that this dispensation of the holy Scripture, as well of the old as of the new Testamẽt, which in both was brought into the worlde after the answeres and reuelations of God passed before, and many marueilous wonders withall, doth giue vs plainly to vnderstand if it be well considered, that after that we haue receiued once the holy scriptures of God, we may not seke nor looke for any reuelations of those things whiche be requisite vnto true faith, lone & knowledge of God, and life. For firste it shoulde be against the order of Gods dispensation, which the prouidence of God wil not alter. Secõdly it should giue way to the Angell of Satan, whiche dothe sometimes turne hym selfe into the likeneſſe of the Angell of light, and is wont to decepue their mindes with false reuelations, which conteyning the lighte of the holye scriptures, doe looke for (I wote not what) more subtile and spirituall poyntes by some speciall reuelatiõs.

Of the diuision of holye Scriptures.

VVhiche be the Canonicall bookes of the olde testament.

HOly scriptures, the double bodye wherof is called the holy Bible, be deuided into the old and new Testamente. And some be called Canonicall, and some Apocryphall. The Canonicall bée taken for to bée authenticall and of authoritie in the triall of a case of faith and religion: those which be out of the Canon and Apocryphall, they haue not this authoritie. In the Canon or rule are the fyue bookes of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, & Deuteronomy. To them be ioined Iosua, Judicum, Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, Paralypomenon, Esther, Daniel, Esdras, Job, the Psalter, the Prouerbes of Salomon, Ecclesiastes, *Cantica Canticorum*, Esay, Hieremie, Threny or Lamentations, Ezechiel, and the booke of the twelue Prophets. These bookes the Ebrewes doe call for the number of them עשרים וארבע that is to say, foure and twenty: two of Samuell for one, and two of the Kings also for one, and taking also two of the Paralypomenon for one, albeit in their bookes they be deuided into two. What soeuer there bée besydes these, saith Hierome in his Galeate prologe, it is to be put among the Apocryphall. The Canonicall Scriptures of the new Testament, be the bookes of the Euangelists, Mathew, Marke, Luke, and John, the Actes of the Apostles, the foureteene Epistles of Paule: to the Romaynes one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galathians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossias one, to the Thessalonians two, vnto Timothe two, to Titus one, to Philemon one, and one to the Ebrewes. Vnto these there be added in the Canon. vj. Epistles of Peter, of James one, of John thrée, of Judas one, and the Reuelation of John.

Amongst the bookes of the old testament, the Grécks and the Latins haue these boks which the Hebrues do not allow to the authoritie of the Canon, that is to say, Tobias, Judith, Baruch, the Epistle of Hieremie, the song of the thrée children, the third and fourth booke of Esdras, the booke of Wisedome of Salomon, the booke of Jesus Sirach called *Sapientia*, whiche

tia, whiche booke the Latines do call Ecclesiasticus, the history of Susanna, Bel, and the Dragon, bookes of the Machabees, vnto which the Grécks doe adde also the booke of Iosephus. These be taken for Apocrypha, not bycause they be to be had in some secrete authoritie, but eyther bycause their beginning was hidden and not knowen, or else bycause they were wont to be redde not openly in the Churche of God as the canonicall bookes, but in secrete and at home by priuate persons. For Apocryphon is as muche to saye, as secrete and hidden. Peraduenture this word crepte into the Church vppon that that the reading of such bookes which conteineth secret and déepe matters as the booke of the Reuelations is, whych a man might more rightly call, The booke of the hidden matters, was not accustomed to be allowed to the open and publike reading of the Church, and for asmuch as they were not allowed as manye as were not of the Canon of the scripture, it was receyued in the Church by processe of time, that all such bookes whiche were excluded from the canon, were called Apocryphall, that is hidden, but they were excluded out of the Canon, bycause they were written more sauering of the spirite of man than of the spirite of God, and they séeme to conteyne some poyntes not agréeable ynough with the Canonicall Scripture: finallye as Augustine saith: I wote not by whose presumptiõ they were set forth.

There be some also of the bookes of the newe testament, of whiche the opinions of the elders doe vary: as the latter Epistle of Peter, the two later of John, the Epistle of Judas, the Epistle to the Ebrewes, and the Apocalyps of John, which in the councel Laodicene is not rehearsed amõg the Canonicall scriptures: with whiche some of our newer men do recke also the same whiche is entituled vnto James. It is not for my behauior to pronounce of them whither they be theirs vnder whose names they do passe, or not, yet the iudgement of the elders maketh me to be lesse bold vnto thẽ than to the rest of the scriptures, albeit I do not thinke that all things whiche is redde in them, is slightly to be condemned.

The Apocryphall of the newe testament.

Agayne they doe deuide the holye scriptures of the old Testamẽt into Legal, Historical, Prophetical, and Hagiographal. The Legal or lawish, they doe call the fiue bookes of Moses. Those the Ebrews doe call תורה, that is to say, the law or doctrine: and of the nũber חמשה that is to say, fyue folde, the Grécks doe call them πεντάτευχον, fiue bookes. The historicall bookes, they doe call Iosue, Judges, the bookes of Samuell, & Kings. The prophetical bookes they doe name the same of Esay, Jeremie, Ezechiel, and the twelue lesse Prophetes. The Hagiographal, that is the scriptures of the holy mẽ, they do call all the rest. The Legal, historical, and prophetical wer also written of holy men by the instinct of God: but they iudged it méete to call these so, bycause they bée vtterlye nother prophetical nor legall, nor historical, and bycause that for the varietie of matters they can not well haue any certaine title. Yet ther be some whiche thinketh they muste bée called bookes of wisedome. We may deuide

The diuision of the Scriptures of the olde testament.

the scriptures of the new testament into the hiſtories of the goſpel, & the doctrins of Epiſtles. The euāgelical hiſtories be cōteined in ỹ iiij. bookes of the Euangeliſts, & the firſt which Luke wrote of the Acts of the Apoſtles. The reſte of the ſcriptures be cōteined in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, ſauing onely the Apocalyps.

The diuiſion of the ſcriptures of the new Teſtament

Now what is conteined in euery booke, & what be the argumentes of them, I think it not neceſſarie to reckon vp here in order. I think it were much more profitable, if the diligent & godly reader, would turne & toſſe ỹ holy ſcriptures with ſo deuout a diligēce, ỹ he might gather for himſelf the argumēts of euery boke or rather of euery chapter. For I fear leſt we ſhal make ỹ readers of holy ſcriptures ſlouthful & careleſſe, if we do contract al things cōpendiouſly into briefe arguments. And yet I do not blame their trauel, which did ſet before the argumēts of ỹ books & chapters alſo in ỹ holy Bibles. But if a mā think ỹ he cā vſe thē wel, let him ſeke them in the preface which is ſet before in the edition of Tygure, of the excellencie & dignitie of the holie ſcripture, & in the Epiſtle of Jerome to Pauline Prieſt, of all the bookes of the diuine Hiſtories, whiche they are wont to ſet before in the beginning of the Latine edition.

Of the authoritie & excellēcy of the Canonical ſcriptures.

The neceſſitie and vſe of authoritie.

COnſequently we muſt ſée for the authoritie of the holy ſcriptures. For ſo much as ỹ vſe of the holy ſcripture is ordeined to this purpoſe, that thoſe which be ignorāt of godly thinges, may be inſtructed in ỹ knowlege of God to their ſaluation: and ſeeing it is not profitable that the ignorant can be perſwaded euen at the firſte with the vnderſtanding of the matters, and ſo procéde in the way of truth, very neceſſitie requireth, that they be firſt moued by ſome authoritie to ſubmit thēſelues vnto doctrine, the ſpirite and vnderſtanding whereof they are not able ſtreight way to reach vnto, til their ſenſes be wel exercíſed therein, to vnderſtande thoſe things whereof they began to be inſtructed. So that authoritie maye be wel accounted to be as the very gate through which generally al ſcholers and learners muſt come in at, to atteyne ỹ knowledge of things which are to be learned. And like as no mā that is ignorant of things which are to be beléeued, will credite his words that ſpeaketh vnto hym, vnleſſe hée haue an opinion of him to be ſuche a one as will not lye: ſo no man dothe readily obey him which cōmandeth, vnleſſe he dothe acknowledge his power and authoritie whereunto hée ought to yéelde his ſpéedy obeyſance, and beléeue that there is ſuche wiſedome in his precepte, that they may not be neglected without ſome preſent danger of health to enſue. And how neceſſary it is, that they which cānot certainely & infallibly iudge of things that are to be learned thēſelues, ſhould hang vpon ſome authoritie, whereby they might be kept in order: it appeareth very wel by that, ỹ they which be ledde by their owne iudgement, being weake and rude of vnderſtanding, are oftentimes trayned out of the way of truth, by the likely glarings of reaſon, and ſlippe into ſundry errors, from whéence they can

can neuer or with muche adoe hée brought backe againe to the right of the truth. So that the rude and vnlearned muſt beware, that they doe not preſume to déeme and iudge of matters which they vnderſtand not, without ſome authoritall direction or guiding.

With like circumſpectiō al ſcholers muſt beware, that they doe not ſubmit themſelues vnto any falſe authoritie, in ſtéede of that whiche is true. For as well is he out of ỹ way which doth committe an erroure, ſeduced by the iudgement or inticemēt of a nother body, as he that is ſeduced of himſelfe. And that the firſt rulers of the Church of God ſaw well, and therefore did attribute the higheſt authoritie vnto holy ſcriptures, by the direction of which the minds of all godly men ſhoulde be ſtayed in the obedience of faith, ſo that they ſhould beléeue thoſe things which be ſette forth in them to be of all moſte true, and whenſoeuer they ſhuld forſake this rule, they ſhould be ſubiect vnto all kind of errors.

And there be two kinds of authorities. One euerlaſting & higheſt, the other temporarie and lower. 1 The euerlaſting & higheſt is in God only, who doth excell euer & in all things. The authoritie of him cōſiſteth herein, that firſte he made all things, ſecōdly, he gouerneth all things, thirdly, he hathe power ouer all thinges: fourthly, he palſeth all things which be in heauen and in earthe, in iuſtice, truth, vertue, and wiſedome: Fiftly, all our life and health hangeth vpon his will, which is as it were the foūtaine of all good things. For theſe cauſes he is knowen by the common perceiuerance or vnderſtanding of al men, to haue the higheſt and euerlaſting authoritie, whereof no mā may derogate any iote without great impietie. 2 The temporarie and lower authoritie, that is lawfull, commeth of God, regarded among men eyther for the naturall prerogatiue, as the authoritie is of the parents towards their children, either for righte and power, as it is of maiſters vpon ſeruants: eyther for office, as the authoritie of the magiſtrates is ouer the Citizens that bée vnder them, or of the preachers ouer the faithfull people: or that authoritie of ripe & comely age, as that is of graue perſons towards yonger folke: or that which ſtandeth in ſome ſpeciall wiſedome and foreſight, ſuche as the authoritie of the learned, wiſe, and ſage men is towards the ignorant.

I call this the lower authoritie, bycauſe it commeth not of it ſelfe, but dependeth vpon a higher authoritie, and is reſtreyned in all things to loke vnto it, or rather it ought to be as a miniſter vnto it, and to direct all things vnto that marke, that the authoritie of God may remayne alwayes and in al places vnblemiſhed. I call it temporarie, for the alteration and weakeneſſe of worldlye matters, and the orderyng of them, when that he whyche is thys daye muche aduanced for his authoritie, the next day is nothing at al. It commeth of God, bycauſe it procéedeth from hys benefyte giuen to the commoditie of menne, from whome all fatherhode is, and from whence all gouernelle deſcendeth. Wherefore it is méete that it be had in regarde of them that bée inferioure, and

not wrongfully wrested through any abuse of the superioures.

The dispensation of auctoritie.

No we the vse and dispensation of authoritie consisteth eyther in word or in deed. They that be in authoritie, doe exercise the same eyther in wordes, teaching, cōmanding, correcting, admonishing, promising, thretning. &c. or in dēeds, doing those thinges whiche may profite their inferiours to folowe, or otherwise do them good. There is no cause at this present to treat of the inferior and temporarie authoritie. We muste consider of that higher and euerlasting, whiche we do attribute to God only and alone: and that not in respecte as it is practised in dēede, but as it is dispensed in the worde of our saluation. And lyke as there is so greate authoritie attributed vnto his dēeds, that they can not be called vnto reckenyng by anye man, but rather to bēe meruayled and honoured: so it is mēete that all men doe acknowledge the firme Authoritye of hys wordes also, although the wysedom and truthe of them be not streyghte wayes vnderstanded.

Of vvhēce faith is giuen to holy scriptures.

And forasmuch as holy scriptures are brought forth not by mans will and wisedome, but giuen from God for oure saluation, and containe the word not of men, but of God, to get conuenient authoritie in our mynds, no otherwise than if God shuld talke with vs face to face: the holy spirite did earnestly trauaile, that not only those things whiche be taught by it, should sauour of heauenly wisedome truth, and goodnesse: but that the men also by whome he did set it forth as ẏ interpreters of Gods Oracles, or in speaking, or in writing, should be of so famous a godly lyfe, and of suche spirite of godlie wysedome, that albeit they were not acknowledged, as it chanceth often, whyles they liued, of men of their owne time for godly persons, & the interpreters of Gods wil: yet they should be knowen after they were departed out of this lyfe. Vpō these two argumēts ther is credite giuen vnto holy scriptures, that they be of God, & sufficiēt authoritie gottē vnto it in the Church of God, which holy men haue alwayes wyth excēeding great diligence recōmēded vnto vs. And therefore the Apostle whē he would tell vs of the profite of holy scripture, he did of speciall purpose cal it inspired frō God. And Peter saith: The holy mē of God, spake inspired with the holy spirite. Hēerewithal agrēeth ẏ which Christ sayde vnto his Apostles & Disciples: It is not you that speake, but the spirite of your father whiche speaketh in you. And this authoritie the Prophets did pretend, saying: Thus sayth ẏ Lord. Item, The mouth of the Lorde of hoasts spake. This authority Christ confirmed when he answered Satan out of ẏ holy scriptures, & did reade in ẏ sinagoge out of the booke of Esay, & cited nowe and then places to holye scriptures, and aduised men to reade them, and finally expounded them to his disciples. Wherefore they also which heard Paule at Thessalonica, did dayly search the scriptures, to sēe whether they were so as they were reported by him, meaning no doubt to credit him, if they should find those matters which he cited to be so as he told them, although they did not yet plainely vnderstand thē. For they did beleue ẏ God was the author of the holy Scriptures, and that they came of the instinct of the holy spirite, that they dyd passe all the wisedome of this world, that they dyd excēede all the capacitie of mans reason, and that it conteyned perfecte doctrine, and that it was the rule of thinges which are to be beleued, giuen from God for our saluation. Wherefore they did diligently search them wyth a circumspect feare, toke hēede least they should rashly receyue or reiecte anye thing contrarye vnto the truth and will of God, shewing by theyr most goodly and profitable example, wherevnto godly men must haue recourse when anye doubtes do rise in the matters of faith and religion.

And for asmuche as men can not streightway determine of the matters themselues, doe but belēeue that the scriptures be giuen to the people of God to be in stēede of a light burning in the middest of darknesse, and for that all poyntes perteyning vnto true faith and godlynesse be plainely expressed in them, wherevnto else shoulde men runne to certifie their consciences, and to confirme theyr vnderstanding of the truth, but vnto the holy scriptures?

To this vse the holy spirite would haue a certaine canon or rule of the holy scriptures extante, whereby all matters that are to bēe belēeued or misliked in the religion of God, must be examined. Canon, whereof holye scriptures is called Canonicall, is a Grēeke word, signifying in Englishe a rule. The vse of a rule is, that those matters whiche be proposed must be compared vnto the streightenesse of the rule, and so eyther to be liked or amended. In this age of ours, there be risen doubts vpon many matters in the Church of Christ. They which doe stande to the defence of the accustomed orders, for asmuche as theyr meaning is not to set forthe Goddes truth, and helpe the consciences of good folkes, but to defend eand mainteyne the prerogatiue and lordlinesse of the sea of Rome, and the glory of their estate and name, and some also their belly and gaine: they do contend parte of them by arguments grounded vppon the long custome, the prescription of tyme, the holynesse of some of the fathers, of the vniuersall obseruation of the things receyued and vsed of the excellency and power of the sea of Rome, and taken out of the philosophie of Plato or of Aristotle: part of them worke by threatnings of cruell tearing and tormenting with fyre, sword, chaines, enprisonmente, executions and writtes of Princes. But they which haue a desire to prouide for the safetie & quiet of the faithfull, do suspēd their iudgement to the rule of the holye Scriptures, and suppose that al controuersies may be determined by the iudgement of them. Wherein they doe not onely followe in dēede the counsell of the holy spirite, which gaue the scriptures vnto the Churche of God in this wise, that there should be a stayed rule of suche thyngs as are to be belēeued, but they doe also follow the example of the old Churche, whyche did oppresse all heresies by the authoritie of holy Scriptures, and the mindes of the holye fathers, whyche did set forthe this vse of holy Scriptures vnto good and godly men.

Chrysost. in Math. Expositione. 2. Hom. 49.

Reade Chrysostome vppon Matthew where he sayeth thus: For in this

this time, since that heresie hath preuayled in the Churche, there can bee no triall of true Christianitie, nor ther cã be no other refuge for Christian men, that will knowe the truth of the faith, but the holye scriptures. For heretofore it was shewen many wayes whyche was the Churche of God, and whiche was Gentilitie: but now they ý would know whiche is ý true Church of Christ, cã know it by no manner of meanes, but only by scriptures. Why? Bicause that al those things whiche are proper vnto Christ in the truth, the heresies haue the same in the schisme: Churches alike, the verye holy scriptures alyke, Bishops alike, and the rest of the degrées of the Cleargy alyke, Baptisme alike, the Supper of the Lorde alike, and all other things: and finally Christ himselfe. Therefore when a man would know which is the true Churche in so greate a confusion of likenesse, whereby shalbe knowe it, but only by the Scriptures? But the Churche of Christe was knowen aforetimes by the verye behauioure and manners of men, when the conuersation of the Christian men eyther for all, or for most part was holy, whiche was not so among the vngodly. But nowe the Christian men are become as euill or worse thã the heretikes or Gentiles: and yet there is greater continence founde among them. though they be in schisme, than there is among Christian mẽ. Therfore he that would knowe whiche is the true Church of Christ, how cã he know it but only by the Scriptures? To that intente the Lorde knowing howe greate a confusion of thynges houlde come in the later dayes, gyueth a charge, that they that be christian men and will receyue the stedfastnesse of true faith in Christiantie, muste haue recourse to no other thing, but vnto the scriptures. Otherwise if they haue a respect vnto other things, they shall be deceyued and perish, not vnderstanding which is the true Church. This is Chrysostome, word for word.

The opinion of Augustine is like also, who writeth thus. In the scriptures we haue learned Christ, in the scriptures we haue lerned ý church. These scriptures we haue commonly: and why do we not commonly receyne both Christ and the Church in them? This is Augustine. In thys wise the holy fathers iudged, that mẽ houlde in cases doubtfull runne to the authority of the Canonical scripture, which if it be despised, there can nothing elſe ensue vpõ it, but the wauering of oure faith. As Augustine also supposeth, saying: That fayth muſt nedes faile, if the authoritie of Gods scriptures do wauer. And how doth it not wauer, yea is decayed, vterly contẽned and reiected, when the iudgement of it is not sought nor regarded to finde the truth, and pacifie the churches of Christ, but the truth is violently oppressed, and the kingdome of lyes eſtablished by the armour of mens malkery & gouernãce.

The aduersaries crie out, that the holy scriptures be to dark, to gather any certain iudgement out of them. Let them make aunswere vnto Augustine, who bẽing of a contrary opinion noteth this: The holye spirite hathe so nobly and holsomely tempered the holy scriptures, that he might with the easie places of it serue the

gredy hunger of men, and with the darker places take away oure lothsomnesse. For there is no poynte almost found of the darkest of it, which is not most playnely spoken in some other place. Thus muche Augustine. Wherby it is manifest ynough, that if any thing be spoke darkly in some place of the scriptures, the light of it must be sought out of those places wher ý same matter is more plainely expressed. But they which be euill affected towards the doctrine of the truth, haue their mindes so blynded, that they can not abide the lighte of the holye scriptures. Wherefore the same whiche is to godly men clearer than the sunne, is vnto them darker than any cloude. If the Gospell of God be darke, it is darke vnto them ý do perish, sayeth the Apostle, whose mindes ý god of this world, the belly, glorye, selfe loue, hatred, &c. hathe blinded, so that the lighte of the Gospell of the glory of Christe, dothe not shine vnto them. If the holy Scripture be darke in the poyntes of oure faith and religion, how it can agrée, that Christ dothe charge the Sadducees, saying: Ye do erre, not knowing the scriptures: And, Search the scriptures: for they doe beare witnesse of me. Howe is it else true that the Apostle Peter doth compare it vnto a cãdle, shining in a darke place: Ther was some obscuritie of figures in the old testament: but after ý Christ appeared, whiche is the lighte of the world, and shifted away ý shadowes of figures, fulfilled the truth, and so gaue most clére light vnto the holye scriptures: how is it conueniente for Christian menne, to slander it wyth darkenesse, and to refuse to abide the iudgement of them in doubtes of religion not Ethnicall, but Christian? And these be they which haue still in their mouth, the fathers. Why doe they not followe their example, whiche with greate dexteritie and diligence did ouercome all heresies with the armoures and weapons of the holy Scriptures? Lette them leaue their lokes of great Elephants, and beginne to be simple lambes, and thẽ let them enter into the riuers of the holye Scriptures with the feare of the Lorde, vnto the bottome of the which (as one sayth) the Lambe perceth: when the Elephant swimmeth aboue. If they will not doe this, no wise body will maruell, that beyng as they be, they doe fynde fault that the holy Scriptures be darke.

The example of fathers.

The holy scripture is like a riuer where the Lambes treadeth the botome and the Elephant swimmeth

That our aduersaries do flee to the fathers.

What difference is betwixt the holy Scriptures and the *writings of the Fathers, Byshoppes, and Councels.*

The shifting flesshe dothe turne it selfe vnto al fashions, bycause it will not be compelled in al things to obey the truth of God. Wherefore whereas it séemeth to drawe nére a kynde of tyrannie to ordeyne and maynteyne in the Churche anye thyng after their owne wyll and rule. For asmuche as thys rashe dealyng can bée by no manner of couloure defended by the authoritie of the holye Scriptures, forsakyng that, they doe flée vnto some couloure or pretence of the Fathers, Bysshops and Councels, as though those matters could defende

sticke vnto by colour of them, not going aboute to proue that they doe defende those things which be true, but to make men beleeue that they doe maynteyne no newe poyntes of doctrine, and that so they maye craftyly auoyde the enuy of anye vniust gouernance: and albeit they be men most irreligious, yet do they fynde a defence of their matter vnder estimation and holinesse of the fathers. Who if it were any wise possible, I woulde wish with all my heart, that in all matters of oure religion they would abide the iudgement of the fathers, by the buckler of whome they doe endeuoure to defend themselues in these presente controuersies. I beseech you what should become of the whole see of Rome with all these counterfeyte Bysshops, Cardinalles, Prelates, Monkes, Scholemen, Sophisters, Scotistes, Thomistes, Occamistes, and other suche kynd of men, whyche haue a mawe of hundred yeares, by right and wrõg, by praying and paying, by strength and armoure, inuaded the gouernement of Christian religion, if they were put to the iudgemẽt of the holy fathers, and of the olde Canons and Coũcels?

But although that wise mẽ know well inough, that none of the Decrees of any of the fathers or Councels are to be set againste the authoritie of the holye Scriptures, yet bycause of them which do make ouermuch of the writings of the fathers, I will bring forthe the opinion of some of the fathers, whereby they may see what difference ther is to be made betwixt their writings, and the authoritie of the holy Scriptures.

Hiero.

Jerome vppon the Epistle to the Galathians writeth thus: It is the doctrine of the holye spirite, whiche is sette forthe in the Canonical writings, contrarye vnto whyche if the Councels doe ordeyne anye thyng, I doe account it wicked. This is Jerome.

Augustine sayeth: Nor we ought not to accounte the disputation of any men, though they be neuer so catholike and commendable, as Canonicall scriptures, so that it shall not be lawfull for vs, sauing the honor due vnto those men, to reproue or refuse anye thing in their writings, if we do find perchance, by Gods help, that they take it otherwise than the truth is in deede, vnderstanded either by others, either by vs. And in an other place: If any thing be established by manifest authoritie of the diuine Scriptures, those I meane which be called Canonicall, in the congregation of the faithfull, we must beleeue it without any doubting, as for anye other witnesse or testimonies whereby any thing is perswaded to be beleeued, it is lawfull for thee, eyther to beleeue eyther not to beleeue.

And in the second booke agaynste Cresc̃etius. We (saith he) do Cyprian no wrong, whẽ we do put a difference betwixt al his writings, and the Canonicall authoritie of Gods Scriptures. For the Ecclesiasticall rule was not ordeyned with so hollome diligence without cause, whereunto certain bookes of the Prophets and of the Apostles doe belong, of whome we muste in no wyse enterprise to iudge, & according vnto whichemay bee freely iudged of al other writings, either of ỹ faithfull, either of

of the vnfaithfull. This sayth he.

Nowe I beseeke you, if we muste iudge of the wrytings of all the Fathers, accordyng vnto the Canon of the holy Scriptures, and not of the Canonical scriptures, according vnto the wrytings of the fathers, how can that stande whereof I spake also before, that they do complayne that the holy Scriptures be darke, & that therefore it is neede that they be expounded by the expositions of the fathers, and that they muste be iudged accordyng vnto the same? Who is so blockysh, that can thinke we muste iudge of that which is open & cleere ly, that, whiche is hidden and darke, and not rather of that whiche is obscure, by that which is cleere? Whõ one will they appoynt vs, out of the number of the Fathers, whose wrytings we should folow as a light, to lighten the holy scriptures? If wee will folow all them whose wrytings be extant, it will come to passe, that the same whiche is open in holy scriptures, shalbe darkened by takyng theyr expositions, through the diuersitie of opinions and expositions. If we will chose out but one alone, it can not appeare certainely which of them is to be chosen, nor the opinion of one can not make our consciences out of doubte, when others do iudge otherwise. What and if it were knowen, that there is not asmuch as one of all the fathers, who if he were aliue agayne, woulde acknowledge to be his, those wrytings that be caryed and blowen aboute, to be his. Let the examples of our times be cõpared togither, & let it be seene how foule a discrepancie is founde to be euery where. What and if the bookes that we haue in occupying were cõpared with the very bookes of theyr owne hande wryting? The writings of the fathers are so degenerate in course of tyme from that that they were at the first, partly by negligẽce of them that haue gathered togither our antiquities, and partely by the rashnesse of heretikes, that surely hee were a very fole, or of sette purpose malicious agaynst the Churche of God, that would thinke that the consciences of kaythfull men shoulde be bound vnto theyr iudgements.

Epist. 19. ad Hieronymũ.

But I returne vnto Augustine whiche wrote vnto Jerome in this wise: I haue learned to giue vnto that bookes of Scripture, whiche be now called Canonicall, this feare & honor, that I do moste stedfastly beleeue, that no author of them did erre in any thyng. And in case I do finde any thing in that wrytings whiche seeme to be contrary vnto the truth, I do mistrust nothyng, but that eyther the booke is false, or that the interpretour vnderstood not what was meante, or that I vnderstoode it not my selfe. But I do reade other writers, though they be of neuer so great learnyng and holinesse, in that sorte, that I do not take the matter to be true, bycause they thought so, but bycause they could persuade me, either by the same Canonicall authors, eyther by some probable reason, that it is true. And I suppose (my brother) that thou arte of no other minde. I thinke verily (I say) that thou woulddest not haue thy bookes so read, as the bookes of the Prophetes or Apostles, of whose it were a wicked thing to doubte, whether they bee without errour or no. This saith he.

Dist. 9. can. Ego solis.

and that vnto Hierome, whome we do not read that he did in one worde go agaynst this opinion. Also this opinion seemed to be so well liked, or worthy rather to bee diligētly obserued, ẏ it was put also into ẏ decrees.

How vvee do cyte the vvrytings of the fathers.

But it wil be sayde vnto me: In case the wrytings of the Fathers be such, that neyther they haue any authoritie, neither yet are like to their originals, to what purpose doest thou alleage testimonies out of them, to proue and extoll the authoritie of the Canonicall Scripture, and to refute them whiche do muche esteeme the Fathers? I answere: For my part I looke for no testimonies of the Fathers, whereby there shoulde bee any authoritie gyuen vnto the Canonicall Scripture, and to make difference betwixte it and the wrytings of the fathers, but am content with the authoritie and Canon of the holy Scripture it selfe: but for asmuche as our aduersaries do go aboute to trouble the truthe by colour of the fathers, and do preferre theyr wrytings almoste aboue the Canonicall scriptures, I may well bryng them whē they be against their owne purpose, and occupy their owne weapon whiche they do bryng, not to defende the truth, wherfore they be not strōg inough, but to beate them backe with theyr owne weapon, whiche they come armed withal. But when they do alleage any thyng out of the wrytings of the fathers agaynst vs, I do proteste playnely, that I will not be bounde vnto theyr authoritie. For I do take theyr wrytings (to say with Augustine) not as Canonicall, but I do way them by the Canons, & in case there be any thing in thē agreeable with ẏ authoritie of ẏ Canonicall wrytings, I do receiue it: otherwise, by their leaue, I do refuse it. But they which do charge vs with the wrytings of the fathers as for the groundes of the Canonicall Scripture, if wee do bryng any thing agaynst them out of the wrytings of the fathers, they must of necessitie yeelde, and of right hold their peace as ouercome, not for any authoritie that the wrytings do deserue, but for that they attribute so much vnto them.

See Augustine the second boke, against Cresonius cap. xxxii.

They do obiect the authoritie of the Churche. The churche they say, is more auncient than the Scriptures. For when the Apostles began firste to preache, there was no Scripture of the Gospell, no Epistle of Paule, and yet for all that there was a Churche dedicate in the bloud of Christe. *Ergo*, the authoritie of the churche is greater than the authoritie of the Scripture.

That the authoritie of the church is not predicted by Scripture.

I answere: The true churche of Christe neuer vsed this argument agaynst the authoritie of the holy and Canonical scriptures, though it were molested with diuers and many heresies: but did alwayes defende and preserue the puritie of theyr faith by the authoritie of them. Wherfore it appeareth, that they which do goe about to defende their doctrine by this argument, do not contende for the true church of Christ, nor for the vpholdyng of any truth, whiche may be defended by the authoritie of the holy scriptures, but for a counterfayte Churche and the sea of Antichriste, which for asmuch as it hath no bucler of truth, it is dryuen to defende it selfe, eyther by violence and tyrānie, eyther

eyther by a mistaken authoritie vnder the name of the Churche.

But let vs see the fondnesse of this argument. The Churche (they say) is more auncient than the holy Scriptures. Whiche Churche then, which scriptures? Firste that Churche of the gospel is more auncient than the wrytings of the Gospels and of the Apostles. It is in deede. But why do they plucke asunder the Canonicall scriptures of bothe the Testaments, and neglecting the first, frame their argument of the laste? Be they onely Canonicall which be written by the Apostles and the Euāgelists? No in deede. It is a guyle, that they do disseuer those of the newe Testament from the olde: as that is also, ẏ they do extoll ẏ authoritie of ẏ first Euangelicall Churche. Also, they thought that the Scriptures of the newe Testament mighte by this meanes be the easlier oppressed, if sequestring them from the reste of the body, they might bereaue them from their reputation of auncientie, & set them behinde the Church as newer. And they iudged it beste to disauthorise them, by whose authoritie they found thēselues more pressed than of the others. Thirdly, forasmuch as ẏ estimatiō of the former Church was blessed and holy, they thought it good to extoll the same, and vnder the name of that, to set forth theyr counterfayte Churche. Otherwise seyng that the catholike Churche beganne not first in the tyme of the new Testamene, but takyng his beginnyng euen from Adam, cōpriseth all the elect and faithful, they might haue extolled the antiquitie of it agaynst all holy scriptures in this wise that they mighte haue sayde: the Churche is more auncient than the Scriptures. For when the holy Patriarkes liued, Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, &c. there was no scripture vntill Moses, who firste began to write: *Ergo*, the authoritie of the Churche is greater than the authoritie of the whole scripture. But this way a man mighte argue by & by in this wise: *Ergo*, the church of the old Testament is more authenticall than the Churche of the new, the lawe better than the gospel, Moses greater than Christe, the sacrifices of beastes more effectuous than the sacrifice of Christ: figures, shadowes, & Prophecies more to be made of than the truth: whiche argumēts would be cut off as absurde, euen at the firste hearing, and should neuer a whitte auayle to their purpose. So that it appeareth that there is nothyng else done by this argumēt, but that they do with fond prating betray the weakenesse of theyr cause. In the church of Christ auncientie is not looked for, but the truthe of the doctrine. For the authoritie of Christian doctrine & of the holy scripture cōmeth not by that that it passeth in antiquitie, but that it passeth in truthe and in the beginnyng of it from God. Else the Iewes mighte haue with good reason preferred the the olde wyne of Moses lawe, aboue the newe muste of the doctrine of Christ. Wherfore it stādeth yet fast, that we do preferre the authoritie of the holy and Canonicall Scripture, aboue the decrees, custome, consent, & vsage of any Churche what soeuer it be. Yet further they do obiect: The Scripture is not authētical without

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Dist. 9. can. Ego solis.

and that vnto Hierome, whome we do not read that he did in one worde go agaynst this opinion. Also this opinion seemed to be so well liked, or worthy rather to bee diligētly obserued, ẏ it was put also into ẏ decrees.

Hovv vvee do cyte the vvrytings of the fathers.

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The authoritie of holy scriptures is not of the Churche.

the authoritie of the Churche. For the Canonicall writers be members of the Churche. I answere: I do acknowledge that the Canonicall writers be membres of the Church: but whereas it is gathered by that that the scripture is not authetically without the authoritie of the Churche, I do vtterly denie it, vnlesse they do meane of the inferiour authoritie, which is as a minister vnto ỳ higher. For otherwise that most high and euerlasting authoritie of the Canonicall scripture commeth from none other, but from God as the author of it. And the holy writers wrote not by the motion of the Church, but by the instinct of the holy spirite: and therefore did wryte nat as members of the Churche, but as the interpreters of God, and ministers of the spirite. Otherwise the Canonical writers were not onely members of the Churche, but the rest of the writers also, as Chrysostome, Basile, Athanasius, Nazianzene, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. whose writings for all that, haue not gotten the authoritie to be as the Canonicall.

But they will say, that the holy scripture is not authenticall, bycause that they whiche wrote it, be members of the chyrche: but bycause the churche gaue it the authoritie of the Canon, & not to the rest of the scriptures. I answere: This is true, if they meane of the baser authoritie, whiche the holy scripture hath with the ruder sorte and vnerercised, for that the Churche taketh it for authenticall and canonicall, and dothe not take other wrytings so, bycause they be not allowed into the cannon by the Churche. But this kinde of authoritie is not of so greate stay, that it can make the consciences of the faythfull apeased and carelesse in the conflict of fayth. Wherfore there is a greater authoritie to be considered in holy scriptures, ỳ same which they take from God the author of them, of whiche wee made mention before. For we may not gather herevpō, that the authoritie of the church is greater than the authority of the holy scripture, bycause that there be many founde which do take the holy scriptures for authentical as moued by the authoritie of the churche. In deede to them the church seemeth better than the holy scripture: but they be far otherwise of themselues. Else Moses should by the same reason be of greater authoritie than Christe, bicause that many beleeued in Christ moued by the authoritie of the scripture of Moses, accordyng vnto the saying of Christe: If you would beleeue Moses, yee woulde beleeue mee also: as the Thessalonias did, which searchyng the holy scriptures, were by theyr authoritie brought vnto the fayth of Christe. We read in John this: And of that citie, many of the Samaritans beleeued in Christ, vpō the worde of the woman, which bare witnesse, and sayd: For he tolde me all things that I haue done. Accordyng vnto this argument, the authoritie of the sinfull woman was more than of Christe. And so it was in deede at the firste of more reputation with the people of the citie, to whom Christe was yet vnknowen. But of it selfe it was not so, nor afterwards, when they hearyng the doctrine of saluation of Christe himselfe, they sayd vnto the woman: Now we do not

not beleeue, bycause of thy wordes, for we haue heard and knowen, that this is verily the sauiour of ỳ world. In Peter we do reade in this wyse: Likewise yee women also be subiect vnto your husbandes, that they also which do not beleeue the worde, may be won without the worde, through the conuersation of the woman, &c. *Ergo*, where as the vnfaythfull husbande is stirred vnto the fayth of Christe by the regard of the conuersation of his wife, whiche he seeth is honest, chaste, faithfull and obedient, where as he coulde not be moued by the preachyng of the gospell, may we gather that the conuersation of the woman is better than the gospell? In deede so it appeareth, but it is to him whiche is still vnfaythfull, not vnto him whiche doth acknowledge the truth of the Gospell and the authoritie of God. In likewise wee muste say also to byde vpon, of the church. It had in deede in times past great estimation of holy conuersatiō, whereby many were brought vnto the fayth of Christ, which otherwise shoulde neuer haue bene throughly moued, by the holy Scriptures and preachyng of the gospell. No doubte the authoritie of the church did them good. But yet it was not of it selfe better than the truthe of the gospell, but did serue to the authoritie therefore for a tyme.

August. Surely I would not beleeue the Gospel. &c.

Herby we may easily iudge what we ought to thynke of that whiche Augustine sayth, writing against the Epistle of Fundamentus, saying: But I would not beleeue the gospel, vnlesse that the authoritie of the catholike church did moue me. Which saying of the holy man, eyther they that do not vnderstande this saying of Augustine, eyther do maliciously dissemble and peruerte it, do vse against the authoritie of the Gospell. He dothe argue agaynst the Manichees in this wise: You know that I haue determined not to beleeue that you do speake vnadiuisedly. Therfore I aske thē who is that Manicheus? Thou answerest: The Apostle of Christe. I do not beleeue it. Nowe thou canst not tell what to say, or what to do. For thou didst prayse the knowledge of the truth, and wouldst driue me to beleeue that whiche I know not, peraduenture thou wilt reade the gospell vnto me, and wilt go about to proue the person of Manichee vpō that. Then if thou shouldst finde any man whiche dothe not yet beleue the gospel, what wouldst thou do to him if he say: I do not beleeue? When he had obiected those things to the Manichees boastyng and crakyng of the declaration of the truth, for an exāple he doth say of himselfe, of what dispositiō he was, not at that tyme when he wrote these things, but a good whiles past, before he left the heresie of the Manichees, & came to the true fayth of the gospell: that is, that he would not beleeue any body alleagyng testimony out of the Gospell. So he sayth consequently: Surely I woulde not beleeue the gospell, vnlesse the authoritie of the catholike church did moue me. Which is as much to him, as if he had sayde, Surely I was once such a one, whe I departed frō you Manichees, that I woulde not haue beleeued the gospell,

Augustines argument.

I wvculde not beleue, for I vvold not haue had beleued.

spel, vnlesse the authoritie of the Catholike church had moued me. And that he liued a certayne time among the Manichées, before he was cõuerted by S. Ambrose bishop of Millane, to the catholike faith, it appeareth in many places by his owne wordes. And in this same place, disputing against ẏ Manichées, he saith this: Let vs sée therfore what Manichée doth teach me: and let vs consider that booke principally which you do call, the Epistle of Fundamentus, wherein is conteyned almoste the whole that you do beléeue. For whẽ the same was read vnto vs wretched men in that time, we did knéele downe and sayd, Amen. And againe. As though I desired to learne that of you now, whiche I coulde not do in nine yéeres. So that he was a Manichée nine yéeres. And that hée hath this kind of phrase peculiar vnto him (that he is wonte to say, I woulde not beléeue, for I would not haue had beléeued: and did moue me, for, had moued me) it is well knowẽ to him that doth diligently read hys wrytings. In hys booke of Confessions speakyng of a thefte that he had done when he was a boye, hée sayth thus: For I then loued the Apples whiche I stole, and did couet to enioy them, I mighte haue committed the wickednesse alone, if that had bene inough to come to my pleasure, and I should not kindle the itch of concupiscence, with the styrryng of other mẽs mindes that were priuy vnto it. For asmuch as my pleasure was not in the Apples, it consisted in the vnthriftinesse, whiche the company of them that offended with me, made. Where we do sée, that all the sentẽce is spoken in this kinde of phrase ẏ he vseth, Did loue, for Had loued, and coueted, for had coueted, & so forth. For the meanyng is: If I had loued the Apples which I stole, & had coueted to inioy them, I mighte alone, if that had bene inough, haue had cõmitted that wickednes, wherby I mighte haue come to my pleasure, & not haue had kindled the itche of my cõcupiscence with the stirring of other mens mindes, made pryuie to the same, &c. A man may finde this kynde of speaking often in his wrytings, specially when he doth tel any thyng of matters past, as he dothe in this place when he maketh mention what maner of man he was in time past, before he came to the catholicke fayth: that is, suche a one, as that he would not haue had beléeued the gospel, vnlesse he had séene in the catholicke church whereby he might haue bene moued to beléeue the Gospell. Wherefore it is altogither wyde frõ his minde, if you doe referre these wordes: I would not haue beléeued the Gospell, vnlesse the authority of the catholike church had moued me, not vnto those tymes when he was yet a Manichée, but vnto those times when he wrote this against the Manichées: at whiche tyme now he beléeued the Gospell, not bicause of the Churche, but bycause of the heauenly and infallible truth of God which he knew to be in it. Let the place be looked vpon, and it shal appeare to be true that wée do say. Therefore they may be ashamed at theyr vnaduisednesse, that do obiect this place agaynst vs to derogate the authority of the Gospell, and to plucke it into the compasse of the authority of the church

Capit. 5.

Capit. 10.

Augustine vvas a Manichee nine yeeres.

Lib. 2. cap. 8.

church of Rome, as though the holy man had bene so minded all his lyfe dayes, that he did not beléeue the gospell, but so far forth as he was moued by the authority of the church to the fayth of the Gospel: & that the example of him should be set forth vnto al faithful men, & that it should be so taught in the church that al mẽ shold more depende of the authority of the churche, thã vpõ the authoritie of the gospel of God. But I would to God that the countenance, authority and estimation of the churche of Christe were such now adays, that in respect of it, there might be moued to beleue the Gospel not one or two of the vnfaithful, but al that natiõs of Iewes, Turkes, &c. as many as do mislike the faith of Christ, & are rather dryuen away from the gospell as offended with our vniuersall corruption, thã inuited vnto it. What do I say? Would to God that euen they themselues whiche do abuse these wordes of Augustine, were not so farre wide frõ ẏ spirite of ẏ true former church, that they were not only by their corruptiõ a slaũder to the gospel of god, but that by their peruersnesse they do also persecute with fire & sworde thẽ that do beleue the gospell. The true, catholike and apostolike churche of Christ, would haue the authoritie of the canonicall scripture alwayes saued & much estéemed. What manner of church is that now adayes, which doth make so light of it, as though it were become foolishe through age, & after so excellent and great matters brought to passe and auaũced, as vnable to do any more, it ought to bée tumbled out of the seate of his olde authoritie, and the subtill finenesse and maiestie of mans teachyng to be set in the place of it. If it be truly Apostolyke, how is it so far wyde from the olde spirite? If it be not, whose is it then, seyng it cannot bée Christes?

But to return to our purpose, they say, that the authoritie of the church is greater than the authoritie of the holy Scripture. We do hold the contrary, that the authoritie of the holy Scripture is greater, than the authoritie of the Church. And we will argue the same way that they do, for that the holy Scripture gaue credite and authority to the Churche. For firste we do reade, as I made mentiõ also before, that the Iewes of Thessalonica came to the fayth & churche of Christe, moued by the authoritie of the holy Scripture. Agayne, Apollo dyd stoutely ouercome the Iewes by the authoritie of the holy Scripture, and dyd mayntayne the faith of the churche of Christ. Without doubte, Peter and Paule did the very same, and the reste of the Apostles. Seing therfore ẏ the fundation of Christes churche and of the newe Testament cõsisted not of the Gentils, but of Iewes, & that it is knowẽ that the Apostles did conuey the beléefe of their doctrine into the minds of the Iewes, not onely by myracles, but by ẏ authoritie of holy scripture also, and so moued the first beginnings of Israell vnto the church of Christe, who seeth not, that the holy Scripture dyd firste bring faith and authoritie vnto the Church, and not the Churche vnto the holy scripture? So Philip sayd vnto Nathanaell: We haue founde Iesus, whome Moses wrote of in the Lawe and

That the authoritie of the holy scripture is greater, thã that of the Church.

Act. 17.

Act. 18.

Iohn. 1.

Prophets.

Luc.24.

Prophetes. And Chriſte, interpreted the holy Scripture vnto his diſciples, and opened their ſenſe to vnderſtande them, no doubt to this intent, that they moued by the authoritie of them, might beleeue themſelues, and bring others to beleeue alſo. So Peter doth ſtrengthen his ſayings with Scripture. And Paule to purchaſe credite vnto his apoſtolike office, and to the Goſpell whiche he preached, ſayth ſtraightwayes at the beginning: Paul the ſeruãt of Ieſu Chriſt, called an Apoſtle, ſequeſtred to the goſpell of God, whiche he promiſed before by his Prophetes in the holy ſcriptures. If the ſame which giueth authoritie to any thing is better thã that to whome it is giuen, then ſurely this way alſo the holy ſcripture is aboue the church.

Act.2.

Rom.1.

If he heare not the Churche. And the churche is the piller of the truth. Matth.18. 1.Timoth.3.

They do alledge for the Churche the ſame of Matthew: If he do not heare the churche, let him be to thee as an Ethnicke. And: The Church of the lyuing God, is the piller and foundation of the truthe, and other like. If theſe things do giue authoritie vnto the churche, then it is the ſcripture that doth get an authority vnto the church, and not the churche vnto the ſcripture. Elſe if they do denie this, how ſhall they perſwade me to obey the church: in caſe I do ſay, I do not obey the churche, how will they proue that I do offende: They will alleage the wordes of Chriſte and of the Apoſtle, if they bring any thing. But from whence: Out of the Scriptures of the Euangeliſtes and the Apoſtles, and will ſay: Thus Chriſte ſayde, Thus the Apoſtles wrote. But if I ſay, I beleeue not theſe ſcriptures, being ſo taught by you, which do diminiſh the authority of the holy ſcripture, what will they do trowe ye then: They will pull me to the fire, whome they might haue inſtructed in the truthe of God by the authoritie of the holy Scripture. Wherefore they muſte in anywiſe leaue the authoritie of it ſafe & ſound, otherwiſe they cã do nothing els, but as Auguſtine ſaith, make the chriſtian fayth to ſtagger & wauer, whiche they do muche leſſe regarde thẽ that the leaſt peece of the Romiſh authoritie ſhoulde decay. Lette this therefore be the ſumme of our opiniõ in this matter. The holy Scripture hauing authoritie from God the author of it, as inſpired from God, hath made & doth make alſo nowe aduies fayth, credite, and authoritie to the doctrine, religion, and churche of the chriſtian men: and the church if it be truly of Chriſte, truely Catholicke & Apoſtolicke, it doth agayne ſerue to the authoritie of the holy ſcripture, not onely defending it in wordes and writings, but alſo inuiting and prouoking to beleeue day and night by the light of true godlyneſſe & iuſtice, thoſe whiche do not yet beleeue, according vnto the example of the former Churche.

Of the languages of the holy Scriptures.

ALL the holy ſcripture was cõprehended in two languages, Ebrew, and Greeke. In the Ebrew tongue were writtẽ the .xxiiij. bookes of the olde Teſtament. They of the New teſtament were written in the Greeke, ſauing that it is affirmed of the goſpel of Matthew, and the Epiſtle to the Ebrewes, that becauſe of the people of Iſraell whiche was diſperſed in other nations, they were written in the Ebrew tongue. Sophronius witneſſeth of the goſpell of Matthew that it was diligẽtly kept written in Ebrew in the library of Pamphilus the martyr in Ceſarea, and that hee had leaue giuen hym of the Nazarites of Berrohe in Siria, to wryte it out. The Gloſer of the Canon lawe, ſaythe, that the Epiſtle to the Romaynes was wrytten in Latine by the Apoſtle, but hee bringeth no proofe of it. Peraduenture he thought that the Greeke tongue was not vſed at Rome in thoſe dayes.

There be manifeſt cauſes why the ſcripture of the olde Teſtament was wryten in the Ebrew tongue. For firſt, that was the language of Gods people, vnto whome the holy ſcripture did chiefly belõg: they were appoynted for Iſraell, whiche ſpake Ebrew, wherefore the holy men did write in the Ebrew, to good purpoſe that Iſrael might vnderſtand the holy ſcripture. Secondly the language was holy, partly for the auncienty of the beginnyng of it brought by the generation of the fathers euen from Adam, partely bycauſe the oracles of Gods mouth whiche was ſpoken in that language to the fathers. Wherefore it was not conuenient, that the holy wrytings ſhoulde be diſcrepant from the holy oracles made to the ſame people, and alſo from the ſame language whiche the people ſpake, to whom they were appoynted. For to what purpoſe ſhould the holy ſpirite be of two tongues in the church of one ſelfe ſame people, to ſpeake in one language, and write in another? Therefore Moſes did well to wryte not in the Egyptians tongue, but in the Ebrew, although he could good ſkill of the language of Egypt, as bredde and brought vp in Pharaos courte. He did godly and profitably conſecrate the firſt fruites of the holy ſcriptures vnto the holy lãguage, whiche they might vſe that ſhoulde afterwardes wryte by the inſtinct of the holy ſpirit amongſt the people of God, and to regarde that their wrytings ſhould not differ frõ the beginning of the holy ſcripture: but ſhould as well agree with it in the vnitie of ſpirite and language alſo, as an vpper buildyng dothe with the foundation that is layde before. When we do cõſider theſe things, we do quickly vnderſtande why this language is called holy: truely not onely for the matter of thoſe things whiche be written in it, but alſo for the firſte antiquitie of the beginning, for the church of God, vnto whiche it was proper vntill the tyme of Chriſte, for the oracles of Gods mouthe, for the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, and Chriſt himſelfe, which vſed this language: Finally for the holy wrytings which were ſpoke in the ſame by the counſell and inſtinct of the holy ſpirite. What ſoeuer become of the Ebrewe letters nowe vſed, whether they were the old which Moſes and the wryters that folowed hym vſed or no: or elſe as ſome ſuppoſe, the old beyng loſt, that theſe were ſet in their place by Eſdras: of this matter I wil ſtriue with no mã, yet this is certaine, that the holy language it ſelf was not chaunged, though they which were ſubiect vnto ỹ captiuitie

VVhy the Ebrevv tongue is called holy

of Babylō for ỳ space of Lxx. yeres, gat ỳ time in Babylō some Chaldey wordes, and some varietie of speach. And therefore it is, ỳ the writings of Daniell do differ, (bicause of ỳ Chaldey phrase) somewhat frō the puritie of the Ebrew lāguage, which did nothing hurt the people, being an easie matter for them to vnderstande him wel ỳ spake Chaldey, both for the cōpany of them, and also for the affinitie, and neerenesse of the language.

Daniell.

VVhy the new testament was vvritten in the Greeke tongue.

But whereas none of the writers of the new Testament, Euangelistes and Apostles wrote in the Ebrew, sauing Matthew, and the author of the Epistle to the Ebrewes, but in Greeke, that was not done neyther without cause. The holy spirite did attemper himselfe vnto the course and dilatement of the kingdome of Christe, whiche was to be spread abroad not only in Israel, for thē they needed not to haue written but in Ebrew, but vnto all natiōs of ỳ whole worlde. Wherevpon the Lorde commaunded also the Apostles to preach the gospell of the kyngdome of God in all the worlde. Wherefore hee woulde that the Scriptures of the new Testament should be extant in that language, whiche was in that ages moste common, and spreade abroade vnto the knowledge and vse of moste nations, and that was the Greeke, whiche at that tyme, by the reason of the empire of the Greekes, whiche was before the Romaynes, came almost vnto all natiōs: Wherof I may alleage also for me the testimony of Cicero, who in his Oracion for Licinius Archias the poet, saith thus: For if any body do think, that there is take lesse fruit of glory of Greeke verses than of Latine, he is much deceyued: bicause these matters whiche be written in Greeke, be read almoste in all nations, but Latine matters be contayned within their bounds, and they be surely very narow. This is Cicero.

The greeke tōgue vvas more famous than the Latine.

Therefore the doctrine of the new Testamēt could not haue bene written in a more conuenient language to be farre spreade abroade in the worlde, than in the Greeke. For this cause the Apostle wrote also to the Romaynes not in Latine, but in Greeke. For he did not set forth the Epistle for thē alone, but vnto other nations also. And albeit he was in warde at Rome when he wrote to ỳ churches of Galatia, Ephesis, Philippi, Colossis, Thessalonica (namely the seconde epistle) & to Timothe the last, & that to Philemon, yet he wrote not in the Romains language, but in Greeke, partely bycause of them to whome he wrote, and partely besides that those things which he wrote of, might be the farther spred abroade.

For these causes the writers of the old Testament wrote in Ebrew, and the wryters of the Newe in Greeke. Wherfore it was requisite of it selfe in the churches of Christe, that these tongues shoulde florishe at the least way in the Scholes of the faythfull for the better vnderstandyng of holy Scriptures, that the certaintie of the olde writers might be examined by the Ebrew bokes, & ỳ the truth of ỳ New might consist in the rule of the Greeke tongue, as it is redde also in the Canon lawe. And it was ordayned in the Councell of Vienna vnder Clementine the fifte, that there shold be had in certayne chosen Schooles, professors of the Ebrewe, Chaldee, and Greeke tongue. But that matter was so muche neglected vntill our tymes, that it was a miracle to finde any man that coulde know as much as the bare letters of these tongues. Wherefore there is no cause why any wise man shoulde wonder, from whence this grosse darkenesse and so contrary and strange exposicions to the holy Scripture creepte into the churches. What Augustine lackt in the exposition of the holy scriptures, learned mē do know well inough. He shoulde haue bene able to haue done muche more, if he had vnderstanded at the least so much in the Ebrew, as he did in the Greeke tongue. For it cannot be but he muste lacke a great light in the expoundyng of holy scriptures, who soeuer wadeth in thē wout the knowledge of holy lāguages. For albeit a man be learned in the Greeke, yet he can not wade through without the knowledge of ỳ Ebrew tōgue, no not in the New testament, much lesse the old, specially when the trāslatiō of the Seuēty interpreters, as Jerome witnesseth, beyng so corrupt for the Ebrew phrases mingled in euery place, whiche holy wryters did not forbeare for the familiaritie that they had of the Ebrew tongue.

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iudge it to be a thing very vnaduisedly and rashly handled.

Yong men ought to be pricked forth to learne the holy tongs.

Wherefore yong men studious of holy scriptures ar to be admonished, that they do in no wise neglect the gifte of God graunted in these our tymes, but to embrace it with a deuoute diligence to learne, that is to say, that they will ioyne vnto theyr studies the knowledge of the holy tongues, the Ebrew and the Greeke, not as a thing of pleasure that might be lefte off, but to lay it for a foundation in the very bottome of theyr hartes. It muste bee esteemed no lighte faulte in a godly man, to contemne the possibilitie of Gods giftes offered vnto hym, & to make nothing of that whiche is gyuen of a greate fauour, not only to the priuate vses, but to the common vses also of the churche of God, specially if this bee done by them, whiche be fedde by the stipendes of the churche to the ministeries of the worde, in those places where the giftes of the grace of God be so open and so ready, that menne do loathe them when they be layde before them. This charge dothe lye specially in the truste of them whiche be Presidentes of the Vniuersities where the gospel is taught, that they do earnestly sette forth the studies of the holy tongues among yong men. Vnlesse this be done, I knowe it to be moste sure, that it wil shortly come to passe, that when a fewe learned men be gone out of the way, the olde darkenesse of errours, yea and grosser also, will reygne in the churches than euer were. So God will punish the vnthãkfulnesse of these present times, and the contempt of his giftes. For it is moste right, that they which refuse the blessyng of ỹ knowledge of God, shoulde haue it taken far from them, and be ouerwhelmed to the vttermoste with the course of errours and ignorance.

Of the readyng of holy Scriptures.

FOr almuch as these things that be written cannot profit, vnlesse they be redde, let vs consequently see of the readyng of holy Scriptures. And that is of two sortes. One is publike, the other is priuate. It is publike, when holy scriptures be openly redde in the cõgregation of the faithfull, to the hearyng of all men. This was done by the publicke readers. They were ordayned in the sight of the people, as it is read in the fourth councell of Carthage in this wyse: When a reader is ordayned, let the bishop make reporte of him vnto the people, denoũcing his faith, life, & disposition. After that, let him deliuer him a boke in the sight of the people to read vpõ, saying vnto him: Take, & be a reader of Gods worde, and if thou doest faythfully and profitably accõplish thine office, thou shalt haue parte with thẽ which haue ministred the worde of God. This is there. In this wyse also Iulian the Emperour and Apostata, was ordayned a reader in the Church of Nicomedia. Of this publicke and ecclesiasticall readyng, Socrates noteth this: It Alexandria, vpon the day, which is called Gwdfriday, the Scriptures be read, and the Doctors do expõne thẽ, & all things be done belongyng vnto the holy cõmunion, sauing the ceremonye of the misteries. And of this

reading the Apostle speaketh when he sayth: Apply thy readyng, exhortation and doctrine till I come: by whiche wordes he doth meane, that ecclesiastical order, whan firste some peece of the scripture was read: & after that an exhortation and doctrine was ioyned vnto it. This vse of ecclesiasticall readyng, flourished sometimes in al churches, not only of the New, but also of the old Testament. Iosephus writing against Appion of the custome of the Israelites, sayth thus: Euery weeke all people come togither to heare the law. Eache of vs demaunded of the lawes, can easlier recite them than tell his owne name. For we haue them all written in our mindes, euen strayght frõ our first perseuerãce. And that which we reade in Luke of Christ our sauiour, that he wente into the Sinagoge of Nazareth vpon the sabath day, & rose vp to read: & did read ỹ out of the prophete Esay, whose boke was deliuered vnto him: The spirite of the Lord vpon me, &c. doth sufficiently declare, that Israell vsed this publicke reading vpon the Sabbath dayes. And herewithal that place agreeth of the Actes, where it is mentioned, that from old times the writyngs of Moses were redde euery sabbath in all Cities. Of the churches of the new Testament the Canons do witnesse, whiche were ordeyned for the making of readers, and it was a cõmon song emong them, The lesson whiche you haue heard, moste deerely beloued brethern. But of this moste holy and auncient vse of the ecclesiastical reading, there is nothing else lefte in the Popery, but ỹ very slẽderlesse name, the thing it selfe beyng vtterly out of vse. And in the reformed churches there be but few that do thinke vpon it, so far of it is, to be restored. There hath neuer bene hitherto vntill our times in the Popery so great a commoditie to reade the holy scriptures openly to the hearyng of the people, as there is now offered by the grace of God, when the holy Bybles are so readily had in the vulgare tõgue, not onely in Englande, and Scotland, but in Almayne, Italy, Fraũce, yea and if I bee not deceyued, in Spayne and Hungarie also, so that they may be redde openly and distinctly before the people of GOD, if the Pastors do faithfully serue Christe and his Churche.

The profit of publicke readyng.

And it is harde to say, howe great the profite of this reading might be, in case the vse of it were restored vnto the Churches.

1 Firste, it shoulde do good herein, that the puritie of publicke doctrine should be kepte vndefiled. For the teachers should bee kepte in some order, and restrayned, that they shoulde not so easily in theyr teachyng bring in that that is contrary vnto the holy scripture. For this readyng of it shoulde be publicke and often in the eares of the people, euen like a candel wherby the darkenesse of errours & straũge opinions should be reproued. So the Churche should not be easily deceyued with false doctrines, if it were accustomed vnto the wordes & sentences of scripture. And it should seeme a matter not to be borne, if the wordes of the teacher shoulde differ from these things whiche be redde out of the holy scriptures. But whẽ this lighte of holy Scriptures was taken out of the Churche, what else

could folow thereof but moste thicke blindneſſe, mother of all errours, although the churches dit blaze of neuer ſo many burnyng tapers. O craftie and ſubtiltie of Satan. He filled the churche with earthly ſhynyng of Golde, Siluer and Candels: whereby ther could be no repꝛofe oꝛ triall of falſe doctrine & ſeruices, & in the meane ſeaſon it toke quite away the light of Gods woꝛde, whiche the reading of the holy ſcriptures yelded to the eyes of ỹ people, that it might be eaſier foꝛ coꝛrupt and adulterous teachers to ſpꝛead abꝛode all kind of errours in the church. He had his deſire when the paſtours of the church that were willyng to fede thẽſelues and not the flocke of the Lorde, applied theyꝛ mind to idleneſſe, to the belly, gaine, and pꝛyde.

2 Secondly, that the publicke leſſon of holy ſcripture ſhould ſerue foꝛ thoſe men whiche can not reade: foꝛ aged perſons alſo, chyldꝛen and women: laſtely foꝛ them which though they can reade, yet they haue not the holy Scriptures at home. It ſtandeth not with his counſell and ſpirite to contemne all thoſe perſons, whiche maketh his pꝛayſe out of the mouthes of babes and ſuckelings, and whiche reuealeth vnto chyldꝛen thoſe things that he doth hide from the pꝛudent and wyſe, and calleth the foliſhe and weake things of this woꝛlde, to confounde the wiſe and ſtrong things.

3 Thirdly, it ſhould do god to this alſo, that the holy pꝛeachings ſhould be the better pꝛercpued in the hartes of the hearers, thoꝛough the cuſtome and dayly exercyſe of the woꝛdes and ſentences of the Scripture. I beſeech you if a boy ſhoulde be taught in the arte of Grammer, vnto whome the very woꝛdes of the arte were vtterly vnknowen & neuer heard of, could there be any hope that he ſhoulde haue the vnderſtandyng of the rules and exãples of it? No ſurely. Wherfoꝛe the very caſe it ſelfe requyꝛeth, that the chyldꝛen muſte firſte learne and beare away the woꝛdes, that they may the eaſilier afterwardes gette the vnderſtandyng of it. The caſe is lyke to the vnderſtandyng of pꝛeachings. If the hearer be ignorãt of holy ſcriptures, that he vnderſtandeth not ſmuch as the woꝛdes, I beſeeche you how can he vnderſtãd him that teacheth? But if he haue gotten the knowledge of the woꝛdes of the holy Scripture by readyng in ỹ Churche oꝛ at home, he may eaſily attaine to the expoſition and doctrine of them.

4 Laſtly, let godly men way this, whether it bee not poſſible, that a rude hearer going out of the congregation of the Churche, may carie away moꝛe with hym in his minde vpon the onely readyng of the holy Scripture, than from a whole Sermon, ſpecially of ſuche a Doctoꝛ, as goeth about moꝛe to ſhewe his learnyng and eloquence, than after a playne ſoꝛte to inſtruct the rude hearer in the knowledge of God, and ſtudie of godlineſſe.

The pꝛiuate readyng of holy ſcripture is, when it is redde out of the congregation of the church. This is done thꝛee manner of wayes. Firſte in the Colleges oꝛ felowſhips, of the whiche in olde time were wonte to be bꝛought vp togither vnto Eccleſiaſticall mynikters. Their chiefe exercyſe was in the readyng of ſcriptures. A certaine ſhadow of it ſtucke ſtill in the Monaſteries, in whiche there was wonte to be a readyng at the table, ſauyng that ther was mingled amõgſt them either Apocriphal, eyther ſuperſtitious wꝛytings, at the appoyntment of the ſuperiours: and there was not ioyned vnto it any good interpꝛetation of the ſcripture that was redde, which was ioyned vpõ the readyng in the old times of the Fathers by the beſte learned and eldeſt. Suche as Baſilius Magnus, and Auguſtine, & Oꝛigen were.

Secõdly, it was vſed alſo in faithfull mennes houſes in this ſoꝛte, that eyther before eyther after that the table was vncouered, the good man of the houſe, oꝛ elſe ſome boy, oꝛ in caſe there be none elſe in the houſe that can reade, the good wyfe oꝛ the doughter do reade ſome peece of ſcripture, and all the reſte harken vnto it, and ſo continuyng theyꝛ reading, accoꝛdyng as the bookes doe ſtande in oꝛder, they do runne ouer all the Scriptures, euen to the ende. By this meanes of readyng, the godly lyfe within doꝛes at home may bee much holpen, if the feare of the Lord be ioyned withall. Herewithall the firſte perſeuerance of youth may be ſo imbꝛued, that accoꝛding vnto that ſaying, That whiche is learned in youth, will not away in age all the lyfe folowyng, vntil theyꝛ dying day, may be the better inſtructed with the feare and loue of God. And this readyng at the Table may do this good alſo, that if it be done before meate, it may mynikter matter and occaſion to talke and conferre vpon ſome points of fayth and godlineſſe, whyles they be eating, and ſo to ſhut of all folilh and vayne talkes which are wont otherwiſe craftily to cꝛepe vp vnto the tables.

Thirdly, this reading is vſed at the libertie of godly men a parte, eyther at houres certaine, eyther when they may get a commodious time to reade. By this reading the minde of the reader is onely edified, in aſmuch as he doth reade onely vnto himſelf. But if he do reade it to this purpoſe, to communicate his readyng vnto others, as the mynikers of the woꝛde do, then the meanyng of the Apoſtle is fulfilled, ſaying: This doyng, thou ſhalte ſaue thy ſelfe, and them that doe heare thee. 1. Timoth. 4.

But foꝛ aſmuche a Satan that Pꝛince of darkeneſſe, whiche ſetteleth his kingdome onely in the darkneſſe of mens mindes, can not abyde the light of the truthe ſhyning vp agayne in the church of God thꝛough hys woꝛd, like as heretofoꝛe he toke out of the churche by his Champions and falſe Apoſtles as wel the publyke as pꝛyuate readyng of holy Scriptures, ſo beyng very angry in our tyme, that the holy Bible beyng tranſlated into the vulgare tongues, are ſette foꝛth in euery mans hands, hee dothe ſeeke and ſue moſte earneſtly by his mynikers and wiſe menne, the Inchantours of Pꝛinces and Kings, that the Lay menne (as they dꝛ call Gods people) may not bee ſuffered to reade the holy Scriptures. Some of theſe dꝛ foꝛ a colour pꝛetende, that the Byble is tranſlated by heretikes, and that theꝛfoꝛe ſhee is coꝛrupted. To them we dꝛ anſwere: If they do meane ſo in

Againſt thẽ vvhiche do crie that the holy Scripture is not to be redde of the Lay men.

dēde, that they woulde not haue the people reade the Scriptures that bée corrupted (to graunt them that their pretence is true) then lette them according vnto theyr dutie sée that the Byble may bée had in euery place, translated by them, whome they shall iudge most catholicke. And then let them tell vs some cause, why they haue kepte away the readyng of the holy Scriptures from the Churche of the faythfull so many hundred yéeres. And after that, lette them informe vs also, in what places, and to what daunger the trãslations of our times be corrupted.

Others vnderstãding well inough how little it shalbe for theyr profite, if the faythfull people shoulde frely reade holy Scriptures, they do pretende an other thyng and crie out, that Laye menne ought in no wyse at all reade the holy Scriptures, but that the readyng of them dothe belong vnto the Doctours of the Church, to Monkes, Friers and Curates, to the Byshops and Prelates: and they do gyue a reason, why, that the reading of the Bible doth brēde Heretikes, if Laye menne be suffered to read it as they lust. Touching the publicke and Ecclesiasticall readyng of holy Scriptures, it is true, it is not to be presumed vpon, and to bée admynistred in the Churche at euery mans libertie, but there must bée godly and fitte menne appoynted to that office. But as concernyng the pryuate readyng at home, none of the Apostles, nor of them that folowed the Apostles, no none of the olde Doctours was of that minde, that it is not lawful for faithfull people to reade holy Scriptures at home at theyr house. Chrysostome did iudge the readyng to bée necessary for faithfull people, that he did also blame them in his open sermons whiche were of his Dioces, for the neglectyng of it. Whiche of you (sayth hée) I beséeche you, make me answere, whiche do stande here, can say me ought, one Psalme by harte if he be requyred so to do, or any péece of the holy Scriptures: And a little after: But at length (sayth hée) the excuse of these faultes is that thou wilte say: I am no Cloyster man, I haue wyfe and chyldren, and charge of householde, for this is the matter that thou do corrupte all things as it were with one poyson. For asmuch as you say, that the reading of holy Scriptures doth belong to Cloyster men onely, whereas it is muche more necessary for you than for them. For they that be conuersant in the middes of the fielde, and do dayly receyue wound vpō woūde, they haue more nēde of Gods medicine. So that it is more grēuous and worse to thinke, that the lawe of God is superfluous, than to be vtterly ignorant of it. For these be the wordes whiche be vttered euen by the deuice of the Diuell. Doest thou not heare Paule say, that all these thyngs be written for our informatiõ? Thus muche there. And vpon Genesis: Therefore I beséeche you (sayth he) that you repayre hyther now and then, & harken diligently to the reading of Gods Scripture, and not onely when you do come hither, but take also Gods booke into your handes at home, and receyue with great desire the profite sette forth in it. And a little after: Therefore (I pray you) let vs not lose by negligēce so great a gaine, but let vs apply the reading of holye Scriptures also at home. And vpon that saying of the Apostle: Let ỹ word of Christ dwell in you abundantly in all wisedome, he sayth this: Heare as many as bée worldly, and haue rule of wife and children, howe he dothe commaunde you also, specially to read scriptures, (*Ergo* the reading of holye scripture dothe pertayne vnto lay men, by the commaundemente of the Apostle) and that not simply, nor negligently, but with great diligence. And a little after he doth repeate it agayne, saying: Heare, I beséeche you al secular men: Bye you Bibles, the medicines of your soule. If you will haue nothing else, yet at the least get you the newe Testamente, the Apostle, the Actes, the Gospels, the continual and diligent teachers. And a little after: This is sure the cause of all euils (sayth he) that the scriptures bée not knowen, and the rest that he addeth there. Thus muche of Chrysostome. I beséeche you what shall we thynke that this holy man woulde saye vnto these wise men of our times, whiche to make al ỹ world shut vp in darkenesse and madde, do take awaye the scriptures from the people: and will in no wise graunt, that they be profitable for them, but doe imagine also that they be hurtfull, and do take thē away by force and burne them? So that we doe finde them of no gentler affection towardes the monumentes of the holy spirite and the healthe of the faithfull, than Diocletian that most cruell enimie of Christian men was, who commaunded by a publike decrée, that holy scriptures should be burned, as Eusebius witnesseth, for that he knew there was no spédyer way to extinguithe ỹ faith in Christ, than if the holye scriptures were not knowen.

Lib. 8. cap. 2.

But leaste that anye man giuyng small truste vnto Chrisostome beyng a Gréeke, and sticking faster to the Latine doctours, will not care for the testimonie of him onely, lette vs adde also a witnesse of his opinion out of the Latines, and that no basker, but him that is wont to be counted the chiefe amongst them: that is Hierome, who vppon the Epistle to the Colossians vpon that place: Let the word of Christ dwell in you, doth expounde it after the verye same spirite and sense, saying: Héere is declared that the lay men ought to haue also the worde of Christe, not sufficiently, but abundantly, and to teache or admonish one another: This saith he. So that he dothe not only admonish that it is lawfull for lay men to reade holy Scriptures, but he dothe witnesse that they ought to doe it, and that abundantly, that they may teache and admonithe one an other. Truely he was of Chrysostomes opinion, that this is a precepte of the Apostle, which ought to be neglected of no man, but must be beaten into mens heads by the Preachers, with earnest telling and charging of thē, specially by them which do exceedingly glorye of the Sée and Churche Apostolike. If any man list, let him also sée Beda vpon the firste Epistle of Peter, the second Chapter.

Hierome.

Coloss. 3.

And whereas they doe pretende, that the reading of Scriptures dothe brēde Heretikes, it is a slaunder, wherein they doe wickedlye defame

The reading of holy scriptures maketh not men heretikes.

eyther the holy scripture it selfe, eyther (if they do deme that) the faythfull people, that they be so giuen to hereses, ỳ they doe like spiders sucke the poyson of heresie euen out of the truth of holy Scriptures. They doe alleage this out of Peter: Like as our well beloued brother Paule, according to the wisedome giuen vnto him, wrote vnto you, speaking also of these things almost in all his Epistles, among which there be many things hard to vnderstand, which the vnlearned and vnstayed men doe wrest as they doe other Scriptures also, vnto their owne destruction. *Ergo* the reading of holy Scriptures must bee imbarred vnto all faythfull people for the rashnesse of some that doe wreast holye Scriptures vnto their owne destruction, as though all were such as they were, who the Apostle dothe blame heere. I beseech you, is there not in the order of the Cleargie a greate number of them that doe vtterlye prophane all theyr holy things: Shall we then conclude that they ought to be all sequestred from the medlyng with anye holye matters? Surely it were more reason and righte, than to embarre the people of Christ from the reading of holy Scriptures, as they do. But let wise and godly men consider withal, what these kind of men do call heresie. It is heresie with them, if a man do goe but his nayles breadth wyde from the accustomed opinions and rites. And for bicause that they which do diligently read the holy scripture, do finde in them a cõtrary trade of true godlynesse, and that they can not alow those things which doe not agree with their Canon, they began this to slaunder both the scriptures and the readers, that the holye Bible doth brede heretikes. This is the deuice of very Satan himselfe, whereby he goeth about not only to feare godly men from the reading of scriptures, but he doth slaunder them also with a certayne hydden poyson, whiche the lay men can not auoyde, but our great maisters can, and the rest of the order of the Prelates and religious folkes.

2. Pet. 3.

How the papists doe saye that Scripture doth brede heretikes.

Nazianzene in his Apologie, doth cite a law of the Ebrewes, whereby it was prouided, that all ages should not be admitted vnto all scriptures: but some scriptures were permitted to be redde of all men as common at the first, but others onely vnto them which were aboue fiue and twentye yeares olde. And he dothe commende this lawe for the discretion that is to be had in the reading of holy Scriptures among faithfull people, for the whiche for lacke of yeares haue not yet capacitie of mistical Scriptures, though they be meete with profit to reade them that be more playne and manifest. I would not disalow this discretion. But where can it take place in those churches, in which the faithfull people is vtterly embarred from all reading of holye scripture, by the maskerie of my Lordes the Popes? Let the publike and ecclesiasticall reading of scriptures be restored to the Church of Christe. Let those things that be redde, be expounded by the Pastours and Preachers. Let the people be instructed what euerye man ought to reade at home, meete for his yeares, for his state of life, for the qualitie of their temptations and chaunces. Let euerye man be

admonished how conuenient it is, that they come not with foule hands to the readyng of the sayinges of GOD, but with deuotion makyng theyr prayers before vnto God, and with studye and trauaile to knowe the truth, and amende theyr life. Thys way it maye be, that those thyngs shall bee sette forthe for children to reade, whiche bee meete for them: not *Cantica Canticorum*, not the writings of the Prophets, not the figures and shadowes of Moses law, not that booke of the Reuelations, but those whyche bee the hystories of the olde and newe Testamente, conteynyng the manifest and simple doctrine of fayth and behauioure conuenient for that age: so that the same saying of the Apostle may take place also in our children where he sayeth: And for asmuch as from infancie, thou hast knowen the holy Scriptures, whyche maye make the learned vnto saluation, by the fayth whyche is in Christe Iesu, &c. And that of Dauid: In what dothe the yong man amende hys waye? In keepyng of thy sayynges.

Of the profyte of holy Scripture.

HItherto wee haue spoken of the readyng of holye Scripture, without whyche all that diligence of the holye spiryte, employed vppon the writing of the worde of God to the vse of the faithfull, is voyde and to no purpose: nowe consequentlye lette vs see of the profite of it. And I knowe that it is so hygh, that it can not be comprehended by thoughte, nu che lesse expressed in words. And Satan himselfe dothe well and sufficiently declare, by that that he hathe bereafte the reading of holy Scriptures from the Churches of Christ, and droue the tyrauntes, the enimies of Gods truth, to take ỳ holye bookes out of the faithfull mens hands, and to consume them in the fire: how notable the profit of holy scripture is, and howe muche it auaileth to the knowledge of God and encrease of true godly life, which his kingdome, the kyngdome of darkenesse and synne, can not abyde. Yet for the vnlearned sake, we will rehearse some kindes of the profyte of it, whiche be set forth vnto vs by the testimony of the scriptures.

The auoyders and minde of God came to vs by scriptures.

First, there is a very great commoditie of the holy Scripture to bee considered and embraced, in that, that by it the sayings of God were conueyed by a continuall course to the generations of the aftercommers, vntyll the verye ende of the worlde vttered, fyrste by the appearings of Angels to the Patriarches, nexte by the mouthes of the Prophetes, and Christ hymselfe, vnto Israell, after by the Apostles vnto the whole worlde, and by the workes also of Gods prouidence: that is to saye, of his creation and gouernaunce, and by whyche he declared hys faythe, truth and power, in deliuering and conseruyng his people. Heerevnto it were meete to vse that place of Dauid: Thys shall bee written for the age that is to come, and the people that shall bee created, shall praise God. So that whereas the Prophet did tell before, ỳ the memorie of those things whiche happened

Psalm. 102.

from

from God to the restoring of Israel, should be conueyed vnto the generations of the aftercommers, to the intent that the people that should come after, should prayse the Lorde, truely we may most conuenientlly say, that the same was wrought by the holye Scriptures. And to this purpose serueth ẏ we do reade also: How greate matters did he committe to oure fathers, to make them knowen to their childrẽ, that the generations to come after, may know them, and put theyr trust in God, and not forget ẏ workes of God, and search out his commandements. &c. The holy Patriarches, Prophets, Christe, and the Apostles, mought not alwayes be in ẏ worlde, to spread abroade in the worlde the words of God by mouth. Wherfore it was done to moste good purpose, that those things whiche they did set forth by worde of mouth when they were in the world, should be committed to writing, and so that they maye teache, informe, and correcte all men by the scriptures vntil the very ende of the world, to the intent that no mã should imagine, O that I had lyued in the times of the Prophets, Christ and Apostles, that I might haue bin instructed by them in the knowledge of God.

Psalm.78.

By the scriptures we haue the Prophetes, Christ and the Apostles, yet talking with vs.

As touching their doctrine, they be not dead, they be not departed frõ vs, they haue not bereft vs of the doctrine of the truth, but by a nere way of scripture they do talke with vs as truly, as sufficiently, and as hollomly, as they spake with them amongst whom they were bodily conuersant. So by the benefite of scriptures we haue also the Patriarches, the Prophetes, Christ, and the Apostles, no lesse than they among whome they liued. Christ bringeth Abraham, saying to the rich man that was in hell fire: They haue Moses and the Prophets, let them heare them. How had they at that time Moses and the Prophets? how coulde they heare Moses and the Prophets, when they were dead many hundreth yeares before? They had their writings. Therfore to haue the wordes of Moses, of the Prophets, Christ, and the Apostles, is as muche as to haue Moses hymselfe, the Prophetes, Christe and the Apostles: & to heare their writings, is to heare them themselues. In very deede he that heareth not this wayes, or if he doe heare, dothe not beleeue, woulde not beleeue neyther though they rose againe from the dead, and spake with vs againe by worde of mouth. Therefore we maye thanke the holy scriptures for the continual memorie of the workes of God, and the euerlasting voyce comming vnto vs of the sayings of God. So that if the scripture did no good else, yet who can sufficiently wey, how greate the profite of this matter is?

Luke.

Agayne the Apostle dothe commend vnto vs also the profite of the scripture of God, when he saith: All scripture inspired from God, is profitable to doctrine, to reproouing, to correction, and to the information, whiche is in righteousnesse, that the man of God be upright, ready to euery good worke. This is there. In deede it is a greate commendation of the scripture. First he saith, that it is profitable. Then let al them be ashamed, whiche doe take away the reading of it from the congregations and the faithfull of Christ, as hurtfull.

full. Albeit we maye finde many peruerse folke that doe abuse it, yet is it expressly proued heere by the testimonie of the Apostle, that it is profitable. Nor he sayeth not simply The scripture inspired from God: but, All the scripture inspired from God (saith he) is profitable. And where as he dothe specifie, saying: Inspyred from God: it is spoken for the difference of other scriptures, whiche sauor not of the inspiration of God, but of the malyce of mans wisedome. Whereas he speaketh vniuersally, All scripture, it serueth to this, to reproue the rashnesse of them, which do alow that which they lust of the Canon of the holye scriptures, and refute those that they like not. Briefly, ẏ Apostle dothe gyue thys honoure vnto the scripture of God, that it is altogither profitable, and that it conteyneth in it nothing that is hurtfull, but so as all things be vncleane to ẏ vncleane, and as Christe hymselfe is a stumbling stone, and the Apostles a sauor of death vnto them that doe perishe, and the iuyce of a sweete smellyng floure is poyson to the Spyders.

Secondly, for asmuch as he sayd, that all Scripture is profitable, ioyning the parcels of the profit, he saith To doctrine. Doctrine is an instruction of them that be ignorante. The minde of man is not so bright by the lighte of nature, that it can of hys owne sharpnesse know the things of God, and necessary to be knowen for his saluation. The liuing man (sayth the Apostle) vnderstandeth not those things that be of God. Wherefore he hathe nede to haue a more godlye light, whereby he maye haue lighte and be taughte. The same is proued by the holy spirite. And to this vse the holy scripture is applyed, by whiche childrẽ and little ones are taught and brought to light. The testimonie of the Lord saith Dauid, is faithfull, giuing lighte to the little ones, the commaundement of the Lord is clere, giuing lighte to the eyes: So that a man maye well call the holye scripture, the doctrine of ponglings, and that which ẏ wise of thys world do loath, and are ready to spue at, yea and whiche is to them the boke shut and sealed vp. But ẏ doctrine wherefore the scripture of God is giuẽ vnto vs, is of four parts: that is to say, of the Knowledge of God, of Fayth, of Godly loue, and of Iustice. For we be taught out of the scriptures of God, and be instructed in the knowledge of him, the order whereof wee did set forth in the beginning of these Places. We be taught and informed to beleeue. First that there is a God, and that he is a rewarder of them that do seeke him. Next, that we doe beleeue in Christ his onely begotten sonne, sente into this world for oure saluation. For the scriptures do giue witnesse vnto him, whereof he sayth also himselfe: Search the scriptures, in which you suppose to haue lyfe euerlasting. They do also giue testimonie of me. And for this cause hee did expound the scriptures that were written of himselfe to his Disciples, and opened their perseueraunce to vnderstand them. And the Apostles did alleage testimonies of scriptures to confirme that faith in Christe: And Paule saith, that ẏ misterie of Christ which was kept close from the eternall times, was opened by the scriptures in the time of the new Testa-

Psalme.19.

The doctrine of the holy Scripture is of foure partes.

Heb.11.

Iohn.5.

Rom.16.

ment. So the Scriptures do serue vs for the doctrine both of the generall faith, and the speciall also. The generall faith is that, when we doe beléeue in God the maker, gouernour, and preseruer of all things. The special faith is that, when we do beléeue in Christ, and are saued for oure beléeuing, of whiche the Apostle speaketh, saying: And that thou learnedst holy Scriptures from a child, which can instruct thée to saluatiō by faith, whiche is in Christe Iesu. We be taughte out of Scriptures of true godly life towardes God: howe wée muste feare him, loue him, obserue and worship hym chiefly aboue all others. We be taughte also of rygh-teousnesse to be vsed in all our lyfe, towardes them wyth whome we do lyue in thys worlde, eyther as equal, superioures, or inferiours. And in this sorte, that doctrine wherevnto the Apostle sayeth, that the Scripture inspyred from God is profitable, is comprehended in these four partes. Thirdly, The Scripture hée saith is profitable for a triall. The Gréeke word πρὸς ἔλεγχον, soundeth Tryall: as in case there bée anye thyng erronious or false in a matter, that is either spoken in word or done in déede, it is founde by it, as when a man lighteth a candle, and is tryed so manifestly, that it can not be denyed. This triall is a thing most necessary for the Churche, to represse the endeuoures of Sathan, where he is wonte to spread abroade and sowe continually his straunge and erronious opinions by his ministers, whiche can no wayes be more euidently tryed and reproued, than by the lighte of the holy Scriptures.

Tryall.

And there be two kyndes of tryall. One is, when false and erronious opinions, heresies, false worshipps, false Preachers, Prophets and Doctors, false Byshops, false brethren, and Antichrist hymselfe is opened and reproued. And therefore it is, that these darkelings or nightbats, whiche doe reygne in the Churche of God, doe not onely flée like Théues from thys lyght of holy Scriptures, whereby they be disclosed and reproued, but they doe goe aboute also vterly to extinguisshe it. The other is, whereby our faces be reproued. By thys euerye man maye knowe hys owne lyfe, yea the secretes of hys hearte, yea and theyr deuices also, whyche doe wynde themselues into the flocke of the Lorde, couered wyth the Shéepes garmentes, of whome Christ sayd: You shall know them by their workes. And, The tré is knowen by hys frutes. And as for both these tryals or reprowes, you can not better take them out of anye place, than out of ỹ holy Scriptures. Therefore whereas the Apostle sayeth: Trye all thyngs, and holde that which is good. And, Let the mā proue himselfe: it can not be done without diligent loking vpon the holy scriptures. For as ỹ same Apostle sayth: Whatsoeuer is reproued, is opened by the lyghte, and the same whiche lurketh in darkenelle, is not reuealed but by lighte.

Fourthly, It serueth for redresse. The Gréeke word signifyeth the restoring of such things as were fallē, when they be sette vppe agayne and broughte vnto their olde vprightnesse. And whereas all things doe abyde in conueniente estate, nor nothing doth fall, there truely thys reformation néedeth not. In Heauen there is that stedfast and perpetuall vprightnesse of all things, but in the earth it is not so, not onely in natural and worldly things, no nother in godly things, not in the very Church of God. For albeit, the truth of God which is the foundation and piller of the Church, be of it selfe stedfast and inuincible, yet in vs it is weakened, and falleth through our infirmitie and inconstancie, yea rather by our aptnesse to erre and fall. And the studye of godlye life and of iustice, wherevnto we be instructed in the holy Scriptures, hathe néede to haue nowe and then some correction. So that it is wroughte by the holye spirite, that the same holye Scripture which doth teach the ignorannte, and doth reprouc them that be in faulte and erroure, doth also correct and reforme, that is, dothe teache and shewe howe these things muste be amended, whiche are fallen through oure defaulte. The holye Scripture is the rule whereby all faultes are to bée amended, as well of doctrine, as of life. The Prelates of the Churche mighte be admonished euen by this, howe the faultes and controuersies of our times in matters of religion are to be redressed. Let them heare the Apostle: All scripture inspired from God (sayth he) is profitable to doctrine, reprofe, and amendment. If they do séeke a true and holsome redresse, let thē séeke it from no whére else, but from whence all true doctrine and the reprofe of all erroures commeth, that is from the holy scriptures inspired from God. They doe pretende that they will examine and redresse al these controuersies of this present time according vnto the writings of the fathers, and ordinances of the Councels. And so they doe refuse the vse of the Canonical Scripture shewed by the Apostle, and in stéede thereof they do put in the writings, and ordinances of the fathers, which be not themselues vnadusedly to be allowed, but must be examined by the rule of holy scripture. So that the profite of the holye Scripture is greate in this respect, that it helpeth to correcte the doctrine that is fallen, and oure counterfaite lyfe also wandering out of the way from the true path of iustice, whereof the Prophete meaneth when he sayeth: Wherein dothe the yong man redresse hys way? In keeping of thy wordes.

Fiftly, to Instruction (he sayeth) which is in iustice. In Gréeke it is to instruction and discipline, suche as is vsed with children. The holye spirite dothe instructe vs to iustice in holye Scriptures, euen as the father doth his children. They haue milke méete for children, that is to saye, the principles of learning, wherewithall the ignorannte bée taughte. They haue also strong meate conueniente for them that bée elder and better practised.

Sixtly, he dothe adde the ende of these thynges wherevnto they bée directed. That the man of God (sayeth he) may be vpright, furnished to all good workes. In Gréeke it signifyeth whole and sounde. And the Apostle meaneth of the wholenesse and soundnesse of the mynde in true faythe, godlye loue, and iustice. Herevnto the matters spoken

Instruction πρὸς παιδείαν.

The ende and steppe of the profite of holy Scripture. ἄρτιος.

of beſoze, muſt ſerue, I meane doc-
trine, repzake, redzelle, and inſtruc-
on. Theſe things muſt not be idle
and doing nothing, but they muſt be
wozking and fruitefull. He that rea-
deth ſcriptures to any other ende, ſe-
duceth himſelfe, and ſtrayeth from
the right marke. The holy ſcripture
muſt haue the man of God, that is,
him that is of God endowed with
the deſire of true godlineſſe. There
the ſonne of this wozlde ſhall doe no
gwd. It maketh him ſake and ſounde
by teaching, repzouing, redzelling,
and inſtructing, and ſo dothe pzepare
and furniſhe him to all kinde of gwd
wozkes. You muſt underſtande of
thoſe wozkes, wherevnto we be in-
ſtructed by the doctrine of the holye
Scripture. They be the wozkes of
true faith, and charitie. The mã that
is inſtructed by the holy ſcriptures,
can not apply his minde vnto ſuper-
ſtitious wozkes, and therefoze is re-
puted foz an heretike and a wicked
perſon of the Churche of the malig-
nants.

The comfort out of the holy Scripture. 2. *Tim.* 3. *Rom.* 15.

Hitherto we haue briefely conſ-
dered of the pzofite oz commoditie
of holy Scripture, which the Apoſtle
doth ſet fozthe in few wozds. Vnto
that I thought gwd to ioyne alſo the
ſame whiche he doth ſet out to ỹ Ro-
maines ſaying: What ſo euer things
are afoze time written, they be writ-
ten foz oure doctrine, that we maye
haue hope, thzough patience and cõ-
fozt of the Scriptures. The mea-
ning of it is: What ſo euer thynges
hath bin written in times paſſed by
Moſes and the Pzophetes manye a
hundzed yeares befoze, be not writtẽ
only foz them which were aliue whe
they were written, but foz the after
commers alſo, that they might alſo
haue a doctrine wherewyth they
might be inſtructed. So he ſayeth:
They were written foz our doctrine.
Not ſimple, They may ſerue foz our
doctrine, but, they were written be-
foze time foz oure doctrine, as if he
had ſaid: They were written foz this
purpoſe a greate whiles paſt, that
they ſhoulde ſerue foz oure doctrine.
Wherefoze it is not to be imputed
to the rathneſſe of man, that we doe
vſe the Scriptures of the olde and
newe Teſtamente foz a doctrine of
this our age, but we muſte acknow-
ledge in this matter the pzouidence
of God, that he would haue the per-
petuall doctrine of all ages written,
which ſhould endure vntill the very
ende of the wozld. So that this mat-
ter muſt ſticke faſt in the mindes of
godly folke, which the Apoſtle ſayth
here: What ſoeuer things wer writ-
ten afoze time, they were written
befoze foz our doctrine: and let them
thinke that the whole holy ſcripture
is no leſſe ozdeyned to vs by GOD
to this intente that we ſhoulde be
taught of the truth out of it, than it
was in times paſt giuen to our foze-
fathers: and let them not ſuffer thys
doctrine, deliuered to thẽ from God,
to be conueyed from them by the le-
gerdemayne of falſe Doctours. We
can not without greate offence neg-
lecte the ſame, whiche is written foz
vs by the inſtinct and pzouidence of
God.

That we may haue hope (ſaith he)
by pacience and comfozt of the ſcrip-
tures. Heere he declareth a ſpeciall
vſe of the Scriptures, foz them whi-
che be turmoyled with troubles.
There be in them manye noble ex-
amples

amples of the patience of holy men,
wherby receyuing comfozt, we may
conceiue in our mind a hope of Gods
help & of better ſucceſſe, and ſo keepe
pacience in aduerſitie, and goe away
with the victozye. The place of the
wozds of Chriſt is knowen. Where
ſetting fozth the example of the Pzo-
phets, he dothe arme his diſciples to
beare any aduerſitie. And the authoz
of the Epiſtle to the Ebzeiwes bzyn-
geth fozth examples of ſuch patience
out of Scripture. And Peter in hys
ſecond epiſtle alleaged the examples
of Noe and Loth out of the Scrip-
tures. The holye Scripture is full
of examples of patience, and of the
comfoztes of the godly. Foz the God
of patience and comfozte, dyd ſo a-
dzne it by the inſtinct of the holye
Spirite, to the vſe and commoditie
of Godly folkes. You may ſee a place
of thys in Chryſoſtome, whyche
wzote of hys out of exile vnto Cyri-
ake the Byſhoppe, being alſo an out-
law, after this wiſe: When I was
dziuen out of the Citie, I cared foz
none of theſe matters, but I ſayde
to my ſelfe: If the Quéene will out-
lawe me, lette hyz dzyue me out of
the lande. The lande is the Lozdes
and the fulneſſe of it: and if ſhe will
burne me, let hir burne me, I haue
Elay foz my patterne: if ſhe wyll
hurle me into the Sea, I will call
Jonas to remembzance: if ſhe wyll
caſt me into the Quen, I haue the
thzee chyldzen whyche abyded the
ſame: if ſhe wyll caſt me to wilde
beaſtes, I remember Daniell that
was put to the Lions in the denne:
if ſhe will ſtone me, lette hir ſtone
me, I haue Stephen the firſte Mar-
tyz: if ſhe will take away my head,
lette hir take it, I haue John the
Baptiſt: if ſhe wyll take my gwdes
let hir take them, I came naked out
of my mothers wombe, and will de-
parte naked agayne. The Apoſtle
telleth me, God regardeth not the
perſon of the man, and if I dyd yet
pleaſe men, I ſhouldenot bée the ſer-
uaunte of Chryſte. And Dauid
dothe arme mée, ſaying: I ſpake be-
foze Kynges, and was not aſha-
med. Thys ſayeth hée, whyche
thynges I beſéeke you, of whence
were they ſo readye at hande, but
of the readyng of the holye Scrip-
tures?

The holye Scripture giueth armoure againſt the temptatiõs of Sathan. *Math.* 4.

Beſydes thys, when we do reade
of Chriſte oure Sauioure, that hée
did obiect places of Scriptures vnto
Satan the tempter, ſaying: It is
written, Man lyueth not by bzead
onely, but by euerye wozde that pzo-
céedeth out of the mouth of God. Al-
ſo it is written, Thou ſhalte not
tempt the Lozd thy God. Agayne,
it is written, Thou ſhalte wozſhippe
the Lozde thy God, and ſerue hym
onely. Doe we not ſée, that thys is
the pzofyte of holye Scripture, that
we be armed by it againſt the temp-
tations of Satan, the fleſhe, and the
wozlde, as wyth a whole armure,
whereby we may defende our faith,
hope and godly loue? And howe can
they haue thys armure, whyche doe
not make themſelues acquaynted
wyth the holye Scriptures, by rea-
dyng and exerciſyng, that they maye
be readye at hande as oftentymes
as néede requyzeth, to ſerue ſpédily
agaynſt anye kynde of temptation?
It is ouer true that Chryſoſtome
ſayeth: We goe into the fielde with-
out armure, and how ſhall we ouer-

come: He is a very desperate souldyer, that hath no care for hys armour, no not at the very time of the fighte. 1. Sam. 17. When Dauid should fight agaynste the enimie of Gods people, he chose hymselfe fyne smothe stones out of the Riuer, fytte for hys slyng, wherwith he myghte stryke hym and ouerthrowe hym. The holy scripture is full of suche stones. And euen as Dauid did in the bodyly fighte, so let the godlye man doe in the spirituall conflicte.

The pleasant refreshing out of Scripture.

Lastly, I will adde this also. We are wonte to make greate store of those things whiche doe serue for recreation and cherishyng of our bodye, so that the bodye wearyed eyther by heate, labours, colde, hunger or thyrste, maye bee refreshed by them. And not withoute cause. For that whiche is weake and fraple, can not abyde the continuaunce of trauayle, vnlesse it bee nowe and then refreshed, but muste needes decay and slinke away. In thys case the Godly man must thynke vppon the refreshing of the spirite, whereby he maye bee sometymes recreated, after dyuers and sundrye trauels. The Godlye person can in no place finde a swéter and pleasaunter refreshyng, than in the garden of the holye Scriptures, where the tree is of knowledge, not of that that was forbydden, but of that whyche is appoynted by God to the electe, where standeth in the myddes the tree of lyfe, whyche is Chryste: The doze wherevnto is not kepte close by Cherubin and the fyrye swoorde, but it is opened by the instincte of the holye spirite and the lighte of the Gospell, to all that be hungrye, where the ryuers be of lyuely waters, whereby the Churche of the faythfull is ouerflowen and cherished: and where the myndes of the godlye are enriched with most fyne Golde and precious stones, that is with the ryches of heauenly graces, where bee trées of all sortes, fayre to the eye, and swéete to the taste, trées planted by God, handsome, and fruitefull, that is the Patriarches, Prophetes, and Apostles. Where the ayre passeth very smoth and calme, I meane the breathing of the holy spirite, most swétely cherishing the heartes of the dwellers in thys garden. Where the voyce of God is walking and séeking the saluation of the seduced man, not crying thys onely: Adam, where arte thou? but callyng all men also vnto hym, instructing and teachyng the ignoraunte, correcting and prouokyng to amendment them that doe sinne, shewyng vnto them that be deceyued the tree of true knowledge, leading them that bee subiecte vnto deathe and destruction vnto the tree of lyfe, rapsyng vppe them that are fallen, comfortyng the carefull, and refreshyng them that that bee weary.

The garden or Paradyse of the holye Scriptures.

I doe boldly saye, that the same garden of pleasure, out of the whiche Adam was thrust out for his disobedience, hadde scarsely the shadowe of that true pleasure, whyche the electe and they that doe beléeue, do enioy in thys garden of the holye and Godlye Scriptures, whercin they doe heare the voyces and oracles of God, they doe sée the appearings of the Angels, they be conuersant with the holy Patriarches, Pro-

Prophetes, with Chriſte hymselfe, and the Apostles, they haue the most pleasaunte ayre of the holye spirite breathing vpon them, they do fede of the tree of lyfe, not onely takyng no hurte, but excedyng profyte, yea they doe eate of the tree of lyfe, and bee made partakers of it for euer: they doe walke betwixte the moste beautifull and fertile trées, and they be so cherished with the delightes of thys garden, that they wote not whether they be in the bodye or out of the bodye, and doe vtterly forget all worldlye matters, yea and all trouble, care and afflictions also.

I beséeche you, what bee all the writing of the Orators and Philosophers that were wise, compared herewithall, but a dyre and thyrstie deserte, wherein all places bee full of the barren sande of hungrye talke, wherein is nothing but vyle shardes of vayne knowledge, wherein there be false opinions, cruell and venemous beastes, wherein is wearisomnesse for the trauellers, and doubtfull wayes, the mother of all kyndes of errours, in which the hunger and thirst is not quenched, and that whiche is soughte, is not founde. And this deserte of Ethnike writing, is so muche esteemed nowe adayes by the children of the flesshe, and of this worlde, that they thinke they muste needes continue in it. On the other syde, the chyldren of God neglecting the vayne knowledge, say with the Prophete: How swéete are thy sayings vnto my throte, as honey and the honey combe to my mouth. And in an other place: More desirefull than Golde and precious stones, and swéeter than honey and the honey combe. They that be so affected, theyr pleasure and delighte is in the lawe of the Lorde, and doe exercise themselues in it dayes and nyghtes, and through theyr exercise are moste pleasauntly refreshed.

In this saying we doe not condemne the readyng of secular wryters, so that it bee not continuall, that it be not the principall studye, so that it be not vsed to refreshe the spirite, so that it brede not a loathsomnesse to reade holy scripture, so that it holde not the myndes of the readers heartes vnto it till they bee olde, so that it bee not the maister of religion and faithe, but the seruaunte: so that it doe not chalenge vnto it selfe the title of true wisedome and learnyng, but that it stay in his owne degree, and be as a seruaunte and a cast off farre vnder the scripture of God: and so that it decepue not the myndes of the readers wyth the allurements of painted speache, but doe dispatche from it the hungry and emptie soules, to the abundance of the holye Scriptures.

Of the truth and the accomplishment of the holy *Scriptures.*

The truth of Scriptures doth depende vpon the truthe of God.

The truth of the holy Scriptures doth depende vppon the truth of God, who is the author of them. He that doubteth of the truth of them, eyther he doth not beléeue, that they were vttered by the instincte of the holy spirite, or else if he doubteth not of that, hée doeth not beléeue that God cannot lye: or if hée doe

beléeue that also, he taketh him to be mutable as manne, so that the same which he would haue to day, to morrowe chaunging his mind, he would none of it: all whiche opinions bée farre from them that be of the number of true beléeuers. For they doe doubt nothing at all, but that the holye Scriptures be of God, and that God can neyther lye, neyther bée chaunged. They doe say with the Apostle: Let God rather be true, and euery man a lyar. And with the Prophet: The worde of God is tryed by fyre, clensed seauen tymes. They knowe that saying: I am GOD, and am not chaunged. And that also of Esay: Like as the dewe and the snowe commeth from the Heauen, and returneth not thither againe, but moisteth the earth, &c. So is the worde that goeth out of my mouthe, it returneth not vnto me voyde, but dothe whatsoeuer I will, and doth prosper in those matters wherunto I sente it. Wherefore they that be perswaded of the truth of God, are perswaded also of the certaintie and truthe of the sayings of God, which be set forth vnto vs in the holy scriptures.

Esai. 55.

Psalm. 115. Psalm. 11. Num. 23. Mala. 3.

And the things that doe specially require credite of truth in the holye Scriptures, are these: Narrations, commendations, doctrines, prophecies, promises and threateninges. There be also in scriptures cõmaundements and forbiddings, whiche do require obedience. But those matters that I rehearsed, do chiefly and specially require credite or faith that they be true. Albeit, it is requisite also in the precepts and forbiddings, to beléeue that they be charged and forbidden by God. If there be matter tolde in Scripture, that it was done eyther by God either by Angels, eyther men good or euill, there is then a credite to be giuen to the historical truth, so that we must beléeue that it was done without doubte as it is tolde. In thys degrée those matters are the chiefe, which are tolde of the workes of God and of Christe hys sonne. Other thinges be lower, not for ỳ they be lesse true, but bycause they be of an inferiour degrée and of lesse waight. There is report, and as it were in praise, cõmendation made of God in Scriptures, that he is iust, good, true, faithfull, louing, mercifull and kind, slowe to anger, &c. and that he appoynted from euer his only begotten sonne to be our redéemer, and that he sent him into this worlde, that he which doth beléeue, should not perish, but haue life euerlasting, & what soeuer is reported in the worlde by the commendation of the Gospell. Suche and other lyke commendations as they be true, so they doe require credite of the truthe. The Scripture teacheth them that bée ignorannt and doe erre of the grace and will of God, and sheweth the way of saluation and eternall lyfe, and sheweth also what is true godlynesse and iustice: Unlesse this doctrine be accepted as true & certayne, it can not be fruitefull, for without credite of the truth it can not be, that we should become his true disciples, and be lightened with the lighte of Gods knowledge. There be prophecies in the scriptures, either spoken by Aungels to the Patriarches, either by Prophets to the people of Israell, by whiche God vouchsaued to warne

VVhiche Scriptures do peculiarlye require the beleef of truth.

warne thé before of things to come: there be also promises of grace perteyning to the elect. There be threatnings appoynted for the disobedient, vnbeléeuing and wicked persons. Take away the credit of truth from these things, although they be neuer so true of themselues, and must bée fulfilled of necessitie, yet they do not worke with the vnbeléeuers, but vnto their destruction. Wherefore thys is the chiefe poynte of oure religion, that we doe giue credite of truth to the holy scripture, without any manner of doubte, whether it do declare, commende, teache, prophecie, or promise anye thyng to the beléeuers, or threaten the vnbeléeuyng. Without thys faythe of truth, there is nothyng in oure religion that can stande.

Upon this truth of the holy scriptures, doth depende also the fulfilling of them, whyche is as necessary, as it is nédefull, for God to be true. And therebypon commeth that saying of Christe: For it is necessarye that all thinges be fulfylled, whiche bée written of me in the lawe of Moses, and the Prophetes, and Psalmes, Item: for so it is written, and so it behoued Christe to dye, and to ryse agayne from the dead, &c.

And the fulfylling of ỳ scriptures is dyuers wayes. For first there bée some things that haue their fulfylling by God hymselfe and Christ his sonne, and ỳ holy spirite, some things are fulfilled by Angels, some by mé, or godly, or vngodly, some by Satan himselfe, and the euill spirites. Agayne, some thinges were fulfilled once, and so had their perfectiõ, some other thynges hathe also bin oftentymes fulfylled, and are yet fulfylled, partly in the elect, and partly in the wicked, vntyll the ende of the worlde: some shall be fulfylled in the worlde to come. But I meane not nowe to touche euerye thyng particularly, séeyng that the diligent reader of holy scripture may easily obserue euery thing particularly in the reading.

Hytherto we haue briefely sette forthe suche things as we haue iudged not vnprofitable for the godlye reader, touching holye scriptures. I woulde gladly that all the ministers of Gods worde, woulde euerye man according vnto hys power, putte his whole endeuoure to prouoke all menne to the readyng of holy scripture, vsing a conueniente instruction and direction of them in the same. For vnlesse men will so doe, I sée not howe the knowledge of Goddes truth, the sincerite of the Christian faithe, and the studye of true godlye loue and iustice, maye bée kepte in the Churche of Christ, in these latter times.

¶ Of the Ministers of the vvorde of God.

VVhy god vvold vse the ministerie of the vvorde.

After the places of the Gospell, and of ỳ holy Scriptures, I thoughte good to treate nexte of the Ministers of Gods worde. And firste let the godly man thinke vpon the purpose of God, why he woulde vse Ministers,

nisters, by whome he would dispense and bestowe his worde among men. We must not attribute this vnto anye necessitie that it coulde not haue bin otherwise, as though he could by no other meanes haue prouided for the saluation of men, and that it was in any wise necessary for God, willing to help the world, to do it by the outward ministerie of the outwarde word. For he coulde haue done all things that belong to oure saluation and to the knowledge of God, godly loue, and iustice, by the inwarde instinct of his spirite, without the outward word or ministerie of ẏ word: but he would vpon greate wisedome vse the worde and ministers of the word: which doyng of his, wée must honor and profitably embrace, not rashly enquire vpon, and muche lesse contemne it. We must in anye wyse beware, that we giue no place to the rashnesse of mans reason, whiche as soone as it vnderstandeth that it may be otherwise done, which is wrought by God after a certaine and appointed meanes, eyther it beginneth to searche out the causes, and stryueth with the counsell of God, or supposeth that way not to be regarded, whē it is not so done, that it can not bée otherwise done.

God dothe instruct mē otherwise than hee doth other creatures.

We be at a poynt and assure oure selues, that it pleased God so to instructe men of his will and grace, otherwise than eyther the heauenlye spirites whiche haue no earthly bodyes, eyther brute beastes whyche haue no suche power of reason and vnderstanding, as is in men and angels: or other creatures destitute not only of reason, but of the senses also of hearing, séeing, and vnderstāding, whiche all he hath notwithstandyng subiect and seruiceable vnto his wil. Fyre, hayle, snowe, yce, the spirite of the stormes, whiche dothe his worde (sayth the Prophet) doe worke and fulfil the commaundements of God, and serue his wyll without any ministerie of the outward word. They be driuen with the secrete power of the drift of God, whereby men may be also driuen, euen as they be also oftentimes driuen, but it so liked hys vnsearcheable counsel, that the matter of mans saluation shoulde be dispensed in men of vnderstanding, by the ministrie of the word, which dispensation of the worde dothe for all that work nothing in vs effectually, vnlesse the instinct and inspiration of the holye spirite be ioyned withall. This I say we do stand vpon, whatsoeuer become of the matter. Wherfore it is conueniente, that setting aparte all curiositie and contempte, we do with a desirous and thankeful heart obey the appointment of God, yea and take it for a great fauor, that he doth voutsafe to instruct vs of his will & our saluation, by this meanes of the ministring of his word.

But there be many kindes of the ministers of God, whose ministers he doth vse diuersly in this vniuersal frame of heauen and earthe, according vnto his vnspeakeable power and at the libertie of his will, from ẏ numerous multitude and diuersitie of whiche, we must in this place sequester them whome he himselfe did sequester, and sanctifie to the ministerie of his word, and are also now chosen and ordeined in the Churches to the same office. Those we may by a principall diuision deuide into thrée kindes,

kindes, according vnto the thréefolde estate of the thrée principall seasons. The thrée seasons be, the first before the lawe, the second vnder the lawe, and the third after the law, which is the time of the new Testamente. In these thrée times God sent his word, but in sundry sortes. Before the law he vsed the ministerie of Angels, by whose appearings he dyd informe the patriarches of his grace and wil. In the time of the law, he sente Moses and the Prophetes to his people, as ministers of his word. In ẏ time of the new Testamente, he sente hys only begotten sonne Iesus Christe, and after him his Apostles, Euangelistes, Doctors, &c. *Ergo* there bée thrée principall kindes of ministers of the worde. But leauing the two first, we must sée of the third, whyche conteyneth the misteries of the new Testament.

And they haue a diuision and diuersitie in them. There be diuisions of ministeries sayth the Apostle, and one Lord. And in the same Chapiter, And others God did set in ẏ Church, first Apostles, next Prophets, thirdly Doctors. And ẏ same (saith hée) gaue others to be Apostles, & other Prophets, and others Euangelistes, and others Pastors, and Doctors, to the restoring of the Sainctes, into the worke of the administration, &c. And Paule calleth vnto him the Priestes of ẏ Church of ẏ Ephesians, whome he calleth also Bishops. And ther be seauen Deacons chosen. Therefore these names of ministers of ẏ word, be found in the new Testament, Apostles, Prophetes, Doctors, Euangelistes, Pastors, Priestes and Byshops. The Deacons were not ministers of the word, but of the church tables: By those the worke of administration, restorement and edifying of the faithfull, was performed in the first times of Christes Churche. So it is openly read, that there was in the primitiue church only Priests and Deacons. Afterwards when the multitude of the faithfull encreased, and men began to order and decke vp the Church more gayly, and that they grewe vp by little and little frō the simplicitie and basenesse of the Apostles, the degrées of ministers encreased also, and there was added vnto the firste Bishops of countries, suffragans, Metropolitans, Patriarches, Archdeacons, Archpriestes: and of the lower degrée, subdeacons, wayters, cōiurers, readers, singers, dore kéepers. I néede not to speake of the Princes of the court of Rome, the Cardinals and Popes, with the rest of the retinue of their Officials, and of their manifold sects, Monkes, Abbots, Priours, Suppriors, Wardens, Generals, Prouincials, Deanes, Chanons, Abbatesses and Prioresses, of all which the number is so encreased through the blessing and plentifulnesse of the holye Deuill of hell, and blessed hypocrisie, that it is a maruell to sée, howe the faithfull should be able to féede, muche lesse to fat vp and enriche so huge a multitude of idle Lordes or leude lorels and dasterds.

Dist. 60. cā. Nullus in Episcopatū.

Hovv gret the order of ministers is grovven in the churche.

Of the duties of the Ministers of the VVorde.

Ministers.

We wil at this presēt, leauing off this last rable, & consider of the ministers of ẏ word, whose office are set

set forthe vnto vs out of the Scriptures of the new Testamente. And what is to be iudged of them, the Apostle doth generally admonisthe vs, saying: Let a man so estéme vs, as the Ministers of Chriſte, and dispensers of the misteries of God. He saith that there be thæ thynges to be loked for of the Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, Pastors, Doctors, Priests and Bishops.

1.Cor.4.

ὑπηρέτας.

Firſte, that they be Ministers and such as do serue for the execution of the sentence which passed before, and therefore this worde is sometymes taken for the minister of a Iudge, as we may sée in Mathew, where we do reade thus: Least once the aduersary deliuer thée to the Iudge, and the Iudge betake thée to the minister, and so thou be cast into prison. And Peter sate with the ministers to sée the ende. And the Phariseys and high Priestes sente ministers to apprehende Chriſte. So that *Hypereta* be ministers seruing an other bodyes will, doyng anye thing not at theyr owne arbitremente. And I beseech you, howe dothe that saying of the Pope agrée with thys, Whereas there is Maiorítie, there is authoritie to commaunde, and for the reste, there is lefte a necessitie to obey? They that boast themselues to bée the successors of the Apostles, ought not to extoll themselues aboue the Apostles, which would not be taken for Lordes that hadde authoritie to commaunde, but for ministers seruing the will of the Lord.

Math.5.

Math.26.

Iohn.7.

Secondly, for a specifying, he doth adde whose ministers they be, he sayeth: As ỹ ministers of Chriſt. Who soeuer is a minister, is rightly called his minister, whose will he is bound vnto, and to whome he is bounde to giue a reckening of hys ministerie. Truly it is a great matter, to be the minister of Chriſte, the onely begotten sonne of God, the King of Kings, and Lorde of Lords, of whose Kingdome there is no ende. But how desperately be they disposed, that doe worke their owne affayres vnder the name and colour of him, and doe rule like Lordes the flocke of the faithfull, as though they shoulde neuer giue vp an accounte of theyr doynges.

Of Chriſte.

Thirdly, he doth adde also the qualitie of the ministerie, saying: As dispensers of the misteries of God. He calleth Gods misteries, what soeuer things be sette forthe by God, to bée preached in the worlde of Chriſte our Sauioure by the Gospell of God, of which Chriſt himselfe speaketh, saying to his Disciples: It is giuen to you, to know the mysteries. And the Apostle sayeth: And if I knewe all misteries. And, In spirit he speaketh mysteries. Chriſte is altogyther the mysterie of God, hydden from the worlde, opened in the latter tyme to the Apostles. A mystery in Greke, is as muche to saye, as some secrete and hidden thing. Chriſte is secrete and hidden, and those things whyche be preached by the Gospell of him, are secrete and hidden in respecte of the wisedome of the worlde: but in respect of the faith of the elects, they be the candle and light of the minds. So it pleased GOD to hyde those thinges from the wise and cunnyng folkes of the worlde, and to disclose them to little ones. Therefore thys is the cómon seruice of the ministers of

Dispensers of the misteries of God.

Mark.4. 1.Cor.2.

Rom.16. Ephes.3. Colos.1.

of Chriſte, that they must be the dispensers of the mysteries of GOD, whiche is done by the preachyng of the Gospel, whereof we spake before in the place of the dispensation of the grace of God.

And yet there is a difference betwirt ỹ very same ministers, whiche be rehearsed of the Apostle. For it is an other matter to be an Apostle, & another matter to be a Prophete: agayne it is one thing to be an Euangelist, and an other to be a Pastor, a Doctor, to be a Priest, and a Bishop. An Apostle is he, whiche serueth not one or two Churches, but hath this in his charge, to declare the gospell in euery place throughout ỹ worlde, amongst the nations, which yet haue heard nothing of Chriſte. To them doth peculiarly belong, whiche was giuen in charge from the Lorde, saying: Go yée into all the worlde, and preach the gospell vnto al creatures. And, Goyng into all the world, teach all nations. With this mynisterie the name of the Apostle dothe agrée. For Apostle is asmuche to say, as Messenger.

A Prophete, which being inspyred by the motion of the holy spirite of God, doth forsée & tell before, things that be to come. This inspiration was promised in the tymes of the new Testament, as it is alleaged in the Actes out of Ioel: And your sonnes and your doughters shal prophecie, &c. Suche prophetes were Agabus, and the foure doughters of Philip, and they whiche be spokē of, that they were at Antioche. And the Apostles themselues had the inspiration of Prophecie. But yet there be some that doe meane by the worde Prophet here, not the teller of thinges before, but them whiche do expound holy Scriptures to the people, in whiche sense this worde séemeth to be taken of the Apostle.

1.Cor.4.

An Euangelist.

2.Tim.4.

Act.21.

What an Euangelist is, it is diuersly expounded. In fewe wordes, it is eyther he that doth preache, eyther he that doth wryte the histories and doctrine of the Gospell. In the firste sense, the Apostle sayth to Timothée: Do the worke of an Euangelist. And in the Actes, Philip, one of the seuen Deacons, is called an Euangelist. In the laste sense, or rather in bothe, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, be called Euangelistes, whiche dyd spreade abroade the gospel of Chriſt, bothe by worde of mouth, and wryting also.

Pastors, doctors, priests Bishops. So a priest is the name of age, and Byshop of office.

Pastors and Doctors be all one, whiche be called also Priestes and Byshops. They be appointed vnto some certayne churches, to fede thē and teach them. They be called Pastors by a figurate speache, vpon fedyng, that is teaching, wherfore they be also called Doctors: and they bée called Priestes, bicause they do passe other men bothe in age & wisedome, (for so that word Priest, is asmuch to say as an Elder.) And they be called Bishops, bycause there is a charge committed vnto them ouer the people of God, to loke vnto them diligently in the case of saluation, and in case there shoulde any daunger hang ouer theyr heades, to warne euery one of them by time, & to withstand it. The Athenians did call thē Bishops, whome they sente to theyr Cities abroade, to sée how the matter wente with them. And he Was the Bishop also that was the ouer

A Byshop.

That Pastors and doctors, priests and byshops be al one.

seer in things that were to be solde for mens dayly liuing. So this word was passed ouer from those matters to the charge of the churche, that the Pastors, Doctors, and Priests be called Byshops, whiche some do now adays call also Superintendents. And that Pastors and Doctors be al one, as to féede and to teache is al one, I thinke it is manifest: whiche thing Hierome also dothe note vpon that that the Apostle dothe not say, Others Pastors, and others Doctors, but ioynctly, others pastors and doctors. Agayne that priestes and pastors be all one, it is manifest of that that we do reade that the priests and Elders be warned by the Apostle, to féede the flocke of God.

1. Peter. 5.

Thirdly, that Elders, bishops and Pastors be all one, it is manifest by that which we do read in this wise: And sendyng messengers from Miletus to Ephesus, he sente for the Priestes or Elders of the Churche, & when they came vnto him, he said: You knowe that from the firste day, &c. and a little after: Looke therfore to your selues and to all the flocke, in whiche the holy spirite hath sette you byshops to Féede the Churche of God, &c. The same whiche Luke calleth the priestes of the churche of Ephesus, those Paul calleth bishops, and sayth: that they be sette there to that intent, to féede the Churche of God. So we do sée manifestly, that priestes or elders, byshops and pastors be al one: and that there was in one selfe same churche ioynctly togither many byshops, and that appointed by the holy spirite, as we may sée by that whiche wée do reade in the Apostle, saying: Paule and Timothée the seruaunts of Jesus Christ, to al the sainctes in Christe Jesu, whiche bée at Philippos togither with the Byshops & Deacons. Lo there was many byshops togither also at Philippos, and they were the priestes or the Elders of the congregation. And whereas wée do reade in the Epistle to Tite, saying: For this cause I left thée in Creta, that thou shouldest procéede to redresse those things that be amisse, and ordeyne Priestes in euery towne, as I did appoynt to thée. If any bée without blame, &c. For a Byshop muste be without blame, &c. do not we sée also here, that a bishop and a priest is al one? And in Peter these thrée wordes, Priestes, féede, and bishops, are referred by the Apostle all to one. Whereby you may sée that in the Apostles tyme, Priests, Pastors, and Byshops were all one in the churche of Christ. And if any man list, let him reade of this matter in the Canon lawe, those things that be alleaged out of the writings of Jerome.

Act. 20.

ποιμαίνειν.

Philip. 1.

So that it is a cléere case out of all doubte, that there was this order taken in the firste and Apostolicke churche, by the Apostles, that the Elders of ẏ churche, that is, they which bore the charge of the Lords flocke, did with a common trauayle performe the mynisteries of teachyng and gouernance, and that they were as I mighte say, headlesse, that is subiect vnto no heade or president, as there bée many mynisters of the woorde, founde also nowe adayes in some Churches, of whome none is superiour in office and power aboue the reste, although that one be better than the other, eyther in learning, either in the gifte of vtterance, or wisedome. But after the Apostles tyme, when that as Jerome thinketh there sprong vp dissensions and Schismes betwixt the Elders of the church, and as I suppose it to be likely, when that temptation of greaternesse and superioritie gat once into the mindes of the Priestes, Pastors and Doctors, then men beganne to chose some one of the Elders, which shoulde be sette aboue the reste, and auaunced vnto a higher degrée, and to be called a Byshop: & so he should onely and singularly be called so, as all the reste were commonly called before. Whether this deuice do any good or no to Christes churche, that Byshops are become rather of custome as Jerome sayth, than vpon any truthe of the Lordes appoyntement, whiche should be greater than the Priestes, it is better declared in these latter tymes, than when this custome was firste taken vp, whiche wée may thanke for all that pryde, wealth and tyranny of the pryncely and ryding Byshops, yea for the corruption of all Churches, whiche if Jerome sawe, no doubte he woulde acknowledge it to be not the deuice of the holy ghost, to take away schismes, as it was pretended to be, but of Satan himselfe, to decay and destroy the olde ministeries in féeding the Lordes flocke, of whence it is come, that the churche hath not true Pastors, Doctors, Priests, and Byshops, but vnder the colours of these names, wée haue idle bellies and magnificall Princes, which do not féede the people of the Lorde themselues with holsome and Apostolicke doctrine onely, but they do also with moste wicked force lay wayte, that no manne else shall do it. So that by this deuice of Satan it is come to passe, that the Churches haue in stéede of Byshops, mighty Lordes, and Princes, chosen for the moste parte of the degrées of the noble and highe bloud, so that bothe by themselues & bolstred also by the power of their kinsefolkes, they do rule as they luste, in the Lordes flocke. But lette vs leaue them, and come againe to the true ministers of Christes and Gods worde.

Two sorts of true mynisters of Christe.

Of thē there be two kindes. One of them whiche were specially appointed for the beginnyng of the dispensation of the gospell, as the Apostles, Prophetes and Euangelistes, they were appoynted to no speciall churches certainely. There is an other sort of them which do belong to the order of the ministery, whereby ẏ faithfull must be gouerned and fedde with the foode of life, throughout all the time of the new Testamēt, as be Pastors, Doctors, Priestes, and Byshops. These be appointed vnto certaine churches, and theyr office is to preache the gospell of God, to teache them that do erre, to correct them that do sinne, to rayse vp the weake, to withstande them that do speake against the faith, and to dispence to the Churches the mysteries of Grace giuen frō Christ. There was this māner of order prescribed vnto these bishops whiche folowed the times of ẏ Apostles, ẏ they should preach to the people, & minister the sacraments, inioyne penaunce, beare the charge of clergie & people, aswel within ẏ citie, as also in ẏ coūtrie, ordein ministers, visite the sicke and néedy, sée that the

What is prescribed to Byshops after the Apostles tymes.

goodes

goodes of the churche were well kept and bestowed, finally to take vpon them the defence of innocentes towardes the Princes. So that in case Bishops had continued and marched vpon this ground, the churches should haue bene in better case, or if the Pastors & Prelates of oure time would come to these Canonical rules, there were some hope that it were not impossible, but that the estate and order of the Churche mighte be reformed, and the controuersies of this present time take away by the light of Gods worde. The Apostle doth requyre of a Bishop, that he do holde faste the faithfull saying, which is according vnto sounde doctrine, and that he be able by the same to exhorte and to conuince the that do speake agaynst it. And, That he be apte to teache. And, That he do apply readyng, exhortation, and doctrine. And, That he do reproue sinners before al men, that the rest may haue feare. Item, that he lay not handes hastely vpon no man, that is, that he do not vnaduisedly appoynt any man to the Ecclesiasticall mynisterie. And, That he do cut aright ỹ worde of the truth. And, That he do preache the worde, and stande to it, in season and out of season, that he do reproue, rebuke, exhort with al lenitie and doctrine, and that he do performe the worke of an Euangelist. And Peter requyred of ỹ Elders and Bishops, that they do feede the flocke of Christe, and that they be as paterns vnto the, takyng a care of them not by compulsiõ, but voluntarily.

V What the Apostle doth require of a Bishop.

Tit. 1.

1. Tim. 3.

1. Tim. 4.

1. Tim. 5.

2. Timoth. 2. & 4.

1. Peter. 5.

By this I suppose it is manifest inough, that the office of Elders and Bishops in the churche of Christ, is to feede the Lordes flocke with holy doctrine, and that they be Pastors & Doctors in deede. They do counterfayte a pastorall care, when they be cladde as they do thinke, Bishoplike, to celebrate the communion. They do put on a white Albe, somewhat longer than they be wont to weare, and takyng a girdle, not suche a one as John Baptist vsed, but a linnen one, they do girde their loynes withal, & so restraine their lõg & wide garmẽt, bycause it should not let them to goe, and so they thinke they do that mercuelous trimly, whiche the Lord sayde by a similitude: Lette your loines be girded in. They haue shoes put on vpon theyr feete, not suche as they be wõte to weare euery day, but slipper-lyke, such as men be wonte to weare when they goe abroade into the fielde, or when they woulde go a iourney. And so they do fulfill that saying of the Apostle: Shodde vpon your feete, that you may be ready to go aboute the Gospel of peace. Upõ theyr Albe they do caste on a lose cloke, and couer theyr head with a long myter, in steede of the shepardes cappe, as it were to defend the rayny weather. There hangeth downe at it two bandes, which shepards do occupy, to tie and to kẽpe on their cap agaynst the boysterous windes. And when they be thus disguysed, they take theyr shepe-hooke in theyr hãd, as though they woulde immediatly bring forth the Lordes flocke vnto the pastures. This fashion of garments the Greeke bishops vsed, according vnto the custome of the shepherdes of the East countries, and of Asia, which are so cladde when they kẽpe their shepe. And what cõmeth

of this matter? When the maskyng shepeherde is thus disguised, he doth not feede the flocke of the Lord at al, although he be neuer so shepardlike cladde for the weather, but he goeth vp to sing Masse, with suche kinde of gesture, such ceremonies, and suche a languag, that in the church of God you shall finde nothing else but pompous and vayne sightes, all things so deckt vp with Golde, Siluer, Purple, Silke, Torches, Little bels, and Great belles, Singing, Organs, Musicke, and such a princely noyse, that if any of the Apostles were there hee cold not imagine, no not in a dreame, that this were the bishoplike feeding of the Lordes flocke. And when my Lorde bishop hath done this once or twice a yeere, he thinketh hee hath well done his dutie, whatsoeuer he do all the yeere long else. As for the making of mynisters, or whatsoeuer is else to be done in churchly matters, he dothe partly put it away to his Suffragane, and partely to hys Commissarie. All preachyng he leaueth to his Chaplaynes, maister Doctors, or to some Friers, but sweareyng him firste, so that he dare not for his lyfe once quinche otherwise, than it is in certayne formes & rules prescribed vnto him. Now what shal we say to the Priests? Some of them be regulare, and some irregulare. If I should speake English, and call thẽ Unruly or out of rule, it were a foule matter. Bothe of them do nothing else in the churche of God, but sing & say Masse, doing manifestly cõtrary vnto that whiche was forbidden by Pope Gregory, that none should sing Psalmes in the churche, but they of the lower degree, as Subdeacons: but that Deacons should apply readyng and preachyng. And if it were an vnfit matter for Deacons to sing in the church, howe muche more vncomly is it I beseech you, for priests: so that they do obserue nother the Canon of the Apostles, neyther the Decree of the Popes.

Let vs come to those ministers, as Pastors, and Bishops, which beyng of an other degree, do nothyng else in the churche of Christ but preach and teach. They haue certayne dayes in the weeke to preach. It is wel done. They do teach nothing else but scriptures. And that is wel done to. But that is not well, that there bee very many of them, do it so negligently, shiftingly, & coldly, that it may well be applyed vnto them that whiche Seneca sayth: It maketh not a mã warme, bycause these be not warme themselues: and as an Orator of Rome sayde: If thou shouldest say as thou inwardly thinkest, wouldest thou so say? They do not as they ought to do, cut the word of the Lord right and profitably, apply it to the edifying of theyr hearers, but they thinke that they haue done theyr dutie well inough, if they shifte out the matter, and make vp theyr houre. And withall they do not take heede of the disposition and doyngs of the people, much lesse they do redresse that whiche is amisse, nor they haue no care how the people do profite in the knowledge of God, the fayth of Christe, and true godlinesse: nor they do not giue thẽselues to the reading of the holy Scripture, nor cause the people to reade them at home, nor they make no reckyng of the power and strangers, nor they do not visite

Of some ministers of the gospell.

Let the minister of the gospell marke here.

the

the sicke, hauyng no care how and in what fayth they do departe out of this lyfe, and so they do occupie them selues in the mynisterie of Christe, nother faythfully, nother wisely, no nother profitably. It is a great matter surely, that they do not sowe straunge doctrine in the Churche of Christe: but do set forth doctrine taken out of the holy Scriptures, nor they do not vse any superstitious ceremonies, but they be cõtẽt with the simple administration of the Sacramentes, accordyng to the custome of the primitiue church: but we finde thẽ blame worthy in this, that they do not performe those things that be good and profitable earnestly and diligently, but they be slacke and negligent in them, and that they do vterly neglecte some things that a faithfull mynister ought to do besides. In this their ministration in deede they do bryng in no superstitions and errours into the church, as men haue done heretofore, but yet withal, they do fall too farre another way, and giue occasion to the people to fall by little and little into a certaine Indifferency in religion, most pestilent of al things, and to become Epicures, to destroy & extinguish all maner of religion. In theyr ministerie there is no mã afrayd, least there shoulde spring vp hypocrites, superstitious folkes, worshippers of images, and iusticiaries. They dw quite themselues and others also well inough of this care. If all Christendome were so wel, do you think they were without blame? No, for whereas nowe it is requyred of the faythfull, not onely ỹ they be not superstitious, hypocrites, iusticiaries, and worshippers of Images, but that they shoulde be also truely faithfull, sounde in the fayth of Christe, in the feare of God, in hope and Charitie, and in newnesse of life: I suppose it is to manifest, that this kinde of men in ỹ ministerie of Christ is not without blame. Wherefore I do beseche them in the Lorde, that they will be diligent to do and fulfill theyr mynisterie, not by peece meale, but by the full.

Hitherto we haue noted some few pointes of the office of the ministers of the worde. Besides those there were chosen & ordayned firste at Ierusalẽ Deacons vnder the Apostles: the vse of whiche was turned ouer also into other Churches: but since that time the firste order of them is worne out, and the bare name onely left. For the first ordinaunce of them was in this wyse: When the number of Disciples increased, there began to be a murmure of the Grekes agaynst the Ebrewes, for that theyr widowes were despised in the dayly ministery. But when the twelue had commaunded the multitude of the disciples to assemble, they sayd: We like not that we must leaue ỹ worde of God, and mynister to the tables. Wherfore loke out among the bretherne seuen men of you of tried honesty, ful of the holy spirite and wisedome, to whome we shall cõmit this businesse. And we shall gyue our selues to prayer & to the ministratiõ of the word. And this saying pleased the multitude. And they chose Stephan, &c. Therfore Deacons, that is ministers, were ordeyned to this intent, to serue the tables in the dayly ministery of the foode, that the Apostles

stles might not be letted frõ the ministery of the worde. These were the almes bestowers, of these thinges which were giuen by the faythful, in the meetings at the churches & other where, to the releefe of the poore, the straunge widowes, and fatherlesse. Eusebius in his *Historia ecclesiastica* saithe, that they had the ouersighte of the common things of the church. Afterwarde they began to sing in the church, as we may see in the History of Athanasius, and appeareth also by the decree of Gregory, whereof wee made mention before. Furthermore for asmuch as after the former order of the mynistring the communion, there was collections made and bestowed amõg the poore, and that done by the Deacons. It came to passe at length, that chãging theyr first way, they were appoynted to the mynistryng of the sacraments, after that it was enioyned them to reade or to sing the gospell at the Communion. In fine they were put also to publike preachyng. So that by this time the Deacons are muche chaunged from theyr first institution in the Church. The Apostles would not be combred with cõmon matters, but layde that burthen vpõ the Deacons shoulders, that they mought apply prayers, & the ministery of the worde. Now adayes the successors of the Apostles do forsake the ministerie of the worde, and do themselues employ these things to the fẽding of theyr wãton lustes, whiche the Deacon by vertue of his office was wonte to bestowe to the vse of the poore. And wouldde to God the churches that do professe the gospel, would vse the office of the Deacons as it ought to be.

Of the Chosing and ordeynyng of the Ministers *of the VVorde.*

It is to rash a thing for a man to thrust himselfe into the ministery. *Ebrew. 5.*

For asmuch as it were to muche rashe dealyng & not conuenient, that a man shoulde take to himselfe the honor of the ministerie of God, seyng that nother Christ himself did glorifie himselfe to be a Bishop, consequently wee muste consider vpon the chosing and ordayning of mynisters. We sayde before that there be two sortes of mynisters of the word. And accordyng to the diuersitie of them, so there be two wayes of chosing them also: one certainly of God, the other by the Churche. That of God is the same, wherby Moses, Aaron, the Prophetes, John Baptist, Christe, and the Apostles were chosen by God. This kinde of choyce is done partely by the meanes and inspiration of the holy spirite: so the Prophetes were chosen partely by heauenly callyng frõ heauen, so Moses and Aaron: and so the Apostles were partely chosen by the Lorde himselfe. The election by the church is, when neyther Prophets nor Apostles, but Priests, Byshops, Pastors, and Doctors are chose to the worke of the mynisterie. And we do see that this manner of Election is growen oute of kynde, from the custome of the primitiue Church. When there was one to be appoynted vnto Iudas place, to accomplish the numbre of twelue, by the aduice of Peter, it was done in the middes of the brethren, that is of the Disciples and beleeuers, whiche were then assembled togither at that tyme to the nũbre of a hundred and twenty. And it

Two maner of chosing of ministers.

A decay of the chosing after the Primitiue church

was done in this sorte: They choose two out of the whole numbre, which both they iudged no doubt to be méet men for that place, that is to witte, Joseph called Barshabas, and surnamed Justus, & Mathias. Those they did place in the middes of the brethren, and makyng firste theyr prayers vnto God, desiring him to shewe whom he choose for himselfe, they did cast a lotte after the manner of theyr fathers: and the lotte fell vpon Mathias. And they accompted him with the number of the eleuen Apostles. Afterwarde when there shoulde bée Deacons chosen, the Apostles called togither the multitude of the Disciples, and badde them choose amongst them seuen men, full of the holy spirite, & of good reporte. And they chose them, and presented those which they had chosen to ẏ Apostles, who praying vnto God, layde hands vpon thē. So they were chosen also in the assembly of the faythful, and after that they were chosen, they were ordayned or instituted by the Apostles by laying handes vpon them. No doubt the Apostles kepte still this manner of chosing and ordayning. Wherfore whereas we do reade in the Actes that Paule & Barnabas did ordaine Priests at Iconium, Lystra, and Antioche, it is not to be takē otherwise, but that it was done in the assemble of the faythfull, and whiles whē they were present. They did also cōfirme them in the fayth. Hereof we haue a manifest argument in Luke, where he sayth: And when they had ordayned Priestes in euery churche, & had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, in whom they beléeued. Therfore they did ordaine Priestes chosen by the faythful with prayer and fastyng, whiche was wōt to be done in the assēbly of the faithfull: and after that ordinaunce they commended the congregation vnto the Lorde, and departed. This fashiō of chosing and ordayning Priestes & Byshops, the Apostle doth commend also vnto his workefellowes, Tite and Timothée, saying: For this cause I lefte thée in Creta, that thou shouldest reforme those things that be lacking, and shouldest ordayne elders in euery Citie, as I appointed thée. For who can beléeue, that he did otherwise appoynt Titus, than he and the rest of the Apostles were wōt to do?

Act. 14.

Therefore according to the example & order of the Apostles, Priestes, Pastors, and Byshops, yea and Deacons also, in the primitiue Churche were chosen by the people in the assembly of the Churche, by the lifting vp theyr handes: and so beyng orderly chosen, they were confirmed and ordinated by prayer and laying on of handes of the Byshops and Elders, which were at the election: And this fashion of election continued in the churches vntill Cyprians time, as we may sée by his wordes. For thus he wryteth: Wherfore the people folowing the commaundements of the Lorde, and fearyng God, must sequester themselues from a sinful gouernour, and not intermeddle in the sacrifice of a wicked Prieste, whereas they haue power specially to choose worthy Priestes, or to repell the vnworthy. Which thyng we do sée also cōmeth from the authoritie of God, that the Priest must be chosen vnder the eyes of all men, the people beyng present: and that he that is worthy and

and méete, may be alowed by the publicke iudgement and testimonie, &c. And a little after: That eyther the faults of the wicked may be opened, and the merites of the good folkes reported in the presence of the people, that the ordinaunce may be right and lawfull, whiche is examined and tryed by the voyces and iudgements of all men, whiche is afterwardes obserued accordyng vnto Gods teachyng in the Actes of the Apostles. And in the same place: Wherefore (sayth he) the same is diligently to be kepte and holden faste of the godly and apostolical tradition of God and the Apostles, whiche is kepte also with vs and almost in al Prouinces, that to vse the ordayning of mynisters aright, all ẏ bishops of the prouince being neare, must assemble vnto that people, whiche the Pastor must haue appointed them, and that there be chosen a Bishop when the people which doth fully know euery mans lyfe is present, and hath perceyued euery mans doings by his conuersation. This saith he.

And in the .xxiij. Distinction wée reade this: The sure & lawfull order of election is cōsidered, if that looking to the rules and doings of diuers of the fathers, that sentēce of Pope Leo our predecessor be remēbred. There is no reason (sayth he) to suffer that they shoulde be taken for Byshops, whiche neither be chosen by the clergie, nor desired by the people, nor cōsecrate by the Byshops of the same prouince, with the iudgement of the Metropolitane.

And in the Canon folowing: Whē he hath bene (saith he) examined in all these things, and found throughly well furnished, then lette hym be ordeyned and made Byshop, with the cōsent of the Clergie and Laitie, and the assembly of the Byshops of the whole prouince, chiefly eyther by the authoritie or presence of the Metropolitane. &c. Sée also the. Lxiij. Distinction of the holy Canons.

The cōsent of Princes and Magistrates.

So that after this manner Priestes, Byshops, and Deacons, were chosen in tymes paste, whiche the Churches vsed vntill the tymes of Christian Princes and Magistrates, whose consent was requyred to the election of Byshops: and not without cause. For it is not conuenient that those thyngs whiche be done publickely, and dothe also concerne the people that be subiect vnto them: yea and suche things as for religion doth also touche themselues, shoulde bée done without theyr conscience and consent (vnlesse we will say with the madde Anabaptistes, that Princes and Magistrates bée not Christians, nor can not pertayne to the Churche of the faythfull) The Byshop of Rome did abyde this order vntill it was thought good that the election of the Byshop of Rome should be of no strength without the consent of the Emperoure of Rome. So the interest to chose the bishop of Rome, was giuen to the Emperour. And ẏ electiō of the bishops of Rome was graunted by Lewes to the Romaynes. But when they thought that this consent of the Emperoure wente not as they woulde haue it, they did deuise by the crafte of Satan to pretende a prerogatiue of the Churche of Rome and Apostolicke, and so they did shake off aswell this custome & right of the Emperours,

The Emperour did chose the byshop of Rome, vvhich is novv void.

Dist. 3. can. Adrianus P. P.

Dist. eadem

How the lawfull election was disanulled.

as the right also of the people. And this they did the boldlyer, when they had the disposition of other Kinges and Princes more inclyned vnto them. This when the power and gayne also of Bishops grewe to be greate vnder Christian Princes, and when dissentions and deuices of Schismes ouerwhelmed the church, forsakyng the olde and primitiue, godly, apostolicke, and lawfull election and ordinaunce of ministers of the worde, they begaune to thrust into the Churches, men vnknowen to the people, not lawfully chosen, but brought in either by the trauaile of the parties, eyther at the luste of Princes, eyther by the meanes of fauour, prayng, or paying of the Bishoppes: whereof our times do very well beare witnesse. Thus we haue the Horsekepers of the Cardinalles of Rome, the Courtiers, Bawdes, Souldiers, &c. sente into other Kings dominions, to possesse the Churches, specially the riche ones, whome the people of Christe neuer knewe at all. And this is made nowe an vniuersall case, that there is no election of the ministers of the worde in the Romishe Churches: whereof Ierome also lamented that it began in his time, where he sayth: Many do builde churches, and make greate pillers, &c. but of the ministers of Christe there is no choyse made. Penne do runne to the Bishoppes suffragans certayne times of the yeere, and bryngyng a peece of money, they be anoynted and ordinate, not chosen by any. And the Bishoppes be chosen without any lawfull election by the Canons alone in a corner, without any knowledge of the people. And the very olde simplicitie of orders is chaunged into I wote not what, worldly pope rather than Christian. But what skylleth it by whome and howe, and who bee ordeyned, when they be ordeyned not to the ministerie of the worde, that is to feede, but to deuoure the sheepe of Christe: to serue not Christe, but the courte of Rome and theyr owne bellies? For it skilleth not so muche, by whome and howe, as whereunto ministers be chosen. The very estate, orders, doctrine, rytes, Sacramentes, ministers of the Churche are degenerate frō the institution of the Lorde, what maruell is it then, if the fashion of the chosing and ordeynyng be altered?

In Epistola de Vita clericorum.

But some man peraduenture will obiect vnto me, that ỹ same churches which wold seeme to reforme things that are amisse in the doctrine and Christian religiō in our time, do not themselues chose the ministers of the word with the people, but taketh them that be appoynted to them of the Magistrate. I am compelled to say of this matter what I do think, not for them which do obiect this vnto vs, but because of the vnlearned and weake, whiche though they do faythfully minister in the worde of the Lorde, yet they be wonte sometymes to doubt of their calling, whether it be lawful or not. Because they be not elect and ordeyned after the Apostolicke fashion which the churches vsed in times past. No doubte we must cōfesse that the ministers of Christe that in tymes passe were ordeyned and confirmed by the laying on of the handes of the Elders, after that

that they were chosen by the presence and assent of the people, as we declared before: secondly that the same fashion of chosing was Apostolicke and lawfull: thirdly that it is agreeable vnto the libertie and power of the Church, whereof Cyprian made mention: and that the same fashion, when men were thrust in to be ministers of the people of Christe, not chosen by them, agreeth not with the free church, but with the church that is in subiection: fourthly that it doth much auayle, that the minister may with a clere conscience gouerne the flocke of the Lorde, by whome hee is chosen to bee their Pastor, Doctor and Bishop, and that the flocke of the Lord may on the otherside more easily yelde themselfe to be gouerned and fedde by him, than by the same that is brought in without the consent, will and election of the people. All these things I say, be certayne, and cannot to be sayde to the contrary. But if you consider the state of the churche now farre other than it hath bene, you shalbe dryuen to graunt, that the same which is of it selfe Apostolike, lawfull, accustomed, & agreeing with the free church, might do wel in the first times of the Church, but not so in our times. For then the faythfull people were not of so great numbers, but that there might bee a minister chosen by all mens voyces in publicke assemblies, without any tumulte, whiche nowe adayes shoulde bee very hardely wrought. Besides that, the hartes of the faithful were not blinded with vniuersal errours and false worshippings, but they stacke yet fast to the doctrine and religion which they had receyued of the Apostles. Wherefore it might well be that there might bee chosen a true minister of Christe in the middes of the people by common voices. But after that the multitude of ỹ beleuers grew to be very great, and that Schismes began to beare a swynge in the churches, then an vniuersall blindenesse and ignorance preuailed euery where in the church: and when the puritie of the Apostolicke doctrine was gone, false opinions bare rule, and true religion was exchaunged for sundry kyndes of superstitions, then there coulde not bee chosen any more a sincere minister of Christe by the common assent of the people: so that it is not without reason, that the olde fashiō of chosing ministers is forsaken a greate whyles passe in the Romishe Churches, by the craftie deuise of the Bishoppes, and it coulde not bee immediatly restored, neyther in the Churches of the gospell, bicause there coulde not bee immediatly gotten a common and vniuersall consent of the people, to chose a minister of the doctrine of the Gospell. Wherefore considerying the condition of the tymes, very necessitie requyred, that the Magistrates and Princes shoulde bee induced vnto this, by the meanes of some fewe men whiche were of a better iudgement, and desired the commoditie of Christes Churche, to appoynt faithfull and learned Pastors ouer their subiectes, whiche shoulde instructe them to the true knowledge of Christe, by the worde of lyfe, albeit there were yet many that did abhorre the doctryne of the truth. Considerynge these circumstaunces of the

The necessitie of our times.

tymes, lyke as there can not be restored by and by in all Churches the Apostolyke fashion of election and ordinaunce, so there is no cause why the mynister of Christ, called by the godly Magistrate or Prynce, to preache the gospel, should stagger or stande in doubte of hys vocation, whether it be righte or no: but wée muste thynke, that when the estate of the churche and religiō is corrupt, there muste be sought an other way to redresse the things corrupte, than the same whiche was accustomed in the Churches, when all things were safe and sounde.

They that be not lavvfully called, do make the doubt of the calling.

They that do séeke rather to maintayne the authoritie of the Bishops, than the saluation of the faythfull, when they can not charge the mynisters of Christe, that be called by the Magistrate, of any falschoode of doctrine, they do make a questiō of their callyng, beyng themselues neyther lawfully elect nor called, and they say: What Suffragan made thée a Prieste? What Byshop called thée to any office in the Churche? So the Priestes asked of Christ in the temple: By what power doest thou this? And who gaue thée this authoritie? as if they shoulde say: The power and interest to speake in this temple lieth in vs. That which thou doest, thou doest not by lawfull authoritie. They made no question to the facte it selfe, whiche they coulde not blame, but they made a quarrell to his authoritie. Likewise these menne also, for as much as they can not maynteyne by the authoritie of Goddes worde theyr manifeste errours and abuses, nor reproue the doctrine of the truthe to bée a lie, they do runne to the authoritie and power of the Bishop, as though they had that cléere and lawfull, whereas they do neyther fulfill the offyce of a Byshop, nor haue not eyther the power or authoritie of true Byshoppes. Wherefore lette not the true and sincere mynister of Christe make any account of theyr barking, but content him with the testimonie of hys owne conscience, and with the vocation that he is called by a lawfull Magistrate to the office of teaching, and procéede on with a quicke and wel minded spirite, in the worke of the Lorde.

And for as much as we be fallen into this matter, I thynke the reader wil not mislike, if I declare how the mynisters of the worde be chosen and confirmed in this famous Churche of Berna, whiche is after this order. When the necessitie of the churche dothe require, that there bée chosen a minister, there is knowledge gyuen from the Councell or Senate of the towne to the mynisters of the worde, to looke about for some, whome they shall iudge méete for that purpose, and to choose him by common voyces, and presente hym to the Councell. If it happen that suche a one be chosen by them, whose fayth, learnyng, and doctrine be not well inough tried, the Senate sendeth him to the mynisters agayne to haue him examined, and when they haue made a further triall of him, to certifie the Councell agayne howe they finde hym méete or not. If he bée founde méete, the election of him is ratified by the Senate or Councell, if hée bée to be sente to any church abroade in the coūtrie: but if he be to serue the Lorde within the citie, the election of him is put ouer to the great Councell, whiche doth consiste of all the accustomed Magistrates, and a greate sorte of Citizens also chosen out of the people. Here the consentes be taken by holding vp of hands, whereby he that is chosen, is eyther confirmed, either refused. So the election standeth in the ministers of the worde, & the confirmation in the Councell. The minister whiche is chosen & confirmed by the Senate, if he shall serue in the countrie, carrieth letters with hym from the councell to ẏ Magistrate of that place, and afterwarde when commoditie serueth, hée is brought and presented to the Churche wherin he muste serue the Lorde. And he is presented by the authoritie of the Councell and the Ecclesiasticall order also. For there is sente to that presentmēt some Senator, and some one mynister of the worde, whiche dothe with an open oration appoynt and commende vnto the people there presente, the Pastor that is chosen: and that not without prayers to the Lorde, that hée will vouchesafe to ayde and assiste hym in all the course of hys mynisterie, with the grace of hys spyrite, that hée may gouerne to the profite of the churche committed vnto him, and to the glorie of hys name. I suppose that this order of election, confirmation and presentation is suche, that in case the same order of theyrs bée not too negligently vsed bothe by the Mynisters and the Councell, but if it bée handled diligently and earnestly, and that with the feare of the Lorde, and with desire to helpe the Churches, it can not bée done without fruyte, nor otherwyse then shal become the mynisterie. But if thys diligence doe lacke: and that the elections of the Churche come not to the due ende, the faulte muste be layde not to the manner of the chosing, confirming, and presentyng, but vnto the sluggishnesse and heauynesse of them whiche through theyr defaulte doe make that vnprofitable, whiche mighte bée profitably handled.

Tvvo vniuersities in the territory of Berna.

I will adde that also. For asmuch as the noble state of Berna hath a large dominion and territorie full of Euangelicall churches, it hath appointed two Uniuersities in it: One in the Citie it selfe, and an other at Lawsanna: in which there be continually mainteyned and brought vp a certaine numbre of yong men to studie diuinitie. Frō thence some be takē as they be thought méete to serue in the churches as Deacons, & they be trayned vp in the office of Deacons, so long till they may be auaunced, as necessitie dothe require, to the degrée of Priests and Pastors. I beséeche God, that those things whiche be well meant and institute here and in other common wealths, may haue euer a faythfull, constant, diligent & frutefull execution. Thus much of the electiō and ordayning of the mynisters of the worde.

Of the povver of the Ministers.

This matter is meruaylous contentiously, and continually tossed and tumbled by thē, whiche haue still aspired more to the preeminence

of a higher power, rather than to the lawfull dispensation in the ministerie, coueting rather to haue dominiō in the Churches, than to minister. Yea & there be now adayes also many of them assaulted with this temptation, which haue shaken off the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and would séeme that they haue deliuered the churches of Chriſte, vnto the libertie, purchased by Chriſt. Otherwise they be good men, faithfully & diligently applying the mynisterie of teachyng, & this wayes they thinke they shall do good to the Churches, if they can bryng the ministerie of the worde from that contempte that it is had in euery where & neglected, and restore it to the olde honour of the same. On the other side there be some that be not euill and learned also, and laborying in the worde of the Lorde, whiche doe stande agaynſt them, fearyng least through theyr vnaduised care and zeale, there may bée gappes opened to bryng in by littell and a littell the olde Lordlinesse into the Churches, that is, least they by the authoritie whiche they take vppon them by the mynisterie of the worde, make a waye for false and vnfaythfull mynisters, to abuse the authoritie gotten by them otherwise than they ought to do. And they do thinke that it is reason to heare this, when they looke backe to the begynnyngs of the Popishe lordlinesse, and consider howe goodly a pretence it hath, and howe it was brought into the Churches through the zeale of greate and holy menne, immediatly after the times of the Apostles. So that where as the one side will haue the minister to bée aboue all: they do laye agaynſt them quite contrarie, that the mynister is vnder al. And there groweth suche contentions sometymes vpon this, that they do foulye breake out to raylyng in theyr open Sermons, when they shoulde fede the people with the worde of the Lorde, to the great hinderaunce of the Churche. The carnall people whiche desireth to the libertie of the flesh more than of the spirite, is gladde to embrace their opinions, whiche do affirme that the mynister of the worde is not onely not aboue all, but also lowest of all. And I feare me, least they that do faythfully serue Chriſte, shall be to lowe and vylely trodden vnder foote more than the rest.

Leauyng therefore the imaginations of bothe partes, dangerous in this respecte that they do tende to extremities, we will endeuour to giue them occasion to iudge more temperatly of the authoritie of mynisters, if they will embrace not onely that whiche is in some meanyng right, but those things whiche be also profitable for the Churche.

First of all, We muſt in any wise confesse, that there is ioyned some power to the ministerie of the worde and the dispensation of Gods mysteries, whiche is profitable, and good to edifie, yea necessary to our saluation by Chriſte. That is meante by a similitude sette forth by Chriſte himself, when he sayth: Who thinke you is the faythfull and wyse seruaunt whiche the Lorde will sette ouer his household, to gyue thē meate in due season? He meaneth that hée will gyue his Disciples suche, or like power ouer his Churche, as they haue, to whome the good man of the house committeth his household, to minister vnto them conuenient foode. And in Marke: Like as the manne (saith hée) that wente forth into a straunge countrey, lefte his house, and gaue his seruauntes authoritie, and to euery manne his worke, and charged the porter to be wakefull. Therefore wake you, &c. This hée spake no doubte to his Disciples, to declare what theyr estate shoulde be in Goddes house, when hée shoulde be gone from them into Heauen. And the Apoſtle when he sayth: And if I shoulde glorie somewhat more yet of our power, whiche the Lorde hath gyuen vs to your edifying, and not to destruction, I néede not to be ashamed. And, Therefore I do write this beyng absente, leaſte when I am present, I shoulde be somewhat rough, according to the power whiche the Lorde hath gyuen mée, to edifying and not to destruction, &c. he dothe playnely declare, that there is power giuen by the Lorde to the ministers of the worde, if they bée true and doe their duetie faythfully, whiche muste be to edifie, and not to destroy.

Secondly, we muſt sée, what manner of power it is that is graunted to the mynisters of the worde, by the Lorde. And I suppose it were expedient here to sée, what kindes of powers are to bée considered in this present matter. All power is eyther of righte, eyther of office, of reason and equitie, eyther by counsell it is lawfull, eyther bycause a man is able to do it. The power of right is, when a man hath rule ouer his own things, not subiect vnto any other

bodies righte. In this sense Peter vsed that worde ἐξουσιαν, when hée spake to Ananias of the fielde that was solde, saying: Was it not in thine owne power? And the Apoſtle: Or hath not the potte maker power of the earth? So Princes and rulers bée called powers. This power of righte, is deliuered to Chriſt the Sonne of God from the Father. All power (sayth he) is gyuen to mée in Heauen and in Earth. This power Peter taketh from the mynisters of Chriſte, when hée sayth: Neyther vsing Lordlinesse. And the Apoſtle dothe shake it from hym, saying: Wée do not lordly rule your fayth. And hée dothe exhorte the faythfull, that they do not submit themselues vnto them, whiche would vse a lordlynesse ouer them, when hée sayth: Become not the seruauntes of men. Wherefore they that do chalenge themselues this authoritie in the house of God, endeuoryng to bée not the mynisters of Chriſte, but Lordes of the Churche, firſte they bée iniurious to the maiestie of Chriſte, and nexte to the libertie of the Churche. As many as doe this, be of the kingdome of Antichriſte, who dothe take the place of Chriſte in the Churche, and dothe arrogate vnto hymselfe his power, and is rightly called bothe the aduersarie and vicare of Chriſte, not onely for that that hée is agaynſt Chriſte, but also for that that hée dothe thruste himselfe into the Churche in stéede of hym. Lyke as he is not called a false Captayne onely, that dothe stande agaynſt him that is the Captayne in déede, but he also that dothe thruste and set forth himselfe to the souldiours to be their

Acts.5.

Rom.9.

Matth.28.

1.Peter.5.

Antichriſt.

Captayne

Captayne when he is not so: For as muche as this preposition ἀντὶ in Greeke, signifieth both Agaynst and For: so both he is called Antichrist, that is an aduersarie and Vicare also of Christe. Wherefore who soeuer taketh vpon him the power of right in the Churche, and practiseth Lordlinesse vpon the flocke of the Lorde, is the member and companio of Antichristе. And of those be yet now adayes, that doe turmoyle heauen and earth togither, to defend the sea and power of Antichristе, leaste they should lose the head of this wickednesse, & then be brought into some order.

The powver of righte, of tvvo sorts.

And this power of right is of two sortes. The one is that whiche is giuen and gotten from an other: the other is that whiche is not giuen nor gotten from any other. The firste is that of Christe the sonne of God, which toke frō God the father, as by inheritance beyng his only begotten sonne, the power of al things that be in earth and in heauen. The latter is that of God the father, whiche hath power of himselfe and not from any other vpon all things, as Lorde ouer his own things, and creator ouer his creatures, from whom is all power either equall either inferiour: equal in Christe his onely begotten sonne, inferiour in the things created as well in that which is heauenly, as that whiche is earthly. But of this highe and chiefe power, we neede not here to speake.

The powver of office.

The power of office, is that which is giuen to the ministers from him, whose ministers they be. Of this there be two partes. The one is, whereby they be discharged frō any blame of vnfaithfulnesse, in that that they do minister to the Lorde, for as muche as they do minister not at their owne arbitrement, but by reason of the office layde vppon them. They haue not this power which do runne with the false Prophetes, whē they be not sente. No man can minister without blame that is not rightly chosen & called, though that otherwise he do those things whiche are good to be done. The other parte of this power is that, whereby those things whiche the minister dothe by vertue of his office, are accepted before his Lorde, and ought to be allowed of them, whose minister he is appoynted to be by the Lord, as well as though they were done by the Lorde himselfe. Both partes do depende vpon the will of him, that hath the power of right. This power giueth authoritie vnto the minister that is chosen by him, to minister, and to minister according vnto the qualitie of his office. The firste you may well call, The power to minister, and this laste, The power to minister this or that wayes.

Yet this power of office is of two sorts: Determinate & Indeterminate.

It is Determinate, in asmuche as it hath a prescript, the bounds whereof the minister may not excēde: as if it bee prescribed to an Embassadour what he shall do, and what not do, hee receyueth a determinate power of his embassade. So that if he do adde any thyng of his owne head, or diminishe any thing, he runneth in the daunger & blame of doing amisse. The Indeterminate power is that, when in accessarie matters whiche doe not hinder the principall poynte,

poynt, the minister may do and order what he shall iudge meete for the profyte of his maister, valesse it bee namely forbidden by him.

All this power of office both most truely belong to the true ministers of Christ. They haue power to minister vnto the Lord in his Church. All they that do beleeue in Christ and be borne of God, haue the power to be the Children of God: but all haue not power to minister in the Church of God, but they onely whiche haue obteyned it by lawful election. This parte of power must not be contemned of them whiche be rightly called to minister vnto Christe. Nor they ought not to be accounted for true Christians, which do not honor this parte in the ministers of Christe. Whē that is decayed in the Church, so that the saying also of Jerome, There is no choyse of the ministers of Christ, may haue place, knowe it to be the manifest token of the decay of Christendome. They whiche goe about now adayes to extinguishe the light of the truth, do crake exceedyng muche of the power of the Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Patriarches, and Popes of Rome, whyche for all that can not proue by anye truth of Gods institution, that thys principall power of ministers of Christe is in the Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Patriarches, and Popes of Rome, the galantes of Christes Churche. Let them teach vs that these are the true ministers of Christ. I striue not for the Bishoprieke it selfe, whether it bee to be accompted amōg the ministeries of Christ or no: but the contention is whether that such Bishops as oure times do ouer-patiētly abide, ought to be reckened amongst the true ministers of Christ or no. Surely they ought to be afeard, least they shall heare that horrible saying of the Lord at the day of Judgemente: Departe from me you workers of wickednesse, I know you not. Math. 25.

Secondly, the ministers of Christ haue the second part also of thys power, that they doe not only minister, but that they doe minister to hym in the worde of grace, in the Gospell of the kingdome, in the doctrine of lyfe and true saluatiō, and the dispensing of Gods misteries: whiche kinde of ministerie doth not immediately fall vnto all the ministers of God. Who is able sufficiently to wey the dignitie and excellencie of it, much lesse to expresse it in wordes? What is the matter that the excellencie of this power, seemeth to be so common and of so light estimation vnto those menne which leaue the ministerie of Preaching and teaching, and deuise to vse I wote not what power of commandements in the Church? They saye, whereas there is a maioritie, there is also authoritie to commaunde. Why do they not say, Where the ministerie of Christe is, there is power to teache and preach? And there are verye fewe of thys number also whiche doe preache the Gospell of Christe, that doe take this power of preaching the worde of life, for a power giuen of God, and esteeme it any thing. To this power that saying of Christ is annexed: He that heareth you, heareth me, And, What soeuer you do lose in the earth, shall be lose also in Heauen. And agayne, What soeuer you do binde vpon the earthe, Luc. 10. Mat. 16.

shall be bound in heauen. It is euen as muche as if he saide: I will haue your ministerie to be so allowed, that I will haue youre worde to be of as greate authoritie, as if it were spoken by my selfe: and that they which doe beleeue it, shall be as verily losed from theyr sinnes in the earth, as though they were losed from them in Heauen. And on the other syde, that they whyche doe not beleeue, shall continue as verilye charged and bounde with theyr sinnes in the earthe, as if they were bounde in Heauen.

The determinate power.

But thys authorized certaynetie of the ministerie hath place in them whych do stand in a determinate power, nor doe not excéede the lisles of it, nor bring anye thyng besides the prescription of Gods worde. For this authoritie dothe certainely depende vpon the worde of God, which though it be spoken by man, as the minister, yet it is not mans worde but Gods, and therefore ought not to bée contemned according to the baseneſſe of the minister, but it deserueth godlye authoritie according vnto the maiestie & truth of God. So that Chriſte is then truly and rightly heard at the mouth of the minister, whē he preacheth not his owne or any other mās worde, but Chriſtes himselfe, and so doth lawfully vse this determinate power of his ministerie. He that despiseth suche a Minister, despiseth Chriſt himselfe.

The Indeterminate power.

The ministers of Chriſt haue also a certaine Indeterminate power, which we take to be in those thyngs whereof there is nothing determined by expresse worde of the Lord, and yet doth help some wayes, that their ministerie may be the better or more profitably accomplished, or be otherwise profitable or also necessarye to the edifying of the Churche. As for the Apoſtles, there was no place determined to them where they should preach and teach, but they receyued a commaundemente of the Lorde to preach the Goſpell euery where thorough out all the world, and to teach all nations. So that in this respecte they had an indeterminate power to Preach, for asmuche as they myghte preach in all places of the world, restreyned to no Church. Such Indeterminate power the Euangeliſtes & Prophets haue also: but Bishops, Prieſts, and pastors haue not so. For they be restreyned to the Churches, to which they be appoynted by lawfull election and ordinance. It is not méete that a Bishop do conuerte the power of his ministerie to other Churchés, but to minister faithfully in the same wherein he is elected and confirmed, like as it was not conuenient for the Apoſtle to conuert hys Apoſtleship to a Bishoprycke, and to be restreyned to one Church onely: whiche is falsely attributed vnto the Apoſtle Peter. Wherefore lette the Bishops loke to themselues, whych whereas they do not lawfully minister in one Church, yet they do extēd their power not to a few Churches, but vnto whole prouinces also. Let them reade Chryſoſtome vpō the Epiſtle to Tite the firſt Chapter: By Cities, sayth he. In déede he wouldе not haue a whole yſlande committed vnto one man, but euery mā to haue his charge and care alone. This is Chryſoſtome. Héereby you maye sée, what is to be iudged of that that is redde

redde in the Epiſtle of Pelagius in this wise: Know you that a prouince is that whiche hath tenne, or eleuen Cities, and one King, and as manye inferiour powers vnder him, and one Bishoppe, and other tenne or eleuen ſuffragans or Bishops, &c. In thys place there be tenne Bishops wyth their Churches, that is a whole prouince, ſubiect vnto the power of one Bishop. At length it came to paſſe, ỹ the Bishoppes of the Cities loſt also the verye name of the Bishoprycke. Yea the impudencie of the eſtate of Bishops is become so great, that a nūber of Bishoprykes be ſwalowed vppe in the gormandiſe of some Metropolitan Bishop, ſuch as there bée many now adayes, and the Bishop of Rome euen like the Deuill painted with his wide mouth, deuoureth vp all the Bishoprickes and Churches of the world, chalenging to him selfe an vniuerſall and an indeterminate power vpon al the whole flocke of the Lords, whereas he serueth not as much as one Church, vnleſſe thys be to serue all mens conſciences, and to picke their purses.

Whereſoeuer a Bishop be (ſayth Jerome) eyther at Rome, eyther at Euguby, or at Conſtantinople, or Reghium, or Alexādria, or Thebes, or Guarmatia, it hath all one power and prieſthood. The power of riches, or baſeneſſe, or peuertie, maketh not a Bishop higher or lower. But al be the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles. Thys ſayeth he. And Saint Cyprian ſayth thus: Surely the reſt of the Apoſtles were ỹ verye ſame that Peter was, endowed with like condition, both of honor and of power: but the begynning proceédeth of vnitie, to declare that héere is one Church. And a little after: Whiche vnitie we muſt likewiſe holde and ſtande vnto, ſpecially we Bishops, which haue rule in the Church, to declare that the Byſhoppricke it ſelfe is one and vndeuided. Let no man deceyue the brotherhod with a lye, lette no man corrupte the truth of your faith by falſe trāſgreſſion. There is one Byſhoppricke, whereof euery man taketh a parte in the whole. And in the ſeconde booke: But we do know (ſaith he) that ther be ſome whiche will not leaue nor eaſily forſake that whiche they haue once taſted of, but they will kéepe certaine things to themſelues, which they haue once vſed: not breaking the bond of peace and concord amōg their friends and felowes. Wherein we will not vſe violence, or giue any law to reſtreyne any man, ſeing that euery Paſtor hathe the frée arbitrement of his owne will, in the adminiſtration of his Churche, and ſhall make an accompt of his doing to the Lord. And in an other place he wryteth the very ſame of Biſhops. And yet nother he nor Jerome when they wrote this, did euer thinke vpon the power of anye Patriarches, Metropolitans, or of the Popes primacie, but they were of the opinion that al Byſhops had like charge & power, euery man in his owne Churche.

Lib. 2. epiſt.

Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2. & 7.

The election of Mathevve and the ſeuen Deacons.

But let vs returne to the indeterminate authoritie of ỹ miniſters of Chriſt. 1 The Lord had determined nothing to the Apoſtles, concerning the choſing of any other into Judas place, no nor touching Deacons, Elders, and Biſhops: and yet they dyd make Mathias an Apoſtle, and cauſed ſeauen Deacons to be choſen,

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and Paule and Barnabas did conſtitute Elders in the churches, whyche was by their indeterminate authoritie, as Tite alſo was wylled to ordeyne Elders and Biſhops in Creta. For it was requiſite that it ſhould ſo be, for the edifying and neceſſitie of the Churches. 2 By this authoritie Paule ordeyned, that there ſhould be 1.Cor.16. gatherings vppon ſome holy day in the Churches of the Corinthians. 3 That one of the brethren ſhoulde iudge betwixte brethren in caſes of controuerſie. 4 And that the faithfull wife ſhould not depart from the vnfaithfull huſbande. 5 That the man ſhoulde pray open headed, and the woman couered. 6 That in the ſupper of the Lord, one ſhould tarry 1.Cor.6. for an other, and he tolde them that 1.Cor.7. when he were once come vnto them, 1.Cor.11. he would take order in the reſt of the matter. 7 And he decreed that no man ſhould ſpeake in the Church in an vnknowen language, without a truſhmã or interpreter. 8 And that two or three Prophets ſhuld ſpeake, and the reſt iudge, in thoſe matters that might healp towards the edifying of the ſame congregation for a 1.Cor.14. time. And in the ſame Chapiter: 9 That a woman ſhould not teache in the Church. And to the Theſſalonians, 10 That the faithfull folkes 2.Theſſ.3. ſhal not haue to do with him, which liueth like a troubleſome perſon, and is curious, giuing himſelf to no kind of worke. And to Timothe. 11 That 1.Tim.2. there be prayers and ſupplications made in the Church for all men, and for the Princes. 12 Alſo, what manner of folkes they ought to be, that ſhuld be made Prieſts and Biſhops. 13 And what manner of widdowes ſhould be alowed, and what refuſed: 14 And after that, that no complaint 1.Tim. ought to be receyued againſte a Prieſt, but with two or three witneſſes. Thoſe and ſuch other like matters, whereof the Lorde had preſcribed nothing before, the Apoſtles 1.Tim. dyd order in the church by their indeterminate power, to the ende that all things might be honeſtly and orderly done in the Churche, to the edifying of the faithfull. The like authoritie of and power belongeth vnto all Biſhops, Prieſtes, and Paſtors: but in 1.Pe. his owne Churche, nor farther than thoſe matters whiche may auaile towards the edifying of the faithfull, and the keeping of conuenient honeſtie and order among them: but yet they muſt regard it in any wiſe, that no thing be inſtitute to bynde the people vnto, without the conſente of the people, nor it muſt be no longer vſed, thã whiles it may be profitable for them and ſerue their turne. It ſauoreth rather of tyrannie and vſurped power, if the Paſtor doe lay burthens vpon the faithfull people, lyke as ỹ Phariſeis and Jewiſh Prieſts did, of his owne authoritie or rather raſhneſſe, without their common cõſent. This much Chryſoſtome ſawe Cry. right well, being Biſhop of ſo great a Citie as he was. For thus he wryteth vpon the Epiſtle vnto Tite: For he which groundeth himſelfe vppon the outward and worldly authoritie, and muſt of neceſſitie be obeyed, by cauſe he gouerneth by a lawe, maye well gouerne often times againſte the ſubiectes will and minde. But he that will beare a rule ouer men whiche are at liberty, and giue thankes therefore, if he preſume as vpon that lawe,

lawe, to doe anye thing of his owne hand, as though he ſhoulde make accoumpte to no bodye, doth vſe his office tyrannouſly rather than friendly. Loke now what things elſe the Popes power is, and whether after this reckening it be not verye tyrannye.

1 The miniſter of Chriſte maye without any daunger of tyrannye or vſurped power, taking with him the agreementes of the people, ordeyne in the Churche committed vnto hym (as for example) dayes of prayers and faſting, at ſome daungerous ſeaſons, to teach the faithfull to humble themſelues in the ſight of the Lorde, and to ſeeke for his fauour. And this were not without the examples of the Churche, both of the new and of the olde Teſtament.

2 Secondly, for almuch as it hath bin an auncient cuſtome and muche vſed in the Churche, to make open gatherings, that is to ſay, the voluntarie contributions of the faithfull, wherby to ſuſteyne as well the poore ſtraungers, as alſo their owne countrey men: I ſuppoſe that the miniſters haue this power alſo to take this order and way by the conſent of the people, and to appoynt Deacons in the congregation of the Churche, through whoſe truſtineſſe & charge, this peece of godlyneſſe may alſo bee put in vre. There be examples of this matter in the Actes, in the Epiſtles of Paule, in the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtories, and in Tertullians Apologie.

3 Thirdely, there dothe belong to this indeterminate power of the miniſters, the neceſſitie of the diſcipline of the Churche, without the whyche the true ſtudie of godlyneſſe cannot be kept among the people. This diſcipline dothe include the redreſſe of mens manners, as well publike as priuate: the iudgementes alſo of the Church matters, whereof Tertullian maketh mention in his Apologie. In theſe matters the miniſter ſhall not doe any thing, nother vppon hys owne head, but ſhall be a ſetter forth and a director for the order of them, and aſke the myndes and conſente of his people, and ſee that there be nothing charged vpon the congregation againſt their will. But he muſte prouide, that the people themſelues do chooſe ſome graue perſons that do feare God, and be of a good reporte, through whoſe care and diligence the diſcipline of the Churche may be practiſed, and in caſe anye matter of greate waighte ſhall happen, then to referre the ſame to the congregation it ſelfe. And yet all theſe matters whiche we do referre to the indeterminate power, do cõcerne, that churches onely whiche haue no Chriſtian magiſtrate, as they were in tymes paſt, before there were any Chriſtened princes. For there is great difference betwixt theſe Churches which haue no Chriſtian Magiſtrate, but are ſubiect to ỹ vnfaithfull, and thoſe whoſe Princes and Magiſtrates bee Chriſtians alſo themſelues, and be of the body of ỹ Church, and ſeruing the Lord Chriſte, doe by the office of their gouernance, lawfully and orderly repreſſe the corrupt behauiour and outrages of their ſubiects. And in this caſe there can be nothing determined of certaintie, but the faithfull and wiſe miniſters muſt moderate this diſcipline according to the

An exception.

nature of the times, the publicke estate, and ỳ necessitie of the Churche, so ỳ all things may be ordred comely, honestly, and to the edifying of the Churche.

The assemblie of the congregation.

4 Fourthly, the minister must appointe also with the consente of the people, howe oftentimes the people shall assemble togither, and what dayes of the weke are to be appointed to heare the word of lyfe, to pray and to sing. For it is necessary, that in this poynte also he do ordeyne nothing of his owne head, least when the people shall assemble togither to heare the holy Sermons not at their owne will, but constreyned by the Minister, they shall come negligently and harken vnto it with vnwillyng heartes and eares: and so departe doing but little good. Of this sorte are those things also which doe concerne the order of baptising, of celebratyng ỳ Lords supper, of blessing the marriages, and burying the dead.

The ministerie of preaching, reading, singing and admitting.

5 Fiftly, as concerning the ministery of preaching, reading, singing, and admitting into the Churche, I suppose those things may be done by the minister hymselfe at hys owne commoditie, and the churches, without anye wrong of the people. And thus much by the way we haue touched as well of the determinate, as of the indeterminate power of the ministers: which things though that of themselues they seme not to bee sufficiente for ỳ vse and necessitie of the Church, yet they may do thus much good, that whersoeuer the study of godlines and religion be not altogither extinguished, menne may by the foresteps of them goe on further. Wherefore let vs proceede to the other kindes of power.

After the power of right and duetie, we sayd there is also a power of Justice and Equitie. This power the minister may vse in those thynges that be due vnto hym of Justice and Equitie. And first of all there is due to the minister necessary and honest liuelode, wherevpon not only he him selfe may liue, with his family, wife, and children, but he may be able also to entertayne strangers and his brethren. And that this is right and reason, it is proued not only by our common sense and the examples of the old Testamẽt, but also by the wordes of the Lorde himselfe, and by the testimonie of the Apostle. Christ saith: The workeman is worthy to haue his meate. And the Apostle: Haue not we power (sayeth he) to eate and to drinke? Haue not we power to carry about a sister woman (vnderstãding it in our message) as the rest of the Apostles also, and the brethrẽ of the Lorde, and Cephas? Or haue Barnabas and I onely no power to do this? Who euer goeth a warfare vpon his owne finding? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruite of it? Or who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke? Do I speake these things after the manner of men? Dothe not the lawe saye the same also? Thou shalt not mosell the oxes mouth that treadeth out the corne. Dothe God take care for oxen? Or dothe he not speake it altogither for vs? In deede it is written for vs, that he whiche ploweth must plow in hope: and hee that thresheth in hope, should be partaker of his hope. If we haue sowen spiritual things for you, is it so great a matter,

a matter, if we do reape your bodily things? Item. Knowe you not that they whiche worke in the holy matters, do liue vpon the sacrifice? They that doe waite at the temple, be partakers of ỳ temple. And so the Lorde did ordeyne also, that they whiche do preach the Gospell, should liue of the Gospell. This sayeth the Apostle. Whereby it doth manifestly appere what this power of Christes ministers is, when they doe take of the Lordes people by good right and reason, that whereby they and theirs may liue. To goe a warfare, to plãt, to fede the flocke, they be earthely matters: and yet by the perseuerance of all men it is right, that they which do practise those matters, should liue vpon those their labours. How much more righte and equitie is it, that hee whiche doth sow spirituall things in the Church of God, shoulde reape of their earthly goodes, things necessary for his liuing? In the lawe they that serued in ỳ figurate shadowing and childishe sacrifices, liued vppon their seruice: and is it not much more reason, that they which do dispence and bestow the worde of the truthe, lighte, life, and saluation, shoulde receyue vpon their seruice whereby to liue? specially seeyng that the Lorde so appoynted it, that they whiche doe Preach the Gospel, should take their liuing of the Gospell. So that it is the power of righte and reason, that the minister of Christe shoulde liue vppon his ministerie, whereof bothe the minister and the people ought to haue regarde. The minister, to know that this power perteyneth not but to them, whiche do their dutie faythfully, least he fall into a fylthy Idlenesse, and a false neglect of his seruice with the Lords of the Popishe Churche, which doe separate the benefyce from the office: the people that they thynke it not an vnfitte matter to part their goodes with thẽ, by whome they be instructed in the matter of their saluation, accordyng vnto the will and ordinaunce of the Lord.

The minister maye take the honor due to him. 1. Timo. 5.

Secondly, there is a special honor due vnto the minister of the worde. The Priestes saith the Apostle, whiche doe well gouerne, are worthye of double honor: especially they whych do trauaile in the worde, and in teaching. It is not the part of a true minister to be ambitious of honor: and yet for all that he must not refuse that honor whiche is giuen to hym, yea rather to his office, from ỳ faithfull. For he must beware not onely that he fall not into vaineglory, but he must also forsee that the Lordes people ware not ouer brutishe towardes the ministers of Christe, and by their vncomely dealing prouoke the wrath of the Lord against them. Wherefore he must vse this power also, as farforth as he shall iudge it may help to ỳ edifying of ỳ faithfull.

The power of layvfulnes.

Now followeth the power of that whiche we may lawfully doe. The same I doe so separate from the power of Justice and equitie, that like as by that power the minister maye doe well in receyuing of liuing and honor at their hands to whome he doth minister in the Lord, so by this power it is lawfull for hym not to vse the same power of Justice and equitie, but that he maye if hee will, Preache for naught. We haue ỳ example of this in Paule, whyche dyd preach

nature of the times, the publicke estate, and ẏ necessitie of the Churche, so ẏ all things may be ordred comely, honestly, and to the edifying of the Churche.

The assemble of the congregation.

4 Fourthly, the minister must appoynte also with the consente of the people, howe oftentimes the people shall assemble togither, and what dayes of the wéeke are to be appointed to heare the word of lyfe, to pray and to sing. For it is necessary, that in this poynte also he do ordeyne nothing of his owne head, least when the people shall assemble togither to heare the holy Sermons not at their owne will, but constreyned by the Minister, they shall come negligently and harken vnto it with vnwillyng heartes and eares: and so departe doing but little good. Of this sorte are those things also which doe concerne the order of baptising, of celebratyng ẏ Lords supper, of blessing the marriages, and burying the dead.

The ministerie of preaching, reading, singing and admitting.

5 Fiftly, as concerning the ministery of preaching, reading, singing, and admitting into the Churche, I suppose those things may be done by the minister hymselfe at hys owne commoditie, and the churches, without anye wrong of the people. And thus much by the way we haue touched as well of the determinate, as of the indeterminate power of the ministers: which things though that of themselues they séeme not to bée sufficiente for the vse and necessitie of the Church, yet they may do thus much good, that wheresoeuer the study of godlines and religion be not altogither extinguished, menne may by the footesteps of them goe on further. Wherefore let vs procéede to the other kindes of power.

After the power of right and duetie, we sayd there is also a power of Iustice and Equitie. This power the minister may vse in those thyngs that be due vnto hym of Iustice and Equitie. And first of all there is due to the minister necessary and honest liuelode, whereupon not only he himselfe may liue, with his family, wife, and children, but he may be able also to entertayne strangers and his brethren. And that this is right and reason, it is proued not only by our common sense and the examples of the old Testamēt, but also by the words of the Lorde himselfe, and by the testimonie of the Apostle. Christ saith: The workeman is worthy to haue his meate. And the Apostle: Haue not we power (sayeth he) to eate and to drinke? Haue not we power to carry about a sister woman (vnderstāding it in our message) as the rest of the Apostles also, and the bréethrē of the Lorde, and Cephas? Or haue Barnabas and I onely no power to do this? Who euer goeth a warfare vpon his owne finding? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruite of it? Or who féedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke? Do I speake these things after the manner of men? Dothe not the lawe saye the same also? Thou shalt not moosell the oxes mouth that treadeth out the corne. Dothe God take care for oxen? Or dothe he not speake it altogither for vs? In déede it is written for vs, that he whiche ploweth must plow in hope: and hée that throsheth in hope, should be partaker of his hope. If we haue sowen spiritual things for you, is it so great

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The power of lawfulnes.

Now foloweth the power of that whiche we may lawfully doe. The same I doe so separate from the power of Iustice and equitie, that like as by that power the minister maye doe well in receyuing of liuing and honor at their hands to whome hée doth minister in the Lord, so by thys power it is lawfull for hym not to vse the same power of Iustice and equitie, but that he maye if hée wyll, Preache for naught. We haue ẏ example of this in Paule, whyche dyd

preach

preache to some Churches, freely for nothing, getting his living by the labour of his hands, because he would giue no offence to euill tongs, and because he woulde not abuse the power of Iustice and equity, to the hinderance of the profyte of the Gospel, not to preiudice other ministers, and to condemne the power incidente to the ministery. So he saith: But we haue not vsed this power, but we do beare all things, to the intent we wil not giue anye offence to the Gospell of Christe. And this he did by no other power, but by the power of lawfulnesse. It is lawfull for any man to refuse his owne right, and not to vse the power of Iustice and equitie in those things which are due vnto him, so that he doe it without the hinderance of anye of his, or of others, but when it is not expediente to doe that whiche you may do by that power of Iustice and equity, you doe not sinne if you do forbeare. But you do rather deserue prayse with the Apostle, if you followe hys example. What shal I say here of them, whiche whereas they mighte liue vppon their fathers goodes, or otherwise vpon their owne, yet they do neuer the lesse liue vpon the churches goodes? In the Canon law are these wordes cited out of Saint Jerome: They of the Cleargy that be not holpen by none of the goodes of their parentes or kinsefolkes, it is conuenient they should be found of the stipende of the Church. But they whiche maye bee found vpon the goodes either of their parents, eyther of their owne, if they doe take the same that whiche is due to the poore, surely they do committe sacrilege, and by the abusing of those things they do eate and drinke, they owne iudgemente, &c. Where you may marke, that he doth call the stipendes of the Churche, the goodes of the poore. If we might sequester thys kinde of menne from the vsing of the Church goodes, who shoulde be able to kepe the reckening of the number of them that shoulde by this vertue of the Canon, be remoued from the Church mangers?

1. Cor. 9.

Hieronymus. Quest. 1. ca. 1. Clericos.

And it is also to be referred to the power of Lawfulnesse, that the Apostle did circumcide Timothe, because of the Iewes. And that he was purified after the order of the law at Hierusalem, because of thē that beliued of the Iewes, and that whereas he was free, did make hymselfe bond vnto all men: and became to the Iewes as a Iewe, and to them that were vnder ỹ lawe, as though he had bin vnder the law: and to them whiche were without lawe, as though he were without the law, and weake to the weake, and all things to all menne, that alwayes he might saue some. The minister of Christ maye also vse the like power in matters indifferent, for a quietnesse sake, for the setting forth of the Gospell, whē he seeth that the truthe maye take place. But we must haue a maruelious discretion in this matter, that we take not those things for indifferente, whiche be eyther contrarye to Gods worde, or worthye for their superstition and false religion, to bee vtterly abhorred.

Lastly, there is the power of doing. This is the power to doe those things whiche doe belong to a mans office. And it consisteth in two parts: that is to say, in knowledge, and habilitie.

bilitie. 1 Without this power all other power is nothing worth. For what auaileth a man to haue the power of an office, whether it be determinate or indeterminate, if he lacke eyther knowledge or habilitie to do those things, whiche are requisite to the performance of the charge, that is vndertaken? He that is destitute of the knowledge of Gods worde, and the wisedome to cut it aright, albeit he can well talke in other matters, he hath not the power to teache. Agayne on the other side: If a man be ripe in all the Scriptures, and not vnwise in the wordes of the Lorde, yet vnlesse he hathe the power and gift of speach, he can not accomplish the ministerie yf it bee layde vppon him. Wherefore this power and habilitie also to doe his duetie, is in anye wise necessarye for the minister of Christ.

2 And the same is giuen from the Lorde. Moses complayned that hee had not this habilitie to perfourme the charge layde vppon him, for that he was somewhat drawing and slow in speach. But the Lord saide vnto him: Who made the mouth of man? Not I? I will be in thy mouthe, and teach thee what thou shalte speake. And when Jeremie complayned of the same, the Lord sent his hand and touched his mouth, and sayd: Lo, I haue put my wordes into thy mouth. And the Lord sayd vnto ỹ Apostles: It is not you that doe speake, but the spirite of your father shall speake in you. And, I will giue you a mouthe and wisedome, which al your aduersaries cannot be able to withstande. The Apostle bothe confesse this of himselfe, that he is vnable to thinke any thing as of hymselfe, but that maye be referred vnto this, that all his ablenes came of God, who made him a meete minister of the New testament. The very same whiche the Apostle spake of himselfe, maye bee sayde also of euerye minister. That saying of Christ belongeth vnto all: Without me you be able to doe nothing. Wherefore, vnlesse the Lorde himselfe giue vs meete ministers for hys Church, well furnished with wil and habilitie to perfourme the ministery of saluation, we maye haue a number of idle bellies and gay men in countenaunce, but no true workemen and dispensers of Goddes mysteries at all. Wherefore we must beseech God, that he will send forthe workemen into hys harueste, such as wil not contend in words, and striue for theyr authoritie and power: but beyng instructed from God, will declare and practise in very deede the true lawfull and profitable power for the Churches.

Iohn. 15.

Let this be sayde of the power of the ministers of the word. I know I please not euery mans taste. But any body may for al me say more or meeter to the purpose. In my opinion a temperate man must specially in this matter refrayne from all outragiousnesse in words and deedes, and cut off all those things whiche maye bee wrested by carnal men, eyther to the contempt of the ministery, eyther to the puffing of their worldy preeminence. The ministery of Christ, and the liberty of the Church, are not so contrary one to another, that when this latter is vsed, the first must decay: or when the former is in place, the latter can not also stand withall.

The true paſtor and miniſter maye moſte conueniently ſerue the Lorde in a free churche, and vſe his power therin: and againe, the Church may without any daunger of leſyng hir libertie, yeld hir ſelfe to the lawfull paſtor that dothe faithfully doe hys duetie, to be taught, ruled and gouerned, and intende to decay and haue derogate no one iote of that power which ſhe receyued of the Lorde, acknowleging it to be giuen hir not to deſtroy, but to edifie, not to marre, but to make.

Of the blameleſſe life and honeſty of the Miniſters.

What manner of men the Miniſters of Chriſt, paſtors, Prieſts and Byſhops ought to be, and howe they ought to behaue themſelues, it is ſette forth vnto vs by no counterfaite canon, but by the very Apoſtolike rule. And that is done by the Apoſtle, writing thus vnto Timothe and Tite: Unto Timothe he writeth thus, It is a moſt certayne ſaying, If a man deſire the office of a Biſhoppe, he deſireth a good worke. Therefore it behoueth a Biſhop to be vnblamable, the huſbande of one wife, watchful, ſober, temperate, hoſpitall, meete to teache, not gyuen to wine, no ſtriker, not fouly gyuen to gaine, but righteous, far from fighting, far from coueting, that can wel rule his owne houſe, that kepeth his children in all reuerence. But in caſe a man can not rule his owne houſe, how ſhall he take charge of ỹ church of God? He may not be a new man, leaſt he be puft vp and fall into the condemnation of the ſlaunderoure. And he muſt haue a good reporte of ſtraungers, that he fall not into the reproſe and ſnare of the ſlaunderour. The Deacons muſt be alſo men of good behauioure, not double tonged, not giuen to muche wyne, not fouly couetous of gayne, kéeping the miſtery of the faith with a cleane conſcience, and let them be tryed firſte, and miniſter afterwardes, ſo that no man maye fynde faulte with them. Their wiues muſt be alſo of good behauioure, not ſlaunderous, ſober, and faithfull in all things. Let Deacons be the huſbandes of one wife, whiche do rule their children and families aright. For they that doe miniſter aright, do purchaſe themſelues a good degrée, and muche libertie in the faith whiche is in Chriſte Ieſu. Thus much there. The like is redde in the Epiſtle vnto Tite, whiche begamne of late to growe out of vre in the Church of Chriſt. But lette vs conſider euery point in order.

1. Tim. 3. Tit. 1.

Firſte, he ſayeth that a Byſhoppricke is a worke. If any man (ſayth he) deſireth a Biſhoppricke, or the office of a Biſhop, he deſireth an honeſt worke. Then it may not haue an idle and a ſlouthfull perſon. Now adayes Byſhoppricke be nothyng elſe, but greate gouernaunces, dignities, and Lordſhippes, and therefore they be ſoughte for, but chiefely for the gayne and reuenue.

Tit. 1.

A Biſhoppricke is a worke.

Dist. 25. Cum Timotheum.

Secondly, he calleth the worke of a Byſhoppricke, honeſt. The Greéke maye bée tranſlated thus: He deſyreth a good worke. Yet the tranſlation of Eraſmus is better to be lyked, whyche is: He deſyreth an honeſt worke. For the Greéke worde

A Byſhoppricke is an honeſt vvorke.

worde ſignifieth honeſt, faire, trimme, and welfauoured, rather than good. And thys ſenſe agreeth better with the purpoſe of the Apoſtle. The office of a Byſhoppe is in all poyntes ſéemelye and honeſt. Thys the Apoſtle confeſſed, bycauſe of them that woulde ſéeke to be Byſhoppes to the intente they would be notable aboue the reſt. But conſider to what intent he ſpake it.

What it is to be irreprehenſible.

Thirdlye, It behoueth therefore (bée ſayeth) a Byſhoppe to be blameleſſe. So it is in the Greéke. In the worde, therefore, there is ſuche an inferremente. In anye wyſe it is a moſt certayne ſaying, that the office of a Byſhoppe is an honeſt and a fayre worke. It is verye true. But thys honeſt and welfauoured worke muſte haue not euerye Jacke, in whoune menne maye fynde faultes, whereby the office maye purchaſe ſome ſhame and rebuke, and be deſpiſed: but thoſe thyngs that be honeſt, muſt bée done by them that are honeſt indéede. Therefore it behoueth, in reſpecte of the honeſt office, that ſuche menne be choſen to Byſhoppricke, that bée not faultye in anye poynte, lyghte, vayne, and wicked, as the common ſorte of menne bée. It was properly ſayde in the Canon Lawe: Let ſuche a one bée choſen, in compariſon of whome, the reſte maye well bée called, the ſlocke. He meante they ſhoulde chooſe an excellente and a notable man.

The Greéke ſignifyeth Irreprehenſible. And he is not irreprehenſible, that dothe no offence, but hée whyche ſo liueth amongſt men, that he can not be worthily called before the Juſtice for any offence, or otherwiſe be blamed. In the Epiſtle vnto Titus he ſayth thus: If any man bée vnblamable, for ἐγκαλεῖν, ſignifieth to call a man before a Magiſtrate, and to accuſe hym of ſome faulte. Wherefore he is ἀνέγκλητος, that dothe liue ſo blameleſſe, that he can not be called before any Magiſtrate for any treſpaſſe. There is one meaning of both. The common Latine tranſlation to Titus is: It behoueth a Biſhoppe to bée without faulte. Whiche the Apoſtle doth ſo meane, that it behoueth a Biſhoppe to be ſo without faulte, that he can be called into the court by no man, nor iuſtlye be accuſed of any faulte, no not of his enimies and aduerſaries. Eraſmus doth tranſlate it Blameleſſe. In my opinion, he is blameleſſe not that he is neuer found faulty withall by his euill willers, but he that of right can not be found faulte withall: So that the tranſlation muſt goe: If any man be vnblamable, rather than, If anye man be vnblamed. Otherwiſe Chriſt himſelfe could neuer haue bin choſen for a Byſhoppe, whome the wicked menne dyd greéuouſlye accuſe. So that a man can not call hym vnblamed, but muſte ryghtely of all vnblamable. Wherefore lyke as to Timothee hée tranſlated not irreprehended, but irreprehenſible: So that to Tite muſte be tranſlated not vnblamed, but vnblamable. The very ſame worde to Timothe, he dothe tranſlate it more rightly in this ſorte, ſo that no man be able to blame them.

ἀνεπίλημπτον Titum. 1. ἀνέγκλητος. Titum. 1.

The fathers did note, that euerye offence is not a crime, but ſuch an of-

1. Crim.

fence or sinne, as is worthy to be accused and condemned. So that the Apostle doth not loke to haue suche men whiche be vtterly voyde of all synne, and are meeter to be reckened for Aungels than for men, bycause there bee none suche founde in thys life: but he meaneth suche as can bee charged with no crime, nor can not be found fault with all, no not of the children of this worlde.

VVhat integritie of lyfe is requisite to a minister.

And this vprightnesse of life is requisite to be in him that is to be chosen to the ministery of Christe, not only that he doe liue without blame in the same ministerye, after he bee chosen vnto it, but before he be chosen also. And to that ende the Apostle doth write to Timothe and to Tite, that they see that they chose them which should be irreprehensible, not only when they be in the ministerye, but those which also before they were chosen, liued in that sorte both in the Church after their baptisme, and before that among straungers, so that they can bee accused and condemned of no notable crime, but do also carry with them a good reporte from thence that they came. In the verye ministerie it selfe, there is requisite two sortes of vprightnesse, so that the minister muste both doe his ministerye without blame, and liue also without blame. They that sate vpon the chayer of Moses, notwithstanding they did teach well, yet for asmuch as they liued naughtily, they were well worthily blamed by the Lorde. Doe (saith he) that whyche they speake, and do not that whych they doe. On the other syde, they that doe teache euill, whereas they do lyue to the shew without blame, bee not therefore without blame, but they be worse than the fyrste. What shall wee say of them, whych doe both lyue euill and teach worse: Therefore the Apostle was constreyned of greate necessitie to require on bothe sydes that the minister shoulde behaue himselfe blameles, as well in hys lyfe, as also in his ministery. But let vs see what followeth.

Matth 23.

The husbande of one wife.

He sayeth, The husbande of one wife. He commeth downe to the particularities of those thynges whiche bee requisite in a Minister, to that that hee bee irreprehensible. For it was spoken generally, that the Bysshoppe muste bee irreprehensible. And the same hee dothe more at large expounde afterwardes. In bothe places both heere and to Tite, hee dothe place fyrste, thys poynte of wedlocke, saying: The husbande of one wife. Whereupon maye be asked a question, howe it helpeth to the matter, to make the Minister to bee irreprehensible, if hee bee chosen the husbande of one wife. In case that keeping the husbande of one wyfe, do make the minister inculpable and worthy to bee chosen, than to be the husbande of no wife, maketh a man vnworthy and culpable. If we say so, we shall shake off all them that bee eyther borne chaste from theyr mothers wombe, or else that haue bin gelded by meane or by themselues for the Kingdome of GOD, and doe refrayne from marriage: of whyche for all that very many haue serued the Churche verye profitably, and then the Lord hymselfe shoulde not haue spoken verye circumspectlye, when

VVhat it be requisite the husbande of one wife.

when he sayd: Who soeuer can take it, let him take it: but he shoulde rather haue said: Let none of you refrayne from wedlocke, least you be vnmete, and not worthye of my ministery. All these matters must needes follow, in case the Apostle doe absolutely and necessarily require, that the minister of Christe be married, What shall befall then?

We must aunswere. He doth not say absolutely that he shall be married, or if he be married, but the husbād of one wife. Therefore he dothe not simplye require that there shall bee none chosen but a married mā, whereby we myghte gather, that the vnmarried person and bacheler myght not bee chosen to the office: but that they maye chose the husbande of one wife, meaning that he that hathe manye wyues, is not to bee chosen, as the husband of sundry wiues.

Agayne it maye be sayde: What offence is it, if a man when his first wife is dead, doe marry the seconde, and in case she dye also, doe marrie a thirde, seyng that Abraham when Sara was dead, married Kethura, and thys same Apostle sayeth, that this manner of wedlocke is clere from sinne, so that it be done in the Lorde: We must aunswere that the Apostle doth not speake here of thys kind of second marriage, when that after the deathe of the first wife wee doe marrie another, but of Polygamy, that is, when men haue manye wiues at one tyme and togyther, whiche vsage was not vnlawfull among the Israelites, and dothe yet continue among the Ethnikes. And wheras men began to be called Bygames in the Church, that do marry another wife after the deathe of the first, it is contrary to the meaning of the scripture, whiche counteth it no bygamy, but when a man hath two wiues at once.

VVhy the Apostle doth require Monogamy in the minister. Monogamia.

And the Apostle speaketh heere of none other kinde of marriage, but when a man hath but one wife, as Isaac had. This Monogamy he doth require to be in the ministers of Christ, least if one shoulde be chosen that had manye wiues, he shoulde be chargeable and burdenous to the Churche that he is set to ouersee: or as some doe expound it, least he shuld be noted of intemperancie, whereof all faithfull ought to be voyde, but specially the ministers, Priests, Pastors, and Bishops. And in thys respect he sayeth: The husbande of one wife, which is nothing else to say, but that he shall not haue manye wyues at once, but liue moderately, contented with one.

Of Bygamye.

As for Bygamy, the Bishoppes haue wonderfully tossed it in the Church contrary to the meanyng of the Apostles, and contrary to the custome of the Apostles time, takyng him to be Bygamus, which whē his first wife is dead, dothe marrie another. The scholemen and Canonists which folowed them, deuided Bigamie into true bygamy, in Interpretatiue, and in Similitudinarie. So that it should be true Bigamy, when a mā hath two lawfull wiues, if they haue bin both lyen withall. The Interpretatiue bigamy, when a man marrieth a womā that hath bin lyen withall before, and when the husbād weth a wife that is an adulteresse. The Similitudinarie is, when hee that hath contracted wedlocke wyth

God by a solemne vowe, dothe actually afterwards marrie another: and whē a man hath had two wiues at sundry tymes, one of right, and an other actually, and hath layne with both. Or in case he had two wiues togither, the one of right, the other in facte, or else bothe in facte, and hath lyen with them both: and also if hée doe marrye béeyng in holye orders. This they doe imagine whiche Paule neuer thought vppon whē he made the rule for the chosing of ministers. Besides thys, they doe searche what kinde of bygamy it is, that the Bishop of Rome onely hath power to dispence withal, & what any other Bishop may dispence withall. But let vs leaue this, and iudge as the Apostle did, of true bygamy, whyche was taken to bée Bygamy in his time, ẏ is to say, suche as Lamech and Jacobs was, whiche both we do read had two wiues at once. For this kind of bygamy was noted also of intemperaunce amongst the Gentiles, for ẏ if a man wil eschewe the intemperauncie of wanton luste, one wife is euen inough for the law of wedlocke: and the same mariage, when, after the death of the fyrst, a man doth marry another, is neyther sinful, nor to be blamed of intemperancy. For the cause therof is no intemperate wanton lust, but necessity both of nature and of liuing togither in one family. It is a very wicked & diuelish poynte, to slaunder a lawful and a necessary matter with intemperancie. He that liueth with hys first wife, vntyll his dying day, is discharged from anye note of intemperancie, bycause he had but one wyfe. Why? bycause he was contented with one wife. In case a man that hath the like minde and continency, chance to lose his first wife, euen the fyrste or seconde yeare, or ten yeres after he were married, or at anye time by casualtye of death to his great grief and sorow, I besech you, if he be driuen by necessitie, do mary with an other, what doth he that by any reasō ought to be misliked? The first had but one wife. But he kepte hir vntyl his dying day. The seconde also had but one, if you consider the vse of mariage. He neuer had two. When he was maried, he hadde not two, but one onely. The hauing of two wiues for as muche as it is deuided by death, is not one selfe same wedlock, nor taken for one, and therfore it maketh not a man Bigamus. He was sory and heauy for the death of his first wife, and wished neuer to haue had other. When she was takē from him, he was not glad to take an other, but was compelled by ẏ sharp dent of necessitie, to repayre the vse of the firste for himselfe and his famyly. Wherefore it appeareth, that there hath ben many things damnably ordayned in this point of Bygamy: as for example, that it was forbidden that no Prieste shoulde be a a biddē guest at any second mariage. If he were, he shoulde doe penaunce for it. Loke vpon the chapters of the Gréekes Synodes.

Seconde marriage after the death of the firste.

But least I should séeme to make thys sense of the Apostles wordes of my owne head, I wyll not sticke to recite some olde Doctours, whiche doe lykewyse expounde it. Chrisostome hath thys: Therefore the Byshoppe muste be irreprehensible, the husbande of one wife. He sayeth though

not this as making it a lawe, as though it were not lawfull for a Bishoppe to be without a wife, but making a meane of it. For it was lawfull for the Jewes to be twice married, and to haue two wiues togither, and atone time, for marriage is honorable. This sayth he, expounding the words of the apostle. But if any body wil alledge ẏ contrary vpon that that the same selfe man doth write in thys wise, vpon the Epistle to Titus: How can he be a good teacher to the Churche, whome we find to haue obserued no beneuolence towardes his wife that is departed? It shall not make our opinion neuer a whit the weaker, but shall rather abase, decay the estimation of so gret a man, in whose wrytings there is founde so sundrye exposytions of one thyng, eyther lefte so of hymselfe, eyther putte in there by others.

Unto him we doe ioyne Jerome. Who wryting vnto Oceanus: The Apostle (sayeth he) was a Jewe, and the firste Churche of Christe was gathered togyther of the leauings of Israel. He knewe that they might by lawe and the example of the Patriarches and of the people that wer familiar with Moyses, begette children by sundry wiues, and that the priestes hadde the like libertie. He commaunded therfore, ẏ the priestes of the Churche shoulde not claime to themselues the like libertye, to haue two or thrée wiues togyther, but euerye man to haue but one at once. Thys sayth he. Albeit that others do wrest thys place of the Apostle vnto an other kinde of Bygamye, yet it appeareth sufficiently by these wordes, that our opinion is not newe, nor imagined of our selues but suche as is to bée founde in the wrytings of the olde Doctours also.

But to what purpose do we talke of Bygamy, when they that haue or hadde but one wife, be reiected also from the ministery? And theyr mariage is also condēned to be vnclean and intemperate, contrary vnto the plaine scriptures and Institution of of the Lord? The Apostle sayth, The Bishop must be irreprehensible, the husbande of one wife. They that do boast themselues to be successors of the Apostles, they doe turne in and out this decree of ẏ apostle, as though the Apostle sayde: A Bishop must be irreprehensible, the husbande of no wife. For they do so seclude married mē frō the ministerie of Christ, as though they were worthie to be reprehended for their marriage, & vnméete to be chosen into the ministerie, wheras the Apostle doth call the husband of one wife so much irreprehensible, that he apointeth him to be méete for a bishoprike. Pope Nicholas saith, that a married priest is verte irreprehensible. Who doeth not sée howe disagréeable these opinions be, that Paule woulde haue the husband of one wife, and these folke the husband of no wife called to the ministerie of Christe? He iudgeth the husbande of one wyfe to be irreprehensible, these men do abhorre hym as foule and filthie.

That the Papistes do reiect suche as haue but one wife from the ministerie.

Dist. 28. Can. Consulendum. Heb. 13.

The Apostle reporteth that wedlock is honorable among al men, and the bedde therof vndefiled. And that the Apostles not only had wiues, but that they didde carrie them aboute

That the Apostles had wiues.

with them, it appeareth by that that Paule sayde: Haue not we (sayeth he) power to carrie a sister wife aboute, as well as the rest of the Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?

1.Cor.9.

They doe diminishe the authoritie of thys place, that doe expounde it of the riche women, whiche they suppose that the Apostles carried aboute wyth them to beare theyr charge in Preaching the Gospell. But lette vs see howe wyde they be from reason in so thinking.

Of them vvhich said that the Apostles carried rich vvomen about vvith them.

Fyrste, they doe not marke the Apostles purpose. For he doth speake of the charges whyche the Ministers maye of ryghte exacte vppon them to whome they doe Preach the Gospell, to serue not onely theyr owne necessitie, but theirs also whych they haue in retinue wyth them. Thys he sayeth the rest of the Apostles dyd, but that hée dyd not so to the Corinthians, bycause he woulde be burdenous to none of them. Nowe if ye wyll meane it of suche women as wente aboute with the Apostles, and defrayed their necessaries, charges and expenses in Preachyng the Gospell, I aske you whether they whyche were reported to carrye aboute suche women, dyd take theyr necessarye costes and charges of the faithfull or not? If they did take it, what néeded they to carrie aboute women when they went to Preache the Gospell? If they tooke it not, then they did that which the Apostle doth write of himselfe in thys Chapter. But hée maketh such a difference betwixt himselfe and them, that he saith he vsed not that right which the rest of the Apostles vsed. Then it must néedes be, that the rest of ye Apostles tooke the liuing necessarye for them and theirs, of the Churches. If they did take it as it is héere reported they did, what else remayneth, but that the Apostles did not carry about rich women to defraye theyr charges, but theyr wyues whyche were supported vppon the Churches with them.

And they can not saye, that Paule héerein did otherwyse than the rest of the Apostles, in that he gote hys lyuing by the laboure of his hands, and tooke it not of the riche women, as men doe beléeue that the rest of the Apostles dyd. For so we shall runne from the purpose of the Apostle. For hys intent is not to teach that hée dyd not vse the reliefe of the riche women, as other the Apostles dyd, but that neglecting his righte, he tooke nothing of the Corinthians, and that in so doing he dyd not as the rest of the Apostles dyd. Else I pray you what skyll were it, whether he had his liuing of other faythful women, or whether hée burdened other Churches, that he myghte wythout charge preach the Gospell of Christ to the Corinthians, whych he dothe reporte of hymselfe in these words: For I haue fréely Preached the Gospell of God vnto you. I haue spoyled other Churches, taking my stipende for your seruice. If we do vnderstand it of that that he did not carry about rich women to take hys necessarye liuing of, whereas hée mighte haue done it as well as the rest of the Apostles, who perceyueth not that the whole purpose of the Apostle, and that difference betwixt him and the rest of ye Apostles

1.Cor.9.

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is cleane gone. For so it shalbe found that the rest of the Apostles also thēselues, did not take of the churches, to whiche they preached, to beare theyr charges, but some other way, as Paule did: they of riche women, and Paule of other Churches.

The Apostle speaketh of the authority of his mynistery in this sort, that he doth teach, that it is not lawfull simply to take his liuyng where he liste to preache, but that he may take it of them to whome he dothe preach the Gospell. Thus he wryteth that he did not, but that the rest of the Apostles did it. Therefore according vnto the authoritie of theyr Apostleship, they tooke theyr charges not of the riche women, but of the faythfull folkes to whome they did preach, and how should the Apostles haue had vsed this authoritie, in case they had taken theyr reliefe in preaching the gospel not of the churches, but of the riche women, caried about to that intent?

2 Secondly, he declareth that he vsed not his authoritie, bycause hée would be burdenous to any of them. Now if it did belong to the authoritie of an Apostle, to carrie about rich women, to take theyr liuyng of, bycause the Churches shoulde not be burdened, why did not Paule the same, to vnburden the Corinthians, for asmuch as it should not be burdenous vnto them, but ease and relieue them? Therefore when he saith that he vsed not his owne power, bicause he would bestowe the Gospell vpon them fréely, and that therefore he did not carie aboute a woman sister as the rest of the Apostles did, he doth sufficiently declare, that he doth not speake of the riche women that did defray the Apostles charges, but of suche whiche togyther with the Apostles tooke theyr charges of the Churches, and that so the rest of the Apostles did not preache the Gospell fréely, but receiued, according to their right, their liuing for themselues and theyr wiues, of the churches to whō they did preache.

3 Thirdly, if he shoulde meane of any woman that were not a wyfe, what néeded he when he had sayde: Haue we not authoritie to carie aboute a sister, to adde γυναῖκα? for who can be a sister and not a womā, if that worde shoulde be taken onely for a woman? But shée may be a sister that is not the wife. Therefore when he had sayde Sister, he added, Wife: so that he were a very Asse, that woulde not perceyue, that this worde γυναῖκα was added to the intente that men shoulde perceyue that he spake not of euerye sister, but of a faythfull wife. And in case any bodye will saye by an vnfaithfull woman, that there were a good hope that suche a woman shoulde be wonne to Christe, bycause shée commeth with a brother hyr good mā to the Church: I suppose it is manifest that it cannot be meant of any other man, than of hyr faythfull husbande. For else it were not néede to adde the woord Good mā, if it were meant of euery faythfull that is not the husband. If a schoolemaister should say: Haue wée no authoritie to chasten with roddes a yōg scholer, who dothe not perceyue that he meaneth not of euery yong man, but of hym that is his scholer, and that therefore for a specialty he added that worde

Scholer? Likewise the Apostle in this place added γυναῖκα to declare what sister he meant, that is to say, the same that is the wife.

4 Fourthly, another mater is. It is the parte of an Apostle, specially to be not onely cléere from euill, but also from the colour of euill: how I beséech you should the Apostles haue had eschewed colour of euill, if they had lefte theyr owne lawfull wiues at home, and had ranged aboute the worlde with other riche women?

5 Fiftly, I do alledge that also, ẏ he doth not simply say, that he dothe not carrie about a sister wife, but he dothe presse them in askyng whether he haue not authoritie to cary about a sister wife. He speaketh without any nay of the power of the Apostleship. Then if he spake of the riche womẽ, which defrayde their charges that preached, the Apostles had the power to cal any riche women from their dwellings, and to constreyne them to go about with them, as ofte as they would. I pray you who will graunt this authoritie to an Apostle, that he may compel any riche womã to forsake all that she hath, and to go aboute the worlde with him? If any Apostle shoulde require this of women, (as in déede they haue auethoritie to demaunde a due reliefe) who I pray you would not worthily detest them? Agayne, why shoulde he not rather take some rich mã with him? are onely women riche to beare the costes and charges of the gospell? or hath the Apostle this power vpon women onely, and not aswell vpon men? Is it not an honester conduct, if a Man do accompany the Apostle when he preacheth and defray the charges, thã a Womã to do it which is not his wife? And in case that the ayde of the gospell were to be sought at the hãds of women, yet what néeded thẽ to folow the Apostle gadding aboute, seyng that they might haue borne the same charges more honestly & conueniently otherwise by some other meane? Wherfore this deuice of riche women dothe so euill agrée with the Apostleship, that it can not purchase any credit with wise men.

Now that the Apostles were maried (bycause I woulde haue no man to stande in controuersie thereof) theyr owne Disciples do beare witnesse, Ignatius and Clement. Ignatius amongst other wryteth in this wise: As Peter and Paule, and the reste of the Apostles, whiche were coupled in mariage, and had wiues, not for wanton luste, but for the increase of the posteritie. Clement affirmeth, not onely that they had wiues, but that they did carry them aboute also. And Eusebius doth alleage him in this wise: In déede this same Clement, whose wordes wée noted, wrytyng agaynst them which do contemne mariage (you may sée the olde mischiefe) among the reste sayth this also: Do they also reproue the Apostles? For Peter and Philip, bothe had wiues, and bestowed theyr daughters in mariage. And the Apostle Paule also dothe not refuse to make mention and some gréeting of his companion in a certayne Epistle: Whome (he saith) he dothe not carry abroade with hym, that hée mighte be the readier to the preachyng of the Gospell. This sayth he. And this sentence Leo the Pope did sette forth also, agaynst the Epistle of

of Nicetus the Abbot. Wée muste in any wyse confesse (sayth he) that it is not lawfull for a Byshoppe, Prieste, or Deacon to shifte off hys wyfe from his charge, for religions sake, but hée muste gyue hyr meate and drinke and clothyng, but they muste not lye with them carnally as other menne are wonte to do, as wée reade that the holy Apostles did, and as S. Paule the Apostle sayth: Haue not wée power to carry aboute our sister wyfe, as the brother of the Lorde and Cephas? Sée foole, that hée sayth not: Haue not wée power to embrace in our armes our sister wyfe, but to carry them about with vs, so that they mighte be mayntayned by the rewarde of theyr preachyng, not that there was any more after that, any carnall wedlocke betwixte them. This is written in that place, whiche dothe so farre forth stande with the truthe, that it dothe testifie that the Apostles were married, and that they did carry aboute theyr wyues in theyr message doing, to bée founde with them vppon the Gospell.

How then: is it not méeter trowe we, that we should credite the Disciples of the Apostles, cõcernyng their doings, than them whiche liued long after the tymes of the Apostles, and began to take vpon them & to teache what they listed in Christes church? It is written that Ignatius was the seconde after Peter, that ruled the Churche of Antioche. Sée therefore Eusebius in his Ecclesiasticall history. Of Clement, Paule himselfe maketh mention.

The one doth not only graũt that that the Apostles Peter and Paule and the reste, had wiues, but he witnesseth also, that he had a desire of the encrease of the posteritie, as the lawfull vsage of mariage is. The other dothe also attribute mariage to the Apostles, & dothe expounde not onely those words to be meant of the Apostles, wherof we do now speake, but the same also which be writtẽ in the epistle to the Philippiãs of his owne lawfull wife. If the Apostles did cary aboute with them riche women, and not their owne lawfull wiues, howe chaunceth that their Disciples knew not of it? and that Hierome & Chrysostome knewe it which folowed them so long afterwarde, and others also that be later than they? Clement (as Eusebius dothe alleage in the place and chapter before sayd) writeth that the Apostle Peter, whẽ he saw his wife ledde vnto death, hée cried out to hir at hir backe, & sayde: O déere wife, remember the Lorde. Where shall we thinke that this was done, and when? Doth it not appeare that it was done at that time, when Peter also shoulde suffer martyrdome? or shall wée thynke that there was no daunger towards him, when hée did with an open mouthe crie, and aduised hys wyfe to suffer the martyrdome constantly? Who perceyueth not that this Apostle did carrie aboute hys wyfe with hym in his Apostleship, euen till hyr dying day?

Lib. 3. cap. 36 Philemon.

Hierome maketh a worke vpõ the worde, Carying aboute. He sayth not (saith he) to mary womẽ, least he shold be thought to speake of wiues, but he saith, to carry them about the prouinces, to minister vnto thẽ necessary things of their goods. But what credite

The talke of Hierome resolued.

credite is this reporte worthy to haue, whiche is contrary to that of the Apostles disciples? It is true, he sayth not, To take, but to carry aboute. For he speaketh not of the power to marriage, & to take wiues (for it had bin nothing to the purpose of which he spake in the .7. chapiter) but of ỳ power to take theyr necessarie expenses of the Churches, to the finding not only of the Apostles, but of theyr wiues also, if shée be in his company as of hyr lawful husband. And he saithe, that he vsed not hys power, no nor yet toke not hys owne charges of the Corinthians, muche lesse caried about his wyfe to be founde of their goodes. It séemeth that this poynte of the company of wiues dothe encrease the power of the Apostles, to make vs to vnderstande that there is due not onely to the ministers, but vnto their wyues also liuyng vpon the churches, which they do serue in the Lorde.

So that it doth appeare partely by the wordes of the Apostle, and partly by the testimony of Ignatius and Clemẽt, that ỳ Apostles had wiues, and that they did not forsake theyr wiues in theyr Apostleship, but that they caried them aboute with them. Wherefore wée may not agrée to their wickednesse, which by the drift of the Diuell do withstande the exãples of the Apostles & their Canons for the making them Bishops that be the husbandes of one wife, and go aboute to sequester maried men frõ the ministery of Chriſte, as carnall and vncleane.

Pope Siritius, sanoyng plainely of the Diuels doctrine, presumed to vse the wordes of the Apostle against the honesty of wedlocke, where he saith: They that be in the flesh, can not please God. And in that place he maketh a decrée agaynst ỳ mariage of the ministers of Chriſt, as though that they whiche liue in lawful wedlocke, should be with that kind of life in the flesh, & could not please God. The Apostle shoulde haue reckened wedlocke among the workes of the flesh, and haue sayde: Wedlocke is vncleane in all men, and the defiled bedde: and that to be a Bishop, it is not requisite to be the husbãd to one wife. And by this diuelish sentence of the Pope, all laye faithfull maried folkes that do liue in matrimony, are cõdemned and excluded frõ the grace of God. And this is the same which the Apostle did forsée to come.

Siritius Pope.

Some of the Councels did wrestle with this wickednesse of Satan, as the same that was gathered at Nyce, the yéere of our saluation .325. and the same at Gangres the yeare 333. of that of Nyce wée do reade in this wise: The Councell of Nyce studying to redresse the lyfe of the Churchmen, did sette them certayne lawes which we do call Canons. In the treatise of ỳ which some thought it good to bring in a lawe, ỳ Bishops Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, should lye no more with their wiues whiche they had maried before theyr consecration. And Paphnutius the cõfessour arose vp and spake against it, protesting that mariage was honorable, and saying that it was chastity for a man to lie with his owne wyfe. So that he aduised the Coũcell, that they shoulde not make any suche lawe, assuryng them that the matter was great, and might be an occasion

occasion of fornication, eyther to thẽ, either to theyr wyues. And thus Paphnutius did set forth the matter, albeit he were vnmaried himselfe, & the Synode commended his opinion, and decreed nothing in this matter, & left it to euery mans will, and not to be of any necessitie. This is written there: Wherein the diligent reader may marke these poyntes.

1 First, that at those times bishops, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacõs were maried. For they were chosen according to the Canon of the Apostles, whiche were the husbandes of one wyfe.

2 Secondly, that Satan enticed the fathers of the Councell to sequester them by the authoritie of the Councell, whom God had ioyned togither. For what was it else to forbidde the vse of mariage, but to separate the man and wyfe asunder? If a tyraunt shoulde say to a Bishop: I am content thou shalte be the Bishop of the Churche, vpon this condition, that thou shalte not doe thy duetie in it: What were it else, but to sequester the Bishop from hys Churche, and take away all the myniſterie of Chriſte?

3 Thirdly, we may perceyue that it is no new matter in the Churche, that some one man may be of a better iudgement than the whole Coũcell, and not onely iudge better, but also speake against the decrées of the Councel. Wherefore it were a most wicked matter, that the right iudgement, though it be in few, should bée ouerwhelmed with the multitude of them that be out of the way. Let the maried Bishop therfore thinke, that he is not bound before God, but that he alone ought to resist all the lawes in the worlde that do condemne wedlocke.

4 Fourthly, in that that Paphnutius did protest before the Councell, that mariage is honorable, and that it is no vncleanneſſe or incontinẽcie for a man to lye with his own wife, but that it is chaſtitie, and that the Synode commended his iudgement, wé do sée what we may iudge of thé whiche do condemne the weddyng of Priestes and Bishops for vncleanneſſe and incõtinencie, contrary both to the authoritie of the apostles, and also of the Synode.

5 Fiftly, that is also to be noted, that Paphnutius did no doubte, by the inſtinct of the holy Spirite, to assure them that the law made against the wedlocke of the myniſters of Chriſte, houlde be a sore occasion of whoredome. I beséeche you what could haue bene forsayd more true? By this tyme the heauen & the earth not onely the eyes of Gods Maieſtie dothe abhorre (I will say no more) that vnstayed, large, manifolde, and vniuersall whoremongyng of Bishops, Priests, Friers, and Nonnes. The Synode was astonied at this lodyng of Paphnutius, but the frowardneſſe of the Bishops that haue folowed, hath not bene ashamed of the vncleanneſſe of whoremongyng raygning openly and euery where. The holy Synod would not by their law minister any occasiõ of vncleanneſſe to the myniſters of Chriſte, did therefore refuse all bonde of neceſſitie, and woulde haue the matter lefte at libertie. The Bishops that came after, coulde be moued by no exãples howe horrible soeuer the wanton neſſe

tonnelle was, to reſtore again the liberty of mariage, and to ridde the churche from ſo haynous ſlaunders. Pius the ſecõd, before he was made Byſhop of Rome, and toke into his hands the cup of the Babylonicall whoredome to reache it out vnto kings, ſayd opẽly, that he thought the mariage was vpon ſome great reaſon take from prieſts, but yet that it was to be reſtored agayne for other great reaſons. Why did he not then after that he had gotten to be Byſhop of Rome, reſtore the ſame to the church, whiche he knew was for ſo great reaſon to be reſtored? Surely it is not the vſe of the Byſhops of Rome to ordayne the ſame, whiche iuſtice and equitie, yea and neceſſitie doth require, but to hynder as much as they bee able by fyre, ſworde, &c. that none elſe ſhall attempte it. But thus muche of the councell of Nice, whiche they do make euen equall with the Goſpell of Chriſte, that dare withſtande the Decrees of the ſame.

Pius ſecundus.

The councel of Ancegane.

The Councell of Ancerane was fiue yeres before ỹ Synode of Nice, at that there was made a decree for Deacons, that if they promiſed chaſtitie at their inſtitution, they might not marrie afterwardes: but in caſe they did not promyſe it, they mighte marry lawfully. And that was the gappe and beginnyng of all the miſchief that folowed after. The Councell at Nyce whiche enſued ſhortly after, went aboute to take away the vſe of lawfull wedlocke from them alſo that were married before their inſtitution. In that ſorte Satan inticed them, tranſformed into an Angell of light, bryging, compelling and thruſting on the Paſtors of ỹ church, to ſette open not the narrow gappes, but great wide gates toward the pit of perdition.

The councel of Gangrence which was kepte in the tyme of Sylueſter, the yeere of the Lorde. 333. meanyng to withſtande this miſchiefe that grewe to be great, ordeyned in this wiſe. If any man do ſhunne a maried Prieſte, as though he ought not to communicate, bicauſe of his mariage, and ſo forbeareth from his cõmunion, let him be accurſed. This Canon doth ſufficiently declare, that the ſame which was godly & profitably ordayned in the councel of Nice, began within twentie yeares after to be ſo contemned, that maried miniſters were counted vnworthy to miniſter to the churches of Chriſte, bycauſe that lawfull mariage was ſpit at, as vncleane, by them whiche embraced the doctrine of the Diuell. The very Canons do declare, howe this miſchiefe toke rote. It was decreed in the ſame Councell in this wiſe: If any man that profeſſeth virginitie or chaſtitie, do condemne mariage as abhominable, &c. lette him be accurſed. And, If any perſon that profeſſeth virginitie for Gods ſake, do vpon a pryde rebuke them that be in mariage, lette hym be accurſed. And, If any woman will forſake hir huſbande and departe, breakyng the bonde of wedlocke, to condemne mariage, let hyr be accurſed. Then they whiche dyd vowe virginitie and the Sole lyfe, condemned mariage, and dyd diſdaine them that were maried. Thereupon folowed the breache of wedlock, and the ſequeſtration of the man and wife. The huſbands abãdoned

The councell of Gangrence.

ned their wiues, and the wiues their huſbandes, and brake the knotte that God made, vnder the colour of continence: the women did cut off their heare, which the womenkinde receiued of God for a couert, and token of ſubiection, as we may ſee in the ſame Councell, and that miſchiefe grewe ſo great, that vnder the pretence of religion and continencie, the parentes diſpiſed their owne children, whiche they ought to bryng vp, and the children forſoke their parentes. Theſe things we finde that the doctrine of the Diuell bredde in the Churche of Chriſte a thouſande and two hũdred yeare agone.

And the ſixte Synode, as it is alleaged in the Canon law, willing to withſtande this miſchiefe, decreed in this ſort: If any man do preſume cõtrary to the Canons of the Apoſtles, to bereaue any Prieſts or Deacons from the company and hauyng to do with their lawfull wiues, lette him be depoſed. Lykewiſe any Prieſte or Deacon, whiche doe put away his wyfe for religions ſake, let hym be excommunicated: and in caſe he doe ſtande in the matter, let him be depoſed. This is in ỹ place. But yet the authoritie of this Councel could not bryde thys miſchiefe, bycauſe it came on ſo faſte. And yet there were ſome wiſe men, whiche folowyng the Canon of the Apoſtles and the Nycene councell, dyd more imbrace the ſafe chaſtitie of Matrimony, than that newe and daungerous kinde of continencie. And there were many ſuche alſo found in the tymes of Hierome. Whereupon he wryteth in this ſorte againſt Iouinian: And if Samuell whiche was brought vp in the Tabernacle, maried a wyfe, what maketh that againſt virginitie? as though that many Prieſtes had not wyues alſo now adayes, and that the Apoſtle deſcribeth not a byſhop to be the huſbande of one wyfe, hauing children in al chaſtitee. Thus much there. At length the libertie of lawfull wedlocke, honeſtie, and chaſtitee, was vtterly taken from the Miniſters of Chriſte, in al the Weſt partes vnder the tyranny of the Byſhops of Rome, and that at that time ſpecially when Hypocriſie, ſuperſtition and Symonie grewe in the Churche; and there dyd ouergrowe alſo a multitude of idle perſons, gapyng for benefices for their bellies ſake, and all the worlde began to be full of Temples, Chappels, Aulters, and Monkeries, and now meane not onely of thirty yeres of age, but beardleſſe, wiſking boies, were euery where bounde to the vowe of chaſtitie. It is knowen what befell in Almaigne, the yeere. 1074. vnder Hildebrande, whiche was called Gregory the vij. He (as we may ſee in the Chronicle of Sigilbert Gemblacenſis) ſequeſtred maried prieſts frõ Gods ſeruice, and forbadde Lay men to heare their Maſſes. What became of it? Few kepe chaſtitie, and many did counterfayte it, ſome for gayne, ſome for ỹ ſpirite of glory: many did heape vp vpon their incõtinency, periurie, and adultery alſo: the cõſcience of them that were ſecretely coupled vnto their wyues, were marueilouſly troubled, the faythfull folkes did iudge euill of the myniſtery of maried Prieſtes, and fell ſo farre, that there were ſome that did treade vnder their feete the Sacrament of the

The tyranny of Rome rooke away wyues frõ prieſts and myniſters.

Gregorius ſeptimus.

Lordes

Lordes body, whiche was conſecrated by maried Prieſtes, and poured out the Lordes cup vpō the ground. In this wiſe, whē ſome prieſtes were in contempt for mariage, and ſome for theyr whoredome, whiche did immediatly folowe the forbiddyng of wedlocke, many Hypocrites takyng this occaſiō, and falſe doctours riſing vp in the churches, drewe the people after them.

The order of the myniſters of the church corrupted.

Of thence ſprange ſo many and ſundry ſectes of Monkes, Friers, and ſo the order of the myniſters of the Church beyng corrupt by the meane of Satan, became mēcte (according to the ſaying of our Sauior) to be caſte away like vnſaucery ſalte, and to bee trodē vnder mens fēete that do paſſe by. And howe exceedingly this wickednes is increaſed within theſe fiue yeres, the thing it ſelfe crieth out. The people whiche was wonte to be offended with the myniſtery of the maried Prieſtes, learned by litell and litle to vſe the ſeruice of whoremongers, concubinaries, adulterers, inceſtuaries, defilers of byrgins, & what not? There is no kinde of lechery ſo manifeſt, ſo ſhameleſſe, obſtinate, ſo horrible & pernitious, whiche can now offende the blinded people, and make any man vnmēete to receyue a benefice: the onely honeſtie & chaſtitie of honeſt wedlocke hath bidden an vnrecuperable foyle in the Churche of Rome, and is iudged worthie (where and what way ſoeuer it do attempt to recouer his olde loſen right) to be cruelly caſt to the ſwoorde and fire, againſt whiche violence, neyther the ordinaunce of God, nor the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, nor ỹ cuſtome of the old church, nor the decrees of the olde Counels, nor the manifeſt decay of the order of the Churche, nor ſo many thouſandes of loſt ſoules, be able to make hyr parte good.

Why that Mariage vvas taken from the Miniſters of Chriſte.

A Man may well maruell, vppon what conſideratiō mariage was ſo ſtoutly taken away from the myniſters of Chriſt. And whē I thinke vpō the matter, I do finde two principall cauſes thereof. The one doth concerne the purpoſe of Satan, who meante by the pretence of Sole life, to ouerwhelme the Churche with horrible examples of leachery. And in that reſpecte this lawe that was made againſt the mariage of the miniſters, is called by the Apoſtle, The doctrine of Diuelles. The tree is knowen by the fruyte, for all they, practiſe that woulde referre the prophecie of the Apoſtle vnto Tacian, Montane, and Eucratites. Like as he is deēmed a right to be the enimy of mankynde, which though he marreth not all, yet hee dothe marre a great ſorte: and as hee is a very tyraunt, which albeit he do not vſe his tyrannous violence againſt all men but againſt ſome: ſo they be the very enimies and oppreſſours of lawfull wedlocke, which feare not to take away the vſe of it, not from one or two, but from an innumerable multitude of the miniſters, vpō their owne rathe heads, contrary vnto the expreſſe Canon of the Apoſtle. The Apoſtle ſayth, ſuch as do forbidde to marry, he ſayth not to all men, for in caſe

caſe they do forbid none, the the prophecie of the Apoſtle cānot be referred vnto them. But they do forbidde it to an innumerable ſorte, therefore whether they will or no, they muſte nedes be touched with this prophecie, no leſſe than the Montanſtes, Tacians, and the Eucratites. This is the firſte cauſe of the bringing in of the Sole lyfe into the church, ouer true and ſtrong, though they will not be acknowen of it.

Another is, that they may kēepe and heape vp togither the goodes of the Churche. When theyr wealth beganne to be greate, the Byſhops were afrayde leaſt there ſhould happen ſome decay by the maried Byſhops and Prieſtes, ſpecially if they had ſonnes, doughters, and nephues, &c. vnto whome they might derive the Churche goodes. And leaſt any body may thinke that I do bring out this of my owne head, I will alleage a moſte worthie witneſſe for this purpoſe, that is Pelagius the Byſhop of Rome, whoſe wordes ſette forth into the decrees of the biſhops, be theſe: (he ſpeaketh of the Biſhop of Syracuſa:) We wiſhed to haue obeyed your deſire in the very beginnyng of your glory, vnleſſe that ſundry cauſes had enforced vs to defer the inſtitution of his prieſthode many times, for ỹ that eyther the qualitie of ỹ perſon, as you do know right wel, or elſe his wife being yet alyue, or the childrē, by whom the ſubſtance of the church is wonte to be endaungered, did ſuſpend our minde the longer frō the inſtituting of him. And a little after that: In ſuche doubtfull caſes we iudged that beſt to be done, that with conuenient foreſight and with ſure order of counſel, we ſhould make ſure that matter, wherfore our principall conſtitutiō doth forbidde, that he that hath wife and children, ſhould be preferred vnto a Byſhoprick. In whith matter we take ſuch ſurety of the ſame Byſhop of Syracuſa, before it chaūced him to be ordeyned Biſhop by vs, whereby he ſhoulde declare what his little ſubſtance were at this preſent time, taking an inuētorie of his goodes, and ỹ he ſhould neuer be ſo bold as to occupy any of the goodes of the church, eyther by himſelfe, either by his childrē & wife, or by any of his houſe, or alye, or by any ſtraunger: and that he ſhall adde to the dominiō of ỹ church all maner things whiche he ſhall get in the tyme of hys Byſhoprick, and leaue nothyng more to his chyldren or heyres, than the ſame whiche is now written in the Inuētorie. This is there. Whereby I ſuppoſe it is manifeſt, for what cauſe mariage is ſo earneſtly taken away from the myniſters of Chriſte, Byſhops, and Prieſtes, and that it is prouyded no maried menne ſhoulde bee choſen, ſpecially if they had chyldren: and that they whiche were choſen, ſhould forbeare theyr wiues. In deede they ſought the wealth of the Churche, and when the ſame was gotten, all that diſſimulatiō paſſed away, wherwith the pretence of puritie of the order & office of prieſthode was made. This Erāſmus ſaw, who in his Annotations after a ſore lamentation he addeth very prettily, ſaying: But I am much afrayde, leaſt the goodes of the Churches do make the clergy chalke nowe adayes rather then any godly loue, when we do feare, leaſt

Erasmus Roterod. in annot. ſuper 1. Tim. 3.

that which we haue, wold be caught away, or at the leaſt that we ſhoulde haue no more.

For theſe two cauſes, the ſole life of Prieſtes hath bene hitherto vſed and maintayned, and mariage refuſed. And what the fruytes of the wealth of the Churche be, I nede to ſay nothing here. Let men but loke vpō the pride of Prieſts & Biſhops, which the high eſtate of princes may ſcarcely be compared therunto, loke vpon theyr Epicuricall delights and pleaſures, loke vpō their luſty warlikeneſſe, loke vpon theyr idleneſſe, how filthy it is, and what deteſtable vices and crymes it dothe brēde, ſo that it was not ſpoken of without cauſe of our aūceſtors: *Religion bredde riches, and the daughter hath choked vp the mother.*

VVhether be lavvful for a bysop to take a vvife

This I haue thought mete to ſay briefly in this matter, worthy in very dede for Chriſtian Princes to know and to take care of, that there may be ſome proviſion had for the wretched and decayed ſtate of the church. The dregges of the obſtinate vncleanlineſſe doth crie and ſay: Albeit that it were vſed in tymes paſſed, that maried men were choſen to the myniſteries of the Church, yet it was neuer heard that it was lawful for them which were choſen, that after theyr inſtitution, being in the miniſterie, they might marry.

1 Let them firſt returne to the Canō of the Apoſtle, & chooſe the huſbāds of one wife, hauyng his chyldren in ſubiection & obedience, and then lette them diſpute of that, whether it be lawful for a Miniſter, Biſhop, prieſt, and Paſtor for to marry or no.

They gaue to theſelues authority to forbid the ſame, which the Apoſtle did not forbidde, how much more the hath the Miniſter authoritie to do the ſame, whiche is in no place forbidden by any authoritie of the Apoſtle?

3 It is lawful for a Biſhop to be a huſbande. Let him be the huſbande of one wyfe, ſayth the Apoſtle. If it be lawfull to be ſo, howe ſtandeth it withal, that it is not lawfull to bee? It is not lawfull for hym that hath two wiues to be a Biſhop, *Ergo*, it can not be. For if it be not lawfull to chooſe ſuche a one, it is not lawfull that he ſhoulde be ſuche a one. It is lawfull to chooſe the huſbande of one wyfe, *Ergo*, there is nothyng to lette, but that he may be the huſbād of one wife after his choſing. But if it be not lawfull for a Biſhop to be a huſbande, then he can not be a huſband. For whatſoeuer cannot bee lawfully done, cannot be ſette in the hande of thoſe thynges whiche bee bothe lawfull and honeſt. But the mariage of one wyfe is lawfull and honeſt for a Biſhop, *Ergo*, it is lawful and honeſt for him to be the huſband of one wyfe.

And whereas they do ſay, that it was neuer heard that any prieſt and Biſhop married a wife, it is proued to be a very fonde and falſe tale, of that whiche we reade in the decrées of Pope Stephan in this wyſe. The traditions of the Eaſte Churche bee of one ſorte, and the tradition of this holy Churche of Rome be of an other ſorte. For theyr Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons are maried, but no Prieſt from a Subdeacon to a Biſhop of this church hath licence to be maried. This is written there.

VVhat by thes euer Dyſhes

Doth

Dothe he not ſay openly & plainely, that Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons in the Eaſte Churches bee maried? Ye dothe not ſay that they did chooſe ſuch as were maried, which was for all that the tradition of the Apoſtle, but hee ſaith, that they were ioyned in mariage. If they were ioyned in marriage, then they maried wyues alſo when they were in the myniſtery. And this the Eaſt churches did, erected by the Apoſtles, keping the traditiōs of the Apoſtles, which the Romiſh churche did vnadviſedly flee frō a good while agone. At length this libertie to marrie in the Grēke churches was narrowly reſtrayned, as we perceiue in the Diet at Wormes. An. 1540. by ỳ Grēkes which were there preſent. It is lawful for a Deacō after he is choſen, to mary a maydē. And in caſe he be maried when he is made Prieſt, he may mary likewiſe, ſo that he do it before ỳ he do practiſe the office of ỳ Prieſt. But in caſe he do mary after that he hath practiſed the office, he is deposed frō his prieſthood. Therfore they ỳ be ordeyned to be prieſtes, do marie immediately, ſo that they may be huſbandes before that they do lay theyr handes to any holy thing. I ſuppoſe that this cuſtome roſe vpō that, that the people was offended more with the ſolempnitie of their mariage, thā with theyr mariage of the Prieſtes in dēde, becauſe there was vſed ſome lightneſſe therein, as well as in other menues. Elſe what matter is it, whether a Prieſte marie before or after the beginning of his function, ſeyng that throughout all the time of his miniſtery he may be maried, as ſone as he hath done ſeruice, and returne againe to his wyfe? Is it reaſon to make ſo greate a difference betwirt the ſolemniſing of the mariage, and to be maried, ſo that it is not holden to bee vnlawful for him to bee maried when he dothe his office, and yet vnlawfull to ſolemniſe the mariage? What is mariage elſe, but the holy entryng and beginnyng of the moſte honeſt Patrimonie? If Patrimony by it ſelfe be holy, than is the beginnyng of it holy alſo. If the tree be good, the rote muſt nedes be good. This cuſtome is very much to bee blamed, that the ſame whiche is lawfull to be vſed at the beginnyng, ſhoulde not be lawfull after that men haue taken vpon them the Myniſterie, for it is the nexte degrée to decay the whole, to bee by little and little forbidden all togither, whē they will not haue it lawfull to enter into it after the myniſtery. For it ſeemeth they do ſufficiently declare that they woulde as they could take away wedlocke from the myniſters, and that they doe eſteeme more the myniſtery of a ſingle myniſter, than of a maried, in that that they will not haue hym to mary after he hath miniſtred once: But lette vs returne to the Canon of the Apoſtle. Hee ſaith the huſbande of one wife. Wee haue declared that the Apoſtle doth not reiect wedlocke, but when a man hath many wyues at once. So the faithfull men muſt vſe to iudge more reuerently and religiouſly of the honeſtie and chaſtitie of wedlocke, and not ſeke to ſeeme to be more religious than the very Apoſtles which were married themſelues, whiche were married menne, and caried about theyr wiues in the miniſtery a

VVhat is mirriage.

their Apostleship: and for a conclusion, did ordeyne to chose Bysshops the husbandes of one wife.

Secondly, he woulde haue him to be sober. For so signifieth the Greeke worde, But for asmuch as they that be sober, be not sleepy, but ofte wakefull, and attent to those matters that they haue charge of, therefore Erasmus dyd handsomely translate it vigilant. For in a Bysshop, that is to say, the watche and the superattendent wakefulnesse, is specially requisite, that hee may be attent to watch all things that may befall to the Lordes flocke, least in case he be sleepy, he fal into that saying of the prophete: His watchemen be al blinde, all ignorant, dombe dogges that cannot barke, seyng vayne things, slumberyng and louyng sleepe, &c. And what can come to any Citie more hurtfull in the tyme of warre, than a sleepy and dronken watcheman: Of these latter tymes the Lorde talde vs before, that all shoulde slumber. If all doe fall aslepe, yea and the watchemen doe sleepe also, who shall wake for the Lordes flocke? Who shall awake them when they doe sleepe and snorte? It is therefore moste necessarie, that no slouthfull person, sluggish, negligent, and sleepy, bee chosen to Bysshoprickes, but they that haue a quicke, vigilant, and attent mynde to vse things that they haue vndertaken to do. It is not conuenient, that he which hath the rule of others, shoulde sleepe all the night, muche lesse in the day tyme. The saying of the Poete is well knowen: A counsellour may not sleepe all night.

Thirdly, he doth adde: Sounde of minde. For so signifieth the Greeke worde, Erasmus dothe translate it sober, the vulgare interpreter, wyse. The soundenesse of the mynde, is the whole and vnblemished constitution of the minde, so that it be not blemished in any parte, either with hate or enuy, or with any naughty purpose, or otherwise with any vncurable effect of vnderstandyng or iudgement. It is in deede a very necessary condition. For albeit a Bysshop be neuer so watchfull, vnlesse that he haue this soundnesse of mynde, he shall do the Churche more harme than good. Therefore menne that haue not a sounde minde, are reiected, as corrupt both in iudgement and in mynde: and in case they haue any wysedome, they haue it more to doe euill thnto do good.

Fourthly, he saith, Modest. Erasmus dothe translate it Modest. The vulgar translation hath comely and orderly. It meaneth a well mannered man, any of good behauiour, furnished with such conditions agreable for such an office. This orderlinesse hath a great efficacie in the doyng of any matter. For it dothe adorne all honest and godly doings, and maketh them also pleasant and acceptable to the Ethnykes. In the contrary wise what soeuer is done vnstily, loseth much of the estimation of it.

Fiftly, hee saith, Hospitall, the worde signifieth the man that dothe louyngly entertayne straungers, lodge them, and ayde them to hys power. This gifte the Apostle doth requyre of necessitie to be in the mynisterie. For this is the chaunce and choyce of faythfull folkes, that they bee turned out of theyr owne houses for Christes sake, and do become straungers and outlawes in the worlde. Wherefore it dothe belong to the Bysshops chiefly, to entertaine and receiue them into their house for Christes sake, least when they be driuen out of the dores by the vnfaithfull, and do finde no comfort among theyr fellowes in fayth, they may chaunce to be ouerthrowen and ouerwhelmed with ỹ waight of their aduersitie, & so returne to the worlde againe. And God doth require this hospitalitie of the people of Israell, when he saith, that he loueth straungers, and doth gyue them meate and drinke and clothe, and addeth: Therfore see that you do loue also straungers, for you your selues were strangers in the land. It is another point to be a louer of straungers, and to be hospitall. He dothe not alwayes loue straungers that dothe lodge them, which may be done vpon some slight cause, and slender respect.

Sixtly, he sayth, Able to teache. The vulgare interpreter hath, A teacher. It doth not simply signifie a teacher, but one able and mete to teache. It is not necessary that the Bysshop must purchase the title of a doctour of Diuinitie at his greate charge in the vniuersitie, but that he be furnished both with habilitie and will to teache. This peece he did set forth more at large to Titus, in this wise: Holding fast the faithful worde that is according vnto doctrine, that he may be able to exhorte by sounde doctrine, and ouerthrowe them that shall speake agaynst it. He calleth the doctrine of the Gospell, the sounde doctrine and faythfull worde, and sayth: that a Bysshop muste stande stifly to the preachyng of the same. And hee maketh twoo partes of it: the one, whereby they that be ignorant are instructed, the other, whereby they that doe speake agaynst it are ouerthrowen. And this is the principall parte of a Bishop, euery sote to be teaching the faithful, and to reproue them that doe speake agaynst it. The other things that be sette forth here, are of that nature, that they may bee well loked for of euery Christian man: but the publike office of teachyng is loked for only of him, whose charge and office it is so to do, sauing that it dothe also pertayne to the good man of the house, to teache his family at home, and to instruct them in the knowledge of God and true godlinesse. Now compare here with the counterfaite Bysshops of our dayes. I beseeche you, shew me one among a hundred, that dothe thinke that the charge of teaching dothe belong vnto him. There was in a place a certaine carnall bysshop, then whē he would make folks to beleeue that he was a true Bysshop, he gate hym once or twice in his lyfe vp into the pulpit, trimmed vp for the same purpose, and talked to the people, whiche he went about to reuoke from the truthe and libertie of the Gospell, vnto the darknesse and yoke of Popery, lokyng sometimes vpon the scroule of paper that hee had in hys hande, sometymes prompted by one that stode behynde him: as though this were to be a teacher, and as though to shew himselfe in the pulpitte once or twise in his lyfe to the people, were to holde faste the faithful wordes and sounde doctrine. But hee made a quicke

Tvvoo partes of sounde doctrine.

ende of his tale. For he spake accordyng to his knowledge, but dissembled the matter to a wicked entent. His talke was so foolish, that it made them of his owne side, specially the rest of the Bishops ashamed.

Not giuen to wyne. μὴ πάροινον.

Seuenthly, hée proceédeth in the behauour of the life, and addeth: Not giuen to wine. Eras. and the commō interpretour dothe translate it, Not giuen to drinke wine. πάροινος is not is not he that is sometymes dronke with ouermuch wine, but he that is giuen to wine, though he drynke not so that he be dronke. It signifieth one that sitteth at the wyne, that is continually at the wyne. And he that is of that sorte, is altogither vnmeete for that office, for it requireth a speciall sobrietie and watchefulnesse. Upon this reason, the Canons did forbidde, that the ministers of the churche shoulde not enter or come in Winetauernes. I knowe that this Greeke worde is oftentimes taken for one that like a dronkarde dothe outrage & take on like a madde man. But I thinke that the same is the simpler sense which I appoynted before. For the Apostle dothe not onely exclude him that doth outrage, but him also that is ouermuche giuen to wyne.

πάροινος

No striker. μὴ πλήκτην.

Eighthly, he saith, No striker. The Greeke worde signifieth a stricker. But it séemeth to be set in this place, for him that striketh with the tong rather then with the hand, to seclude him that hath a bitter tongue and gyuen to rayling. And yet it is conuenient for a bishop that he do stricke nor with hande nor tongue, as men do that be stirred vnto anger, but that he kéepe his hande and tongue bothe frée from this faulte, and be of a gentle and milde disposition, to resemble ỳ spirite of his master, which shewed no poynt of sharpenesse, no not to his enimies.

Not gredy of filthy lucre. μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ.

Ninthly, he saith, Not a filthy gayner. He that doth gaine fouly, gyuen to dishonest gayne. Erasmus dothe translate it, Fouly desirous of gaine. The common trāslation hath in the first Couetous or desirous of filthy lucre, But the Apostle dothe not requyre this only of a Bishop, that he be not couetous of filthy lucre, as though ỳ desire of some lucre might stande in a Bishop, so that it were not foule: but that in no wise he shal be intent or gyuen to lucre, bicause it is foule in a Bishop. No man that dothe gape after gayne, hath any minde to the filthinesse in the gayne, but séeketh his gayne, and he findeth a good sauour of the gayne, vpō what matter so euer it doe arise, fayre or foule. So that αἰσχροκερδῆ is not he that doth coueth filthy gayne, but hée that doth couet any thing filthily. He that hath this disease, hath no regard whereupon he doth rayse his gayne, so that he may do it. He spareth no body, nor parents, nor brotherne, nor kinsfolke, nor friendes, nor the widowes, nor the fatherlesse, and motherlesse, nor the poore, nor the faythfolkes, nor them that be committed to his defence, nor he feareth not the knowledge of God, nor he maketh no account of his name and office, but he doth flée euen so after the smell of gayne, as the Rauens do after stinking carriō. Hée turneth himself into all fashions, to licke vp some gayne in euery corner. He is trustie to no mā, he lieth in wayte for euery mans

mans goodes disceptfully, craftily, counterfayting and dissembling, and is hys craftes mayster to deuise any thyng, he taketh holde of any occasion, whereby he may sholder in to pyll and poule whatsoeuer it be, be it holy or prophane. Will you haue a paterne of this moste filthy vice? as though it were not to be founde euery where in the Prelates of the Churche, and most of all in the court of Rome, whiche as men do say commonly now adayes, wil not haue the shéepe without the woll. Their marketting there, hath nor meane, nor bottome, nor ende, nor any shame at all. They doe picke vp as very slaues of incredible couetousnesse by money an vnnumerable sorte of wayes, from all nations, by all manner of cases and causes, so that the saying of the Poete doth most truely frame to them: What doest thou not compell the harts of men to bye and sell, O holy hunger of golde?

Howe farre our Bishops of these dayes be from this vice, we néede not to go by gesse, as for the Bishops, Prelates, Abbots, & all the Churchmen of Almaigne, the conscience of tffe Almaines can iudge, the French of the Frenche, the Spanyardes of the Spanyardes, the Polonians of the Polishe, the Italians of the Italians, the Hungarians of the Hungarians, yea the Turkes conscience may iudge of them, as for the Bishop of Rome, whiche hath made himselfe by righte and wrong, contrary vnto the Decrées and Canons of oure Forefathers, yea and contrary to the mynde of Chriſte, the vniuersall Bishoppe of all Christendome, and hath layde his ingins and snares for al Christian mens purses and consciences, it is conuenient that all Christian menne shoulde iudge vpon it.

And forasmuche as we bee fallen into this place of the filthy gayne of the court of Rome, I am compelled by the very naughtinesse of the matter, to stande a whyle vpon it, & to giue the Reader at the least some taste of it, and that not in those Cases that are done sometime by chaunce, but in certaine, stayed, and determinate cases, in whiche they: dayly and accustomed marketting is practised, euen as openly as is possible.

Of the causes of Matrimonie.



In causes of Matrimony for a contract within the fourth degree, the cõmon fine is vij. Turons, one Duc. sire Charl.

If any persons that doe know the let of this degree, haue carnall copulation togither, they be fined at rrvj. Turons iiij. Ducates.

For the legittimation of a Childe to be borne in the same degree, ỹ spectall fine is ir. Tur. j. Duc. r. Carl.

They that knowe not this let, and be carnally copulate, pay ir. Turons j. Duc. r. Carl.

They that contracted of ignorãce, and vpon knowledge did accõplish it, must pay vij. Tur. j. Duc. vj. Carl.

They that made a contract knowing the case, & did not accomplish, are taxed at ir. Tur. j. Duc, r. Carl.

But when the Matrimony is contracted and consumated vpon knowledge, then they muste compounde with the Datarie.

If they that be diuorced by ordinarie authoritie, did seeke for the legittimatiõ of the childe borne before the diuorcement, they shall pay ir. Turons i. Duc. r. Carl.

For Matrimony contracte in the thirde degree of kinred or alliaunce, the fine is riiij. Turons iii. Duc. iiii. Carl. And besides that he must euer agree with the Datarie.

In the second degree of kinred or alliaunce, the Popes Lordship dothe only dispence, or the chiefe Penitentiarie when the sea is voyde, and the fine is L. Tur. rii. Duc. vi. Carl.

In the first degree of alliaunce, it is dispenced only in the court of conscience, and the fine is rrr. Tur. vii. Duc. vi. Carl.

Single deuorce is taxed at vii. Turons i. Duc. vi. Carlines.

They that haue made any cõtract in spirituall kinred, are taxed at rvii. Tur. iij. Duc. ir. Carl.

If the kindred be of both sides, the taxe is rrr. Tur. vii. Duc. ij. Carl.

To marry with the godfather, the Popes holinesse may only dispence, or when the see is voyde, the high penitentiarie, and the taxe is L. Tur. rii. Duc. ij. Carl.

When an adulterour, or he that hath promised to make a contract, or hath made a contracte in deede, hath imagined the death of the womans former husband with effect, it cã neuer be dispensed with him to cõtract with an other, onely if he be already contracted, so that the matter be secrete, it may be dispensed withall in the court of conscience onely, and the fine is rrr vi. Tur. ir. Ducates.

If any man hath imagined his wifes death, & the effect folowed not, nor giue his faith to another, he may be dispensed withall, that when his wife is dead he may mary an other, & the fine is ir. Tur. ij. Duc. ir. Carl.

If any man that is wedded, doe whiles his wife is yet aliue, contract with an other ỹ knoweth not ỹ he is wedded, he is bound after his wiues death to take hyr to his wife, taking yet a newe consent, & there can be no diuorce, but at the request of the one part that is ignorant of the matter, & the fyne is ir. Tur. ij. Duc. ir. Carl.

If any mã beleuing that his wife whiche hath bin many yeares from hym, is dead, and do marry another, lette him keepe his last wife, and as long as he doth so beleeue, lette hym yelde the dutie of wedlocke, if he be requested, but he shall not require it. In case his first wife do returne, hee shall leaue the seconde, and sticke to the firste, and the fine is ir. Turo. ij. Ducat ir. Carl.

He that hathe vowed perpetuall chastitie may be dispensed withall in the courte of conscience only, and the fine is rvi. Tur. iij. Ducat. vi. Carl.

With him that hath vowed to enter into religion, but not suddainely, it is dispensed that he may contracte marriage in the court of conscience only, and ỹ fine is rv. Tur. iiij. Duc.

If there be a clause that a man be bound to fulfill his vowe when hys wife is dead, yet it is dispensed withall, the fine vj. Tur. ij. Duc. ij. Carl.

If anye man being within holye orders marry a wife, so that it be secrete, he is dispensed withall that hee may keepe his marriage, as long as his wife liueth, but afterwarde, hee must forbeare marriage, and whiles he is so, he must say ỹ seruice of our Lady at the least vpon the holy days, by way of satisfaction, and he is taxed at rv. Tur. iiij. Ducates.

Of Ievves.

That a Iew may haue a Temple within his owne house, he is taxed at rrr. Tur. vij. Duc. vj. Carl.

For a licence to set vp a new publike Sinagoge, the taxe is ir. Tur. rv. Duc.

A Iewe is taxed for a licence to practise Phisicke with an assistente, at ir. Turons.

Of them that doe take orders, or shall take orders *lacking age.*

At sixe yeare olde, or first entring into sixe, he shall pay for the first rasure ir. Tur. ij. Duc. ir. Carl.

At sixteene yeares, or as sone as he doe enter into sixteene yeares for subdeaconrie, he is taxed at ry. Tur. iij. Duc. viij. Carl.

At seauentéene yeares, he is taxed at vi. Tur. viij. Ducates.

At eyghteene yeares, for Deaconrie rij. Tur.

At nintéene vi. Turons.

At two and twentye yeares, for Priesthode rij. Tur. ij. Duc. r. Carl.

At foure and twenty vi. Turons.

Licence to take orders.

He that taketh the first rasure, or foure the lesser orders not of hys owne ordinarie, is taxed at iiij. Tur. j. Duc. ir. Carl.

And of whomesoeuer they be taken, or all holy orders, or two, or one alone rij. Tur. ij. Duc. r. Carl.

To be promoted out of the times to all the holy orders, or to two, or one alone r. Tur. ij. Ducates.

For him whosoeuer receyneth the office of blessing for an Abbot rriij. Turo. vi. Duc. and for a Bysshoppe rriij. Tur.

Of them that be faulty in their body.

FOr lacke of ſome member there may be a diſpenſation, to the order of the Clergy and the foure leſſe orders, tare vi. Tur. y. Duc.

For the lacke of anye member there is a diſpenſation to holye orders, or to execute the order, tare xvi. Tur. iiij. Duc.

For lacke of fingers to any ſingle benefice xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

For lacke of the ſight of the right eye xvi. Tur. iiij. Duc.

For lacke of the leſte eye, ſo that he do holde his boke in the middes of the aultare, and that it be no greate deformitie xxx. Tur. vj. Ducat. vi. Carl.

For lacke of both the eyes, or one of the ſtones vi. Tur. y. Duc.

For him that hath cut off his own yard xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

Of them that be not orderly put into orders.

HE that is put into orders vnder yeares vj. Turons. y. Ducat. iij. Carlyns.

Without his dimiſſaries, for the irregularitie vj. Tur. y. Ducat. iij. Carlyns.

If it be with the keeping of a benefice xiij. Tur. iij. Duc. vij. Carl.

He that taketh orders out of the dewe ſeaſon vij. Turons. y. Duc. iij. Carlyns.

And for to keepe a benefice xiij. Turons iij. Duc. vij. Carl.

He that after a fayned coulour take orders after the olde ſorte, that is to ſaye, that toke not an othe or brought in no witneſſe vij. Turo. ij. Duc. iij. Carl.

He that ſkypte ouer the four orders, and toke the chiefe orders leppyng ouer the reſt vi. Turo. ij. Duc. ij. Carl.

If expreſſly he do ſkippe ouer ſubdeaconrie or deaconrie xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vj. Carl.

If he doe ſkippe both xvij. Turo. iij. Ducat. ix. Carl.

He that is inſtitute vnto two or three orders in one day vi. Turons ij. Ducates.

Of them that do miniſter and haue taken no *Orders.*

IF they do it in ſubdeacõrie or deaconrie, the tare is xj. Tur. iij. Ducates, vi. Carl.

If keeping a benefice xvij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If they do exercile the miniſtery of the aultare, and do adminiſter the ſacramentes, being no Prieſts, tare xxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

Of them that be vnlavvfull.

IN the firſt ſort, that is to all orders and one benefice, though it be with cure v. Tur. j. Duc. y. Carl.

And with a clauſe to exchange, if it be demaunded, once only vij. Tur. vij. Duc. iij. Carl.

If a man that is not lawfull, hyding his lacke, doe cauſe himſelfe to be preferred to any orders. vij. Tur. vj. Duc. iij. Carl.

That

That he which is vnlawfull, may change a benefice vi. Turons. ij. Ducates.

For two benefices xij. Turo. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

For three xviij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl.

That a man maye ſerue his fathers benefice in his preſence or abſence vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

For a fyndling vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

For the religious perſons vnlavvful.

FOr religious that be beggers, the fine is vi. Tur. i. Duc. viij. Carl.

With the ſame barefote Friers it is diſpenſed, that one maye be a Miniſter prouinciall, or a Priour, or any other dignity, and with them that be no mendicantes, that they maye come to the dignity to be Abbots x. Tur. iij. Duc.

Of married folkes vvith one alone, or a Maide.

THat they may after the deathe of their wife be promoted to holye orders, the tare is vi. Turons. ij. Ducates.

If they will enioy the priuileges, they be tared at ix. Tur. ij. Duc. ix. Carl.

Of Bygames.

THat they maye enioy the marke of the Clergy, and the foure leſſe orders well receyued before, tare xij. Tur. iij. Duc. iij. Carl.

If there be put vnto a clauſe, that if it chance him to contracte with an other, the tare xviij. Tur. iij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If there be added a diſpenſation to receiue ſingle benefices for a Bygamus that hathe no wife, there bee added vnto it xj. Tur. and the tare is xviij. Tur. vi. Duc.

He that conceyued hys Bygamy when hee was married, and made himſelfe to be ſhorne into the Clergye, is tared at xxi. Turons. v. Duc. vi. Carlyns.

For a Souldioure that is Bygamus contrary to the ordinance of the holy warres and orders, it is diſpenſed, that he may enioy the priuileges of warre, and to continue in Matrimonye xviij. Turons. iij. Ducat. ix. Carlyns.

For the Bygamus that is without a wife, that he maye be promoted to the foure leſſe orders, the tare is xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi Carl.

For the Bygamus whych conceiued it and toke orders, it is diſpenſed for the miniſtery of the altare in the courte of conſcience onely, with the clauſe Nullius, &c. xxv. Tur. ix. Duc.

For a Bygamus with whom the Pope hath diſpenſed for holy orders and a canonrie or prebend, it is diſpenſed to haue two ſingle benefices, and that they may ſtande both togyther xviij. Tur. vi. Duc.

Of abſolutions and diſpenſations.

FOr him that hath bin at ỹ warrs, and yet killed no man, nor mangled none, nor yet did help to it xxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

They

They that haue iudged or written in cauſes criminall, are taxed for euery time xxxvi. Turons. ix. Duc.

He that hath layd violent handes vpon a Clerke or a Prieſte, is taxed at vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

He that layd hands vpon an Abbot or any generall Prelate of anye order, is taxed at xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

He that doth ſo to a Byſhoppe or a ſuperior Prelate xxiiij. Turons. vi. Ducates.

Of the diſmembring of any perſon.

For the Clergy with the accuſtomed limitations xviij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If they do deſire abſolution onely without diſpenſation vj. Turons. ij. Ducates.

If any body hath diſmembred an Abbot or generall vi. Turons.

If a Byſhoppe, there be added xij. Turons.

If a lay man doe it to a lay man, the diſpenſation is giuen in the court of conſcience, and he is taxed at vi. Tur. ij. Ducates.

Of vvilfull Murder.

IT is diſpenſed with a wilful Murderoure beyng in the leſſe orders, for one benefice alone, if that bee not inough, for an other, if the ſecond bee not ſufficiente, nother than for the third, and ſo with abſolution, he is taxed at xij. Turons. iij. Duc. vi. Carlins.

And to enioy the priuileges of the Clergie xviij. Turons. iiij. Ducates. ix. Carl.

And with an inhibition he is taxed at xxx. Turons. viij. Duc. vi. Carl.

And to haue three benefices, if he do aſke them. xviij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If it be requeſted to his conuenient ſuſtentation xxiiij. Tur. vi. Duc.

And with an inhibition xxxvi. Turons. ix. Duc.

If the partie dyed and not vppon the wound, but by ſome other chāce, and that he which ſtroke him, hadde not the meaning to kill him, it is diſpenſed with hym in that caſe for the miniſtery at the altare, and for al his benefices of the Church xxxvi. Tur. ix. Ducates.

An abſolution for murther for a Biſhop, or an Abbote, or the general of anye order, or of religion of the Rodes, taxed at. l. Tur. xij. Ducates. vi. Carl.

For a Prior of a Monaſtery, or the Popes notarie xl. Tur. x. Duc.

With a ſecrete wilfull murderer beyng in holy orders, it is diſpenſed to miniſter at the altare, and for all his benefices of the Churche in the courte of conſcience, onely with the clauſe, Nullis xxxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

If manye perſons mette in one murther, for two there is taxed. l. Tur. xij. Duc. vi. Carl.

If one man haue bin at manye murthers at one time, and at one conflicte, he is taxed at xxxvi. Tur. ix. Ducates.

But if it be at diuers conflictes, he is taxed for two. l. Tur. xij. Duc. vi. Carl.

If there be deſired an abſolution for murder for any cōmunaltie, the fine is arbitrarie, according to the conſideration of the place, as it ſhall ſeeme good to the Lordes the Corrector, and Officials for ȳ time beeyng.

Of

Of Murder by chance medly.

For a Clerke, the taxe is vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

If the aſſiſtence alſo be pardoned, then it is done of a ſpecial fauor, and it is taxed xij. Tur. iiij. Duc.

And if abſolution be aſked to beware of the like, it is taxed at xviij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If the aſſiſtence be added to xxx. Tur. ix. Duc.

If he that ſlew, vſed not that diligence that he ought to doe, he is taxed at xxiiij. Tur. vi. Duc.

If the aſſiſtēce be added alſo xxxvi Tur. ix. Ducates.

And in caſe he did follow anye vnlawfull matter, as hunting, or gambling, or caſting a ſtaffe or a ſtone, he is taked at xxxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

Of neceſſary Murder.

IF a Clerke did it in defending himſelfe of neceſſitie vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

If the aſſiſtence be added xij. Tur. iiij. Duc.

If he deſire abſolution to beware xxi. Tur. v. Duc. vi. Carl.

If with an inhibition xxxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

For murder done in the defence of an other body, whiche elſe coulde not haue eſcaped, it is diſpenſed for the ſeruice of the aultare xxx. Turo. xij. Duc. vi. Carl.

For a Biſhop or an Abbot, &c. abſolution for murder, eyther wilful or caſuall, or neceſſary l. Tur. xij. Duc. vi. Carl.

For a Prior of a monaſterie, &c. iiij. Tur. x. Duc.

Of the Murdering of a Prieſt.

For a lay mā, in forme, in open penance, for one perſon only taxe at vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

For a ſimple Clerke or Prieſt being in holy orders, with the execution of his order vtterly forbidden him vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

If there be mo than one, ſo that it be in one ſelfeſame matter, he is taxed holy for the firſt and for euery one of the other for the halfe.

If one man do committe the murder of many Prieſts at one time and in one conflict, he is taxed aboue. vi.

But in caſe it be done at ſundrye times: For the firſt he is taxed in the whole, and for euerye other time in the halfe only.

If a Prieſte killer doe deſire to change his open penance in a priuie penance, with abſolution alſo, hee is taxed at xviij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If he deſire the ſame that hathe done manye Prieſt murders xviij. Turons.

He that hathe ſlayne a Biſhop or any ſuperior Prelate xxxvi. Tur. ix. Ducates.

He that hath ſlayne an Abbot or an other general Prelate xxiiij. Tur.

A diſpenſation for a Prieſt killer that he may obteyne benefices of the Churc ij. Turo. ij. Ducates.

Of the killing of a lay perſon.

THe killing of a lay man in forme, for one lay man alone ij. Turo. i. Duc. iiij. Carl.

If one man hath killed moe than one at one conflict, he is taxed onely

for

for one.

Of the killing of parents.

The killing of the father, the mother, the brother, or the sister, is tared for one alone iiij. Tur. i. Duc. viij. Carl.

Of the murder of the Wife.

It is tared like as the killing of the Parents.

If the murderer do desire licence to marrie with another viij. Turo. j. Duk. ix. Carl.

And for others whiche ayded the husbande in the matter, the fare is augmented for euery man j. Tur.

Of the murder of an Infant.

For one alone iiij. Tur. i. Duc. viij. Carl.

If the father or the mother or any kinsman doe oppresse the infant, but if it be a straunger, he is tared as for the slaying of a lay man.

For the husbande and the wife together vi. Tur. j. Duc.

Of the casting of a yvomans childe.

For a woman whiche hathe receyued a drinke to kill hir childe, or for the father which gaue the drinke to ỳ mother iij. Tur. i. Duc. v. Carl.

For a straunger that procured the casting of an other bodyes child iij. Tur. i. Duc. v. Carl.

Of Witchecraftes and Inchantmentes.

For a woman that is a Witche or an Inchanter, after she hathe abiured hir superstition in anye of the forsayde cases, she is tared at vi. Tur. j. Ducat.

Of Heretikes.

The absolution from heresie before he hath abiured with the authoritie to make him an able person agayne in the large manner, and with an inhibition is gyuen xxx vi. Tur. ix. Duc.

For a lay man with an absolution of infamie xj. Turo. iij. Duc. vi. Carlyns.

And with an inhibition, are added xj. Tur. xxiij. Duc. vi. Tur.

Of Sacrilege, theft, Burning, Spoiling, Periurie, and *the lyke.*

An absolution with the makyng a man able agayne, on the large manner, with an inhibition in anye of the forsayde copyes xxx vi. Turo. ix. Ducates.

Of Symonye.

A Simple absolution, for him that hathe committed Symonye, or him that hathe bin the meane for it, lay man or Clerke xxx vi. Turo. ix. Ducates.

And with a dispensation for hys irregularitie concerning holy orders and the vse of them vi. Tur. j. Duc.

If it be with a dispensation to get other benefices, besides that wherefore the Symony was committed, the matter must be made vppe with the Popes Datarie.

If there be absolution desired, it is giuen on ỳ in the courte of conscience, with licence to kepe his benefice, wherevppon the Simony was committed, whether he receyued any profite of it or no, with the clause Nullis, &c. and then he must not compounde with the Datarie, but he is tared at iij. Turo. vj. Duc. vi. Carl.

Of the fall of the Fleshe.

An absolution for the sinne of the flesh for any lecherous acte committed by a Clerke, yea vñ Nunnes, within or without the walles of the monasterie, or with his kinsfolkes or allyes, or with his spirituall daughter, or with any other, or by anye other, whether the absolution be asked by himselfe alone, or of all, wyth a dispensation to take orders and benefices, with an inhibition xxx vi. Tur. iij. Duc.

And in case with the same ther be desired absolution, yea for the cryme committed againste nature, or wyth beastes, with a dispensation as before, and with an inhibition &c. Tur. xj. Duc. vi. Carl.

And if the absolution be desired only for the crime againste nature & with beastes, with a dispensation and inhibition xxx vi. Tur. ix. Duc.

An absolution for a Nunne that hath bin content to lye with manye, in and without the close of the monasterie, with restitution to the dignitie of ỳ religion, and to be Abbesse, xxx vi. Tur. ix. Duc.

An absolution for a concubice, vñ a dispensation for orders and benefices xj. Turo. v. Duc. vi. Car. & wyth an inhibitiõ xxx vi. Tur. ix. Ducates.

A lay man for any lecherous acte, in the fall of the flesh, in the court of conscience vi. Tur. j. Duc.

Incest for a lay man in the courte of conscience only iiij. Turons.

If it be desired for both, that is for man and woman, in both the courts xviij. Tur. iiij. Duc. ix. Carl. If with an inhibition for one alone xviij. Tur. vi. Duc.

If for both wyth an inhibition xxx vi. Tur. ix. Duc.

An absolution for adultery, for a lay man in the courte of conscience iij. Tur. From adultery with incest for one person alone vi. Tur.

For an adulterer and an adulteresse togither vi. Tur. j. Duc.

Of sundry Excesses.

An absolution for him that haue layde the bodyes of them ỳ haue bene excommunicate in Churche buriall vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

If it be with a dispensation for irregularitie, and to obteyne benefices ix. Tur. ij. Duc. ix. Carl.

If it be to kepe that whiche he hath gotten alreadye xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

An absolution for him ỳ conceiued ỳ carkas of a dead man, to the intent to get his benefices vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

If it be with a dispẽsation, for his irregularitie to get benefices ix. Tu. ij. Duc. ix. Carl. If it be also to reteyne a benefice that he hathe alreadye xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

An absolution for a Priest that hath ignorãtly sayd Masse in a place suspended vi. Tur. ij. Ducates.

And in case he did it wittingly, but not in contempte of the keyes, if the suspension were set by the ordinary authoritye, a simple absolution is at vi. Tur. ij. Duc. If ỳ suspension were from ỳ Pope xij. Tur. iij. Du. vi. Ca.

An absolutiõ for a Priest that did blesse them that were married at the second marriage, whereas they were blessed at the firste vi. Turo. ij. Ducates.

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The killing of the father, the mother, the brother, or the sister, is tared for one alone iiij. Tur. i. Duc. viij. Carl.

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It is tared like as the killing of the Parents.

If the murderer do desire licence to marrie with another viij. Turo. v. Duk. ix. Carl.

And for others whiche ayded the husbande in the matter, the taxe is augmented for euery man v. Tur.

Of the murder of an Infant.

For one alone iij. Tur. i. Duc. viij. Carl.

If the father or the mother or any kinsman doe oppresse the infant, but if it be a straunger, he is tared as for the slaying of a lay man.

For the husbande and the wife togither vi. Tur. ij. Duc.

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For a woman whiche hathe receyued a drinke to kill hir childe, or for the father which gaue the drinke to ỹ mother iij. Tur. i. Duc. v. Carl.

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And in case with the same ther be desired absolution, yea for the crime committed againste nature, or wyth beastes, with a dispensation as before, and with an inhibition &c. Tur. xj. Duc. vi. Carl.

And if the absolution be desired only for the crime againste nature & with beastes, with a dispensation and inhibition xxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

An absolution for a Nunne that hath bin content to lye with manye, in and without the close of the monasterie, with restitution to the dignitie of ỹ religion, and to be Abbesse, xxvi. Tur. ix. Duc.

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An absolutiō for a Priest that did blesse them that were married at the second marriage, whereas they were blessed at the firste vi. Turo. ij. Ducates.

If

If with a dispensation for irregularitie ir.Tur.ij.Duc.ir.Carl.

If it bee with a dispensation to keepe a benefice that he hathe already xij.Tur.ij.Duc.vi.Carl.

If a Preeste hathe married anye couple secretely, and sayde Masse before them with an absolution for the married folkes vi. Tur. ij. Duc. iij. Carl. and for the lay men that were presente at it, the tare is augmented iij.Turo.for euery polle.

An absolution for him that hathe withstode that the Popes Bulles could not be put in execution if he be a Clerke, with a dispensation for that he hath alreadye gotten and can get, and an absolution of infamy and assistence xxxvi.Tur.ir.Duc.

A single absolution for a Clerke xj.Tur.iij. Duc.vi.Carl.

An absolution for a marchaunte man that hathe carried ouer speares to the partes of the vnfaithfull, and had no gayne by it xj. Tur.iij.Duc. vi.Carl.

If he had gayne, he is tared alike, and must compound with the Popes Datarie.

An absolution for him that dothe withholde the goodes of a dead body for the wages that were gyuen to the dead, and doth not restore them, so that they exceede not the due of the wages in the court of conscience only vi.Tur.ij.Duc.

An absolution for a Bishop that hath sworne to visit the seate of the Apostles certayne yeares and times prefired, and yet hathe not visited them, with an iniunction that hereafter he will visit the same xij. Tur. ij.Duc.vi.Carl.

An absolution from the spirituall sentence of excommunication giuen by the ordinarye power vi. Tur. ij. Ducat. and if it be by the Popes power xj.Tur. iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

Of Irregularity.

A Generall absolution and dispensation for irregularitie l. Turo. xiij.Duc.

And if it be also with a generall absolution from all maner of sinnes. viij.Tur.xx.Duc.

If it be for any irregularitie falle into by him that was a iudge in criminall matters, or the like without absolutiō for that past, yea and with taking away an infamie, and with an inhibition or otherwise.xxx.Tur. vij.Duc.vi.Carl.

And with an absolution for that which is past when he hath nede of it xxxvi.Tur.ir.Duc.

And if it be required togither with a dispensation of that which is past, that he may afterward also become a iudge or an aduocate xlv.Tur.

And if the dispensation be desired with both that is for the time passe and to come, and the absolution also for a thing past when he nedeth not l.Tur.xij.Duc.vi.Carl.

For him that dothe fall into irregularitie by practising Phisike xxxvi. Tur. ir. Ducates. And if it be asked with licence for time to come also l. Tur.xj.Duc.vi.Carl.

Of Buryings.

A N absolution at the request of the kinsefolkes of a man dead, whiche was excommunicate or violently killed, that his body maye bee buried in holy grounde vi. Turo.ij. Ducates.

For

For an Abbot or a Bysshoppe xj. Tur.iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

An absolution for them that contracted secretely when the one is aliue, and the other dead iiij. Turo.ij. Duc.ir.Carl.

Of the exchange and releasement of paines.

A Single release of outlawe or of perpetuall prison xl. Turons. r. Ducates.

If there be a dispensation asked for irregularitie, and to keepe a benefice that he hath already and wyth absolution from the faulte lr. Turo. rv.Ducates.

A release of outlawe or prison frō tenne yeare to fifténe yeare xxxvi. Tur.ir.Ducates.

With a dispensation for irregularitie, and with the keeping of benefices l.Turons. xj.Duc.vi.Carl.

A release from outlawe or prison from fiue yeares to tenne single and with a single absolution from synne without dispensatiō, is tared at xxiij. Turo.vi.Duc. and for assistence vi. Turons.

A single release for fiue yeares, &c. xj.Turo.iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A release of a suspension for a Preest that had the falling euill, and therefore was suspended by his ordinary, and hath not had the same release for these two yeares vi. Turo. y.Duc.with a commaundemente to the Bysshop, that he do suffer him to say Masse with an other Preest standing by him.

Of releasing of an oth.

A Release of an Oth for the effecte of doyng any thing for one man in one contracte vij. Turo.ij.Duca. iij.Carl.

And with an inhibition and absolution of infamy xxxvi.Tur.ir.Duc.

If there be manye in one matter, there is added for euery one iij.Tur.

If there be sundrye contractes in one matter betwixte the same parties, besides the first, there is encreased for euery one iij.Turons.

A release of an Oth for him that hath sworne to take degrée in one vniuersitie whiche he maye take in an other vi.Tur.ij.Ducates.

A release of an Oth which can not be kept without the losse of eternall saluation, as in promising of euill things, or a foule bowe vi. Turo.ij. Ducates.

And an Abbot is tared one way, a Bishoppe an other, and a generall Prelate an other way.

Of the changing of a vovve.

THe chaunge of a bowe in religion not solemne, in the court of conscience only xv.Tur.iiij.Duc.

Likewise the chaunge of the bow of chastitie not solemne, in the courte of conscience only xv.Tur.iiij.Duc.

An absolution for the breakyng of a mans worde in the bowe of religion, that a man may continue in matrimony, with ỹ puttyng to a clause, ỹ if he dae suruiue his wife, he shall be bounde to fulfyll his bowe, lykewise in the court of conscience onely xv.Tur.iiij.Duc.

There is the like absolution and tare for the bow of chastitie.

To fette ouer the bowe of the Sepulcher of the Lord, or of S. James in Compostella, or of the Church o.

Peter and Paule for ſeme lawfull cauſes ir.Tur. ij.Duc.ir.Carl. If it be for two yeares iiij.Turons.

The exchaunge of the vowe to the ſepulchre of the Lord rij.Turo. iij.Duc.vi. Carl. and he muſt compound with the Popes Datary.

The exchange of the vowe of S. James in Compoſtella rij.Tur.iij. Duc.vi.Carl. and he muſt compoũd with the Popes Datary.

The exchange of the vowe to Peter and Paule in the Citie rij.Tur. iij.Duc.vi.Carl. and he muſte compounde with the Popes Datary.

The chaunge of any other vowe vi.Tur.ij.Ducates.

The exchaunge of faſtings or other abſtinences,or of any garmente vi.Tur.ij.Duc.

If it bee required for dyuers perſons that be ioyned togyther among themſelues, the tare runneth wholly for the firſte, and for the others, the one halfe for euery one, but if they be perſons vtterly diſtinct,it is tared for euery man in the whole.And if it be aſked for a Chapter, or a Couent or ſome iolly Colledge, it is tared at C. Turons if the exchaunge be for euer.

Of the chaunge of *Prayers.*

The chaunge of Prayers for the Knightes of religion r. Turo. iij. Duc.vi.Carl.

The chaunge or calling backe of diuine ſeruice for him that lacketh his ſighte, or for anye other impediment rij.Tur.

And if it be changed from the vſe of one Church to another vſe.ir.Tu. j.Duc.ir.Carl.

The change of ſeruice for the Couent or Chapter lr.Tur.rv.Duc.

And if it be with leaue to put before or behinde C.Tur.rr.v.Duc.

Of the chaunge of the laſt will.

It is tared at rij.Turo.iij.Duc.vi. Carl.if there be leaue aſked to trãſlate boanes, or Maſſes,or ỹ church, and the like, there is added more vi. Turons.

Of the calling backe of Maſſes.

The calling backe of Maſſes for ỹ thinneſſe of the profite rij. Turo. iij.Duc.vi.Carl. and with aſſiſtence rviij.Tur.v.Duc.

If it be at the requeſt of the Parſon for him and his ſucceſſors wyth aſſiſtaunce rrr.Tur.vij.Ducates.vi Carlins.

If it be aſked for a Colledge, or Chapter,or an Vniuerſitie rl.Turo. ij.Ducates.

If it be with exchaunge of the laſt will of the Teſtator, there is added to the tare of the calling backe. vi. Turons.

Of Confirmation.

A Confirmation of concord for priuate perſons, done lawfully, and according the Canonical decrees rij. Tur.iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

If it be for a confraternitie or an vniuerſitie or Monaſterie rviij.Tu. vi.Duc.

A confirmation of agreement for the goodes of the Churche,if it bee in forme, of *si in euidentem*, it is tared according to the valew, &c. But if it bee not in forme to the euidente rij. Turo.

Turo.iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A Confirmation of the alienation of Church goodes, is tared according to the forme of *Si in euidentem.*

The confirmation of ſtatutes for a certayne number of benefices or benefliced men, with or without aſſiſtance rl.Tur.r.Duc.

A confirmation of ſtatutes for a Cathedrall Churche lrrr. Turo.rr. Ducates. And if it be for a Collegiate Church lr.Tur.rv.Duc.

If a confirmation be aſked but of one expreſſe ſtatute, if it be of anye waighte, & for a Cathedrall Church rl.Tur.r.Duc. But if it ſeme to bee of no great moment,it is tared at the arbiterment of the Officials.

Confirmations of erections or reſeruatiõs of the right of patronage, be tared as the erections and the reſeruations be,and ſo of the like.

A Confirmation of a perpetuall vnion, done by the ordinary for ſuch cauſe as is permitted by the lawe l. Turons.

Of the benfites of the lavve for poore *folkes.*

An alternatiue benefice, or for departing of goods, or for the terme of fiue yeares at the choyſe of the ſuperior v.Tur.i.Duc.vi.Carl.

If it be with the derogation of a ſtatute taking vppon it a certayne forme of reſkoring, viij. Turons. ỹ. Ducates.v.Carl.

The Chapter Edwardus for a Clerke v. Turons. i. Ducate. vi. Carl.

If with abſolution vi.Turons.i. Ducate.ir.Carl.

If with diſpenſation from irregularitie ir. Turons. ỹ. Ducates. ir. Carlyns.

The Chapter *Peruenit* for a Clerke and a beneficed man vi. Turons. i. Duc.ir.Carl.

If it be for a Biſhop,it is doubled.

Of Declaratories.

Declaratories of right, or of religion,eyther of murder or of anye other thing tared vi. Tur. ỹ.Duc.i. Carl. Excepte caſes of matrimony which be tar.vỹ. Turo. ỹ.Ducates. i.Carl.

A Perinde valere.

For him which hath loſt his letters of teſtimonye of anye orders vi. Tur.ỹ.Ducates.

For him whiche hathe omitted to recite any thing in his letters,which if he had recited, he ſhoulde haue obteyned them neuertheleſſe,nor ſhuld not haue altered anye thing in hys tare vi.Tur.ỹ.Duc.

But if that whiche was omitted, had not bin ſo ſone graunted,and yet had not altered the tare,tare vi.Turons.ỹ.Ducates.

But if it had altered the tare,if into leſſe than fire,Tur.vi.

If into more, he ſhall be tared ſo much aboue fyre,as the whole hadde bin, wherein the tare was altered.

Of Licences and pardons.

A Licence to ſucne a parith church or Colledge with all his rightes into a Monaſterery rviij.Tur. vi.Du. and in caſe it be with a prophanation of the firſte place rl.Turons. r. Ducates.

A licence to sette vp a font Turo. rviij.vi.

A licence to erect a Colledge, or to change a parish Church C.Tur.

A licence to erect a parish Church, or a Frame stone, or a Monasterie, rciij.Turon.

A licence to erecte or translate a Churchyard, or a place of prayer, or a Chappell rij.Tur.ij.Duc.vi.Car. with the prophanation of the firste place rviij.Tur.vi.Duc. and if it bee asked at the instance of some vniuersitie, the tare is doubled.

A licence to translate reliques frō place to place, with the consente of them that haue to doe in it, but not from Rome Tur.ir.ij.ir.

A licence for a chappel, for a chappell annexed, depending vppon a parish Church, that Masse and other diuine service may be sayde in it for euer, and the bodyes of the dead buried there, and the Sacramente of the altare ministred there, sauyng at the feast of Easter rl.Tur.r.Duc.

And in case it be a Font for baptisme, may be erected thereto l. Tur. rij.Duc.rij.Carl.

A licence to celebrate in a Chappell not consecrate rij. Tur.iij. Duc. vi.Carl.

Togyther wyth a licence to translate or set vp a Chappell rviij.Tur. iiij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A reseruation of the right of a patronage to hym and hys heyres Turons. rl. r.Ducates.

A licence to make a place to laye vp geare at the Churche porch, rij. Tur.iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A licence to set vp a Brotherhode, with a place to haue in for to bestowe all kinds, for an altare poyntiue, and licēce to bury in places suspended, and to receyue the Sacramēt of the altare, sauing at Easter Cxx. Tur.rxx.Duc.

To chaunge the dedication or inuocation of a Saincte, &c. rij.Turo. iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A licence to saye Masse in euerye place ir.Tur.

A licence to say Masse twice a day for the life of one man alone Turo. rij.iij.vi. If it be at the request of a Colledge or vniuersitie, or a congregatiō of secular preests Tur.C.rxv.

A licence for the Maior or Sheriffe of a Towne that in time of suspension they may cause seruice to be said in their Chappel, and bury there with the clausure accustomed C.Tu.

A portatiue altare, at Turo. ir.ij. vi. If it be for the man and his wife Tur.ir.ij.ir. If it be for the children and for any body else, it is encreased iiij.Tur.

A licence to say Masse before day rij.iij.vi.

A licence to publishe Cardinals pardons, without the licence of the Ordinary vi.Tur.ij.Duc.

A licence to saye Mattins accordyng to the vse of an other diocesse than his owne vi. Tur.ij. Ducates. Accordyng to the vse of the Churche of Rome vi.Tur.ij.Duc.

The same licence for a regulare person ir.Tur.ij.Duc.ir.Carl.

A licence to saye Mattins out of order ir.Tur.ij.Duc.ir.Carl.

And if it be asked also accordyng to the vse of the Churche of Rome or any other rij.rxxvi.

And if the licence to say out of order be asked for a Couent or Chapter ir.Tur.rv.Ducates.

A licence to make a testamente, and to dispose his goodes for a secular Clerke.ij.Turo.iij.Ducates.vi. Carlins.

For a *Regulare*, so that it be not for the goodes gotten of the Monasterie rviij.vi.

For a Bishop in title Tur.rxxvi. ir. For an other Bishop Tur.l.rij. For an Abbot as muche. For a Prior Turo.rxxvi.ir. For the Popes Prothonotarie Tur.rviij. Ducat.v.

Licence to chose a mans Confessour for one alone vi.Tur.ij.Ducat. For the man and the wife vj. Tur. ij.Duc.iij.Carl.

For their children and other adioyned for euery polle the tare is encreased one. If the number of them be not expressed, it is iij.Tur.

For a Brotherhode, Chapter, or vniuersitie, if it be for euer, the tare is arbitrarie, and there must be a regard had of their qualitie. For a regular vpon the licence of his superioure vi, Tur. ij.Duc. Without the licence of his superioure rij.Tur.iij. Duc. vi.Carl. that he maye stande without vi.Tur.

A licence to vse milke meates in tymes forbidden, for one person alone Tur.vi.ij.

For the whole family Turo. rij. iij.vi. For manye togyther Turo. rij.D.iij.C.vi.

For a Chapter, Colledge, Congregation, or vniuersitie for euer, the tare is arbitrary.

For a towne and the circuite of it, and for Clerkes also and brethren and Nonnes of a lorders Tur. CCl. And yet there muste be a regarde had of townes.

If it be for a communaltie in consideration of the colde place, and for lacke of fyshe and oyle of olyues, whiche communaltie was vsed vnto mylke meates from their youth C. Turo.rxv.Duc.

A Licence to take the profytes when the partie is away, lying at an other benefice, or at the courte of Rome, or studying in some place, where is a generall place of studye ir.Tur.ij.Duc.ir.Carl.

A licence to translate the boanes of a dead corpes Tur.vi.ij. And if it be of many carcases of one house, the tare is whole for euery one.

A licence to visite an Archdeaconrie by an other rxxvi. Turons. ir. Ducates.

A derogation of the foundation of a benefice, wherein it is prouided, that no man maye obteyne a benefice, but he that is actually a Priest, or that hauyng the same, he can get no more rij.Turons. iij. Ducat.vi. Carlyns.

A licence to carrie about the body of Christ if it be once a yeare alone Tur. rij.iij.vi. If twise rr. v.iij. If thryse Tur.rxx.vij.vi. If four times Tur.rl.ri. If fyue tymes Tur. l.rij. vi. If syxe tymes Turo lr. rv. and so on, addyng for euery tyme tenne.

A licence to carrie marchandise once or oftener to the parties of the vnfaithfull, or otherwise to vse marchandise, yea takyng no leaue of the ordinarye places, or of anye temporall Lordes, Kyng, or Emperoure, or anye other: wyth most large derogations rxiiij. Turons. vi. Ducates.

A licence to carrye corne to the partyes of the vnfaithfull, that is to say, throughout all Barbary, to the

number of thꝛee thousande great vessels, accoꝛding vnto the tenoꝛ of the pꝛiuilege and Popes Bulles l.Tur. rij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A licence foꝛ a Vicare that in the absence of the Bishop, he may blesse all the ornamentes of the Churche, but yet not the Coꝛpoꝛesse, Chalice, and Patentes l. Turons. rij. Duc. vi.Carlins.

And foꝛ an Abbot foꝛ the vse of his Monastery foꝛ his lyfe tyme xxxvi. Tur.ix.Duc.

If it be foꝛ a Bishop l. Turons. rij.Duc.vi.Carl.

A licence foꝛ a Pꝛiest that he may study and pꝛactise Phisike, with an absolution foꝛ that that is past, in case if he dyd amisse in anye thyng exercising the arte xl.Turons.x.Ducates.

A licence foꝛ a secular Pꝛiestte to byꝛe the lawe xc.Tur.ix.Duc.

Foꝛ a regulare in the Couente rij. Turons.iij. Duc.vi. Carlyns.

Out of the Conuent rij.Turons. iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

If it be without the leaue of hys superiour, without the couente foꝛ seauen yeares xviij. Turo. iiij. Ducates.vi.Carl.

If it be with licence to seꝛue a benefice and Pꝛeache xxi. Turons. vi. Ducates.vi.Carlins.

A licence to be a Pꝛoctour, oꝛ an Aduocate foꝛ a secular Clerke xxx. Tur.vij.Duc.vi. Carlins.

If it bee with an absolution foꝛ that that is past xxxvi. Turons. ix Ducates.

A licence to exercise the office of a notary xij. Turons. iij.Ducates.vi. Carlyns.

A licence to exercise the office of a seculare iudge in ciuil matters only xviij.Turons. vi. Ducates. But if it bee in criminall matters also wyth the accustomed limitations xxxvj.Turons.

A licence foꝛ a man to change his pꝛoper name ix.Turons.v.Ducates ix.Carl.

A licence to change his surname oꝛ signe vi. Tur.v.Duc.

A licence to reconcyle a Churche oꝛ Churchyarde xj.Tur.iij.Duc.vi. Carlyns.

A licence to gette a pꝛebende in a Cathedꝛall Churche foꝛ one that is twelue yeares of age, notwithstanding the rules made to the contrary xj. Turons. iij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

Foꝛ hym that is thirteene yeares olde vi Tur.v.Duc.

A licence to saye Masse in Greeke among the Greekes, and in Latyne among the Latine folkes ix. Tur.v. Duc.ix.Carl.

A licence to visite the Sepulchre of the Lord iiij. Turons.i. Duc. vi. Carlyns.

A licence foꝛ a Bysshoppe to take no oꝛders, noꝛ to saye Masse foꝛ a yeares space xxx. Turons. vj.Duc. vi.Carlyns.

To take no oꝛders foꝛ seauen yeares. ix.Tur.v.Duc.ix.Carl.

A licence foꝛ one to saye Masse with his cappe vppon his head xj. Tur.iij.Duc.vi.Carl.

If it be foꝛ a Bysshop oꝛ an Abbot xxiij.Tur.vi.Ducates.

A licence foꝛ a suffragan to be no resident xviij.Tur.iiij.Duc.ix.Carl.

A licence to haue two benefices vnlꝛeke vnder one roke xj. Tur.iij. Duc.vi.Carl.

A

A licence that a suffragane shall not be bound to visite the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paule, by cause of the distance of the place and not foꝛ euer xxiij.Tur.vi.Duc.

If it be foꝛ euer l. Tur. xj. Duc. vi.Carl.

A licece foꝛ a baꝛꝛard that he may take of his father a lay man oꝛ a secular Clerke to the summe of a hundꝛed Ducates in bequest oꝛ gifte xj. Tur. iij.Duc.vi.Carl. The same to haue the like of his father beeyng a religious man, hauyng otherwise authoꝛitie to dispose his goodes, and of the religious father that hath not power to dispose xxiij.Tur.vi.Duc.

A licence to fishe vppon the Sundayes oꝛ other holye dayes. Foꝛ the redemption of Captiues foꝛ tyue yeares xj.Tur.iij. Duc.vi.Carl. If it be foꝛ a couent, bꝛotherhode oꝛ cõmunitie l.Tur.x.Duc.vi.Carl.

A licence foꝛ the Chapter of a Cathedꝛall Church, that it may contribute some money towards the separation and maintenance of the Citie xxiij.Tur.vi.Duc.

A licence foꝛ a man to adopte a child to succeede hym in all hys good, and yet without the wꝛong of the kinsfolke xj.Tur.iij.Du.vi.Carl.

A licence to eate flesh killed by the Sarazens foꝛ some tempoꝛall Lorde e family xx.Turo.vj.Duc.vi.Carl.

A licence foꝛ an honest woman to goe into a Monasterie of Nunnes with thꝛee oꝛ foure other wome, four times in the yeare, disguising herself xj.Tur.iij.Duc.vi.Carlyns.

A licence foꝛ the father that hee may bring his daughter into a Monastery to learne good manners xj. Tur.iij.Duc.vi Car.

A licence to receyue the habite of the Knightes of Saint James *De la spata*, of any Pꝛelate ix. Turons.xv. Ducates.

A licence to receyue the habite of the Knyghthode of Jesu Chꝛiste, oꝛ any other xxx. Turons.vj.Ducates vi.Carlins.

And foꝛ a woman also of the oꝛder of Sainte James xl.Turons. x. Ducates.

A licence to receiue the habite of the third oꝛder of Sainte Fraunces, called the oꝛder of penance, of anye Bysshop, oꝛ of any person of dignitie in the Church, foꝛ a married manne xj. Turons. iij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

A pardon that a Knight of the oꝛder of Sainte James maye marry with a widowe, whiche is foꝛbidden by the statutes of the oꝛder.

A licence foꝛ a religious person that he maye bee a confessour vnto Nunnes, yea of a contrary oꝛder xv. Tur.iiij.Duc.

A licence foꝛ a good Pꝛeacher to pꝛeach xxvij.Tur. ij. Duc. And that they which come to his sermõs, shall haue certayne dayes of pardon xl. Tur.x.Duc.

A licence foꝛ a secular Clerke oꝛ regular to become a Doctoꝛ xj.Tu. iij.Duc.vi.Carlins.

If it be with the leaue of hys superiour, elles xviij.Turo. iiij.Duc.ix. Carlyns.

A licence foꝛ an Abbesse, that shee may goe to see the houses and landes of hir monasterie with thꝛee oꝛ four Nunnes xviij. Turons. vi. Ducates.

A licence foꝛ an obseruant Frier, that he may haue a pꝛoctoure to de-

maunde and receyue suche money as he hathe gotten by his industrie, and turne it vnto the vse of the same Friers onely sonne xij. Turons iij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

A licence to weare linnen shurts, and to lye in shéetes for a religious man xij. Turons. iij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

A licence for a whole monasterye when they desire it, that they may be broughte to a strieghter order than they dyd professe before, not chaunging theyr superior xl. Turons. x. Ducates.

A licence for a Nunne, that shée shall not be brought to a streyghter order than she professed at the firste xij. Turons iij. Ducates. vi. Carlins.

A licence to passe from one order to the like l. Tur. iiij. Duc.

If it bée vnto a straighter xij. Turons. iij. Ducates vi. Carl.

If the whole Monasterie doe desire to be chaunged vnto an other order l. Turons. xij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

If from one order to a longer order xxiiij. Tur vi Duc.

If it be from one Monasterie to another Monasterie of the same order, profession, habite, and obseruaunce regulare of the same prouince iiij. Turons. i. Ducate. viij. Carlyns.

If it be of an other prouince xij. Turo: iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

If it be with the perfecte and endowmét with their stuffe there must be added vi. Tur.

A licence to leade an Hermites life. xij. Turons. iij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

An absolution for the running away for the vagabonde that will returne agayne to the shéepefolde xij. Tur. iij. Duc. vi. Carl.

A licence to weare hys habite vnder, xij. Turons. iij. Ducates. vi. Carlyns.

Marrania.

The *Marrania* is made in most ample fashion, for a Clerke lx. Tur. xv. Duc.

For a laye man xl. Turons. x. Duc. And in both the cases they must compound with the Popes Datarie, vnlesse the sea be vacant, then is gyuen for a Clerke at the rate of lxxx. Turons. And for a lay man lx. Turons.

But when it is not gyuen in ample forme, but to exercise anye office, whereby he maye lyue, and whiche hée hathe skyll of, or for a Prieste that hée maye celebrate xij. Turo. iij. Duc. vi. Carl. Vnlesse it be to the intente to be an aduocate or a Phisition, than it is taxed at xxiiij. Turons.

The conclusion of this matter.

Those matters whyche we haue hitherto rehearsed, whereby the discipline of the olde fathers was changed into a money marchaundise, though in the multitude and the varietie of the cases and causes, they doe séeme to be small, yet they doe yéelde a most plentifull gayne to the Rauens of Rome: notwithstanding that those péeces are in their owne waight most gayneful, whyche are wrong out and gotten vppe out of all

all the prouinces of Christendome, for the Byshops palles, where besides the chiefe taxe, there muste be bought the Principall bull, the bull of Cōmission, the bull of Absolution, the bull to the Chapter, the bull to the Clergie, the bull to the People, the bull to the Vassales, the bull to the Archbishop, the bull to the King, the forme of the Othe: and he muste pay in the Consistories for the rewarde of his consecration, for the rewarde of his blessing: I néede not to speake of the retaynings, deuolutions, and pensions. And how wicked and foule the exaction of the Annates is, what néede I to touch? The princes of Almaigne did among the rest of the griefes of the people of Almaigne, obiect the same also to the Popes Nuncio, at the Dyet of the Empyre at Norenberg, Anno. 1522. but they tolde their tale to deafe eares. There hath bene gathered vpon the taxation of the cathedrall Churches and Abbeys in Fraunce, Sixe hundred, nintie and seuē thousand, seuen hundred & fifty franckes, besides theyr places and other inferiour dignities and benefices which they did not taxe, which would draw néere vnto the like summe. If a man wil discourse in his minde of the rest of al nations, who is so cunning an Arithmetrician, that he is able to accounte the totall summe? What shal I speake of pardōs, wherin the foule shame of Rome brastyng out of that sea, hath moste impudently ranged through out all Christēdome? What shall I say of the fauours or graces, the reseruations, pectorals and mentals, bredde in the breast and mynde, the returnes generall and speciall, of the accessions, incorporations and vnions? Hell it selfe is not so plentyfull of wicked spirites, as the courte of Rome is of allurements, of snares, of Merchandisers, of gaynes, and all manner of snatching and catchyng. His [illegible]stership taketh vppon hym pow[illegible]uer all spirituall things and seculare, to dispence, to absoyle, to pardon, to change, to release, to restrayne, to confirme, to declare, to derogate, to reserue, yea and what not? and at length to tumble downe to Hell.

The vse of the riches of Rome. The raueners of Rome.

Peraduenture the Reader will wonder to what purpose these portentuous riches of most filthy gayne are heaped vp togither in this Babilon. The first vse that they do serue vnto, is that this kingdome of Babylon may be outwardly borne vp withall, when it beginneth to fall in the consciences of the faithfull. The second is, that theyr princely pompe, theyr wastfull feasting, and incredible delicate lustes, may be sustayned. The thirde is, to féede the gréedy gripes that do flie out of all nations to this rotten carrayne, whose custome is with a wide open and vnsatiable mouth to be euer gapyng and catchyng, the Vicechancelours, the masters of the leade, masters of Cerimonies, the prothonotaries, officials, the holy colledge of chāberlains, the portioners, S. Peters knightes, the Maizeries, the chamberers, the masters of the horse, ẏ dore kéepers, the Popes singers, the warder of the Iron gate, the warders of ẏ cheyne, the warders of the priuie garden, the Notaries, Correctors, Abbreuiators, Aduocates, Solliciters, the Quyre men, the Clerkes of the chappell, and

Mazerii.

let men say nothing of the great and purple Bees of the purpurate strumpet, they⁹ henche menne, they⁹ fayre boyes and harlottes, whereof there are an infinite number, consecrate vnto this courte. Who could set out here howe this spoyle is parted betwirt these Disciples of the Romish Simonistes? but I haue already turned vp myne owne and the readers stomacke also, with the lothsomnesse in the styrring of the stinke of this filthy puddle. No man nede now to maruell why that Pope Boniface the twelfth, which was about the yeare of our Lorde M.CCC.xxvj. when he was required to increase the number of Cardinals, answered, that he would gladly doit, if he could make also a new worlde. For this that we haue sayth he, is fearfully sufficient for the Cardinals that wee haue already. The wryter of this is Engelhusen.

Lette vs returne therefore to the Canon of the Apostle, by the tenor whereof it is requyred in a Bysshop, that hée be not fouly gyuen vnto gayne: and so it is moste certainely declared, that the Bysshop of Rome is most vnworthy of all, to be a Bysshop of one Churche, muche lesse the heade of all Bysshoppes and Churches, sauyng that perhaps in this fallyng away vnto Antichrist, he is founde to bée of all them moste worthy ryngleader of Simonike and false Bysshops, and the very decay of all Churches.

Vpright. ἐπιεικῆ.

Tenthly, he saith, He must be Modest. Erasmus dothe translate it, Upright ἐπιεικῆ, is a man so moderate, that in the handelyng of matters hée doth yéelde nothing to affections, but doth followe the same which séemeth to be comely, vpright, and alowable. This vertue is most necessary for all rulers, wherby they may be restrayned, that in followyng the rigor of the lawe, they do not too sore wryng theyr subiectes.

Eleuenthly, he saith, Not giuen to fighting, as to fighte in the Latine tongue is not alwayes referred vnto matters offence, but is oftentimes also taken for brauling and stryuyng in wordes: so this word μαχὴ is two wayes also vsed of the Grékes. Wherefore we must thinke that the Apostle dothe reiecte here from the office of a Bysshoppe, not onely the fighter and the fence master, but the chyder and brauler also. The same whiche is here cõprised in one word, is set forth somewhat more at large to Timothée, for there wée do reade in this wyse: Eschewe fonde & rashe questions, knowyng that they do brédde fighting or contention, and stryfe. For the seruaunt of the Lord muste not fight, but be peaceable towardes all men, ready to teache, sufferyng the euill menne with mildenesse, teachyng them that do withstande, if God may giue thé at sometyme repentance to know the truth, &c. When hée dothe warne Timothée, that hée shall eschewe fonde and rashe questions, bycause they doo brédde fightings or stryfes, and dothe adde that it is not méete for the seruaunt of God to fight, he doth sufficiently declare, that hée speaketh of the fightings, of brauling, dissention, contention and stryuyng, whiche riseth vpon tryflyng questions among them, whose purpose is rather to defende their owne opinions, than

to auaunce the truth of God. This kynde of fighte hath maruelously troubled the Churche, and hath exceedingly followed the Bysshoppes and Doctors. The listes of these fightes, are wonte to be the Bysshoppes Synodes, whiche the vnlearned menne do thinke to be the onely remedie of dissentions. There is a worthy saying of Gregory Nazianzene touchyng this matter, in his Epistle to Procopius, where he writeth in this wyse: I am of this minde, If I shall say as I do thinke, that I do eschewe all Councels of Bysshops, for that I coulde neuer sée hitherto, that any Synode councell had any good and profitable ende, but that thyngs that were amisse, were thereby rather made worse than better. For they haue such lustes to contende, and such ambition to gouerne, and be so obstinate in their reasonyng, that if any manne will stande with them in the iudgement, he shall rather runne into some other errour, than winne them to yéelde in the errour whiche they stande vnto. This saith he. And the Scholasticall Doctours haue shewed examples inough of this disease. For what can fall out more grieuous in Christes Churche than hath bene done in matters of religiõ, by tongue and penne, betwirt contentious men? Be not the Thomistes, Scotists, Ockanists, and Albertists men gyuen to fighting? Do they not fighte and stryue one with another, when they will Canonise their own Heresie, and condemne all other truthes? when they doe dispute, whether that Diuinitie bée of God as of the subiecte, by reason of the Infinitie or the attribute? Whether Diuinitie be a science Subalternate or in the midle lighte, practise, speculatiue, or affective? whether in godly things there be any production intrinsecall, whether Ens be vniuocally spoken of God, and the Creator, whether it hath a proper conceyuyng, whether it bée proportionall, whether the Quiddite of a material thyng be the firste obiecte of the vnderstandyng by the nature of the power, whether wée muste set a spice in the vnderstandyng, whether the Essence of GOD do ingender or be ingendred, whether the vnitie of the persõs of God be collectiue, whether the Sonne be of the substance of the Father as of the matter, whether the Essence of God be generate substectiuely, whether the bringyng forth of the sonne be of the fathers will, or of necessitie & naturall: whether the generation of God be vniuocall or equiuocall, whether there be in God a composition of matter and forme, whether the holy Spirite bée produced by acte of will, whether the Father and the Sonne doe equally beginne the holy Spirite, whether the persons of GOD bée equall in greatnesse, whether the equalitie in godly things be a real relation, whether God coulde make the worlde better: and innumerable other things, whereupon they do most bitterly and contentiously striue amõg themselues.

Of the cõtentions of our tymes.

What shall I say of the contentions of our times, when they do contende vpon Popish pardons, vpon the primacie of the sea of Rome, vpon mans constitutions, vppon meates forbidden by the Pope, vpon the sacrifice of the Romishe Masse, vpon

Monkes and Nunnes vowes, vpon the sole life of the Clergie, vpō church Images, vpon the accessorie Sacraments, vpon the Communion vnder one kynde alone, of the fyre of Purgatory, whereby the faythfull mens purses are well scowred, vpon frée wyll, vppon the merites of workes, vpon the inuocation of Saincts, and other like matters, not with words & writing only, but wͤ fire, sword, ẏ halter, & exilyng? Suche Byshops the Canon of ẏ Apostle doth not alowe.

Twelfthly, he sayth, No mony louer. He sayth not, Not hauing money, or not touchyng money, but not louyng, not couetous of money. The loue of money must not be in the minister of the worde. For it maketh him to be couetous, a niggarde, and to be a filthy gayner. And in this poynt there be thrée things to be feared. First, lest he shal neglect hospitality and the care of the poore. Secondlye least he shall falselye turne those things that be gyuen by the faythfull to this intent, vnto an other vse. The thirde is, least when he is giuē to heape vp money, he do not very trustily fulfil his ministeri & office

No money louer. ἀφιλάργυρον.

Thirtenthly, he sayth, He that gouerneth well his owne house, hauing his children in subiection with al honestie. So that in case any man can not gouerne his owne house, how cā he take charge of the church of God? He doth warne that none be chosen, in whome there dothe not appeare some expresse argument that he will take a competent care of the church. And for asmuche as he woulde haue him chose the husbande of one wyfe, least we should thinke that poynt to be inough in a Byshop, and that it skilled not how well or how euill he ruled his house, he addeth also this cōditiō, that they chose not him that is not profitable to himselfe and his household, though he be the husband of one wyfe onely: he addeth the reason, saying: For if a man can not rule his owne house, how shal he take the charge of Gods church? It is a common saying: He that is euill to himselfe, how can he be good to others?

He that gouerneth vvell his ovvn house

He requireth the knowledge of gouernaunce, in that he dothe not onely say, If any mā do not gouerne his owne house, but he saith: If any man know not how to gouerne hys house. A starke foole may haue a wyfe, house and children, but he can not tell how to gouerne the house. And how should he rule the Church of God? It is no doubte a poynt of very godly knowledge, to bée able stoutly and faithfully to gouerne the church of God. They be called Gods that are appoynted by God to gouerne others, yea in temporall matters also. In this case there is required a gouernaunce, which consisteth not in violence and might, after the fashion of the world, but in the faithfull & wise dispensation of Gods mysteries, in diligent admonishment, correcting, teaching, comforting and lifting vp, that the faythfull may be edified and endewed with the knowledge and true loue of God. It is a great matter to haue obedient chyldren with all reuerence and honesty, but it is a muche easier matter to kéepe the tender youth in obedience by the power of the father, to yéelde and folow in al things, than to bring into order by authoritie of the word, men and women euill taught & not

wonted

wonted to discipline, menne of theyr owne head, men sometimes riche as touching the worlde, worldly wise, of honour and power, and to make thē lyke chyldren to abide doctrine, warnyng and correction, to make them yéelding to amende their life, and not eyther to ouerthrowe and kill theyr hartes, eyther that they steppe not backe from theyr godly purpose, euē like as it is lesse difficultie to bowe a tender twigge than a stiffe & sturdie trée, so men must be circumspect that they do not rashly attempt matters, that will soner breake than bowe. Therefore he ẏ hath not skill to rule his children that be yet softe and tender, how shall he be able to gouerne the church of God, wherein are olde stockes of trées, yea and sometimes of that heigth straight vp, that there must be vsed great industry and diligēce to be able to bow them downe, to their commoditie and contentation to the humblenesse of christian life and discipline?

Fourtenthly, he sayth, Not grafted in of new. He meaneth into christian lyfe and fayth, he biddeth him to beware, that he chose him not straight way to be a bishop, that doth now but beginne firste to be a christian man. And he giueth a reason why: least he be pufte vp in pryde, and fall into iudgement, and to the condemnation of the Diuel. In déede it is not of it selfe vnlawfull to chose suche a man as came late vnto christendome, in case he be méete in all other poynts: but it is not without perill and daunger. It is to be feared, least being not yet cōfirmed sufficiētly in faith, modesty, and lowlinesse of spirit, he may be made dronken with the new honour of his byshoprike, as it were with must, and be puffed vp in pryde, & thinke himselfe to be such a one, that he passeth all others, eyther in learning, either in wisedome, eyther in perfectnesse of life, and that he is vpon that consideration sette to rule the Churche.

Whereas he sayth, Least he fall into the iudgement of the Diuell, it is expounded sundry wayes. There is vnderstanded by the Diuell, either that euil spirite himselfe, so called, bicause he is the slaunderer of the brethern, or the slaunderous man.

Least he fal into the iudgement of the Diuell.

If we do vnderstande it of the euill spirite, it may be taken into twoo meanyngs. First, least Satan by his instruments doe procure slaunder to the Bishop so puffed vp in pryde, and turne him to the rebuke thereof. Another way, Least the Byshop so puft vp and so arrogant, fal into the same iudgement and condemnation, that the Diuell fell into, through the malice of arrogancie and pryde.

If it be meante of the slaunderous man, it may so be expoūded also twoo wayes. First thus: Least being pufte vp, he be condemned of backebyters and slaunderers, yea and not he only, but the Churche also, which he is set to ouersée, & that the very Christian religion be subiect vnto theyr iudgements and slaunders. Secondly in this wyse. Least he beyng puffed vp in pryde, become of a Pastor to be a Slaunderer, and so do fall into the condemnation due vnto slaūderers. This is the nature of pryde, that of Bishops it maketh them Diuels, of Shepheards, Wolfes, of fathers, oppressors and tyraunts. Would God the Church had neuer séene any exā-

The nature of pryde.

ples

ples of this Metamorphosis, & these foure seces had no cõtrarietie. They may all take place in such a bishop.

To haue good reporte.

Fiftenthly. It behoueth him also to haue a good reporte of straungers. He sayth of straungers also, that is to say, of the vnfaithfull that do not belong vnto Christe, straungers from christian religion, whether they be Gentils or Iewes, the Bishop must be well reported by them. He meaneth of the good reporte not of fayth, doctrine, & religion, whiche no godly person shall haue of the vnfaithfull, the enimies of our religion, but of good behauiour, honestie, modestie, humanitie, mildnesse, and vpright liuing. So that straungers might say: He is a good man, well tried, vpright, godly, & honest, but he is a Christian, that is his onely fault.

He giueth a reason why: Least he fal into the snare of the Diuel, That is, least he may be subiect vnto the slaũder and reproches of backbiters, and so become not onely vnfit to set forth Christes fayth among straungers, but be a shame & dishonestly to the churche of God. For he can not be bolde inough to teache & conuince the contrary part, whose conscience & tongue also is entangled as it were snarled through his owne fault, with the rebukes of straungers, & yet if he will notwithstandyng vse it, he shall rather ioyne vnto the former reproue, to be noted to be a person past shame, than do any good.

Hitherto the Apostle described vnto Timothée what manner Bishops and Priestes ought to be chosen, and what they should be. There is somewhat more in the Epistle to Tite, as that they chose not him ẏ is headdy, that is to say, of a froward, stubborn, harde and stifnecked nature, that wil not leaue his owne opiniõ. This hardnesse is a spice of pryde, whiche muste bée farre from the minde of a Byshop. And besides that, it agreeth not with the office of him whiche must apply himself to the behauiour and capacitie of them, ouer whome he is appoynted and set, & to be with Paule all vnto all, that at the least way he may winne some. This stifnesse of vntractable nature, is naught in indifferent matters, in whiche wysedome and Christian charitie may for a quietnesse, and to gette occasion to edifie, giue place to other mens opinions, so that they be not vngodly and wicked. But when the puritie of the fayth & of the doctrine of Christe is in daunger, then it is a vertue and constancie méete not onely for a bishop, but also most necessary for all faithfull, to be harder and more intractable, than any stone.

Secondly, he addeth also, that hée be not Irefull, and giuen to wrath. Therefore he requireth a man that is slow to anger, as they are wont to be that are of a milde, kynd, and gentill nature. It is a thyng gyuen to proude menne, froward and iusticiarie hypocrites, to bée sone angry. And that is very vnfittyng for the office of a Bishop, yea and now and then hurtfull also. For the anger of mã doth not worke the righteousnesse of God.

Thirdely, he sayth, Louing that whiche is good, iuste, holy and temperate. He linked togither two couples of vertues, whereof the firste belongeth vnto others, and the latter doth reach to the Bishop himselfe. Lette

a bishop be a louer of al good folkes, bicause that they be good, and let him take pleasure in their company and familiaritie. For that dothe muche helpe to the honor of the Gospell.

Let him be iuste, that is good and gentle. The Apostle speaketh of that iustice, whiche hath a compassion of sinners, and not a disdayne: He saith not, let him be without sinne, which can not be: but he requireth that Iustice, that is the gẽtleneslle & goodnesse of minde, whiche is voyde of all wickednesse & vnrighteous dealyng.

To be godly or holy & temperate, it belongeth to the holynesse and tẽperaunce of the Bishops lyfe. The Apostle would haue him to be a mã voyde from all vncleane and prophane lyfe, louyng a pure, chaste, and holy life. Where we must marke by the way, ẏ lawful wedlocke doth not make a man vncleane and vnchaste, for hée is requyred here, to bée the husbande of one wyfe, hauyng chyldren, and yet withall, chaste and holy. The same whiche I made mention of before of Paphnutius, hath place here, whiche in the Councell of Nice, called the cõpany with a wife, Chastitie.

What temperaunce is, it is well knowen. The Greeke worde signifieth a continent person, whiche doth rule his affections, dothe nothyng in his lyfe that is vnhoneste and intemperate. This vertue is very necessary for a Bishop, for he whiche can not stay himselfe, and bryddell his owne affections, howe is hé able to gouerne others?

Fourthly, he addeth that, Holding faste that faithfull worde, whiche is according vnto doctrine, that he may be able to exhort also by holsome doctrine, and to conuince them that speake agaynst it. But of this condiciõ of a bishop we spake before, wher it is required that he be apt to teach.

There be many disobedient.

Wée must here marke that which is added after: for there be many disobedient vayne talkers, seducers of mens hartes, whose mouthes muste be stopt, which do ouerthrow whole families, teachyng things that are not to be taught for filthy lucres sake. So that a Bishop muste be then specially strõg in soũd doctrine, when the number of them dothe beginne to increase, whiche be disobedient to the worde of the truthe, and do sowe vaine doctrines, & seduce the mindes of the simple, through their opinion of knowledge: & that they do for filthy gaine: euen as there is then most néede of a valiant and a diligẽt Captayne, when there is daunger of the enimies on euery side. And suche is the chaũce of the church these latter times, that the more daũger there is of the guyles of the seducer, the more dastardes the bishops and pastors be. And which is yet the worst, now that the Bishops do were to be dumbe in the churches, the charge of teaching is cõmitted to them in déede that be the vayne talkers and seducers of mens mindes.

1. Tim. 3.

He doth giue order for deacons in the epistle vnto Timothé, that they should also be the husbandes of one wyfe, which shuld gouerne their own children & families rightly, graue men and honest. Erasmus trãslateth it, Well ordred, but the common Latine is, Chaste. The apostle meaneth by them that be not light and vaine, but graue and honest in behauiour,

Of Deacõs.

Grane and honest.

and

and countenaunce.

Not double tonged.

Secondly, that they be not double tongued, whiche do breath both colde and hote out of one mouthe, whiche faulte is very shamefull, not onely in a holy and Christian man, but in a worldly person also, and it is very hatefull in a mynister. He woulde haue Deacõs to be true and stedfast in theyr wordes.

Not giuen to muche wyne.

He doth adde to it, Not gyuen to much wine. He dothe not say, not drinkyng wine, but not giue to much wine. This fault maketh the mynisters vnprofitable, yea & sometimes hurtfull also, besides the very filthynesse it selfe, of the dronkennesse.

Keping the mystery of the fayth.

He saith further, Not filthily coueitous of gayne, He would haue Deacons here to be such, as he would the Bisheppes to be before, keppyng the mysterye of the faith with a pure conscience. He calleth the mysterye of the faith, the doctrine of saluation and of the Christian faith. And he sayth not Teachyng, but keppyng the mysterie of the fayth. For the Deacons were not chosen to the intent to teach, but to take the charge of the goods of the churche, of widowes, of the fatherlesse and motherlesse, & of the poore.

And the meanyng of Paule is far wide from them, the whiche do suppose it to be sufficient for suche mynisters to be chosen, that be worldly wise men, how soeuer it goe with the mystery of fayth: as though it were no matter among Christian menne, what manner of men there be in the fayth of Christe, whiche do mynister in the outwarde functions.

Let the be tried first.

And let them (sayth he) be first tried, and afterwardes let them mynister, if they be founde blamelesse. He giueth warning that no mã be rashly preferred to the office of a Deacõ, least through negligence there may creepe in a slouthfull and an vnprofitable person, or a filthie and vayne man, or a false and an vnfaythfull creature. Wherefore he commaundeth that they be tried before that they be chosen, that it may be founde by some triall what they be: and the to chose them to the Deaconrie, whe they be proued to be blamelesse.

How were they tryed.

I suppose that they were wont to be tried two manner of wayes. First by the testimony of their lyfe paste: secondly, by the mynisterie it selfe, whiche they did practise a good whyle before that they were chosen vnto it, and confirmed by the layyng on of handes, vntil such time as they were well tried, & so eyther reiected, or else admitted.

Of the wyues of the Deacons.

He giueth order also for the Deacons wiues, for they did hang vpon the mynistery also in theyr sorte, and besides that it importeth much to the honor of the ministerie, what the ministers wiues be. He sayth, Wiues likewise sadde and honest. The estimatiõ of a man is not a litle decayed by a vaine and light wife. He addeth, Not backbyters, nor slaunderers, sober, trustie in al respectes. He would haue the Deacons wiues to differ from the cõmon behauiour of other women. For there were wonte to be many light womẽ, slaunderous, bibbers, and hauyng little regarde of their bounden fayth, specially in the East partes.

Thus muche by the way of the Canon of the Apostle, whereby wee are taught, what manner men Bysshops and Deacons ought to be, at one

one worde, suche men, neither dishonest, nor blamed of the strangers, nor vnprofitable, much lesse harmeful to the churche. In consideration of this Canon, the matter wẽt so in the primitiue church, that he could seldome finde any body, that would be cõtent to be chosen and ordayned a minister of Christ, so that they were fayne to compell them that were chosen, and drawe them against theyr will to be Bishops, whereof S. Augustine maketh mention, writyng thus: Marke what the Apostle sayde: He that desireth a Bysshoprieke, desireth a good worke. And yet so many are holden against theyr will, are brought out, are shut vp, are kepte in to take Bysshoprickes, they doe suffer so greate matters whiche they be loath to doe, vntill that theyr will come vpon the to take the good worke in hand. This saith he. But now adayes the world is bente otherwise, men are of an other disposition. No man is compelled, euery man cõmeth running vnto it. Why? Bicause they do vtterly set at naught this Canon. But in case the Churches had not forsaken this order of the Apostle, we shoulde haue had nowe much lesse errour, false doctrine, enormities, filthinesse and vncleannesse, and wicked Symony, in Christes religion. Now who is able worthily to bewayle this most miserable waste & desolation of the churches, whiche the vnkindely decay of the order of the Church hath bredde: They that ought to haue had bene the doctours, are become seductours, they that shoulde haue bene Bishops of Churches, we see are become princes of earthly dominions. They that should fede the Lords flocke, do fede themselues, and do either themselues deuour the Lordes sheepe, or else they do caste them to the Wolues, and other cruell beastes. They that were wonte to be Priests in the Church, that is to say Elders, their place is nowe occupied by menne not rype of age, and in behauiour moste lighte varlettes. To make a shorte tale, the lighte of the worlde is turned into darkenesse, the salte of the earth is vtterly vnsauery, and hath losse al his sharpenesse. In the meane time, whyles that there be founde very fewe faythfull Mynisters of Goddes worde, all the worlde is full in euery corner with the glarings of Bysshoppes in name, Priestes, Prelates, Doctours, &c. and theyr conuersation is so foule and filthie, so prophane and shamefull, that wise men can not chose but acknowledge, that the horrible wrath of God is already sore enkendled against ỹ churches of Christendome.

Of the reformation of the Ministers of Gods Worde.

There is no hope of the reformation of false pastours.

I knowe that there is no hope of any true and perfecte reformation of them that do fighte vnder the banner of the Romishe Symon, not Peter, but Judas, whiche haue troden vnder theyr feete the discipline of Goddes worde, of the Canons of the Apostles, trustyng vpon theyr secular power, and haue put them on a whorishe face or visarde, that they can not be ashamed thereof. This is an olde inueterate disease, lyke a gowte that can not be healed. Who euer saw saith Chrysostome, a lerne

easily reformed? By what poudering can the salte, when it hath loste his taste, be restored agayne? But I will recyte his words more at large, whiche are redde in the exposition vppon Mathewe. There is nothing (saythe hée) more impossible, than to correcte hym who knoweth all things: and yet contemneth the good, loueth the euill. For all that is in the Scriptures, by the reason of his dayly exercise in them is accounted to be old and litle worth in his sight. For any thing that is terrible there, by vse becommeth to be of no estimation. Therfore the Clerke which doth alwayes reade the Scriptures, eyther muste alwayes obserue them and be perfect, or in case he beginne once to set them at light, he is neuer stirred by thē to be in feare againe. Who euer hath séene a Clerke repēting himself quickly, for although he chaunce to be takē with the maner, and so be ouerthrowē, he is not sory bicause he hath sinned, but he is amazed, bycause his glory is gone. Doe you thinke, that the Lord was cruel in denying of repentaunce to the Clergy, when he sayde: If the salte loose his taste, wherby shal it be made sauerie? No, but he spake it as consideryng it to be a naturall case, for there is no body to teache him when he doth amisse, that shoulde correct others when they do erre. Therefore he sayth further: Verily I say vnto you, that the Publicans & harlottes shall passe you in the kyngdome of God. This saith he. Wherefore as touching those things, which I shall speake of the reformation of the ministers of Christe, shall not be spoken for thē that be desperately & inueterately corrupte, but for them which in these latter times ar called to the ministery of the worde, vnto whom we do wishe this minde from the Lorde, that they will occupy thēselues in the feare of the Lorde, and beware of the footesteppes of theyr forefathers, least they fall into the same pitte of perdition that they did, and vndoe themselues & the churches of Christe without recouery.

Chrys. of em. Secunda ex pos. in Matthæum Hom. 40.

It is a very harde matter for a man to continue euer stoutely to the ende, in that whiche he hath well begon withall, but yet it is in any case necessarie so to do, and chiefly for the minister of the worde. We be all inclyned to errour and to sinne, as long as we continue in this fleshe. Satan whiche runneth aboute lyke a Lion, to séeke whome he may deuour, dothe chiefly lye in watch for the Pastors. The dutie or office of ministration, is to admonishe them that doe erre, to admonishe the negligent, to correct the sinfull, to comfort the weake, to conuince the aduersaries, whiche can not be done without sturdy and stoute labour. Sometimes a mans owne pewfellowes (I say as I haue found) will vppon hatered and spyte, hinder and lette him by all meanes they can, from the doyng of his duetie, when he dothe cutte the worde of God aright. The blockishe, fonde, and impenitent people, dyd trouble and disquiete Moyses and Iaron also, and mynistred occasion to them to do amisse. I néede to say nothing of these our tymes, when men say, that it goeth by destiny, that we shoulde abounde in all mischiefes without any amendment. For these & many other respectes, the mynistery of the worde

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worde is very daūgerous. Wherfore it were excéeding necessarie, that there were a certain discipline of reformation amongst the ministers, & a meanes of mutuall comforte, that there mighte be bothe correction for them that do offende, and brotherly comforte and mutuall reliefe to succour them, whose heart dothe faynte and falleth vnder the burden.

And it séemeth that the very qualitie of this matter would haue foure sortes of discipline, eyther to reforme sinners thereby, or if that cannot be, to succour and relieue the necessities of the Churche. The beste and fullest amendment is this, when bothe the minister that dothe offende, and the sinne that hurteth the Churche, are bothe corrected. To this pricke and marke, the discipline of correctiō ought to be directed. But in case the minister be founde to be paste recouery, we must haue a regarde of the Churche, that there come no harme thereby to the Church. And this care of the church must be principally looked vnto, in the correction of the minister. But let vs view the partes of this discipline orderly.

The firste, is the correction of the minister that offendeth, whereof the Apostle gyueth a precepte, saying: Take no complaint against a priest, without two or thrée witnesses. Reproue them that doe sinne before all, that the rest may be also afrayde. He will not haue him to correcte the minister vnaduisedly, and at euery light complaynt, forasmuche as they that be rulers, are nowe and then founde faulte withall, of them that be vnder thē, without cause. On the other side, he doth prouide by this order, that they shall not be exempted from all complayntes, whiche might bréede a carelesnesse among mynisters to doe what they liste. Wherefore he dothe adde: But with two or thrée witnesses. And thus he doth bothe defende the innocencie of the ministers, and cut off also their carelesnesse to sinne, when hée dothe reiecte all headlesse complayntes, and doth allowe that whiche is true and worthy to be beléeued. And whereas he saith more: Reproue them that do sinne, in the sighte of all, that the rest also may be afrayde: it hangeth vpon that that wente before, touchyng the commaundement to reproue the ministers that do offende. All & euery mans sinne is not to be reproued openly and in all mens sight, for some secrete sinne is not to be reuealed, but to be reformed secretly. But whē the Minister doth sinne in that sorte, that it is to be feared least he shoulde be a slaunder to the church, and giue a libertie to sinne by his example, whiche kinde of daunger is not to be feared in euery mans offence: then the necessitie of the charge of the Churche dothe require, that the mynister so offendyng, shoulde be reproued in ẏ sight of all, to strike in bashfulnesse and terrour to others, that they be not infected by his euill example. So Paule reprehended Peter in the presence of al, when he saw that he walked not aright in the gospell of Christe.

Reprone sinners before all mē.

Galat. 2.

The Gréeke worde that Paule vseth here, signifieth as muche as is Reproue or conuince. Wherevpon we may gather, that the witnesse testifying agaynst a Prieste, muste be hearde not aparte and secretely, but

ἐλέγχειν.

openly, and before all. And by this ſaying to conuince and repꝛoue a ſinner before all is meante, that after he is euidently conuicted by witneſſes, he may bée eyther rebuked by wordes, oꝛ elſe abyde other puniſhment, accordyng to the waight of the offence.

The turning of a miniſter to an other place.

The ſecond way of coꝛrection, is to turne ỹ miniſter to an other place. And this is vſed when the myniſter is enticed to ſinne by ſome occaſions, which the place where he miniſtreth, dothe yéelde vnto him. As in caſe he be gyuen ouer muche to dꝛynke wine, and do myniſter there where there be many wyne Tauernes, and that the people be alſo muche diſpoſed to dꝛynke: the caſe it ſelfe would, that ſuche a one beyng otherwiſe méete inough, ſhoulde be turned to ſome other place, where he ſhoulde finde leſſe occaſion to offende: oꝛ if one ſerue in ſome famous Churche, whiche is not able inough foꝛ the charge. Dꝛ of ſome learned perſon be appoynted to a ſmall Churche, which were worthy to ſerue a greater, as Nazianzene was, oꝛ if there be any diſcoꝛde betwirt the people & the Miniſter, & that there be no hope of a full attonement and reconcilement, oꝛ if the Miniſter be in contépt in the ſight of the people, this remedy of turning them to another place, is to be vſed.

But in caſe a man be founde not méete inough foꝛ the office of a Biſhop wherevnto he was choſen by the Churche in tyme of neceſſitie foꝛ lacke of a better, no doubte the very reaſon in reformation of the lackes of the Church, would that whé God ſendeth a meeter man, the firſt ſhould be turned either to ſome leſſe church, eyther to ſome myniſterie of leſſe impoꝛtaunce: ſo that he that was once a Biſhop ſhould be now of the number of them, that doe trauayle with the Biſhoppe in the woꝛke of the Lorde: and he that was ſometimes a Pꝛieſte, may ſo be ſette among the Deacons.

The third way of reformation, is to depoſe hym from his office. And this is vſed two wayes.

1 The one is, when he which hath ſinned is depoſed foꝛ a ſeaſon, vntill he be reformed and amended. This kinde of depoſition they do call a Suſpention. And in caſe he that is depoſed, do ſo behaue himſelfe in the tyme of his ſuſpention, that he do declare certayne and ſure tokens of his true amendment, he is ſet to rule ſome other church, where he may ſerue the Lord without the offéce of ỹ people.

2 The other, is a depoſitiō oꝛ remouyng foꝛ euer, when he that is depoſed, hath any ſinne, faulte, oꝛ lacke that can not be amēded, eyther of the bodie, as if hée be dumme, blinde, oꝛ a lepꝛe: eyther of the mynde, as if he be deſperately alienated from the fayth and Churche of Chꝛiſte: eyther of conditions, as if hée haue ſome very haynous oꝛ leſſe faultes, that can not bé reformed. Wée finde much of this ſoꝛte of depoſition in them that they call the Canons of the Apoſtles, and of the Generall and Pꝛouinciall Councels. So the Biſhops and Pꝛieſts were depoſed that medled with woꝛldly matters, they that committed any whoꝛedome oꝛ periurie, they ỹ ſtroke any faithfull man though they offended, they that were made and oꝛdeyned Pꝛieſtes oꝛ biſhops foꝛ money, they that kept their Churches by ſecular power, they that playde at dice, they ỹ were dꝛonkardes, they that demaunded vſurie vpon theyꝛ detters, they that did negligently inſtruct their people, they that folowed the warres, ſuche as there be many now a dayes fielde Biſhops and Cardinals, &c. Againſt theſe and all the lyke it is ſayde in one woꝛde, Depoſe them. If we ſhal ſtande to the olde Councels and Canons, as the aduerſaries of Chꝛiſtes doctrine do crie out vpon vs to do now adayes, I beſéech you, where is one of the Biſhops and Pꝛieſtes, &c. that be now, that ſhal eſcape the ſentence of depoſement?

4 The laſt & fourth way is by excōmunicatiō, wherby they that were depoſed, were foꝛ their lacke of repētance excluded from the cōmunion of the faithfull. And in very déede they be not woꝛthy to enioy the cōmuniō of the faithfull, whiche do ſo behaue themſelues, that they do not onely diſtayne the Miniſtery of Chꝛiſte, but foꝛgettyng theyꝛ owne ſaluatiō, they doe ſhame alſo the very Chꝛiſtian religion thꝛough theyꝛ miſchieuous and haynous life and behauiour.

Hitherto we haue touched ſomewhat of the reformation of the Myniſters of the woꝛde. Nowe they do demaunde, by whome this diſcipline ſhould be miniſtred. I anſwere: Firſt the people of the Churche that hath the authoꝛitie to chooſe a méete myniſter, hath alſo, as Cyprian witneſſeth, authoꝛitie to refuſe him that is vnwoꝛthie.

Secondly, they whiche be the iudges and cenſoꝛs of good maners in the church, are bounde by their office to repꝛoue ỹ Miniſter that offendeth, if he be conuicted before the Church of God by two oꝛ thꝛée witneſſes of tryed honeſtie.

Thirdly, the ſame perſons may by the conſent and voyces of the people, depoſe the Myniſter, eyther foꝛ a ſeaſon, eyther foꝛ altogither: eyther they may at length excommunicate him, accoꝛdyng to the qualitie of his ſinne oꝛ defecte. Onely the turning of a Myniſter from one Churche to an other, cā not be done by the iudgement and liking of one church alone. Foꝛ it is not reaſon that one church ſhoulde thꝛuſt in a man into another Churche, without theyꝛ owne conſent vnto it. Theſe things be done in many Churches nowe adayes, by the iudgemente and Decrée of the Chꝛiſtian Magiſtrate, ſauing the depoſement foꝛ euer, and the excommunication, of whiche none of thē bothe is nowe in vſe. In tymes paſt theſe matters were done at the Biſhops Synodes, whereof two were kepte euery yeare in euery Pꝛouince. At the ſame, Biſhops were depoſed, and other ſet in theyꝛ places, by contention and labour of parties, without the conſente and voyces of the Churches, ouer which they were ſet: whiche pꝛeſumption, I can not allowe. Foꝛ ſo bothe the intereſt of the Churches was bꝛoken, and there were gyuen occaſions of Schiſmes, whereby the concoꝛd of the churches was marueloully mangled and turmoyled, in ſo muche that it is no wōder that the Gréeke Churches haue had ſo hoꝛrible a ruyne, conſideryng the maruelous and innumerable diſeaſe of contention and deſire to condemne one anothers doings, whiche

theyr Bysshoppes had.

Of Fayth.

LIke as our Sauiour, when he had giuen in charge to his Disciples the worke of the Apostolike mynisterie, saying: Goyng into al the world, preache the Gospell to all creatures, he did immediatly after that adde this saying, touchyng Faith: Whosoeuer doth beleeue and is Baptised, shall be saued: and as the Apostle sayth, that Faith is by hearyng, and hearing by the worde of Christe: so I do suppose, that after the place of the Ministerie and of the ministers of the worde, it is very conuenient to sette nexte therevnto this place of Faithe, whiche we thinke good to diuide into these members. First what Faith is, what be the partes of it, how necessary it is, wherby it is gotten, howe it is giuen, to whome it is giuen, when it is giuen, what be the nourishmentes of it, what is the increase of it, and what the power and efficacie of it is.

Mark.16.

Rom.10.

I. What Faith is.

VVith some folkes faith is nothing else, but an opinion.

FOrasmuch as there was neuer any superstition that came into this worlde, which is subiect vnto all kinde of errours, so vnreasonable and so muche to be misliked, but that it founde some place in many mennes heartes, it came to passe, that as by this slightnesse in beleeuing any thing, the worde of Faith hath had no very good stay among Christian menne, so that some menne take faith to be nothing else, but a certaine opinion of God, of Christ his sonne, of the holy spirite, and of certain other comon matters in ỹ church. And in very deede, they that haue not gotten true Faith by Gods gift, albeit they were borne and broedde and sanctified by the Sacrament of admission among Christian men, yet for all that, they are not able to iudge otherwise of fayth, but that it is a certayne opinion of things whiche wee can not attayne vnto by the iudgement and vnderstandyng of man. For they can not otherwise iudge of it than so as their hearts be affectioned, whiche bee of that disposition, that they doe beleeue those things whiche they do beleeue, for no other cause, but bycause they do so beleeue euery where, with whō they doe dwell and haue to doe, and amongst whome they were instructed in Faith from childehood. And this maner of beleeuyng is not onely vulgare and comon vnto false Christiās, but vnto Iewes and Turkes, and all other nations of the whole worlde, and subiect vnto all errours. And it cā not bee, but he must needes be deceyued that dothe beleeue all matters without any assured lighte of the Truth, which are euerywhere beleeued amongst the people, and dothe beleeue them for nothyng else, but bicause hee dothe see that the beliefe of them is general to all the people and countrey, wherevnto he dothe belong in byrth, education and religiō. And what else doe they smell of now adayes, whiche haue euer in theyr mouth the Catholike fayth, the Catholike Church? For they do plainly declare, that they doe take the same to be true and right, whiche they doe see is Catholyke and vniuersall, as though the multitude of people were not subiect vnto errours, and that the truth were not a straunger vpon the earth, and that the fayth standeth not in many, but in a fewe, that is to say, the elect: for whiche cause the Apostle also did call the Christian faith, the fayth of Gods elect.

Therefore we must diligently cōsider what the same faith is, whiche is not onely an opinion nor can not be subiect vnto any errours. The Apostle did set out the definition of the same, where he sayth: Faith is the substaunce of those things whiche be hoped for, and the tryall of those things that be not seene.

He dothe repoynte of Fayth two things in this definition.

1 First, that it is a substance and a trial, by which wordes he doth vtterly distinct al incertaintie of opinion, and doubt from true fayth. The one is a firme and vnmoueable substance the other is the euident and sure trial of the thing. So ỹ if faith be a substāce and a triall, it folowyth, first that it dothe not suffer any doubte to remayne in the minde of the beleeuer, so that it must appeare that he which doth doubte, is ledde by opinion and not by Faith: Secondly it muste folowe, that those things muste needes be true whiche are beleeued in true Faith. For there can be no sure and vndoubted Faithe of false things. Many may doubte of true things, albeit they doe decay no peece of the truth by theyr doubtyng: but of false things no manne can be assured, nor haue suche a fayth thereof, as shalbe a substaunce or a prowfe, no nor the opinion of the whole worlde, though it be neuer so Catholike and Vniuersall, is able to giue any truth vnto false things. The multitude of Turkes, though they be neuer so infinite, can not by theyr opinion purchase any glory of truthe vnto the wickednesse of Mahomet, and pull it from the Christian faith.

2 Another repoynte of faith in this definition of it is, that it is of things hoped vpon, and of suche as are not seene. In the worde of Hope, he hath a respecte vnto those things whiche are not yet gotten presently, but be yet loked for to come. By that which he sayth, And be not seene, he vnderstandeth those things that be inuisible and spirituall, hidden from the eyes of the flesh. And by these wordes also he dothe plainely put a difference betwirt an opinion which mans reason is able to conceyue of things eyther absent or inuisible, and true faith, in attributing vnto it that it hath a certayne substaunce and an euident prose in things to come and vnseene, which can not be ascribed to any opinion of man.

Faith is of thinges hoped for, & such as be not seene.

Whereas our Sauiour sayde vnto Thomas: Bycause thou hast seene Thomas, thou hast beleeued, it is not agaynst that definition of faythe whiche wee alleaged out of the Apostle. Christe spake in that place after the common phrase, when that is called fayth sometimes which is rather a knowledge than faith: as the same also is oftentimes called faith, which is an opinio rather than faith. But where as he sayth more: Blessed are they whiche haue not seene & yet beleeued: it doth bothe manifestly

Iohn.20. Bycause thou hast seene mee Thomas thou beleeuedst.

agrée with this definition, and dothe also discerne true fayth frō the same whiche is improperly called fayth, & doth withall extenuate the one, and commende & extoll the other, whiche the true beléeuers haue, gyuing it a prayse of blessednesse, commendyng the same expresly in it, whiche the Apostle did set forth in this definition, saying: and the triall of those things that be not séene.

The definition of the name. 1. Timo. 3.

Hitherto wée haue set forth that definition of faith, which is in the doctrine of the Apostle, & it serueth rather for the thing than for the name: euen like as if a man shoulde define the Churche, he would say out of the Apostle, that it is the piller and fundation of the truth. If you will haue the definition of the name or worde, it appeareth that fayth is the constant assent of the heart vnto those things whiche be tolde or promysed by the worde. For to beléeue, is to assent vnto ẏ same which we do heare. But it liked the Apostle better to set forth the definition of the matter thā of the name, to the intent he woulde expresse the certaintie of the Christian faith, and discerne it from false faith whiche is not faith, but opiniō.

II. What be the partes of Fayth.

The partes of our Fayth.

And to the intent that wée may know our whole Faith, we must looke vpon the partes of it. And they be thrée. The firste is, that whereby we do beleue certain things of God: The second, when we do beleue God as God: The thirde, when we do certainely beléeue vpon God as vpon God. I suppose that in these thrée partes there is comprysed as much as consisteth in faith, sufficient for a godly person. And albeit that the diuision of them is not darke, yet for al that I meane briefly to expound euery parte, bycause of the simpler sorte of men

1 First of al we do beleue certayne things of God, as ẏ there is a God, ẏ there is but one & none other besides him: that he is omnipotēt, the creator of heauen & earth: that he is iuste, doing good to the rightuous, & punishing the wicked: that he is good, gētle, and mercyfull towardes them that do amend: that he is true, and kepeth promisse: that he is euerlastyng, and many other things that be reported of him in the Scriptures. Of this sort be those matters also, which we do beléeue of Christe the Sonne of God, & of the holy spirite. Of Christ, that he is the onely begotten sonne of God, the word of God, made flesh, true God and true man, our onely Lorde, Redéemer, Sauiour and Mediatour: that he was crucified, dead, buryed, and rayled vp agayne, taken vp vnto heauen as touchyng his mā hoode, and that he sitteth at the right hande of the Father, hée shall come at the ende of this worlde to iudge the quicke and the dead: and other thyngs that are in the wrytings of the Euangelistes and the Apostles. Of the holy spirite, that he is of the same Godhead equall with the Father and the Sonne, that he is the lightgiuer of the mindes, the comforter, teacher, relyuer, renewer and gouernour of the elect of God.

And this is the first degrée of faith, and it maketh a greate matter how it be grounded in our harts. They be farre

farre wide from it, which do saye in their heartes: There is no God. Yea and they also, whiche although they doe beléeue that there is a God, yet they do not otherwise beléeue it, but as they doe sée that it is commonlye thought so in the Catholike or vniuersall opinion of men. And they also thirdly, whiche do beléeue of God, eyther not those things whiche they ought, or otherwise than they ought: which thing must of necessitie befall to them, that do not conceyue in their mind the faith of God, according vnto holy Scriptures, but doe imagine themselues opinions of their owne heart, and doe embrace them for the true faith. As for example. There be séene which do conceyue in this sort of God: God is mercifull towardes all them whome he hath made: *Ergo* he will saue all, and condemne none. To what purpose shoulde he haue created them, in case he woulde condemne them? He hateth nothing of that whiche he hathe made, he made all, how then can he condemne them whome he doth not hate? Therefore none shall be damned, but all shal be saued, yea and the Deuils also. They which do beléeue this of God, do not beléeue that whiche is true, but they do suppose the same to be true which is false, bycause they doe not harken vnto Goddes worde, but vnto theyr owne imaginations. And therevpon specially heresies do rise.

2 In the second part of faith, we doe beléeue God also, that is to saye, we do credite and beléeue his worde as the worde of God, of whose truth being a thing altogither infallible, it were a wicked matter to doubte. So we doe beléeue Christ also the sonne of God, whē we do beléeue his word, as the word of the only begotten son of God, sente vnto vs from the father. This is the seconde degrée of our faith, rising vpon the first. For it can not be, but that he whiche dothe beléeue aright of God, should beleue him also in all poynts: or that he whiche doth halt in the first degrée, shuld stand vpright also in the seconde. In this degrée we must also place that obedience whiche Gods word dothe require of the faithfull. Let thē looke well to the matter héere, whiche doe obey rather the doctrines of menne, than the word of Christ.

The secōd degree of faith.

They which do stand sure on both féete in this second degrée of faith, do not only beléeue Christ saying: Hée that beléeueth in me, hath life euerlasting: but they will beléeue him also in all other things whiche he speaketh. You may fynde a passing number, whiche doe beléeue as muche as they do like in the words of Christe, and that which they like not, they do call into question, and tumble & tosse it with muche adoe. Suche as those sayings be: Resist not euill. Item, Men shall giue an accompt of euery idle word. Item, Loue your enimies. Item, He that loueth his soule shall lose it, and, He whiche taketh not vp his crosse and foloweth me, is not a méete man for me: and suche other like, which our reason and flesh doth abhorre. This kinde of men doe not beléeue Christ as Christ, but as saying vnto them pleasaunt things. To beléeue him as Christ or the annointed of God, is to beléeue hym in all poyntes, and not to doubte any whit of any his sayings.

Iohn. 6.

3 In the third péece of our faythe

The thirde degree of fayth.

To beleue in God.

we doe not onely beléeue of God, and God, but in God also. And to beléeue in God, is to direct all our hope vnto God, and with sure truste to depende vpon hys goodnesse. And this is the third degrée of faith, rising vppon the two first. For whosoeuer do beléeue of God and beléeueth God also aright, can not chose, but assuredlye and with all his heart depend vppon the truth and goodnesse of hys promise.

These thrée partes of Faith are trimly expressed in the wordes of Christ, where he sayth: Doest thou not beléeue that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? Item, Beleue me, that I am in the Father, and the father in me. Also, Verely, verely I say vnto you, hée that beléeueth in me, the workes which I doe, he shall do also. And in the beginning of the Chapiter, Doe you beléeue in God? beléeue also in me. It toucheth the first part of our faith that he sayeth: Beléeuest thou not that I am in the father, and the father in me? It behoued them to beléeue that of Christ, whereof the Apostles were yet ignorannt. It toucheth the second part that he addeth, Beléeue me that I am in the father, and the Father in me. He required thē to beléeue him, in so saying. It toucheth the thirde part where he sayth: Verely verely, I say vnto you, he that beléeueth in me, &c. And, Doe you beleue in God? beleue then in me also: By whyche wordes he requireth beléefe and truste in him as well as in God.

Iohn.14.

There is a cleare difference in these thrée partes of our Faith: and that not onely for the order and degrée of them, but also for the apply-

Of the difference of the partes of fayth.

ing of them. The first two maye and ought also to be applyed, not only to God and Christe his Sonne, but to the Prophetes and Apostles also: the thirde belongeth onely to the father, the sonne, and the holye spirite. For we doe beléeue aright of Moses and the rest of the Prophets and the Apostles, that they were the seruants of God, loued of God, and that they spake by the holy spirite. Secondlye, we doe also aright beléeue Moses, the Prophetes and the Apostles, as the seruauntes and messengers of God, forasmuch as they spake thorough the holy spirite. For this faith doth so farreforth derogate nothing from that faith whiche is due vnto God and to Christ, that it dothe rather confirme it in vs, wherevppon Christ sayth also: If you did beléeue Moses, you woulde beléeue me also. For he wrote of me. The third part of oure faith ought to be attributed neyther vnto Moses, nor to the Prophets, nor to the Apostles, no nor yet to the Angels. It is not méete for vs to beléeue in Moses, Prophetes, Apostles, or anye other Saintes and Angels, for it is not méete that we shoulde giue vnto them the honoure of Godhead, which we should doe, if we should depend vpon them in hope and truste. I knowe it is written in Exodus: And they beléeued in the Lord, and in Moses his seruaunt. Againe, And the Lord sayde vnto Moses: Loe I will come to thée in the darkenesse of the cloude, that the people may heare when I doe talke with thée, and that they may beléeue in thée for euer. Wherevpon it might seeme, that we should as well beléeue in Moses as in God himself. Which

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Of what sort of necessaries faith is.

can not be allowed in that sense, as it is sayd, we do beleue and putte our truste in God. The letter *Beth* in Ebrew, doth not signify the very same as oure preposition *In* dothe, as they whiche haue skill in the Ebrewe doe well know. And therefore Hierome of purpose did translate it. And they beléeued God, and Moses his seruāt. Also, And let them beléeue thée for euermore: whiche way the Seuenty translatours did turne it also. The Hebrewes haue this manner of speches whiche we do call the Ebrewe phrase. Let the learned translatoure so translate it, that it hurt not ỳ sense. Therefore Augustine sayd aryghte: We do beléeue Paule, but we do not beleue in Paule, we do beleue Peter, but we do not beleue in Peter. Item vpon Christes wordes: do you beleue in God? beleue in me also: It followeth (saith he) that in case you do beleue in God, you must beleue in mée also, which truly should not folow, if Christ were not God. Let them loke vnto the matter then, that require ỳ faithful to beléeue in Saincts. They doe most grieuously sinne agaynste God and against his Saincte also, vnto whome they doe giue againste their will the same, which belongeth only vnto God: for it should not belōg vnto Christ nother, vnlesse he were God. Thus farre let vs haue spoken by the way of the thrée partes of faith, and of their degrées and differences.

III. Hovve necessary Fayth is.

Thirdly, we muste sée for the necessitie of Faith. There be sundry sortes of necessary things, according to the sundrye causes of the necessities, of which it is no time nowe to speake. Faith is of that sort of necessaries, whiche be therefore necessarie, for that they be necessary to atteyne some thing, and necessary else of themselues forced of no cause, nor bringing any compulsion against a mās will, as those things be which can not be otherwise. Suche is not the necessitie of Faithe. For no man is compelled agaynste his will to beléeue: but like as it is requisite of necessitie for a man that will sée, to opē his eyes, so it is necessarye also that we haue faith, to obteyn those things which are promised in Christ, by the grace of God. But if a man haue no minde vnto them, there is nothing to compell him to beléeue. As if a man list not to sée, he is not compelled of necessitie to open hys eyes. But in case he haue a lust to sée, or muste nedes sée, then he must in anye wise of necessitie open hys eyes to sée. In like manner they that haue no care for the euerlasting saluation, they be not compelled by any necessitie to beléeue, for they maye perishe without faithe: but they that doe desyre to bée saued, must of necessity thynke vpon faith, without the whiche they can not be saued.

Wherefore faith is necessary to the disposition of God.

And that the same faith (whereof we spake and sayde that it is onely true and christian) is necessarye to obteyne saluation, we may firste vnderstande by that that the nature and disposition of God is suche, that no vnfaithfull person can please hym. For how should the vnfaithfull person please him, who is the moste true and faithfull of all? Therevpon

commeth

Heb.11.

connecth that saying to ỹ Ebrewes: Without faith it is not possible that any man should please God. If no man can please God without faithe, it followeth that no man can be blessed without faith. For how can he be blessed, which pleaseth not God: But he that is vnfaithfull dothe not beleeue, *Ergo*, &c. There is suche an other matter in this, that the proude men do not please God: for God is against them. *Ergo* the proude bee not saued. The humble do please him, for he dothe giue them grace. *Ergo*, it is impossible to please God without humblenesse. Item. He that is impenitent pleaseth not God. For the Apostle sayth: According to the impenitent heart thou doest lay vppe the wrath of God for thee. *Ergo*, without repentance it is not possible to please God. So that repentance is necessary vnto saluation, as faith is also and true humblenesse of hart. Why? bycause God will haue it so.

1.Pet.5.

The pure pose of God.

2 Secondly, we must consider the speciall purpose of God in that that it pleased him, bycause the worlde knew not his wisedome by their own wisedome, to saue such as would beleeue in him by ỹ foolishnesse of preaching. Our Saviour said: that the father gaue his sonne to that intente and purpose, that whosoeuer doe beleeue in him, shoulde not perishe, but haue life euerlasting. And the Apostle sayeth: that God set his sonne to be a propiciation through faith in his bloud. So that faith is necessary also vnto saluation, in this respect of the counsell and purpose of God, as learning is necessary for the obtainement of the honoures appoynted for learned men. For who can obteyne saluation withoute thys meane of counsell and purpose? This is Gods will, that they whiche doe beleeue in Christe his sonne, shoulde be saued. For the saluation standeth in hys will and in his hands, which he dothe bestowe accoyding vnto his wil and not oures. And it is not our parte to contende with the purpose and counsell of God, and to wrastle agaynste his will, and search why he did so determine, that they whiche do beleeue in Christe shoulde be saued: but it is conueniente for vs, rather to adore and beseeke this his will with most deepe affections, that it maye please hym to giue vs thys faith, withoute whych we can not be saued.

1.Cor.1. Iohn.3.

Rom.3.

3 Thirdly, the quality of this present life and of this our pilgrimage, wherein we be yet straungers from God, not present in his sighte, dothe bryng also the necessitie of faithe in vs. Therevpon came that of the Apostle. Whiles that we be in thys body, we doe raunge from about the Lord. For we do walke by faith, and not by the thing it selfe. So that thys kinde of life dothe as necessarily require faith towards God, as the life to come hathe no vse of it, when we shal see God face to face, and we shal be openly conuersant in his syghte. Imagine of the case of the sonne, which lyueth like a pilgrime among straungers out of his fathers house. Forasmuch as he is absent from his fathers house, nor can not indede walke in his fathers sighte, he must needes credite and beleeue suche letters and messengers as be sente to him from his father: that is to say, he must in all things rest vpon ỹ fayth of the prouidence, louingnesse and truth

The pilgrimage.

2.Cor.5.

truth of his father, and in no poynte doubt, but that he loueth him derely, and will not fayle hym at hys nede, and that when it is hys pleasure, he will call him home into hys sight. In this wyse the Apostle meaneth, that we be pilgrims from God oure Father in this body, as long as we do dwell in this Earth: and that it can not be, that we shoulde nowe liue before him indede, as we shall doe after this life: and therefore it is necessary that walking by Fayth, we should beleeue his word and messengers, the Prophets, Christe, and the Apostles, &c. till that we shall bee called home from this oure pilgrimage, and set in the sighte of God our father. Wherefore faith is necessary for vs in this respect also.

Iohn.17.

1.Cor.2.

Iohn.6.

4 Fourthly, the quality of those things which be necessarye for our saluation is such, that they must needes haue faith, bycause they can not be apprehended without it: Lyke as mens matters the quality, artes and sciences is suche, that they doe of necessitie require to haue the sharpenesse of mans reason to learne them, for that they can not be apprehended withoute the power of vnderstanding, which beastes haue not, of such nature the things of God be. Lyke as mens matters do require an vnderstanding, so they doe require to haue faith. First of all it is necessary, that we doe knowe that God the father is the maker of all things, and that he made all with his word. And this knowledge can not be attainted by the benefyte of oure reason, but it is attained by faith only. Therefore the Apostle sayeth: By fayth we doe beleeue, that all the worlde was made by the word of God. Secondlye, it is necessary for vs to know, that Christ also the sonne of God is sente into this worlde from ỹ father, to redeeme and saue sinners. Christ saith: Thys is euerlasting life, to know thee God the father, and him whom thou hast sent Jesus Christe, the son. And this knowledge is so incomprehensible to mans vnderstanding, that it semeth rather to him to be verye ranke folishnesse. Therefore it is necessarye, that it be attayned by fayth. So Peter sayeth not simplye, and we haue knowen, but he putteth before it: and we haue beleeued, and then addeth: and we haue knowen that thou arte Christ the sonne of God. Of thys sort are all those poyntes which doe concerne the resurrection, the ascension, the priesthode and euerlastyng kingdome of Christe, that he sytteth and ruleth at the right hande of hys father, and for his comming agayne to judge, with the rising agayne, and life euerlasting to come. All whyche matters can not bee comprehended without Faith.

The vvkes of the holy spirite in the hearts of the elect. *Rom.1.4. & 6.*

1.Iohn.1. *Acts.15. Galat.5. Rom.10. 1.Pet.5. Rom.5. Hebr.10.*

5 Fiftly, those things also doe of necessitie require faithe, whyche the holy spirite doth worke in our hearts to our saluation, when Christe dothe forgiue vs our sinnes for our faythe in his bloud, and so doth iustifye vs: and when he doth make vs the Children of God by adoption: when hee doth purifye our hearts, and maketh vs able by loue to doe good workes: when he stirreth vs to call vpon our father, to withstand Satan: to persecuer also in troubles: and to the looking for of our Sauioure, he confirmeth vs. For all these matters be so wrought in the electe by the vertue

of the grace of Chriſte, that none of them can be done in any man, vnleſſe there be Chriſtian faythe withall. But we ſhall ſpeake of thys when wee ſhall conſyder the efficacie of Fayth.

IIII. Of vvhence Fayth is attained.

Sap. 8.

And this is a great poynt of wiſedome (ſayeth the Wiſe man) to knowe of whence the gift is. We haue the power to beleeue grafted in vs by God of nature. There is no liuing man but dothe beleeue ſomewhat. He beleeueth ſome, and beleeueth not in ſome. For if Eue had not beleeued the Serpent, ſhe had not eaten of the Apple which was forbydden. We ſpeake not here of thys power and kind of beleeuing, foraſmuch as it is naturally grafted in al folkes, but of the faithe in God and in hys Chriſte. The nature of man is ſo throughly corrupted, that albeit wee haue power to beleue, yet we doe beleue nothing leſſe than God, & though we haue ſtrength to loue, yet we can loue any other rather than God: and we ſpeake not of that faith which is an opinion rather than true fayth, & is vpon ſundrye cauſes conceyued in mens minds. Firſt of the wondering at thoſe things whiche are wrought by maruellous meanes beſydes the common courſe of nature. Such was the faith of the of whome it is redde in the Goſpell of John: And when he was at Ieruſalē at the feaſt of Eaſter vpon a holy day, many beleeued in his name, ſeeing the ſignes and tokens which he wrought. But Jeſus himſelfe did not committe himſelfe vnto them, bycauſe he knewe them all, and that it was not needeful that any ſhould beare witneſſe of man, for he knew what was in man. This he ſayth there. Why did not the Lorde allowe their faith? Wherby, bicauſe it was not true and ſincere. They did beleeue for a ſeaſon, and would immediatelyfall agayne to their vnbeliefe. So the Israelites beleeued God and Moſes his ſeruaunte, when they ſawe the Egyptians drowned in the redde Sea, for al that, they retourned agayne by and by vnto their accuſtomed vnbeliefe and hardnes of heart. And that felow Simon Magus, whē he ſawe ſygnes and greate vertues wrought by Philip, was aſtonied, and wondered and beleeued, yea and he was baptiſed alſo, and did ſticke vnto Philip. But howe truely he beleeued, it appeared afterwarde. And the Capernaites, of whome John ſpeaketh, when they had eaten theyr meate, and were wonderfully filled, did ſo beleeue, that they went aboute to chooſe Chriſt to be their King.

Exod. 14.

Actes 8.

John 6.

VVherupon vayne faith doth riſe, vvhich is an opinion.

John 2.

Secondly, the ſame is alſo ſuche a faith, which is conceyued vpon ſome lighte of the truth ſo manifeſtly expreſſed, that reaſon is driuen to agree to it: whiche happeneth oftentymes vnto them, which vpon ſome occaſion do come to heare the worde of the truth, whereof we haue an example in the ſeruauntes of the Phariſies, whych they ſent to apprehende oure ſauiour. For they, when they hearde him teaching, were ſo ſtirred to beleeue him, that they returned agayne to their maiſters, and being demaunded, why they brought him not, they aunſwered: There was neuer man talked ſo as he talketh.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, their faith is alſo alyke, which do beleeue as moued with the authoritie of ſome principal perſons and headmenne. Thus happened to Auguſtine, when hee was infected with the diſeaſe of the Manichees, & came to Millaine to ſee the Church there, and to heare Ambroſe preach. Of whiche matter the ſame is to bee vnderſtanded, whiche he writeth againſt the Epiſtle of Fundamentus, ſaying: Truly I would not haue beleeued the Goſpell, vnleſſe the authoritie of the Churche had moued me. For ſo he is wont to ſpeake, whyche the diligent reader doth knowe well ynough, and as wee haue declared heretofore.

Fourthly, they doe beleeue wyth ſuch a faith, which do beleeue moued by the conſente of the multitude, as they bee now adayes whych do looke for the determinations of the Councels, where thoſe thynges be decreed whych do pleaſe the moſt part.

With theſe we muſt place them alſo, whome long and continuall cuſtome dothe moue to beleeue. They doe alwayes crake vpon I wote not how many hundred yeares, as though that cuſtome without truth were not the auncientie of erroure. We needē not to bee verye buſie to ſearche of whence ſuche faith is, whiche riſeth vppon theſe occaſions. It ſpringeth out of the barren ſoyle of mans reaſon, and it ſwimmeth like a foame in the outwarde partes of mennes thoughtes, pearcing not to the bottome of theyr hearts. And theſe cauſes be of that nature, that they doe not onely deceyue falſe Chriſtian men, but the Turkes alſo in theyr erroures, ſauing one of them whych was the ſecond that we recited.

We doe ſearche for the beginnyng of true and ſincere faithe. The ſame is the gyfte of God, witneſſe the Apoſtle, ſaying: By grace you bee ſaued by faythe, and that not of youre ſelues, for it is Goddes gyfte. And, Euery good gifte is from aboue (ſayeth Jaines) comming downe from the father of lyghtes. Ergo, true fayth is alſo from aboue, comming downe from God the father of lyghtes. So Paule ſayeth: As God hathe deuided to euerye one of vs the meaſure of faythe. And to the Galathians he reciteth faith amongſt the fruites of the ſpirite. And to the Corinthians: But ſeeyng that we (ſaith he) haue the ſame ſpirite of faythe. Where hee ſetteth the ſpirite, for the gift of the faithe, ſignifying that fayth is the gifte of God. And to the Philippians he ſayeth: To you it is gyuen, that you may beleeue in him. By theſe teſtimonyes it is ſufficiētly proued, that faithe is of God, and that it is the gifte of God, and that our deſerte or ſtrength hath no place in it, & therfore it is called by Chriſt in the Goſpell, The worke of God, wherevpon Auguſtine noteth that he ſayd not, This is your worke, but that it is the worke of God, bycauſe you ſhoulde beleeue in him whome he ſente, to the intent that he which dothe glorye, myghte glorye in the Lord.

The begin ning of faith. Eph. 2. Iacob 5.

Rom. 12. Gala. 5. 2. Cor. 4. Phil. 1.

John 6.

This conſideration doth admoniſh vs, that they which doe lacke true faith, muſt crye vnto him who onely doth worke the ſame in our hearts by hys holye ſpirite. For ſo great is the grace of the louingneſſe of God, that he doth not onely promiſe

Men muſt praye for the gift of faith.

like

life and euerlasting saluation vnto wretched sinners, if they doe beléeue in him: but he doth also giue thē this, that they maye beléeue in him. So is there clearely nothing of oure owne in this matter whereof our flesh may glorye. For we be not only so vtterlye lost, that we haue nēde of redemption and forgiuenesse of our sinnes, and the gift of saluation and true life, but our heart and mind is also so deprauate, that we can not bring forth as much as faith of our selues or of our owne, whereby to be made able to receyue the heauenly grace. So that the Lord hauing pitie vpon vs, doth euen the like as a good Phisition is wont to do, which doth not only bring the sicke man a medicine to heale him, but if nēde be, and in case he can do it, he doth ayde hym also in that that he maye be able to receyue the medicine which he bringeth him. No good Phisition doth say to his pacient: Heere is a medicine for thée, whereby thou mayest be healed, take it, and occupy it, or else die. But in case ỳ pipes & passages of his throte and his mouth be stopped, that hée can not receyue the medicine that is giuen him, he dothe most diligentlye trauell by all meanes that he can, to open the pipes and passages that bée stopte, and to make the pacient able to receyue the medicine. So oure most fauourable Phisition, dothe not onely offer vnto vs vndeseruing and lost people, forgiuenesse of sinnes, adoption, saluation, and lyfe euerlasting, but he doth worke thys faythe also in vs, whereby we may be partakers of all this grace and saluation. Let vs therefore whiche be diseased and desirous of our health, saye: Indeede Lord, we do see the medicine readye for vs, whereby we maybe holpē, but our heartes be so stopped, that we can not by faith receyue it: open them therefore, that we maye in beléeuing be able to receyue the same, which thou promisest to them that do beléeue. Let them whiche haue but a weake and small faythe say with the Apostles: Lord encrease our faith. Let them which bée strong in faithe, acknowledge the gifte of God and magnifie his grace. They doe see many that do lacke the same gift of faith. Let them pray to God for them, the author and gyuer of Faithe, that he wyll vouchsafe to gyue them also the spirite of Faith.

A similitude.

V. Hovv Fayth is giuen from God.

WE haue declared that true faith is the gift of God. And Goddes giftes are bestowed two manner of wayes. Some be giuen immediately from him without any ministery of man, as the soule, the life, vnderstanding, will, appetite, of those thynges which do help towards the sustentation of our life, lode, hatred, feare of euill, power to see, to heare, to smell, to taste, and to touche, and those outward things, the Sunne, light, daye, night, ayre, sommer, winter, &c. And some things be atteyned by ỳ meane of mans ministery: as the body, the nutriment of the body, corne, bread, wine, clothes, and suche other lyke, yea and publike quiet by the Magistrate, artes, sciences, tongs, vsage, and experience of things, &c.

Agayne, some things be so giuen, that he which receyueth them, dothe not perceiue that he receyueth them: as when the soule is ioyned to the body, and life put vnto it. And some things are receyued with perseuerance and vnderstanding of the receyuour of them, as those things bée whiche are giuen to men growen to some good yeares, and they maye bée perceyued eyther in bodye as corporall giftes, eyther in spirite as spirituall giftes.

And the faith whereof we do now speake, is one of those giftes, which be both gyuen from God, and are perceyued also when they be receyued, through the help of mans ministery. And that it is so gyuen commonlye, it is sufficiently knowen by the scriptures. The Apostle dothe compare the ministers of Christ vnto planters and waterers and sayeth: Who is Paule? and who is Apollo? They be ỳ ministers, through whome you haue beléeued. He that dothe plante is nothing, and he that dothe water is nothing, but hée that doth giue encrease is God. Hereby I suppose it is manifest ynough, that God dothe giue faithe through the meane of some ministerye, and that the same is by men whome he dothe vse as ministers, to that purpose that we may atteyne fayth by them. Besides that: that God dothe so vse the ministery of men, to the intente that his working may take effect.

Nowe consequentlye we must see how fayth is giuen from God by the ministery of men. For it is requisite that he whiche is ỳ minister of God, shall in any wise bring and applye somewhat that may helpe to the conceyuing of faythe in God. And what the same is, the Apostle dothe manifestly declare, when he sayeth: Howe shall they beleue in him whome they haue not heard? How shal they heare without a Preacher? And how shall they preach, vnlesse they be sente? As it is written: How beautifull are the feete of them whiche bring tidings of peace, & bring tidings of good things. But al do not obey the Gospell. For Esay sayeth also: Lord who hath beléeued our sayings? *Ergo*, fayth commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ. This is there. Whereby it is manifest, that the Minister of God, by whome we must atteine to ỳ faith in Christe, doth bring with him ỳ word, and that Christs word: that is to say the Gospell of Christ, and that faith in Christ is gotten by the hearing thereof. With thys agreeth that saying of Paule: It pleased God by foolishnesse of preachyng to saue the beléeuers. Wherefore Christe also when he sente hys Apostles into the worlde to be the ministers of this Gospell, sayd: Goe into all the worlde, and preach the Gospell vnto all creatures: whosoeuer shall beléeue and be baptised, shall be saued.

Esaie.53.

1.Corin.1.

Marc.16.

So that there dothe concurre in this worke of God, first the grace of God, next the word, thirdlye the minister to preach and teach it, fourthly the hearing of the word, and fiftly the working of God in the myndes and heartes of the hearer. And a most manifest example of this matter was declared in the woman that solde purple, vnto whome the Gospell of Saluation was sent through the grace of God, by the preachyng of the Apostle Paule. The woman heard ỳ same with hir bodily eares,

VVhat things doe concurre herein.

Act.16.

but God opened hir heart to marke it, and to beleeue it.

It skilleth muche vvhat is preached.

The preaching therefore of the word of Christ is necessary. Wherefore they do exceedingly naught, whiche doe eyther withdraw it from the Churches, and withall do masse and bellowe it in a straunge language in the Church, and doe set out to the rude and vnlearned people, deasse & domme Images, eyther do preache any other matter than is commaunded by the Lord. It is a great poynt what the preaching be. For according to the qualitie of the doctrine, is gotten the qualitie of faithe. If Christ be preached, there is bredde fayth in Christ: if it be the prayses of Sainctes, what should there else bée bredde but the faith, inuocation, and worshippe of Sainctes? They that doe preache Mahomet, doe serue the fayth of Mahomet: they that doe extoll the merites of oure workes, doe put their truste in them. And they do most greeuously offend, whiche do despise the ministerye of the worde and the reading of holy Scriptures, as the voyce of man, and as the dead letter, obiecting the saying of Christ against the cõmandement of Christ: All whyche be taughte from God: of whiche matter I wke in my Commentaries vppon John the fyrth Chapter.

VVhether faith be giuen vvithout measure.

Consequentlye we muste consyder that also, that all and singulare the giftes of God, as well corporall as spirituall, whether they bée gyuen immediately from hym or by some meane, are bestowed with a certaine measure. No man hath al poynts giuen vnto him: there is granted vnto no man suche a perfection of anye gift, that eyther he himselfe, eyther a nother can not be made more perfect in the same. Whosoeuer is wise, is so wise in measure, that he may yet be made more wiser. Of that sort be all the giftes of God which be granted to men, and of that sort is the gift of faithe also. This Apostle witnesseth, saying: As God hath deuided the measure of Faithe to euery one. In which pointe these things are to be obserued.

Rom.12.

Firste, that all men haue not one like measure of Faith. There is one selfesame fayth for al, as the Apostle sayth, but it is not so for the measure of faith: but vnto some there is giuen a greater, and to some a lesser measure. Wherefore the faithfull be not all alyke, neyther in those thynges whyche doe growe vppon faith, and doe followe to the same, as in knowledge, in loue and feare of God, in hope, loue of the neygbour, patience, and study of godly life. Yea, ther was also in the Apostles not all alyke measure of faith.

Secondlye, that the measure of fayth is so deuided by the prouidence of God, that there is none of the electe that hath lesse gyuen vnto hym, than maye suffice to hys saluation. The measure of faith hath this in it, that euery man hath a sufficient portion of it. He that hath receyued a greater, hath neuer a whit the greater saluation: nor hée that receyued the lesse, hathe neuer a whit the lesse saluation. So that it is true also in this respect, that which is written in Exodus: He that gathered more, had neuer a whitte the more: and hée that gathered lesse, had neuer a whit the lesse.

But

But as touching that, that there is a greater measure of faith gyuen to some thã to others, it is not without the speciall counsell of Goddes prouidence, whiche doth so moderate those thinges, that there falleth a greater share of faith to them which must abide the more sharp stormes. He appoynteth some to be an example vnto others, and he doth set forth in them certaine, as it were, retracts or patternes of his glory and vertue. Such were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moises, Samuel, Dauid, ỹ prophets, Apostles, and Martirs, & therfore he gaue thẽ a larger measure of faithe, not that they shoulde purchase more saluation by the same, but that they should specially serue to aduance his glory, and be as guides to the weaker. Like as in mans body the bones haue more strength than the flesshe, not bycause that therefore there is euer a whit the more life in them, but bycause they shoulde carrie the weake flesh, and yet for all that touchyng the very lyfe of the bodye, the flesshe hathe neuer a whit the more than the least bones, but they haue all as muche strength as dothe suffise for the felowshippe of lyfe. For there is no one member in the bodye so weake (if it haue the spirite of life) but that it is as true and as lyuely a member of the body, as they that be better and greater: and they be better, not bycause they bée members more than the other lesse, but bicause they doe better seruice to the bodye than they do. In thys wise the prouidẽce of God doth wisely and faithfully imparte or giue vnto euerye member in the body of Christe, that is in the Churche of the electe, a certayne measure of faith, to euerye one as much as is sufficient vnto saluation: and to certayne principall persons, as much as their ministeries or afflictions dothe seuerallye require.

VI. Vnto vvhome faithe is giuen from God.

Some of Gods giftes be giuen to al men, and some not.

For asmuch as faith is the gyfte of God, let vs see next to whome it is giuen. For the giftes of God be so disseuered, that euery mã hath not all them togithe. But some are giuẽ vnto some, and some to others. Some be indifferentlye gyuen vnto all, as those things be whiche are requisite of necessitie for the conseruation of this life, and are bestowed indifferently without respect, to the good and to the euill. Among whiche Christe dothe put the Sunne and the rayne, saying: Whiche bringeth forthe hys Sunne vpon the good and the euill, and raineth vpon the iust and the vniust. But some things are giuen not vnto all: but vnto some certain only, as riches, honours, wisedome, foresighte, strength, and power, but good successe and fortune in gouernance, length of life, and other such like. Of this kinde be also the heauenly and spirituall giftes, which be necessarye vnto true and euerlasting felicitie: such as faith, hope, charitie, patience, ỹ feare of the Lord, the study of true godlynesse, and as such like are.

Matth.5.

So that this wayes, the faythe whereof we doe speake, is not gyuen vnto all men. And therefore it is that the Apostle sayth, For all men haue not faith. And, All doe not obey the Gospell. To obey the Gospell

Faith is not to all men. 2. Thessal. 3. Roman. 10.

is nothing else, but to assente vnto it with true faith, and to repose vs in it with a good and assured trust. Lette this therefore be the first consideration of this place, that the true fayth of Christ is not in all men: that is to say, it is none of those comm̄o giftes of God, which are commonly and indifferently giuen vnto all folkes: but it is one of the special thyngs, which are giuen vnto some few, by the prouidence of God.

Faith is not giuen in respect of our qualitie, merite, or dignitie.

Secondlye, faith is such a gifte of God, that it is not giuen to anyman, nother in respect of our qualitie nor merite, nor worthynesse. For if it were so bestowed, it should be gyuen to the greater, and withdrawen from the baser sort, and so the noble, greate, rych, wyse, and prudent men, shoulde bee founde faithfull in thys worlde: and the refuse, I meane the poore and the base sorte, shoulde bee founde vnfaithfull and vnbeleeuyng. But seeing that the contrary is tryed to be true, as the Apostle dothe testifye and Christ himselfe, it is manifest, that God dothe not giue faythe after the acceptatiō of persons, qualities, or dignities of men, nor yet it is not giuen for the merites of oure iustice. For so it shoulde be giuen to the iust and godly onely, and restreyned from the sinners and wicked: whereas for all that Christ himselfe sayth, that he came into this worlde not for the iust, but for the sinners. And the Apostle dothe testifye of God, that he doth iustifie the wicked and sinfull. Wherefore it appeareth that it is neyther restreyned for that wickednesse gone before, nor is yet giuen for the merites past before. For whome can you shewe me of all mankind so iust before the heauenly grace, that he shoulde bee esteemed worthy of this gifte of God, seeyng that all be sinners, and doe lacke of the glory of God?

1. Cor. 1. Matth. 11.

Matth. Rom.

Therefore, seeing that faith is not giuen for any respect of worthinesse or merite, and is not giuen to all men but vnto some onely, it appeareth ẏ the giuing of it doth depend vpon the free choice of Gods will, so that God hath mercie vpon whom he willeth, and doth harden them whom he willeth, as the Apostle disputeth to the Romaines. Wherefore we doe determine ẏ this grace is giuē to the elect onely, whome God hathe chosen in Christe Iesus before the beginning of the worlde, vnto that purpose, that ẏ glory of his grace may be aduanced in thē. Therefore it is that ẏ Apostle doth cal this faith, the faith of Gods elect. And Luke saith in ẏ Actes: And there beleeued as many as were ordeined vnto life. Of the free choice of God Christ speaketh when he sayth: All that my father doth giue me, shal come to me. And, He that is of God, doth heare the worde of God. Therefore ye haue not heard it, bycause you be not of God. So the Apostle sayth, that the choise, that is to say, the chosen of Israell, obteyned that whyche Israell obteyned not.

Rom. 3. The gift of faith depe deth of the election of God. Rom. 9. Ephes. 1. Tit. 1. Act. 13. Iohn. 6. Iohn. 8. Rom. 11. The pub like pre ching of the gift is not a reiecti Matth. 1

Here vppon men maye not praie, why it should be necessary to preach the Gospell of Christe, the worde of faith, openly before all men, seeyng that faith is not for all menne, but for the elect onely? For as long as we doe continue in this life, the good be mingled wyth the euill, and the electe bee not sequestred from the wicked vntil the daye of iudgement, the

the knowledge of which is reserued not to the ministers of the worde, but vnto God hymselfe, the chooser of them. Besydes that, this is not the onely ende of the preaching of the Gospell, that the elect may be saued, but that the vnfaithfull maye haue no excuse, as Christe himselfe sayeth also: If I had not come and had spoken, they shoulde haue had no sinne, but now they haue no excuse. Another thing is the appoyntment of the Lord, when the Apostles were charged to preache the Gospell vnto all creatures throughout all the whole worlde. And the example it selfe of the Prophetes, Christ and the Apostles dothe defende the publike preaching of the Gospell. For they dyd also without respecte and openly cast abroade the worde of faith and of saluation into the eares of all men, of whome for all that it may not be reported that they did vnaduisedly in hurling of precious stones of Gods grace before swine.

2. Cor. 13.

None m be iudge to be re probate rashly.

Thus muche by the way haue we spoken of this poynte, that faithe in Christ is none of the common giftes of God nor of all, but of the elect onely. Whereby we doe gather, that the same may be a most infallible token vnto vs of our election, as the stubborne vnbeliefe is the token that mē be refused and cast off. The iudgement of chosing and reiecting, are of themselues vnsearcheable, nor the electe can be knowen from the reprobate by any way, but by this faythe, euen as a good tree is knowen by the frute. Wherefore we nede not to bee to busy and curious in reasoning of our chosing and our refusing. Let vs rather trie our selues as Paule doth admonish vs, whether that we be in faith, and Christ in vs or no: or whether we be of the number of the reprobate men or no. The spirite of faith is like fyre in the heartes of the elect, and can not be so hidden, but it will be perceyued. Faithe dothe witnesse of vs what we be, eyther electe or reprobate. But yet for all that we must beware that we be not ouer-rash in iudgement. For he is not straight way one of the castawayes or reprobate which beleeueth not at the present. He that beleeueth not to day, shall beleeue peraduenture then when it is least loked for. The tyme of mens calling is in Goddes hande, whych doth call his elect, some in the morning, some at noonetide, and some at the euening. Yea Paule was one of the elect, albeit that he was called late to the faith, and after the rest of the Apostles.

VII. When Faith is giuen by God.

To vvhom this consi deration i profitable

THis poynte also is not vnprofitable to be considered, specially by them that are enioyned by the Lord to be ministers in his Church, and do minister to the elect towarde the receyuing of faith. They must thinke that forasmuch as this fayth is the gift of God, (as it appeared by that is gone before) so it doth depend nother vpon the merites nor strength of man, that it must nedes followe, that the time of it when it is gyuen, is not in mans arbitrement, but set in the prouidence of God only: who lyke as he hathe chosen whome hee would, so he dothe call them that bee chosen to faithe, by the ministery of

Galat.1.

the ministery of the word, what time soeuer it pleaseth him. Therefore it is that the Apostle speaketh in thys wise of his calling: And what tyme it pleased him, who did set me apart from my mothers wombe, and called me by his grace, &c. he coulde not haue more certaynely spoken of the time of his calling vnto faith, thā to appoynt it to the pleasure of God.

The tyme vvhē faithe is gyuen, is tyed to no age nor no qualitie of life.

And this pleasure of Goddes appoyntment in calling of his elect vnto faithe, is not tyed to anye age or qualitie of life. Some one is called in tender yeares, some other in hys lusty yeares, an other at mans estate, some in their age, some at ẏ last cast of their life. As long as the time of this presente life doth last, so long lasteth the tyme of the heauenlye calling: euen like as it is in the sommer season, some trées are fruiteful naturally in the beginning of sommer, some a little after, some in the middest, some after the middest, yea and some do beare their fruite at the very latter ende. And the trée is counted to be neuer a whit ẏ lesse fruitefull that beareth at the last, than the same whiche beareth in the begynning of the yeare. But the same is vnfruitefull, whiche dothe beare no fruite at al, nother in the beginning, nother in the middest, nor yet at the end of the sommer nother. For when that sommer is once past, there is no hope that ẏ trée which hathe bin barren all that whiles, can beare fruite at winter: bycause that God hathe so appointed that they should beare not in winter but in the sommer season. Likewise he that cōmeth vnto faithe at the last cast of his life, must be déemed no lesse faithfull, than he which began to beléeue in his youth. The historie of the théefe is knowen, who had the gifte of faith euen when hée hong ready to dye vppon the Crosse. But he that is neuer made faythfull at all in thys lyfe, there is no hope of him that he can come vnto faythe in the winter time, which shall followe the sommer of this oure life. For by the death of our body we be drawen thither, where there is no place for fayth, which is both giuen and determined also with this life.

A similitude.

Agayne, some one is called in the very middest of ẏ race of sinne, some other when he is all in the studye and zeale of God, an other in afflictiō and tribulation: some other whē he doth withstand the truth and persecuteth the faithfull, some other in the verye middest of thys worldlye matters. Mathew the Apostle and Euangelist sate at receite of Custome house when he was called, as he hymselfe doth witnesse, which kind of life was at that time and amōg that people of that sort, that the toll takers, whyche they do call Publicans, were reckened for sinners. And the same sinners were such also, with whome Christe our sauiour did eate & drinke, whereat the Justiciaries were offended. The examples of these do sufficiently instruct vs, that sometimes they be called vnto faith in the very middest of their race of sinning, whome God hathe chosen for him vnto lyfe. Secondlye Symeon and Anna the widdow, and Joseph of Aremathia, the Eunuche of Quéene Candace, Cornelius, and Lidda the purple seller, with other moe, were called in their earnest affection and zeale of God. They were called in afflictions

The calling of Mathew Matth.9.

and

and troubles, whome Christe healed when they were euil handled and in miserable case, whose wretchednesse was the cause that they made so muche hast to the Sauioure. Paule was called in the verye race of hys persecution, when he hadde receyued his letters to goe to Damascus, to persecute the faithfull. The fishers, Peter, James and John, were called when they were busie and occupyed in the affaires to get their liuing, &c. yea and the shéepeheardes also that fed their flocke in Bethleem fieldes, at the time of Christes birth. When we way these matters, we doe easily perceiue, howe little cause we haue to despaire of any age or of any kind of life: nor the time of the heauenlye calling, muste not bée so tyed in all poyntes to the occasion of the Preaching of the Gospell, as though hée should neuer receyue of God ẏ gyfte of faith, whiche doth not beléeue immediately at the first light of ẏ Gospell: & as though they could not come vnto faith, which are entangled in a kind of life that is sinful, or that doth withstand the truth, and do persecute the faithfull. There is no kinde of sinne so enormious, that can hynder this grace of heauenlye calling, vnlesse it be the pride and hipocriste of Scribes and Pharisies. To whome our sauiour saide: How can you beleue which do séeke glory one of another? For God resisteth the proude, & doth detest hipocrites, specially them whiche do cloke their malice by the countenaunce of godlynesse. A man can hardly hope of this kind of men, that they can bée conuerted to the fayth of Christ.

We must despaire of age, nor kynde life.

Before that we doe procéede to that which followeth, I suppose it to be conuenient briefely to admonishe the vnlearned reader of the opinion of them, whiche doe dispute of the faithe of the infantes, supposing that there is faithe giuen to them from God, to some, whiles they be a Christening, to some before they be Christened, to some whiles that they bée yet in their mothers wombe. In my opinion they doe take that worde of faithe for the secrete working of the holy spirite, when he worketh in the electe according to the frée will of God, by ẏ preuenting grace: Wherof I can not iudge. He dothe poure into them a certayne séede of faythe, which is denyed to ẏ reprobate. But when we doe speake of faith, we doe disseuer it from this secrete séede, and we doe defyne what it is, and whereof it commeth, according to the scriptures: which definitiōs no doubt can take no place in the infants new borne, vntil that they may be able by age to receiue this faith. Thus much Augustine also did acknowlege, who writeth this: In déede albeit ẏ fayth whiche doth consist in the will of the beleuers, do not make the child faithfull, yet the sacrament of that faythe doth make him faithfull. For as it is aunswered, that he dothe beléeue, so he is called also faithfull, not by consenting in minde to the matter it selfe, but by receyuing the Sacramente of the very same matter and effect. And in another place he sayeth: Thys worde of Fayth is of so greate strengthe in the Churche of Chryste, that it dothe cleanse the the Infante by hym that dothe beléeue, offer, blesse, and washe hym neuer so lyttle, althoughe hée

Of the faith of Infants.

Epist.23.ad quæstionem Bonifacij.

In Ioan. tract.80.

be not yet able to beléeue in heart to righteousnesse, and to confesse in mouth vnto saluation. Thus sayeth he.

VIII. Of the nourishments of Faythe.

It is not ynough to haue it, vnlesse it be nourished vvhen vve haue it.

NO doubte, it is a singular gyfte to haue faithe, but it is not ynough for a man to haue it, vnlesse that after he hath gotten it, it be continually conserued, encreased, and practised throughout al our life. For Faith is of the same nature that the vertues be, which be naturally poured into vs, and be necessary for the conseruation of this present life: whiche it is not sufficient to haue receyued them, vnlesse they be also furdered and amplifyed, and encreased: as (for example) the power of reason, which we receyued at the first birth of our flesh, whiche must alwayes be nourished, aduanced, and exercised to the necessarye vses of our life. So this Christian faith, whiche is as it were a certayne reason of our second birthe, and newe man, must be fedde and furdered like an infante to the spirituall life.

And whereas we do first treate of the nourishmente and encrease of faith, before that we do speake of the efficacie and working of it, it is not for that that faith giuen by God hath no efficacie vnlesse it be firste fedde & broughte vnto his perfect growth, whereas indéede these matters do so come togither, that it dothe immediately expresse his power and efficacy, according to the present proportion of it, and yet it is necessary withall to be fedde and encreased, euen as that strēgth of life in the new borne childe is both fedde and doth worke both togither: but we doe therefore entreate of the féeding and encrease of fayth first, to kéepe a certayne order in our writing, and to eschew the confusion of the things that we haue to entreate of.

Nowe the nourishment of faythe commeth principally from God, frō whence faith it selfe commeth. Vnlesse that he doe féede & further those things that he hathe giuen, they can not well continue, nor come to theyr perfect vse. For they be not so mad, that they haue no néede of the preseruation and furtherance of their maker, nor he is not such a workeman, that he doth neglect and leaue vnholpen that which he hath once made: but he doth also conserue and furder by his holye spirite those things that he hath made. Therevpon came that saying of Dauid: By the Lordes word, the heauens are stayed, and al the power of thē by the spirite of hys mouth. And our sauioure sayth: My father worketh yet hitherto. It is the part of a natural father, to nourish & set forth the child whiche he hath begottē. Wherfore we must not doubt but that God is so faithful, that lyke as he giueth faythe vnto hys electe, so hée dothe farther féede and conserue the same also in them. And thys maye not bée taken for anye wonder, séeyng that hée dothe the lyke in euerye kynde of séede of thyngs of the earth that doth spring vp and bears fruite, wherein hée dothe worke not only in the bréeding of it, but in the furderyng of it also to perfecte growth. Let vs therefore praye vnto hym, that hée wyll nourish

From vvhence the nourishment of fayth commeth.

Psalme 32.

Iohn 5.

Simill-le.

rishe the fayth in vs, whiche he himselfe hath giuen into our hearts. And let vs say with the Prophet: O God, confirme the same whiche thou hast wrought in vs: and with the Apostles: Lorde increase our fayth: and with the father of the lunatike child: I do beléeue Lorde, succour my lacke of beliefe.

Moreouer, as this fayth commeth of God, & yet is applied by the meane of the worde of grace, so those things whiche do féede and increase it, doe come also of God, but yet they be purchased by certaine meanes, of the whiche the chiefe and firste is the worde of grace it selfe, from whence the fayth springeth, so that the faithfull inwarde, and newe man whiche is borne by the worde of Christe, is likewise nourished also by the same worde that he was borne by, lyke as the infant is nourished and increased by the same bloud that he was borne of turned into milke. So the Apostle doth aduise the faythfull saying: Let the worde of Christe dwell in you plentifully. For the féeding of the Lordes flocke is therin commended to the shepeheardes, whiche is then conuenient & profitable for Christes shéepe, when those things be set forth vnto them, whiche be taken out of Christes worde, from whence they are borne. Looke therefore how cruell and vnnaturall a matter it is, vpō no cause to deny or put of, or to corrupt by minglyng, or to giue ŷ childe newe borne naughty milke in stéede of the mothers milke, whiche is the naturall foode of it. By the whiche euill foode, or lacke of foode, the childe eyther should not enioy, or decay, and die of consumption: so cruell a matter it is, yea more haynous a greate deale, to take away or corrupte the woorde of the grace of Christe, from the Lordes flocke, & to mingle withall the imaginations of men, whereby the new man may cōsume away, not increase but dye, and not be preserued and furthered in true life.

The vse of praying & of singyng.

Secondly, we must ioyne with the worde of fayth and grace, the vse of praying and singyng. In déede there is no néede that the Lorde should be informed by our wordes what wée haue néede of: nor he is not so hard, but that he will gyue, though he bée not entreated by wordes: but yet it is profitable for vs so to aske those things whiche be necessary for vs at his hande, and in praying to practise and féede our faith. But of that matter we haue noted somewhat in our Commentaries vpon Matthew the sixte chapiter. As touchyng the vse of Psalmes, wée may say with Tertullian: Of a suertie, we do féede our fayth with the holy noyses & songes. And of this matter sée in the Preface of our Commentaries vppon the Psalmes.

Apolog. cap. 39.

And the vse of the Sacrament of thankes giuyng, of the Supper and remembraunce of the Lordes death, serue to the same purpose, the signe whereof is set forth vnto vs aright, vnder bread and wine, that is to say, meate and drinke: for when we doe participate of the bread, and of the cup of the Lord, and do celebrate the remembraunce of him, and offer the Sacrifice of prayse, we do practise & féede our fayth in Christe by this holy vse of the misteries, so that increasing therein more and more we may be strēgthned against all the deuises

The vse of the Eucharistia.

and slightes of Satan. And for this cause the faithful ministers and Pastors of Christes churche, ought to sette forth the wordes of the Lordes institution, the exhortation, the exposition of the mysterie, the prayer and the gyuing of thankes openly, and in a tongue that may be well understanded, by the hearyng thereof, the fayth may be feede in the hartes of the godly. So that lyke as Baptisme is the token of our regeneration and new byrth, so the mystery of thankes gyuing, dothe serue for the vse of feedyng and nourishing of the new man.

IX. Of the Increases of Fayth.

After the consideratiō of the nourishments of fayth, we will next in order see of the increase and growings of it. I graunt the matter is large, but we will accordyng vnto our final habilitie loke not the largenesse and deepenesse of it, but to the outwarde and superficiall parte of it onely. And the increase of Fayth is of two sortes. The one is, when the number of the faythfull dothe growe and multiply eyther in some church, eyther abroade in the worlde: in whiche sorte the Apostle sayde, that the worde of the truthe of the Gospel did growe and bare fruyte in all the worlde, in his tyme. And this kinde of increase is in deede very wonderfull, if you loke vppon them whiche then were and nowe be also the myniſters of it, and of howe small beginnyngs it rose and sprong vp. Wherevnto the same is to bee applyed whiche Christe spake of the increases of the kingdome of God, vnder the parable of the grayne of Mustarde seede and of Corne. The power or strength of this increase is decayed a good whyle agone: and the same saying of the Apostle is begonne to bee fulfilled, vnlesse there come a departyng firſt, &c. And yet we shall see at the ende of the worlde, and maruell at that infinite multitude of the faithfull of Christ, whervnto the fayth is growen euē in this naughty worlde.

The other increase of fayth is, when it groweth and increaseth in the hartes of the faythfull. The same hath also his wayes to increase, whereby it wareth stronger dayly by the grace of God: firſte that wee be able nowe to beleeue those things whiche before wee coulde not beleue, although they were neuer so true, and sette forth in Gods worde. Secondly that we may more certainly & firmely beleeue those things whiche wee did before gyue but slender credite vnto. So they saide in the Gospell of John: Nowe we do not beleeue bycause of thy wordes, but we haue hearde our selues, and wee doe know that this is verily the Sauiour of the worlde. The faith of the Thessalonians increased bothe wayes. And this sorte of increase of fayth doth depende vpon the increase of the knowledge of Christe, so that the faythfull be not for naught admonished of Peter, that they shoulde increase in the grace and knowledge of oure Lorde and Sauiour Iesu Christe.

But yet we muste beware, leaſte the same whiche is thought to be the increase of Fayth, be a daungerous arro-

The increase of fayth is of two kinds.

Coloſſ. 1.

Act. 6. & 11.

Marth. 13.

1. Thes. 3.

2. Thes. 1.

2. Pet. 3.

rogancie and pryde. For if fayth doe increase without charitie, suche as they: fayth was to whome Paule sayde: Hyke thou fayth? haue it to thy selfe before God: and doeſt thou stand by faith? be not to highly wise, but feare, it is no sounde increase, but a swelling and a daungerous puffing vp in pryde.

Whereby the Increase of Faith is knovven.

It is the duetie of the Pastor to loke vnto the Lordes sheepe, and to knowe the increase of them, that hee may know howe to dispence the meates of heauenly foode vnto them: and if any rotte or disease come amongſt them, howe to helpe them in tyme. The increase of faith may bee perceyued and marked: firſt in their mutuall loue towarde theyr brethren: secondely, in theyr patience and sufferyng of troubles. So the Apoſtle meante when he sayde: Forasmuche as your fayth increaseth: he addeth, and the charitie of euery of you, one towardes the other, so that wee our selues do glory of you in the Churches of GOD, for your patience and Fayth, in all your persecutions and trybulations whiche you doe suffer. On the other side, staggeryng and carefull feare dothe argue a weakeneſſe of fayth. So it was sayde to Peter: Why doubteſt thou of little Fayth? And they whiche doe starte backe in the tyme of temptation, are tryed to be weake in fayth. So the fayth of Peter was weake, and when he was proued by the maydens worde, and denied his maiſter.

What is the ende and measure of grovving *in Fayth.*

The increase of fayth be agreable to the measure of it.

Saye fayth, There is a meane in all things, and euery thyng hath his ende, and whatsoeuer is more or leſſe, is out of square. We muſt seeke therfore where that there be any certaine meane heard in this matter of the increase of fayth, and what the same is wherin the fulneſſe and perfection of fayth doth conſiſte. Firſte we muſt be out of doubte that there is some measure of faith whiche is giuen of God. Secondly, that al men haue it not alike: Thirdly, that there is gyuen to euery electe person as much faith, as the poynt of his saluation dothe requyre. But I spake of this matter also before in the fifte article. And seing that herein there is no doubte, it remayneth that the increases of fayth be of such sorte, that they doe agree with the measure of the same. For it is necessary, that faith doe take as muche increase, in euery elect, as is requyred to the attaynement of the measure thereof appoynted frō God. An eare of corne of three squares, muſte not haue so muche increase, conſidering the proportion thereof when it shal come to ripeneſſe, as the eare that is of fiue squares. And like as in euery mans body, it is necessary there be increases of the body, according to the measure and quantitie of euery one, vntil it come to the perfect measure, so it fareth with the case of fayth for the bryngyng of it vnto a iuſte measure, sauing that the increase thereof can not be made vp in any certaine number of yeares as the body may, but

needeth

nedeth to haue continuall increase as long as we do liue in the flesh. No man euer increased so farre forth in fayth in this lyfe, but if he should yet liue longer, he mighte still increase therein more and more. Therefore it is that the Apostle when he was at Rome in pryson, and had preached Christ many yeares, wrote vnto the Philippias, saying: Philip.3. Not that I haue now receyued, or am nowe perfecte, but I do follow on, to see whether I can any wise obtayne. Brethren, I thinke that I haue not obtayned.

A Questiō. The question is therefore in this place: Seing that there is gyuen to all the elect a measure of fayth from the Lorde, and that the same is not all one in all men, and yet sufficient for euery one vnto saluation, and is not suche that it is perfected in any certayne space of yeares, but that we muste endeuour and trauayle towardes it as long as we be in this lyfe: what consideratiō may be made thereof, suche as is méete for euery one and common vnto all?

The Answere. Lyb.f.4. What is the increase of fayth conuenient for euery one and cōmon for all. The Apostle doth assoile this question where he sayth, That the ministery of the worde is giuen to the elect by Christe, to this purpose that we shoulde all come to the vnitie of fayth and knowledge of Christe, and that we should increase therin to the measure of the age of the fulnesse of Christe, and that we shoulde be no longer chyldren, to be wauering and caryed aboute with euery blaste of doctrine, &c. Whereby it appeareth, how farre forth we shoulde all and each of vs increase in the fayth of Christe. For he dothe appoynt vnto vs mans age, whiche shoulde be so stayed with the practise of matters, and the steadinesse of our sences, that we should not be easily circumuented with vaine and trifling persuasions, made by the crafte of cuill men, as it chanceth sometimes to children. And bycause he would declare also, wherin the perfection of this mans age should consist, that is, least he should séeme to speake eyther of the body, or vnderstanding of man, he doth adde, of the fulnesse of Christ. And the fulnesse of Christe is vsed in this place accordyng vnto the image of his bodily age, wherein he passed ouer his dispensement in the flesh, and is to be considered in two wayes. The first is, that whereunto Christ dothe so increase in the hart of euery faithfull, that he is no longer in them a childe as he was among the Corinthians: but a full and perfecte man. The other is the same, whereby the same Christe taking to him, at the latter day, all his members of whom he is the head, is made in a manner full and perfect.

We muste therfore increase in the fayth of Christe vnto the measure of his age, whiche was of mans state, so that he may also waye greate in vs, and that we may euery man according to his measure, obtaine a ful perfection, soūdnesse and steadinesse of fayth in his body, with the reste of his members as members also our selues. And how necessary it is that in these latter times, we should fede our fayth dayly with a continuall & conuenient kinde of nourishmēt, and pricke vnto his manly strength, the reason whiche the Apostle addeth, doth sufficiently admonishe vs, when he saith: Least we do wauer and be caried aboute, with euery blaste of doctrine,

doctrine, by the crafte and subtletie of men, wherewith they do assayle vs, to deceyue vs withall. For if euer this admonition did serue, it ought to serue at these latter tymes. Lette vs therefore stryre vp one another, that we may the more diligently sal to this heauenly foode, to comfort our fayth withall, the more that our necessitie requireth so to do. The foode of Gods worde is ready, and Christe the feast maker and shepehearde is not out of the way. So that we will dayly desire fully with delight and holy entent to vse ý same foode. Surely the bread of Christe is fatty, méete to fat vp the mindes of the faythfull, if not lothsomnesse do lette vs, and make vs to say with the carnall Israelites: Our soule doth loathe vpon this light meate.

Of the Efficacie of Faith.

This place of all others is moste large, and withall most necessary and worthy to be with al diligēce considered & wayed by all the faithful folkes. For all ý which we haue hitherto noted of fayth, is nothing. For what is that fayth which is vneffectuall, but a certayne vayne opinion, whereby no man can be saued: and like a lumpe of heauy matter cōbyng the stomacke, whiche can not nourrish nor come to disgestion. The profitableste way to know any thing is, to know the strength and vse of it. If a man do know what fire is, how and what way it is gotten, and how it should be mayntayned, and withall know not the strength and vse of it, nor séeke to know it, doth he not lack the knowledge of fyre which is most principall & most necessary to know? Euen so is it with faith. Wherefore seyng that some vnskilfull folkes do iudge, that we be ouer earnest in so wayghty a matter, yea and some other thinke, that in our continuall commendyng of fayth we do of purpose dryue out the matter in length with our aduersaries, it were expedient to take diligent hēde in the cōsideration of this place.

Hovv Efficacie is attributed vnto Fayth.

Galat.5. Hovv efficacie is attributed vnto fayth. The Apostle did attribute efficacie vnto fayth, when he sayth. For in Christe Iesu, nother circumcision is any thing worthe, nor vncircumcision, but fayth whiche is of efficacie and able to worke by loue. Here is efficacie attributed vnto it, not for that that it dothe worke any thing of it selfe, whereas all things are wrought by the grace of Gods worckyng, but for bycause that God doth worke in vs, partely for it, and partely by it. So Christe saith: Be of good comforte daughter, thy fayth hath made thée safe, whereas for all that, the vertue whiche wente out of him, gaue health to the woman, as he sayde himselfe: Some body hath touched mée, for I knowe there is some vertue passed from mée. And we reade in an other place: There wente out a vertue from him, and healed all men. Philip.2. Matth.9. Luce.8.

The Partes of this Efficacie.

This Efficacy of faith hath some partes, into whiche we may diuide it to make the matter the more

orderly, whereof these shall serue for this present. Firste it dothe produce some thing: secondly it doth take hold of some thing: thyrdly it doth worke some thing: whiche we will consider one after another.

Fayth bredeth Repentaunce.

1 Firste of all, as sone as fayth is conceyued by the gift of God, it produceth and bringeth forth, as hyr daughter true repentaunce: and that so sone that it semeth to bryng it with hyr from heauen, as hir waytyng mayde, whereof there be examples in euery place in the Scriptures. Zacheus as sone as he was come to the fayth of Chriſte, sayde: Lo, Lorde I doe gyue the halfe of my goodes to the poore: and in case I haue beguiled any bodie, I doe restore foure tymes as muche, whiche wordes declared the iudgemente of true Repentaunce. And when a greate sorte beganne to beléeue at the saying of Peter, they had a remorse in theyr hartes, and brast out, saying: What shall we do brethren. And, Many of them that beganne to beléeue, came to the Apostles, and disclosed their doings, moued no doubt, by the Spirite of repentaunce. And againe, Many that had folowed curious matters, burnte their bookes of their curious artes in the sight of all men: whiche drewe to the value of fifty thousande pence. It appeareth by these exãples, that fauth doth immediatly bring forth of it true repẽtance, as appeared in the Niniuites. And the Niniuites (sayth he) beléeued in the Lorde, and commaunded fastyng. Therefore Augustine doth attribute the beginnyng of the reformation of the harte vnto fayth. It is a cléere matter therefore, that fayth without repentaunce is no true fayth, lyke as the fyre without warmth, is no true fyre. But as for repentaunce what it is, and what partes it hath, we will declare in a place by it selfe.

Luc.19.

Act.2.

Act.19.

Iquas.3.

Augustin. de perfectione Iustitiæ.

2 I sayde, that fayth dothe take holde of certayne things: whereof lette vs sée for the seconde parte.

Faith doth take hold of reconciliation & iustification.

1 Firste, it dothe take holde of the grace of reconcilement and of Iustification. This the wrytings of the Apostles doth openly testifie. And the Apostle sayth: The rightuousnesse of God is by the fayth of Iesus Chriſte, vnto all and vpon all them that beléeue in him. Item, that he might be counted iuste, and the iustifier of him which beléeueth on Iesus Chriſte. And, Therfore being iustified by faith, we haue peace, &c. But of Iustificatiõ, we wil speake in a place alone. 2 Secondly, fayth doth take holde of the adoption of the children of God, wherof the Apostle speaketh thus: Who predestined vs to be adoptiue children by Iesu Chriſte, vnto him, according to the purpose of his will, to the prayse of the glory of his grace. Againe, When the fulnesse of time was come, God sent his Sonne made of a woman, made vnder law, to redéeme them whiche were vnder the lawe, that we should receyue the adoptiõ of children. And that this incomparable grace of adoption is apprehended by faith in Chriſte, by the singular gifte of God, it appeareth in the Gospell of Iohn, where he sayde: As many as receyued him, he gaue them power to be the children of God, them that beléeued in hys name, &c. And how worthy a matter it is to become the chylde of God, and

spirite God.

Adopt.

Ephes.1.

Gal.4.

Ioan.1.

and how greate a felicitie it is to become the heyre of God: what harte can comprysse, and what tongue is able to expresse it? If wée be the children sayth the Apostle to the Romanes, we be heyres also: the heyres of God, and fellowe heyres with Chriſte. And therevpon he gathereth, that the troubles of this present time, bée not able to counteruayle the glory that is to come, which shall be shewed in vs at the tyme appointed.

3 Thirdly, faith doth take hold also of the spirite of God, the spyrite of the children. So sayth the Apostle: For you haue not receyued the spirite of bondage againe in feare, but you haue receyued the spirite of adoption of Gods children, wherin we do crie, Abba Father. For the spirite it selfe beareth witnesse vnto our spirite, that we be the children of God. Againe: For as much as you be the children of God, God hath sente the spirite of his sonne into your hartes, crying, Abba father. And that this spirite is apprehended by fayth, it is knowen by that our Sauiour sayde: If any man thirste, let him come to me & drinke. He that beléeueth in me, as the Scripture sayth, there shall riuers of liuely water flowe out of his belly. This he spake of the spirite whiche they that beléeued in hym, should receyue. In whome (sayth he) you also, when you hearde the worde of truth, the Gospell of your saluatiõ, in which also when you beléeued, you were sealed vp with the holy spirite of promise, who is the pledge of the purchace of our inheritaunce vnto redemption, to the prayse of his glory. And, Whether haue you receiued the spirite by the workes of the law, or by the hearing of faith? It is manifest therefore, that this spirite of Chriſte is the spirite of the children of God, apprehended by fayth, & that he is the sealyng vp of the elect, and the pledge of our inheritaunce, in as much as he is the spirite of the chyldren and the heyres of God.

The true knowvlege of God.

4 Fourthly, Faith dothe take hold of the true knowledge of God, and of his Chriſt also, which the worlde here can not attayne vnto. The holy spirite doth kindle a light in the hartes of the faithfull, so that they may most certainely know that those things be moste true whiche they do beléeue in fayth. So Peter sayde: To whome shall we goe? thou hast the wordes of eternall life, and we haue beléeued & knowen that thou arte Chriſte the sonne of the liuing God. And Chriſt sayde vnto them whiche beléeued in him: If you abide in my worde, you be verily my Disciples, and you shal knowe the truthe. Whereof commeth that assurednesse of fayth, whereof we made mention before in the definition of it. So Iohn sayde: We know that we be the childrẽ of God. In Goddes cause and religion all things are blinde and doubtfull to mans reason, but vnto fayth they be certaine and cléere.

Ioan.6.

Ioan.8.

Everlasting lyfe.

5 Fyftly, our fayth in Chriſte dothe take holde of the euerlastyng lyfe, in whiche is hée true and moste perfecte felicitie. So our Sauiour himself sayth: That euery one which beléeueth in hym, may not perishe, but haue lyfe euerlastyng. Also hée that beléeueth in the Sonne, hath lyfe euerlastyng. Item: Verily verily I sage vnto you, Hée that

Ioan.3.

Ioan.5.

heareth

heareth my woꝛde, and beléeueth in him whiche sent me, hath life euerlastyng. And agayne: Foꝛ this is the will of my father whiche sente me, that euery man that seeth the sonne and beléeueth in him, should haue life euerlastyng. And in the same. Verily verily I say vnto you, he that beléeueth in me, hath life euerlastyng. And ỳ Euãgelist sayth: These things be wꝛitten, to the intent that you should beléeue that Iesus is Chꝛiste, the sonne of God, & that they whiche do beléeue, should haue lyfe in his name. Foꝛ so it hath pleased God, that by the folishnesse of pꝛeachyng, he would saue the beléeuers, and that the Gospell of Chꝛiste should be his powꝛe to saluation vnto euery beléeuer.

Ioan.6.

Ioan.20.

6 Sirdly, sayth dothe take holde of the giftes of God whithe we do requeste of him, the attaynement of the whiche, can not be hoped foꝛ, noꝛ trusted vpõ without sayth. Many places of the wꝛytings of the Gospell do testifie of this, as ỳ saying of Chꝛiste: Thy sayth hath made thée safe. And, Be it vnto thée, as thou hast beleued. Wherefoꝛe James sayth: Let hym aske in sayth, doubtyng nothing. And Chꝛiste sayth: Verily I say vnto you, what soeuer you requeste in your pꝛayers, beléeue that you shall obtayne it, and it shall befall vnto you.

The giftes of which we do aske of him.

Iacob.1.

Marc.11.

Thirdly, wée sayde that true sayth doth woꝛke certayne things. And we speake not here of a vayne sayth, vnsufficient & dead, whiche is not sayth, but an opinion, when we do apply our iustificatiõ vnto it, albeit our aduersaries doe lay this vnto our charge. Who is so fonde, that when he dothe attribute these conditions to a trée, whiche can not be but of a good trée, will apply the speach thereof vnto euery trée without difference? Lette vs sée therefoꝛe, what those things be whiche sayth doth woꝛke. And I mynde not to rehearse all, bycause it is not possible to do it, but those things onely, whiche we finde in Scriptures. They be of foure soꝛtes. Foꝛ some things it woꝛketh towards God, some things towards our neighbour, some things towarde the beléeuer himselfe, yea and some things agaynst Satan: whiche we will briefly runne ouer.

Faith dothe vvorke foure vvais

A Similitude.

1 Firste of all, sayth dothe woꝛke in the iustified people a peaceable, quiet, good, and contented conscience towardes God thꝛough Chꝛiste. So ỳ Apostle doth testifie, saying: Therefoꝛe beyng iustified by faith we haue peace towardes God, by our Lorde Iesus Chꝛist. We sayde before that sayth dothe apprehende the grace of reconcilement and iustification, purchased by the bloud of Chꝛiste: but here we muste marke, that the same sayth doth woꝛke a perseuerance also of this reconcilement in the harts of the faithful, so that theyr consciences may be quieted, & that they may be able to say boldly: Who is it that can not condemne? It is Chꝛiste that died, &c. Without this sayth it is not possible that we should haue a quiet conscience towards God. Our conscience may be made quiet foꝛ a season by the truste vnto mens traditions, but when the perseuerance of Gods iudgement, and the pꝛicke of sinne do rise in our hart, al that vaine truste is ouerblowen like a cloude.

Thꝛ... of ch... torm... God.

Rom.5.

2 Secondly, sayth woꝛketh loue towardes God and his Chꝛist. Foꝛ the perse-

perseuerance of the grace once receiued, and the spirite of the children of God, which we said is apprehended by faith, can not chose but woꝛk this loue in the harte of the beleuer. And that is the matter that Chꝛist doeth set foꝛthe vnder the parable of two debters, saying: When they had not wherewithall to paye, he foꝛgaue bothe. Which of them then loued him the moꝛe? And when Symon had answered: I suppose, he to whom he foꝛgaue the moꝛe. Thou hast iudged a righ: (saith he.) That the loue of the synfull woman came of faith, it is manifest by that that the Lord turned vnto hir, and sayd: Thy sayth hath made thée safe, go in peace. No doubt hir faith hath taken holde of the foꝛgiuenesse of hir sinnes, & had woꝛought the loue towards Chꝛist in hir harte.

3 Thirdlye, it woꝛketh al the hope of the glory of the children of God to come. So the Apostle doeth inert after the commendation of faythe speake of this Hope, saying: And we do reioyce in the hope of the glorie of the children of God. And therupon it is that we reade this in the definition of sayth, to the Ebꝛewes: Fayth is the substance of things which are to be hoped on. Whereby it is sufficientlye declared, that the hope of things to come is certayne and sure by faith. So Abꝛaham beleued vpon hope, contrarye vnto hope, that he might be the father of many natiõs. He beleued Gods pꝛomisse assuredly, and therfoꝛe he hoped that the same should befall vnto him, which he beleued, albeit it were contrary to the hope, that the course of nature could be able to compasse.

Fourthly, it woꝛketh a boldnesse and a sure confidence to come to God in Chꝛist. So he sayth in an other place: By whom we haue boldnesse & entrance with the confidence which is by the fayth of him. To this repayre, the Apostle doth counsell the beleuers, saying: Let vs repayre wi boldnesse to the thꝛone of grace, that we may obteyne mercye, &c. In exaumple hereof is set foꝛth vnto vs in the woman that had the bloudye flixe, who bicause she said in hir hart: If I do but only touch ỳ skirt of his garment, I shal be safe: being boldened with this faith, she repaired to the thꝛone of grace and obteyned hir recouery, &c. And with this confidence & truste, the faithfull do repaire to the thꝛone of grace, not only foꝛ theselfs, but foꝛ others also. So they did, which did let down the man that had the palsey, from the toppe of the house, whose faithe it is sayde, that Chꝛist sawe. They do stoppe & breake off this entrance, which do seke gaine in the church vnder pretence of godlinesse, and do make it a marchandise with fayned and counterfayte woꝛds. Faith must nedes woꝛke the inuocatiõ, adoꝛation, and woꝛship of him whome we doe beleue in. How shall they call vpon him (saith the Apostle) in whom they beleue not? And the blinde man which was made to sée, when he had sayd: Lord I do beleue, he woꝛshipped him immediatly in whome he beleued. Thereof it commeth, that they do call vpon, honoꝛ, and woꝛship Saincts, which do beleue in them.

The bold... nesse to come to God. Ephesi. Hebr. 4.

Math.9.

Mar. 1. Faith doth vvorke in... uocation and vvorship.

Rom.10.

Ioan.9.

The confession of the mouth.

Fiftly, it woꝛketh also the confession of the truth that is once beleued and knowen. So the Apostle doeth

ioyne faith and confessing together, saying: For to beleeue with the hart, iustifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth, maketh a man safe. Item, hauing (saith he) the selfe same spirit of fayth, as it is written: I beleued, wherefore I spake: And we doe beleeue, wherfore we do speake also.

Rom.10. 2. Cor.4.

Sirtly, fayth doth obeye God also when he calleth. So Abraham when he was called, did obeye in faith, to depart into the place which he should receyue for his inheritaunce, not knowing whether he went. And he offered his sonne when he was commanded. So the Apostle doth couple obedience with faith.

Obedience

Seuenthly, it worketh a continuance of dwelling with Christ, albeit that many do fal frō him. Therfore he sayd: To whom shall we go? thou hast the wordes of euerlasting life.

Hebr.11. Rom.1.

Perseuerance.

Ioan.6.

Eightly, at the poynt of deathe it doth commende the soule and spirite vnto the Lord. So the thiefe did vpō the Crosse: and Stephan. And this is the laste worke of faith towardes God. For after the yelding vp of the spirite once, there is no longer place nor vse of fayth.

The commendation of the spirite.

Matth.27. Act.7.

These be therefore the workes of faith towards God, a good cōscience, the loue of God, hope of thinges to come, a boldenesse to repayre to the throne of grace, inuocatiō, adoratiō, and worship, confession of the truthe, obedience, perseuerance, and the yelding vp of the spirit, to goe immediatly vnto God.

Secondly, faith doth also practise his efficacie towards the neighboys. First towardes the fellowes of the same fayth, and afterwards generally towardes all men. For as loue doeth not without consideration and respecte embrace all folkes a lyke, but in certayne degree, the clen and faithfull in one degree, & strangers in an other degree: so faith also which worketh by loue, doeth in this order practise his efficacie, that it doth regard the faithful before al other mē, albeit it desireth to doe good vnto all men. So the Apostle doth teach, saying: Whyles that we haue time, let vs worke good towards all men, but specially towards them which be of the family of faith. It worketh first towardes them an agreemente in Christ, and a linking of one with an other. And the same is of two sorts: the one is an inwarde concord, and ỹ other an outward. Of the inward is spoken in the Actes: Of the multitude of thē which beleued, their hart was one, and soule one. Of the outwarde is written: They that beleeued, kept themselfs together. Therof commeth the affection & linking together of the congregations of the church. And it is no maruel, for the faith in Christ maketh the faithfull to be the children of God, and so to be as brothers one to an other, yea and members in the body of Christ, vnder Christ their head. The history of the faithfull woman is knowen, which could not be restrayned by the threatnings of death, but ỹ she wold repaire to the church of the faithfull gathered together in the Lord, euen at the same very instant, when the Lieutenant of the Emperor Valens was about to send his men of warre to destroy them all.

Faith vvorketh towards our neighbour.

Secondlye, it worketh brotherly affection by Christ, wherby it is able to work. And that the same is the nature of charity, we may learne by the wordes of the Apostle: for the liuely experience of it, is bitterly decayed among vs. And we be well warned howe the members of the bodye of Christ ought to be affected one to an other. But generallye faythe doeth make a mans hart, gentle, kinde, curteous, tractable, lowly, and beneficial towards all men, yea and towards their enimies also. It pitieth, it sorroweth, it reioyseth, it giueth, it comforteth, it feedeth & clotheth, &c. This is the light of good workes whiche Christ doth charge the faithful withall, saying: Let your light so shyne among men, that they may see your good workes, &c.

Thirdly, faith doth worke also towardes the beleuer himselfe. First, patience in all kindes of troubles. And therfore the Apostle did so linke together faith and patience, that the vertue of faith is declared by the patience of troubles. For so we do read there: We must giue thankes to god alwayes for you brethren, as reason is, bicause your faith doeth greatlye encrease, and the charitie of you all, one to an other doth exceede, so that we our selues do reioyce of you in ỹ churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions & affections, which you do suffer, &c. In that he sayd, their faith did greatlye encrease, to declare the same to be true, he setteth forth their large charitie and stedfast sufferance of their aduersitye. Yea and fayth doeth not bryde this patience only, but it bryddeth reioysing also in trouble. The Apostle saith: Therefore now ỹ we be iustified by faith, we haue peace towards God through our Lord Iesus Christ, by whom it is so befallen vnto vs, that we should be leede by faith vnto this grace, in which we stande, & do reioyce vpon hope of the glorie of God. And not that only, but we do reioyce also in our afflictions, &c. Againe, When he would repayre the vertue and efficacy of faith in the beleuers, he saith, that they sustained the violence of their goods with ioye,

Hebr.10.

Secondly, it taketh away the carefulnesse of mind when a man is in daunger. And therupon is that sayd of Esay: He that beleueth, shall not be to hastye, that is to saye, he shall not be carefull or doubtfull, nor he shall not trembe and quake. For he is resolued with ỹ Apostle, to whom he shall trust vnto. Peter trembled vpon the sea for want of faith. Al Israel quaked when they hearde the reporte of the spyalles: but Iosue and Caleb were not afrayd, the one part through the lacke, the other through the benefites of faith. Saul was afrayde, for he hadde but small confidence in himselfe, and therefore he was carefull, and made haste to offer contrary to the commaundement of God. So it doth take awaye also the carefulnesse of liuing, whereof Ioke in Matthewe. For if God (saith he) doth so clothe the grasse of the fielde, howe muche more will he doe so to you, you of little fayth? Therefore be not carefull, saying: What shall we eate?

It taketh away the carefulnes of the minde.

Esayc.28.

Matth.14.

Num.13. & 14. 2.Reg.15.

Matth.6.

Thirdlye, the faithful haue comforts ready in the Lord by the benefite of faith. Wherupon Christ also when he admonished his disciples frō whence they should seeke their comforte in aduersitie, he sayde: Let not your hart be troubled, beleue in God,

It bringeth comforte.

Ioan.14.

beleue also in me. He sayd not, Be of good cheare, they shal die or it be long or it doe trouble you: or, consider that you be in the worlde, the market of all trouble: or, haue a good hope the worlde may change, for the world is ful of changes: but he directed their minde vnto God himselfe, in whome they beleued that they should seeke their comfort in their trouble of him. For there is in none greter goodnesse and mercie, in none greter knowlege of those things wherwith our hartes be tormēted, in none more knowlege and power to ayde, than is in God himselfe, so that he is not without cause called, The father of mercies, and the God of al comfort, by the Apostle. When he saith: You do beleue in God, beleue in me also, he doeth in anye case require them to haue faith. For it is it only ẏ can so apply it self to ẏ goodnesse of God, ẏ it doth perceyue the efficacie & sense therof, and bringeth comfort vnto the troubled harte, when it doeth beleue the promisses, of grace and doth embrace those things which be spoken of God in his worde.

2. Corint. 1.

It notifieth the flesh.

Fourthly, Fayth doth also mortifie the flesh with all the concupiscences therof, and maketh a mans mind humble and lowly, and worketh many other matters in the hartes of the beleuers, which to make short, I do briefly passe ouer: as that it doth clense the harts of the beleuers.

Act. 15.

And that it doth take in hande, and bring to passe harde and dangerous matters for the Lordes sake: as we do reade of Dauid, who being strēgthened with the power of fayth, did manly ouerthrowe Goliath, the Philistians, and the rest of the enimies of Gods people: and of Gedeon also and of others, which by faith did conquer kingdomes, &c. and of Moses, which contemned the estimation of the kings court, and toke part with the afflicted people.

1. Reg. 17.

Fourthly, Fayth is effectuall also against Satan and the worlde. For it fighteth against Satan in our temptations. Whereof the Apostle sayth in this wise: Taking in all thinges the target of faith, whereby you may quenche and vanquishe all the fyry dartes of the most wicked. So that loke what stede that ẏ target standeth the souldier in, to beare of the blowes of the enimie, the same stede faith is in to ẏ beleuer against the temptations of the Deuill. The lyke thing is this in Peter: Be sober and watch, for your aduersarye the Deuill goeth about as it were a roaring Lyon, to seeke whome he maye deuoure, whome resiste you being strong in fayth. But oure aduersaries doe some of them take for their buckler agaynst Satan, I wote not what superstitious and outwarde sacramentes. The faith also of the Electes, doeth ouercome the worlde. So we reade in John: This is (sayth he) the victorie which ouercommeth the worlde, your faith. And who is it that ouercommeth the worlde, but he which beleueth that Jesus Christ is the sonne of GOD? Truely this is a maruellous victory. They which doe seeme to be ouercome, and to be rooted out to the sight of the worlde, are the conquerours of the worlde. And to ouercome the world, is to ouercome al his malice, wisedome, power, and pleasures. And this is done two wayes. First in our

Iudg. 6.

Heb. 11.

Eyphe. 6.

1. Pet. 5.

1. Ioan. 5.

our hearts, when we do treade vnder in our selues the remnaunts of the worlde. Agayne, we do it outwardly also, when we do ouercome the temptations, persequutions, and enticements of the worlde. Thus muche wee haue spoken of Fayth: nowe lette vs see for the Electes, to whome fayth doth belong.

Of Election.

For asmuche as in the former treatie of faithe in the firte Article: cyting the testimonies of holye Scripture, wee sayde, that faythe dothe not belong vnto all menne, but vnto the Electe onely, and that it dependeth vpon the free election of Gods will: I thinke it good and agreyng with the righte order of our places, to say somewhat here of Election, and Refusall, not for that the election dothe come after fayth, as though that we were then elect when we haue begon once to beleeue: but for that that after the consideration of faith, it is not amisse to goe backe to Election, lyke as it were lokyng vpon the riuer we are brought to the spryng and head of the same. Wee knowe that this matter, whiche is playne and cleare of it selfe, is through the scrupulositie of our wittes and desire of contention, made crabbed and intricate. Wherefore as neere as I can, I wil endeuour to speake of it moste simply and briefly, and that only which I shall iudge to be moste profitable for godly persons, accordyng to the certaintie of holy Scripture: as what it is to be elect, whether the election be of God, of howe many sortes it is, when, in what respect, in whome, whiche, what manner of men, and whereunto he hath chosen, lastly whether he hath refused any.

The order of the place

I. What it is to be Chosen.

To be elect or chosen, it is twoo wayes taken in Scriptures. First for that whiche is to be chosen out of others, lyke vnto some certain vse: as if a man hauing power and libertie to chose, do chose for himself that whiche he liketh to haue, albeit that the same whiche he doth chose, be neuer a whit better than the rest wherof he made his choyse, but somtimes peraduenture worse: this wee do see it chaunceth among men now and then, specially when we doe eyther of ignorāunce, either vpon some foolishe affections, chose that whiche dothe beste lyke vs. And I wouldo to God it were not so amongst them whiche haue power to chose the ministers of the Church. Secondly, it is taken for that whiche is excellent and passing: whiche albeit, it be not chosen, yet for all that it is called a chosen thing. So the best Golde is called the chosen golde, & the best and stoutest yong menne méte for the warres, are called the chosen menne. They sayde vnto Abraham: Burie thy dead carcas in our chose graues, that is to say, in our beste graues. So the noble men of the Egyptians which were drowned with Pharao,

To be chosen, is takē twvoo vvayes.

Gen. 23.

Exod. 15.

Esaye. 49.

were called the chosen and and elect Princes. And Esaye saith, that he was set like an elect or chosē arrow, that is, the best & the excellent. And it maketh a great matter, in what sense things be taken that be read in the Scriptures touching the elect of God. Wherfore me thought good to admonish the reder of this point, euē at the beginning of this treatie, that we do take the first sense of this word in this matter, and not the latter. For as much as the latter doeth not well frame with the grace of God, wherunto al this place doth belong. So we doe meane, that they be the elect or chosen of God, which be vpon a speciall purpose chosen and elect by him out of the whole multitude of men.

II. Whether the Election be of God.

This question hath two partes. The first is, whether this may be agreable vnto God, to choose some out of the multitude of men whome he will saue: and that he should not rather indifferentlye without any choyse saue all men, like as he created and made all. The second is, whether that he chose any or no. To the first we do aunswere by the last. It is manifest ynough out of the Scripturs, that he hath chosen some. He chose vs (sayth Paule) before the making of the worlde. Againe: God choose those things which be foolishe. Wherupon Christ sayd also: that there be many called, and fewe chosen. And, that the euil dayes are shortened for the electes or chosens sake. And, That the elect shal be gathered together by the Angels, and, That God wil reuēge his elect. And the Apostle: Who (saith he) shall accuse the electes of God? Therefore seyng that it doth appeare, that God himself hath chosen some for to saue, who is so wicked to call it into question, whether it be lawfull and conueniēt for him to do it or no? No mā that hath his fine wittes, wil denye that God hath not libertie to do with his owne what he listeth. For seyng that he is the Lord of all things that be in heauen and in the earth, it followeth that he hath power vpon all thinges, so that he may indifferently deale a like with al, or els at his own wil choose some out of all, to deale otherwise with them than wē the rest. When he made the worlde, he made it after his own will: when he disseuered those things that he had made, he disseuered them as he wold, heauē from earth, fyre from the water, darkenesse from light, beastes from beastes, plantes from plantes, times from times, and man from man. And how it is conuenient for vs to stande in this, that he hath not power to determine at his own will of the saluation of man? Eyther we must vtterly deny him to be God, and say that he hath not power ouer all thinges, eyther we must grant that he might vpon his owne right and authoritie, and may also yet determine what he will of man. And that he doeth nothing contrary vnto iustice, what so euer he doth determine. This matter the Apostle doeth treate of to the Romaines, vnto whose iudgement we do referre all this question.

Ephes. 1.

That God hath chosen some. 1. Cor. 1.

Matth. 20. Matth. 24. Luc. 18. Rom. 8.

That [illegible] hath [illegible] ty to [illegible] vvhom [illegible] listeth.

Rom. [illegible]

III. How

III. Hovv manifolde the Election of God is.

They whiche bée conuersant in scriptures, do finde thrée maner of elections of God. The firste is of them which are to be saued: the seconde of the people of Israell: The thirde of the ministers. To the third those thinges do belong whiche are read in Numerus. They whome he hath chosen (saith Moses) shall approche nye vnto him. Whome so euer he choseth, he shal be holye. And the other lyke matters which are written in the scriptures, of Priests, Leuites, Prophetes, Kings, and Iudges, they were chosen vnto that ministery by God. Wherevnto those things do also belong, which are in the newe Testament of the election of the Apostles & ministers of Christ. To the second that is to be referred, which is spoken in Deuteronomie: The lord thy God hath chosen thée. And, He hathe chosen thée to be his people. And, This day the Lord God hath chosen thée to be a peculiar people for him. None of these two elections of God, doth of necessitie include saluation. It is manifest that all the people of Israell was not saued, no not they which wer baptised vnder the cloude and in the sea, nor all they which did eate that spiritual meate, and dranke that spirituall drinke oute of the spirituall rocke which was Christ: for many of them offended God, and were ouerthrowen in desert. And Christ when he said: Haue not I chosen you twelue, and one of you is a Deuill? did sufficiētly declare, that Iudas was an elect or chosen, but yet ẏ he was none of them that shoulde be saued. Nor we can not saye of all the Priestes, Leuites, Prophets, Kings, Princes, and iudges which were elect of God and of his people, that they be al saued. Wherefore we meane not to speak presently of these two sorts of election, but purpose to speake of the same only, which perteineth to them that shal be saued: that is to say, the first whereof we spake in the article before. And I thought it mēete to distinct the same from the other two, bycause of the simpler sort, least they might through errour indifferently mistake the one for the other.

Elect. God, three [illegible]

Iudas vvas chosen and not saued.

IIII. When God chose vs.

The holye Spirite hathe not thought this consideration worthy to be neglected, and therfore we maye not passe it ouer vntouched. For asmuch as it doeth alwayes appeare, that there be some elect, least men shoulde fall to reasoning in the Church, when God doth choose his elect: and least their opinion shoulde take effect, which do suppose euen as we men are wonte to doe, that he choseth none but them which be presentlye liuing, and better than the rest: the Apostle did in expresse words set forth this particle, saying: Who chose vs before that the fundations of the worlde was layde. And yet there was no man before the world was made. He choose vs therefore before wée were: so that there can be no occasion for the elect to boast them off. What difference was ther betwixt vs before the beginning of our nature? Surely none at all, but the same whereby God himselfe

Ephe. 1.

God chose vs before vve vvere.

did distinct betwixte vs before wee were extant.

This consideration doth cõmende vnto vs the wonderfull purpose of God, wherein he determined with himselfe vpon our saluation before he made the worlde. For what else is it to chose and elect men that bee not, but to foresee and appoynt vpon their saluation before they be borne? It is an incredible matter, howe great an assurance of saluatiõ there riseth in the hartes of the faithful, of that that they do beleeue, that God had a care of them before the worlde was made, and that they were chosen by him vnto saluatiõ, before that they were. Herevpon they do gather most assuredly, that God can not forsake them after they be made & are extant, whome he chose and appointed vnto saluation before they were extant, and before the worlde was made. For in this election whiche muste needes be of all things moste certayne, all those things be comprehended which do concerne the saluation of the elect. Wherefore Augustine also saith, that the electes can not perishe, because that all things with thẽ doe frame to good, yea their sinnes also. God is not forgetfull, that he hath for age forgotten himself of them, whõ he chose before the worlde was made, all whose names he hath, and the number also. Those thynges whiche be passe and to come with vs, and separated one from another many hundred yeares, yea the very beginnyng of the worlde and the ende, they bee all present in the sighte of God. Wherefore he that shall be lasse borne in this worlde of the number of the elect, shall no lesse enioy this grace of election, than he whiche was borne firste. Our deuises and purposes doe decay in processe of time, but the counsell of God dothe remayne whole and sounde in one lyke, and in the selfesame efficacie vntill the very ende, nor it dothe not ware any weaker for the long trace of yeares. And by this stablenesse, the Church of the elect doth continue still in the worlde, and cannot be ouerthrowen and extinguished by any engines of Satan, or slightes of the worlde, bycause the election of GOD can not be ouerthrowen. And this Churche was chosen before the worlde, to the entent it shoulde be a Schole of Grace in the worlde, and after the worlde is passe, to be the brightnesse of the glorye of God. Wherefore it must of necessitie not onely continue out, as vnoucrcome in this worlde, but at the end it must triumph also ouer the worlde. And this consideration in my iudgement is more profitable a greate deale of faithfull men, than the disputation of some folkes of the number of the elect, whether it may be more and lesse, or not. Which the Maister of the Sentence toucheth. Augustine did acknowledge that the number of the electes is certayne: and it is grounded also vpon the certaintie it selfe of the Election. But to dispute muche of the matter, whether that there may be any thing added or diminished from that number, I thinke it to curious a case for a godly person.

Thus much I would warne thẽ by the way, whiche do reade Augustines workes, that whereas he saith: Wherfore that which was said: For asmuch

Augustin. in Soliloquio. cap. 28.

asmuch as God hathe chosen vs before the making of the worlde, I see not how it is spoken, vnlesse they doe take the word Prescience very warely. For we be elect not only by foreknowing, but by predestening also. In dede Augustine is wont sometimes to vse prescience for Destinie: but it is better to vse the common words of the scripture, and to distinct election and predestinatiõ from prescience. Those things which God did predestinate, he did foreknowe also: but he did not predestinate all things that he did foreknowe, vnlesse we wil say, that he did not only foreknowe the euill things to come, but that he did predestinate them also. And whereas the Apostle doth say: For them that he did foreknowe, the same he did appoynt before, it is not to be vnderstanded of hys generall foreknowledge, whereby he did foreknowe all thynges: but of the lyking, as when we be accounted to lyke the same which we do acknowledge. In the which sense Christ shal saye also: Departe &c. for I knowe you not.

V. In vvhat respect God hath chosen his.

There is almost nothing done amongst men with more speciall respect, thã ỹ chosing of these things, whiche out of manye others we doe take to our owne possession and vse. Diuers men haue diuers respectes, but yet for all that we be commonly enticed all ỹ sort of vs, to chose those things that are to be chosen for the respecte of the quality of them. And we be inclined partly to pleasaunte things, and partlye to things profitable. In pleasant things we doe credite our eyes, by whiche we do put a difference betwixte faire and foule. To the chosing of things profitable, we doe oftentimes vse a corrupte iudgemente, and be therefore oftentimes deceyued. To be short, we doe seeke our selues, and in chosing we do not serue for the profite and healthe of them that be chosen, but for oure owne affectiõs. These be our trades. Nowe lette vs see the trades of God, whether that he in ỹ chosing of hys, hathe anye respect to the quality of them whiche are to be chosen. Firste when he chose vs before the worlde was made, what did he fynde in vs before we were yet extant, in respect whereof he shoulde chose vs? Secondly, albeit that he did knowe before what we shoulde be, yet for all that he found nothing in vs whereby he should be moued to chose vs. We be of nature, all the sort of vs, borne the children of wrath. He knewe before we should be such, wherefore he had cause to refuse vs rather than to chose vs. For we can not saye, that he chose vs in respect of oure godlynesse and iustice that was to come. For if there be anye godlynesse and iustice in vs, it is in vs not as a cause, but as the fruite of the election and grace of God. For as the Maister of the Sentences sayeth arighte, he chose whome he would of his free mercye, not bycause they would be faithfull, but bycause they should be faythfull: and he gaue them grace not bycause they were faythfull, but to the intent they myght bee made faithfull. Wherefore it appeareth, that the choice or election of vs,

is made by no manner of respecte of any qualitie of oures. Therfore it is necessarie for vs, to séeke the respecte of our election in God himselfe, whyche dothe choose vs. For ẏ perceyuing of oure owne vnworthynesse and deprauation, dothe driue vs vnto thys. Dauid sayd: Lord, what is man that thou arte mindfull of him? And the sonne of man that thou doest visite him? We may in this case say much more iustlie: What is man, that thou hast chosen him when he was not? and the sonne of man that thou diddest predestinate hym when thou knewest before that hée shoulde bée naught and deprauate? The Apostle doth so expounde this cause, that hée dothe attribute it wholly vnto God, and nothing vnto vs. He dothe turne the respect of our election vnto ẏ good pleasure, will, purpose, and grace of God, according vnto the good pleasure (sayth he) of hys will. Item, According to the riches of hys grace, and according vnto his good pleasure which he purposed in himself. Item, Predestinat according vnto his purpose. So that these bée the causes of our election and choyce. He hath chosen vs, bycause it so pleased him, hée woulde do so, he purposed so to hymselfe, we must rest héere, and séeke no causes of these causes. We must not vppon an vngodly rashnesse searche and trauell, why it hathe so pleased hym, why he would and purposed so to do, but we must impute it vnto the infinite goodnesse and riches of hys grace. Christ our sauioure when he had sayd: I thanke thée father, Lord of heauen and earthe, for that thou hast hydden those thinges from the wise and cunning men, and hast opened them to the little ones: he did referre the cause héereof to nothing else, but to the good pleasure of God his father, adding and saying: Surely father, bycause it was so liking in thy sight. And the Apostle when hée disputed of election and refusing, hée doth openly and stedfastly referre the causes of both to the will of God, saying: He hath mercie vpon whome he wyll, and hardeneth whome hée will. Therefore, we must consider the certaynetie of oure election and saluation, in that that it is grounded vpon his good pleasure, will and purpose, whose will is most frée, interest and ryghte moste hyghest ouer all things, truth immutable, pleasure stedfast for euer, purpose most effectuall, and power subiecte vnto no let or hinderaunce. Besydes thys, these poyntes do agrée with the nature of Gods goodnesse, whose propertie it is to haue mercy, and to doe good vnto men. The naturall determinations and purposes in things created and subiecte also vnto change, are wont to be things most fast & firme, howe muche more muste it be so in Gods nature, which can not haue any vnstablenesse? Wherefore it is not possible, that the election of vs, made according vnto hys pleasure, will and purpose, shoulde be altered and made voide.

The respect of our election is to be sought in God himselfe.

Psal. 8. & 44.

Ephe. 1.

God hath chosen vs, bicause it hath so plesed him.

Matth. 11.

Rom. 9.

The certaintie of our election.

VI. In vvhom vve be elect.

Albeit that it dothe appeare that the election of vs is not to be attributed vnto anye respecte of oure qualitie and worthinesse, but vnto the only respecte, will, and purpose of God, and that we can giue no reason for it, but his great goodnesse: yet it is not conuenient for vs to beléeue that it commeth to vs by no meane in which the Maiestie of God did chose vnto hym before the making of the world, men whiche were so far from his nature, and that should be so sundry wayes wretched and miserable. For this election is of that nature, that it can not abide the separation of the choser and the chosen. For like as reprobation doth exclude al manner of coniunction of them that bée refused and the refuser, so election dothe also ioyne the chosen with the choser, whiche knitting togyther of two moste sundry natures, of God & of man, coulde not be made without the closing vp of some mediatoure. Whote and colde can not be vnited, but in some meane, whiche maye receyue both: It was muche lesse possible that man, whiche is colder than any Ice, should be vnited with God, who is a consuming fyre. This is a most cléere case to all men, sauing only to them, whiche considering neyther the hyghnesse of Gods wrath, nor the basenesse of mans weakenes and corruption, doe thinke that they may be ioyned vnto God, I wote not by what rites and workes, withoute any mediator. Nowe who that mediator is, in whome God hath chosen vs before the setling of the worlde, and hathe ioyned vs vnto hym in a perpetuall coniunction, the Apostle doth diligently expresse to the Ephesians saying: Blessed be the God and father of oure Lorde Iesus Christe, who hath blessed vs in all manner of spirituall blessing, in the heauenlye things by Christ, like as he had chosen vs in hym, before that the foundations of the world were layd. Ergo, we be chosen by God the father in Christ his sonne in an euerlasting election before the tymes, that is to saye, before the seasons when the worlde was made. Wherein we doe sée, that it was so determined for euer, that we shuld be saued by Christ the sonne of God oure mediatoure: and that it was so predestinate, that the same eternall worde shoulde bée borne at hys time in our flesh, so that by the same through which we shuld be created by, in him we shoulde bée chosen also to be redemed and saued. This wise oure faithe in our mediatour and sauiour Christ hath a most auncient foundation, that is to saye, eternall, and layde before all tymes of the worlde. In this wise also wée were in Christ before ẏ worlde was made, that is to saye, by the strength of this eternall election. He dyd not choose vs as being in him before that we were chosen, but he chose vs to the intente that we should be in hym and bée saued by him. Chrysostome doth take the Gréeke word, In hym, to be al one with that that is by him. But in my iudgemente, like as it is not conuenient, that it should be sayd of Christ as our mediatour, that hée is the chooser of vs: so it dothe not agrée so well to say that we be chosen by him, as that of Paule where hée sayeth, that we be chosen by God the Father in him. God chose vs for Chryste, and hée chose vs in Christ. Hée chose vs for Christe, as for the mediatour: hée chose vs in Christe, as in the head of all them whyche are electe, and to bée saued. And the natiuitie of hys fleshe was not the fyrste tyme that hée was made

The ch[illegible] of vs [illegible] not vvith[illegible]out some meane.

The foundation of our faith is most auncient.

ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτοῦ

God hathe chosen vs in Christe, and for Christe.

made the mediatoꝛ, head, and sauioꝛ of the elect, but he was appoynted so by the Father from euermoꝛe, and we weꝛ choſen in him, & foꝛ him, beſoꝛe that we weꝛ boꝛne. At the ſame tyme when God did determine vpon the head and mediatoꝛ of them that ſhould be ſaued, he did alſo determin vpon them that ſhoulde be ſaued by him as his members: whiche determination the Apoſtle doth call, the election made in Chꝛiſte. Wherefoꝛe we muſt conſider of this miſtery of oure election, not by halfes and by pæcemeale, as they ſaye, but as it is whole and ſound, with both ỹ partes of it ioyned togyther, wyth ſincere faith, with all deuotion, honoure and thankefulneſſe in Chꝛiſt our mediatour, head, and ſauiour. And foꝛ the confirmation of the certaynetye of our ſaluatiõ in our heartes, we muſt ponder alſo with oure ſelues, haiue that the election and choſing of vs is grounded and builded vpon the ſame counſel and purpoſe of God the ſame eternitie, yea and the very ſame certainctie that ỹ miſterie of Chꝛiſt is.

VII. Whome God hathe choſen.

THe ſearching of this point may be thoughte moꝛe curious than is mæte foꝛ a godlye perſon. And in dæde the nature of our fleſh is ſuche, that when we doe heare that ſome be elect of God, and ſome repꝛobate, we will moꝛe of a curiouſneſſe than foꝛ any pꝛofitablenes couet to know who be electe, and who repꝛobate: whiche curioſitie we meane not to maintayne oꝛ fæde in this place. Secondly, it may ſæme alſo impoſſible to attayne to the knowledge of them whiche be electe and repꝛobate, although we doe ſæke foꝛ it neuer ſo earneſtly. And in verye dæde thys knowledge is ſo farre paſſing oure reache, that both conſidering the vnſearchable counſell of God whereby we are choſen from euermoꝛe, and alſo conſidering the baſeneſſe, vileneſſe, weakeneſſe, and the often aduerſitie and trouble of them that bæ elect, it is not poſſible foꝛ the woꝛlde to knowe, who be elect, and who repꝛobate.

But foꝛ all that, this conſideration is neyther curious, neyther incõpꝛehenſible to the electes of God thẽſelues, ſo as it is to the woꝛlde. John ſayth: Dæerely beloued, we be nowe the childꝛen of God, and the woꝛlde knoweth vs not. The ſame which to the woꝛlde is curious and incompꝛehenſible, is vnto vs both pꝛofitable and poſſible alſo to knowe. Wherefoꝛe we may not neglect this conſideration, but we muſt earneſtly gyue our mindes to know the elect, ſo that we do it temperately and with reuerence. And we may not in this poynt ſearch out that eternall counſell and purpoſe of God, wherein hæ choſe whom he would. Foꝛ this dæpeneſſe is vnſearcheable. They which iudge of the elect, muſt nædes be firſt elect themſelues. Foꝛ the repꝛobate can haue nothing to doe in thys matter. Secondly, they muſt not onely be elecꝛe, but they muſt be alſo endewed with the true faith and ſpirit of God. A man may finde ſome that be electe and not yet illuminated, and as long as they be ſo, they can not iudge of the electe. Of that ſoꝛt Paule was, when he did perſecute the Churche of

Iudges impoſſible for the lecte of God to knowe electes. Iohn.

example of Paul

of Gods elect. In caſe he had knowē the electe, he hadde not boꝛne them ſo greate hatred and iudged them woꝛthy to be ridde out of ỹ way. Thirdly, it behoueth that the elects whych muſt be knowen by the electes, bæ ſo inſtructed and informed of God, that when they bæ furniſhed wyth the ſure cogniſaunce of God, they maye be knowen as the like is knowen of the like. Foꝛ before they be called, illuminated, iuſtifyed, and renued, they be as thyngs boꝛne out of faſhion, and can not be knowen, no not to the elected and them whiche be illuminate. Yea, and when they are become alſo elect and illuminate, they be not yet knowen to the elect, vnleſſe they ſæe and tryе them by ſome ſure pꝛoues and arguments to be ſuch. As it happened to Paule, whome the elect and faithfull at Hieruſalem did not acknowledge, no not after hæ was called, illuminated, and renewed: noꝛ they would not ioyne oꝛ enter wyth him, vntill they were by ſome ſure argumentes enfoꝛmed of his conuerſion. As we may ſæe in the Actes. Foꝛ when he came to Hieruſalem, after that he was conuerted to the Lozde, and had defended the faith of Chꝛiſt very earneſtly at Damaſco, & would haue ioyned hymſelfe in the compaꝛny of the diſciples, they were all afrayde of him, and beleæued not that he was a Diſciple. By whiche example we be taught, that the elect be not knowen, no not of the electe, vnleſſe there doe appeare in them certayne tokens of the childꝛen of God. And howe wꝛetched a matter it is, when an electe is neuer a whit knowen by the elect, and ỹ fellowes of his owne faith, thã he is by the repꝛobate and wicked, we nædе not to ſaye muche. Suche darkeneſſe dothe not pleaſe God in his Churche. And therefoꝛe he doth ſo furniſhe and adoꝛne his elect to the intent, that by their mutuall knowledge, they ſhould reuerentlye and louingly one embꝛace another.

VVhiche ought to be taken for elect.

We nædе not to trauell moꝛe curiouſly to knowe the electe. All the faithfull are to be reputed foꝛ electe, in whome there be no apparante arguments that they be out of the true faith, and voyde of the ſpirite of the childꝛen of God. The Apoſtle writing to the Chꝛiſtians not like a captious noter of men, ſayth ſimply and generally: He that bleſſed vs, he that choſe vs, he that did pꝛedeſtinate vs, and gaue vs grace in his welbeloued ſonne, &c. He hadde this opinion and iudgemente of the faithfull without any ſcrupuloſitie, taking them foꝛ electe, pꝛedeſtinate, bleſſed and redæmed. What did he ſæe in them? No doubt, faith in Chꝛiſt and loue to all Saindtes, that is to ſay, to the faythfull of Chꝛiſt. By theſe tokens and markes he knew the elect. Therfoꝛe we muſte iudge alſo by the ſame markes of the faithfull of Chꝛiſt, acknowledging and embꝛacing them foꝛ the electe of God, whome he hath choſen to hym from euermoꝛe in Chꝛiſt. It cannot be expꝛeſſed, howe muche this conſideration doth helpe vs, that we may not onely tye moꝛe diligently obſerue the woꝛke of God in the electe, but that we maye alſo woꝛthely eſtæme one another, and linke our ſelues into a moꝛe ſtreighter knot of bꝛotherly loue. I ſæe not how I can eſtæme and louingly embꝛace hym as a Chꝛiſtian man, of

whome

whome I do ſtand in doubt, whether that he be of the number of the elect of God or not. And I ſée no cauſe why I ſhoulde doubt of his election, whome I can not vppon anye ſure grounde reckon with the reprobate as an vnfaithfull and a ſtraunger vnto Chriſte. I ſée not what reaſon it were to take hym to bée a caſtaway, of whome I am not able truly to ſay that he is a ſtranger to Chriſt, in whome we be choſen from euerlaſting. Therefore what ſhall we do elſe, but iudge that the faithfull and louers of Chriſt be choſen in hym of God the father?

Hovv vve may knovv our ſelues vvhether that vve be elect or no.

Hitherto we haue briefly noted how we may know them whome the Lorde hathe choſen to him from the beginning. And foraſmuche as the elect can not be knowen but by the elect, it remayneth nowe to ſée howe we our ſelues may knowe whether we be electe and choſen or not. In dede we may trye our ſelues by the ſame tokens and ſignes, whereby we do know other, that is to ſay by faith in Chriſt, and loue towards his holy ones, felowes of the ſame faith that we do profeſſe. To this purpoſe was that ſayd of the Apoſtle: Trye youre ſelues whether that you bée in the faith, proue you your ſelues. Knowe you not your owne ſelues that Jeſus Chriſte is in you? vnleſſe peraduenture you be caſtawayes. But there is giuen vs yet for thys purpoſe a more ſpeciall teſtimony of the holye ſpirite, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in this wiſe: Whoſoeuer be ledde by the ſpirit of God, they be the children of God. For you haue not receyued the ſpirit of bondage in feare, but you haue receyued the ſpirit of adoption of the children of God, in whome we do crye Abba Father. For the ſame ſpirite doth beare witneſſe vnto oure ſpirit, that we be the children of God. I beſéke you, what more certayne witneſſe can we haue of the grace of oure election and adoption, than the ſpirite himſelfe of God? If an Angel ſhoulde come from heauen, to bée a witneſſe that I am elect from the beginning, and adopted as a child, who woulde not thinke, that ſuche a teſtimony were to be muche eſtéemed? But the nature of Angels reacheth not to this ſecrete poynte of election which is from euerlaſting, vnleſſe it be by ſpeciall reuelation. But the ſpirite of God being priuie of all ſecretes, can moſte certaynelye of all beare witneſſe of thē. And to whome can he beare more certayne witnes, than to our ſpirite? As long as the teſtimonies of Gods worde do ſtick ſtil in oure eares, and in the carnall vnderſtanding, the perſwaſion of them is very weake: but when the ſpirite of God doth teſtifie vnto our ſpirite of the grace of our election and adoption, then we be without all doubte. Therefore the faithfull perſon is endewed with ỹ holy ſpirite, and aſſertayned by the teſtimony of hym, of the grace of our election and adeption, and conſequently of our redemption and eternall ſaluation. And vpon this aſſurednes he doth ſay with the Prophet: Lord kéepe my ſoule, for I am holye. And with the Churche of the elect: Bleſſed be God and Father of oure Lorde Jeſus Chriſte, who hath choſen vs, who hath predeſtinated vs, who hath adopted vs and gyuen vs grace in hys beloued ſonne. He that hath in himſelfe no fælyng of

2. Cor. 13.

Rom. 8.

See Auguſtine. Pſalm. 85.

of this election, how can he ſay wyth thankes giuing: Bleſſed be God that hath choſen vs? For vnleſſe he do acknowledge that this grace of God is in him, he can not account himſelfe with the Church of the elect. The Apoſtle might haue ſayd: Which choſe and predeſtined you, &c. But foraſmuch as he was one of the elect himſelf, and did acknowledge this grace of God in himſelfe, whereby he was a member of the body of the Church of the elect, he ſayde not, which choſe you, but, whō choſe vs, &c. For hée wrote as an electe to the electe, of the common grace of their election, adoption, redemption, and ſaluation. So that we doe ſée by this conſideration, how farre they be from this aſſuredneſſe of the heauenlye grace, which do iudge that this doctrine of election and predeſtination is ſo darke, yea ſo perillous, that they woulde haue no mention made of it in the Churche, whereas the moſte aſſured ankerholde of our ſaluation doth conſiſt in it. If they bée true Chriſtian men, it muſt néedes bée ſo found, that they doe truly beléeue in Chriſt. But that faith can not bée in them, which do ſtand in doubt of the grace of election and adoption, out of whiche as of a welſpring, all the gratious giftes of the new borne mā do procéede and flowe.

VIII. What manner of perſons God hath choſen.

GOd choſe vs before ỹ we were, as wée haue ſéene before in the fourth Article, and there can bée no qualitie of them that yet bée not. Therefore it can not be reported of him which yet is not in nature, what manner of perſon he is. For to be, is before being of ſome quality, and for a certaynetie, howſoeuer menne doe reaſon of this matter. It is not poſſible to appoynte a man to be of anye qualitie before that he be in déede. Whereforе when we do demaunde: what manner of folkes God hathe choſen from euerlaſting, it is not to be referred to the article it ſelfe, of the time of the election (foraſmuche as ther was yet no articles of time) but vnto the tyme wherein they were long agone electe, which ſhould be borne in thys worlde, from the begynning vntyll the endyng of it. Héere we muſt conſider of what ſort the electe bée when they be borne, and before that they be called vnto the grace of the knowledge of God and of ſaluation: whether that by the difference of the election and reprobation, whyche was done before the making of the worlde, it doth ſo fall out, that the electe bée conceyued, borne, and doe lyue after one way, and the reprobate an other waye. The Scripture dothe teſtifye of the beginning and encreaſe of our kind, ỹ oure nature is infected with ſinne in our very firſt parentes, and made ſubiect vnto death: of whiche matter we ſpake alſo before in the place of the Fall of man.

Queſtion vvhether that the elect bee borne and conceyued one vvay, and the reprobate an other vvay? The anſvvere. 1 Cor. 6.

The queſtion is therefore héere, whether that the ſame infection of ſinne, and thoſe things whiche do belong vnto it, haue place not onely in the reprobate, but in the electe alſo. For this queſtion we muſte harken to the Apoſtle, who writeth thus: Like as by ỹ ſin of one euill, is ſpred

abrode

abroade into all men vnto condemnation, so by the iustifying also of one, good is spredde abroade vnto all men, to the iustification of life. And least that anye man shoulde alleage, that like as the latter vniuersall saying: Vnto all men to iustification of life, doth take place only in the elect: to the first, Into all men to condemnation, shoulde be referred to the reprobate onely, the comparison of Adam and Christe will not suffer it, wherein the euill whiche came of Adam, is imputed vnto all ẏ be borne of him, and on the other side the good vnto al which be iustifyed by Christ. Now in case the reprobat only were borne of Adam, this euill dothe fall vnto them only: but in case the electe do come of him also, truely they bee borne partners of the same euil with the reprobate, from whiche they bee not deliuered, but by the iustifying of Christe only, in whome they be electe also from the beginning as wee sawe before in the vi. Article. And therefore it is, that the Apostle as an elect, writing to the elect, sayth: We were of nature the childrẽ of wrath, like as the rest. And therefore Dauid being himselfe an elect, crieth out with a sorowfull heart: Lo I am cõceyued in wickednesse, and my mother conceyued me in sinnes.

Hebr. 2.

Psalm. 51.

The electe be borne also in sins.

It appeareth therefore, that the elect be borne also in sinnes by the infection of the corrupte nature, and that therefore they be worthy to bee condemned, but that they be saued by grace, is thorough the goodnesse of Christ. And they be not onely borne such, but they doe liue also in sinnes, wicked, sinfull, and enimies of God. For so the Apostle writeth to aduance the greatenesse of Gods loue, saying: For Christe, when we were yet weake according to the condition of the time, died for the wicked. Item, God doth set forth his charitie towarde vs, in that that when wee were yet sinners, Christ dyed for vs. Item, When we were enimies, wee were reconciled vnto God by the death of his sonne. If Christ dyed for the wicked, for sinners and the enimies of God, and the electe bee not suche, *Ergo* he dyed not for the electe, but for the reprobate only: nor he did not reconcile the elect vnto God, but the reprobate onely: and so it followeth, that eyther the elect be not saued, either that they be saued without Christ, which both are agaynste the election whiche was made from euerlasting: and that the reprobate onely be saued in Christe, whiche is proued in verye deede to bee false. Therefore to the intente we fall not into those foule erroures, we muste holde for a certaine vndoubtfull doctrine, that all the elect, as well as the reprobate, are borne of nature the children of wrath, subiect vnto sinne and death: and that they doe lyue in sinnes before that they be called Iustified, wrapt vp in erroures, and serue their lustes, and that they bee not saued but by the grace of the Mediatoure and sauioure Christe. And this determination doth muche auayle to the acknowledging of the free election of God, grounded vpon no merites of the elect, but vpon the only mediation of Christ the mediatour, that there may be no glory left vnto any flesh, but the only goodnesse and mercy of God may be acknowledged and be blazed abroade in the very

Rom. 5.

election also. Wherefore where as we doe reade, that God chose the poore of the worlde, and the riche in faith, heires of the kingdome. &c. it is not so to be taken, as though hee dyd chose them at length beeyng suche before, but that he made them whiche were electe from the beginning to be suche at the tyme of their callyng by the grace and spirite of Christ.

IX. To vvhat purpose God hath chosen vs.

A Man might knowe euidently ynough by that that God vouchsafed to make man at the beginning to his own image and likenesse, that is to say, to the Image of God, that he appointed hym from the beginning to no common felicitie, but to some speciall and excellente happinesse, whiche purpose of his, seeing that it can not be made voide, it muste of necessitie be accomplished in the electe of Christ. But the Apostle dyd playnely expounde thys case, from whence we may seeke those thynges that are to be considered herein: Like as (saith he) he chose vs in him before that the foundations of the worlde were layde, that we shoulde be holye and blameleese before him, by charitie, &c. Item, Who predestined vs to adopte vs to hys children by Iesus Christe in himselfe. Also, That the glorye of his grace may be praysed, whereby he hathe made vs beloued by hys deerely beloued, by whom we haue redemption thorough his bloud, forgiuenesse of sinnes, according to the riches of his grace, whereof hee hathe bestowed abundantly vpon vs in all wisedome and knowledge, disclosing the secret of his wil vnto vs, &c. Item, By whome we be also called into the portion. Item, That wee may be to the prayse of his glorye. Item, You be signed vp with the holy spirite of promise, who is the earnest pennie of oure inheritaunce, &c. This sayeth the Apostle. Vpon the consideration of the whiche, we doe finde ẏ this matter hath two partes: so that the first parte of it dothe concerne God, which is the chuser: and ẏ other part doth concerne vs, which be elect by him. As touching him, hee chose vs vpon no respect of his owne gayne, but to this intente only, that the glory of his grace mighte be aduanced. Whiche poynte the Apostle doth the thirde time beate into vs, to admonishe vs, that in this cause of our election, we ought to glorifie vpon no worthinelle or vertue of oure owne, but vppon the onely grace of Gods goodnesse. There be manye things in God that are worthy most hygh commendation, as his power, wisedome, truthe, iustice, goodnesse grace, and mercy, &c. but yet he chose vs vpon speciall purpose, to thys intẽt, that he would aduance his grace in vs. And this aduancemente of the grace of God, is of that nature, that there doth asmuch abate from it, as is attributed vnto our worthinesse, vertue and merites. Wherefore they do not slenderly sinne against it, whiche do aduance the merites and righteousnesse of them whiche be saued, and do attribute vnto them the cause both of oure election and saluation also. After their iudgemente the Apostle should in this case of our elec-

This finall cause hath two parts.

tion haue commended the glory, not of the grace of God, but of his iustice.

But as concerning vs whiche be chosen of God, we be chosen generally vnto this purpose, to be made happy for euermore. To this poynte of true felicitie those things doe belong, which be rehersed particularly by the Apostle. For what can wee make of it else to be holy and blameless, than to be adopted to be ỹ child of God, to be beloued, redéemed, fauourably pardoned of sinnes, to bée lightened with ỹ wisedome & knowledge of Gods wil and purpose, to be called to the portion of inheritance, to be signed vp with the holy spirite, as the earnest penny of the inheritance, but to be made happy for euer, and to be taken into the glory of the Childrẽ, and to be heyres of God? If the Prophet doe pronounce hym aryghte and to be happy, whose sinnes be forgiué, how much more are they to be counted happy, whiche be chosen to that intent from euerlastyng, that they shoulde be adopted to the children of God, made holy & blameless, and partakers of the heauenlye inheritance? This grace of Gods election is incomprehensible, & therefore can neuer be so estéemed of vs as it ought to be.

Psalme.32.

X. Of the Reprobate.

Contentions touching the reprobate are to be eschewyed.

TO tell you the truth, I can not like their contentions and deuises of them which do so striue about the reprobate in this case of Gods election, (as some do also in the cause of the Lordes supper, aboute the eating and receyuing of the wicked) that they do make the whole matter odious, and the worse misliked for their striuing, and they doe entangle (which is much to be pitied) the frée grace of election, wherein consisteth the foundation of our saluation, and wrappe it as much as lyeth in them, in most grosse darkenesse. Surely I do so much estéeme the grace of election, (whereof I haue hitherto spoken more slenderly than the matter requireth,) that I thinke it not necessary as muche as to thinke vppon the reprobate, much lesse so sharplye to contend of them in Gods Church. The Apostle did talke largelye of this grace to commend it to ỹ faythfull: but as for the reprobate, he dyd scarsely touche of them in one or two places.

But forasmuche as those thynges be true whiche we haue before spoken out of the Apostle of the election and the electes, it must néedes follow that there be some reprobate, that is to saye, the same whiche be not of the number of the electe, vnlesse wé will that generally all be elect, which opinion dothe repugne muche to the holy Scriptures. Like as some men be of God, and some be not of God, so some be chosen and some reprobate.

And the Apostle distinguishing the reprobate from the faithfull, sayth: Know you not your selues, that Iesus Christe is in you, vnlesse you bée castawayes? But yet I hope you will knowe that wée bée not castawayes. If all be elect, it is necessarye that none be reprobate. For it is not possible, that he whyche is electe and predestinate, shoulde come to be reprobate and be damned. Wherefore is it

is it then that the Apostle saith héere: Vnlesse you be reprobate, if none bée reprobate but all electe? We muste néedes graunte therefore, that some be elect and some reprobate.

Secondly, we muste graunte that also, that they be called reprobate which be dilyked, or to vse Hieroms words, Cast off from God. The Master of the Sentences sayth: He predestined them whome he chose, and the rest he refused. Item, He refused whom he would, not for any merites which he saw to come, but yet vppon a most right truth, and hidden from our senses. We call not them héere reprobate, which are for their naturall euill reprobate, and not vpryghte and good: as that is called refuse siluer which is counterfait. But them whome God hathe cast off and refused, when he did chose whome hée would. So that in two respectes they be reprobate: Firste, bycause they bée reprobate of God. Secondly, bycause they be euill and reprobate of theyr natural malice. In these later ways they be also reprobate, which do appertayne to the number of the electe. For they be also conceyued in sinnes, and of nature children of wrathe, as we declared before. But as the elect be called in Scriptures not reprobate but electe, for bycause of the grace of the election, so these be called not electe but reprobate, bycause of the refusall of them. They doe obiecte héere the words of the Apostle, wherein he dothe speake in this wise of God: For this is good and acceptable before God our sauiour, which would all men to be saued, & to come to the knowledge of the truthe. If God (say they) would haue all menne saued, how can that stand firme and stedfast, that he hath chosen some only to saue, and refused the rest? To this obiection we aunswered in oure commentaries vppon the Epistle to the Romaines in the ix. Chapter. And for this time I will bryng the exposition of Augustine saying thus. Whyche woulde haue all menne saued, not that there shoulde bée no man whome he woulde not haue saued. Whiche would do no vertue of miracles amongst them whiche hée sayde woulde haue done penaunce, if hée hadde done them, but that we shoulde vnderstande by all men all sortes of menne, distributed in certayne differences: Kings, priuate persons, noble and base, hygh and lowe, &c. And a little after: For the Apostle commaunded that they shoulde praye for all menne, and specially he added for Kynges, and them that were in high estate whyche myghte haue bin thoughte to refrayne from the baseneste of the Christian faithe for a loftinesse of courage and worldly pryde. Therefore when hée sayde, thys is good before GOD oure sauioure, that is to saye, that wée shoulde praye also for suche: hée dyd adde by and by to take away desperatiõ, Whiche woulde haue all men to bée saued. This is in that place.

Augustinus in Ench. Cap.102.

And in an other place, hée sayeth this. But as that whyche is sayde, all shall bée restored to life in Christ, whereas for all that many are condemned to eternal death, it is sayde therefore, bycause that all, as manye as doe enioye euerlastyng lyfe, doe not enioy it but in Chryste: so the same that is spoken,

Epist.106.ad Vitalem. 1.Cor.15.

God will haue all men saued, whereas he willeth not to haue so manye saued, it is spoken therefore bycause that all which be saued are not saued but as he willeth, and in case these wordes of the Apostle may be any otherwise vnderstanded, so that for al that they maye not be contrarye to this most manifest truth, wherin we doe see so manye not saued, whereas men woulde and God willeth not. This sayth Augustine. Wherby we do see, that the wordes of the Apostle are not so to be taken that of all men God hathe refused none: but that hee would haue no sorte of men shut out from hys saluation and the knowledge of the truthe. Vnlesse wee doe sticke vnto this sense, it must needes follow that we must say eyther that the wil of God not only can be void, but that it is also made voyde, which is altogither wicked: or else ỹ none is damned, and doth perish, but that all generally be saued, yea, and that no man departeth out of thys lyfe, without the knowledge of the truth, which is openly false. They say how did he refuse some, when he woulde haue all men saued and come to the knowledge of the truth? Lette them aunswere me if this be the wyll of God that none be damned, whether is it accomplished or no: if it bee not accomplished, then it is vtterly vaine and voyde. Contrarye vnto that saying. All my will shall be done. How much better is it that Augustine sayeth in the place before cited. He that is almightye can not will in vayne, whatsoeuer he willeth: And in an other place: The omnipotency of the will of God, is alwayes inuincible. If it be accomplished, *Ergo* no man is damned, there is no man that doth not at some time come to the knowledge of the truthe. And who wyll allowe thys vnlesse he be madde? I saye nothyng, that they do expound the wordes of the Apostle contrarye to the Apostle. For if God wil haue no man condemned, howe dyd hee hate Esau beeyng in hys mothers wombe? Howe dyd hee when hee woulde shewe hys wrath and declare hys power, suffer with greate myldeneſſe of mynde the vessels of wrath appoynted vnto destruction? Howe dothe he harden whome hee wyll? Howe doth hee putte them ouer vnto a reprobate sense? Howe dothe hee sende the efficacie of errour that men doe credite lyes, so that it is very weake whyche is obiected by these men agaynst the manifest truth out of the wordes of the Apostle, if thou aske me when the reprobate bee refused of God, and howe and wherefore, & whether that they may not be altered, albeit I doe thinke that these demaundes bee verye curious, yet I will in fewe wordes say what may be thoughte of them.

Firſt, that for asmuch as the election of them that shoulde be saued was made before the constitution of the worlde, it followeth that the refusall of them whyche bee damned, was made also at the same season.

Secondlye, that they bee reprobate in the verye same that they bee not elected, and foreordeyned to lyfe. So the maister of the Sentences sayeth: that God did from euermore refuse some in not chosing them.

Thirdlye, that we oughte not to searche the cause of our refusall, bycause that it is secrete. It is a wonderfull poynte that suche as the election doth chose suche the calling off doth refuse. And Augustine sayeth, that the cause hereof maye be secrete, but that it can not bee vniuste.

Fourthly, lyke as the elect whiche bee called, when they tyme commeth doe beleeue, repente, bee iustifyed and saued, and can not fall from thys saluation, so wee muste graunt that the reprobate can neyther obey God when hee calleth them, nor beleeue, nor repente, nor bee iustifyed nor saued: and therefore it is that the maister of the Sentences in the place before cyted sayde, that none of them whyche bee predestined can bee damned, nor none of them whiche be reprobate can bee saued. And this we doe saye briefly, without the preiudice of anye person that thynketh otherwyse. But lette all godlye persons beware that they doe not rashly gyue sentence vppon the reprobate, but leaue the iudgemente of them vnto hym, who onely knoweth theyr names whome hee dyd diſſeuer from the number of the elect, before hee made Heauen and earthe, accordyng to the depthe of hys secrete and alwayes iuſt iudgemente. Lette vs as neere endeuoure as wee can, to saue all menne, prayse for all menne, louingly embrace all menne, and lette vs doe good to all menne, and not rashely despayre of anye man, for asmuche as it is hydden from vs what the Lord hathe fynallye determined of euerye man.

Of Repentaunce.

The order of this place.

THe grace of Gods goodneſſe through ỹ whiche synners bee called to repentance by the Gospel of the kyngdome of God dothe passe playnely all estimation. Wherefore this peece of Gods doctrine muſt needes be embraced of all sinners that bee desirous of theyr owne saluation, and with all theyr heart. And would God it had bin set forthe purely to the faithfull in the Church vntill these dayes. Nowe to talke orderly of it, we will see fyrſte what Repentaunce is, nexte from whence it is, thirdlye what bee the parts of it, fourthly what ỹ strength of it is, fiftly of what necessitie it is.

I. What Repentance is.

The Schollers.

THe Scholemen do defyne repentaunce after this wise. Repentaunce is a vertue, whereby we doe bewayle and hate the culs whyche we haue committed, with the purpose of amendment, and wil no more commit that which we may worthyly bewaile. And hereof they wil haue some to be solemne, some priuate, some publike, some after the commō sort when a man confesseth himselfe to a Priest, and some other enioyned by rule for anye deadly sinne, and so they do cal that Penance which is enioyned to the sinner from anye other person, whereas the worde of it selfe indeede, if you consider the nature of it, doth signifye the verye an-

Penance.

guish and sorowe bredde in the heart of him that doth amende, we doe call the same whiche the holy Scripture doth cal in Grēeke μετάνοιαν, Amēdment, when the sinner forsaking the foolishnesse of sinning, dothe come home agayne, and alter his olde purpose of minde vnto a better way. Of whiche worde Lactantius writeth thus: He that dothe forthinke his doyng, doth vnderstand his old errour. Therefore the Grēekes do cal it better & playnelyer μετάγνωσις, whych is euen the same that μετάνοια is, which we may well call Amendmēt. For he whiche is sory for his misdoing, doth amende and reclayme hys mind from that madnesse he was in, and dothe chastice hymselfe of hys owne folly, and doth settle his minde to lyue better, and wyll be well ware, specially of that that he come not agayne in the same snares. This sayeth he. The penance or repentaunce of the hearte is a parcell of this amendment. The Prophet doth call the same that the Grēekes doe call μετάνοιαν by an other worde after the custome of ẏ holy language, that is to say, the turning, meanyng vnto God. Of whiche the Angell spake vnto Zacharie the father of John Baptist, the Preacher of amendment and repentaunce, saying: And he shall turne many of the chyldren vnto their Lorde God. And therefore the Prophets do so oftentimes say that vnto the Israelites: Turne Israell vnto thy Lorde God. Item, Turne vnto me, and you shall be saued. And, I will not the deathe of a sinner, but that he shoulde turne and liue. And, If I say to the wicked, Thou shalte dye, in case he returne from his sinne: whiche the common Latine translation hathe, and doe repentance of his sinne.

Lactantius Lib. 6. Instit. Cap. 24. Of forethinking.

Ezechiel. 33.

Wherefore by thys vnderstanding it belongeth vnto true repentaunce, that the sinner doe acknowledge his sinnes, and that he be hartely sory for that he hath sinned, that he do amend and change his minde, and the manners of his euill life, and turne vnto God, beléeuing hys promises, beséeching and hoping vppon mercye. And as for the worde, we néede not muche to striue. If a man list to take all these thrée wordes togyther, Repentance or Penance, Amendment, and Turning vnto God, I suppose he shall be better spedde touching the definition of the matter, than if he do stand only vpon the word of penance or repentance, specially in that sense, whiche ẏ Scholemen and Churchmen haue taken it, which we did briefly touche before: That penance which some men doe take, albeit it were according to some rules; and done openlye in solemne pomp, suche as some nations do vse sometimes, when they doe openlye scourge themselues naked through the strēetes, may be counterfayte and come of Hypocrisie. But the same which we do describe vnto you, can abide no Hypocrisie, but it dothe consist only in the truth, without the which it is not only no repētance, but it is also a very mockerye in the sight of the Lord, whatsoeuer be outwardly blazed abroade, according vnto the constitutions of men and the rules of penaunce. The most high penitentiarie Christ, whē he gaue and defyned true penance or repen-

True and full repentance.

Repentance amendment & turning.

repentance, sayd: Goe, and sinne no more. And Ambrose sayth: True penaunce, is to ceasse from sinne. Oure Churchmasters of penance, do bring the worde of Repentance vnto that, that ẏ poore seduced people do thinke that they haue repented sufficientlye for their sinnes, in case they haue obserued the same which was appoynted thē for their penaunce, according to the number, maner, tyme and tide gyuen them by their gostly father: although they neuer felte one iote of true repentaunce in their hearte, nor yet did accomplish it in worke.

& sinne more.

II. Of vvhence true Repentance doth come.

We said in the place of Faith, that Repentance is bredde of Faith. And so we maye iudge righter, than to saye that it commeth of the feare of punishment. For we do speake héere of the repentaunce of the elect, and such as shall be saued, not of the same, whereby the reprobate doe repent of their euill doings, when they be touched with the féeling of the iust iudgemente of Gods wrath, of damnation, and eternall death: the example whereof was declared in Judas the traytour. Like as the reprobate dare not sinne for feare of punishmente, and not for loue of vertue, so whē they do féele the feare of it, they do finde also a remorse of the sinne in their heart, and so doe shewe it also forth: which they would neuer do, in case that they coulde be perswaded that they shoulde goe quite vnpunished. But the elect that be of God, do repent of their sinne as soone as they haue knowledge or vnderstanding that they haue offended God. Which doth trouble thē excedingly although they should scape withall scotfrée.

Augustine sayeth, Grace doth goe before the merite of repentance. Item, No mā doth repent of his sinne, but by some warning of Gods calling. Therfore true repentance commeth firste of the grace of God, secondly of the worde of Gods calling and warning, thirdly of the faithe of the word, without the which the first two shuld be vtterly voide touching the effect, albeit they be of thēselues most good. No doubte, it is a greate good thing to be called to amēdment by the grace of God: but it is offered to the reprobate to no purpose: who although they do séeme to repente at the first, yet they doe not continue in it, bycause they do not hartely & truly receiue the grace of God, but colorably and for a season, whiche the Apostle did feare in thē, whome he aduised that they should not receiue the grace of God in vayn. There be many examples, whereby it is declared that repentaunce commeth of Gods grace by the admonition of ẏ worde, and of Faith. So they repented whiche beleued the worde of grace, spoken by the Apostle Peter. So Dauid repented his sinnes, when hée was warned of them by the Prophet Nathan. And yet for al that Gods hand is not tied vp, but that he may strike into mens harts the féeling of repentance, eyther by some scourges, or some other terrible chaunce: as that was whyche chaunced to Paule, and to the kéeper of the prison.

Augustinus libro epist. ad Rom.

VVhereof true repentance commeth.

2. Cor. 6.

Actes. 2.

Act. 9. 16. The common vvay of calling to repentance.

But that manner of calling to repentance is not cōmon, but very sel-

dome, and of some speciall meaning: but that whiche is common and vsed according to the generall institution of God, is when sinners be called at the tyme appoynted by God, vnto faith and repentance, and to true saluation also, by the Gospell of Grace. The Apostle sayeth: Doest thou despise the riches of his goodnesse, sufferance, and mildnesse, knowing that the goodnesse of God doth allure thee to repentance? *Ergo*, we must giue it to the goodnesse of God that we be callled to repentance. And to Timothe: The Lordes seruaunt maye not wrangle, but be milde towardes all men, ready to teache, bearing gently with the euill, instructing them whiche doe withstande him, in case God may once giue them repentaunce to know the truth, and to returne from the snare of the deuill, &c. Therefore repentance is both the gifte of God, and is giuen also by the ministerie of the worde, doctrine, and instruction, with the worckyng also of the holy spirite. And this the Ministers of the Gospell of God ought to knowe, to the intent they may be the gentler towardes sinners, and apply theyr Ministerie with continuall trauayle and payne.

Rom. 2.

2. Tim. 2.

III. What be the partes of Repentance.

The Scolemen.

Forasmuch as we do sinne when we do offend God, in hart, word and deede, the Scholemen doe make three partes of repentance, as correspondent to the same, that is to saye, Contrition of the heart, Confession of the mouth, and Satisfaction of the worke. But as I sayde before, the contrition of the hearte is the verye repentance. But they do take repentance for the whole and perfecte repentaunce, whereof they doe make these to be the parts.

Therefore the maister of the Sentences doth say: There be three things to be obserued in the perfection of repentaunce, the compunction of the hearte, the confession of the mouthe, and the satisfaction of the worke. So they meane, that the same is a perfect repentance whiche is made vppe with these three partes.

But we doe comprehende it all in the contrition and sorowe of the spirit, in the alteration of the mind, and in the turning vnto God. The Apostle doth call this sorrow the same whiche maketh to repentaunce and saluation. For the same sorow (sayth he) whiche is according vnto God, doth worke repentance to an assured saluation. And this peece of repentaunce is of no small waighte in the sight of God, as we may perceyue by that which Dauid saith: A sorrowful spirite is a sacrifice vnto God, the contrite and humble heart God will not despise. There is included in this sorow a shame also of the sinne committed, and a lowlinesse of mind condemning and setting hymselfe at naught.

2 Upon that, there ensueth an alteration of the minde, whereby the sinner is farre otherwise disposed than he was before. So he dothe change and alter a newe purpose of his former life, in so much that he becommeth a new man. Zacheus being so altered, sayde: Lord I do gyue the one halfe of my goodes to the poore: and in case I haue deceyued any man in any thing, I giue him, four times as much for it. How far wide was he nowe by the benefite of repentance, frō that that he was before?

3 Thirdly, there doth accompanye this sorowe and chaunge of mynde, the turning to God also. For lyke as the sinners minde is turned from God, is farre off, & strange vnto him as longe as it is giuen to the desire of sinne, so it is by repentance turned vnto God, and doth now feare, worship, and serue the same, whome he before despised. These be the partes that we make of repentance, and yet for all that, we do not refuse the confession of sinnes, as farforth as it hath testimonie out of the scriptures. Therefore we will briefly note a fewe points for this present. For vpon Matthew we haue spoken largelier of it.

Of Confesion of sinnes out of holy scriptures.

We doe finde two maner of confessions of sinnes in the Scriptures. One which is made to God, an other to our neighbour. Touching the first, the Prophet saith: I haue sayd, I wil confesse mine owne vnrighteousnesse against my selfe, & thou forgauest the wickednesse of my sinne. And the Publican sayde: God be mercifull vnto me, which am a sinner. This kinde of confession may be made three maner of ways.

1 First alone, as the Publican did, of whom we spake: secondly in common, as when the Church saith with one accorde: Lord we haue sinned against thee. See the example hereof in the bookes of Kings in the wordes of Salomon. We maye take herewithall that confession of the church which is openly made by the wordes of the Minister. Thirdly, it is made by them which doe confesse their sin in presence of the whole congregation. The example wherof is read in Iosue. Where he that hadde stolen of the goodes which were damned at Hiericho, when he was founde out by the lot, he saide: Truely I haue sinned against my Lord, the Lorde of Israell, and haue done thus and thus. Such an open confession was wont to be vsed in the Church, &c.

1. Reg. 7.

Iosue. 7.

3. Reg. 8.

The Seconde confession, is when a man hath offended his neighbour, and repenteth himselfe of it, & doeth confesse it vnto him, and desireth him to forgiue him. Of this Christ maketh mention, saying: If thy brother doe offende thee, rebuke him: and in case he do repent himselfe for it, forgiue it him. And if he do offende thee seuen times, and turne to thee seuen times a day, and saye: I am sorry for it, thou shalt forgiue him. The like matter is in Matthew. If thou doe offer thy gifte at the Altar, and doest remember that thy brother hathe a matter against thee, leaue thy gifte there before the aulter, and goe and be reconciled to thy brother. And this Iames mente when he wrote: Confesse your sinnes one to another, and praye one for an other, that you may be saued.

Luc. 17.

Matthew. 5.

Iam. 5.

By these two kindes of Confessions, we be reconciled bothe to God and to our brethren also: which reconcilement can not be done without the forgiuenesse of sinnes. God forgiueth him whiche confesseth, and

We be reconciled to God & our brethren by two kindes of Confession.

Psalm. 32.

saith vnto him: God be merciful vnto me, which am a sinner. As it appeareth in the Publicane, and the words of Dauid, when he sayth: I haue said, I will confesse my vnrighteousnesse againste me to the Lord, and thou forgauest the wickednesse of my sinne. He doth also pardon him which is reconciled with his brother, for a token of which pardon, he saith: And then come and offer thy gift. Woulde to God, both these kindes of cōfessions had taried to be wel vsed in the church, so that when we were reconciled with God and oure brethren, we might haue more quiet and lesse offence and trouble.

Of the Popish Confession, which men cal auricular.

That auricular Confession is not of Gods law.

WE saye that this was neither of Gods law, nor vsed of the tyme in the Apostles days and the fathers which followed them, nor that it auaileth any whit to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. That it is not grounded vpon Goddes lawe and commaundement, it appeareth wel ynough by that, that neither Christ neither his Apostles gaue any commaundement of it. They doe alledge this out of

Ioan. 20. John: Receyue ẏ holy Ghoast, theyr sinnes whome you doe forgiue, they be forgiuen: and theirs which you do with holde, shall be with holdn.

Matthe. 16. And in Matthewe: I will giue thée the keyes of the kingdom of heauen, and what soeuer thou doest binde vpon the earth, shal be bounde also in heauen, and what soeuer thou doest loose vpon the earthe, shall be loosed

Matth. 8. also in heuen: and the same Christe sayd to the leper: Go shewe thy selfe to the Prieste. And James saithe: Confesse your sins one to an other, and John: If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and iuste to pardon our sinnes, and to washe vs from all wickednesse. They do go aboute to proue by these places of holy Scripture, that Auricular and Popishe confession is grounded vppon Gods lawe and commaundement. Lette vs sée therefore whether they do fully & to the purpose proue that which they affirme. First it is a clere case, that these wordes of Christ to the Apostles, be not spoken of Auricular confession, but of the office of the Apostles, wherevnto they shoulde be sente into the worlde to preache the Gospell. For the which purpose he sayde also vnto them: As my father sente me, so I do sende you also, and then breathed vppon them, and sayd: Receyue the holy Ghoste, their sinnes whose you forgiue, &c. They were appoynted to preache repentaunce and forgiuenesse of sinnes in his name. And they whiche shoulde beleue this preaching, shoulde be saued, and they which shuld not beleue, shuld be subiect vnto condemnation: as he saide in the laste of Marke, the verye same he declared here in other words, saying: Whose sinnes soeuer you do forgiue, they be forgiuen thē: and whose sinnes you do withholde, they be withholden. Therefore the Apostles did binde the vnfaithfull, and they did loose them which repented, and did beleue the preaching of the gospell, wherby they did denoūce vnto all beléeuers forgiuenesse of their sins vnder the name of Christ. What hath Auricular confession to do here? They presse vs that ẏ Lord

saide

saide: Whose sinnes you forgiue, &c. we do laye vnto them also the same that goeth before: As my father sent me, so I do sende you. Item, Receiue the holy spirit. I doe not reade that Christ sent any Confessionaries into the worlde, to searche the secretes of mens hartes, but I do reade that he sent Apostles, and that he gaue thē the holy spirit, by whose instincte and strengthē, they shoulde openlye preache the Gospel of the kingdome, throughout the worlde.

Secondly, we shape them the same aunswere that we did to the other. For it is all one thing. That which in this place he did promisse vnto Peter, he did in the other place after his resurrection performe vnto him and to all the reste of the Apostles. Ierome saith vpon Esaye, We be euery one of vs bound with the ropes of sinne, which ropes and bandes the Apostles also can loose, followinge their master, who sayde vnto them: What things soeuer you do loose vpon the earth, they shal be loosed also in heauen. And the Apostles do loose them by the word of God, and the testimonies of scripture and exhortations, by their counselling of menne to vertue. And also in another place he saith: The bishops and Priestes vnderstanding not this place, doe take somewhat vpon them of the countenance of the Pharisées, that they wil either condemne the innocent, eyther surmise that they do lose the harmfull and guiltye: whereas with God there is no accompt made of the sentence or iudgement of the Priestes, but of the lyfe of the parties.

Thirdlye, as for that whiche the Lord sayd: Verely I saye vnto you, whatsoeuer you do loose vpō ẏ earth, &c. it is not spoken to the Apostles and ministers of the worde only, but vnto the church, yea and to euerye one of the faithfull, as these thinges which goe before and come after do proue: And Theophilactus doth expounde it this waye: If thou when thou art offended do take him (saith he) which hath don thée wrong, as a publican and a gentil, he shal be such a one also in heuen: and if thou doest forgiue him, he shall be pardoned also in heauen. For not onelye these things which the Priestes do loose be loosed, but whatsoeuer matters we also, when we haue wrong don vs, doe binde or loose, the same also be bound or loosed. This sayth he. And Augustine expoundeth the words of the Lord in like wise, saying: Thou haste begon to repute thy brother as a Publican, thou hast bounde him vpon the earth, but sée that thou hast bound him aright. For iustice doeth breake wrongfull bands. And when thou hast reformed the matter and agréed with thy brother, thou hast losed him in the earthe. When thou hast loosed him in the earth, he shal be loosed also in heauen. You maye sée how the fathers sawe not ẏ in these words which the Romanistes began afterwardes to wring out of them, but as though the vnderstanding of them were very harde, they doe pretende that the meaning of them is declared by the practise of the church: and they do call that the Practise, which they might more rightly call the Seducement and tyranny of the Romish route.

In Math. ser. 26. cap. 18.

Fourthlye, it is manifest ynough, to what purpose the Lord said to the

Matth. 8.

lepre

lepre which was made cleane by him, See you tel no man, but go and shewe thy selfe to the Priest, both by the worde of shewing, and by that also which he added, saying: & offer for a witnes to them. It is plaine ynough by this place, how the mainteyners of the Romishe tyrannye do wrest the scriptures. By the order of lawe, this lepre was sequestred from the companye of Gods people by the Prieste, and by the lawe he coulde not returne to accompany the people of God, vnlesse he were allowed to be cleane by the iudgemente of the Prieste. Therefore when the Lord had made him cleane, he badde him goe to the Priest: not to confesse his sinnes, nor to be cleansed by him, but that when he had acknowledged and alowed his cleannsse which was restored him, he shoulde offer, according to the order of the lawe, and that the oblation might condemne the malice of the Priestes, in that they blasphemed him which cleansed the lepres. I besech you, what hold hath the mainteyners of Popish confession of this place? If they thinke that they haue anye, yet this is the conclusion of it, that they only which be clensed must goe to the Priestes, and shew them not their sinnes, but their iustification which they haue receyued of Christ by fayth, to be allowed by their testimonie.

Leuit. 14.

Fiftly, that place of James: Confesse your sinnes one to an other, doth concerne as we sayd before, that confession, when one brother doeth confesse and yelde to an other, that he hathe offended, him and desyreth pardon: he sayth not Confesse you euery man to his priest, and take absolution of them: but he saythe, confesse one to an other, and praye one for an other, that you may be saued. If this was spoken of auricular confession, it foloweth that the priest must as well confesse him selfe to the lay mens eares, and the lay man to pray for the priest to be saued, as wel as the laye man to confesse himselfe to the eares of the Prieste, and the Priest to pray for the laye man. And if to pray, be here as muche to saye as to absoyle, then it doeth not lesse belong to the laye man to absoyle the Prieste, than it doth to the Priest to absoyle the laye man. I thinke that the Papistes will rather loose al the matter, than to take this condition or offer made them, at James handes.

Iames. 5.

This Duns sawe, who wrote this vpon that place. Me thinketh that nother James gaue this for a commandement, nor did sette it forth as receiued from Christ. For first, from whence should he haue authoritie to binde the whole Church, whereas he was Bishop but of the church of Ierusalem onely? Vnlesse you wil say, that the same Church was the principall church at the beginning, and so in conclusion, that he was the principall Byshop, which the Romishe roysters wil neuer yeld vnto. Again he saith not that the confession is to be made more to a Priest than to an other. For he addeth immediatlye, and praye one for an other, that you maye be saued, where no man will say, that he made it as a commaundement as of God: but his meaning is, that as in that word confesse one to another, There is a persuasion to humblenesse, that is to say, that we should

should generally confesse vs to oure neighbours that we be sinners, according vnto that saying: If we say that we haue no sinne, &c. This saith D. Duns, whome for his singular wit, they do call the Subtil Doctor. What is then the Imagination of Eckius, when he saith: Is it true that James did no preciselye determine to whome we shoulde confesse vs, for as much as Christ had already expressed them that do absoyle sinners, therefore it was ynough for James to expresse that which was necessarye to absolution, that is to say, Confession, not telling particularly of the iudge. Howe did he not expresse, who and to whom we shuld confesse, when he doth say one to an other? This Duns sawe, Eckius sawe it not, or els dissembled & would not see it, to hide the truth which he knew well ynough.

Sixtlye, the same which they doe alledge out of John: If we doe confesse our sinnes, &c. it serueth for that confession wherby we humbly in the sight of God doe confesse our selues to be sinners, with the Publican in the Gospell. So Augustine doth expounde it: If thou tell not God what thou art, God doth condemne that whiche he shall finde in thee. Wilt thou not that he shal cōdemne thee, condemne thou thy selfe. Wilt thou haue him pardon thee, acknowledge thou thy self that thou mayest say vnto God: Turne thy face from my sinnes. And say also the wordes vnto him of the same Psalme: For I doe acknowledge my wickednesse. This saith he. Whereby it appeareth well ynough, that these wordes ought to be vnderstanded of the confession of our sinnes to be made before God, as the same also which foloweth doth well declare, when he sayth: He is faithfull and iuste, so that he will forgiue vs oure sinnes: which wordes can be no wayes referred to the Prieste, but vnto God himselfe only. For the Apostle doth commende him vnto vs to be such a one, to the intent we may the sooner be brought to confesse our sinnes vnto him.

Lo these be the weake arguments of the Papistes, whereby they haue driuen the consciences of simple folkes to Auricular confession, vnder the colour that it is Gods lawe and commaundement. Duns sawe that it coulde not be surelye grounded vpon scriptures, and therfore he made this for a verye doubtfull conclusion of that matter, saying: Therefore either we must stande to this, that it is of Gods law set forth by the Gospell of John in the xx. chapter, either if the will not serue, we muste saye that it is of Gods lawe Positiue, as giuen by Christ to the Apostles, but yet set forth to the Church, by the Apostles without any Scripture, as the church holdeth also many things set forthe vnto it from the Apostles by mouth only without scripture, the foundation whereof is that of John: And many other thinges Iesus did, &c. This saythe he. When he sawe that the holy Scripture could not be well applyed vnto this matter, he shifted me in this deuise of the positiue law without writing, which is as easily shaken of, as it is rashly alledged; and can no wyse proued.

ōcotus.

The Gloser of the Decrees. D. pan. di. 5. cap. In pa. nit.

And therefore the Gloser of the Decrees sayth this: But it is better

sayde,

saydo, that confession was institute by some vniuersall tradition of the church, rather than by the authoritie of the newe or olde Testament. Item in the same place. Therefore confession is necessary for meme, among vs which be Latines, but not among the Greekes, for as much as there is not come to them any suche tradition. This saith he. But where, how, and when, was there such a tradition made of the vniuersal church? If the vniuersal Church did so order it, how did it not binde the Greekes but the Latines only? Doeth the vniuersall church consiste only in the Latines? Such vaine deuises as this is they be all, whereby they trauaile to establish this confession, imagined to deceyue the simple, whereas it is a playne case, that it is nothing lesse than Gods law, and commandement of God.

That auricular confession was not vsed in the fathers times.

And that it was not generally vsed in the tymes nother of the Apostles nother of the fathers which followed them, it is manyfeste, firste by that that there is founde no mention of it in the writing, nother of the Apostles, nother of the Fathers. As for that that Socrates writeth of the penitentiarie Priest, of the confession of sinnes ordayned, because of the departure of the Nabatians, and abrogate afterwardes vnder Nectarius of Constantinople for a haynous trespasse of a Deacon. Eckius himselfe is a witnesse, that it was nothing touching this auricular confession, but the same which was of open penance, of which matter see the Triparte historie. Secondly the writings also of the chief of the fathers do sufficientlye teache vs, that this confession was not vsed in the church in their days. Chrysostome saith thus: I do not say to the, that thou shalt disclose thy self openly, or accuse thy selfe vnto others: but I will haue thee obey the Prophet which saith: Disclose thy lyfe vnto the Lord. Therefore confesse thy faultes before God, pronounce thy sins with prayer to ỹ true iudge, not in tongue, but in remembrance of thy conscience, and then hope that you maye haue mercye, if you haue always the sinnes in minde, &c. And againe in an other place: Tell thy sinnes that you maye be ridde of them. If you be ashamed to tell any man how thou hast sinned, tell them daply in thine owne harte. I bidde not bidde thee tel them to thy fellow seruaunt, to twite thee withall, and put them in thy teeth, tel them vnto God which doth make them whole. For though you tell them not, doeth not God know them? &c. Again he saith: It is not necessarye nother nowe to confesse our selues before witnesse. Let this seking out of thy sinnes be in thy thought, & let this iudgement be without witnesse. Let God onely see thee when thou dost confesse thee, god which doth not twite thee wt thy sins, but doth vnburden thee of them, &c. And Augustine saith: Then what haue I to do with men to heare my confessiõs, as though they were able to heale my diseases? They be a curious kinde of men that will seke to knowe an other bodyes lyfe, and be slowe to amend their own: Why doe they seke to heare of me what I am, which wil not heare of an other man what they be? And howe doe they know when they do heare me tell of my selfe, whether that I do say true or no? for no man doth know what is don within man, but the spirit of man which is in man: This saith he. Nowe lette the reader, if he be wise, thinke with him selfe: In case that auricular confession had bin vsed in the tymes of Chrysostome in the Greke churches, and in Augustines times in the Latine churches, whether it might agree therewithal, that they wrote such thinges contrary to the custome and determination of ỹ whole Churche, and whether they would not haue rather counselled all menne to confesse their sinnes to the Priestes? I suppose that those men would haue written far otherwise, if the same had bin vsed in their times, which was after their dayes conueied and brought into the church.

Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 19.

lib. 11. cap. 35.

Chrysost. ad Hebr. Homil.

In Psal. Homil.

Homil. 31. in Ioh.

Aug. de Decem cap.

The beginning of Auricular Confession.

But some bodye peraduenture that readeth this will aske me, from whence came this confession at the first? My opinion is, that whē the sharpnesse of the open confession and penaunce coulde be no longer kept after the olde accustomed vse in the Church, partly bicause of great personages which came into Christes faythe, and partelye bycause of the sluggishe and sinfull lyfe of the Bysshoppes and Priestes, it beganne to fall firste from a publike and an open confession to the priuate and secrete shrifte, continuyng yet a whyle after the open order of penaunce, and so by little and little they came both to be secrete. In this sorte I suppose that this confession, whereof wee speake, crept in by peece meale into the Churche, and came to passe the easlyer, bycause it was layde vppon the Gentils also by the Priestes of Idols, As it appeareth by the history of Lysander, whom the Priest commaunded when he sought to the oracle in Samothrace, to confesse him selfe of that which he had most wickedlye done all his lyfe tyme: of whome he asked, whether that he shoulde do it at his commaundement, or at the commaundemente of the Gods? And when the Priestе made him aunswer, and saide, of the Gods. Than get thee hence saith he, and I will tell it to the Goddes, if they demaunde me of it. We do see by this history, by what spirit this Auriculare confession was charged vppon mens consciences. It is brought in not only by mans tradition, but by ỹ moste wicked and craftie counsell of Satan also, as a passing number of the mischiefes whiche are sprong vpon the same, doe declare as cleare as day.

Vide de pœn. Distinct. 1. cap. Quamuis. The saying of Lysander to the idolatrous Priests.

There is an other point behinde yet to prone, that it neither doth good neither is requisite to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Herein I will bring nothing of mine owne head, but the Bishop of Romes owne Decrees do sufficiently proue it. For we do read in them, in this wise. As the authoritie doth testifie, the wil is rewarded, not the worke. For the will is in the contrition of the harte, but the work is in the confession of ỹ mouth. So that it is a cleare mater that sins be forgiuen by the contrition of the harte, and not by the confession of the mouth. And in an other place: The very same is proued (sayth he)

That Auriculare confession doeth not auayle to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. De Pœnitent. Dist. 1. can. Sicut.

by

The Decrees of Popes.

Can. Facilius.

by that authoritie of the Prophet: In what houre soeuer the sinner be conuerted and do bewaile, &c. For it is not sayde, Do confesse with his mouth, but only, If he be conuerted and do bewaile, he shall liue the lyfe and not dye. And again: As it is proued saith he, we be raised vp through grace before our confession, & made the children of lyght, it doth appeare most playnely, that sinne is forgiuen by the contrition of the harte onelye, without confession of mouth. Item: Therefore sinne is forgiuen in confession, which is knowen to be forgiuen already. So that confession is made for the declaration of repentaunce, and not for the obtainement of forgiuenesse. And in the same Canon in the glose: There be two confessions, the inwarde and the outwarde. Of the Inwarde whiche is made to God, it is saide, that without confession, sinnes be not forgiuē. Item: Therefore sayth he, this secrete confession of lighte and secrete sinnes, is to be yelded vnto GOD. But those thinges which be spoken of the open satisfaction or confession of the mouth, are to be vnderstanded of open and manifest crimes. And in the same place: Therefore by former authorities it is proued, that for open crymes there must be yelded open satisfaction. But it is not proued, that the hidden sinne shoulde of necessitie be confessed to the Prieste, and to be cleansed at his arbitremēt. Agayne in an other place: The confession therefore (sayth he) which is made to God only which is for iuste men, doth purge sinnes: but the same which is made to the Priest, doeth teache how sinnes be purged. These and suche other like places are wrested and wrong aut of them by the very strengthe of the truth, and put into the Decrees, whereby the Papistes be sufficiently ouercome, that it is a very deceite to ascribe forgiuenesse of sins vnto Auriculare confession. Thus I thinke it is manifest, that it is neither of Gods lawe and commaundement, neither that it was vsed in the times of the Apostles and fathers, neither that it auayleth to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Wherfore ẏ Canon of Innocent the the thirde in the Decretals, made 356. yeares agone, that is to saye: All faithfull folkes of bothe kindes after they came to ẏ yeres of discretion, shal once a yeare at the least alone faithfullye confesse themselues to their owne Prieste, and endeuor of their owne strengthe to fulfill the penaunce enioyned them, &c. is not like an Apostles of Christ, but like a Tiraunts saying, which of a wylde rashnesse, tormenting the consciences of the faithfull with more plagues and scourges, than I wil now speake off. And thus much of Confession: now let vs see for Satisfaction.

Cano. Qui natus.

Canon Omnis.

Canon. Quis Aliquando.

Can. Quis dam Deo.

The Scholemen doe call Satisfaction the worke of Penaunce, enioyned by the Prieste after the Auricular confession. And here they make much adoe, that the satisfaction be nother lesse nor lighter than counteruailinge the waighte of the Sinne. This doctrine of satisfaction doeth excéedingly darken the clearenesse of the grace of Christ: it doeth make mens consciences either falsly assured, when they suppose that they haue satisfied: either it doth piteously tormente them, when they can not

not tell by what tyme they haue satisfied in the sight of God for one sin: much lesse for all their sinnes. Besides that it hath opened not one gap, but all dores, windowes, arches, &c. to the Popes markets, to gayne vpon pardons; and for the traficke of Priestes masses, to deliuer soules out of Purgatorye. Wherefore all godly doe worthyly abhorre it. The doctrine of the Gospell doeth denounce vnto vs pardon of our sins, by the bloude of Christe, by the sheadinge whereof, there is satisfaction made, not onlye for ours, but for the sins also of the whole world. And where soeuer this grace doeth take place, that satisfaction hath nothing to doe, we coulde beare with them if they sayde, that lyke as the faythe in Christ is reputed for righteousnesse to the beléeuers, according to the example of Abraham, so Repentance is of mercy and franck-lye imputed for satisfaction, as wée maye perceyue it was in the Prodigall sonne, whose returne and repentaunce, his father of his righte fatherlye clemencye did accept for a moste sufficient satisfaction, & sought nothing further of him. This meaning of satisfaction doeth derogate nothing from the grace of God, but doeth excéedinglye auaunce it. It maketh nothing for the gayne and inglings of the Popes markets, but it maketh muche to the quieting of our consciences. Wherfore we wil sticke vnto it, and we will leaue these trumpery wares of counterfaite satisfactions to the Pope and his Priestes and Fryers.

There is an other kynde of satisfaction, wherby euery man standeth bounde to make his neighbour amendes, whome he hath harmed or hindered: and yet we doe not denye that satisfaction also, whereby they be bound to satisfy to the church in the true fruit of reformation, which hath in anye open crimes offended it. But the merchantes of the Church doe make small accompt of this mater, and yet the fathers were very sore and sharply set to the obseruaunce of it.

IIII. What is the efficacie of true repentaunce.

VVhat repentaunce doth vvork in the reprobate and in the elect.

The vertue of repentaunce is so greate, that it is not possible to recounte it in all points, wherof we néede not to search all things to the vttermoste which it doeth produce, bring to passe and worke: but we wil note those things onlye which we do presently remember. Some thinges it doeth worke and bringe to passe, commonlye as well in the reprobate as in the electe: againe certayne things in the elect and not in the reprobate: thirdlye some things in the reprobate, and not in the electe, according to the diuersitie of the wrath & grace of God.

It openeth the eyes of the minde.

1 First it doth commonly open the eyes of the mynde, that we maye sée and vnderstand, how naughtilye, fondlye and wickedly we haue done. When we sinne we be blynde, and that is by the deuise of Satan, to the intent he woulde not onelye leade vs into all kindes of errours and euyls, but to kepe vs there also when we be once in. The place of the Apostle is knowen, wher he speaketh,

Ephes. 4.

keth of the darkeneſſe, the dimmed vnderſtanding, ignorance, and blindneſſe, which he doeth attribute vnto them that doe liue out of Chriſt, in ſinnes. Repentaunce doth driue away all this darkeneſſe, and openeth the eyes of the minde, ſo that this point needeth no examples, for it is open ynough of it ſelfe.

It vexeth the mynde.

2 Secondlye, it doth tormente the minde, and oppreſſeth it with the griefe, whiche it doeth ſo earneſtlye conceyue vpon the conſcience of ſin, that it can hardlye be gotten awaye. And therefore ſome woulde call it Penaunce, bycauſe it is a greate payne. Some called it Compunction, ſome Contrition. This kynde of ſorrow Dauid felte as we maye ſee the xxxij. Pſalme, and in many other, and in Peter alſo when he came to himſelfe and wept bitterlye: and in the woman ſinner, when ſhe waſhed the Lords feete with hir teares. And Iudas the traytor was not voyde of ſuche ſorrowe, when he hurled the monye backe agayne into the temple and ſayde: I haue ſinned betraying the innocent bloude, as his ende did proue. And the wicked ſhall feele incomparable griefes of this repentance in the daye of iudgement: of whome we reade in this ſorte: And the wicked ſeing it, ſhall be troubled with an horrible feare, and ſhall be aſtonyed, wayling for the anguiſh of their ſpirit, and ſhall ſay to them ſelues, repenting: Theſe be they, whom ſometyme we had in mockage, &c.

Pſalm. 32.

Sap. 5.

3 Thirdly, it condemneth that which is done, and maketh the ſinner iudge him ſelfe worthye to bee punished. Cayn ſayde: My wickednelle is greater than that I may deſerue pardon. Lo thou doeſt caſte me out this day, &c. So Iudas did alſo condemne his owne facte of ſinne, and punished him ſelfe with his owne hande. And Dauid repentinge, did in the ſpalmes condemne ſome of his own doinges.

It condemneth that which is done. Genes. 4.

4 Fourthlye, it changeth the mind, and maketh menne to miſlike that which pleaſed them before, and to be farre otherwiſe diſpoſed than they were. This followeth vppon that which went before, although not in all men alike. And this repentaunce doeth worke as well in the reprobats, as in the elect.

5 Fiftlye, it doth delyuer the elect out of the ſnares of the Deuill, by whom they be kept in holde, vntill tyme of their callinge. In caſe peraduenture ſayth the Apoſtle, God do giue them repentaunce to know the truth, & that they may recouer themſelues out of the ſnares of the deuil, by whom they were kept in priſon at his own will: which words can not concerne the reprobate and wicked, vnto whome the gifte of this repentaunce, amendement, and deliuerye, is not giuen.

It deliuereth the elect out of the ſnares of the Deuill. 2. Tim. 2.

6 Sixtly, it doth reconcile them vnto God which be amended, and doth reſtore them vnto his Grace. This grace and attonement is preached by the Goſpell vnder the name of Chriſt. And for this cauſe it is called by ſome men the ſeconde chiſte, for a borde to ſwimme vpon, and to ſaue vs when our ſhip is loſt. And it maketh vs cleane before God, as though we had neuer ſinned at all. Wherfore Eſaye ſayth: In caſe thy ſinnes be as redde as ſkarlet, they ſhall

It doth reconcile vnto God. Eſay. 1.

ſhall be made as white as ſnowe.

7 Seuenthly, it doth reſtore that which was amiſſe done, and doth renewe the trade of lyfe. So Zacheus, which before his amendement gaped for other mens goodes, did after he began to repent once, beſtow of his own vpon the poore.

8 Eightly, it maketh them humble and lowly. Therfore after that Dauid had ſayde, A troubled ſpirit is a ſacrifice vnto God, he added: a contrite hart and an humble, Lord thou wilt not deſpiſe. So he ioyned repentance and humbleneſſe together.

9 Ninthly, it maketh them milde alſo toward others ſinners. For like as the opinion that the phariſees had of their owne righteouſneſſe, doeth make them pufte vp and proude, ſo the acknowledging of ourc ſinnes doeth make vs gentle towards other ſinners. He that is a ſeuere & proude iudge of other mens ſinnes, doth yet in no wiſe knowe his owne. Seyng therfore that repentance doth bringe ſo manye good thinges, it is not vnworthyly ſpoken of Chriſt, that ther is greater ioye with the Angels of heauen for one ſinner which doth repent, than for nynetye and nyne iuſt folkes.

10 Tenthly, as touching the attainement of the grace of God and of reconciliation, it is vtterlye vneffectual in the reprobate. For it is not true repentaunce in them, but falſe and counterfaite. We read of Eſau, that he founde no corner of repentance, though he ſought it with the teares of his eyes. Nor he did not truely repent, nor he coulde not recouer the bleſſing which he had loſt, nor the alteration of the ſentence that was giuen, although he wepte for it. And Iudas repented his treaſon, but he attayned not the grace of reconcilement.

11 Eleuenthly, the greater and ſharper it is, the more it doeth prouoke the wicked vnto deſperation. So Cayn ſayd: My ſinne is greater than that I maye be worthye of forgiueneſſe. And this is tried alſo by the example of Iudas, who vnleſſe he had bene driuen by the greatneſſe of the repentaunce vnto deſperation, he would not haue choked & hanged himſelfe. There hath bin many examples ſhewed of this matter.

It bringeth the vvicked to deſperation. Genes. 4.

12 Laſtelye, what doth the repentance of the reprobate elſe, but giue them as it were a taſte whiles they doe liue yet in this fleſhe, of the euerlaſting puniſhment, which they ſhall ſuffer after this life? So that a man may aright call it the beginning of the paines to come. Thus I ſuppoſe, we haue in fewe wordes ſet forthe, what the ſtrengthe and efficacie of Repentaunce is, as well in the wicked as in the elect.

It giueth the vvicked a taſte of the eternall puniſhment.

V. What the neceſſitie of Repentaunce is.

In vvhat ſorte of neceſſytie repentance is neceſſary.

LIke as before when we ſpake of the neceſſitie of fayth, we declared of what kind of neceſſarie things it was, ſo we muſt doe alſo in this place. There is one neceſſity of compulſion, and other of naturall conſequencie, and an other of condition. We do ſaye, that repentance is neceſſary nother in the neceſſitie of cõpulſiõ, nother of naturall cõſequency, but in the neceſſitie of condition: in which caſe we ſayd, that fayth alſo is

necessary. No man is constrained against his will to repent, no man is broughte necessarily by natural consequente to repent (for then all men generally should repent) but repentance is continually necessary, which I thinke I shal be able to declare in fewe wordes.

For the corruption of our nature.

1 First, it is a cleare matter that we be so corrupt of nature, that ther is no man that can liue in this fleshe infected with the poyson of sinne, without sinnes, no not they whiche doe by the speciall instincte of God giue themselfe to rightuousnesse, and do walke in the lawe of God bothe daye and night. Wherevpon that was sayde: There is no man that doth good, and doth not sinne. Much lesse they are able to do so, which be alltogether carnall and far from the feelyng of GOD. Therefore bycause of this corruption of our nature, repentance is necessary for vs, wherby we may reforme our faults, and that which is amisse in vs. For repentaunce is the amendemente of euill doynges, and returning to innocencie: euen as it is necessary for a writer, though he do vse to wryte neuer so diligently, yet it is necessary for him by reading ouer again those things which he hath once written, to recognise and amende the faultes which hathe escaped him. Therefore seing that we must haue generally all this necessitie towardes the reformation of our life, it followeth that repentaunce is necessary, generally for all.

Eccles. 7. 1. Reg. 8.

A Similitude.

For the necessitie of the goodnesse of God.

2 Secondlye, for as muche as no man can be saued without the goodnesse of God, repentaunce is necessarye for vs also for this cause. For Goddes clemencye and goodnesse is suche, that there is no way vnto it but for them which do repent, ẏ is to saye, that no mans sinnes be forgiuen whiche do not repent that they haue sinned. And without the forgiuenesse of sinnes, there can not fal out to anye man any reconcilement with God, nor saluation. For there is no manne able to satisfie the iustice of GOD in paying of that which he oweth. Wherefore repentaunce is also most necessary in this behalfe, to them that desire to be saued. Therefore it is, that we be so often called to repentaunce in the Scriptures. Turne vnto me (he sayth) and you shal be saued. Item, If the wicked doe tourne from his naughtie waye, &c. And, I will not the death of a sinner, but that he be turned and lyue. Item, Amende, and beleue the Gospel. And, I came not to call the iuste, but sinners vnto repentance. And loke how great this grace is, when they which do repent are pardoned by Goddes clemencie, and that their repentance is reputed for Innocency: so reasonable is this condition, that no mans sinnes bée forgiuen but theirs which do repent. No man is so madde and so voyde of reason, that he will thynke it an vnfitte matter, if he sée the grace of forgiuenesse restrayned from them, which will not repente and amende. For as it may séeme a harde and an vnkinde matter when a man wil not forgiue him which repenteth & desireth mercye, so on the otherside it séemeth moste vpright and reasonable to all men, that they whiche doe refuse the grace of forgiuenesse when it is offered to them vnder cō-

dition

dition of repentance & amendement, that they should not be forgiuen, but sustaine worthy punishment.

Peraduenture some body wil aske me, whether that there be any causes to grounde a man vpon, why it should not be conuenient, that they which do not repente, nor doe desire pardon and mercye, should be receyued by God into grace, all be it that his mercies do excéede al his works, and that he bringeth forth his sunne vpon the good and the euill, and doth rayne vppon the thankefull and vnthankfull, and doth good many ways, not onelye to men whiche knoweth it not, but whiche are not wylling with all other. Albeit that by the common perseuerance of all men, it is moste indifferent, that they which will not repent should not be forgiuen: yet besides this equitie, there be also other reasons, why that it can not be, nor it is not conuenient, that their sinnes should be forgiuen which doe not repent, but contemne the grace of Goddes clemencie. I will reherse some of thē here, which be bothe manifeste and out of all doubt.

1 The firste is, least the iustice of God shoulde be too much derogated. God is merciful, and it is méete that he be iuste also. His iustice can not suffer that they shoulde be forborne, whiche doe contemne his grace. He can not bée a iuste iudge, vnlesse he do punishe them whiche doe not repent. Wherefore grace hathe place ynough, so that it doe not altogether decaye the iustice of the iuste iudge, which it shoulde doe without remedy, if they which do not repent, shoulde haue their sinnes forgiuen them. Besides that, there should be left none, vpon whome the iustice of the iuste iudgement might be executed vpon: and so all thinges shoulde be voyde and come to nothing, which are red in the Scriptures of the iustice of God, as of the iuste and vpright iudge.

2 Secondly, the very grace of God also, if it were as ready, and as indifferentlye to be offred to them whiche doe not repente, as to them which doe repent, it shoulde haue no taste nother of profite nother of necessitie, in mens hartes. For who woulde impute his saluation to the grace of God, or earnestly séeke it. if it were certaine that they whiche doe not repente and doe despise the grace, should be saued? So after the iustice of God, his grace also should goe after and come to nothing. Whē contraries doe stande together, saith one, they be the better knowen: if thou takest awaye the contrarye of the iuste iudgemente of God, what shall ensue else, but the darkening of grace and mercye? He cannot be called iustly a gentle King & Prince, which doeth neuer punishe the wicked with iuste iudgement, nor doeth spare them whiche doe amende, for bycause of their amendemente, but suffereth them to runne on all a like. But surelye the same is true clemency, when it is so bestowed vpon them which doe amende, that it doth also with iuste iudgemente punishe the reprobate and impenitente. For iustice maketh clemencye the more noble: and on the other syde, clemencie maketh iustice also the more séemelye.

Least the grace of God shuld be despised.

3 The thirde reason is, bycause all

gappes shoulde not be lefte open to sinne. For in case the impenitent persons also shoulde be saued, there shoulde be no place left for the feare of God. And when the feare of God were once gone, there should raygne bothe extreme rashnesse, and carelesnesse in sinning. For this consideration the Apostle doeth threaten to the impenitent folkes the wrathe of the iuste iudgement of God, saying: Knowest thou not that the clemencie of God doth leade thee to repentaunce? but according to thy hardenesse and impenitent hart, thou doest heape thee vp displeasure vnto the day of wrath, and reuelation of the iuste iudgement of God, Who shall giue vnto euery man according vnto his workes.

Least all gappes should lye open to sinne.

Rom. 2.

Least all should be saued without difference.

4 Fourthly, in case that the grace of God were readye as well for the impenitent as the penitent, it muste followe of necessitie, that all should be indifferentlye saued, one as well as an other, not menne onelye but Deuils also: and so the whole difference of Goddes election and reprobation, shoulde vtterlye be taken awaye, whereof we spake before: and therewithall all the consideration of true godlinesse and iustice, should be wypte quite out of the heartes of men. By these reasons which I take to be manifest, it is apparante ynough, howe it is not conuenient nother for the grace, nother for the iustice of God, that sinnes shoulde be forgiuen not onelye to them whiche doe repent, but to them also whiche doe not repent, nor desire forgiuenesse of the same.

Of Iustification.



This is a notable place and diligentlye set forthe by manye mens wrytinges in these our dayes. And therefore I thinke it shall not be necessary to make much a doe in this treaty. For though this sounde doctrine of iustification be assaulted by all kind of sectaries, specially by them which be the teachers of merites and mens workes, yet it is grounded vpon such sure and vnfallible foundations of the holy scripture, that it can not be ouerthrowen, no not by the gates of Hell. And no maruel why. For all our saluation and the whole quietnesse of our consciences, doth depende vpon this iustification whiche we haue by Christ. Wherefore many godly and learned men haue vpon moste great and good purpose, bent all their power and strength towards the opening and confirmation of this place: vnto whose trauayles I will ioyne my minde also, as some small droppes to their moste abundant riuers.

I. What it is to Iustifie.

This worde Iustifie, in the Latine mens eares is as muche to say, as make iuste: like as Magnifie to make great, and sanctifie to make holy. And this sense of this worde the diuine Scholemen liked well, which they that doe folowe them doe yet earnestly stande vnto. Augustine also doeth in diuers places stil expounde this worde of Iustifying in this

this sense, when he saith, Beleuing in him which iustifieth the wicked, that is to saye, of the wicked doeth make godlye. The Apostle Paule, out of whose writings this doctrine of iustification is principally taken, vsed the worde of iustifying not in that sense which the Latine eares doeth lyke, but in that sense in whiche the holye Scripture vseth it, according vnto the custome of the holye language in which he was borne, brought vp, and instructed in from his childhode. In that language, to Iustifie is as much to say, as to quitte a mā of his offence, and to pronounce him iuste. The contrary of it is to condemne a man of naughtinesse & wickednesse. For I thinke it can not be founde, that in any pece of Scripture in the holye language, this worde iustifie should signifie to make any man iust of an vniust man. Which sense in case a man woulde applye to the places of Scripture where this worde is vsed, the matter shall seme to be either vnpossible, or vnmete, or vntrue. And to this purpose I wil run ouer the places of Scripture, as diligently and truelye as I can. When Josephs cuppe was founde in Beniamins sacke, and the brethren wiste not howe to trie and maintaine his innocencye, Judas said vnto Joseph: What shall we speake to my Lorde, and what shall we say, and wherein shall we be iustified? God hathe founde out the iniquitie of thy seruauntes. In which wordes he sayth nothing else, but there is no way for vs to declare our selfe to be innocent, to be quitte of the gilte of theft. For it is opened by the iudgemente of God what we be, wee can not denye it, &c. And in Exodus: Slaye not the innocent and iuste, for I will not iustifie the wicked. What is to say, I will not quitte the wicked of his faulte, I wil not take him to be innocent. And in Deuteronomye: When there is a controuersie betwixt men, and they do come to iudgement and to the Iudges, iustifie you the iuste, and condemne the vngodly. What sayth he else, but quite the iuste and condemne the wicked? Item in the seconde boke of Samuel Absalon sayde: Who will make me iudge vpon the earth, and that euery man maye come to me whiche hath any matter or iudgemente to seke, that I may iustifie him? That is to saye, that I maye quitte him and pronounce him to be iust. Again Salomon among the reste doeth pray to the Lord in this wise: When a man doeth offende his neighbour, & he require an othe of him to make him to sweare, and that the othe commeth before thy Altare in this house, heare you him in heauen, and do it, and iudge thy seruauntes, that you condemne the wicked, giuing his way vpon his owne head, and that you doe iustifie the iuste, giuing vnto him according vnto his righteousnesse, that is to say, that by righte reuenge you declare the wicked to be guiltye, and in deliuering the iuste, thou shewe him to be iuste and innocent. Job saith: GOD forbidde that I shoulde iustifie you, that is to say, pronounce you to be iuste, and take you to be iuste. Dauid saith: I haue sinned against thee onelye, and haue done euill in thy sight, therefore thou shalt be iustified in thy wordes, that is to say, declared

Exod. 23.

Deut. 29.

2. Samuel. 15.

1. Reg. 8.

Iob. 27. 55.

Psalm. 51. 4 203

Psom. 82. for iuste. Againe: Iustifie the troubled and the powre: he speaketh to the iudges, and aduiseth them to discharge and deliuer with iuste iudgement the powre and oppressed. Item:

Psalm.143. Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, for no liuyng man shall be iustified in thy sight, that is to saye, no man shall be accounted iuste and innocent in thy sight, but all shall be worthy to be condemned, if thou liste to pronounce of them in iuste iudgement.

Prouer.17. Salomon sayth: He that iustifieth the wicked, and condemneth the iuste, they be bothe abhominable before God. No man shoulde be abhominable before God, if God made of a wicked person a iuste man: nor he that were suche a one, shoulde not lightly make a man wicked that is alreadye iuste. But he which doth pronounce the wicked person to be iuste, and doeth condemne the iuste man as though he were vniuste, it is he that is worthye to be accounted abhominable. In Esaye we reade this of the wicked and vniuste iudges, which doe iustifie the wicked for a reward. He saythe also: Let them bring their witnesse sayth the Lord, and let them be iustified. Againe in the same chapter: Tel you, that you maye be iustified, that is to say, if they thinke that they be iuste, let them bring witnesses by whome they may be tryed to be iuste. Item: If thou haue any thing to saye that will serue for thy purpose, shewe it, that thou mayst proue thy selfe to be iuste, and be pronounced iuste. Also he saith: They shall be iustified in the Lord, and all the seede of Israell shall be glorified, that is to saye, the same shall be reputed for righteousnesse vnto them, that they be the Lordes, and do sticke faste in faythe vnto him, and shall repete themselfs happy for this cause. And that is the matter that he sayth: And they shall glorye. Like as the wicked are both condemned and confounded, so the faythfull are bothe iustified in the Lorde, and they doe glorye of his grace. Item, He is neare at hande whiche doeth iustifie mée, who will striue with me: that is to say, I lack not my iuste iudge, which will maintayne my parte and pronounce for me. Item, My iuste seruaunt shall iustifye manye in his knoweledge. Which he speaketh of Christ. And he calleth the knowledge of Christ, the same, whereby he is knowen vnto vs by faith, in which Peter sayde, And we haue beleued and knowen that thou arte Christe the sonne of GOD. By this sayth Christ doth iustifye vs. How? Bycause (sayth he) he shall beare their wickednesse, in whiche wordes he doeth expresse the cause of this iustification. And in Ezechiel: And Samaria (sayth he) hath not sinned the one halfe of thy sinnes, and thou haste multiplied thy abhomination aboue them, thou hast iustified thy systers in all thy abhominations which thou hast done. That is to saye, for as much as thou hast done more haynous things, thou hast declared that thy sisters in comparison of thée, are to be accounted for iust. He speketh of the iustifying which is in comparison of them that be worse. There is yet one place left of Daniel, where we do reade in this wise: And they whiche doe instruct men to vnderstanding, shall shyne lyke the shyninge of the firmament, and

Esay.5. Esaye.45.

Esay.53.

Esay.65.

Ezechiel.16.

Daniel.12.

Esaye.45.

and they which do iustifie many, shal be as starres for euer and euermore. Where the worde of Iustifying is put neyther for to make iuste, nor to quite from all faultes, whiche both bothe belong vnto God only: but to instruct men to righteousnesse, whiche the ministers of the word doe in the Church.

These sentences we haue rehersed of the olde testament, whereby it is manifest inough, that the word of iustifying is in no place put in that sense, which the men that be ignorãt of the holye language, doe attribute vnto it, whiche will haue Iustifie to be nothing else, but to make one iuste whiche is vniuste and wicked, but it appeareth that it is vsed in euerye place for to quite a man of his fault, and to pronounce or declare hym iuste. Nowe albeit that the preiudice of the old Testamente were euen ynough to proue this to be the sense of it, yet for all that let vs goe to the scriptures of the new testament, and loke into them also.

Our Sauiour Christ sayeth: And wisedome is iustifyed of hys chyldren: Luke doth adde All. And notwithstanding that they do expounde this place sundrye wayes, yet it is a clere matter that Christe spake nother Greke nor Latine, but Hebrew to the Hebrewes in ỹ holy language and the accustomed sense. Therefore when he saide, that the wisedome of God was iustifyed of all his chyldren, he sayde nothing else, but that he left nothing vndone towards hys children, that is to saye, the people of the kingdome, which he had trayned vp as his children, in all things that might belong vnto their saluation, and that it was therefore free and clere from all blame of their destruction and perishing. And so Chrysostome doth also expounde it. It were a very vnfitte thing to expounde it: the wisedome is iustifyed by his children, to saye it is from vniust, by the benefite of the children, changed vnto iust and innocent. By thy wordes (saith the Lord,) thou shalte be iustified, or by thy wordes condemned, that is to saye, by thy wordes thou shalt be declared eyther to be iust, or condemned of iniustice. Wordes doe not make, but declare a man to bée iust or vniust. In Luke it is written thus: And all the people (sayeth hée) and the Publicanes whiche hearde him, iustifyed him, being Baptised in the baptisme of Iohn. Howe then coulde the Publicans whiche were vniust themselues, make anye man iust that was not iust, muche lesse coulde they doe anye thing to make God iust. Fye vpon this absurditie. They iustifyed God, that is to saye, they acknowledged and allowed the iustice of God when they were baptised of Iohn, which the Pharisies in refusing his Baptisme, did cõtemne. Agayne: He willing to iustifie hymselfe. Item: You be (sayth he) they which doe iustifie your selues before men. It is the part of hypocrites to iustifie themselues, and it is nothing else but to counterfaite righteousnesse. Agayne: And the Publicane standing a great way off, would not lift vp his eyes to Heauen, but stroke himselfe on the breste, saying: God be mercifull vnto me whiche am a sinner. I tell you this man went home to his house more iustified than the other. He calleth this man iustifyed,

Math.12.

Luc.7. 29

Luc.10 & 16

Luc.18. 1-4

that is to saye, that when he had obteyned Gods mercy, he was pardoned of his sinnes, for the humblenesse of his confession and faith, whereby he obteyned the forgiuenesse of hys sinnes, as Lyranus also dothe expound it. In the Actes we reade, that Paule sayde in this wise: Therefore be it knowen vnto you brethren, that by him there is forgiuenesse of sinnes declared vnto you, and of all things from which you coulde not be iustifyed by the lawe of Moses, by him euery man that dothe beleeue is iustifyed. And hereby it appeareth well ynough, that to be iustifyed, is to be acquited from sinnes: which is done by the forgiuenesse of sinnes ỳ is preached in the name of Christe. For when he had said, that forgyuenesse of sinnes is declared vnto you by him, and shuld say more, and from all those things, the forgiuenesse of which coulde not come to you by the law of Moses, he expounding ỳ meaning of it this way, And euery man which dothe beleeue is iustifyed by him from all those matters whyche you could not be iustifyed of by Moses law. Therefore to be iustifyed frō sinnes, is to be acquited of sinnes by ỳ grace of forgiuenesse of sinnes, and to be discharged from the gilte of them. To ỳ Romaynes we reade: Not they which doe heare the lawe, be iust in the sighte of God, but they which do exercise the law in doings, they shall be iustifyed, that is to say, they shal be reputed for iust, and pronounced iust. Erasmus dothe translate it, shall be taken for iust. He sayeth: That thou mayest be iustified. Of these sayings, we haue spoken before out of the 51. Psalme. In the same place Paule sayeth: By the workes of the lawe no flesh shall bee iustifyed in his sight, that is to saye, shall not be taken for iust. And they be iustifyed freely by his grace, that is to say, they be acquited freely from sinnes. The iust person is not iustified freely for nothing, and by grace, but by the merite of his own iustice. Wherefore it is necessarye to be vnderstanded of that iustification, whereby the sinner is acquited from hys sinnes by grace. And that which followeth agreeth withall. Item: We suppose that man is iustifyed by fayth, without ỳ workes of the lawe. And, for as muche as it is one God whych shall iustifie the circumcision by faith, &c. He sayeth nothing else, but that the absolution of synnes commeth by faythe, whyche coulde not come by the lawe. And in the same sense hee vseth thys worde styll in that whiche followeth. As in the fourth Chapiter: To hym whyche beleeueth in hym whyche dothe iustifie the wicked. And, Therefore beyng iustifyed by faith, we haue peace towardes God. And therefore much the more nowe beeyng iustifyed in his bloud. And what is it else to bee iustifyed in the bloud of Christ, than to bee discharged of our sinnes by the merite of Christes bloud? He that is dead, is iustifyed from synne, that is to saye, deliuered and discharged from the dominion of synne, that he be no longer bound to serue it. Also: Whome he called hym hee iustifyed also. He dothe heere symplye vse the worde of iustifying: but it is more allowable to vnderstande it in that sense which he toke it for in all that disputation before, than otherwise.

Acte. 13 Act. 39

Rom. 2. 13

Psal. 4 Rom. 3. 4

God

Gen. 4

Ibidem.

Rom. 4.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 5.

wise. And in the same Chapiter: It is God whiche dothe iustifie, who is hee that can condemne? This contrarye settyng of iustification and condemnation one against another, doth sufficiently proue, that whereas he sayeth: It is God whiche iustifyeth: it is as muche to saye, as, it is God which doth absoile vs from our sinnes and pronounce vs iust. And to the Corinthians hee sayeth: I knowe not my selfe guilty in anye thyng, but I am not iustifyed by that, that is to saye: I am not therefore accounted iust, for that I know nothing by my selfe. My iustice doth not stand in my owne innocency, but in the grace of God by Christe. And agayne: And thys indeede you were, but you be washed, but you be sanctifyed, but you be iustifyed, by the name of the Lorde Iesu, and by the spirite of our God. All these poyntes are to be referred to the forgiuenesse of synnes, whyche they that beleeued, dyd obteyne by the name of our Lorde Iesu, and the worcking of the holy spirite. By this grace he sayeth they were washed from their former sinnes, sanctifyed and iustifyed, to the intent they shoulde beware that they shoulde not runne backe againe vnto them, and make the grace whyche they hadde receyued, to bee voyde. Wherefore hee sayeth nothyng else, but Lo, nowe you bee discharged from all youre former synnes, beware that you do not lyke agayne hereafter. And to the Galathians hee sayeth: Knowing that man is not iustifyed by the workes of the lawe. Item, That we maye be iustifyed by faythe. Item. Forasmuche as no man is iustifyed before God by the lawe. Agayne, You whyche bee iustifyed in the lawe, be voyde of Christe. Hee vpholdeth nothyng else, but the verye same whyche hee maynteyned to the Romaines in longer talke, and therefore we muste take the word of iustifying in the same sense heere, as wee dyd there. Vnto Timothe he sayeth of Christe: God is manifest in the fleshe, hee is iustifyed in the spirite, &c. That is to say, declared and approued iuste by the testimonye of the spirite. And the same (sayeth hee) shall iustifye of mee. And to Tite: Accordyng vnto hys mercie (sayeth hee) hee hathe saued vs, &c. by Iesu Christe our Sauioure, that beeyng iustifyed by hys grace, wee myghte be made heyres accordyng to the hope of euerlasting life. For he dothe not meane heere that we be otherwise iustifyed, than in the same sense, that he disputed of the same matter to the Romaines and the Galathians, that is to say, that wee be acquited from oure sinnes, and accepted to the glorye of the children of God. And James sayth, Abraham oure father, was he not iustifyed by his workes, when he had offered his sonne vpon the Altare? He sayth not that Abraham was made iuste by that worke, whereas he was iust before: but that he was thereby declared and tried to be iust.

Gal. 5.

Tit. 3.

Iacob. 2.

Hitherto we haue rehearsed the places of both the Testaments, and set them out to be seene as it were in a Table, wher ỳ word of Iustifying is vsed: to the intēt ỳ the reader may see, that it was not for naughte that I sayde before, that a man can not easily finde in Scriptures any place,

where

where to iustifie, is as much to saye, as to make one iust, of one that is vniust. Wherefore my iudgemente is, that in this matter of our iustification, we must allow no other sense of this word, but the same whiche is found to be the meaning of ỹ whole scripture, and whiche the Apostle vsed in many places of the same very matter: so that for a man to be iustified before God is all one, as to bée acquited from sinnes by frée forgiuenesse, and to be reputed for iust. And this we haue noted somewhat the largelyer, that we may grounde vpon the sure sense and meaning of this word, without whiche we maye striue much in the Churche, and edifie little. This same Bernarde dyd acknowledge also saying thus: Take this yet with thée, that thou beléeue that thy sinnes be forgiuen thée by him. This is the testimonie whyche the holy spirite doth beare vs in oure heart, saying: Thy sinnes be forgyuen thée. For so the Apostle supposeth that man is iustifyed fréely, by faith. This saith he.

Bernardus in sermon. de Annunciatione Mariæ.

II. Who it is that doth Iustifye vs.

We should not néede to trauell in so manifest a matter as thys is, vnlesse that there had starte vp by the enticemente of Satan, certayne craftie Apostles and deceyuers in the Church, which do saye: we do sanctifye: it is we that do iustifie: whose decepte we reade was repreheded also by Augustine, whose words be these: Bréethren, we haue Iesus Chriſte our aduocate with oure father, he is the forgiuenesse of oure sinnes. Ye that held this, was no heresie: he ỹ helde this was no schisme. For whereof came the schismes? Truly when men do say, we be iust: when men do say, we doe sanctify the that be vncleane: we doe iustifye the wicked: we do pray: and we doe obteyne. But what sayth John: If any man doe sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father Iesus Chriſte the iust, &c. This sayeth he. By whyche words, he did no more touch the Donatistes, than he should now adayes if he were a liue gall them, which do so muche challenge to themselues all the authoritie in the Church to sanctifie and to iustifie men, and doe for filthye gayne sell the same also ouer vnto others. But let them goe, ouer whose heads there hangeth a moste grieuous iudgement, and let vs turne vs vnto hym who only hathe power to forgiue sinnes, yea and to iustify, and to saue them also whom he hath iustifyed. And that God onely dothe forgiue sinnes, it appeareth in Esay where he sayth: It is I, whych do take away thy sinnes, and that hée doth iustifye, the Apostle dothe witnesse, saying: To him that dothe beléue in him whiche iustifyeth the wicked, his faithe is reputed for iustice. The same is God, in whome only we do beléue. Item, It is God which dothe iustifie, who is hé that doth condemne? They be the Church théeues and wicked persons, whiche doe chalenge this glory to theyr authoritie that dothe belong onely to God. No Apostle doth so, but al true ministers, by preaching of the Gospell and Repentance, doe serue hym, which only dothe pardon sinnes and iustifyeth the wicked.

Augustin. Tract. 2. sup. prim. Epist. Ioan.

God only iustifieth.

Esay 43.

This

This grace of iustification is attributed vnto Chriſt also, vnto whõe the father hathe giuen all power in the earth to forgiue sinnes. In Esay we do reade thus: By the knowledge of him, whiche is my righteous seruaunt, he shal iustifye the multitude. And in the Actes Paule sayth: Be it knowen to you bréethren, that forgiuenesse of sinnes is declared vnto you through hym, and euerye man that beléeueth is iustifyed by hym from all those things, from whiche you could not be iustifyed by the law of Moses, meaning of Chriſt whom God rayſed from the dead. And we must beware, that we doe not attribute this worke of our iustification vnto his Godlye nature alone, or to his nature of man alone, but vnto Chriſt full and whole, and saye that Chriſt our lord is our iustice. Some will nédes haue the grace of oure iustification attributed vnto ỹ Godhead of Chriſt onely. In my iudgement it is as daungerous a matter, to exclude the dispensation of the worde incarnate made in the flesh, from the worke of redemption, iustification, and saluation, as it is to attribute that to man only, whych doth only perteyne to God.

In the Epistle to the Corinthians this worke of iustifying, is ascribed vnto the trinall Maiestie of God, when the Apostle dothe saye there: Such were some of you, but you are washed, but you be sanctifyed, but you be iustifyed, by the name of oure Lord Iesu, and by the spirite of oure God. So God the Father doth iustifie vs in his sonne oure Lorde Iesu Chriſt, by his holy spirit, the Sacrament of whose washing, sanctifying, and iustifying, baptisme is, in which we be baptised according to the institution of God, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holye Spirite.

III. Hovv God doth iustify vs.

We said in the first article of the worde of Iustifying, that to bée iustifyed is as muche to saye in thys matter, according to the meanyng of holy Scripture, as to be acquited by grace from sinne, and to be taken for iust. Therefore God dothe so iustifie vs, that he forgiueth our sinnes, hée hideth them, and doth not charge vs with them any more, but doth rather impute iustice vnto vs, not oures, which is none but the iustice of hys sonne our Lord Iesu Chriſt, and by this imputatiõ of iustice, he maketh vs saued and blessed. So the Apostle doth four times set forth this iustification to the Romaines, leaſte wée should séeme to bring any thing with vs of our own. Like as Dauid (saith he) dothe expresse the blessednesse of the man to whome God dothe impute righteousnesse without workes, saying: Blessed be they, whose wickednesses bée forgiuen, and whose sinnes be hidden. Blessed is the man, to whome God dothe not impute sinne. It appeareth verye well, that the iustification which is imputed by grace without workes, is the forgiuenesse of sinnes and the help vnto saluation. For whereas he might haue saide: Blessed be they whome God dothe iustifie withoute workes, hé sayth: blessed be they whose sinnes be forgiuen, and whose sinnes be hyd-

VVe be iustified by forgiuenes of sinnes.

den:

den: Blessed is the man to whome God doth not impute sinne.

How this maner of iustifying agreeth with God which is the sole Iudge.

But heere the question is, howe it is conuenient for God, who is a iudge most iust of all, to iustifie, that is to take for iust and to pronounce them iust, which be not iust but wicked, yea rather vniust, & full of sinne, whereas after ỳ order of hys iustice, he doth rather cõdemne such, and iustifie the iust, which Salomon dothe desire of him also saying: To condemne ỳ wicked giuing him his way vpon his head, and to iustifie the iust giuing him according vnto hys iustice, and doth pronounce them to be abhominatiõ before the Lord, which doth iustifie ỳ wicked, and condemne the iust. Yea seeing that he dothe commaund the iudges to iustifie the iust, and to condemne the wicked, and that he dothe openly testifye of himselfe, saying: Slay not the innocente and iust, for I will not iustifye the wicked. If he bee a iust iudge, and dothe iustifye not the wicked but the iust, and condemneth ỳ wicked, and doth commaunde the same iustice also to be vsed of his iudges, and doth abhorre thẽ which do iustifie the wicked, how cã it stand withall, that we may attribute vnto hym this kind of iustifying, whiche is linked in with wickednesse & falsehode: and therefore can not be fytte for a iust iudge, that is to say, to iustifye the vniust, sinfull, and wicked, and to take them for iust, which be iniust, do remayne wicked, like as wrongfull iudges do for money, iustifie naughtipackes, & pronounce them iust and acquite them in a wrongfull cause:

1. Reg. 8. 32

Prouer. 17. Deut. 17.

Exod. 23.

Now it is likely that all they bee of this mind, which do either vtterly condemne, eyther by sinistrall interpretation, doe weaken this doctrine of the Apostle of the imputation of iustice, bycause they neyther vnderstand it aright, nor do with due reuerence, submit their iudgementes to the Apostle, when he dothe playnely talke of the same. But we doe easely make aunswere to this obiection: In case that God be a iust iudge, and not mercifull withall: or else if he bee iust in that sorte, that he can not bee mercifull, without the decay of hys iustice: I say if he be so streightened to his iudiciarie iustice, that it be not lawfull for him to haue mercy vpon whome he will, and to pardon the gilty of their sinne, which for al that we doe see that manye Princes and Magistrates doe franckelye suffer themselues to do: it dothe folow, that all those things be vayne whyche be redde of in holye Scriptures of the grace and mercye of God, and that he hath not so much power, vpon his owne creatures, as man hath vppon his subiectes, yea lesse than the potmaker hath vpon his clay, and what can be thoughte more wicked than this? But in case that God be iust in that sorte, that he is mercifull also withall, and doth so punish the gilty, that he doth freely and frankly withall haue mercy vpon them whiche he will, and doth acquite the sinfull frõ their sinnes, and yet may not for all suche mercie, be bereft of the glorie and commendation of iustice, what else doth ensue, but that he hath two seates, one of iudgemente, and another of grace, and that it dothe perteyne to the seate of iudgemente, when he dothe iustifye the iust and condemne the wicked, and that it is to be

God is bounde and not bounde, full and emptie, chaine & free, ouercõmer & ouer all things.

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to be referred to the other whiche is of grace, when he dothe not condemne the wicked, which he myghte iustly doe, but dothe mercifully acquite, and iustifie him from the gilte of his sinnes:

But they say, We do knowe that God is not onely iust, but mercifull also, and that we do graunt, that hee may of his free mercy pardon sinnes to whome he will, & acquite whome he will from the gilt and condemnation of them, but that he dothe it not in this sort, that he doth take him for a iust man, whome he knoweth to be wicked, and pronounce him to bee iust, and impute iustice vnto hym, when he is vtterly voyde and wyde from all iustice. Wherefore we doe not acknowledge that his mercye and forgiuenesse of sinnes is any iustificatiõ, but we do dissener it from that iustification whereby wee bee made iust, not by imputation, but truly and effectually, and so iust, that we shall liue now not vnto vniustice as before, but vnto iustice, and to do that whiche is iust, and so to be truly iust, according vnto that saying: My sonnes, let no man seduce you. Hee that doth iustice is iust, as he is also iust. The works of God be true and effectuall, If he do iustifye any man, that man must needes be iust indeede. And this iustification whereby hee doth make vs iust, of vniust, is attributed vnto him with glory: but the other is with reproche, when you doe saye, that hee taketh them for iust, whiche be yet vniust and wicked.

I aunswere, The Apostle the teacher of Goddes grace and of iustice, freely imputed, was not so madde, that he would say, that God take the wicked for the iust, eyther by errour and ignorance, as though he knewe him not to be wicked: eyther by negligence, as though he were careles howe euery man lyued: eyther by ouerthwartes that he allowed his iniustice, as we see done nowe adayes, when Judges either of errour, eyther of wickednesse or negligence, do discharge the wicked, and condemne the iust. This imagination be farre from the mindes of the goodye. God knoweth all men, he loueth the iust, and hateth thẽ whiche worketh wickednes. But to aduance the fulnesse of his grace, he doth call the forgiuenesse of sinnes our iustificatiõ, whereby he doth freely impute iustice vnto them which do amend their life, and doth not condemne, but saue them, which do beleeue in him, in such sort, as if they were altogither innocente and iust. And to declare this, the Apostle sayeth, that God doth iustifye the wicked, & that freely: and he dyd not hide the circumstances of thys iustification, whyche dothe gyue it great light, and leaueth no matters to striue vpon, to men that be not of themselues contentious, but do seeke for the truth with the feare of God.

I do maruell much, why some of our brethren do so mislike this speach of the Apostle, when it is saide, that they be iustified, whiche be deliuered and acquited from their sinnes and from their worthy condemnation by the grace of God, seeyng that it is a speache moste vsed in the Scriptures. If we may say aryghte, that the same iudge doth iustifie the iust, and dyrecte him as a wicked man that is wicked, when he dothe acquite

the one in iudgement, and condemne the other, and yet for all that is not able eyther to make the iuste, iuste, nor the wicked wicked. Againe on the other side, if we may say arighte, that the iudge which doth iustify the wicked, and dothe handle the iuste as though he were wicked, when hée condemneth the one in iudgemente, and acquiteth the other, albeit he doe make nother the iuste to be wicked, nor the wicked iuste: howe can it bée that they do not sée, that this manner of speach, after the fashion of man, is turned vnto God, and that we doe arighte attribute vnto him that hée dothe iustifie them, whome he dothe find wicked and sinfull, when he doth by his grace assoile and acquite them in iuste iudgement from condemnation as iuste?

IIII. In vvhat respect vve be iustifyed of God.

They that be iuste, when they be complained vpon of the wicked, are vppon the declaration of theyr vprightnesse discharged, and so they be iustifyed in consideration of theyr owne vprightnesse, in case the iudge himselfe be vprighte. God forbydde that we shoulde otherwise thinke of God. He doth iustifie the innocente and iuste persons, in respecte of theyr innocencie and iustice, nor hée condemneth none that is iuste. But what be they amongst all mortall menne, whiche may be so iuste, that they can in respect of their owne iustice be iustifyed in his sighte? Dauid was of this minde and saith: Enter not into iudgement with thy seruaunt, why? bycause sayeth he, no liuing person shall be iustifyed in thy sight. Vnderstande withal, in respect of his owne iustice, he fyndeth nothing in vs of our owne, in consideration whereof he may iustifie vs.

God dothe iustifie the iuste also, but vvhere be they?

Psalm. 142. 143. 2

It is a commō case in the worlde, that an offender is iustifyed & acquited for his former desertes and merites. For it is thought that they whiche haue done some greate good, are worthy to be borne withall. But it is otherwise in Gods sight. Here go no merites before iustification, in such sorte, that in respect of them we may be iustifyed. Else it shoulde ensue, that we be not freely iustified & vnworthily, but as worthy and for our desert: which is againste Goddes grace, whiche (as Augustine dothe write) no desertes of man doe go before. And so the grace of our redemption also, whiche is by the bloud of Chriſt, should be of lesse estimation, and the glory of Gods mercy should be fayne to giue place vnto the worthynesse of mans merites, and so our iustification shoulde not be the gifte of Gods mercie, but the, rewarde of the man that worketh well. At one worde, Chriſt shoulde haue dyed in vayne.

vvee iustified in one poynte

Note for the poynte. Iustified

We sée also in worldly practises, that the offender is acquited in consideration that he shall make amendes, which he doth vndertake to do, both to the iudge and to the parties also which are trespassed. But this respect can haue nothing to doe neyther in this case, for it is impossible for vs to satisfye and make amendes for any one sinne, muche lesse for all our wyckednesses & transgressyons, which are without all number. And if it were not thus also, Chriſt had dyed for vs in vayne.

Nor we be not iustified any poynte that we can

Therefore séeing that we be iustifyed nother in respect of oure owne iustice, nother of our merites goyng before, nor for any amends that may be made afterwards, so that there is no way, but to be iustifyed freely by Goddes gyfte, I thinke it a manifest matter to all men, that we be iustified in the onely respecte of his goodnesse, loue, grace, and mercye. And therewithall agréeth those sayings of the Apostle: All haue sinned, and be destitute of the glory of God, and they be iustifyed freely by his grace. And to the Ephesians: but God who is rich in mercy, for his great loue which he hath borne to vs, yea when we were dead through sinnes, hathe made vs aliue againe. &c. And to Tite he sayeth: According vnto his mercye hée hath saued vs, &c. that being iustifyed by his grace, we shoulde be made heires of euerlasting life. Therefore like as there can be no other cause alleged for our election, redemption, and whole saluation, so there can bée no other occasion yelded, nother of our iustification, but the wil of Gods goodnesse, loue, mercy, & grace, wherin he chose them whome he woulde, before the setling of the worlde, and the same whome he chose, he did predestinate, and the same whome hée hath predestinated he doth call, iustifie, & glorifie. Wherefore it is méete that we do, specially in this matter, acknowledge, praise, and glorifie the grace and mercy of God.

V. Wherein vve be iustifyed.

Like as in the place of Election before, we sought to knowe the meane of our election, so wée muste séek also in this place by what meane we be iustified and reconciled vnto God. And there bée two meanes in this mater. One in which we be iustifyed, the other wherby we do apprehend or take holde of the grace of this Iustification. They be both necessary, and none of them doth iustifie without the other. The meane in which wée be iustified, is the incarnate worde, our Lord Chriſt, the only begotten of God, whom the father sent to be our redéemer, mediator, reconciler, and sauiour. The worke of thys mediation was made vp in the crosse, wherein the vnspotted lambe, in satisfying for our sinnes, did shead his bloude, and obtayned for vs this iustification and reconcilement. Herevnto Paule hathe respecte when hée sayeth. And they be iustifyed freely by his grace, by the redemption whiche is in Chriſte Iesu, whome God did set forthe to be the reconciler by faith, in his bloud, &c. And God dyd declare hys loue towarde vs, that when wée were yet sinners, Chriſte dyed for vs: therefore muche more nowe béeyng iustifyed by his bloud, wée shall bée saued by him from the wrathe. And for thys cause hée sayeth, that Chriſte is made vnto vs by God oure wisedome, iustice, sanctification, and redemption. And there is no doubte of thys meane of iustification to them whiche doe leane vnto the holy Scriptures, and wyll séeme to be true Christian mē. No you shall hardelye fynde anye Chriſtian whyche wyll openlye denye, that we be iustifyed and reconcyled to God in Chriſte oure mediator and redemer, although that they

Two meanes of iustification.

The meane in vvhich vvee be iustified, is Christe.

Ro. 3. & 5.

1. Cor. 1.

be many that doe for a countenance confesse with their mouth the same, which they do with cõtrary doctrine destroy againe.

VVhether Christe do iustifye as an aduocat and intercessour. 1. Iohn. 2. Heb. 7.

Some doe suppose that we be iustifyed in Christe, bycause he is oure aduocate and intercessor, obteyning for vs forgiuenesse of our sinnes. In deede wee can not deny the mediation of his intercession, wherby being made our aduocate, he doth entreate for vs: as it is said of him, and it is a parcell also of ỹ office of his priesthode. But the iustification of vs standeth not only in that, but principally in this that hée turned oure sinnes vnto hym, and in sufferyng death for them, he did satisfye Gods iustice, and dothe communicate hys owne iustice vnto vs.

VVe be not iustifyed parte by Christ, and part by oure selues.

Againe, there be some that do surmise vs to be so iustifyed in Christe, that he dothe satisfye parte, and wée part for our sinnes: and what is that else, but to leaue vnto Christ not the whole worke of our saluation, but to stand in halfes, and to deface his glorye also, to the ende that flesthe maye haue somewhat to glory of, whereas for all that the holy Scripture dothe spoyle and leaue vs naked of all glorye, especially in this poynte. The Pharisey forasmuch as he gaue not the whole glory vnto God and shame to himselfe as the Publican did, hée continued subiecte vnto condemnation. Wherefore to the intent we shall giue the glory of our whole redemption to our sauioure, we may not deuide the worke of iustification and reconciliatiõ, nor chalenge any peece of it to the flesh.

Now let vs goe to ỹ other meane of our iustification, whereby we doe take holde of the grace of iustification in Christe. We do not deuide the iustification it selfe, nor diminish the glorye of the grace of Christe when we doe make two meanes of it. For the wholenesse of it dothe consist in the worke of redemption, albeit that we do not take holde of it. But what is this other meane? The meritemõgers doe make it good workes, and will haue oure iustification before God to stand by them. But to be iustifyed by workes, is to deserue forgiuenesse and absolutiõ from sinnes, and saluation also by oure owne doings. Whiche opinion is well lyked with the iudgement of reason, but it is quite cõtrary vnto the Apostolike and true doctrine. In déede workes do iustify, taking iustifie to be, to declare iust: euen as white heares doe make a man olde, bycause they be a signe of age, but workes do thys before menne and not before God, nor they can not take holde of forgyuenesse of sinnes and deliuerance from their deserued condemnation. For then it shoulde be false that the Apostle saith: We be iustifyed freely by his grace. For to him that worketh, his reward is imputed vnto him for a duety and not vpon grace and fauour. Wherefore the errours of thase men is to grosse to deceyue any of them whiche hath looked ouer the holy Scriptures neuer so sleightly. For it dothe not agrée with that sense nother, when they wil haue Iustifie, to be as much as to make iust. For workes doe not goe before hym that is to be iustifyed, but do followe him which is alreadie iustifyed, witnesse Augustine, and workes do come of Grace, not grace of workes, witnesse

nesse the same Augustine. But let vs leaue them alyde, and hére the Apostle pronouncing playnely of thys meane of apprehension.

Phil. 3.

The Apostle saith: They be iustifyed freely by his grace, by the redemption whiche is in Christ Iesu, whome God hath set forth the reconciler by faith in his bloud. Item, We do suppose therefore, that man is iustifyed by faith, without the workes of the lawe. Item, Forasmuch as it is one God whiche dothe iustifye the circumcised by faithe, and the vncircumcised by faithe. To him whyche dothe not worke but dothe beléeue in him, whiche doth iustifie the wicked, his faithe is imputed for righteousenesse. Item, The inheritance is gyuen by faith, that the promise may be sure by grace. Item, It is not written for bycause of him onely, that it was imputed vnto him, but for vs also to whome it is imputed, beléeuing vppon him whiche rayled oure Lorde Iesus from the dead, whiche was deliuered for oure sinnes, and rayled vp for the iustification of vs. Againe: Therefore being iustifyed by faithe, we haue peace towardes God, by oure Lorde Iesu Christ, by whome it is befallen vnto vs also, that by faith we shoulde be trayned vnto this grace, wherein we do stãd. And to the Galathians: We of nature Iewes, and not sinners of the Gentiles, forasmuch as we do know, that man is not iustifyed by ỹ works of the lawe, but by the faith of Iesus Christ: and we haue beléeued in Iesus Christe, to the intent we may be iustifyed by the faithe of Christe and not by the workes of the lawe. Item, The Scripture foreséeing that God dothe iustifie the Gentiles by faithe. And: That I may be founde in him not hauing my righteousenesse of the lawe, but the same whiche is by the faith of Christe, whyche is the righteousnesse that commeth of God, vpon faith.

By these and other lyke testimonies, it is manifest, that the same other meane wherby we do apprehend and take hold of the grace of Iustification, is nother workes, nother the worthinesse of any qualitie of ours, but faith in Christ, vnto which oure saluation and euerlasting lyfe also is attributed by manye testimonies of the doctrine of the Gospell: whiche bycause we maye fynde them euery where, we will not alledge them at this present. And they be to bée vnderstanded not onely of the historicall faith, albeit that the same be requisite also, but of the same Faithe, whereby in beleeuing the promises of the Gospel, we do giue vp our selues wholly, with sure trusse vnto Christ our Sauiour and redéemer. For by this Faith wherin we be ioyned vnto Christ, we bée discharged of oure sinnes, wée bée deliuered from the guilt of them, and we be iustified and that freely by grace. Wherfore they do teache aright, whiche do call this faithe, the sure trust, leaning to the promises of the Gospell. And wée may find this sense of this word, not seldom, but very often in the Scriptures: where To beléeue is vsed, for to trust, and faith for trust: nor there is no other sense that doeth agrée with this saying, when it is said that faith doth iustifie: for it is most manifest, that Iustifying commeth not by hystoricall Faythe: for so the

Iustifying faith is the gift in the bloud of Christ.

deuill should be saued also, for he beleeueth also and doubteth nothing of the historie of Christ. Wherefore it must nedes be, that we must understand that this saying is concerning the trust, whereby in beleeuing we do assuredly trust to the promises of the Gospell, that we be redeemed by the bloud of Christ and reconciled to God the father.

The obiections of the aduersaries.

They that be more moued vppon reason than vppon Gods worde, for as much as they do not consider the purpose of Gods will, they doe fynde faulte with thys faith: and bycause they do not fynde it worthy inough, as that a sinfull man should be iustifyed by it, and reconciled vnto God and saued, they doe deuise some one thing, and some an other, to adde vnto it as some waight of more merite and valew, by the helpe and encrease whereof they maye apprehende this iustification before God as it were by heape measure. And they be of such affection whiche do adde vnto it the obedience and képing of Gods lawes and of all good workes.

2 Secondly, there be some that do put vnto it the loue of God, and both of these doe holde that Faithe onelye dothe not iustifye, but faithe ioyned with workes and the loue of God.

3 Thirdly, some beganne to attribute iustification vnto faithe, not in respect that it dothe apprehende forgiuenesse and absolutiō from sinnes, but in respect that it doth apprehend Christ himselfe, so that he doth dwel in our heartes, and doth by his essentiall righteousnesse, renue vs and make vs iust.

4 Yet there be some also which do graunt, that we be iustifyed by faith by the forgiuenes of sinnes, but they do restrayne it to the beginnyng of our conuersion, when we do beginne firste to beléeue in Christe. Of these pointes let vs consider nowe one after another.

And firste of all I doe giue moste harty thankes vnto God the father through Christe our sauiour, that he doth with other maner eyes consider the trust of his mercy which he hath of hys frée gifte poured into oure hartes, and doth estéeme and regard it more for Christes sake, than either the olde either the newe Scholemen doe. We ought to estéeme this faith not in the respect of the qualitie of it selfe, but in respect of the purpose of God, that he determined to impute it for righteousnesse to them whiche beléeue in Christe, for his sake. Nor these Doctours oughte not to haue wayed it so light: for euen in ỳ same that they teache vs to doubte of the grace of God, they doe sufficiently discouer themselues, howe that it is no pẽce of our strength, but the speciall gift of God, to beléeue in Christ and with assured trust to rest vpon his Grace.

They that do say, that fayth doeth not suffise in ỳ matter of iustification, and therefore doe ioyne vnto it good workes, by the helpe of the whiche it doth iustify, do heape vp together al those places of the scriptures, in whyche there is anye mention made of workes, of reward, of recompence, and of the iudgement of God, wherin euery manne shall bée rewarded, according vnto his doings, as though we spake of a vayne and vnprofytable fayth, and did reiect good workes, when we doe saye according to the rule of the Apostles doctrine, that the iustifying fayth alone dothe iustifye freely and without good workes. We knowe that faithe can in no wise be vnfruitfull, of whose efficacie and might, we noted somewhat before, when we spake of it in a place by it selfe. We knowe that the workes of Faithe be acceptable in Goddes sighte, and that they be required of the faithfull and of thē that be iustifyed, that they bring forthe good workes, as it were good fruites, Whereof we will giue a seuerall note hereafter. But the question is here, whether that good workes doe auaple anye thing wyth God to our iustification and reconciliation. They say that faith doth not iustify alone, but faith togither with workes. Which is euen a lyke matter, as to say, that the goodnesse of the tree doth not alone, but that it dothe with the fruite make the tree fruitefull. But we say in the cõtrary wise, that faith only doth iustify. It is one thing to be alone, and an other to bring forth fruite alone. We say not that it is alone, meaning that it is vneffectuall and without fruite of good workes. But yet, albeit it bée not so alone, yet for all that it dothe iustifye alone, in what meaning so euer they doe take the worke of Iustifying.

For it doth iustifye not in respecte that it is effectuall by loue, but in respect that it doth apprehend the mercy of God, and forgiuenes of sinnes, and of condemnation. Yea, And in respecte also that it dothe renue and clense our hearts, that is to say, doth make men iust, and dothe iustifye alone without any help of workes, in which sense they themselues do take this word of Iustification. For euen so it dothe goe before the workes also, whiche it dothe produce of it selfe. It must of necessitie firste become a good tree. And thē after that ỳ fruites do followe, whiche doe not make the tree good, of whence they woulde not come, vnlesse it were good, but they doe declare that the tree is good. In like case we must iudge also of fayth and workes. Wherefore it is a great inconuenience, to denye that faythe only or without workes dothe iustifye. And they do vs great wrong to call thys doctrine newe and heretical, whereas manye of the fathers also did vse manifestly the very same kinde of speach.

Ambrose vsed thys word only or freely. Ad Ro. c. 4.

Ambrose in his Commentaries vppon the Epistle to the Romaines sayeth: They be iustifyed freely, bycause they do worke nothing, nor do nothing to requite it, they be iustifyed by faith onely, by the gift of God. And in the same place: But to hym which beléeueth in him. &c. he sayeth, that it is so determined by God, that when the lawe ceassed, the grace of God should require faith onely vnto saluation. Item, He dothe confirme the same by the example of the Prophet. He calleth it the blessednesse of man, to whome God hath attributed righteousnesse without workes. He calleth them blessed, to whome God hathe ordered this, that they shoulde be iustifyed in his sighte by faith onely, without any labour or obseruation. And also: Onely faythe (sayeth he) is giuen vnto saluation. Rom. 9.

Sée howe oftentymes this man dyd vse and beate in, thys worde Only,

which our aduersaries do condemne to be Heresie. Againe he sayth: They be manifestly blessed, whose wickednesse be forgiuen without any labour or worke: and their sinnes hyden without any workes of repentaunce soughte of them, but onely that they muste beléeue. This sayeth he. But let vs sée others also.

Hilarius in Matth. 9. Hilary vpon these wordes of Matthew, Thy sinnes be forgiuen thée, sayeth: It troubleth the Scribes that sinne is forgyuen by man, for they considered man only in Christe Iesu, and that he forgaue the same whiche the lawe could not lose. For faith only doth iustifie.

Athanas. in Gal. 3. Athanasius vpon the wordes of the Apostle saith. Forasmuch as in the lawe no man is iustifyed, &c. Nowe he dothe declare playnely (sayth hée) that the very fayth, yea alone, hathe power to iustifie.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. 2. Chrysostom vpon the Epistle to the Romaines in that place: For the iustice of God is reuealed in it, &c. For thou canst not (sayeth he) purchase it with any sweat and trauails of thy body, but by the gifte of Gods grace: thou must néedes receyue that freely which commeth from aboue: thou must bring this only of thyne owne, that thou beléeue. And vppon these words, Where is thy glorying? Héere he declareth (saith he) the power of God, that he did not only saue vs, but iustifye vs also, and brought vs into his glorye, vsing no workes thereunto, but requiring faith onely.

Homel. 7.

Rom. 3. Item, vppon that, We be saued by hope: For we do yéelde to God thys only gifte, that we doe beléeue his promise in things to come, and we be saued by this way only. And vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians vppon that, And now in Christ: Either saith he, He meaneth of faith, calling it the decrée. For by faith only he saued vs. This is Chrysostk.

Homil. 3.

Origen ad Romans 3. And Origen doth trauayle much to proue that faith only doth iustify, and that the iustifying of fayth alone, is sufficiente. And that he dothe proue by the examples of the théefe, the synfull woman, and the Publican.

Chrysost. in Rom. 5.

Basilius in Hom. de initio. And Basile hath this: And the Apostle sayeth, He that glorieth, lette him glorye in the Lorde. Where hée sayde. For that Christ is made vnto vs from God, wisedome, iustice, holinesse and redemption, to the intent, that as it is written: Whosoeuer doth glorye, let him glorye in the Lord. For the same is the perfecte and full glorying in God, when no man is proude of his owne righteousnesse, but dothe acknowledge that he is destitute of true iustice, and iustifyed by faith only in Christ.

These and many other like things be redde in the writings of the fathers, whereby we may sée, that wée be not the fyrst that do vse this word Only or Alone, to expresse the meaning of the Apostle, and to aduance the glory of Gods grace, séeyng that the fathers themselues vsed the same before vs, whose writings oure aduersaries doe regarde welnére as muche as they doe the Canonicall scriptures. They crie out, that it is not so in the wordes of the Apostle. Let them say so to ỳ fathers, whome they will haue taken for the pillers of the Church. Let them striue with them rather than with vs. If it be heresie to say, Faith in Christ only doth iustifie,

iustifie, lette them condemne the fathers themselues of heresie, yea they must nédes make them the archheretikes. Let thé not accepte persons, but let thé iudge iustly. Let them acknowledge that ỳ same whiche they spake without heresie, and is spoken also by vs, is no heresie at all.

They sawe that this doctrine dyd aduance and further the glorye of Gods grace. And Chrysostome vpon the Epistle to the Colossians, called it the glory and riches of the mistery of God. And vpon the Epistle to the Romaines where it is saide: What shall we say then, that Abraham, &c. he sayth thus: For it is no noueltie for him to be saued by faith, whyche hath no workes: But for him which is adorned with good déedes, to bée made iust by faith, and not by them, that is a wonderfull poynt, and doth most chiefely declare the power of faith. But our aduersaries whé they do teach that ỳ iustifying of vs dothe not consist in faith only but in workes also, what doe they else, but obscure the glory of Gods grace, and extoll the merites of oure workes? They do not sée that it is necessary that our iustifying do consist in faith only, for as muche as it is beestowed freely, If they can not abide the word Only or Alone, let them leaue it and vse thys word Freely. For in case we be iustifyed freely by faithe, as the Apostle doth testifie, it must nédes followe that we be iustifyed not by faith and workes, but by faithe onely. If it be not by faithe onely, but by workes withall, then it is not freely but of duetie. If it be of duetie and not freely, then there is left no glory of Gods grace at all. To this ende they striuing dothe come. And this is the endeuoure and deuice of Satan, who is altogither against the glory of Gods grace.

But héere some men, when they sée that they be ouerwhelmed wyth the iudgements of so many of the fathers, and that they cã not for shame auoyde this worde Onely, they doe flée to this shift, that they doe graunt that man is iustifyed by faithe onely in Christ, but they doe put to it, that this is done onely at the beginning of our faith, that is to say, when wée begin firste to beléeue in Christe, so that we must take it that Paule dyd affirme, that the sinnes did not hynder the Gentiles, but that they were iustifyed by faithe onely, as sone as they began to beléeue in Christ, and that the workes did profite ỳ Iewes nothing at all at the beginning when they came to Chryste, but that their faythe was reputed to them also in stéede of ryghteousenesse. And they doe so affyrme thys, bycause they woulde wynne thys poynte of vs, that they whyche be once iustifyed by faythe, when they haue once sinned agayne after that iustification, they can not be iustifyed now again by faythe, that is to saye, freely, as before, but they muste bée iustifyed by workes, that is to say, by Satisfaction.

Of them vvhich do say, that at oure firste tourning vve be iustifyed by faith, but aftervvardes not so.

To these men we doe answere, that thys shift is vtterly fonde, and to no purpose. For if they doe take the worde of iustifying as we do, for to be absoyled frõ sinnes, it is manifest ỳ we must néeds haue this iustification whiche doeth consiste in frée forgiuenesse of sinnes all oure lyfe long: vnlesse it be in vain which our

Lord taught vs to pray, And forgiue vs oure trespasses as we forgiue thē that trespas againste vs. Whyche John interpreteth of them whyche do beléeue and be iustifyed. My chyldren, if anye man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the Father, and he is the forgiuenesse for our sinnes. Hée sayeth not, that he was the propitiation for our sinnes, and that now we must be iustifyed by oure workes, and we our selues to satisfy for oure sinnes, but he dothe sette forth to the Churche of God a continuall and euerlasting propitiatiō for our sinnes in Christ, that is to say, the forgyuenesse of sinnes and iustification.

1. Iohn. 2.

2 But if they meane that iustice whiche is the effecte of this iustification, whereby oure heartes bée clensed and oure lyfe renued, nor the same nother dothe so perteyne to faithe, that it is to bée referred to the beginning of it onely, and that so all oure lyfe after must néedes haue the iustice of workes whereby wée shoulde be saued. For this were as muche to saye, as that the soule doth at the fyrste gyue lyfe to the bodye, but not so afterwardes: as though that the whole lyfe giuing, during all our life after, depended not of the soule, but of oure workes. The Apostle sayeth: The iust man lyueth by faithe. The life of iust men is adorned with many trimme vertues, and yet for all that no thanke to anye of them but vnto faythe onely that we doe lyue godly and with clensed heartes in the sighte of God. Thys briefely we thought good to aunswer vnto their imagination.

A similitude.

They do charge vs with the place of James. But I say whatsoeuer he were, if he shoulde speake contrary to the iudgemente of Paule, yet for all that he shoulde not be any preiudice to the truthe. It is a cléere case that he doth speake of the vayne and dead faithe, whiche the counterfaite Christians did euery where boast of wordes, so that hée séemeth that hée meante to expresse the very striuing of the common people, when he once craketh of his faithe, and the other calleth for the workes, whereby hys faith is tryed. But when Paule doth attribute iustification vnto faithe, he speaketh not of a dead and counterfaite faith, but of a true and liuely faithe. And therefore are those wordes of James, What auayleth it my bréethren, if any man say that he hath faith, and haue no déedes, Is faith able to saue him? He sayeth not simply, If a man hath faith, but if a man say that he hath faithe, whereby he dothe declare, that he dothe touche their vayne boasting whyche sayde, that they had faith when they hadde none but dead and counterfaite faithe. And he addeth to it this: In case a brother or syster be naked, and stande in néede of theyr dayly reliefe, and anye of you saye vnto them: Goe a Goddes name, bée warme and fyll your selues, and yet for all that you gyue them nothyng that is necessarye for the bodye, what profyte shall there bée? So faithe, if it haue not workes, it is dead of it selfe. But some man wyll saye: Thou haste Faithe, and I haue workes, Shewe mée thy Faythe of thy workes, and I wyll shewe thée my faythe of my workes. And bycause wée shoulde vnderstand what faith they did vainely

boast

boaste off, he addeth, saying: Doest thou beleue that there is one God? thou doest well, the Deuils do also beleue, and feare. He sayth not, beleuest thou in Christ? or beleuest thou the promisses of God? or trustest thou in God? but thou beleuest that there is one God. The Apostles did in the beginning of their preaching defende the vnitie of God among the Gentils, to confounde their errour of many Gods. This faith many receiuing, stucke so vnto it, as though it were alone sufficient to saue thē? and they did so boast of it, as though that they were perfecte Christian men, by and by, bycause they beleued in one God, Whereas the very Deuils did beleue also the same. But hitherto James spake not of the verye Faith of the promisses of Christ, of which Paule speaketh, when he disputeth of iustification, which can not be Idle and dead. Wherefore he doeth set forth the example of Abraham as not appertaining vnto that matter, when he saith. Wylt thou knowe thou vayne man, that faith is dead without workes? Was not Abraham our father iustifyed by his workes, when he offered his sonne Isaac vppon the altare? thou séest that faith doeth worke towarde his doinges, and that by his doinges his faith was made perfect? and the Scripture was fufilled which saith: Abraham beleued God, and it was imputed to him for iustice, and was called the friende of God.

He doeth confounde the worde of Fayth. For vntil this place whiles he blamed the dead and vaine fayth, he spake of that that we beleue that ther is one god, which no doubt is in many folke verye ydle and vaine. But as for the Example of Abraham, that is not so reported in the Scriptures, that he did onely beleue that there is one God, but that he hadde fayth also to the promisses of God. Which is expressed thus, Abraham beleued God, and it was imputed vnto him for iustice. This faith is onlye of the electes: but the same whereby we doe beleue that there is one God, is cōmon to good and euil, yea, and to the Deuils also: the one is imputed for iustice before God, and the other is not so: the one is liuely and working by the spirit of God, and the other faith, without this faythe, is vayne and deade.

This confounding of the worde of faith, doth make the matter blinde to the reader. Wherefore we muste diligently marke, that Paule and James spake of two sundry faithes. How muche better I pray you had it bene, to haue diligently and plainly distincted, that true and very Christian faythe, whiche Paule doeth preache euerye where, from that which is common to the Iewes and Christians bothe, yea, and to the Turkes also, and Deuils, than to haue myngled them one with an other, and to set forthe so contrarye a saying from the Apostles doctrine? wherevpon he doth inferre and say: Ye sée therefore, that man is iustifyed by his déedes and not by faith onlye? Whereas the Apostle doeth most strongly argue vpon that that the scripture saith, Abraham beleued God, and it was imputed vnto him to iustice: in this wise, what shall we say then, that Abraham our fa-

Mm.v the

ther accoꝛding to the flesshe foundꝛ. Foꝛ if Abꝛaham were iustified by his woꝛkes, hee hath cause to glooꝛye, but not with God. Foꝛ what saith scripture? Abꝛaham beleued God, & it was imputed to hym foꝛ iustice. But vnto hym whyche woꝛketh, the reward is not imputed accoꝛdyng vnto grace, but accoꝛdyng vnto dutye. But vnto him which dothe not woꝛke, but beleueth in hym whyche dothe iustifye the wicked, hys faythe is imputed foꝛ iustice, &c.

And in the ende of the Chapiter: And it is not written bycause of him only, that it was imputed vnto hym, but bycause of vs also, vnto whome it is imputed beleuing vpon him, who rayſed vp our loꝛd Iesus Chriſt from the dead, who was deliuered foꝛ our sinnes, and rayſed vp foꝛ the iustification of vs. This saith the Apoſtle, of whoſe doctrine woe doe doubte nothing at all.

Compare nowe the conclusion of thys James with thys argumentatiõ of the Apoſtle: you doe see therfoꝛe (saith he) that man is iustifyed by woꝛks and not by faith onely, conſider how contrary it is. I say nothing how that the Scripture maketh no mention of iustifycation in the hiſtoꝛy of the offering of Isaac, noꝛ of the woꝛkes, neither of Abꝛaham in that place, when he sayth: Abꝛaham beleued GOD, and it was imputed to him foꝛ righteouſneſſe. Wherefoꝛe he ſhoulde haue inferred moꝛe directlye in thys soꝛte: You ſee therefoꝛe that Abꝛaham did not onelye beleue that there is one God, but he gaue Faith also to hys promiſſes, and the ſame faith which was imputed to him foꝛ iuſtyce, was no Idle fayth, but founde to be effectuall in a notable woꝛk. Thys we ought to obſeruc touchyng faithe in thys place.

Now concerning woꝛkes, it is a playne matter, that the iuſtification of Abꝛaham which came vnto him by Fayth, was many yeres befoꝛe the fact of the offering of Isaac. Wherof is written in Geneſis the xv. chapiter. So that it was the fact oꝛ woꝛke of a man wpich was iuſtifyed befoꝛe by the fayth in the pꝛomiſſes of God. Wherefoꝛe it could not concurre wpth faythe in the point of his iuſtifycation. In deede he offered his ſonne in faith, and the very ſame wherby he was iuſtyfied befoꝛe: And ſo the fayth and fact were ioyned together, but the iuſtification of Abꝛaham whiche wente befoꝛe, was imputed onely vnto faith. Therefoꝛe let them ſay which doe obiecte this place of James againſt the doctrine of the Apoſtle, that James toke the woꝛde of Iuſtifyng here one wayes, and Paule, an nother wayes. That James toke it foꝛ to be declared iuſt, which ſenſe is aright applied to the woꝛkes of faith: and that Paule toke it foꝛ acquiting from ſinnes, and to bee reputed with God foꝛ iuſte. Foꝛ vnleſſe they ſay ſo, they can not defende this James, but that he muſt nedes be founde contrarye to the Apoſtle, and foꝛ that cauſe to be diſalowed.

The ordinary gloſe out of Auguſtine ſayth, that Paule and James do agree in this ſoꝛte. That wheras Abꝛaham was iuſtified by fayth without good woꝛkes, it is vnderſtanded of the woꝛkes which went befoꝛe

befoꝛe: foꝛ he was not made iuſte foꝛ the woꝛkes which he did, but foꝛ fayth onely. And here it is meant of the woꝛkes which doe follow fayth, by whiche he was iuſtifyed the moꝛe, whereas he was iuſte befoꝛe by faith. Wherefoꝛe Paule ſayth: Abꝛaham offeꝛed Isaac by faith, when he was pꝛoued. Thys oblation was the woꝛke and teſtimony of his faith and iuſtice. This hee writeth vpon the Epiſtle of James. So that if the offering of Isaac was the teſtymony of the Faith and iuſtice of Abꝛaham, then he was not iuſtifyed by it, but declared therby to be iuſte.

They that doe aſcribe loue also to our iuſtification, to the intent that they woulde pꝛoue that fayth doeth not iuſtifie alone, doe alledge that saying of Chriſt: Many ſinnes be foꝛgiuen hir, bicauſe ſhe loued muche. Lo (saith he) there is manyfeſtly attribute foꝛgiueneſſe of ſinnes vnto loue. If to be iuſtifyed be to be aſſoyled from ſinnes. *Ergo*, not faythe alone, but loue also doth iuſtifie. To them we do anſwere, that the loue of the ſame woman was not the cauſe of the foꝛgiueneſſe of hir ſinnes, but the pꝛoofe and the declaration of it. She had obteined foꝛgiueneſſe of hir ſinnes by fayth in Chriſte, and when ſhe was thereby iuſtified, ſhe loued him feruentlye, and did openlye declare the ſame loue. And therefoꝛe that which Chriſt ſayd in that place: There be foꝛgiuen to hir many ſinnes, and pꝛoueth it by that which he addeth: foꝛ aſmuche as ſhee loueth muche. As though he had ſayde: It is no wonder that ſhee loueth me ſo muche, ſhe hathe good reaſon to do ſo, foꝛ there be foꝛgiuen hir manye ſinnes. So we ſaye: He hathe obteyned his purpoſe, foꝛ he laugheth and is merye. Item: He is ſoꝛe hurte, foꝛ he is verye angry. Item, He is verye hungrye, foꝛ he eateth apace. Therefoꝛe this appeareth to be a very weake argument, that the aduerſaries do take out of this place againſt the doctrine of Faithe, that doeth iuſtifye. They might haue vnderſtanded it by the ſimilitude that went befoꝛe of two detters, of which when Simon was aſked, whether of them bothe did loue his creditour the better that foꝛgaue them theyꝛ dettes: he aunſwered, I ſuppoſe he to whome he foꝛgaue moſte. And agayne by that which the Loꝛd added, ſaying: And he which hathe the leſſe foꝛgiuen hym, doeth loue the leſſe: whiche ſhoulde be taken after theyꝛ meaning in this ſenſe: Foꝛ he that loueth leſſe, hathe leſſe foꝛgiuen him. And that this woman obteyned foꝛgiueneſſe of hir ſinnes, not by loue by but by faith, it appeareth by that that whē the gueſtes which ſate at the boꝛde, thought in theyꝛ minde: Who is this whiche doeth alſo foꝛgiue ſinnes? The Loꝛd ſayde vnto hir: Thy faith hathe made thee ſafe, go in peace. How did faith make hir ſafe, but bycauſe that in beleuing ſhe had obteyned foꝛgiueneſſe of hir ſinnes?

As foꝛ them which do appoint that neither the obedience, deathe, and bloud, but the Godhed of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of our iuſtification, and doe ſequeſter the foꝛgiueneſſe of ſinnes from our iuſtification, ſo that they doe ſay, that foꝛgiueneſſe doeth goe befoꝛe, and then the iuſtifycation,

The opinion of Oſiander.

tion commeth after, which commeth vnto vs by the essentiall iustice of Christ dwelling in vs, according vnto his Godhead, manye haue made them aunswere already: wherefore we answere briefly, that we can not lyke, that contrary to the doctrine of the Apostle, they doe sequester iustification from forgiuenesse of sinnes, as appeareth by that which is spoken before: and there is no cause why they should so do, seyng that it is certain, that they which be iustified by fayth, be regenerate by the holye spirite, and directed vnto good workes: and that the same point is not to be allowed that they do in this matter sequester the nature of God in Christe, from the manhode, obedience, and death of Christe. We know that Christ doth dwell in our hartes by his spirit, and doeth frame vs a new, that we should be a newe creature, ready to all good workes: but we do not seke in this article, of whence we be regenerate, to newe men, but of whence we be iustified before God, in that sorte of iustice, whereby we may haue peace in our consciences before him, and whereby we maye be saued, yea and doe stande fast and boldelye in the iudgement of God agaynst the sentence of condemnation. And this ý death of Christ doth giue vnto vs, iustifying and deliuering from sinnes all them which do beleue in him, and not by that infused and essentiall iustice, whiche bycause we do not atcheue vnto perfectly in this lyfe, it can not quiet our consciences. But let this serue for that point, wherein we be iustified before God. And this which we haue spoken may profit the godlye, and satisfie them which be not contentious, as for the rest, we take no charge of.

VI. To vvhat purpose God doth iustifie vs.

The fruites of this iustification be great and inestimable. God doeth iustifie vs and acquite vs of our sinnes, not to ý intent, that when we be iustified, we shoulde by our euill liuing shame his name & grace, as though he did not abhorre sinne: but in suche sorte that he hath a regarde both of our saluation and of his owne glorye also. And these be the speciall fruites of this iustification, which I do plainly finde.

The first is, that the glorye of Gods iustice, that is to say, the goodnesse of God be shewed and auaunced. So the Apostle meaneth when he saith: They be iustified frely by his grace, by the redemption which is in Christ Iesu, whom God sette for to be reconciler by fayth in his bloud, to the shewing of his righteousnesse, &c. And, Abraham staggered not at the promise of God through lacke of beleefe, but he was made strong by faithe, giuing glorie vnto God, conceyuing a certaine assurednesse, that he which had promised, was able also to performe the same. *Ergo* he which doeth beleue the promises of God, doeth glorie him, giuing him glory both of truth and of power, and is iustified to this ende, that the glory of his goodnesse be auaunced.

2 Secondly, this iustification falleth out to the quietnesse of our consciences, whereof the Apostle speaketh, saying: Therefore being iustified by faith, we haue peace towards God, by our Lord Iesus Christ. And wheresouer this peace is, there can be none of that doubting, which the Scholemen of our tyme do teache. For the doubting and the quietnes of conscience, be quite contrarie. Yea, we haue not onely the quietnesse of conscience, but a certaine glory also by this iustification, which thing can not be with doubting. And the same glorie is that when we doe glorie in the hope of Gods glory and in our afflictiõs also. Looke to the Romaines: For he wold haue vs so farre from doubting of the grace of God in Christ, that we muste haue quiet consciences towardes hym, and hartily glorye also vpon the hope of his glorie, & that he doeth for that cause frelye iustifie vs bicause of our faith in Christ.

3 Thirdly, this iustification doth furder vs to the holines of lyfe & studye of iustice. Thereof the Apostle doth admonishe them which be iustifyed, as well in the beginnings as in the ende also of the syrte chapiter, wher he saith: But now being made free, that is to say, quited and discharged from sinne, you haue your fruite vnto sanctification. And to the Corinthians: Neither whoremongers, nor worshippers of Images, nor adulterers, &c. shall receiue the inheritaunce of Gods kingdome: And this you were sometymes, but you be washed, but you be sanctified, but you be iustified by the name of our Lord Iesu, and by the spirit of our God, &c. by which words he doth warne them, that forasmuch as they be iustified, they muste from hence forth giue themselues to godlinesse, to holynesse of lyfe, and iustice, &c. For this cause the spirit of Christ is giuen to them which be iustified, by whom they be altered to a newnesse of lyfe, which newnesse beyng receiued by the holy spirit of god, is not of it selfe the iustification, but the fruits of Iustification.

4 Fourthly, this iustification which is by fayth in Christ, doeth tende also to the glorye of them which be iustifyed. Hereof the Apostle speaketh to ý Romains, saying: Whom he hathe appointed before, them he hath called also: and whom he hath called, them hee hathe iustified also: and the same whome hee hathe iustified, he hath glorified also. He speaketh in the tyme passe, for bycause that God hath appointed them whiche be iustified to the glorye of Gods Children, which is to come, which we doe yet loke for in hope.

The glory of them vvich be iustified. *Rom.* 8.

5 Fiftly, God doeth iustifie vs by grace frely in Christ, that we may be saued and be made partakers of eterall lyfe. Of this Paule maketh mention, saying: But after that the goodnesse and loue towards man, of God our sauiour appeared, he saued vs not by the workes, which are in rightuousnesse which we did, but according vnto his own mercy, by the bathe of regeneration, and renewing of the holy spirite, which he poured plentifullye into vs by Iesu Christe our sauiour: that being iustified by his grace, we might be made heires, according to the hope of euerlasting lyfe. This saith he. And he calleth the worde of this doctrine, Undoubtfull, bycause of the infallyble truthe and certentie of it. Wherfore I doe

Saluation and lyfe euerlasting. *Tit.* 3.

epre-

ercedingly maruell of the dulneſſe of our aduerſaries, that they ſée not the light of this doctrine, nor feele not the inestimable grace which thei do ſo much ſtriue againſt, in the elects of God. Thus much we haue noted of this place of iuſtification, and haue ſayd the leſſe, bycauſe that it is more plentifully treated of by others: and we haue alſo ſaide ſomewhat more of it vpon the Epiſtle to the Romaines.

Of good workes.

After the Iuſtification of ỹ elects which is by faith in Chriſt Ieſu, we muſt conſider of good workes, chiefly bicauſe of them which doe partly blame vs, for this doctrine of the Apoſtolike trueth, wherein we ſay that we be iuſtified by Faith onlye, as thoughe we did reiecte good workes, and ſpake of an vaine and idle Faith: other ſome partly allowe it, but yet doe euill applie it, as though they ſhoulde obteyne or had already obteined by faith ſuche a ſalnation, which ſhoulde doe no good worke, and as though it were not required of ỹ beleuers, that they ſhuld be fruitfull in good workes, and yet both partes may be well enough anſwered by thoſe thinges, which we haue ſayde before of Faith, how it is nothing leſſe than Idle, but is ſundry wayes effectual, and doth worke the effectes of godlineſſe and charity in the beleuers.

They muſte alwaye worke well. Gen. 1.

1 Firſt, like as al things be ſo made of God, that they be not vaine, but good and profitable, according vnto that ſaying: And God ſawe al that he had made, and they were verye good: ſo he made man alſo not to be idle and ſluggiſhe, but that euerye man ſhuld according vnto his eſtate and hability, which he hath receyued of God, worke continuallye thoſe things that be good and profitable. But Satan hath diſordred and ouerthrowen this end and purpoſe of our creation by bringing in of ſinne, and Chriſt hathe brought it into order again, who was ſent into the worlde to this purpoſe, to deſtroy the worke of Satan. By him we be regenerated, ſo that being shaped to a newe creature, we may be profitable, and fruitefull in good workes. Therefore the Apoſtle ſayde: For we be his creature made vnto good workes in Chriſt Ieſu, whiche God prouided for vs to walke in. And: Who gaue himſelfe for vs to redeme vs from all wickednesſe, & to cleanſe to him an acceptable people, folowers of good workes. And to this purpoſe many of the admonitions of the lord and of the Apoſtle do tende, as the ſame in Matthewe: Let your lyght ſo ſhine before men, that they maye ſée your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen, And to the Galathians: Therfore whiles we haue tyme, let vs do good towards all men, and ſpecially toward them of the houſeholde of Faythe. To this vſe the holy ſcriptures were giuen. For all ſcripture inſpired frō God, ſaith the Apoſtle, is profitable to teache, to reproue, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, that the man of God be perfect, and furniſhed to all good workes. It is a cleare caſe

caſe then, that we be not ſo iuſtified by Faythe, that we ſhoulde be vnprofitable, barren, and vnfruitfull after our iuſtification: but rather that giuing our ſelues continually vnto good workes, we ſhoulde auaunce the glorye of Gods grace, and laye it before the eyes of al men, as the light of oure newe creature. Who doeth plante a tree, and digge aboute the rootes of it, meaning onely to haue it a tree, and not rather to haue it a good tree, and to beare good fruite? We be after the ſame ſorte regenerated in Chriſte and iuſtified, not to be Chriſtians in name onely, but to become good of euill, and to declare that goodneſſe receiued of Chriſte by good workes. In teaching of this, we doe neither giue occaſion to our aduerſaries, to condemne the doctrine of iuſtification, as though it did reiecte good workes: nor we be not in the fault, that the falſe Goſpellers doe liue more lyke Epicures in the Goſpell, than they liue like Chriſt.

2 Secondlye, we muſt ſée which be to be accompted good workes, after the rule of Chriſtian religion. There is greate diuerſitie of opinions herein. They which doe partly regarde and ſéke for gaine in the Church of Chriſt, more than the ſalnation of the faithful, and are partly blinded with ſuperſtitions: they do teach it to be good workes, if men doe heare a great ſorte of Maſſes euery daye in the Churche: if men fall proſtrate before images: if thou mumble out certaine prayers vnto certayne Saintes: if men giue well vnto them, if all thinges be largelye founde vnto prieſtes, fryers, and nunnes: if the Decrees of the prelates be diligentlye obſerued, and ſuche lyke ſtuffe deuoutelye done. But the good workes which be requyred of the faithfull, be voyde of al ſuperſtition, nor they be not bounde to anye place, perſon, or time. For they be as certaine fruites of oure whole lyfe, witneſſing of the goodneſſe of our minde, and declaring the nature of our heauenly father which maye be acknowledged to be good, not onely to the faithfull, but vnto the vnfaithfull alſo, and ſo giue them occaſion to glorifie God our father. Good workes be the workes of faith, which worketh by loue. They be the workes of God, which he worketh in vs and by vs. Chriſte doeth particularly ſpeke of ſome of them, ſaying: I was hungry, and you gaue me meate, I was a thirſt, and you gaue me drinke, &c. And the Apoſtle is wonte to call the workes of charitie, Good workes.

Mat. 5.

Mat. 25. 21

Heb. 13. 21

2. Cor. 10. 1. Tim. 6. 1

It is a matter in vvhat minde good vvorkes bee done.

But for all that we muſt conſider here, of what minde thoſe things be wrought whiche be of themſelues good, whether of the affection of loue and mercie, or for ſome other cauſe. For he is not worthy ſtraight way, to haue the commendation of good workes, which doeth beſtowe meat, drinke, or clothing, vpon the poore not of the deſire to do good, but rather to hunt and hawke for glorie in the ſight of men. Wherefore all be not immediatlye good workes, whiche be eſteemed to be good, but it is requiſite firſte, that they be ſuch as do profite their neighbours: Secondlye that thei do proceede from a good and faythfull harte, and the affection of charitie: Thirdly we muſt reyſe

The vse of good vvorkes. Matth. 5.

der the vse of good workes.

The first is, to aduaunce the glory of our heauenlye father, this vse Christ teacheth hemself, saying: Let your lyght so shyne before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifye your Father whiche is in Heauen. So that in case there were none other vse of good workes but this only shewed by Christ him self, the teachers of workes ought not to charge vs with the abrogation of good workes, bicause that we doe denye that they do iustifye. For lyke as this is the chiefest desire of faythfull folkes, that they may glorifye the name of their Lord and God, so it is no small matter of waight vnto them, if they can glorifye the same with their good workes, although they get nothing else by it besides.

The second vse of good workes is, that we be assured by them in our consciences of our election and calling, in that we doe dayly more and more feele the grace and vertue of Christe by the meanes of them: like as on the contrary parte, euil workes do expresse and trye out more and more the malice of our hartes. And herevnto serueth the place of Peter, where we reade thus: Wherefore Brethren, take hede rather that you make your election and vocation assured.

2. Pet. 2.

The thirde is, that our faith is exercised, fedde, encreased, and strengthened by good workes. And this waye Paule doeth admonithe Timothée to kindle (as it were a fyre) the gifte of God within him. For lyke as the fyre by wasting of the wood wareth greater and stronger, so is godlinesse and faith fedde and

3. Tim. 1.

maynteyned in Christian men by the study of good workes, euen as by vse and exercise of vertuousnesse men doe come to a perfect habite of the same.

The fourth is, that by your good workes our neighbours be stirred to the like desire of godlinesse, when they doe see some lyuelie examples thereof in vs, which they may follow. So Paule writeth of almes dædes, saying: And your Zeale hath stirred many. And to the Ebrewes: Let vs consider our selues one an other, and to stirre one an other to charitie and good workes, &c. which is not to be vnderstanded of workes onely, but of examples of good workes also.

The fifte is, that by the applying of good workes, the necessities of the poore needye widowes, fatherlesse, outlawes, prisoners, and sickefolkes, &c. be relieued: which kinde of profit doeth resemble the very disposition of God. Yea and there is not prouision onely made for them hereby, for our common frailty also and lackes be supplied by this mutuall desire to do good one to an other. For godnesse which we are created vnto, is not determined in the workes of mercy only, but it doth reach vnto our whole lyfe common trade of liuing together, wherein one man is so knitte vnto an other by mutuall ayde and seruice, euen as the very members and partes of our body do one seruice, to the necessary ayde of the other. Wherefore they be not men, but the vaine shapes of men, which do ydelly spend all their life, as though they were borne to no other intent, but to consume meat and

drinke.

drinke. Thus much for the thirde point of the vse of good workes.

Fourthly, we must see whether and why they doe please God. And that they do please him, we may perceyue by the wordes of the Apostle when he saithe in this wise: That you may walke worthile in the sight of the Lorde, to please him in all pointes, beyng fruitefull in all good workes. *Ergo*, they that be fruitfull in all kindes of good workes, do please the Lord in all thinges. The reason is at hand. In dæde, Gods maiesty hathe no nede of our good workes, neither in wordes nor in dædes, and yet for all that, those thinges which we do well, do please him: firste, bicause the be the fruites of our faithe. For how can it be, but that he which doeth like the fayth of the beleuers, muste also lyke the fruites of their faith? As he doeth mislyke the workes whiche be done without fayth, so he doth allow and like the same which do procéde from a pure and sincere fayth.

Secondly, good workes do please him, bycause they be done by his spirit. For as the Apostle is witnesse, he doeth worke in vs, bothe to will and to perfourme, according vnto his good will. And Augustine doeth say aryghte, that he doeth crowne his good workes in vs. In dæde those things which we do well by the spirit of God, are not perfectly good, bicause of our owne imperfection, but yet forasmuch as they do come from him, it can not be, but that they must be lyked of him, as the author and beginner of them.

The thirde reason is, bycause that those thinges whiche faithfull men doe, they doe them for their Lorde Goddes sake, whome they seke to please in all pointes, And how shuld he not like this minde in them? But we must beware that we open not a gappe here vnto them, which doe many thinges, neyther of sincere fayth, neither of the spirit of God, but vpon superstition and common custome, for that they surmise that those thinges doe please God, whereas they doe earnestlye displease him. We knowe that saying of Christe. They doe worshippe me in vayne, teaching the doctrines and commandementes of menne. The Iewes, Turkes, and counterfaite Christians, be farre out of the way in this matter.

The fourthe cause is, bycause that his iustice is suche, that he loueth the same whiche is iuste and good. In this sorte beynge him selfe of all moste iuste, he loueth good, iuste, and vpright workes, lyke as in the contrary, he doeth abhorre not onely the very wickednesse, and vnrighteousnesse of the naughty heart, but all the fruites also of this wickednesse and vniustice, what colour soeuer they be bragged out by. Dauid saythe: Thou hatte hated all them which do worke wickednesse, thou shalt destroye all them whiche doe speake lyes. And Peter sayth: But in all people whosoeuer feareth God, and worketh righteousnesse, is accepted of him.

That vvhich is iuste and good, is loued of God.

Act. 10.

Fiftly, forasmuch as he is full of truthe, our good workes are liked also of him, in that respecte, that they doe procéde of true godlinesse, godnesse, and faythe, which trueth he doeth regarde in all points. All dis-

God doeth like good vvorkes for the truths sake.

semblers are abhorred before God and men. In the contrary, God loueth trueth, not onlye in those things which be well done by the electe and faythfull, but in them also which do without dissimulatiō truely confesse their faultes.

For these causes and many others yet, which we haue not rehearsed, it is most assured, that the good works of the faithfull doe please their God, so that we muste apply good workes not only bycause they be in sundrye sortes profitable, but also bycause they doe excéedinglye please God. Surelye I can not thinke him very godlye disposed, that is not moued by these two causes: It is a filthie and corrupt minde that hath regard to nothing but to the reward and repayment of his works, and accompteth all that he doth to deserue somewhat, as thoughe God were in his daunger.

It is a filthy thing to seke revvarde.

And yet the goodnesse of Goddes maiesty is suche, that it doeth consider and rewarde the good workes of the faithful, and is in no mans dette. And therefore is that sayde: Be glad and reioyce, for your rewarde is great in heauen. He that hathe giuen to one of my little ones a cup of colde water, verylye I saye vnto you, he shall not lose his rewarde. And, Come ye blessed of my father &c, I was hungrye, and ye gaue me meat. Item, to the Ebrewes: God is not vniust, that he wil forget your trauayle.

Of the revvarde of good vvorkes.

Matth. 5. & 10.

Matth. 25.

Hebr. 6.

When we reade this, we may not referre it to the desertes of oure good workes, but vnto the goodnesse of God, hauing in our mind that saying of our Lord. Although you do al, yet say that you be vnprofitable seruaunts: and that our rightuousnesse is compared by the Prophet to a defiled cloute. The remembrance of those sayings shal vtterly extinguish the consideration of our own deserts, and is impugned by the doctrine of Gods grace. Augustine sayth: Wo be to all our iustice, if it be iudged setting mercye aparte. Therefore this is a Christian sentence worthy to be beaten into all mens heades: Let not thy lefte hand know what thy right hand doeth. Let our right hande worke those thinges whiche be good and pleasaunte vnto GOD. And in the meane season lette oure hartes depende vppon the grace of Gods goodnesse only, and let not thy left hande wryte into thy kalender those thinges whiche be somewhat well done by the right hand. Lette the note of our good workes, be in Gods hande, and not in our owne. Let them be wayed by the balaunce of his goodnesse, and not by our own. What soeuer he doth rewarde vs either in this life, either in the lyfe to come, let vs thanke his grace of it, and not our desertes.

That vve must not attribute any merite to oure vvorkes.

And beynge of this minde and doctrine, we do derogate nothing from the doctrine of iustification, and of Gods grace nothing from the christian endeuour of good workes, nothing from Gods goodnesse, whiche giueth rewarde where no man deserueth any whitte: and so I suppose there is no doubt of the places of holy Scripture, whether they doe sette forthe fayth vnto vs or good workes. Fayth and good workes be in degrée one vnder the other, & not contrary. Wherefore lyke as we be not offended whē we do hear that God of his grace doth promisse life euerlasting, to them which doe beléeue in Christ, and that he imputeth iustice to their fayth: So we maye not be offended when we doe heare that God is iust, and that he abhorreth wickednesse, that he loueth rightuousnesse, that he rewardeth the good workes of the faithfull, and punisheth the wicked and reprobate. Bothe these pointes are in God, as well to destroy the reprobate in iust iudgement, as by his méere grace to saue the elect through Christe: as well to condemne the naughty doings of the reprobate, as to accept and recompence the good workes of the faithful, by his grace, through the very same Christ.

Away therfore with the doctrine of our merites, and of the confidence of our owne righteousnesse. Let the doctrine of the faythe in Christe be truelye taught, let the fruites of an effectuall faythe be required of the faythful, that they be not like barren trées: let the vse of good workes be declared vnto them, and withall let them be admonished, howe that it is in no case conuenient, that they shuld haue any hope or confidence in their owne desertes which be redéemed by the bloude of Christ, and be altogether his, by whom they be redéemed, and are bounde to him for all, and that they can nother thinke, & muche lesse do, anye thing in déede that is good, by their own strength, but that they ought to say with the Prophet: Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, O lord, for in thy sight no liuing person shal be iustified. And in the Lords prayer, Forgiue vs oure trespasses.

Of Merites towardes God.

Although that the godlye and faythfull person, may be sufficientlye enformed by the doctrine of grace, which is in Christe Iesu, what he ought to iudge of the desertes which are before God, yet for al ẏ to arme the simple sort against the dreames of the Scholemen, I though méete to say somwhat seuerally of the same.

We néede not to define what merite is. It is taken sometime for the worke it selfe, whiche is taken to be meritorious: in which sense Augustine in a place saythe, that merites must go before the rewarde. Sometymes it is taken for the rewarde which is worthily giuen to him that worketh. The first sense is cōcerning him that worketh, the last cōcerneth him which giueth the rewarde to the worker. Occam disputeth here, how that merite and rewarde are as contrary one to the other, in consideration of the deseruer and the rewarder, for that it commeth by the reason of the merite that it shoulde be actiuely from the deseruer, and by the reason of the reward that it is more passiuely in him that is rewarded, bicause that the rewarde ought to be actiuely from the rewarder: and that it is one mans part both to deserue and to be rewarded, to deserue actiuely, & to reward passiuely. This is their manner of speach. In déede there can be no reward but in respect of a desert or merite, but there may be desert, though there do ensue neither

What is merite.

ther punishement neither reiwarde. And therefore we do not giue vnto merit the name of reward, but we do oftentimes call reward, by the word of merite.

Merite of three sortes vvith the Scholmen. The merit of congruence.

Secondlye, the Scholemen doe make three sortes of merites. The first is the merite of Congruence: the seconde the merite of Worthinesse: the thirde the merite of Condigne. Some will haue the merite of congruence to be, when although that he to whom the thing is giuen, be vnworthye to haue it giuen him, and that his doing is not such that it deserueth it, yet that it becommeth him to whom it is done to giue him: as althoughe the sinner deserue no fauour, yet it is conuenient for God of this godnesse to forgiue the repentance, and to giue him his grace. But some say that the merite of congruence, is when a man of his owne god motion comming by nature, doth deserue the firste grace, which they call the preuenting grace.

The merite of vvorthinesse.

They call the merite of worthynesse, when the iuste person doth entreate for the sinner, for they saye, it is worthy ỹ the iuste be hearde. So when grace is giuen to the sinner at the prayer of the iuste, they do attribute this to the merite of worthynesse, that is to say, of the iust which doeth make meanes for him. They will haue the merite of condigne to be, when a man holpen by the firste grace, doth make himself by the first grace worthye of euerlasting lyfe. For he by that meanes doing well, is worthy they saye, to haue reward for his labour. This they suppose that man of his own strength and by the motion of his owne wil, naturally had, doth deserue the firste grace, and that then the same firste grace doeth not sauc, but aydeth mans strengthe to deserue saluation condignely by god workes.

The merite of condigne.

Firste, as touching the merite of congruence it is contrary vnto the scriptures, for as muche as they call that merite, where no merite is at all. For what merite or deserte can there be in him which deserueth no thing at all? In what sense soeuer they doe take the merite of congruence, it is not merite but mere grace. Secondly, nor the merite of worthinesse is properly any merite, for the reward of it is not giuen to the worthy, but to the vnworthy. For albeit that the sinner fare the better for the prayers of the iuste person, yet this benefite is not bestowed as a reward to the worthy, but as a fauour or grace to the vnworthy. They saye, when any iuste man doeth entreate for any person that is in sin, it is the merite of worthinesse if he be heard. For the iuste is worthy to be heard. If God by so bound to the iuste, that vnlesse he do heare him whē he prayeth for the sinner, and that he doeth otherwise than becometh him, & doth not vse him accordingly to his merit, to what purpose nede men to seke or to make meanes vnto him by intercession and prayer, if he heare him not? If it be be attributed vnto merite or deseruing, when God doeth forgiue a sinner for the righteous mans sake, why then saythe not the iuste and worthye person of merite, rather thus: It is mete O God for my deserte towards thē, that thou at my requeste doest forgiue this sinner? Neither can thei in any wise say, but that

that a righteous man in dede, doeth not impute any thing to his own deseruing, neither that he doeth so iudge or esteeme of him selfe, that he shoulde be worthy to be hearde, but that God is so minded towardes the righteous man, that he doth esteeme him to haue deserued well, and to be worthy to be heard when he prayeth. For there is no man so righteous, that he shoulde be more able to obtayne his petition throughe his own deseruing when he doth praye, than through the grace of God: for prayer and merites are contrary one to an other. For prayer hath a respect vnto grace, but merite loketh for reward. The merite of condigne is vsed in worldly cases among men: but not a lyke in the matter of our saluation and towards God, as we shall declare hereafter.

Ephes. 2.

In fewe wordes, where as they do attribute the beginning of saluation vnto naturall motions, and to the strength of men comming of nature, and wheras also they do attribute vnto the grace of faythe not saluation, but a certaine helpe to deserue saluation condignelye by god workes, these points be farre wide from the scriptures, and the verye deuises of Scholemen vtterly repugnant to the heauenly grace of God. This pestilent plague of the Pelagians is to be withstanded with al our might, & we must firmly holde, that we can deserue nother grace nor saluation by any strength or works of our owne, for any merite either of congruence, worthinesse, or condignelle, but that al is simply & verily to be referred to the grace of God in Christ. For be saued through grace by fayth (saith the Apostle) and that not of your selues, it is the gifte of God, not by workes, least any man might glory. After the Scholemens diuinitie we should haue sayd: You haue deserued your firste grace by the god motion of your hartes, produced of nature, but ye haue not yet obtained saluation, but you must deserue the same by god works of condigne. When Christ sayth, He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlasting, he speaketh not like a Scholeman. For he shuld haue said: He that beleueth in me by the god motion picked out of nature, he shal deserue the first grace: but he shal haue euerlasting lyfe at ỹ time when he hath deserued it of a condignelle by god workes. Paule calleth not euerlasting lyfe the merite of condignelle, but the gifte of God. Therfore loke howe far wide this doctrine of the merite of congruence and condigne is from holye scriptures, so farre it is to be calle off from the eares and harts of the faythfull.

Rom. 6.

This might serue in so manifest a matter: but bicause we do consider the case of the simple, let vs searche out our whole lyfe, and se what part of it is such, that it may glory of the merites thereof towards God, and that rather hathe not nede of the grace and mercy of God.

There is no merite of them that be not yet conceyued. De verbis Apost. Ser. 11.

Firste, I thinke it can not be, that he maye deserue any thing which is not yet conceyued in his mothers wombe. Marke sayth Augustine, howe that before we were made or created we deserued no godnesse: & therefore it is grace that we were made or created, when we deserued nothing. This saith he: So ỹ grace

hath place in them that be not yet made, where there can be no merite. Onlesse we like to trifle with Origen, to surmise that there was an other worlde before this worlde, wherin our good or euil desertes are past, according vnto the which we be borne into this worlde, either happy or vnhappy: so that euery soule should receyue worthy reward in this present worlde for his merites, which he gate by well or euill liuing in the worlde before. So fond they must be which will looke for anye former desertes of all those thinges which do befal to man. But we be certaine and sure, that there can be no desertes to them that be not yet made in the worlde.

No merite in them vvhiche be not yet borne. *Rom. 9.*

Secondly, let vs consider that parcell of our life when after we be cõceyued vntill our birth we be fashioned, quickned, & nourished frõ an vnfashioned thing in ỹ mothers wõbe, whether we can at the time chalẽge any merite vnto vs. I suppose no man will saye so. The saying of the Apostle of Iacob and Esau is well knowẽ. Whẽ they wer not yet borne (saith he) or had done nother good or euill, that the purpose of God might stand according vnto the election, not by workes, but by the caller, it was said vnto him: The elder shall serue the yonger: as it is written: I loued Iacob, and I hated Esau. How can there be any merite where there is nother good nor cuyll? Nay how can there be any merite, where the poison of sin is contracted of the very cõceptiõ it selfe? The Pelagians whiche were more desirous to set forth mãs merites than Gods grace, sought some ground in these childrẽ, to establishe their opiniõ vpõ. Lo (say they) Esau and Iacob do contend within their mothers bowels, when they be borne, the one is supplanted by the other, and by finding his hand that came out last, holding his fote that went out before, there was tryed to continue a manner of strife betwixt them. How then is ther no arbitrement of their own wil, either to good either to euil in the infantes that did this, wherby ther shuld folow either reward or punishmẽt to the merites going before.

Gen. 25. 23

malachy 1. Rom. 9.

The Pelagiũs of Esau and Iacob.

To this Augustine doth answere against the Pelagians in this wise: To this we say, the same motions, and as it were wrestling of the childrẽ, was therfore a token of great matters, bicause this was not a will but a wõder. For we will not graunt that asses haue free will, bicause a beast of that kinde, as it is written, & a dombe creature without speach answearing in the speach of man, did forbid the madnesse of the Prophet, but thei which wil maintaine ỹ these be not prodigious motions reported of childrẽ, but voluntary actes done by childrẽ, what will they answere to their Apostle, who seinge these two persons, were mẽte to be mentioned for the declaration of grace comming franke and frẽ, (sayde) that to them being not yet borne nor doing any thing good or euell, that the purpose of God might stande according vnto election, not by workes, but by the caller, it was sayde, that the elder shall serue the yonger, &c. and he addeth: Truly the doctor of ỹ Gentils in fayth and truth doth testifie that these two which were not yet borne, did no euyll or good to set forth the grace

Augustin. Epist. 156. ad Inno-cium contra Pelagianos. Fo. ca. age.

infantes hath prero-gatiue of merites.

grace that the same which was spoken: the Elder shall serue the yonger, might be vnderstanded as sayd not by the workes, but by the caller, so that the purpose of God might stand according vnto his election, & not that the merit of man must needs go before. This saithe he: Which were not much to be wayed, vnlesse this worlde did not only brede newe doctrines, but were also very apte to stirre vp againe the olde, which hath layne of longe time well buried.

Thirdly, let vs passe on to the infancye of the new borne childe. The same is neither so furnished with the vnderstanding of minde, or the arbytrement of will, or with strengthe to worke, that it is able either to will or to doe any thing that is meritorious. And this appeareth to be true, not only in the infantes of the Ethnikes and of the other vnfaithfull, but of the faithfull also, whiche we do seale with the marke of Gods grace. Augustine sayth playnely of them in the Epistle before alledged, that when the grace of regeneration which is by Christ, is bestowed vpon them, they haue nother sense of that grace which they doe receyue, nor that they haue any wil towards it, nother before, nother at the tyme of the acte, nother after: but rather that so great a benefite is giuen vnto them not onely not willyng, but also withstanding it, which shoulde be imputed vnto them for great wickednesse, if that at that time the arbitrement of wil could doe any thing in them. *Ergo*, nor our infancie nother canne receyue this doctrine of mans merites.

There is no merite neither in them that be growẽ to yeares.

Lib. contra Pelagium et Celestium, De gratia Christi. cap. 26.

7 Fourthly, whẽ childhode is past, and that we be growen in bodye and power of reason, can we then deserue anye thing well of God? How coulde we deserue of God the reward of saluation, seing that we be of nature the children of wrathe, wicked, sinfull, the enemies of God, blinde, not vnderstandyng those things that be of God, and altogether carnall, reprobate to all good workes, doyng not the will of God but of the flesh, farre from the lyfe of God, &c. vntill that we be newe borne by the spirite of God, & made of vnfaythfull, to be faythfull? So Augustine sayth: And if he doe consent that we doe receyue charitie by the grace of God, let him not so thinke, as though there wente any good desertes of oures before. For what good desertes coulde we haue then, when we loued not God? for to the intent we shoulde receyue loue to loue him withall, we were loued when we had yet no loue. This he sayth in that place. It were very wicked then to take the grace of our vocatiõ, fayth, conuersion, illuminatyng, iustifyng and regeneration for a rewarde as due to mans merites. Nor they muste not obiect vnto vs, that there bee many good men blinded of the Ethnickes, Iewes, Turkes, or Papistes, whiche maye deserue of God, by their honestie and good workes, to become true beleuers: for so they doe extinguish ỹ glory of Goddes grace, when they doe attribute ỹ beginning of our saluation not vnto Goddes grace, but vnto merites. The gifte of God is faith, and not merites. The grace of God dothe goe before all merites, as well of fayth as of workes.

Cornelius. Act. 10.

8 They make an obiection of Cornelius, of whome we do read in the Actes of the Apostles: that his almesdœdes were allowed, & his prayers heard in the sight of God, before that he beleued in Christ. This Augustine answereth vnto in his booke of the predestination of saincts: Yet for al that (saith he) he gaue nothing, nor prayed not without faith. What so euer Cornelius did well, bothe before he beleued in Christ, & whyles he beleued, and after that he beleued, all is to be giuen vnto God, that no man be proude. This saith he. Hereby that saying of the Apostle hathe place also in Cornelius: You be saued by grace, by fayth, and that not of your selues, it is Gods gifte, & not of works, least any man might boast of it. If any man will denie this, he may say that Cornelius was saued by his deserte, and not by the grace of God, of him selfe and not of God. For it was Gods rewarde dewe to his workes, wherof he might glory. If these thinges be wicked, then let the Iusticiary graunt that Cornelius was not iustified by his own deserte, but by the grace of God.

Cap. 7.

There is no merite in the conuertes and the faithfull.

9 Fiftly, let vs go on to that part of our life, wherein lyke good Christian and faithfull persons, we doe beleue in God and his Christ, & beleuing we be iustified & regenerate, we do loue God and our neighbour, and by good workes we do glorifye the name of our father which is in heauen, and let vs see whether that being in this sorte, we may chalenge iustelye vnto vs good desertes, and hope for the rewarde of euerlasting lyfe. Truly me must needes grante, that there is greater reward layd vp in heauen, for the good workes of the godly. There be many testimonies of holye Scripture, whereby we be taught, that there shall be a repayment of those good thinges which be done by the godly, and a consideration of those aduersities which be suffered also for Gods sake. So the lord saide: Be gladde and reioyce, for your rewarde is greate in heauen. Again: Whosoeuer (sayth he) giueth vnto one of these litle ones cold water to drinke, verily I say vnto you, he shall not lose his reward. But it is one thing to say, that the reward is giuen of Gods goodnesse, and an other to saye, that we be worthye to haue it, & haue deserued it: that God shal giue vs eternall lyfe for our rewarde. When God giueth reward, he giueth it of grace and not of duty. And we when doe good workes, must thinke vpon the saying of Christe: When you haue done all, saye that you be vnprofitable seruants: rather than to glory in your merites, and to demaunde reward of God.

For firste, seing that we be not our owne men, but doe wholly belong to the Lords interest and iurisdiction, by whome we be first made, and afterwardes redemed by the pryce of his bloud from sinne and euerlasting death, according vnto that of the Apostle: Ye be bought by a great valew. And, We be the Lords, whether we liue or dye. None of vs doeth liue to himselfe, &c. then what deserte can we pretende, and what reward can we require of him whose vassales we be altogether? Eyther then let vs shake off all this dominion of God which he hath vpon vs as his own good and possession, or els let vs

vs acknowledge that it is not meete for bondmen to glory towards theyr master and demaund rewardes. For these two can not be so ioyned togyther, but that the other must gyue place. If the maister doe esteeme the faithe and diligence of his bondman for a deserte, and do iudge hym worthy to be deliuered and made free, we must thanke his goodnesse & not take it for a duty. For he is not bounde to him, bycause he is faithfull and doth serue him faithfully. For he doth but his duty, and vnlesse he did so, he wer worthy to be punished. He is a verye rare man that will thynke hymselfe beholding to his detter, when he payeth him that whiche he oweth hym. And so we muste needes thinke hym shamelesse, that will demaunde a rewarde as though he hadde deserued highly, when he dothe but pay hys dette. He that is a seruaunte, and hee that is a detter, and doth no more but his duty, can not boast himselfe of any merite. And such folkes we be, yea when we be iust, and do that whych is good, and commaunded vs to do.

Secondlye, we must consider further, that we be not onely bondmen and detters, in al respects vnto God, but that we be also so needy of al good things, that we can not of our selues as of oure selues, as much as thynke that whiche is good, muche lesse perfourme it in deede: but that it is necessary that all oure ablenesse be gyuen vs by Gods grace. Wherefore it is plainely attributed vnto God, that he doth worke in vs both to wil and to doe, according vnto his good will. *Ergo* to will good, & to performe that in deede which we wil, commeth not of our will and habilitie, but it is both the wil and worke of God, whiche doth worke in vs both to wil and to performe it, according vnto hys good will. Then from whence commeth faithe? from whence charitie? from whence hope? from whence the religion of God? from whence patience in aduersitie? from whence is good will? from whence the strength to do that well whiche is good? If it come of oure selues, we haue matter wherevpon to glory. If it come not of vs, but of the free and franke grace of God, what followeth else, but that we must render thankes to Goddes goodnesse, rather than glorye of oure desertes? They say that desert is deemed according to the good will of the person. But from whence commeth this good will to the man that is not good, but from him whiche is onely good, and from whence whatsoeuer is good, is yeelded vnto vs? How can there be anye deserte in the worke that is done not by our strength, but by the strength of God himselfe?

An obiection.

But they do obiect that saying of the Apostle: I haue foughte a good fight, I haue runned out my race, I haue kept my faith: for the rest there is layde vppe for me a crowne of iustice, whiche God shall restore me in that day, the iust iudge. Is not mention made of both (saye they) by the Apostle, both the good worke whyche he did, and the reward also which hee looked for of God? Augustine answereth saying in this wise: The Lorde sayth he, shall render me my crowne, the iust iudge: *Ergo* he oweth it me. Who shal render it thee then: *Ergo* he shall render it as a iust iudge. For when he considereth oure worke, hee can not vppon that consideration of

2. Tim. 4.

Augustinus. In quinquagint. Home. Hom. 14.

the worke denye vs a rewarde. I haue foughte a good fyghte, it is a worke: I haue finished my race, it is a worke: I haue kept my faithe, it is a worke: ther remaineth a crowne of iustice for me, that is the rewarde. As for thy rewarde thou doest nothing, and as for thy worke, thou doest it not alone. Thy crowne commeth from him, and thy worke from thy selfe, but yet not without hys helpe. And a little after: Therefore (thou seist) when he dothe render good things, he dothe preuente hymselfe, giuing good thinges to them before, to whome he may render good things also after. Lo he rendereth reward vnto those good things by ỹ good workes, to him that fought out his fighte, to him that ranne out hys race, and kepte his faithe. He rendereth good things, but for what good things: The same which he gaue before himselfe. Did not he giue it thée to fight out the good fight: If it were he that gaue it thée, why doest thou say in an other place, I haue labored more than all they: But not I, but the grace of God with me: Lo thou sayest againe, I haue runned out my race. Did not he gyue thée also to runne out thy course: If he gaue thée it not to runne out thy race, what is that that thou sayest in an other place: It standeth not in the willer, nor in the runner, but in God which hath mercy: I haue kept my faythe, Hast thou kept thy faith: I know it, and am content withall. I graunte thou hast kepte it. But vnlesse the Lorde doe kéepe the Citie, he dothe watche in vayne whiche doth kéepe it. Therefore thou hast both foughte out thy good fyghte, and runned out thy race, and kept thy faith, euē thorough him as ayding thée, and giuing it to thée. Giue me leaue, O Apostle, I know nothing of thine own but naughtinesse. Giue me leaue, O Apostle, We saye that thou diddest teach: I heare thée confessing God, I finde thée not vnthankefull. But wée perfectly know that there be none of thy owne thinges gotten to thée by thy selfe, but euill things. Therefore when God doth crowne thy merits, he crowneth nothing else but hys owne giftes. Thus sayeth he. Wherby he doth graunte, that the Apostle dyd good workes, and that he loked for a reward: but he doth so attribute his worke vnto the grace and gyfte of God, that there was not in hym properly and truely anye merite of man, but the grace of God, so that the same crowne to come, hadde not properlye the nature of a rewarde, but rather the consideration of Gods grace crowning his owne giftes in the Apostle. Now in case this merite of good workes hadde not truly and lawfully anye place in the Apostle neyther, where shall we fynde anye in whome it may take place:

3 Thirdly, if we do consider ỹ maiestie of God, which hath néede of nothing, but yéeldeth rather all thyngs vnto all men, what shall be that good worke of oures wherein we maye do him any good: Dauid saith: Thou hast no néede of my good things. And what desert can there be in a worke whereof there commeth no profyte vnto God: Yea (and whiche is more) the profyte whereof, if it be any, doth come to oure selues: He that is iust and worketh well, is iust and worketh well for his owne profyte and not

Pardon me O Apostle, I know nothing of that ouerthwart cuil.

VVhat dost God no good Pyndar.

not Gods: euen as he which is euill and worketh euil, is euil to himselfe, and in working euil dothe hurt hymselfe also. Howe saye you to hym that is healthfull of hys body, and hathe a regarde of his healthe by lyuing in good order, working, eating, and drinkyng temperately, dothe hée deserue anye rewarde of the Phisition in so doing: I thinke not. It is for hys owne aduantage and not the Phisitions, that hée is of that temperancye, and lyueth in that order. Likewise hée that hathe obteyned by Goddes gift the health of the minde, and dothe through his grace those thyngs whiche doe helpe for the preseruation of the same, shall we saye that he deserueth, I wote not what rewarde of God: bycause that hée is made to be of that sort by his gifte, and dothe conserue being holpen by his ayde, the grace whiche he hathe receyued to his owne benefyte in diligently beléeuing, hoping, louyng, working, and suffering: &c. Who is so very an Asse to saye so: But thou wilt say: He crowneth suche. Yea hée crowneth in them his owne giftes, which be their good déedes, and so all is kept safe to the glory of his grace. And where all is in the grace of God, what can be left to the merites of men: For loke wheresoeuer that grace is, there is no place for merit, if we doe consider the nature of oure owne merite.

4 Fourthly, If we shall examine oure workes and lay them before the iust and straight iudgement of God, who is so ignorante of the imperfection of man, that knoweth not that we ought rather to feare the punishment whiche our righteousnesse deserueth for the lackes and faultes that be in it, rather than to loke for any rewards, and to glory of, I wote not what merites: Doe we thinke it a matter of nothing, that the Prophete cryeth out, that all our righteousnesse is like, not snow, or whyte woolle, but like a filthy cloute loathsome to beholde: We nede not to saye anye thing of the iustice of the flesshe of a man not yet iustifyed, but take me the iustice of Christian mē, which is to be iudged according vnto the qualitie of his workes and affections, and sée what Augustine sayeth of it: Wo be to all our iustice if it be iudged, setting mercy aparte. Then what manner of merite is it, that is not able to abide the verdite of iudgement and iustice, and is not deliuered from condemnation, but only by mercy: Truly it is better to confesse oure sinnes with the Publican, than to glory and presume vpon our merits with the Phariseye. Such be our merites, that the confessing of our sinnes is preferred before the recounting of them.

Esay. 64.

Augustin. Lib. Confess. 9.

5 Fiftly, If we doe compare the inestimable glory of euerlasting life and felicitie, not onely with oure workes (be they neuer so good) but with all our affections and troubles also, can we giue them so muche merite, that they be able to make vs to enioy that euerlasting good things: The Apostle sayeth: The passions of this tyme be not counteruayleable to the glorye whiche is to come, whyche shall be reuealed in vs. If oure passions layd vpon vs for Christes sake, be not counteruayleable to the glory which is to come, howe can oure workes be so: howe can

The greatnesse of the glorye to come, commeth not by mannes merites.

Rom. 8.

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they haue the nature of merite, when they do not equally counteruaile the greatnesse of ỹ glory to come? Whē we loke for a deserued rewarde, we must consider on both sides, both the quality and the measure of the labour and of the rewarde, and we must sée that the reward be of no lesse waight and value than the merite is: and that the merite doe aunswere to the greatenesse of the reward. For what so euer there is in the rewarde that dothe exceede the merite, it is to bée reckened not to the merite, but to grace and fauoure. And how small is the merite of our iustice, if it be estéemed to the infinite glorye of eternall felicitie? It is not one droppe in comparison of the most large and déepe Ocean sea. If we way the matter in this sort, how falleth it out, but only to determine, that there is no merite of man towarde God, neither before nor after his conception? nor before nor after his birth? nor before nor after his conuersion and regeneration? but that all the merite which hée hath from the beginning of his fayth vntill the accomplishmente of hys race, is the gifte and worke of God, as Ambrose witnesseth. So that Bernard said right, that all our merites be so the giftes of God, that man is rather debter to God for thē, than God to man.

Lib. 1. de Vocatione Gentium. cap. 7.

Lastly, as concerning the estate of our soules after the death of oure body, I thinke that there is no man will attribute to them anye habilitie to deserue. When thou art departed from hence (sayeth Augustine,) thou shalte be receyued according vnto thy desertes, and shalte rise againe to receyue ỹ which thou hast done.

Of our estate after death.

Any thinge.

Then God shal crowne not so much thy merites as his owne giftes. This sayeth he. And Hierome after that he hadde recited the opinion of them, which do hold that after we be departed out of this worlde, we may both hurt reasonable creatures, and doe good, yet he dothe expounde that place of Ecclesiasticus. The dead knoweth nothing, and there is no rewarde anye more for them, in thys wise: They that doe liue, maye for feare of death doe good workes, but they which be dead, can adde nothing else to that which they haue carryed once with them out of this life. Item. They can neyther do iustly, nor sinne, nor adde nother vertue, nor vice. This sayeth he. And no doubte, there is one season to worke in, and another season to receyue for that whiche a man hath wrought in thys life. And men shall be iudged at the iudgemente to come, not for the workes or merites whiche be done after this life, but for the same which is done in this bodye, as the Apostle saith. Wherefore it appeareth that we haue no merite, nother before this life, nor in this life, nother after this life.

So that though we must néedes graunte, that there is a rewarde for those things whiche we do, prepared for vs in Heauen, yet for all that we must graunt withall, that God dothe crowne in vs not our owne merites, but his giftes. And therefore what rewarde so euer we shall receyue, is not properly to be tearmed Reward, but to be called properly Grace: and that the good thyngs whiche we doe, be not ours, but his worke in vs, and wrought by him through vs.

For as Augustine sayeth, God doth manye thinges in man, whiche man doeth not: But man doth nothyng which God maketh not man to doe. Wherefore we must in any wise beware, that we doe not so establishe mans merites, that we doe make voyde the grace of Christe, and contemne the iustice of God. For merite and grace be so contrarye one to an other, that as Bernarde sayeth. There is no meanes for grace to enter, where merite dothe kéepe place.

Somewhat wée must saye to you of that, and briefely, that men saye, that the merites of Saintes and of iust men doe profyte them that come after. Hierome dothe graunte thys wayes, that the merites of the fathers doe profyte the children, if they doe turne from euill. And Augustine sayeth: When oure merites doe so burden vs, that we can not be loued of God, that wée maye be relieued towarde hym by theyr merites whome God dothe loue. It is out of all doubt, that God doth conferre his benefytes, and giueth mercye not onely to the iust and to them whyche loue hym, but also to theyr aftercommers, vnto thousandes of generations. But wée muste take these thrée poyntes withall. Fyrste, that it is to bée referred vnto worldly good things, and not to euerlasting lyfe. Secondly, that it must be with a condition, so that they make not themselues vnworthy for this grace by irreformable impenitēce. Thirdly also, that all this is to be attributed more to the goodnesse and grace of GOD, than to the merites of Saintes.

Of Forgiuenesse of Sinnes.

LEtte vs leaue the merite Doctors, and goe on rather to consider the forgyuenesse of sinnes, without which no man can be saued, and which béeyng obteyned, no man can perishe. We saide in the place of Justification which is by faith in Christe, that to be iustifyed is as muche to say, as to be quited of oure sinnes. But wée thoughte not then to haue made a speciall treatye of Forgiuenelle of sinnes, whyche nowe we wyll do for the profyte whyche maye rise therof to the godly disposed persons.

Forgiuenesse of sinnes.

Firste we néede not to define what sinne is, for as muche as we haue spoken of it in a distinct place before. But we must consider of the forgyuing of it. We say sinnes are forgyuen when that the sinner is mercifully pardoned: and that it is withholden, when he is not pardoned, but there is required a punishment of it. There be thrée poynts in sinne. The facte, the wickednelle or faulte, and the guilt. The facte passeth away in the verye doing, the wickednelle remayneth, and the gilte or dewe of it cleaueth vnto it, wherby we became giltie of condemnation, and worthye punishmente. Therefore when sinne is forgiuen, the facte is not forgiuen, whiche is otherwise vanished away of it selfe, but it is the wickednelle of the facte, and the gilt, and dewe wyth all, which is forgiuen. That whyche

Three pointes in sinne.

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is done amisse, is called sinne, eyther bycause of the wickednesse, or transgression, or disobedience: and bycause of the guilte of it, it is called dette or due. Therefore we reade in Scriptures sometymes of the forgyuenesse of sinnes, sometimes of the forgyuenesse of wickednesse, and of dettes, whych is altogither one thing. Whē we pray in the Lords Prayer: And forgiue vs our dettes, we desyre nothing else, but that oure sinnes and wickednesses maye of hys fatherly clemency be forgyuen, and the deserued condemnation be pardoned.

How necessary forgiuenesse of sinnes is

And howe necessary forgiuenesse of sinnes is for mankinde, it may bee vnderstanded by three most certaine reasons. The firste is, bycause that there is no man which is cleane from all sinne, no not the childe of a daye olde. We be al conceyued and borne in sinnes. Secondlye, we do all oure life long drinke and soke in wickednesse as it were water, nor there is no man which doth good, and sinneth not. And bycause we should not laye this to the vnbeleeuers onely, the Apostle writing to Christian men, sayeth: If we say that we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and his truth is not in vs. Well, the Angels maye haue no neede of forgiuenesse of sins, but it is a cleare case, that in anye wise we which come of Adam, must of necessitie haue it, for we be all sinners. The seconde reason is, bycause that we be all through sinne made subiect vnto death and eternall damnation. Therefore it is that the Apostle sayeth: that we be of nature the children of wrathe. By sinne wee be seuered from God, and made his enimies, withoute whose grace there can be no hope of saluation for any man. The thirde is, bycause wee be not able to pay and to satisfye for it. We be charged with greate huge dettes from our first conception, and we be not able to satisfye as muche as for one of them. We can not aunswere the iustice of God, no not for one of a thousand. Then what ensueth else, but that either oure sinnes must be forgiuen, or else we vtterly perish? For no body can discharge vs out of the hande of God the moste iust iudge: and neyther are we discharged without punishment, vnlesse our sinnes be forgiuen vs. And therefore it is that Dauid doth call them blessed, whose wickednesse is forgyuen them, and whose sinnes are couered: meaning that they be moste vnhappy of all men and vtterly lost, whose sinnes be with-holden. So that we be vppon greate, yea exceeding greate reason enformed by the Lorde, to crye vnto God our father, for forgyuenesse of oure sinnes, saying: And forgiue vs our trespasses or dettes. For vnlesse this be done, it is not possible for vs to be saued.

1. Iohn. 1.

Ephes. 3

The vse of this sect.

Therefore seyng that the forgiuenesse of our sinnes is so necessary, that no man can be saued without it, it shall not be amisse to declare some things which be profitable for a godlye disposed person to knowe in this case. As whose parte it is to forgiue sinnes: to whome they be forgiuen: by what meanes this forgyuenesse is obteyned: vpon what kondition it is bestowed: whether all sinnes be forgiuen: whether that forgiuenesse once obteyned, maye bee frustrate: whether not the faulte only, but the paine also be forgiuen: whether that the sinnes whiche bee not forgiuen in this life, be forgyuen after our death.

I. Whose part it is to forgiue Sinne.

Like as it is sayd, that the verye fayne is a poynt of wisedome, to knowe of whose gifte the thing is, whiche is to be desired: so we muste iudge in this matter also, that it is a poynte of wisedome most necessarye, to knowe of whose gifte it is, and of whom the free forgiuenesse of sinnes is to be sought, least we fal into some crafty Apostles, whiche do chalenge to themselues power to forgyue sinnes: and in so necessary a matter seeking their owne gaine, do deceiue the simpler sort of men, in emptying their purses, and do either tormente their consciences in with-holdyng their sinnes, or fallly assure thē with their forged forgiuing of their falts.

And I suppose that there is lyke order in forgiuenesse of sinnes altogither, as there is in forgiuenesse of dettes: that like as no man can forgiue dettes, but ỹ creditor to whome the dette is due: so no man can forgiue sinnes againste whome there is no sinne committed, but he only whiche is hurt and offended by the sinne. If one do forgiue an other mannes dettes, the dettor is abused, if he doe beleeue that he is discharged of the bonde of his dette, and the creditor hath wrong done him without whose knowledge and will the dettes belonging vnto him are forgiuen, and his dettor discharged: which forgiuenesse he dothe make voyde immediately, and doth neuertheless clayme the dette vpon his dettor. Likewise if any man do forgiue sinnes, which be not done againste himselfe, he deceyueth him whome he forgiueth, and sinneth againste him also to whome the offence was done, which hath the power only to forgiue or with-hold ỹ offences done vnto him: and so hee dothe both not discharge the gilty, and doth offende him also into whose right he doth vnaduisedly intrude.

He that sinneth, synneth against god, either immediatly either mediatly.

This is moste sure and certaine. And farther, this is certein also, that whosoeuer sinneth, doth sin againste god, either immediatly, or by means. Immediatly, when we sinne against the preceptes of the firste table: by meanes, when we transgresse in the seconde table. When the people of Israell followed strange Gods, and did set vp Idols, and take the name of their Lord God in vaine, and prophane the Sabboth, they did sinne immediately against God: but when they contemned their parents, killed their neighbour, committed adultery and theft, bore false witnesse against their neighboure: and coueted other mens goodes, they sinned againste their neighbors, and by meanes againste God also, as the generall Lord & lawgiuer vnto al mē. And the very same which we haue spoken for eramples sake of the Israelites, doth pertain to vs also to iudge therby of euery kind of sin. Therfore vpō those two propositions before had, of whiche the one serueth for oure *Maior*, that is to say, that it is his parte to forgiue sinne, or to withholde the sins of al men, against whom al men do sinne: and this is the *Minor*, but al men do sinne against God: This cōclusion muste nedes follow. *Ergo* it pertayneth to God to forgyue, or

Al do sinne against god

with-

with holde the sinnes of all menne. Wherefore they which sayde. Who is it that can forgiue sinnes but God only? were not farre out of the way: and therefore their saying was not denyed by Christe, but it was confirmed with miracle by Gods power, when he declared by healing the mã that had the palsey, by his word only, that he had the same power that his father had. So God cryeth by the Prophete: I am, I am verye he my selfe, which doe wipe away thy wickednesse for my nowne selfe.

Luke. 5. It is the parte of god to forgiue sinnes.

Esai. 43.

But some man will say: If God onely doe forgiue sinnes, so that the forgiuenesse be fast and firme, what meaneth that whiche we reade spoken by the Lorde to his Disciples: Whose sinnes soeuer you forgyue, they be forgiuen them: and whose sinnes so euer you do with-hold, they shall be with-holden them? Agayne, what meaneth that that we saye in the Lordes prayer, As we forgyue them whiche trespasse against vs? And that whiche the Lord saith: If thy brother sinne against thée, reproue him: and in case he do repent: forgiue him: and if he do offende thée seuẽtimes in a day and turne to thée seuentimes in the day, and say, I am sory for it: Forgiue him. Is it not a plaine matter, that not God onely, but the Apostles also, and euerye faithfull person do pardon sinnes?

An obiection.

Iohn. 20. VVhose sinnes soeuer you forgiue. &c, as vve forgiue the that trespas against vs.

Luke. 17.

I aunswere: There be three manner of powers to forgyue sinnes. The first is of authoritie, the second of the ministery, the thirde of euerye priuate persons righte and interest. The first is the same whiche belongeth to God onely: the second to the Apostles and ministers, the thyrde, when any man forgiueth his brother which offendeth him. Upon the first there dothe depend all our saluation. For vnlesse the Lord himselfe do forgiue oure sinnes, it is in vayne for any Minister to forgiue, in vayne for vs to forgiue our brethren. But you will say: Yet for all that Christ sayd, Whose sinnes so euer you doe forgiue, they be forgiuen. *Erg.*, when the Minister also dothe forgiue sinnes, ỳ forgiuenes stãdeth fast. It is true, it is so if he doe forgiue him, whome the Lord forgiueth. But in case he do lose him whome the Lord doth bind, and doe bind him whome the Lorde dothe lose, it can not stande in Heauen which he doth, bycause he dothe it not according to the order appointed vnto the ministerie: For ỳ firmenesse of the forgiuenesse doth depend vppon the authoritie and verdite of the Lord himselfe. It is the part of the Minister to declare this grace by the preaching of the Gospell vnto all men, whereby sinnes be forgiuen to them which do beléeue in Christ: and to declare also the wrath of GOD, whereby the sinnes of the vnfaithfull be with-holden. In this sorte he forgiueth the faithfull and repentante, and he forgiueth not the vnbeléeuing and impenitente. And yet all thys which he doth, perteyneth to the authoritie of the Lord, whose Minister he is. When I saye that the Prince only dothe binde and lose his prisoners, I meane of the chiefe authoritie, vpon which the doings of the minister doth depende, whiche doe bind and lose at his commaundement. As touching the thirde, that is to say, the priuate power to pardon sinnes, by the whiche power one brother dothe

Three maner of powers to forgiue sinnes.

forgiue

forgiue an other when he trespasseth against him, the same is frée thus farre forth, in so muche as it is lawfull for euerye man to relente of hys owne right for his neighbours sake: but in respecte that we be not oure owne men, but the Lordes, it is not lawfull for vs to forgiue or retaine the faultes of oure brother done against vs, but we be charged by gods commaundemente to forgiue, when he saith, Forgiue him, &c: and we bée bound vnto it by a hard and straight condition, which he expressed saying: If you do not forgiue vnto men, your father shall not forgeue your sinnes nother.

And this third kind of forgiuenesse is ratified also in heauen, if we doe forgiue oure brethren their faultes, not simply, but when they do amend, acknowledge their offence, and desire forgiuenesse. We are not to bée blamed, if we forgiue them also whiche do not amende as touching oure selues, yea if we do not only forgiue, but saye also with the Lord: Father forgiue thẽ, for they wote not what they doe. But this manner of forgyuing dothe profite them nothing before the Lorde, who forgiueth none but them that doe amende, and desire to be forgiuen. In this sorte all that forgiuenesse of sinnes which is necessarie to our saluation, dothe depende vpon the grace of God only.

II. To vvhome Sinnes be forgiuen.

IF we consider of them which do purchase the forgiuenes of their sinnes by the grace of God, there is but a small number of them, euen as it is of the elect in respecte of the reprobate, whose sinnes be with holde for euermore. But we sérke not here to whome this grace of forgiuenesse dothe befall, but rather to whome it is to be taught and set forth. We can not hére appoynt vpon any certaine persons, to whome only this forgiuenesse of sinnes is to be preached. All men be generally called vnto it, both Iewes and Greckes, learned and vnlearned, wise and foolishe, riche and powre, olde and yong, men and womẽ. For like as God enclosed all vnder vnbeliefe that he might haue mercy vppon all, so he will haue this grace of his mercy to be sette forthe to all men: So God loued the worlde (saith our Sauioure) that he gaue his only begotten sonne, that euery one whiche beléeueth in him shoulde not perish, but haue life euerlasting. And in the firste Epistle of John, we reade thus: But in case any man doe sinne, wée haue an aduocate with the father Iesus Christe the iuste, and he is the propitiation for oure sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely, but for the sinnes also of the whole worlde. I thinke that there is meant by the worlde, all mankinde, by whiche the worlde doth consist, from the beginning of it, vntill the ende. Therfore, when it is sayde, that God gaue hys sonne for the worlde, and that he is the propitiation for the sinnes of the whole worlde (what else is meante, but that the grace of forgiuenesse of sinnes is appointed vnto all men, so that the Gospell therof is to be preached vnto all creatures? In thys respecte the gentill loue of GOD towardes man is sette forthe vnto vs to bée considered, whereby he wol

To vvhom the forgiuenesse of sinnes is to be preached. Rom. 11.

1. Ioan. 2.

not haue any to perishe, but all men to be saued, and to come to the knowledge of the truth. But for all that, this generall grace hath some conditions going withall, of whiche wee will speake hereafter.

III. By what meanes the forgiuenesse of sinnes is gotten.

IN deede, the forgiuenesse of sinnes is altogyther francke and free, so that it is no due nor debte to oure merites, but it is a meere and an vnbounden grace: and yet it is requisite by reason it selfe, that it be not bestowed and receyued without certaine meanes and conditions. Of the meanes we will speake in thys article, and of the conditions in the next after. And like as men must acknowledge two meanes of iustification, whereof we spake before, so we must do also in forgiuenes of sinnes: One in which, the other by which it is bestowed and receyued. The meane in whiche, is Christ the onely mediator, reconciler, and redeemer of all men, to whome all Prophetes do beare witnesse, that all they which doe beleeue in him, doe receyue forgiuenesse of sinnes by his name: by whose bloud we be washed from our sinnes, whome God appoynted to be the propitiation for the sinnes of all the world, and to reconcyle the world vnto himselfe in him. Of this meane, as farre as I knowe, there is no doubte among Christian men. We doe all confesse that Christe is that lambe of God, whiche taketh away the sinnes of the worlde, whose bloud was shedde vppon the Crosse for our sinnes. But the meanes, by whiche, is of two sortes, for there is one meane whereby it is bestowed, and an other whereby the forgiuenesse of synnes is receyued. The meanes of bestowing it, the Schole Doctors do call Applicatory meanes. Vnlesse (say they) that the merite of Christ be applyed to this man or that man, there is no offence of sinne taken away, seeyng that it is taken away onely in the vertue of Christes passion, and therefore for asmuche as the sacramentes be the immediate applicatiue meanes of the passion of Christe vnto vs, it behoueth that in case the faulte must be forgiuen, it must be done by some sacramentes, exhibited eyther in facte or in vowe. This is the manner of their speach. But yet for all that, they do proue it by no scriptures, that the sacraments be a meane whereby the forgiuenes of sinnes is bestowed. But we doe saye playnely, that the meane of bestowing of it, is the worde of grace, whereby forgiuenesse is declared, whether it bee done generally and publikely, or specially and priuately. In deede it should seeme that the forgiuencsse of sinnes is attributed vnto baptisme, whereas we doe reade that Peter sayde: Amende and be euery one of you baptised in the name of Iesu Christe, vnto forgiuenesse of synnes. And by that that Ananias sayde vnto Paule: Arise and bee baptised, and wash away thy sinnes. But we muste make a distinction betwirte the Reall and the Sacramentall bestowing of thys grace. The Reall is the same which is done by the inward grace: the sacramentall is that which is conferred by the outward

Tvvo meanes, one in vvhome sinnes be forgiuen. *Acles.10.*

outward signe. Furthermore albeit that the worde and signe be ioyned togither in the sacramentes, and that the same which is done by word is done sacramentally also in the signe: yet as touching the forgiuenes of synnes, it hathe place indeede in baptisme, but not in the Sacrament of the Lordes supper. And further it is to be referred vnto originall sinne, and to the actuall sinnes also, whyche passed before the baptisme. But wee do now speake of the forgiuenesse of sinnes whiche is not gyuen once alone and at the beginning, but is gyuen vs all oure life long, whiche wee can not referre to the Sacrament of baptisme, whiche is not to be taken more than once: nor we oughte not nother referre it vnto the supper of our Lorde, bycause the same was instituted not to conferre or receyue the forgiuenesse of sinnes, but to the remembraunce of Christes deathe. For the Lorde saide not: Do this for forgiuenesse of sinnes: but do this in the remembraunce of me. And that which can not be attribute vnto the Sacrament of the Lords supper, can not perteine nother to the Popishe Masse, vnlesse they will say that it is not only an other maner of matter but that it is also of greater weight and efficacie than the supper of the Lorde is. Wherfore they be very triflers, which do attribute vnto the Masse, the application of the merite of Christ, most special, singular, and generall, according to the intention and will of ꝑ Masling Priest: against which trifles we wil speake herafter in the place against the Masse. We leauing those, do say, that the meane to gyue the forgiuenesse of sinnes, is the very word of grace, by which, the grace of our forgiuenesse and reconciliation & conuersion at the beginning, and for all our lyfe long after, is denounced vnto vs, as well generally and publikely, as specially and priuately. Generally, as we read it was done by Peter the Apostle: Specially and priuately, as wee read it was done by Christ himselfe, when he saide to the man that he cured of the palsey: Be of good chere my sonne, thy sinnes bee forgyuen thee. And as it was done by the Prophet Nathan, when he said vnto Dauid: And the Lorde hathe put off thy sinne. But the meane of receyuing thys grace, is not that only whereby we be made able to receyue it, but that whereby we doe also receyue it when it is offered. The contrite and humble heart is meete to receyue it. But it is one thyng to bee able to receyue it, and to receyue it in dede is an other. The hungry stomacke is able to receyue meate: but yet for all that vnlesse he which is hungrye, do receyue and eate the meate, he is not refreshed. In lyke case the contrite hearte is able in deede to receyue Forgiuenesse of sinnes, but yet vnlesse it doe receyue it in verye deede, the conscience of synne is not quieted. But it doth receyue it in deede, when it receyueth the word of grace by Faith. When Iudas sayd: I haue sinned, betraying the iust bloud. He was in thys respecte able to receyue this grace, bycause his heart was tormented with the sorow of repentance: but bicause he was destitute of faithe, he receyued it not, but dyed in desperation. Wherfore faith is requisite in euery

The meane of conferring forgiuenesse of sinne is the worde of grace.

Act.2.&3.

Math.9.

2.Sam.12.

The meane to receyue forgiuenes of sinnes is fayth.

place, wherby the promises of heauenly grace may be receiued to lyfe and euerlasting saluation.

Confession of sinnes and prayer be not excluded.

Now when we doe attribute vnto faith, that it receyueth forgiuenes of sinnes, we doe not exclude the confession of our sinnes and prayer: Like as good fruites be not excluded when the goodnesse of a tree is commended: nor the spirite and the sound of the voyce be not excluded when the strength of eloquence is prayed: nor the bowing downe and caryng vp of our handes when we do praye vehemently or effectually, faith receyuing forgiuenesse of sins, doth make the sinner to confesse & pray. Wherefore when wee doe reade: If we doe confesse our sinnes, he is faithful and iust to forgiue vs our sins, we muste not vnderstand it by that confession whyche commeth not of the faythe of the worde, wherby we be reproued and conuinced of oure synnes. And when we do say praying according to the doctrine of Christe: And forgiue vs our trespasses, I thinke it is manifest, that we do pray vpon the spirite of Faithe. Wherefore all this is arighte applyed vnto faith, which is wrought by it, to the receiuing of the grace of oure reconciliation.

1. Iohn. 1.

IIII. Vpon what conditions our sinnes be forgiuen.

NO doubte, the forgiuenesse of sinnes is offered vnto vs by the worde of the Gospell in Christe, as our onely propitiatorie, mediatoure and reconciler, and it is receyued by faith as the gifte of grace and Gods mercy: yet for all that, there bee certayne conditions without the which eyther this grace is not obteyned, or else after it is gotten, it is not preserued without them. The fyrste is, true and stedfast amendmente of life.

1 It is manifest, that this is required in the verye beginning of the preaching of the Gospell, which both the Precursor and the Lord himselfe vsed saying: Amend your life, for the Kingdome of Heauen is at hande. And the same is required to be true and not fayned. Wherefore John also demaunded of the Pharisees and Sadducees worthie fruits of amendement, meaning that they must be vtterly voyd of vain hypocrisie, whiche would seeme to amende from the bottome of their hearts. Also, it is requisite, that it bee not onely true but stedfast also, so that we maye euer afterwardes forbeare from sin. So Christe sayde: Go and sinne no more. And in so saying, he ment that it is in vayne forgiuen, whyche after the forgiuing, is renewed again. To what intente is the disease cured, whiche is of purpose procured againe, when it is once healed: Therfore as forgiuenesse of sinnes is not obteined without true repentance & amendment of life, so after it is once obteined, it is not continued without the constant obseruing of the same.

2 The seconde condition is, that we be reconciled to our brethren, against whome we haue sinned: and that we doe either satisfie them if it be possible, eyther that we desire to bee forgiuen. He that by sinistrall and wrongfull meanes hath taken awaye that whyche is hys brothers

good, dothe in vayne hope to be forgyuen of God, vnlesse he doe restore the euill gotten good, if he be able to make restitution. And therefore it is saide: that sinne is not forgiuen, vnlesse the amendes be made. Thys hee likewise whyche sayde: If I haue deceyued any man of any thyng, I restore fource double. And therefore is that spoken: If thou offer thy rewarde at the Altare, and remembrest that thy brother hathe somewhat agaynste thee, goe bee reconciled fyrste to thy brother, and then come and offer thy rewarde. Thys reconcilemente can not otherwise be made, but by satisfaction or pardon. Wherefore wee doe applye both vnto it.

The thirde is, that we also following the mercy of our heauenlye father, forgyue our offendors, and pardon them all theyr offences. The same Christ did manifestly set forth vnto vs, when he taughte vs to pray, and to say, Forgiue vs oure trespasses, as we also forgiue them whyche trespasse againste vs. And after the order of prayer he added: Therefore if you doe forgiue men their faultes, youre heauenly father shall forgyue you also. But if you forgiue not men their faultes, youre heauenly father shall not forgiue you.

These be the conditions whych be necessarye for the obteynemente and preseruemēt of forgiuenes of sinnes. But yet withall we may not ioyne to them any merite of oure owne iustice, and diminish the grace of God. For we be not able to satisfye the iust iudgement of God, eyther by amendmente of lyfe, eyther by reconcilemente to oure brother, eyther by pardoning his faultes: but there is ynough wonne of it, whe that sinnes be forgyuen to them whyche doe amende and bee reconcyled to theyr brethren, whyche myghte haue bin worthily punished. It is ynough for the mercy and clemency of God, if sinnes be so forgiuen, that not onely the person whyche sinned is pardoned, but that the euill is also reformed. We haue declared before in the place of Repentance, the causes why that the impenitente can not bee forgyuen, which may be also considered of in this place.

V. Whether all Sinnes be forgiuen.

HE that sente his sonne into thys worlde to saue the same whyche was perished, doth not forgiue some certaine of oure sinnes, but all. For he shoulde not accomplish the dispensation taken vppon him if he shoulde forgiue some and reteine some. For in that case we shoulde as well perishe, as though he forgaue no sinnes at all. One sinne alone maketh all mankynde subiecte vnto destruction. And how can it be, but we must also bee condemned for one sinne alone, if wee shall bee iudged vppon it, setting mercy aparte? Therefore the ground and foundation of oure Lordes incarnation can not stande, withoute that all oure sinnes and offences bee fauourably forgyuen. Vnlesse there were full forgiuenesse of all sinnes, hee woulde nother haue saide to the theefe: Thys daye thou shalte bee wyth mee in Paradise. Nor that saying coulde not stande: Verely, verely I saye vnto you, hee that heareth

The reason of Christes dispensatiō and of our saluation, do require that all our sinnes be forgiuen vs

Iohn. 5.

my worde, and beléeueth hym whiche sente mée, hath lyfe euerlastyng, and shall not come into iudgemente but shall passe from deathe to lyfe. For wheresoeuer anye synnes bée wyth-holden, these sayings can take no place: for what is it elſe to withholde some, and not to forgyue all, but not to acquite the gilty person altogither from hys synnes, but to kéepe him styll in daunger of iudgemente? Yée that forgiueth not the whole dette that anye man oweth hym, but with-holdeth a péece of it, hath the better styll bound vnto him in righte and lawe, for the reste of the dette whyche hée forgyueth hym not.

If all oure synnes be not forgyuen, then eyther they be the leſſe or the greater whiche be with-holden, whethersoeuer of them both wée graunte, it shal bée very vnfytte for Gods mercy. For to what purpose shoulde the leſſe bée with-holden if the greater be forgiuen, hée that is contente to forgiue a man a thousande Crownes, to what purpose shoulde he require of hym the dette of a fewe shyllings or pence? But graunt that you may fynde some one man whyche will doe so, yet it were a foule matter to thynke so of God. Agayne, in case the leſſe sinnes shoulde bée forgyuen and the greater with-holden, howe coulde that manner of imperfecte grace profite to oure saluation? when we be not able to satisfye the iudgemente of God, forasmuche as one sinne. Now then if wée bée not able to satisfie, what followeth elſe but that wée muste perishe, vnleſſe that all bée forgyuen. But that can not stande wyth Goddes clemency, that wée shoulde all miscarie, who sente hys sonne into thys worlde for our saluation to seéke and saue that whyche was lost.

If all sinnes were not forgiuen, what shoulde followe.

And this is proued by that that the Lorde dothe sette forthe vnto vs in hys parable, not a péece and imperfecte, but a full and complete forgyueneſſe, to be considered by vs in God, to thys intente, that we should also forgyue all oure debtes to oure brétheren. So he byngeth in an example of a King, whiche did mercifully forgiue the whole debte to one of his seruauntes, whiche ought hym tenne thousande Talents, and was not able to pay him. And when that afterwardes he had refused to shewe the lyke fauoure to his fellowe seruaunte, hée was displeased withall, and rebuked hym and sayde: Thou wicked seruaunte, I forgaue thée all that debte when thou desiredſt me, did it not behoue thée also to haue had pitie vpon thy fellow seruaunte as I had pitie vpon thée? By this parable the Lord dothe sufficiently declare, that this is required of vs, that we forgiue al the debtes to our brethren, bycause that all be forgyuen vs by Gods mercy. Howe can wée giue this qualitie to God, that séeing hée requireth at oure handes full forgyuenes, that he doth pardon vs but in part onely? How is the clemency of God figured vnto vs in the king, if God do not forgiue vs our whole debt, as it is mentioned, that hée forgaue his seruaunte not a péece, but the whole?

The Parable of Christ.

What is this sinne.

Let vs consider then how great it behoueth this grace to be, whereby not the lighte but the moſt grevous sinnes

Howe great grace must be, whereby all sinnes be forgiuē.

sinnes also be freely forgiuen by the infinite clemency of God: For if God be so affected that he dothe not forgiue some sinnes only, but altogither: it followeth that there is none so great, which is not forgiuen by hym which forgiueth all. For in al points those things which be greateſt, haue the chiefeſt place. Therefore like as it can not be reported of a Phisition that he is cunning in his faculty, and that he can heale all diseases, if he be not able to cure some greate sicknesses: so we coulde not attribute vnto God full and perfect mercy whereby he forgiueth all sinnes, if he shoulde forgiue the lighte onely and not the great also. Ther is no number, measure nor end of Gods mercy. Wherfore it is not possible that it can bée oppreſſed or ouercome, eyther wyth the waight or multitude of our sins. And these thinges be good to make oure heartes the bolder to pray vnto God oure moſt mercifull father, not onely for the forgiueneſſe of one or two lighte sinnes, but for all, be they neuer so great, yea and they serue also to make vs more ready to forgiue our brethren whiche doe offende vs, not onely some lighte offences and shapes, but all kynde of mischiefes also, be it neuer so heynous: for asmuch as all our sinnes whereby wé do offend Gods Maieſtie, be so mercifully forgiuen vs, and specially knowing that we be receyued into this fauoure vppon that condition, that we shoulde shewe the like mercy also to our brethren. As concerning the sinne againſt the holy spirite, we haue declared it in the place before of Synne, why that it is not to bée forgiuen.

VI. Whether that vvhē forgiuenes of Sinnes is once *gotten, it may be voyde agayne.*

Forgiueneſſe of sinnes must be firme, elſe vve should not be saued.

Vnleſſe that the grace of forgiueneſſe be euermore firme and certain, our saluation can not be fyrme and sure. For there is no other way to be saued by, if this fayle, and bée voide. Therfore it is necessarie that sinnes once forgiuen, are forgiuen for euermore: vnleſſe all that doctrine and promiſe of euerlasting life and saluation purchaſed by Christe vnto mankynde, shoulde bée voyde, whiche no Godly person can think. This is moſte certaine, and to bée stucke vnto without doubt, and yet there be some places of Scripture, which séemeth to teach the contrary. We reade this: If the wicked repét from al his sins which he hath wrought, and kepe my preceptes, and doe iudgemente and iuſtice, he shall liue the lyfe and not die. I will not remember any of his wickedneſſe whiche he hath done. Is the death of the wicked by my will? sayth the Lord, and not rather that he tourne from his ways and liue? but if the iuſt do turne from his righteousnes and cōmitte wickedneſſe according vnto al the abhominatiōs which the vngodly is wont to worke, shall he lyue? all the righteouſneſſe whiche he hathe done shall not be remembred. Albeit that I doe say to the iuſt that he shall liue the life, and he trusting vpon his iuſtice do commyt wickednes, all his iuſtices shall be forgotten, and in the wickedneſſe which he hath wrought in the same he shal dye, &c. So that in case ỹ iuſtice paſt be forgotté & made

An obiection. Ezech. 18. 33.

voyd, for the wickednesse following. Howe muche more may the sinnes mercifully forgiuen bee reuoked to the state of iust iudgement. Agayne, we reade in this wise, then the Lorde sente for him, & saide vnto him: Thou vngracious seruaunte, I forgaue thee all that thy dette, when thou besoughtest mee. Shouldest not thou also haue hadde mercy vpon thy fellowe seruaunte, as I had pitie vpon thee: and his Lorde being angry, deliuered him to tormentors, vntill hee should pay hym all which he oughte him. So my heauenly father shall do also vnto you, if you doe not euerye one of you forgiue youre brethren their offences from the bottome of your heartes. Is it not manifest by this that it is possible that the forgiuenesse of sinnes once obteyned may be made frustrate, and that the synner shall be endaungered to satisfye Gods iustice for them.

Matth. 18.

Howv forgiuenesse of sinnes can not be made voyd and howv it may.

I aunswere as touching the clemencie and goodnesse of God, like as the giftes and calling of God bee without repentaunce, so is the forgiuenesse of sinnes also. And in this respecte it can not be voyde for that saying standeth fast: I will no more remember his sinnes, for there is an vnchangeable truth ioined with this grace also, but as touching vs to whome sinnes bee forgiuen, there skilleth much how stedfastly we doe stand in the grace of God once receiued and howe we keepe the conditions annexed vnto it. We muste make a difference betwixte that grace of God whiche hath no conditions ioyned vnto it, as that is that he bringeth forthe his sunne vppon the good and the euill, and rayneth vppon the thankefull and the vnthankeful. And that which is giuen conditionally in which forte forgiuenesse of sinnes is this laste, although it be assured and firme in God (for he is not chaunged as man is) yet by oure fault it maye be made voyde, if we obserue not the conditions of it.

And we rehearsed the conditions annexed vnto this grace in the article that went before, that is to wit true and constante repentaunce and amendment of life. Whereby we do afterwardes forbeare from synne. And the brotherly reconcilemente which is by forgiuenesse of sinnes or amendes making. Therefore if anye man that hathe obteyned pardon of his sinnes past by the grace of Gods clemency, doe become so vnthankefull and so vncarefull of his owne saluatiō, that he breake off the repentance whiche he began in, and turne agayne to his vomite lyke a dogge, and doe openly declare that he dothe rather despise than feare God, no doubte he sheweth himselfe worthy to be punished for the sinnes passed, from which he was discharged. And that is the meaning of the two places of Ezechiel which we recited before. Againe if the man which hathe mercifully obteyned a pardon for a thousand talents, do refuse to forgiue his brother an C. pence: that is to say, if one that hath obteyned of God forgiuenesse of all his sinnes, wil not afterwardes forgiue his brother offending him, and desiring pardon, is there any cause to doubt, why he loseth the pardon of all his sinnes whiche he hadde gotten, and is called backe agayne to suffer worthy punishmente for it? It standeth with all

all equitie and reason that we should do y same to others, which we wold haue done to our selues: or if we refuse to do it, to be bereste of the same grace and fauour which we will not shewe to others. Therefore in this respecte it may wel be, and it is moste méete that the grace once receyued should be made voyde and frustrate: but this commeth not of the vnstablenesse of Gods clemencye, whiche can not be in God, but of our naughtinesse. Wherfore it is not without greate cause, that the Apostle beseecheth and chargeth them to loke that they receyue not the grace of God in vaine. Some man will say: If the sinne comming after the grace receyued, do make the forgiuenesse of the sinne whiche wente before, voide, who shal then be saued? Was it not for this entent, that many in tymes paste, although that they beleued in Christe, yet for all that they deferred their baptisme vntill the very point of death? For they were afraide, least they should lose the forgiuenesse of their former sinnes receyued in baptisme, if they shoulde through the weakenesse of the flesh sinne againe after it. And the place of the Epistle to the Ebrewes not well vnderstanded, serued muche to the purpose.

1. Ioan. 2.

But we muste put a difference betwixt the sinnes which be committed and nowe and then by them that be baptised, through the weakenesse of the flesh, and that falling backe againe, when we fall quite of from our faithe, religion, profession, and grace of Christe, vnto our olde wickednesse: and so do bereue our selues of al that grace and saluation, whereof we were made partakers. Euery sinne doth not decaye the grace that went before, but the retourning to our olde wickednesse, as to a dogges vomite, doeth decaye it. It is one thing to raye a bodies fæt after they be washed, and an other matter to go tumble al the body again in filthy and myre lyke a Swine. And it is not all alike when a woman doth sometime offende hir husbande, as when she breaketh hir faythe and bande of wedlock, and setteth hir self quite out from all the honest knot of wedlocke. So it is one thing simply to sinne, which the children of God also doe: and an other matter vtterly to fall and runne backe from the grace of God, and to mocke and crucifie Christ anew, which the reprobate doe, and not the elect. The Epistle to the Ebrewes, speaketh of this laste kinde of sinning, and not of the firste. And therefore it sayth plainely: Howe muche greater punishmente thinke you he shall haue, whiche doeth treade vnder fæte the sonne of God, & esteemeth the bloud of the Testamente as a prophane matter, whereby he was sanctified, and shameth the spirit of grace. For he speaketh of the same falling backe, of the which he spake Chap. vj. But of the firste fall the Apostle speaketh, saying: If a man sinne, we haue an aduocats with the Father, &c. This iudgement which some of the fathers also did take, and whiche the Maister of the Sentences would neither allowe nor disallowe, but left it to be iudged by the reader, some of the Glosers of the Schole doctors doe exceedingly entangle in their disputations, & some do vtterly aban-

abandone it. But we doe plainely iudge it to be followed, bicause it is agreeable with the Scriptures and with the Lords parable.

And whiles I do according to my small hability simply treate of this matter without all contentious inquisition, I wil not seeme to be preiudicial to anye mans iudgement that is better learned than my selfe. For like as I am contented to speak freely what I thinke, so I doe not despyse other mennes opinions spoken without contention. It might be obiected vnto me here, that this manner of relapse, whereby the forgiuenesse of sinnes once be made voyde, can haue no place in the elect: no more in the reprobate nother, bycause that they can not be capable of forgiuenesse of sinnes, for that they haue not true and liuely fayth whereby it is gotten, and that therefore there is none at all in whome the sins once forgiuen may be voide. But I warne them which are lead out by this argument, to waye well what they saye of the reprobate. As for the elect I graunt, but for the reprobate I know it is a matter disputable, whether there be neuer any forgiuenesse of sinnes to them or no. There is in the Epistle to the Ebrewes attributed vnto them the lightning by Christ, the taste of the heauenly gifte, the participation of the holy spirit, ye and the taste of the good worde of God, and of the vertues of the worlde to come. Also, the sanctifying which is by the bloud of the Testament, and the spirit of Grace. And in the latter Epistle of Peter they be compared to the sowe, which after she is washed, tombleth again into the myer. And howe this can chaunce vnto them without all forgiuenesse of sinnes, it maye be well made a question in this case.

Heb. 6.

Heb. 10.

2. Pet. 2.

VII. Whether not the fault only, but the punishment also be forgiuen.

The Doctrine of the Schole doctors is, that the faulte onely of deadly sinnes is forgiuen, and not the punishment also and satisfaction: but that the same (whereas the sinner is worthye to be punished for it euerlastingly) is chaunged by Gods grace into a temporarie punishment, to be suffered either in this lyfe, or after our death. And therefore they deuised the fyre of Purgatory, wherin Gods iustice might be satisfyed, and the reste of the filthynesse of mens sinnes shuld be as it were sodden out. And bycause men shoulde not be bounde to paye the vttermost farding of their dette and duetie, the Bysshoppes of Rome came on with their pardone, to succour the poore soules being in Purgatorie & in the satisfactorie fyre, and they began to deliuer them out of their bounden paines, and to sende them to heauen, so that their trauaile & fauour therin were well payde for.

But Scripture knoweth nothing of this forgiuenesse of sinnes, nor it doeth not anaunce the glorye of our redemer Christe, nor it hath not any grounde of true and full forgiuenesse. The true and full forgiuenesse is, when not only the fault or blame of sinne, but the punishment also is forgiuen. All faithfull persons doe praye: Forgiue vs oure trespasses.

So

So we be taught by the Lord, that we shoulde vnderstand, that the forgiuenesse of sinnes is of the same condition, that the forgiuenesse of dettes is. And ẏ det or due vnto God, is not the sinne it selfe, or the faulte of sin, but it is rather the bande and obligation to satisfie the iustice of God for the sinne committed. Therefore when the dette or due is forgiuen by God, then surely the very obligation & band it self, the deserued punishment and due satisfation is forgiuen: if the det or due be not forgiuen, to what purpose be we commaunded to desire the forgiuenesse of it of our heauenly father.

And besides that, how shall that stande which we doe adde thervnto: As we doe forgiue them which trespalle against vs? If God do forgiue the faulte only and not the due satisfaction also and worthy punishment, then he doth not require of vs nother to forgiue oure brethren their trespalles, but that we maye neuerthelesse kepe them in holde to satisfye vs. And who that is well in his wittes will saye that the due or trespalle is forgiuen, when there is yet required the satisfaction, and that the dettor is not yet discharged? What time the king of his mercy forgaue al the det to his seruant when he did humbly beseche him, did he not withall let him go cleare away lose and at libertie? he would not haue done so, vnlesse he had forgiuen the making him of amendes and satisfaction. If this be to forgiue det, to holde fast the dettour still as bounde to satisfye, the seruant might haue aunswered the king his maister: Syr, I pardoned him of al his det, but I reserued the payment of the det wholy vnto me still. I say he might haue so pleaded the matter for himselfe, if he had in like conditions obteined the pardon of his dettes of the king his maister. But he could not make him this aunswer, for he had handled his fellowe seruant other manner wise than he was dealte withall himselfe by ẏ king, by whom he was mercifully forgiuen fully of all his dettes, and therfore worthily condemned as an vnright and vnmerciful person, and compelled to make amendes. The Apostle saith: Pardoning your selues one another: if any body hath any matter one againste the other, like as Christ pardoned you, so doe you also. Then if Christ do but halfe forgiue vs, we be not bounde to the full forgiuenesse, whereby not onely the fault of the wrong done, but the reuenge and satisfaction is also forgiuen: But then it is ynough, if we doe so forgiue offences, that we will neuer the lesse be reuenged vpon our brethren. But the doctrine of the Apostle doth require an other matter of vs, which chargeth vs to forgiue not only the offence, but the reuenge also. *Ergo*, Christ doth not forgiue vs by peece meale and by halfes, but ful and whole bothe the faulte and the satisfaction to.

Coloss. 3.

The nature of satisfaction dependeth vpon a dette.

No, no, that peece and halfe forgiuenesse can not stande by any reason, for the reason of satisfaction doth hang vppon a dette or duetie. He which oweth nothing, can by no law or right be compelled to satisfye him whome he oweth naught vnto. And he oweth nothing whose det is forgiuen hym. *Ergo*, the forgiuenesse of the dette maketh the dettour free, that

that he is no longer bounde to satisfie. For when the cause ceaseth, the effect also ceaseth. But if we be not deliuered from the det and duetie of satisfaction, it followeth, that our dettes be not forgiuen, and so where as we doe beleue that our dettes and offences are forgiuen before God, it were not true faith but a vaine opinion: and we shoulde in vaine praye as the Lord hathe taught vs, saying: Forgiue vs our trespalles as we forgiue them that trespalle against vs.

An argument vpon the bloud of Christ.

Farther, what shall we say of the bloud of Christe which was shead for our sinnes vppon the Crosse? If we haue not by it obtained full forgiuenesse of our sinnes, then there doeth not consist in it full satisfaction and redemption: which we can not saye without the greate wrong of Christes death. If Christ hathe not satisfyed God the Father for our sinnes, who I beseke you will so much presume, (vnlesse he be starck blinded,) either vpon his workes or afflictions, or the merites of anye other, that he can hope by them to satisfye God? But in case we do beleue aright that the bloud of Christe doeth deliuer vs, and cleanse vs from all our sinnes: who seth not howe detestable and poysoned a deuise it is, that they say, that the punishment is reserued, whereby Gods iustice must be satisfyed, either in this lyfe, either in the life to come.

Obiection of our more saintes.

But they doe obiecte in case the forgiuenesse of sinnes be the forgiuenesse not onlye of the faulte, but of the punishment also: How commeth it that all mankinde is yet after the death of Christ subiecte vnto deathe and corruption? Is not death the reward of Sinne? Dyed not Christ for the Sin of Adam, from whence death issued into all mankinde? And yet to this daye we do all dye and be corrupt, yea the faithfull also of Christ which are redeemed also by the raunsome of this death. What can we gather els vpon this, but that the faulte of our sinnes is forgiuen, but not the punishment.

Againe, did not Nathan say vnto Dauid: and the Lord hathe remoued and made passe thy sinne? But yet he did adde immediatlye for the punishment, which his family should suffer for that sinne. Wherby it is euident ynough, that the sinne was so forgiuen, that the punishemente should followe not withstanding.

We aunswer, that there be yet remaine in vs in deede the leauings of our sinne borne with vs, and sticking to our flesche as long as we be in this lyfe, and that we be deliuered for all that from our deserued condemnation by the bloude of Christe. But these leauings be not taken away but only by death. And deathe it selfe our extreeme and laste enimy, & all other corruption withall is not taken away but by the rising again of our bodyes, and the sudden change of them into ỹ heauenly glory. And that these thinges be thus ordered, we muste not attribute it to our satisfaction and punishmentes, but rather to the speciall purpose of God, that he kepeth vs so long in this image of the earthlye Adam, vntill that the same tyme come, when all thinges shall be chaunged and restored. So that for the meane season we be saued in hope, and not yet in deede. Loke vpon Augustine.

As

As touching the historie of Dauid, we aunswer, that the punishmẽt wherby Gods iustice muste be satisfied, is one thing, and the chastisement whereby the Lord doeth chasten his children with the fatherlye rodde, is an other matter. The punishment and the faulte of the sinne also, is forgiuen to them which doe repente and beleue, but the chastisement is not so: I will visite (saythe the Prophet) with the rodde theyr wickednesse, and their sinnes with stripes. And the Apostle saithe, he scourgeth euery childe which he receyueth. And so Dauids sinne was forgiuen him, and the punishmente also of it. Wherevpon the Prophet added also, thou shalt not dye: but the chastisement and rodde of discipline was not taken awaye. It is not possible that there can be satisfaction made vnto God by any man, no not for one sinne alone, but we maye be chastened, for all of them, either gentlye in this life, if we be of the elete and faithfull, or else by iust iudgement in the pit of hell, if we be of the numbre of the reprobate. The children of God be not chastened to the intent thereby to satisfye Gods iudgement, but to be instructed, and to be made more ware after that, to the intent they be not condemned with this world. For it were a maner of Cockering, if when the faulte and punishmente of the sinne also were forgiuen, the chastisement of discipline shoulde be pardoned also. Wherefore this obiection of Dauid doeth not make for those doctors, which to the intent they would defend their gainefull purgatorie, Popishe masses, and Romishe pardones, doe deuise that sinnes be so forgiuen, that the punishement of them is stayed, and chaunged from an euerlasting paine into a temporarie paine, to satisfie Goddes iustice withall, from which the soules maye be deliuered by Masses and merchandise of pardons. The fault and the punishment of sinne is freely forgiuen be Christs bloud, but the chastening, discipline, & instruction of the children of God, is holesomly dispenced by God, and is not discharged by any Masses or Popishe pardons.

VIII. Whether that Sinnes be forgiuen also after death.

The deuice of the Scolemen touching the sinne against the holy spirit. Math. 12.

The Schole doctrine doth inferre vpon that which we doe reade in Matthew: Whosoeuer speaketh against the holye spirite, shall not be forgiuẽ, nother in this present world nor in the world to come, that thereby we be giuen to vnderstande (say they) as holye doctours doe teache, that some sinnes shall be forgiuen in the world to come. For some faultes (say they) are released in this world, yea and some small ones, in ỹ world to come, which doe trouble men after their death: and that they be forgiuen them if they be found worthy, & if they haue deserued by their good dedes in this life, to haue them forgiuen them. They thinke that they do grounde themselues vpon a sure argument. If the sinne against the holye Spirite (say they) be forgiuen nor in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come, *Ergo*, then there is forgiuenesse of some sinnes also in the world to come. A very foolishe argument no doubt. If I shoulde saye, I will

not

not forgette this wrong, nor in this nor in the worlde to come, I praye you can you gather therupō aright, that we shall remember wrongs in an other worlde, and be there desirous of reuenge? He that speaketh after that manner, meaneth nothing else, but that he will neuer forgette the wrong receyued. Wherfore men must not gather therevpon what is to come after this lyfe. For when Christ said: He that speketh against the holye Spirite, shall not be forgiuen nor in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come: He mente nothing else in hys saying, but that it shall neuer be forgiuen. And so the same thing is expressed also in Marke, he hathe not forgiuenesse for euermore, but is subiecte vnto eternall iudgement. Chrysostome dyd not waye this Schole doctrine in this place, albeit he did diligentlye expounde the Scriptures. For he expoundeth it thus: But you shall be punished both here and other where also. And a little after. Of al men some shall be punished bothe here and there, some onely in this present lyfe, and some in the lyfe to come only. Bothe here and there, as the Sodomits and these Pharisies: and in this present onely as the whoremonger at Corinth, and as that riche man in Hell. This sayth he. Whereby it appeareth, that whereas it is sayde, that blasphemie is not forgiuen here nor in the worlde to come, it is nothing else to say, but that it shall not escape vnpunished for euermore. And withall the reader maye sée, howe vaine a deuise it is, that they doe set forth of the fyre of Purgatorye, wherein the soules shoulde be punished after this death.

Mark. 3.

Chrisostomus.

2. Cor. 11. Luke.

You may sée that Chrysostome by these wordes doeth acknowledge, that there is no punishemente after death, but of the damned, such as the Sodomites, Pharisées, and that rich man in hell were. But he doth appointe to the faithfull which be sinners also, the punishment of this present lyfe onely, but not of the life to come: & he alledgeth also the adulterer of Corinthus, and the rest of the sinners of that Churche, whiche the Lorde chastened in this lyfe, to the intent that they shoulde not be damned with the worlde. If these sayings be true, then there is no manner of hope of pardon after this life, nor there is no trueth in that fyre of Purgatorie, whiche men deuised to make their lucre of in the Church.

They doe obiecte also the place of the Apostle where we doe reade in this wise: The fyre shall trie euery mans work what it is. If any mans worke doe abide, which he hath builded vppon it, he shall haue rewarde: if anye mans worke be burned, that shall take harme: but he shall be saued, notwithstanding so, as by fyre. These wordes the Maister of the Sentences doeth alledge in this wise: Of them also which do builde wood, heye, and stubble. Augustine saythe, that their buildings whiche may be burned, shall finde the fyre of transitorie tribulation, burning those thinges whiche they brought with them: for he saythe in this sorte: Surely after the death of this body, vntill the soules come from the fyre of Purgatorie, to the daye of damnation and reward, if in this meane season the soules of them whiche be departed,

1. Cor. Fire ... vvoi... tyre ... mans

Augu. Lib. 4. 11.

departed, and which builded vpon woodde, heye and stubble, be reported to suffer suche fyre which others doe not féele, which caried not suche buildings that they might finde the fyre of transitorye tribulation, which burneth Venial sinnes, I do finde no fault withall, for peraduenture it is true. Hytherto he hath alledged the wordes of Augustine, and afterwards he addeth of his owne: But forasmuch as it is sayde: he shall be saued as by fyre: that fyre is little estéemed, and yet for all that the same fyre shal be grieuouser thā any thing that a man may suffer in this lyfe. Here it is plainely proued, that they which do builde wood, hey, and strawe, certaine kinde of buildinges which may be burned, that is to say, such as doe cary Veniall sinnes with them, which be burned in the fyre of reformation. Wherby it appeareth, that some Veniall sinnes be taken away after this life. This saith that Maister of Sentences, not very wel set and applyed.

First, as concerning that place of the Apostle, I will sende the reader to my Cōmentaries vppon the firste Epistle to the Corinthians, where he shall finde also sundry expositions of the Fathers vpon it, as Hierom, Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostome. But as concerning this present place of Augustin, which the Maister toke out of the. xxj. boke *De ciuitate Dei*, péecemeale, and not truely, I thinke it expedient to set it forthe more fullye and faithfully. In the beginning of the Chapiter he doth alledge and refute theyr opionion which doe say, that the Catholikes which doe not swarue from the vnitie of Christ, can not perishe, bycause that they haue Christ for their foundation, although that they doe builde vpon it any lyfe, neuer so euil. And against this opinion he doth lay the wordes of James: If any man saye that he hathe fayth, and hath no workes, can fayth saue him? After that he dothe compare James and Paule togither. And firste to declare that Paule speaketh not of such Catholykes, he expoūdeth what it is to haue Christ for the foundation. After that, whereas the Apostle sayth, that they which do builde, hey, woode, and strawe, vpon the foundation which is Christe, shall be saued by fyre, he expoundeth it in thys wyse.

For the fyre of trouble shall burne or waste away suche pleasures and worldelye loues, which be not damnable bycause of the knotte of wedlocke, to which fyre also the deathe of Children and all other aduersities also doe belong, which doe take these pleasures awaye. And hereby this buylding shall be hurtefull to the builder, bycause he shall not haue that whych he buylded vpon it: and shall be troubled with the losing of those thynges, in the vse whereof he reioyced. But he shall be saued by thys fyre, by the worthinesse of hys foundation, bycause that when it was layde before hym by the persecutour to sée whether he had rather haue that or Christ, he did most frankly declare, that he had rather haue Christe than those matters. Marke herein the man in the Apostles words, building vpon this foundation, golde, siluer, and precyous stones. He which is without a wyfe,

(saith

(saith he) thinke th vpon those things whiche be of God, howe he maye please God. See now an other building wood, hay, and strawe, but he (sayth he) whiche is coupled in Matrimony, thinketh vpon worldly maters, howe he mays please his wyfe. Euery mans worke shall be reueiled of what sort it is. For the daye of the Lord shal open it, no doubt the daye of anger, the daye of trouble. For it shall (sayth he) be disclosed in fyer. And the same tribulation he calleth fyer: as it is reade in other places: The furneffe doeth trye the potters vessels, and the temptation of troubles the iuffe men. And what euery mans worke is, the fyer shal trye. If any mans worke doe abyde it (for whatsoeuer a man doth thinke touching Gods matters, and howe to please God that doeth abide) the same which he hathe buylded vpon it, shall receyue rewarde: that is to saye, shall receyue the same whereupon he thought. If anye mannes worke do burne, he shall take harm, for he shall not haue that which he loued. But he shall be saued, bicause no tribulation hathe remoued him from the stedfastnesse of his foundation. But yet for all that, so as by fyer. For the same which he enioyed not without the entisemente of loue, he shall not lose without burning of sorrowe. Lo, as farre as I can perceyue we haue found a fyre which dampneth none of both parts: but enricheth the one, and doth damage the other, & trieth them bothe. And after he hath expounded this to declare his meaning in it, then he doeth adde the refutation of them, which do expounde the wordes of the Apostle of the euerlasting fyre. And after that refutation he doeth put these wordes which the Maister of the Sentences (as I sayd) doth falsely alledge. For he doeth not onely hyde his iudgemente and expositiun of it whiche went before, and doeth picke out and bring for the confirmation of an opinion crepte into the Churche, the same which Augustine mighte alledge vppon other mens heades, and spoken so conditionally by him, as though in deede it were not his owne opinion, but of others, as though it were Augustines own, but he doth also so falsely, corruptly and by patches bring the very wordes of Augustine, that he doeth frame them to his own purpose.

Whereas Augustines wordes be: Truely after the death of this body, until we come to that day which after the rising vp againe of the bodies shall be the laste daye of the damnation and rewarding, he mingled in of his own and made it: Truely after the death of this bodye, vntill we come from the fyre of Purgatorie vnto that daye, &c. Besides this, he doeth thrust in some things which Augustine hathe not, and of that which he hath, some thinges be lefte out: as, Whether they be punished there only, or bothe here and there: or else here, bycause they shoulde not be punished there, &c. which he did vtterly suppresse: and that also which he spake of the death of the flesh. of the persecutions of the church, wherwithal the Martires were crowned, and true Christians afflicted: and that also which was added by Augustine of the troublesome tyme of Antichrist. He perceyued in deede that the verye iudgemente of Augustine made not for his purpose, and therefore he forsake that, and brought an other mans opinio, which Augustin alledged, but yet such as he declared that he doubted of it, whiche he expressed, saying: I doe not reproue it, for peraduenture it is true. He saith not, bycause it is true, but bycause peraduenture it is true. And therevpon this Schole doctour maketh the matter more sure, saying: It is declared openly. Item, It appeareth certeinly, that some Uenial sinnes be forgiuen after this lyfe: whereas Augustine doth pronounce nothing of himselfe, but saith, that he will not reproue it, bycause peraduenture it is true. It is one thing to allow a mans iudgement to be certainly true, and an other thing when a man will say nothing againste it, for peraduenture it is true, for they be of the first sorte which be certainly perswaded of some infallible truth by the holy Scriptures: and they be of this seconde sorte, which haue no certain grounde for their opinions alledged besides the holy scriptures, and therefore doe doubt of them, and do nother allow them, nother disallow them.

Why doth not the Maister of the Sentences alledge those places, rather wherein Augustine did expresse his owne iudgement, and that not only in this place, but in his Enchiridion also where he sayth thus: For the fyre whereof the Apostle spake, muste be vnderstanded to be such, as both doth passe by the same: that is to saye, both he which doeth builde vpon this foundation, gold, siluer, and precious stones, and he also which doth buylde, wood, hey, and strawe therupon. For when he had sayd this, he added vnto it, To that euery mans worke is, the fyre shall trie: if any mans worke endure which he hath builded vpon it, he shal receyue reward. If any mans worke be burned, he shall take dammage or losse, &c. So that the fyre shal not trie the works of one of them alone, but of them bothe. In deede the fyre is the temptation of tribulation, whereof it is written manifestly in an other place: The furneffe doeth proue the potmakers vessels, and the fyre of temptation of troubles, the iuffe men. The fyre doeth worke the same effect whiles we be in this life, which the Apostle spake of. This saith Augustine in the place. But the maister of the Sentences did like better that which this man touched of ỹ Purgatory fyre, though it were doubtfully spoken, and that which he addeth, saying: It is not incredible, but that such a mater may be after this lyfe, and whether it be so or no, therby lyeth a question, and whether that it may be founde or no, or whether it be hidden, and that some faithfull men are so much the longer or sooner ere they be saued through this Purgatory fyre, the more or the lesse that they loued vaine worldly gooes in this lyfe, &c.

They which be of this opinion, say that there be some Uenial sinnes forgiuen after this death. But if they be venial & pardonable, I beseech you why be they not forgiuen in this life? Again, how should they be taken away by fyre? Is the forgiuenesse of sinnes, the consuming of them by the afflictions of fyre? Besides this,

If some veniall sinnes be forgiuen after death.

what kinde of things be those Venial sinnes, which be forgiuen a Gods name in the worlde to come? What manner a way this is (sayth Augustine) and what those sinnes bee which do so hinder the comming to the kingdome of God, that yet for al that they do obteine forgiuenesse by the merites of holy friends, it is most harde to fynde, and moste daungerous to define. Truely I haue trauailed as much as I can in that mater vntill this time, and could neuer come to the knowledge of it. This holye man is verye ware in all his sayinges, that he will determine nothing for a certentie of this matter, which the peuishe Papists wil haue all men to beleue out of all doubt, as one of the articles of our Christian faith.

De euit. Dei lib. 12. cap. 27.

But to conclude. I am altogether of this iudgement, that it can not be proued by the holy scriptures, that some sinnes be not forgiuen in thys lyfe, but onely after this lyfe. And I am not the firste that doe iudge so. For Ambrose also hathe written so before our dayes, saying: The holye man Dauid made haste also to departe out of thys place of Pylgrimage, saying: I am a stranger with thee in the lande, and a Pylgryme, as all my fathers were. And therefore lyke a pylgrym made haste to that common countrey of al Saintes, desiring in consideration of the filthinesse of this dwelling, that all his sinnes might be forgiuen him, before he shoulde departe out of this lyfe. For he which receiueth not forgiuenesse of his sinnes here, shall not be there. And he shall not be, bicause he can not attein to euerlasting lyfe: For euerlasting lyfe is forgiuenesse of sinnes: And therefore he sayth: Spare a little that I may recouer my strengthe before I goe hence, and be no more seene. And what can be spoken anye plainer than this that he doth denye that he shall be there in the common countrey of all men, which receyued not forgiuenesse of hys sinnes here? that is to saye, in this present lyfe. If there be forgiuenesse of sinnes also in the lyfe to come, then the same is in vaine which he doth so certainlye pronounce. Therfore the Maister of the Sentences should haue confuted by the holy Scriptures this place of Ambrose, as contrary to the Schole Doctrine, or if he were not able so to doe, he should haue acknowledged the trueth. We reade the lyke matter in Cyprian, saying: When we be once departed from hence (sayth he) there is then no place of repentance, nor effecte or worke of satisfaction. Life is either lost or preserued whiles we be here. Whiles we be here, we may prouide for euerlasting salnation by the seruice of God and effecte of our Fayth.

Ambrose. De bono mortis. Cap. 1

Psalm. 39

Tract. 1. contra Deuotrianum Cyprianum

Of the Priesthode of the nevve Testament.



THe new Testament which is sanctified in ye bloud of Christ, and succeded into the place of the olde, hath his peculiare priesthode. And bycause there is no doubt of the matter, we neede not to

to stand long about it. Wherefore they may be ashamed that do charge vs to be so rude and barbarous, as though we did bereaue the church of the newe Testament of his Priesthode. They saye, that very reason and the common sense of nature can not abide, that there should be in any religion so foule a barbarousnesse, whereby all priesthode should be taken away. We be not so madde as to deny the priesthode of the newe Testament, but we do stande rather vpon this pointe, to sequester and chalenge the same which is lawfull and due vnto it, from that which is counterfait and false, and that by the authoritie of the holye Scriptures. Therefore seing we do also acknowledge that there is a certaine Priesthode of the newe Testament in the Church of Christ, and that there is one highe priest, and that there be other priestes of lower degrees vnder him, and that there be sacrifices and such other matters pertaining vnto priesthode, we muste now see, what the same is, who is this highe priest, who be the inferiour priestes, and what be the sacrifices.

2 Firste of all this is a cleare case amongst all Christian men, that Aarons priesthode of the olde Testament, is abrogate together with the lawe of Moses by the comming of our sauiour, and hath nothing to do in the newe Testament. The lawe and priesthode were fulfilled & turned at one selfe same instante and time, as it is in the Epistle to the Ebrewes. Nowe if the Priesthode of the olde Testament, which was ordeined sometimes by Gods authoritie, could haue no place in the newe Testament: what can you finde me of al the Ethnikes religion that may take place with vs, thoughe it be neuer so like to that of the Iewes? And yet notwithstanding our pontificall Papistes haue brought in that outward and Massing priesthode, wherin they boaste and crake, that they do play the mediatours betwixte God and his Church, and do sacrifice for the quicke and the dead. But we looke to haue testimonies out of the holy scriptures ye God did so ordeine it. For it is not conuenient, that any man take honour to himselfe of his own head: like as nother Christ did clarifie himselfe to be made the high priest, but it was he which sayd vnto him: Thou art my sonne, &c.

Hebr. 5.

3 The ministers of the new Testament which are placed by God in his Church, are recounted in this wise: And he gaue some to the Apostles, some Prophets, and other Pastours and Doctours, to the accomplishement of Saincts to the worke of the ministerie, vnto ye edifying and making vp of the body of Christ. And again: God did set some in ye church, firste Apostles, secondly Prophetes, thirdly Doctours, then power, after them graces of healing, and helping, gouernance, kindes of languages, interpretations of speaches: Be all Apostles? be all menne Prophetes? be all Doctours? be al men powers, haue all men graces of healing? Do all men speake languages? Do all interprete?

The ministers of the nevve Testament. Ephe. 4.

1. Cor. 12.

The Apostle disputing in these two places of the Church and of the ministers of the same, doth not speke one worde of this Popishe Priesthode, for all ye they say that the Mas-

The Apostle maketh no mention of the Popish priesthode.

sing prieste is in the chiefe degrée of the pollicie of the Church. And who can beleue that the Apostle either of forgetfulnesse, or bicause he thought not vpon it, would haue passed ouer these priests, and that not only once, but twise or thrise, if he had knowen that they had bin set in the church by the Lord: and wil not rather gather hereby that this Pontificall Popishe and Massing priesthode, was vtterlye vnknowen in the Apostles dayes.

Deacons. Act. 6.

Secondly, we doe reade, that the Apostles with the multitude of the faithfull did ordeine seuen Deacons, that is to witte ministers, but such as shoulde take charge for the almes of the poore, not to be hangers on of the Popish and Massing priesthode: it was mente that they should serue the tables of the poore, and not at the aulters of offerings and sacrifices. We like not, saide they, that we should leaue Gods word to serue the tables.

Therefore looke about you, brethren, to picke out seuen men among you of tryed honestie, full of the holy spirit and wisdome, to whome we shal giue this charge. What is that? Truely to minister to the tables.

Byshops, Elders and Deacons. 1 Tim. 3. Titus. 1.

The Apostle giuing order for Bishops, Elders, and Deacons, doeth make no mention of this priesthode. Yet the Pontificall Papistes do say, that these places do not deny or forbidde their priesthode and order, but rather confirme it, forasmuch as the Apostles, doctors, pastors, and elders were priestes, and did sacrifice vnto God, and for this purpose they doe alledge the same of Barnabas, Simon Niger, Lucius of Cirene, Manascene and Saule, that they did sacrifice to the Lord, as Erasmus trãslated it. But the same translatour in his annotations saith, that there is no sacrifice more thankfull vnto God, than to bestowe the doctrine of the Gospell. And Luke himselfe doth sufficientlye declare, what maner of sacrificers these were, in that he doeth not saye, that they were priestes & immolatours: but he sayd this, there were some in the Church which was at Antioche, prophetes and doctors. What the office of prophetes and of Doctors is, it is well knowen of it self. And wheras he addeth after, As they were doing their ministery: or as the olde translation is, Whiles they were ministring vnto the Lord, what is his saying else, but conformable to the same which went before, that is to say, that they did instruct the faithfull people, as prophets & doctors by the gospel, vnto ẏ faith in Christ? the which Epiphanius also did expresse & set forth, saying: Peter also and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Mattheus and James of Alpheus, and Judas of James, and Simon the Cananite, and Matthias which was chosẽ to make vp the twelue: all these be chosen Apostles, sacrificing the Gospell. Ergo this man toke the preaching of the Gospel to be a sacrifice, and the preacher to be the sacrificer. But they do meane nothing els by their priest, but a fayre Masser, and one well annointed and shorne to say Masse, such as no man for extréeme shame can say that the Apostles were.

Act. 13.

Whereas we do trãslate the word *Presbyteros* not priestes, but elders, according to the Gréeke worde, they say it is naughtily done of vs. And wheras the people doth conceiue nothing else thereby but the massing priest, it cõmeth by their own fault, which ought rather to haue pluckt out this error out of their minds by doctrine, than to confirme it with their custome. The worde of Elders hath not the signification of priesthode, but of a Counsellers roume in the Church, wherof Tertullian maketh mention. Some of them haue plainely written, that in déede this massing priesthode is not expressed in holy Scriptures, but that it is to be obserued neuer a whit the lesse, bicause it is instituted by the fathers in the Church, besides the scriptures, by the teaching of the holy spirit. But we aunswered these mens trifling in our booke called *Anticoclaeus*.

But we will let them go, and sée the Scriptures, whereby the true priesthode of the newe Testament is set forth. First, the high priest of this priesthode is not some Bishop of that Romishe rable, calling themselues by the name of Popes, more Popishe and strange than Christian, but Christ the only begotten son of God, the true and only mediator betwixt God and man. Of this highe priest we reade much in the Epistle to the Ebrewes. Wherfore he shold become a like to his brethren, to be the merciful and faithfull high priest in those things which should be done towards God, to cleanse the sinnes of the people. And againe: Wherefore my holy brethren, parteners of the heauenly vocation, consider the Apostle and highe priest of our confession Christ Jesu, that he is faithfull towardes him which ordeyned him. Item, Hauing therfore a great high priest, which hathe perced the heauens, Jesus the sonne of God, let vs kepe our profession. For we haue not a high priest which can not perceiue our infirmities. Againe: So Christ also did not glorifie himselfe, to be the high Prieste, but he which sayd vnto him: Thou art my sonne, I haue begotten thée this day. As he saith also in an other place. Thou art a priest for euermore, according to the order of Melchisedech, which place is intreated of more at large in the seuenth chapter. The lyke testimonies are read also afterwards, of this high Priest Christ.

Hebr. 4. Hebr. 5. Psalm. 2.

There is no other chief Priest but Christ.

Therefore, seing that it is not to be graunted, that there shoulde be two Priesthodes of sundry sortes in the newe Testament, or that there should be two highe Priestes in one selfe same priesthode, and that it is proued by most strong testimonies, that Christ the sonne of God is the hygh Priest of the newe Testament, it followeth, that it is a méere mans imagination, that the Byshop of Rome is taken for to be ẏ high priest in the Church. Of that priesthode of the newe Testament, which is comprehended in Scriptures, Christe is the high priest, and that only. Wherfore it can not be, that anye other should be associate vnto him. And in case the Bishop of Rome be a hyghe priest, he is not certainlye of ẏ priesthode, wherof the Scripture doth set forth Christ to be the highe Prieste. Then of what priesthode is he else, but of the same which is not ordeyned by god, but by mens imaginatiõ?

6 But let vs sée what the writing

That the Bishop of Rome is not the highest Priest.

of the Apostle doth reporte of the chiefe priest of the newe Testament. And in case that it doe not frame to the bysshop of Rome, then I thinke it is a cleare case that he is nothing lesse than the chief priest in Chrystes church. Of these reportes some doe concerne the person, and some the office of the prieste. To the person of Chryst as of the chiefe priest, these thinges do belong. Fyrst, That he is the sonne of God, and administrator of his fathers house, appointed and named by hym the hyghe prieste, accordyng to the order of Melchisedech. Faythfull towards him which did appoint him. Merciful and faithfull. And tempted in all thinges, that he may haue the perseuerance of our miseries. Perfect, Mercifull, innocent, vndefiled, sequestred from sinners, and made lighter than the heauens. Sitting at the right hand of ẏ tron of the maiestie in heauen. Let them which doe appoint the bysshop of Rome to be the chiefe priestes of the newe Testament in ẏ church, declare howe these reportes do agree vnto his person. I saye nothing of the title of the sonne of God, but can they verifye this of him, that he is appoynted and named by God the chiefe Priestes, accordyng to the order of Melchisedech: that he is faithfull to GOD, mercifull, tempted in all pointes, sorrowing for our miseries, perfecte, louing of God, innocent, vndefiled, sequestred from sinners, and made hygher than the Heauens? Though we wolde saye nothing but holde our peace touching the Bysshoppes of Rome, they themselues do declare, that they be nother appointed by gods chief priests,

Hebr. 3.

Hebr. 5.

Heb. 3.

Hebr. 2.

Hebr. 4.

Heb. 7.

Hebr. 8.

nor that they be faithfull, perfect, louing of God, innocent, vndefiled, sequestred from sinners, but contrary in all respectes.

There appertayneth to the office of priesthode, the mediation betwixt God and men, which the Scripture doth attribute onelye to Chryste the sonne of God. One God (sayth the Apostle) and one mediator betwixte God and men, the man Chryst Jesus. If Chryst onelye be the mediator of the newe Testament, it followeth that Chryst also onelye is the chiefe priest of the newe Testament. The Sophister will saye: The Apostle saith, The mediator is one, but he saith not he is one only. We do not deny that Chryst is one mediator, but we deny that he is on only mediator. For there be many mediators bothe in heauen & in the church also. Now heare me to your obiection. If it be not all one to say, one mediator and an one only mediator, then it followeth, that to say one God, is not as much to say as one only God. For the Apostle sayth plainely: one God, and he addeth one mediator betwixt God and men. What wise man wil graunt you, that in so fewe wordes and manifest meaning of the Apostle, one mediator is otherwise spoken than one God? If you will not be suspected to fauour the opinion of many Gods, do not make of one mediator, some one out of many, leaste thou seemest also to make of one God, some one God out of many.

Some other Sophister leauing the worde One, bringeth me a distinction in the worde Mediator. And sayethe: There is one mediator of our redemption Jesus Chryst: for he onely

onely redemed mankinde, for there is no other name vnder heauen, wherin we muste be saued: but yet ther be many more intercessors, this will he saye. Now if he had vnderstanded what is meant by the mediation of Chryst, he woulde not haue made a difference betwixt it and the redemption. But lette them which be of that opinion, heare not me, but him whome they do honour for the Doctour of the church, I meane Augustine, whose wordes these be: Brethren (sayethe he) we haue Jesus Chryst the iuste, for our aduocate with the Father, he is the propitiation for our sinnes. He which helde this, committed no hereste. He which held this opinion committed no Schisme. For wherevpon are Schismes committed? When menne doe say, We be iuste, we do make holye the vncleane, we doe iustifye the wycked, we doe desire, and we doe obtayne, but (I beseche you by the waye, howe much more paste shame be they which doe saye, We doe determine, we doe commaunde?) and what sayde John? And if any man doe sinne, we haue a aduocate with the Father Jesus Chryste the iuste. But some manne will saye: Do not the Saintes then praye for vs? doe not the Bishoppes and superattendentes praye for the people? Marke the scriptures, and see that the ouerseers also doe commende themselues to the people: for the Apostle sayth to the people, praying together for vs also, the Apostle prayeth for the people, and the people praieth for the Apostle. We doe praye for you brethren, but pray for vs also: Let al the members pray together one for an other, and let the head make meanes for all. This saith Augustine in that place. In which wordes he doth plainly and openlye attribute the office of intercession, which pertaineth to the chief priest, to none but to Chryst as the heade. Againe he writeth thus: But if the Apostle shoulde haue said thus, This I wrote vnto you, to the intent that you shoulo not sinne, and in case any man do sinne, you haue me for a mediator to the father, I do pray for your sins, (as Parmenianus in one place doth make the Bysshop mediator betwixt the people & God,) what good and faythfull Christian folke coulde abide him? Who wou'd esteeme him as the Apostle of Chryst, and not rather as Antichryst? For all Christian men do commend themselues one an other in their prayers, but he for whom none doth intreate, but he him selfe intreateth for all. He is the only and true mediator, and for asmuch as the figure of him was resembled in the priest of the olde testament, ther is none foūd there that euer prayed for the priest. But ẏ Apostle Paule, albeit he was nerte the head the chiefe member, and yet for all that a member of the body of Chryst: and for bicause he so knew that the greatest and truest priest of the church entered for vs not by a figure into the inwarde parte of the vaile, in the place called *Sancta Sanctorum* but in expresse & assured truth, into the inward parts of heauen, to a holinesse not imaginatiue, but eternal: he did also commend himselfe to the praiers of the faithful, and he maketh not himself a mediator betwixt the people and God, but he desireth all the mēbers of Chryst to pray one

Contra epist. Parmeniani libr. cap. 8.

for an other. Forasmuche as true membres be all carefull one for an other. For in case that Paule were a mediator, then his other fellow Apostles should have bene mediators also. Nor Paule himselfe shuld then have bene able to have giuen you a reason why he sayd: One God, and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, &c. This he seith also in that place. And who sayth not euen by the iudgement of Augustine, that there is no mediator in the church of the newe Testamente betwixt God and men, but only Christ? Wherfore that Sophisticall distinction, wherein they trifle, that Christ is the mediator of redemption, but that there be many others for intercessors, is vtterly to be reiected. In case that the Apostles be not to be taken nother for mediators and intercessors, howe shall the rest of the saincts be accompted such: much lesse the bishops of Rome. If he must be taken not for an Apostle but for Antichrist, which doth chalenge himself to be a mediator, what reckening shall we make of him, which doeth make him selfe the chiefe Priest in Christes church: but let vs procede.

Of the sacrifice of Christ.

Now there belongeth to the mediation of a Priest, sacrifice and prayers, and this sacrifice doeth specially belong vnto the chiefe priest, which is of cleansing, the sacrifice of Christ is the offering of his body, made vpon the crosse, when he offered him selfe vnto God the Father. Of the prayers of Christ we do read in this wise: Like as he sayth also in other place: Thou art a Priest for euermore, according vnto the order of Melchisedeck, who in the days of his flesche, offering prayers and supplications, with strong crying and weping to him, who coulde haue saued him from death, was heard according to his worthinesse. Again: The prayer of Christ is rehearsed which he prayed to God the father for vs al when he was nere vnto his offering vp. Vnto this sacrifice there was annexed the entring to the inwarde partes of the vaile, which was called the *Sancta Sanctorum*, whereof we do reade in this wise: Christ our forgoer, entered for vs vnto those parts which be within the vayle. Item, But Christ being an highe priest of the good thinges to come, came by a greater and a more perfecter tabernacle, not made by hand, that is to saye, not of this building, neither by the bloud of goates and calues, but by his own bloud he entered in once into the holy place, and founde eternall redemption. And more manifestly in the same place he saith: He entered into heauen it selfe, to appeare now in the sight of God for vs.

Heb. 7. 9. & 10.

Heb. 5.

And in this kinde of sacrifice our chief priest Christ doeth differ much from the priests of the old testamẽt, which entring into the holy places made by hãd, did offer beasts and the bloud of calues and goates. But he pearcing vp into heauen it selfe, did offer a sacrifice which was not without him selfe, but his very self, such a sacrifice, as that there colud not be a more excellent and better offered. In him there was the very truth of our expiation and cleansing, wherof ther passed but figures in the sacrifices of the olde Testament.

And to this sacrifice of Christ these two thinges do belong: One, that being

being once done, it can not nor ought not to be iterated and done againe: the other that it is effectuall in the sight of God. Of these both the writtings of the Apostle do testifie. It is said that Christ the chiefe Priest had not the lyke necessitie as the olde Priestes had, to offer dayly. Agayne we reade, that he offered hymselfe once, to the riddaunce of sinne. But this man (sayeth he) hauing offered but one oblacion for sinnes, sitteth for euermore at the righte hande of God. For by one oblacion he hathe made them perfecte which be sanctifyed. And this vnitie of this sacrifice doth depend vpon the effectuousnesse and accomplishment of those thynges which it ought to performe. The old sacrifices, forasmuche as they were figuratiue and vneffectual, they were iterated and renued dayly. Wherefore the iteration of them declared their weakenesse and vneffectualnesse. What do they then, whiche do holde an opinion that the sacrifice of Christe ought to be made dayly, not onely memorially, but really also. The efficacie of the one only sacrifice of Christe, made at the alter of the crosse, decayeth not in procesle of time, so that it must haue nede to be renued: but as it was effectuall euen from the beginning of the world, so also after that it was performed once, it kéepeth the strength and efficacie thereof sure and vnshaken, tyll the very ende of the same. Being once offered, it reconciled this world to God the father, it droue away our sinnes, it purged our consciences frõ dead and stinking sinnes, to serue the liuing God, and sanctifyed and made vs perfect for euermore, and opened an entry vnto vs into the holy place to the throne of grace, that comming therevnto with boldnesse, we maye obteyne mercy and grace to our conuenient ayde. Thus much I thought to touche by the way of the sacrifice of our chiefe priestes. As considering the qualitie, vnitie, and perfection of it, we may learne to knowe and refuse the deuice of that Popishe sacrifice. But let vs returne to the verye priesthode it selfe of Christ.

Of the perpetuitie of Christes priesthood.

Hitherto wee haue briefly sette forth those things which are in scripture, concerning the person of oure chiefe priest Christ, and his office of priesthode. It remaineth now to consider somewhat of the perpetuitie of it, and after that of the communicating of the same. The scripture doth set forthe the chiefe priest Christ vnto vs, not as transitory, but euerlasting, when he doth alleage that saying: Thou art a priest for euermore, according vnto the order of Melchisedecke: And he is in this respect also preferred before the priestes of the olde lawe, bycause they were manye of them, forasmuch as they could not continue for deathe: but that he abydeth for euermore, and hath himselfe alone a perpetuall priesthode. And this perpetuitie of Christes priesthode is not a matter of vayne tytle, whereby the Bishoppes of Rome should haue any occasion to chalenge the chiefe priesthode heere in earthe, as though that otherwise the church of the faithfull were destitute of the necessary priesthode. He is in that sorte a perpetuall priest, that he can haue no successor, so that the efficacie of hys one onely sacrifice endureth for euermore, and that he doth teach

Psalm. 110. Hebr. 5.

Hebr. 7.

Howe Chriſt is a perpetuall Prieſt. *Hebr. 7.*

and direct the elect by his ſpirite, vntil the very ende, and that liuing euermore and ſitting at the right hand of the Father, he dothe entreate for vs, that he is fully able to ſaue them whiche doe come vnto God by hym. This perpetuitie of Chriſtes prieſthode can not away with any other chiefe priest: and withall it cutteth off all manner of occaſion from the church to ſeke and ſet vp any other. Wherefore we can not without the contumely and rebuke of Chriſt the euerlaſting prieſte to acknowledge the Biſhoppe of Rome for the chiefe priest in the Church. For that were as much, as to forſake our Lord Jeſus the Biſhop of our confeſſion, and to make place for Antichriſte amongſt vs.

Of the Communicating or participation of the *Prieſthoode of Chriſte.*

NOwe we muſt conſider how the prieſthod of Chriſt is Communicated and applyed. Therof we find alſo teſtimonies of ſcripture: as in the Epiſtle of Peter, where we doe reade in this wiſe: Vnto whom whē we do repaire being the liuely ſtone whiche was refuſed of men, but choſen and honored of God, ſe that you alſo like liuely ſtones be builded vpon him to be ſpirituall houſes, and to be a holy prieſthode, offering ſpirituall hoſtes, acceptable vnto God by Jeſus Chriſt. Item: But you bee the choſen kinde, the princely prieſthode, the holy nation, the people purchaſed, to declare his vertues, who called thee out of darkeneſſe into hys wonderfull lighte. And in an other place: Who loued vs and waſhed vs from oure ſinnes in his owne bloud, and made vs a kingdome and prieſts vnto God and to his father. Againe, For as muche as thou haſt redeemed vs O God in thy bloud, from all tribes, and languages, peoples, and nations, and haſte made vs a kyngdome and prieſts vnto our God, and we ſhall reigne vpon the earthe. Item: Bleſſed be they (ſaith he) whych haue part in the firſt reſurrection, in them the ſecond deathe hathe no power, but they ſhall be the Prieſtes of God and of Chriſte, and ſhall raigne with him a thouſand yeares.

1. Pet. 2.

Apoc.

Apoc.

Apoc.

These foure teſtimonies of ſcriptures do ſo ſpeake of the prieſthode, that they doe declare it to be cōmon vnto Chriſtian mē. For theſe points which be mentioned in them, concerning prieſthode, be altogither generall and common vnto all the faythfull of Chriſte, nor can not by anye reaſon perteyne to the Popiſh prieſthode.

1 All true Chriſtian perſons bē liuely ſtones to bē made ſpirituall houſes vppon Chriſte, builded vppon him, as the liuely ſtone layde for the foundation.

2 Al do offer ſpiritual ſacrifices, acceptable vnto God by Jeſus Chriſt,

3 All be a choſen kind, a holy natiō. a people of purchaſe, called out of darkeneſſe vnto ẏ maruellous light.

4 Al be dērely beloued, and waſhed from their ſinnes with the bloud of Chriſt, redēmed out of all tribes and languages, peoples and nations by the bloud of Chriſt. Seing therefore that theſe things be not peculiar to Churchmen only, but vnto all faithfull

full folkes: it followeth that the ſame alſo which is reported withall of the Princely prieſthode, doth not onely belong to the order of the churchmē, but to the honor of al faithfull folke, which honor we do generally receiue all of vs, from oure head Chriſte, as many as by true and ſincere fayethe doe come to communicate and take part, not onely of hys fleſhe, but alſo of his ſpirite, as true members of his body.

Origenes in Leuit. Hom. 9 cap. 16. Beda. Capite. 2.

Thys Auguſtine dyd acknowledge in thys wyſe: There is no man almoſte of the faithfull that doubteth, but that the prieſthode of the Jewes was a figure of the princely prieſthode to come, which is now in the Churche, wherein all they bee conſecrated, whyche doe belong to the bodye of Chriſte, the chiefe and true Prince of Prieſtes. For nowe all menne bee annoynted, whereas at that tyme Kynges and Prieſtes were ſo onely: and whereas Peter writing to Chriſtian people, called them Royall prieſthode, hee declared that both the names of them dyd agree vnto that people, vnto whome the ſame annoynting dyd belong. In an other place he ſaith: From which tyme (ſayeth hee) thoſe whiche doe beleeue, and be cleanſed by the ſanctifying of that baptiſme, they be annoynted not ſome, as it was before in the lawe, but all for Prophetes, Prieſtes, and Kynges. By the example of the whyche annoynting wee bee admoniſhed what manner of folkes wee ought to bee, that oure converſation be no leſſe holy, than our anoynting is. For from the ſacramente of this anoynting, both the word and the name of Chriſt and all Chriſtians, that is to ſay, ſuch as doe beleeue in Chriſte, is deſcended and derived, whiche name is naughtely and in vaine applied vnto them whiche doe not follow Chriſte. And Origene ſayth: As many (ſayth he) as be annoynted wyth the holye ointemente, be made Prieſtes, like as Peter ſayd vnto all Churches: You bee a choſen ſorte, and a Royall prieſthode, a holy people: you be therefore a prieſtly kynde, and therefore you repaire to the holy places. And Beda vppon the firſte Epiſtle of Peter. Whereby (ſayeth he) he doth moſte manifeſtly admoniſh vs, that where as we be oure ſelues a holye prieſthood, we may be builded vppon the foundation of Chriſt. Therefore bee calleth euery Churche a holye prieſthood, which name and office the houſe of Aaron had only in the lawe. For ſurely we be al of vs members of the high prieſte, & we be all marked with ẏ oyle of gladnes. And Hierome vppon the prophet Malachie ſaith: We be all the prieſtly and Royall kynde, which being baptiſed in Chriſt, doe beare the name of Chriſt. Theſe be ẏ ſayings of thoſe Doctors, by whoſe teſtimonies it is approued, that the ſame which is mencioned of ẏ prieſthod of the new Teſtament in ẏ places before rcherſed, doth pertein vnto all Chriſtian perſones, and that therfore we be all Prieſtes.

Hieronymus Capite. 1.

The Scholemen alſo be compelled to graunte the ſame, foraſmuche as when the holie Scripture hathe done, they be cōuinced alſo by the teſtimonies of the fathers: but they do call this Prieſthod of Chriſte generall, in that ſort, to diſtinct it from a ſpeciall Prieſthod, whych they haue ima-

imagined, and doe attribute it vnto the order of Bishoppes and Priestes. But they can fynde nothing in anye place to proue their maskyng priesthode, in whiche the Bishop of Rome shoulde be their chiefe priest, and the Masse their chiefe sacrifice. Wherefore Maister Cocleus began to affirme, that al things which we ought to beleeue and obserue, be not expressed in the holy scripture, to the intent he woulde forge himselfe a defence for it out of vnwritten verities. But wee haue aunswered it him in oure booke called Anticocleus. It is the old shift of Heretikes, when they be not able to proue their opinions by scriptures, to runne to vnwritten fables, and reuelacions of the holy spirite, whiche men muste they saye, as well stande vnto, as vnto scriptures. But we doe constantly affirme, that men muste make a difference betwixte those things which be set forth to the faithfull to bee beleeued, and those whiche bee appointed for a common commoditie to be kept, eyther by custome, eyther by authoritie of anye lawfull Councell. For those thynges whiche we oughte to beleeue, muste haue the expresse & vndoubted worde of God for their warrante: but customes and free and lawfull ceremonies doe not so, forasmuche as there bothe not consist in them any necessitie of our faith. Nowe in case they will make their priesthode a matter of faith let them shew vs some scriptures whereby to proue the institution and authoritie thereof. But if they can be content to let it be a rite and custome made by men, let them deliuer the consciences of the faithfull from the yoke of it, and graunte that there is but one priesthode onely of the new Testament grounded vpon the authoritie of Gods worde, of which we spake before. For it can not be defended by truth, to establish two priesthodes in the Church.

Anticocleus

But let vs procede. Forasmuche as al the faithful of Christ be priests vnto God, as we haue declared out of the scriptures before, it followeth that according vnto the nature of the priesthode, they must offer acceptable offerings vnto God, and suche as may be offered by all, as wel poore as rich. If this sacrifice did consist in outwarde and worldlye things, as Gold, Siluer, Cattell, &c. it could not as easely be offered by the poore as by the rich. Therfore it is necessary, that the offerings of this priesthode be not earthly and worldly, but spirituall. So Peter saith in the place before cited: Offering spirituall sacrifices, acceptable vnto God by Iesus Christ. Like as we be to our God a kingdome and as Kings, not after the fashion of the world but spiritually, so is the nature of our priesthod also with his sacrifices, that we bee suche Priestes also as we be kings, according vnto the exaple of Christe our head, the chief Priest and king.

And there be three manner of sacrifices of this priesthode, of whiche the firste doeth pertaine onely vnto Christe as our mediator and hyghe Priest, the other two be common to vs also with him. The first is the sacrifice of expiation or clensing, wherin he offered himselfe the onely and immaculate hoste vppon the Crosse to God the Father for the synnes of the whole world. Of this sacrifice we haue spoken before.

The

The secõd is the sacrifice of praise and prayers. This is common vnto all faithfull folke with Christe oure chiefe priest, who did offer himselfe also a sacrifice of prayse and wyth prayers togither vnto God hys father. And that this sacrifice of prayse doth not pertayne to the ministers of the Church only, but vnto all the faithfull and redeemed people, it appeareth in the verye Canon of the Popish Masse, where this is written word for word: Remember Lord thy men and women seruauntes. &. and all whyche standeth heere aboute, whose faithe and deuotion is well knowen vnto thee: for whome we do offer vnto thee, or, which do offer vnto thee thys sacrifice of prayse for themselues and all theirs, for the redemption of their soules, for the hope of their saluation, and they yelde vnto thee eternall lyuely and true God their vowes, &c.

Nowe howe acceptable and ercedyng thãkefull this sacrifice of prayse and prayers is vnto God, we maye perceyue in the L. Psalme, where we reade in this wise: Heare my people and I will speake, Israell and I wil take thee for witnesse, I am God, thy God. I will not reproue thee for thy sacrifices, nor for thy burnt offerings which are alwayes before me. I will not receyue out of thy house a bull, nor kydde from thy folde: For all the wilde beastes of the woods be mine, sheepe in a thousand hylles. I knowe all the birdes of the hylles, and the wild beastes be with me. If I be hungry, I will not tell it to thee: for the world is mine, and all that is in it. Shall I fede vpon bulles flesh, and drinke the bloud of kidde? Sacrifice prayse vnto God, and yelde thy vowes vnto the hyghest. And cal vppon me in the day of thy trouble, and I wyll delyuer thee, and thou shalt glorifye me. By these wordes the holye spirite expressed euen then in the olde Testamente, what manner of sacrifice there should be in the new Testamente, whiche Augustine also did acknowledge saying To declare what the sacrifice of the newe Testamente shoulde be when the lawish should cease, he sayd Offer vnto God the sacrifice of prayse, and make thy vowes to the highest. No doubt though that this sacrifice were vsed continually of godly persons before the law, vnder the lawe, and after the lawe, yet it dothe principally perteyne to the people of the newe Testament, and is most conuenientlye applyed vnto the same only, wherby we be redeemed. For this is assuredly that people, which in declaring the deathe of God, and the vertue of their God, by whome they be called out of darkenesse into a maruellous light of truth, doth not cease to offer the sacrifice of prayse, and call vppon his name, with assured truste and fayth.

Augustine. *De gratia Noui testamenti ad Honoratum.*

This sacrifice of prayse is that pure sacrifice, which according vnto the Prophecie of Malachie, is offered in euery place vnto God, from the rising of the Sunne, vntill the going downe thereof, whereof Augustine *In oratione contra Iudæos, & lib. 2 Contra literas Petiliani cap. 86. & Contra aduersarium legis & Prophetarum lib. 1. cap. 20. & Tertullian. lib. Contra Iudæos,* doth testifie.

Malach. 1. The pure sacrifice, which is offered frem morning tyll night. The fathers.

Oure aduersaries doe alleage the Fathers, that they do call the memo-

ric

cie of the Lordes deathe with the ſacrament of the ſame. The ſacrifice of the newe Teſtamente. Albeit that it may be borne wel ynough with men of vnderſtanding, to call the memory of the only ſacrifice once offered vpon the Croſſe, a Sacrifice, in that meaning, when the tokens of thynges do take vppon them the name of the things, whiche be betokened: yet for all that we maye not diſſemble, but that if we will ſpeake properly, a Sacramente is one thing, and a Sacrifice an other. In deede there is ioined vnto the ſacrament of the bodye and bloud of the Lord, the ſacrifice of prayſe, wherevpon it was firſt called *Euchariſtia*, that is to ſaye, Thankeſgiuing.

Auguſtine. *De Ciuit Dei. Lib. 10. cap. 5.*

And Auguſtine doth mingle togither the wordes of ſacrifice and ſacrament, ſaying: The viſible ſacrifice is the ſacramente, that is to ſay, the holy ſigne of the inuiſible ſacrifice, but it is better for all that, that diſtincting the ſacrifice of prayſe from a Sacrament, we bind it not vnto anye order, time, or cuſtome, but that we leaue it vnto the free affections of the faithfull, what place and tyme ſo euer it be: that like as accordyng vnto the doctrine of Paule, they doe lifte vp pure and cleane handes in euerye place, praying vnto God, ſo they may alſo offer vnto him ſacrifice of prayſe in euery place, gyuing thankes, and declaring his vertues. And being of this iudgement, we be not againſte it, but that it maye bee done openly in the congregation of the faithfull, when in communicating of the bread and cuppe of the Lorde, we doe declare the Lordes deathe. But we do require alſo, that not only at theſe manner of communions, but at all other Churche meetings alſo, the offerings of oure lyppes ſhoulde bee offered eyther in ſyngyng, or praying, or Preachyng, and that thys princely prieſthode myghte bee practiſed by all the faythfull.

Now when the miniſter of Chriſt doth beſtowe hys trauayle towards the offering of this ſacrifice, and ſerueth the multitude of the people, he doth this by the office of his miniſterie, and not of a ſingulare and priuate Prieſthode, and he ſerueth the faithfull not as a Prieſt to the laye and prophane people, but as a Miniſter and a guide of the worde to the holye people, and as offeryng togyther commonly the ſacrifice of their prieſtly prieſthode vnto the Lorde. For it is not to be alowed, that the Scholemen doo make two ſortes of prieſthodes: one which ſhould ſpecially belong vnto Bythoppes and Prieſtes, whoſe ſacrifice ſhoulde bee the oblation of the body and bloud of Chriſte for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead, to bee reuued dayly and not to bee offered by anye faythfull perſon onely, vnleſſe he were ſhorne and annoynted: the other generally perteyning vnto all Chriſtian men. There is in the Churche but one Prieſthode, one chiefe Prieſt Chriſt, one honor of the prieſtly people, comprehending in it all faithfull alike, but there be diuers and ſundry ſortes of Miniſters.

The third kind of our ſacrifice is, when we doe accordyng vnto the example of Chriſt our chiefe Prieſt, offer oure bodyes, that is to ſaye, oure ſelues, a lyuely, holy, and acceptable ſacrifice

ſacrifice vnto God. And in this reſpecte the Apoſtle wrote in thys wiſe: I beſeeche you therefore brethren by the mercies of God, that you yelde, or as it is in the Greeke, doe preſente youre bodyes, a lyuely, holy, and acceptable ſacrifice vnto God, your reaſonable ſeruice. In this ſaying, he dothe require of the Prieſtes of the newe Teſtamente, that they doe preſente themſelues wholly vnto God in all poyntes, obedient and readye to all aſſayes. This he calleth the liuely oblation, comparing it as contrary to the oblation of the ſlayne and dead beaſtes. Then holy, that is to ſaye, pure and leande, as contrary to the ſacrifices of the beaſtes of the Iewes and the Gentiles, in whiche there was much vncleanneſſe. And thirdly, acceptable vnto God, to make a difference betwixte it and that outwarde ſacrifices, whiche of themſelues were not pleaſaunte vnto God, as we maye ſee in the fiftie Pſalme, and in Hieremie. And this ſort of ſacrifice he calleth a reaſonable ſeruice, to diſtincte it from that ſacrifices of beaſtes. And to ſignifie that the ſame ſacrifice is proper and peculiar for Chriſtian folke, he ſayeth not ſimplye Reaſonable, worſhip or ſeruice, but he addeth, Yours: as if he ſhould ſay, You may not thinke that you be deſtitute of prieſthode, ſacrifice, and ſeruice, becauſe that you doe not offer nor Golde nor Siluer, as the Iewes and Gentiles doe: you haue a more excellente prieſthode, the ſacrifice of the whyche is not of Beaſtes, but reaſonable: not dead, but liuelye: not prophane, but holye and acceptable vnto God. Thys you doe offer vnto God, when you doe preſent youre bodyes vnto hym in true obedience.

But thys kynde of offeryng can not bee offered by them whyche haue not ſhaken off themſelues, nor can not take vppe their croſſe and followe the foteſteppes of Chriſte, paſt before them. Wherefore it is neceſſarie for vs to mortifye fyrſte the fylthy affections of olde Adam, that is to ſaye, of the bodye of ſinne, whereby wee maye bee the better able to preſente oure ſelues wholly vnto God, obediente and holy, according to hys wyll, as a liuely, holye, and acceptable hoaſt vnto hym. But oure ſhorne and annoynted prieſtelynges, hadde rather ſlay Chriſte a hundred tymes, and burne a thouſande of hys members, than once preſente their owne bodyes vnto God, to bee as a liuely and holye ſacrifice vnto hym. For they doe ſeeke vppon the people whyche they doe ſeduce for their owne gayne, and not for Chriſte, and they be for the moſt parte of them carnall and delicate, though that they woulde be called neuer ſo ſpirituall.

The fourthe ſacrifice. *Philip. 4.*

4 Vnto theſe ſacrifices of the newe Teſtamente we may adde the fourth alſo, of which the Apoſtle maketh mention, ſaying: When I was at Theſſalonica, you ſente me once or twice, things which I hadde neede of, not for that I doe loke for any rewarde, but I do loke for plentifull encreaſe of fruite for youre aduantage and profyte. Yet for all that, I receyued all, and haue plentye. I am well furniſhed ſynce that I receyued by Epaphroditus theſe things whiche were ſente from you, a ſauoure

of

of good smell, an acceptable & thankful host vnto God. *Ergo* it is a thankfull & an acceptable host & a sacrifice vnto God, to succor the necessities of Christes ministers, and to mainteine and relieue his members. And thys sacrifice doth belong vnto all faythfull persons to vse, which do depende vppon the princely priesthood of the new Testamente. The annoynted and shauelings do like but one péece of this sacrifice, and that is for the taking.

The conclusion.

This I haue noted briefly of the Priesthode of the newe Testament, to the intente that the godlye reader should sée what he ought to iudge of the popish priesthode, and of ẏ chiefe priest thereof, and of the sacrifice, and that he may perceiue withall what is the true priesthode of the newe Testamente, and who is the chiefe prieste thereof which is Christe, and what thinges be reported of him in the Scriptures: & besides that, what other priestes there be vnder hym of inferioure degrée, and whiche be the true and thankefull sacrifices of the newe Testamente of God. There is no worldly matter in all mans lyfe, that may be more holye and acceptable vnto God, than true and lawfull priesthode is. But on the other side, there could neuer haue bin deuised, neither among the Gentiles and Iewes, nor among the Christians, any poynt more gainefull and pestilent withall, than false and counterfeyte priesthode. Wherewith all this world hath bin euermore, by the speciall deuise of Satan, deluded and drowned in false religions, errours, and superstitions. For when the ministerie of the worde began to degenerate and growe out of kinde to an vnnaturall priesthode, and the Byshop of Rome to be a chiefe priest in the Churches of Christe, than the gates were set most wide open vnto the doctrine of Antichrist.

Of the Churche.

Like as the matter of the Churche is taken to be one of the chiefe places in matters of religion, so there bée notable sayings also thereof in the Scriptures, whereby is set forth the speciall fauoure and grace of Gods maiestie towards the same. Wherefore we must diligently discourse of those things which doe truly belong vnto it; specially bycause of thē whiche in these our dayes will séeme to be churchmen in that sort, that vnder the coloure of the Churche they doe reiect, and cast off the manifest truth, as though that the authoritie of the Churche were of greater power thā the truthe of Gods woorde: and as though that the churche wer of that nature, that it coulde stand without the woord of God, and haue any authoritie attributed vnto it. I knowe that there be many of them whiche do so batter with their false and forged wares and words in the church, and do so sticke vnto, not Peter, but Symon, that they hadde rather wittingly runne headlong to the deuyll, than giue place to the truth of gods worde, least if that should be receiued, theyr gayne shoulde be vtterly decayed: And as for them we make small

small account of, for they will abyde no admonition. But our meaning is to helpe them whiche are entangled with so fond a Zele and liking of the word Church, that they can not forsake those grosse and vnexcusable erroures, wherewith the Romishe Church is full hard vp to the brinke, and come to the truthes syde. They doe professe a bound dutie and obedience to the Churche, they will bée no runnagates from it, but naturall and kind children. They doe surmise that albeit it do doubt in many things, yet for all that it is the mother of al: and that we must beare with the authoritie of the mother, though that shée haue hir faultes. And for this cause we must consider what the Churche is, and whyche is true and whyche false: and suche other matters as shall séeme méete to be considered in this case.

I. What the Churche is.

The word vsed in Latine for the Churche, is *Ecclesia*, commyng from the Gréeke worde, and signifieth properly a callyng out, deriued from the gréeke word ἐκκαλέω, that is, to call out. Some men do trāslate it for a Conuocation, whiche is called in Gréeke συγκλησία of συγκαλέω, that is, to call togither. And they set this difference betwixt thē, that the same *Ecclesia* shoulde signifie the assembly of the people, and *Synclesia*, the comming togither of the councellours. The Ebrewes do call this word *Ecclesian*. The congregation, and assembly of people togyther. So they and the Gréekes do vse wordes commonlye knowen, taken out of their countrie speache. The Latines haue vsed always a strange word, which very many doe not vnderstande, specialiye after that therē grewe in once so greate barbarousenesse, that there remayned no true vnderstanding nother of the Latine, nother of the Gréeke tong. If you aske an Englishe man what he calleth the Latine word *Ecclesia*, he wyl aunswere, the Churche, and vnderstandeth nother from whence it is deriued, nor the Etymologie, whyche is the nature of the word: And we do call by this word both the congregation it selfe of the faithfull, and the place also appoynted for their assemblie, generally called the Churche. Few men would beléeue what mists hath bin cast ouer the mindes & eyes of the faithful by these strāge words.

So that this Gréeke word *Ecclesia*, which we will tearme héereafter by the Church, is a verye calling out to way the nature of the word whyche we must thinke was vsed by the holy spirite, not withoute purpose. For thereby is set forth vnto vs the grace of the heauenly calling, whereby we be called out of this trāsitory world, vnto the kingdome of God. But the word of the Church is taken not for the calling it selfe, but for the faithfull, which be called forth, and the felowship of the same.

Hovv many sortes there be of the callings of the faithfull.

There be thrée sortes of calling of them. The firste is, the inwarde calling by the spirite that openeth the heartes. The seconde, is the outward calling by the preaching of the Apostle and minister of Christe. The thirde calling is, when the faithful be called into the felowship and com-

pany of the Churche or congregations. By the firste and second callyng we be made Christian men: by the thirde we be gathered togyther at certayne due times, to encrease oure Christian religion, faythe, and godly loue.

That the place of the assembly is called the Churche.

It is no newe matter to call the very place of the repaire of the faithfull, the Church. For the Fathers did accustome to call it so. Epiphanius in his Epistle vnto John the Bishop of Jerusalem, whiche Hierome dyd translate, among the rest wrote thus: When we went togither to the holy place which is called Bethel to make a gathering there with thee, according to the custome of the Churche, and came to the towne which is called Anablatha, and sawe there passing by, a candell burning, and asked what place it was: and had learned that it was a Churche, and wente in to pray, &c. Whereby it appeareth manifestly, that they did euen at that time accustome to call the place the Churche, where the congregation was wont to assemble togither. And in deede it agreeth better with the nature of the new Testament, that the place wherein the people vseth to repaire togither, shoulde be called the Church, than to giue it the magnificall title of Temples among Christian menne. Gods maiestie is not in loue with the sumptuous and gaye sightly buildings, which for the sight and gaynes of them, were wonte to be called Temples, of the Latyne worde *Contemplando*. The vse of the place for the Churche is, that the multitude of the faithfull should in it assemble togither, to pray, to syng, and to teache, and to communicate.

Temples.

Whereupon the place appoynted to that purpose, is aptlye learned the Churche.

But yet I do not allowe that they do so scrupulously and superstitiously rather than religiously determine of the materiall Churches, as they cal them, whether that it be a church if it be not consecrate by the accustomed ceremonies, by whose authoritie a Church ought to be founded, in what cases it is to be consecrate or halowed: whether that it may be halowed without any Masse: if it be halowed without any endowmente, by whome it ought to be endowed: whether a church halowed by Heretikes must be halowed againe a newe or no: whether a secular Church maye be turned into a monastery: how manye wayes a Churche is defyled, and how it must be reconciled, and much other such like harletries. They bee verye carefull of the stony worke of the Church, but they doe set nothyng at all by the buildyng of the true Churche. They haue heaped vp infinite treasure by their great pardons, vnder the pretence of the Churche workes and buildings, specially of Saint Peters church at Rome, whiche is alwayes so kept in building, that it shall neuer be full builded, and is lyke ynough to be sooner destroyed by the Turkes, than to bee brought to an end of buylding by the Romaines.

As for that that they doe call the Bishoppes Priestes, Cardinalles, and Clergye with the Bishoppe of Rome also the Churche, wee wyll speake hereafter in that treatye.

We will now speake of ỹ Church in

in respect that it is the calling out of the faithfull, eyther generally of all whiche bee dispersed throughout the worlde, eyther particularly of some certaine only, whether they be gathered togither in spirite, in vnitie of faith, eyther in certaine places in body and spirite. And we passe not vpō the multitude of ỹ faithfull, or the hallowing of the places where they assemble togither, for our saniour himselfe doth not measure his church by the multitude or quality of the place, when he saith: Wheresoeuer be two or three gathered togyther in my name, I am there in the middes of them. And who can denye, but that that is the churche of Christe, where two or three assembled togither in the name of Christ, he himselfe is in the myddes? So the Apostle stucke not to call a faithful family of Christ in one house, a Churche. When hee bade them to salute Priscia and Aquilas, and the Church whiche was in their house. And to the Corinthians he saith: Aquilas and Priscilla do greete you well in the Lord, with the Church whiche is in their house. And in an other place: Salute you (saith he) them which be at Laodicea and Nymphas, and the Church whiche is in his house. Againe vnto Philemon, he calleth the family of hys house, a church. Would to God, that all the houses of faithfull men were so affected and ordered in the faith of Christ and true godly loue, that they might vnderstand themselues to bee the Churches of the Lorde, and be vsed thereafter. Augustine doth in one place call the house of Iuliana no small Church.

II. Hovv many sortes of Churches there bee.

The true Church of Christ, is one only Catholike, and Orthodoxe.

IF the question be of the true Church of Christe, whyche the Scripture dothe call, The house of God, and the body of Christe, surely there is but one and not manye of them. And the same they do call the Catholike & Orthodoxal church: that is to say, the vniuersal Church, and professing the right and true doctrine. And as touching the difference of bodies and places, the partes of it are dispersed throughout al ỹ worlde: and yet for all that they be knitte and linckt togither in spirite and faythe, and in this respecte doe make vp not many, but one Churche alone. The Church of Rome is no vniuersall Churche, but a parcell onely of thys Churche, in case it be in true faithe linched in with the rest of the members of Christes body. We may not onely suppose that the Church of the Citie of Rome is not different from the other Churches of the whole worlde, (for as Hierome saith: Fraūce, England, Aphrike, the Persians, and they of the east partes and of the Indians, and all Barbarous nations, do worship and serue all one Christ, and keepe all one rule of truth,) but wee muste suppose the Churche of Christ to be so one, that the Romishe Churche be meante to be nother the head, nother the mother of it, but some member thereof as well as the rest.

The Church of Rome is no vniuersal Church.

1 Whereas Dauid saith: I hated the Church of the mischeuous men, and I wyll not sytte with the wicked, they doe take an occasion

Psalme 25. The Church of the elect, is not the reprobate.

vpon these wordes to make two maner of Churches, the one of the faithfull and electes, the other of the mischeuous and wicked. But thys doublenes is not in the true Church of Christ whereof we spake, there is not in that, one company of faithfull and an other of wicked. For although that the darnell and cockle doe beare a greate sway in the outward felowshippe thereof, yet for all that these wordes do not so belong to that felowship, that it can make two Churches of one. We may not gyue the name of the Churche (whiche is peculiar only to the Saintes which be called and congregate in ỹ Lord) to the wicked and reprobate, though they be neuer so many of them, and knytte togyther. The properties gyuen to the Church in Scriptures be suche, that they can not frame to the factions of the wicked. But if they wyll algates haue the name of a Church, we can be contented withall, so that wee adde to it a clause whereby their conspiracie may bee distincted from the true felowshippe of Chrystes Churche, and to call it the Malignant Church. The worde of Churche absolutely spoken without any speciall addition, dothe in no wise perteyne to the faction of the reprobate, but is peculiar to ỹ Saintes only, whiche be called vnto the common felowship of the body of Christ. We shoulde do a great wrong, to allowe the faction of them whiche can in no wise be reputed for members of Christ, to be the church of Christ. The Church is the body of Christe. Wherefore they bee no parcell thereof, whiche be not subiecte to the very head thereof, which is Christe.

The name of the churche doeth not agree to the reprobate.

2 Men do deuide this true Church of Christe into the Militant and the Triumphant Churche. So that the Militant Church should be of them whiche do yet trauel in this mortall flesshe, and dos striue wyth Satan, the flesshe, and the worlde. The Triumphant, of them which are passed to Heauen, and haue ouercome all manner of theyr enimies. In thys sorte Augustine placeth the Angels also. These be not two churches, but the parcels of one selfesame Church, of which the one is already gone to that dwelling of Heauen, the other dothe follow euery day, vntill that at the last in the ende of the worlde, they shall be both ioyned togither, and liue euerlastingly in blisse with Christ our Sauioure.

The de che m

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The Church first Le vnder lawe, after lawe.

3 It shoulde seeme also that there be three churches of God: the firste, whiche was before the lawe: the seconde, which was vnder the lawe and the thirde, whiche followed after the lawe, and is limited to the new Testament. But like as ther is but one selfesame determinate order of mans saluation, and but one Testament of God embracing al the elect eue from the beginning of the worlde vntill the ende, whereof we treated before in a place alone: so there is also but one Church of Saintes throughout all tymes and tydes. And the vnitie of onenes of it, is not diuided nother by alterations of times, nor by the dissuerance of places, nor by chaunges of orders and dispensations. The one selfesame Churche was otherwyse appoynted before the lawe, otherwyse vnder the lawe, and otherwyse after the Lawe, accordyng vnto the Prouidence

of God. But it was not in any wise deuided into three churches: muche alike as three sundrye formes in one selfe same schole, though they be not all alyke taught, yet they make not sundrye Schooles, but conteyne sundry learners and scholers in one selfe same Schole, to be broughte vppe in conueniente sorte, according to the diuersitie of the persons and formes.

4 The faithfull of the newe Testament be called and gathered into the Church of Christ, first out of the Israelites, and next out of the Gentiles. Therefore the Fathers doe sometimes make mention of the Churche gathered of the Israelites, and sometimes of the Gentiles: but yet for all that there is not in deede one churche of the Israelites, and an other of the Gentiles which beleeued in Christe, but all is one selfe same Churche. And Paule doth so knytte both the peoples in Christe, that hee dothe resemble them to one bodye, whereof Christe is the head: and to one house, whose foundation and corner stone is one selfe same Chrystе: And Christe himselfe. And I haue other sheepe (sayth Christ) whiche bee not of this sheepecote, and I muste bring them also, and there shall bee one flocke and one shepheard. There was as a man would say, two shepecotes, of the Israelites and the Gentils, before that they were made one in Christ. But when they wer brought to the vnitie of faith by the spirite and Gospel of Christ, then there was made of two sundry flockes but one flocke, yea and but one Churche also. If we consider this aright, wee can not otherwise determine of the true Church of Christ, but that it is one, and doth consist of true faithfull folke onely.

But some man will saye: They whiche doe now adayes trauayle againste the true doctrine of the Gospell, to mainteyne the Romish kyngdome rather than the true Churche, do not only graunt that there is but one Churche of Christ, but they doe also therepon argue againste vs in this wise: The Churche is the body of Christ, and the body of Christe is but one. Item. There is one Lorde, one faithe, one Baptisme, one God and father of all, one spirite, and there is one doue of mine: one that is my perfect one, &c. *Ergo* the Churche is one. Wherefore in like manner as it befell in time passed in the Arke of Noe, that no liuing thing was saued without it, and that all they whiche wer saued, wer saued in it, which was a figure of the Churche, so they which be now saued, are saued in the Church only, and as many as be out of it, must nedes perish. Then what must they trust vnto, which do nowe adayes sequester themselues from the Church, and doe ordeine conuenticles and metings without it, but to fall into the iudgement of God, as it were into the fludde of Noe, and perishe.

The obiection of our aduersaries. That out of the vnitie of the Churche there is no saluation.

Ephes.4. Cant.6.

The Arke of Noe.

As for thys, it is easely aunswered. Certaynely hee muste nedes perishe, that dothe sequester hymselfe from that true and only Church of Chrystе. But it followeth not straighte withall, that the Churche of Rome is the Churche of Christe: and therefore they whiche doe sequester themselues from it, muste nedes perishe. We must put a dif-

The aunswere.

ference betwixte that true and onely Churche, and those which be not the Catholike and whole bodye of the Church, but seeme to be some parcell of it. A particular Churche may bee of that nature, that vnlesse a man do dissener himselfe from it, hee can not haue felowshippe in that onelye Churche whiche is ỳ body of Christ. Such wee fynde the Romish Church to be nowe adayes without all question: so that in forsakyng it, menne doe not forsake the true and onely Churche of Chryste, but verye Babylon it selfe. It can neuer be proued that the sea of Rome is that onelye bodye of the Churche, wythoute which no man can be saued. Wherefore it is a verye shame to wyrke vnto it those properties whiche doe belong onely to the felowshyppe of the body of Christ: wherein all the members of the Lords body, throughout all the whole worlde, are knitte and soldered togither in ỳ faith of Christ by the holy spirite. For any man may be in the body of Christ, and lyne by the spirite of Chryste, in what corner of the earthe so euer he do truely beleeue in hym: yea although that hee neuer hearde or vnderstoode letter of the name of the sea of Rome, moste accursed and detestable to all godlye persons at thys presente for manye respectes. Beware and loke to thy selfe O Rome, that by thys kinde of argumente thou proue not thy selfe to bee fallen from the true trade and waye of Saluation, seeyng that thou arte become so farre wyde from the true and only Churche of Chryste.

III. What is the true Churche of Christe.

IT is a waightie matter, specially in this case, to trie the false from the true: and that in such a time when all kind of errours are mainteyned againste the doctrine of the truth, vnder the coloure and countenaunce of the Churche, and that men muste eyther ioyne themselues vnto them, eyther forsaking their tokens, muste sustayne the reproche of heresie and of schisme. Wherefore we muste diligently consider, what is the true Churche of Chryste. For if that be knowen aryghte, it is an easie poynte to picke out the false from the true, and to turne hir out of hyr counterfayte foles cote, so to clere mens consciences from hir yoke, and to iudge who be the Schismatikes and forsakers of the Church indede.

But we may not iudge of the true Churche of Chryste accordyng vnto the iudgement of man, nor yeld vnto them whiche doe iustifie whyche Churches they lyke, and do condemne whyche they lyke also, but wee muste seeke the iudgement of ỳ true church out of the holy scriptures. We haue learned Chryste (saith Augustine) in the Scriptures, we haue learned the Churche in the Scriptures, we haue these Scriptures among vs as common matters, why doe wee not also kéepe Chryst and the Church still as common pointes? And Chrysostome saith: For at this time (saith he) since that heresie hath the better hande in the Churches, there can be no tryall made of true christianitie, nor any other refuge and shoteanker vnto

christians, which woulde knowe the truth of the faith, but the Scripture of God. For in tymes passed it was sundry wayes declared, whiche was the church of Chryst, and which was gentilitie: but nowe if a man wyll knowe whiche is the true churche of Chryst, it is no wayes vnderstanded but only by the Scriptures. Why? Bicause ỳ the heresies in the schisme hath all those things which are proper vnto Chryste in the truth: Churches alike, the very same holy scriptures also alike, Bysshops and other degrées of clergye alike, baptisme alike, the Supper of the Lord alyke, and all other matters, yea and finally Chryste himselfe. Therfore when a man wold know which is the true Churche of Chryst, how shall hée be able to vnderstand it in so greate an vncertaintie of resemblāce and likenesse one to an other, but onely by Scriptures? Item, The Church of Chryste before tymes was knowen by very behauior therof, when that the conuersation of al Christen mē, for the moste parte, was holy, which was not so of the wicked: but now Christian men are become such like or worse, than the heretikes or Gentiles be: yea and there is yet founde to bé in them more Continencie, though that they be in a schisme, thā is among Christian menne. Therefore hé that wyll knowe whiche is the true church of Chryst, how shall he know it, but onely by scriptures? Wherfore bicause the Lorde vnderstode how great a confusion of thinges there shoulde come in the latter days, he cōmandeth that ỳ Christian persons which do consist and remain in their christian profession, & would be assured of the true faith, shoulde lée vnto no other thing, but vnto the scriptures. Else in case they haue regard to other things, they shall take harme and perish, and not vnderstād whiche is the true Churche. Thys sayeth Chrysostome. Which I haue sette forthe so at large, bycause that the Reader shoulde sée, that euen by ỳ testimony of the fathers, we ought not otherwise to iudge of the church, but accordyng vnto the holye scripture.

We could say absolutely, that the Church of Chryste is the communion and felowshippe of Christian mē: vnlesse that we were driuen to séeke out certaine sure markes and knowledges to knowe the true from the false, bycause of the false and counterfayte Church, which doth chalēge and take the title of the Churche to it selfe only.

The true Church is the company and felowship of the true faythfull, holy, & elect, standing in faithe, hope, loue, and the spirite of Christ. Whē we do say, that it is of the true, faithful, holy, and elect, we do exclude out of the true churche the counterfaite Christians, in whome there is nothing else but a vaine name of christian Religion, and the abuse of the Sacraments: as for al other points, they be mere Ethnick in matters of religion, superstitious & Idolatrous, and in the rest of their life fleshely & carnall. In that that we do say, that it is a felowship standing in faythe, hope, loue, and the spirite of Chryste, wée doe erpresse the treiwe, euerlasting, and catholike and vniuersall companye of the treiwe Churche of Chryste, whiche standeth not by any

The definition of the true Churche.

outward and bodily felowshyp, whether it bée of places or of Ceremonies, but by a spirituall and inwarde societie, and embraceth none but thē only whiche be elect and truly faythfull. Yet for all that, with all we doe not bereaue this Churche of the vse of bodily mætings, nor of the outward felowshyp of the Sacraments, and lawfull rites and Ceremonies. God forbidde. For there is no place better mætings and assemblies than in the true Churche, nor no where matters better vsed. But we doe determine that the same is the ryghte and naturall felowshyp and communion of the Church, which taketh not place in all persons, but in the electes and true faithfull onely, and is rather of mindes than of bodyes.

With this definition of the true Church, the holy Scripture dothe agrée, which doth call it the house and building of God, the flocke of Chrystes shæpe, the spouse, yea and the body also of Chryst, which properties can not frame but to the Churche of the holye and true faithfull, and to the same they doe cleaue perpetually, whatsoeuer becommeth of the particulare companyes and felowshippes.

The Church is the house of God. 1. Cor. 3.

That it is ỹ house and building of God, the Apostle witnesseth, saying. To the intente that in case I come late, thou mayest knowe howe thou oughtest to vse thy selfe in the house of God, which is the Churche of the liuing God, the pyller and grounde worke of the truthe. And you bée the building of God.

The flock of Christes Shæpe. Iohn. 10.

That it is the flocke of Chrystes Shæpe, it is proued where Christe himselfe sayeth: I am the doore for the shæpe. Item. I am a good shepheard: and I know my shæpe. And I haue other shæpe whiche be not of this shæpefolde, and I muste bryng them home also, and they shall heare my voyce, & there shall be one shæpefolde and one shepheard. That it is the spouse of Chryst, it appeareth by the wordes of the Apostle, where he sayeth: I haue despoused you to one husbande, to yéld your selfe a chaste virgin vnto Chryste. And Men loue your wiues, as Chryste also loued the Church. Item: For this cause also a man shall forsake Father and Mother, and be ioyned to his wife, and there shal be made of two one flesshe. This is a greate misterye, but I doe speake of Chryst and of the Church. And that it is the bodye of Chryste whiche is the head, we may sée in the same place of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and to the Colossians in the first Chapiter also.

Therefore in respect that it is the building and house of God, it muste nédes haue not some slighte foundation, but suche a one as must be correspondente to the qualitie, worthynesse and greatenes of the same. And there is none else méte for it, but only Chryst himselfe, the only begotten sonne of God, who is only able to susteyne and beare vp this building of Gods house, and preserue it agaynst the Deuill, the World, Sinne, and Deathe. He is that immouable and stayed stone, vppon whiche the true Churche is so grounded, that nother Hell gates can preuayle agaynst it. Chryst sayeth: Thou arte Peter, and vppon this stone I will buylde my Church, and Hell gates shal not preuayle against it. He saith not, & vpon thē,

thē, but vpon this stone will I build my Church. No doubt, by the stone he vnderstandeth the foundation, and the Apostle saith: No man can laye any other foundatiō, but that which is already layd, which is Chryst Iesus. Of this he speaketh also in an other place, saying: Therefore you be not nowe straungers and newe come, but you be the Citizens of Saintes, and the houshold folke of God, builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, whereof Chryste Iesus is the chiefe corner stone, in whome what soeuer buylding there is made, it groweth vnto a holy temple in God.

Secondly, for asmuch as this building is not earthlye but heauenlye and spirituall, it followeth, that the stuffe whereof it is builded, doth not consiste of earthlye, but spirituall stones: which Peter calleth Liuely stones, saying: Be you all builded as liuely stones, a spirituall house, a holy priesthode, &c. So that we doe consider the builder himselfe, the foundation, and the stones also of Gods house, which is the Church. I thinke it is a cleare case, that these thinges can not be mente but of the true Church of Chryst, which is the fellowshyp of the electe, of the saincts and of the true beleuers. For it can not be, that the fellowshyp of the reprobate may be builded by the Lord, founded vpon the Lorde, and be a worke of liuely stones growing in the Lordes Temple.

And for asmuch as the Church is the flocke of Chrystes shæpe, it hath thereby to his shepharde, not the bishop of Rome, but Chryst himselfe, whose voyce they heare, and whome the flocke doeth followe after. And this can none do but the true church of Chryst, not the fellowshippe of the reprobate, but of the electe and true beleuing, for the Church of the wicked doeth not heare the voyce of Chryste, but when it pleaseth Antichryst to giue them leaue, nother doe they follow him as their shepherde. And it is not a mater of so great a difficulty to know who they be which do willingly hear and harken to the voyce of Chryste their shepherde, and doe followe him, declaring themselues by their conuersation, maners and behauiours to be not Dogges, Swyne, Wolues, and Lyons, but shæpe and Lambes.

The Churche vvhich is the spouse of Christ can not be of false christians. Ephes. 5.

Nor it is not possible that the Churche of euill and counterfaite Chrystians shoulde be the spouse of Chryst, for that misterie of man and wife can not take place in it which the Apostle doeth set forth in Chryst and the Church, when he saith, that we be one flesshe with Chryst, like as the man and wyfe be one flesshe: and that Chryst doth nourish and cherishe his Churche, as the husband doeth therishe and nourishe his wife: and that the Church ought to be subiecte vnto Chryst, as the wife ought to be subiect vnto the husbande. This misterie is placed onely in Chryst and his true Church.

The Churche being the bodye of Christ is of none but of the members of Christ.

Lastly, whereas the Scriptures teacheth ỹ the Church is the body of Chryst, doeth it not manifestlye declare, that the Church of Chryste, is not of them which can not be reckened among the members of Chryst? In déede there be many euil persons in the fellowshyp of the outward profession, and in some respecte of the

Church, but they be not of the church in dede bycause the be not members of the true Churche. It is one thing to be in the outwarde fellowshyp of Christian men, and an other maner of matter to be ioyned to the inwarde societie which is of the spirite and faith, wherein the head and the bodye and the members also doe spiritually and truely communicate one with an other. It is two things, to be in the Church, and to be of the Churche. They went out from vs (saith John) bicause that they were none of vs. There is none doeth belong to the church, vnlesse he be of the Churche. There be manye in Church which be none of the church, whome the Scripture also calleth straungers. Bernarde vppon the Psalme *Qui habitat* at the ende: But nowe (saith he) we be at resse with the Paganes, at resse with Heretykes, but we be not at resse with false brethren. Augustine sayth: But yet hereby, yea althoughe the Church knowe it not, they which be condemned by Christ for their naughtie and filthie conscience, they be not still in the bodye of Christe, which is the Church: forasmuch as Christ canne not haue anye damned members. For God forbydde, that all these monsters shoulde in any wise be accounted among the members of that pure doue. God forbydde, that they shoulde be able to enter into the bounds of that paled and close grounde, whereof he is the keper, which can not be deceyued. Thus saith he.

So that the matter is clere by the premisses, that the true, onely, holy, and right teaching Church of Christ, is the fellowship and communion of the true, faithful, holy, and elect, in which there is no place for the reprobate that be not acquainted with the spirite of Christ. Wherefore whensoeuer that there be anye contention of the true Churche of Christ, our aduersaries nede not lay it in our lappe, that the wicked also be intermingled with the good in the church. For that is seen wel ynough of it selfe. But we doe talke of that Church, which is not onely called by the worde of grace, but is elect, predestinate, iustifyed from euermore, whych Christ himselfe doeth cleanse, to make it a glorious Church for himselfe, without spot or wrinckle, and any lyke mater, but that it shuld be holy and withoute blame, and to haue it knyt vnto him for euermore. The reprobate doe in no wise belong to this Churche, with which kynde of men the particular Churches are now adayes exceedinglye pestered & burdened in a lyke comparison, as if the true members of our bodyes should be pestered and ouercharged with botches and boyles, of which it can not be well sayd, that they do belong to the constitution of the body, although they sticke sometymes faster than we would, vnto our bodys.

Fernarde. Serm. 2.

Augustin. Contra Crest conium gra. Lib. 2. cap. 21.

VVhich is the true Church of Christ.

IIII. Of the Catholyke Church.

The Fathers began to call thys true and right teaching Church of Christe, The Catholyk churche, which is as much to say, as vniuersall. Augustine to his Cosyn Seuerinus: This is (sayth he) the Catholyke church, wherupon it is also called καθολικὴ, in Greeke, bycause it is spreade throughout all the worlde. Isychius vpon Leuiticus. For the vniuersall Church (sayth he) is Hierusalem the citie of the lyuing God, whych conteyneth the Churche of the fyrste begotten, written in heauen. And Gelasius vnto Anastasius the Emperour: the same is well called, saythe he, the Catholyke church, whych is by a pure, cleane, and vndefyled fellowship sequestred from all the vnfaithfull, and theyr successors and companions. Otherwise there should not be a difference giuen by god, but a miserable mingle mangle.

1 So that these three properties, be giuen vnto the catholike Churche. First that it is spreade throughout all the worlde. *Ergo*, the Catholyke church is not the Church of Rome, but the Church of all the faithfull & elect, which doeth make vp the true Church dispersed bodily throughout all the compasse of the worlde, but vnited and knit together spiritually, euen from the beginning of the worlde vntil the verye ende.

And Adam, Seth, Nohe, Sem, Abraham, Isaak, Jacob, Moses, Dauid, and the reste of the Patriarkes and Prophetes, and faithful persons of the olde Testamente, be alwell members of this church, as the Apostles, Euangelists, Martyrs, and other Christian men, which did furnishe the Catholike churche, before that the Romains receyued the faith of Christe. There is a meaning of an vniuersalnesse in the worde Catholyke, which can not be applyed to the Church of Rome, nor to anye other particular Churche, no nor to all mankinde nother. For the christian faith doth not belong to the Romaines onely, nor yet it doth not embrace all kinde of men. If it serued for Rome onelye, it were not meete to be called Catholyke, that is to say, vniuersall. And if this note of vniuersalitie did embrace all the worlde, then the Christian faith shuld not be Catholike. For it doth not belong vnto all, and in this respect the Church should be nothing lesse than Catholike.

2 Therefore Isychius doeth aright giue it that seconde propertie, that it is the Church of the fyrste begotten, written in heauen.

3 The third propertie is that which is expressed in the wordes of Gelasius, that the Catholike churche is cleane, and vndefiled, deuided from the company of the vnfaithfull, and the felowship of the reprobate. Now whether that Rome doeth embrace the greatnesse of the whole kingdom of Christ, and whether it doeth containe all the elect and faithfull: and whether that it be cleane and vndefiled, sequestred from the companye of the reprobate, and the fellowship of the vnfaithfull: let them tel me which do vnderstande by the Catholike church nothing elles, but the Romishe Church, and vppon this gaye title and pretence do make it the Lady mistresse of all other Churches.

Augustin. Epist. Hyeron. Loa.

Which is Catholyke church

The members of the Catholike church.

V. That the Prelates of the Church of Rome be not *the true Churche.*

They say, that the Prelates, Bishops, and Cardinals, with the Bishop of Rome, do represent ỹ Catholike

tholike Church. And that it agreeth with the Scriptures, where we doe reade in this wise. The king turned his face, and blessed all the church of Israell. And that the Church was gathered there together in the Princes and heades only representatiuely, it appeareth in the beginning of the same chapiter, wher it is read in this wise: Then all the elders of Israel gathered them together, with the Princes of the Tribes, and the captaines of the families of the children of Israell, vnto king Salomon. And whereas the Lord saith: If he hearken not to thée, tell the Church: he meaneth not by the worde of the Churche, all the multitude of the whole Catholike Church, but the Prelates. Otherwise how were it possible to doe that whiche he teacheth? For it is not possible to assemble the Catholike Church it selfe into any one place, and committe any cause or matter vnto the same.

We answere. The chapiter it self aboue alleaged, doeth declare immediatly, that not only the elders of Israell and the captaines of the familyes, but all Israell also came vnto Salomon. For it is added straightwayes: And all Israell came together to king Salomon, in the moneth Bethamin, vpon a solemne day, that is the seuenth moneth, &c. And in an other place it is declared, that thys dedication of Gods house was the xviij. daye of the seuenthe moneth: Whereby it appeareth that this Church of Israel was assembled together in the dayes of the feastes of the Tabernacles, when by the lawe all the mankinde was compelled to appeare before the Lorde, as it is commanded in the law. Wherupon it is read in Paralipomenō, how Salomon kept a solemne feast for seuen dayes at that time, and all Israell with him. An exceeding great church or congregation from the entrye of Emath vntill the water of Egypt. The Hebrewe worde signifieth, An exceeding greate church, so that the worde church is simply taken for the congregation, else to what purpose had it bin to say, An exceeding great Church?

1. Reg. 8.

Matth. 18.

2. Par. 7.

As concerning Christes wordes: Tell the church, it is very manifest, that they must be mente not of the Catholike, but of euerye particular Church, specially ordered according to the manner of the Synagoge, where matters were determined betwixt brother and brother, whereof we spake in an other place. And this custome was kept also in the primitive Church. For then there were certaine tryed men of the elders chosen out, which as Tertullian maketh mention, did iudge their causes with great grauitie and estimation. In such a church one brother may be complained vpon of an other, and the saying of Christe be accomplished, Tel the church: and in case he heareth not the church, let him be as an Ethnike and a Publicane vnto thée: which can not be, if it be referred vnto the Catholyke churche. Wherfore, where as they do referre it vnto the Prelates of the churche, it procedeth of that errour: that they will haue it vnderstanded of the Catholyke church, whereas it is to be referred to any particular Churche. And they themselues do sufficiently signifye, that the Prelates of the church

church be not the Churche, in that that they doe say, that the church is represented by them, although the same be not so some proued, as spoken. But thereby they doe bewraye themselues, for what church they do so manfully fight, no doubt for Popes, Cardinals, Bysbops, Princes, Abbathes, Prelates, Prouostes, &c. very commercburches. In maintening of whose kingdome in the church, they doe seke also more their owne profyt than the commoditie of Christes churche: but they shoulde see to their owne saluation if they woulde deliuer the flocke of Christe by the power of the truth from their tyrannye, whome they doe defende, and hadde rather abide trouble with Moses, the Prophetes, Christ himselfe, and the Apostles, and all true godly persons for Gods people, than to enioye the temporarie commodities of Sinne for the time present.

VI. Of the knowledges of the true Church.

The framers of the vnstable doctrine, of that Interim, made at the assemble of states of the empyre at Auspurge. 1548. at which some woulde bring the Churches, which had receyued the Gospel, by little and little vnto Popery againe: and some other sought to frustrate the present endeuours of the wicked, did set for the these foure tokens to knowe the true church by. The first is, pure and cleane doctrine: the second, the right vse of the sacraments: the thirde is, the vnitie which should consiste in loue and quietnesse: the fourthe is the Catholike and vniuersall consent, throughout all the places and times of the worlde. If these were handled in their right and naturall kinde and meaninge, there were no harme in them. For I suppose that there is no man that hathe any Christian vnderstanding that woulde refuse that Church, and not take it to be verilye christian lyke, in which these tokens of true religion be perceyued and sene to be. Who would not desire to liue in that Church, wherein there is pure teaching, the sacraments vsed aright, the vnitie and concorde of the faithfull is kept in loue, and quietnesse, and where there is obserued a Catholike consent bothe of faith and vnderstanding with all true faithfull folk, dispersed throughout the whole worlde?

Doctrine.

We do allowe altogether these foure tokens and signes of the true Churche, but in an other meaning than as it is receyued in the Popishe churches. For we doe take the same to be the pure doctrine of the church, which commeth from Christ, conueyed vnto vs by the holy Apostles, which appointed vs nothing of their owne chopse, but did faithfully prefer vnto all nations the discipline which they receyued of Christe: in which is not hearde the voyce of any man, but of the onelye begotten of God, the true and only shepherd and teacher. My sheepe (saith he) heareth my voyce, and doe follow me. The pure preaching of Christes Gospell doeth aright beare the first signe and token of the true Churche. We do sequester here all kinde of doctrines & commandementes of men. Where soeuer the lawe of Moses is taught,

there

there is knowen to be a Synagoge of Iewes: and where Alkoran is read, there is the meeting of Mahomet, & so where the Gospell of Christ our sauiour is taught, there is declared to be the Christian church.

The vse of the Sacramentes.

The seconde marke of the true Church they do make lawfull vse of the sacraments, which we comprehende in two partes. The one is, if these sacramentes be vsed whiche were instituted by the Lord himselfe and our Sauiour: the other, if they be purely and vprightly vsed accordyng vnto his ordinance. For if this marke be wreasted to other Sacraments also as they call them, or to any other than the lawfull vsage of the sacraments, which both we see is done in the Poperie, we esteeme this to be the note not of the true but of the counterfait Church.

The vnitie of the Church.

And whereas the thirde marke whiche they doe take of the true Church, is the vnitie of the Churche which standeth in quietnesse & loue, I doe saye it is not euery manner of vnitie, but the same which is powred into the hartes of the true faithfull by the spirit of Christ, and withall is declared throughout al our life by charitable good turnes of Christian loue, of one to an other: as it were betwixt members of Christes body. Otherwise the children also of this world, and the nations which be voyde of Christ haue their vnitie, concorde, peace, and loue. And we doe see that the Bastarde chyldren of the Church doe stoutlye maintaine, and vpholde their vnitie and quietnesse in religion.

The Catholike Consent.

As for the fourthe marke, which they make to be the Catholyke consente of al the churches of the whole worlde, we do not referre it vnto the extraordinarie ceremonies, whiche be diuers and diuerslye vsed in diuers and sundrye Churches, nor vnto mens traditions, and constitutions, which folowed after the times of the Apostles: but vnto the chiefe points of our Christian faith, which as they be euerlasting and vniuersall, that is to say, necessarye pertayning vnto all the faithfull of Christ, so they be able also to be receyued in the Catholyke and vniuersall consent of all. Wherefore we doe exclude here all such thinges, as hath ben brought in, in these latter times, and be either false and contrary vnto Gods word, either at libertie to be obserued and allowed, after the vsage not of all, but of some Churches only. There is none of these matters confirmed by the catholike consent of all faithfull. For the Catholike consent in this matter muste be referred not to the present time only, or to anye other time passed or to come, but vnto all times and seasons of the whole Catholike church, euen from the verye Apostles, vntill the time of the ende of the worlde.

VVhat Poperie doe make Catholyke consent.

The Romishe men take that for a Catholyke consente, which is decreed in the Churche of Rome, commonlye of the Byshop of Rome and others adioyning vnto it, that he is the heade of the Churche, and the highest vycar of Christe, that the Masse is a sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, that the dead Saintes muste be prayed vnto, that the vse of Images is not onelye lawfull but profytable also in the Churche, that the vse of the Lordes cuppe is vnlawfull

full for the faithful people: and such other lyke.

But forasmuche as these matters were not knowen vnto the pure Church, which was in the first times of Christian religion, nor yet vniuersallye receiued and allowed of al them which haue followed, they can not haue the title of the Catholike consent. Wherefore he is not to be accounted streight ways a straūger frō the Catholyke consente of the true Church, whosoeuer refuseth these matters as voyde of truth, & therefore doeth differ in opinion from the Churchs of the Papistes, in as much as they be long since fallen from the olde puritie of the Churches of the Apostles.

VII. What is the head of the Church.

FOrasmuche as the Church is a certaine body made of lyuely members, it must nedes of necessity haue a head, of whence it may bothe take lyfe, and by whose Spirite also it may be directed in all thinges, and not directed and ruled onely, but receyue increase also and growe.

Euery Church (sayth Chrysostome) as long as it hathe a head, it groweth. There is no doubte of thys point. There is no Christian man of the opinon that the Church is headlesse, that is to say, a body without a heade.

1 Therefore the Church hathe a head and not a straunge heade, but a head of his owne: Secondlye, not manye, but one: Thirdlye, not some vnprofitable, vneffectuall, and insufficient head, but such a one as doeth effectually, conuenientlye, and profitably performe those thinges which doe belong vnto a true head. It hathe no other heade, but hys owne heade. What is that? The same to whome the bodye doeth belong, and him to whom the bodye is vnited and subiecte as to the heade. Euerye bodye hathe a head of hys owne, vnto which it is subiect by the very creator therof. So the church also hath a head of his owne, which it chose not to it selfe, but toke it as giuen hir by God.

The Churche hathe not manye heads.

It hath not many heads, but one. It is not a two headed or three headed beast, &c. Nor it can not receyue many heades, succeding one after an other, by chaunge and casualtie of death. For so it shoulde dye it selfe as ofte as it shoulde lose the head by death, and line agayne as ofte as it getteth any newe heade, which enterchangeableneesse of dying and lyuing agayne, shoulde make the thing verye monstrous. The true Churche beyng once dead wyth hir head, and being raised vp again with the same vnder the true head which shall neuer dye agayne, hathe it selfe obteyned also euerlasting lyfe, and shall neuer dye anye more hereafter.

The Churche hathe a head sufficient for it.

It hath (I saye) a head not onely of his owne and one alone, but conuenientlye, and effectually also sufficient, that it is well able to gouerne it. For it hathe spirite and life: the spirite not of this worlde, but of God: lyfe not earthlye, but heauenly, whose trade is in Heauen. And thys it hath by none other meanes, but by the sufficiencye of his heade,

where-

whereby it is declared, that his head is not onely sufficient, but heauenly also and Godly.

VVhat is the head of the church.

All these thinges be true, concerning the head of the Church. Now let vs loke further what it is, and let vs herein take aduise of the Apostle. Let him shew vs the true head of the true Churche. He sayth in this wise: And he hath made subiect all thinges vnder his feete, (he speaketh of Christ) and he hathe giuen him to be the head ouer all things, to that church which is hys bodye, the accomplishment of him which fulfilleth all things in all men. Againe: But let vs (sayth he) follow the truth in loue, and in all thinges growe in him which is the head, that is to say Christ, in whome if the whole body be well ioyned and compacte together in euerye iointe of ayde and relife, according to the worcking of euery parte in his proportion, it maketh the encrease of the bodye, to the building vp of it self by charitie.

Ephe. 1.

Ephe. 4.

Ephes. 5.

Item: You Wyues be subiecte vnto your owne husbandes as to the Lord. For the husbande is the wyues head, euen as Christ is also the head of the congregation, and the same which ministreth saluation vnto the body.

Coloss. 1.

Also in an other place: All things were created by him and for him, & he is before all thinges, and by hym all thinges haue their being. And he is the head of the body of the church: who is the beginning, and the firste begotten of the dead, that he might haue the preheminence. This sayth the Apostle.

VVhat thing be conuenient for a head.

Ergo, Christe is the heade of Gods Church, of whome these thinges be reported which be in any wise requisite to the order of the true head. It is meete for the heade to haue not onlye an excellencye of worthinesse, but of gouernaunce also and power. It is meete for it to minister to the body spirite and lyfe, and to kepe all the members of it in continual concorde, ioyned together with one spirite and bloude, and to directe the motions and duetie of euery eche one, and to prouyde for the health of the whole body. Without such a heade what is the booy else, but a dead blocke?

But the Church hath a head, in whome all these points be plentifully comprised. For God the father hath appointed Christ the onlye begotten of God, to be the moste sufficient heade of all others, whose excellencie the Apostle doth commend, when he calleth him the beginning, hauing respect to the Hebrew word, which hathe the signification bothe of the beginning and of the heade. Agayne in that he sayth, It beareth rule in all thinges, and is before all things, and is set ouer all thinges, and that all thinges be and do stande by him, it toucheth the sufficiencie, that all matters necessarie be ministred to the body from the head: that he saith, He fulfilleth all in all, and giueth health to the body, and that all the bodye groweth in him: to which purpose that saying of Christ doth serue, I am the true Vine, and you be the braunches.

These things be so true, that none of the aduersaries be able to denye them. But yet they doe substitute vnto this heade Christ, as the principall heade, an other head to be as the secondarie heade. They meane the

the Bishop of Rome, whome they do fondlye imagine to be ordeyned to be the heade of the vniuersall Church in the earth, as Lieutenaunte and Vicare vnto Christe the chief head. They will haue the ouerseer of the Church, to be as muche as the head. No doubte, Princes, Captaynes, and Kynges were called the heades of the people, as we maye see in the boke of Samuel, where it is sayd, that Saule was made the heade amongst the Tribes of Israell. And in Amos, where the noble menne were called the heades of the people. And in Esaye the seuenth chapiter: in which place the king of Damasco, and the king of Samaria be called heades. But we doe read in no place in the Scriptures, that the Apostles and Bishops be called the heades of the Church.

Yea, Augustine in his thirde boke writing against the letters of Petilian, denyeth, that the Apostle Paule coulde be the heade of them whome he had planted in the faith of Christ, saying: O what a rashnesse and pride is this of man? Why doest thou not rather suffer that Christ shoulde alwayes giue faith, and to make thee a Christian man in the giuing of it? Why doest thou not suffer that Christ should be euer the beginning of the Christian man, and that the Christian man shoulde fasten hys trote in Christe? that Christ be the head of the Christian manne? For what tyme the spiritual grace is bestowed vnto the beleuers by the holy and faithfull Minister, the Minister himselfe doth not iustifye: but he only of whome it is sayde, that he doth iustifye the wicked. Nor the Apostle Paul was not ỳ head and beginning of them whome he planted, nor Apollo the rote of them whome he watered, but he which gaue them encrease, as he himselfe saith in the thirde chapiter in the firste Epistle to the Corinthians, saying: I haue planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath giuen encrease. So that nor he which planteth is any thing, nor he whiche watereth, but God who giueth encrease. Nor he was not the rote of them, but he rather which sayd: I am the Vine, & you be the braunches. And how coulde he be their heade, when he sayde: We beyng manye, are one body in Christ? And when he doth reporte moste plainely in many places, that Christ himselfe is the heade of the whole body?

This sayth Augustin. In which words he doth flatlye denye and refuse, that so noble an Apostle could be the head of them whom he himselfe had planted, and he giueth the reasons why, that is to say, bycause that Christian menne be one bodye in Christ, and that Christ himselfe is the head of the whole body. Now if it can not be sayde of Paul, that he was the head of the Church, which he planted in the Lorde, I suppose by lyke reason, that the same can not be reported of the rest of the Apostles. And if the Apostles cannot bee called heades of the Churches which they plated, how can Bishops be called heades of the Churches, which neuer planted, nor watered when they were planted by others.

They doe auaunce Peter aboue Paule and the reste of the Apostles,

bycause that albeit the Apostles had like and equall authoritie, yet for al ẏ it was peculiarly said vnto him by the Lord: Féede my Shepe, & by the vertue of his commaundement, they do make him both pastor of the vnyuersall Church, and head also. But I beséech you, is there so much difference betwixt planting & watering, which Paul reporteth of himselfe, & of Apollo, and féeding, which they peculiarly attribute vnto Peter, that Paul for al his planting of the churches, may not be called the heade of thē, & Peter for his féeding maye be called head, not of them only whō he fed, but of the vniuersall Church also? What hath Peter to do with the churches whiche Paul both planted & fedde, and whiche the rest of the Apostles planted: wherof many were vtterly vnknowen vnto him?

Shal we beleue that it was possible ẏ Peter onely should féede the vniuersal Church of Christ? To what purpose then should the rest haue bin chosen & sent abroade through out al ẏ world? The lord said not vnto him Féede al my shéepe, but simply, Fede my shéepe. The féeding of those shéep was cōmitted vnto him which beleued of the circūcision, but there were yet other shéep also to be driuen oute of the Gentiles, and to be fed, of whō if Paul were aright called the Doctour and techer, I suppose he might by as good reason also be called the Pastor, whō for al ẏ Augustine doth not permit to be called head of thē. Again if it did belōg vnto Peter only to féede the shepe of Christ, what is the matter ẏ Paule calling vnto him the priests & bishops of ẏ church of Ephesus doth say: Looke wel therfore to your selues, & to ẏ whole flock, in which the holy spirite hath set you Bishoppes, to féede ποιμαίνειν the Churche of God, which he hath purchased with his bloud. Ergo, It was not Peter only which fed the Lords shepe, but ẏ other apostles also Byshops, Pastors, & Doctors fed also, vnto whō Augustine doth neuer the more yelde ẏ they shoulde be called heads of the church, than he did vnto Paul.

Gala. 2.

But in case men will nedes haue the Bishop of Rome to be head of ẏ church let him be head of ẏ Church which is subiect vnto him, as the body is to the head. In case there be a Church, which may be called the body of the Bishop of Rome, we cā be well content ẏ for all vs he may be head therof, as of his body: but it cā not be graunted that he be the heade of any particular bodye of Christe, much lesse of ẏ vniuersall body. For as for ẏ that they do crake & boast of ẏ successiō of Peter, they be but toyes and trifles. For he was neyther the head of the catholike church, nor yet if he had béene so, it were no reason ẏ therfore the like prerogatiue shold be giuen vnto al Bishops of Rome.

VIII. Of the Vnitie of the Church.

The commendation of vnitie is worthyly estemed great amōgst true godly persons. And wheras we do intende to note some things briefly of it, we will leaue to speake of ẏ vniuersal instinct therof giuen to all creatures naturallye, in that that they do bend al vnto one, and be preserued by vnity, to be discussed by finer heads, and we will treate of the vnitie

vnitie of the Churche, to applye our selues to the matter which we haue in hande: and we will speake not of the particular vnitie of the Church, but of the catholike and vniuersall vnitie: not of the counterfaite, but of the natural and true, not of the deuided, but of the whole and sound vnitie. The particular, counterfait, and and deuided vnitie, doth belong vnto Heretikes, Schismatikes, and vnto them which when they would séeme to be catholike, they do pretēd an vnitie: and yet the same vnitie which they haue, is not true, but counterfayt and grounded in false worships and traditions of men. But the catholike, true, and sound vnity pertaineth not to Schismatikes, but vnto the true, faithful, and that generally vnto all. The true and catholike vnitie of the Church, doth belong only vnto them, which are of the true & catholike Church.

Wherefore, let them whiche doe sometimes entice vs, and sometimes enforce vs to kepe the vnitie of their Church, first of al make of their particular vnitie an vniuersal, of a deuided a whole one, of a counterfayte, a true Christian: that is to saye, Let them returne firste themselues vnto the true & catholike church of Christ from whence they are fledde, setting vp their Poperie: and let them so embrace togyther with vs the vnity of it, that both they and we also maye be all one wyth all pure faithfull folke, and commonly and truely enioye the goodnesse of vnitie in the Lorde. It is not a true vnitie of the true Church by and by, bycause it is boasted of, vnder pretence of the catholike Churche. For it is no new matter, that they whiche be far from the truth of the catholike vnitie, doe presume to challenge themselues the title therof, if they thynke that they haue the better hande eyther in multitude, either in prescription of many yeares, eyther in authoritye of the higher powers. The place of Hierome is knowen, wryting in this wise: In king Constantius time, whē Eusebius and Hippatius were counsaylours, Infydelity was written vnder the name of vnitie and fayth, as it is knowen nowe. For in that tyme there was nothing semed so Godlye, nothyng so conuenient for the seruāt of God, as to folowe vnitie, and not to be pluckt from the communion of the whole world, specially now when ẏ outwarde shewe of setting forth of things semed to haue no wickednes. Thus sayth he.

Hieronimus contra Luciferianos.

Wherefore we muste diligentlye search, which is the true vnitie of ẏ Catholike Churche, least we be deceyued by the false appellation and meaning of it, and in pretence of vnitie, do return vnto our old accustomed schisme.

The true and sounde vnitie of Chrystes Churche is comprysed in a diuision of thrée. For fyrst it is one in it selfe. And the catholyke churche is not manifolde but one, bycause it is the bodye of Christe, of which vnitie we spake before in the seconde article. Secondly there is a vnitye of bodye wyth the heade Chryste in thys one Churche. And wythoute thys vnitye any societye of Christian men is to no purpose.

Atriple diuision of true vnitie.

Thyrdly, the vnitie of the churc

consisteth in the members of it, and that is when they sticke togither among themselues in a kind of moste fast knot and coniunction. This true & absolute vnitie, cã nother be stretched any larger, nor be restreined any streighter. For it is exactly applied vnto the threfolde respect of the Church. That is to say, of ỳ head, body, & members. And we must consider in the vnity of the Churche one head, one body, and one most united knitting togither of the diuers and sundry members of the same.

VVhat they be vvhich do breake the vnity of the Church.

And this vnitie they do breake as muche as lyeth in them, whiche doe either displace the true & only heade of the church, or else doe ioyne & substitute any other vnto it. Again they doe the same which do appoint such an vnitie of the body to the head, as can abide disagreing and reprobate members, or else wil haue vs to followe such an vnitie of the members, which shold exclude the vnity wyth Chriſt the hed. The firſt and laſt the Papiſts do: the ſecond they do, which doe ſo boaſt of the Goſpel of Chriſt, that they haue no regard of Chriſtian charitie, although that they doe reade and heare that Chriſt ſaid: In this you be knowen to be my diſciples, if you haue charitie & loue one to another. No doubt the true vnity with Chriſt is ſuch, that it doeth not onely require a mutuall loue and vnity of his faythful, but that it bredeth ỳ ſame alſo. Chryſoſtome ſaith, againſt them which do not care for the vnity with the head: What doeſt thou forſaking the heade (ſaith he) sticketh vnto ỳ mẽber? If thou doeſt fal from the head, thou art vtterlye loſt. And mark whatſoeuer he be he can not liue, vnleſſe he be ioyned vnto him by the head, and ſo liue.

Chriſoſtom

In what men the vnitie of consiſteth.

Now ſeeing that there is ſo great a diuerſity and vnequality in ỳ church both betwirt the body and ỳ head, and alſo betwirt the members themſelues, we muſt ſee by what meanes thys vnitye, whereof we doe ſpeake, doth conſiſt. The Papiſts doground it in the obedience and ſubiection vnto the Romiſh Church, whiche they wil haue to be the mother of al churches and faithfull folke. They do eimagine that it hath a lappe, whereunto all muſt haue recourſe, whiche wyll ſeeme to be true Chriſtians. And they doe al like this vnitie, whiche do ſeke therby rather how they themſelues, than howe Chriſt maye raigne. How they themſelues maye liue gaily and bountifully, rather than howe the members of the Churche may be ſaued togither. But we doe determine that to be the vnity of the church, not whiche dependeth vpon any particular church ether of Rome or any other: but which is alwayes of the Catholik church, & was not only before the Romiſh Church, but ſhall continue alſo when the ſame is gone & paſt, euen vntil the very end of all. This we do ſeke in the holy Scriptures, in which we haue this church alſo expreſſed, when they do call the church ỳ body, whoſe head Chriſt is.

I ſuppoſe they do ſufficiently declare, that the vnity of the Churche ſtandeth by like meanes as the vnity of the bodye wyth the heade doth conſiſte by and of the members, with the mẽbers. The apoſtle ſayth: We beyng many, are one bodye in Chriſt, & ech of vs one an others mẽbers. The vnyty of the heade wyth his bodye, conſiſteth in one fleſhe, one Spirit, one bloud, and one lyfe. The lyke is the vnitie of the members. For they alſo doe cleaue together as knit in one ſpirit, one bloud, one fleſhe and lyfe, and one head, one with an other. Wherefore the vnitie of the Church with Chriſt & of al the faithfull, which be the members of the Church, doeth conſiſt always in theſe meanes.

Of this vnitie of the Churche the Apoſtle ſpeaketh where he ſaythe: Therefore I doe aduiſe you, beyng bounde in the Lord, that you walke as it is mete for that calling wherin you be called, with all lowlineſſe and humblenelle, and with all gentleneſſe, bearing one with an other thronghe charitie, endeuouring to kepe the vnitie of the ſpirit, by the bande of peace. One bodye and one ſpirit, lyke as you be called alſo in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme: one God and Father of all, which is aboue all, and by all, and in you all. And in an other place: Ye that loueth hys wyfe, loueth himſelfe. For no man neuer hateth his own fleſh: but doth rather nourithe and cherish it like as the Lord alſo doth the Churche: for we be members of the ſame body, of his fleſh and of his beanes. For this cauſe man ſhall forſake Father and Mother, and cleaue vnto his wife, and there ſhall become of two, one fleſhe. This miſterie is great, but I ſpeake of Chriſt & of the Church. Item. Know you not (ſayth he) that your bodyes be the members of Chriſt? Whether then ſhall I take the members of Chriſt, and make them members of a harlot? God forbidde. Know you not ỳ hee whiche cleaueth vnto a harlot, is one body therewithall? For (he ſayth:) They ſhall be brought bothe into one fleſhe. But he which ſticketh vnto the Lord, is one Spirite wyth him. And to the Romaines: But in caſe anye man hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of hys. And to the Ebrewes: Beholde, here am I, and the children whiche God hath giuen me. For aſmuch then that the children are partakers of fleſhe and bloude, he alſo himſelfe lykewiſe toke parte with them. &c.

Rom. 8.

Ebre. 2.

We doe ſee by theſe places of holy Scripture, that the vnitie of the Church, whereby we be both ioyned vnto Chriſte our head, and one of vs to an other, doth not exclude that communion of the ſame fleſhe and bloude: the myſterie wherof, the fathers haue much ſpoken of in the ſacramente of the bodye and bloud of the Lord, againſt the Heretykes that did denye the truthe of the fleſhe of Chriſte: and yet notwithſtanding, that it doeth not altogether conſiſte therein, but that it requireth withall the vnitie of one ſpirite and lyfe. Of the Spirite we haue ſeene in the places before. Of the lyfe, we may ſee in the laſte Epiſtle to the Corinthians, where the Apoſtle ſaith: For we which doe lyue, be alwayes deliuered vnto death for Jeſus ſake, that ỳ lyfe of Jeſu may be declared in our mortall fleſhe. Againe: Then if you be riſen with Chriſt, ſeke the thinges aboue, where Chriſte is ſitting at the right hand of God. And care for heauenlye matters, and not for earthlye. For you be dead, and your lyfe is hydden with Chriſte in

1. Corint. 4.

Coloſſ. 3.

consisteth in the members of it, and that is when they sticke togither among themselues in a kind of mosse fast knot and coniunction. This true & absolute vnitie, cā nother be stretched any larger, nor be restreined any streighter. For it is exactly applied vnto the threfolde respect of the Church. That is to say, of ỳ head, body, & members. And we must consider in the vnity of the Churche one head, one body, and one most united knitting togither of the diuers and sundry members of the same.

VVhat they be vvhich do breake the vnity of the Church.

And this vnitie they do breake as muche as lyeth in them, whiche doe either displace the true & only heade of the church, or else doe ioyne & substitute any other vnto it. Again they doe the same which do appoint such an vnitie of the body to the head, as can abide disagreing and reprobate members, or else wil haue vs to followe such an vnitie of the members, which shold exclude the vnity wyth Chriſt the hed. The firſt and laſt the Papiſts do: the second they do, which doe so boaſt of the Gospel of Chriſt, that they haue no regard of Chriſtian charitie, although that they doe reade and heare that Chriſt saith: In this you be knowen to be my disciples, if you haue charitie & loue one to another. No doubt the true vnity with Chriſt is such, that it doeth not onely require a mutuall loue and vnity of his faythful, but that it bredeth ỳ same also. Chryſoſtome saith, against them which do not care for the vnity with the head: What doeſt thou forsaking the heade (saith he) sticketh vnto ỳ mēber? If thou doeſt fal from the head, thou art vtterlye loſt. And mark whatsoeuer he be he can not liue, vnleſſe he be ioyned vnto him by the head, and so liue.

Chriſoſtom

In vvhat men the vnitie of consiſteth.

Now seeing that there is so great a diuersity and vnequality in ỳ church both betwixt the body and ỳ head, and also betwixt the members themselues, we muſt see by what meanes thys vnitye, whereof we doe speake, doth consiſt. The Papiſts doground it in the obedience and subiection vnto the Romiſh Church, whiche they wil haue to be the mother of al churches and faithfull folke. They do eimagine that it hath a lappe, whereunto all muſt haue recourſe, whiche wyll seeme to be true Chriſtians. And they doe al like this vnitie, whiche do seeke therby rather how they themselues, than howe Chriſt maye raigne. How they themselues maye liue gaily and bountifully, rather this howe the members of the Churche may be saued togither. But we doe determine that to be the vnity of the church, not whiche dependeth vpon any particular church ether of Rome or any other: but which is always of the Catholik church, & was not only before the Romiſh Church, but shall continue also when the same is gone & past, euen vntil the very end of all. This we do seeke in the holy Scriptures, in which we haue this church also expreſſed, when they do call the church ỳ body, whose head Chriſt is.

I suppose they do sufficiently declare, that the vnity of the Churche standeth by like meanes as the vnity of the bodye wyth the heade doth consiſte by and of the members, with the mēbers. The apoſtle saith: We beyng many, are one bodye in Chriſt, & ech of vs one an others mēbers. The vnyty of the heade wyth his

his body, consisteth in one fleshe, one Spirit, one bloud, and one lyfe. The lyfe is the vnitie of the members. For they also doe cleaue together as knit in one spirit, one bloud, one fleshe and lyfe, and one head, one with an other. Wherefore the vnitie of the Church with Chriſt & of al the faithfull, which be the members of the Church, doeth consiſt always in these meanes.

Of this vnitie of the Churche the Apoſtle speaketh where he saythe: Therefore I doe aduiſe you, beyng bounde in the Lord, that you walke as it is mete for that calling wherin you be called, with all lowlineſſe and humblenesse, and with all gentlenesse, bearing one with an other throughe charitie, endeuouring to kepe the vnitie of the spirit, by the bande of peace. One bodye and one spirit, lyke as you be called also in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme: one God and Father of all, which is aboue all, and by all, and in you all. And in an other place: He that loueth hys wyfe, loueth himselfe. For no man neuer hateth his own fleth: but doth rather nourishe and cherish it like as the Lord also doth the Churche: for we be members of the same body, of his fleth and of his boanes. For this cause man shall forsake Father and Mother, and cleaue vnto his wife, and there shall become of two, one fleshe. This misterie is great, but I do speake of Chriſt & of the Church. Item. Know you not (saith he) that your bodyes be the members of Chriſt? Whether then shall I take the members Chriſt, and make them members of a harlot? God forbidde: Know you not ỳ hee whiche cleaueth vnto a harlot, is one body therewithall? For (he saith:) They shall be brought bothe into one fleshe. But he which sticketh vnto the Lord, is one Spirite wyth him. And to the Romaines: But in case anye man hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of hys. And to the Ebrewes: Beholde, here am I, and the children whiche God hath giuen me. For asmuch then that the children are partakers of fleshe and bloude, he also himselfe lykewise toke parte with them. &c.

Item. 6.

Rom. 8.

Ebre. 2.

We doe see by these places of holy Scripture, that the vnitie of the Church, whereby we be both ioyned vnto Chriſte our head, and one of vs to an other, doth not exclude that communion of the same fleshe and bloude: the mysterie wherof, the fathers haue much spoken of in the sacramente of the bodye and bloud of the Lord, against the Heretykes that did denye the truthe of the fleshe of Chriſte: and yet notwithstanding, that it doeth not altogether consiſte therein, but that it requireth withall the vnitie of one spirite and lyfe. Of the Spirite we haue seene in the places before. Of the lyfe, we may see in the laſte Epiſtle to the Corinthians, where the Apoſtle saith: For we which doe lyue, be alwayes deliuered vnto death for Jesus sake, that ỳ lyfe of Jesu may be declared in our mortall fleshe. Againe: Then if you be risen with Chriſt, seeke the thinges aboue, where Chriſte is sitting at the right hand of God. And care for heauenlye matters, and not for earthlye. For you be dead, and your lyfe is hydden with Chriſte in

1. Corint. 4.

Coloſſ. 3.

God. It is not possible that the lyfe should bee discrepant from the vnity of the same Spirite.

Always they which be partakers of the same selfe spirite, be partakers also of the same selfe lyfe. For the quality of ẏ life riseth vpon the quality of the Spirite.

One God & Father. One Lord. One Faith. One hope. One baptisme. One body *Iohn.17.*

Besides the vnitie of flesh & bloud spirite and life, the Apostle maketh mention also of one god and Father of all, who is ouer all throughout al, and in all the faythfull: of one Lord, one faith, and one hope: and one baptisme. In the vnity of the body wherby we be ioyned vnto ẏ head Christ, there is comprehended also the vnytie of God the Father. For we be al one in him also, and he in vs, when we be vnited vnto Christ. I pray not (sayth Christ) for them alone, but for them also which shall beleiue in mée thorough their words and teaching, that all may be one, like as thou father art in me, and I in the, that they maye also be one in vs Item: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be fulfilled into one, &c. *Ergo* that is a full vnity. In case that like as the father is the sonne, so the sonne be also in vs, and we in the Father and the sonne: that is to say, in one communion of Spirite, whereby wée bée made partakers of the heauenlye nature.

Those things whiche he spake of the vnitie of fayth, hope, and baptisme, be annered vnto thys vnity: Euen as brotherlye loue is also whereby we bee declared to be the disciples of Christ: and peace also, wherby as it wer wẽ a certain knot, we be tyed in the vnitie of spirite. They whiche be knit vnto Christ, be tyed togyther not onely in the folowship of his spirite, but of fayth, and baptisme also.

Thys vnitye of the Catholyke churche can not be, but amongest them whiche be true faythful folke, and true members of the Church. And to conserue and kepe thys, it is not onely lawefull but also necessarie, to forsake the companie of the outwarde and particular Churche, if the communion and felowshippe thereof be defyled: as in case of worshipping of Idols, in Simonye, In false seruices. In a counterfaite head, that is to say, Antichriste, and all suche other filthy dregges of the whore of Babylon. The vnitye of the Catholyke Churche is to be preferred aboue all particular Churches, in case that of necessity a man should forsake the one or the other. Wherefore he must not be condemned immediatelye for a breaker of the vnity of the Churche, & a Schismatyke, whosoeuer doeth nowe a dayes forsake the Church of Rome, vnlesse it be proued that the vnitie of it is such, as is altogyther one with the true and Catholike Church: and that so we shoulde doe it wrong, to forsake it. On the other syde, he is not immediately in the vnitie of the Catholike Churche, whosoeuer is inuefted in the Romishe Churche. For there be within it many noughtypackes, farre wyde from the body of the true Churche, men not ioyned to Chryst, nother in Faith nother in Spirite, (nor shewing any charity) and loue towards the true faithfull. And yet they thinke: bycause they haue all one Pope, one madnesse in Idolatrie, one Masse, and doe serue

For the vnitie [illegible] maye [illegible] parte [illegible] the vnit[illegible] of part[illegible] lar Chur[illegible]ches.

[illegible] true [illegible] of [illegible] church [illegible] neuer [illegible] in [illegible] wrde [illegible]

[illegible]4.

[illegible]

[illegible]5.

serue all in one kynde of seruice of the see of Rome, that they be moste Catholyke, and that they alone doe stande in the vnitie of the Church. And being dotedwith this most vain perswasion, they doe condemne all others for Schismatikes and Heretykes, which doe obey Gods Word, and depart out of the middest of Babylon, and doe flée from the communion, seruice, and crueltie thereof, least if they shoulde be partakers of their sinnes, they should themselues also perishe with the perishing.

That the Vnity of the Churche doth not consist in *Ceremonies.*

The true and Catholike vnity of the true and catholike Church, did neuer consist in outwarde rites and ceremonies but in faith and Spirite. Carefull (sayth the Apostle) to kepe the vnitie of the Spirite vntill we doe all atcheue vnto the vnitie of faith. The diuersitie of Ceremonies doth not breake the vnity of the Church, in case that that point doe stande whiche is in the actes of the Apostles. The hartes of ẏ multitude of them which beleeued, was one, and their soule one. He which obserueth the day and doth refrayne from some meates, if he do obserue brotherly loue and charitie, he is no whit deuided from them whych neither do obserue day, nor abstaine frõ any kind of meates. Wherfore there is no cause why that anye brother should in such like cases either iudge eyther forsake his brother. This Contention (sayth Augustine) of the fasting of the Sabboth, is an endles matter, bréeding strife, making no end of questions and debates. Therfore let the faith of the Church, whiche is spréede abrode euerye where, be one, as it were within in the mẽbers, albeit that the vnitie it selfe of faith, be obserued in sundry sorts and ceremonies, by whych the same that is true in faith, is no wise hyndered. Surelye it were to be wished, that christian men shoulde so well agree togyther, that like as we haue one God, one Lorde, and one head, and be one body vnder the same, and doe drinke of him one Spirite, of fayth, hope, charity and Godly loue, so we might also iudge, and saye all one thing, wherevnto the Apostle doeth aduise vs to the Corinthians, and not onely saye, but do it also, in as much as concerneth the case of our saluation. And what can be better welcome, than this vntie, vnto a godly man? How good and pleasaunt a matter is it, for brethren to dwell in one? sayth the Prophet: should not such a vnity be compared aright vnto an holy ointmẽt, whiche droppeth downe from Aarons head into hys beard, and to the hemme of his garment: and vnto the heauenly deaw, whiche of Gods goodnesse commeth downe vpon the hilles of Syon, whẽ that charitie, quiet, and agréeable vnitie, shedde vppon the Ministers, Pastors, and Doctors, by the Spirite of God, droppeth down vpon the inferior members of the church? For like as by their discorde and falling out, there be sowen parties and sects among the faythfull: so is vnitye cherished and mayntayned by theyr concorde and agréement. The disagréementes of the Byshops as well

1. Cor.13.

The oyntmente of Aaron.

Greekes as Latines, be not knowen, whereby the vnitie of the Churches was wonte alwayes to be broken. Of whiche matter we haue spoken somewhat vppon that place, in the xxij. Psalme: They deuided my garment among them, and cast lottes for my coate.

IX. Of the Faith of the Catholyke Church.

WE spake before of Faith in a place by it selfe, wherefore we néede not here to speake anye other thing of it, than as it is requisite and néedefull for the present case, that the vnitie of the Churche consisteth also in the very faith which the Apostle saith is one, as wel as baptisme, yea, as the Lord himselfe and his bodye. There is requisite therefore for the true vnitie of the church, not sundry, but one faith, and that not of al sorts, but the same which is Christian in déede. And this is called one (sayth Augustine) not in member but in kinde. For we call it rather one than many, for the lykenesse & resemblãce therof, and that there is no diuersitie in it: That likewise as of thẽ which willeth all one thing, there is one will, so the faith also of the beleuers is all one. The same the Fathers called Catholike, forasmuche as it was vniuersally and commonly professed of all faithfull, and according vnto the professiõ or denying therof, they iudged Churches to be either catholike either heretical. And to the intent that the profession of it should be ready and plaine, they brought those points which the true faithfull do beleue in this Catholike faith, into a shorte and plaine lesson, called the Créede. Wherein we do say:

De Trinit. lib. 13. cap. 2. The fayth of the churche is one.

I beleue in one God the father almightie maker of Heauen and Earth: and in Iesus Christe his only Sonne our Lorde, which was conceiued by the holy Spirite, borne of the Virgin Mary, suffred vnder Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead: and buried: he descended into Hell, and rose againe the thirde day from the dead: hee ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almightie, from thence he shall come to iudge the quicke and the deade. I beleue in the holy Spirit, the holy Catholike Church, the Communion of Sainctes, the forgiuenesse of Sinnes, the resurrection of the fleshe, and the life euerlasting.

The Creede of the Catholike faith.

This is the true Apostolike, right, and Catholike faith of the true Apostolike, right, and Catholike church, which varieth not, but hath remained always constantly one selfesame faith throughout all worlds, according vnto the which we be accounted true, right, and catholike Christian men. The Créede of Athanasius, doth comprehend the catholike faith in the righte confession of the holye Trinitie, and the incarnation of Iesus Christ, true God and true Man, of his passion, death, going downe to Hell, resurrection, ascension, sitting at the right hand of the father, of the comming to iudge, of the general resurrection of our bodies, of the laste iudgement, of the euerlasting fyre, & lyfe euerlasting. And after that he hath rehearsed al this, he saith: This is the Catholike faith, which vnlesse, that euery man do faithfully and firmely beleue, he cannot be saued.

Athanasius Creede.

Ergo,

Ergo they whiche do beléeue after this wise, haue the Catholike faith. Wherefore it followeth, that they be not Heretikes, but Catholike folke, standing in the vnitie of the Catholike Churche. And this Gracian dyd acknowledge when he did publishe a law to the people of Constantinople from Thessalonica, in whiche he decréed, that they only which worshipped the holy Trinitie in like honour, shoulde bée called the Catholike Church: and they which were of the contrarye opinion, shoulde be called Heretikes. Looke vpon Sosomenus in the Ecclesiastical history. And we be also playnely, warely, circũspectly and aduisedly and agréeably baptised in this faith through al Christendome, that the confession thereof is required of mens owne mouthes, in case they be of yeares of vnderstanding when they be baptised, and if they be infantes it is required of the witnesses of their baptisme, as vndertakers for their baptisme.

Sosomenus 7. cap. 4.

Wherefore they be very vnreasonable and rash, which be not content with this faith, but doe besides thys, require the faithfull to beléeue other things, whereof there is no mention made nother in the catholike Créede, nother at the baptisme: nor they doe not require it fauorably, but they do burden men vppon lyke case and necessitie: as the catholike faithe is required of all them which will be any members of the catholike Churche. As to beléeue in holy menne that bée dead: (Doest not thou beléeue saye they, in Sainctes? *Ergo* thou arte an Hereticke) that wée muste call and crie for help of the Sainctes, that the Sainctes do pray for vs in Heauen, that their Images must be worshipped here in Churches: that the Masse is a sacrifice for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead, that the substãce of bread and wine is tourned into the body and bloud of the Lorde, by the consecration of the Priest: that there be seauen sacramentes: that the bish. of Rome is Christs vicar here in earth, and the generall head of all Churches, that it is not lawfull for priests to marry: & yet I say nothing of that which they woulde haue vs to beléeue of mans frée wil, of satisfactions, merites and pardons, that is to say, of the merchandises of Simon of Rome, and of the traditions of the Church. For vnlesse that a man doe beléeue that al these matters be christian and true, he is cõdemned for an heretik: what soeuer become of that olde catholike faith and vnitie which they do set little by, but the olde Pastors did regard that only. And there is a great cause to make these menne to bée thus mynded. They knowe that there is little to bée gayned of the confession of the Catholike faith: but they doe féele that there ryseth not onely great gayne, but that their lordlynesse and kingdome also of the Priests doth consiste in those pointes whiche I nowe rehersed.

So that it is excéedyng necessarie for al faithful folk to know how that there is but one faith in the Church, and wherin the vnitie of it doth consist, and that there can be in it no diuersitie, and in what respect the faith may be diuers without any breache of the vnitie of the Churche. When that ther is any mention made of the Faith of ye Churche, that it is so one, that as manye as doe dissente from

How faith in the Church is one.

it, be wide from the true vnitie of the Church of Chriſte: It muſt bée vnderſtanded of that onely Churche, which we call the Catholike church, and accordyng to the whyche they were in tymes paſt accompted Catholike which did confeſſe the ſame. Contrary vnto that no man can bée allowed to diſſent. But wheras there doth ariſe queſtions and diſſentions in the church vpon rites and frée and lawfull obſeruations, ſo that of the faithfull ſome beléeue one thing and ſome another: in that caſe ſuch fayth though it be neuer ſo dyuers, it hurteth nothing the Catholike vnitie. As for example, The Apoſtle ſayth: Receyue vnto you ỹ weake in faith, not in diſputing and troubling hys conſcience. One man beléeueth that he may eate all things, an other bycauſe ỹ he is weake, eateth hearbes. Why dothe the weake man eate hearbes? Bycauſe he beléeueth that he ought not to eate what he liſteth: and ſo he differeth from the faith of his brother whiche is ſtronger, who beléeueth ỹ it is lawfull for a Chriſtian man to eate what meate he liſt. Agayne, ſome man beléeueth that there is a difference in dayes, and another beléeueth that there is none: and the one hath a regard of the day and the other hath none: This varietie of faith dothe not breake the vnitie of the Catholike fayth, nor it hyndereth it not, but that both maye ſtande faſt ynough in the Catholike fayth, as well hée whyche beléeueth that he may eate all meates, and maketh no difference betwixte day and daye, as hée alſo that beléeueth that hée ought not to eate and putteth difference betwixte day and day. For notwithſtandyng all thys kinde of diſſention, yet there remaineth ſafe and ſound in the Churche, the whole communion of ſelowlhyppe of the myſteries of God and prayers, bycauſe his loue is ſaued, and the band of peace ſtandeth whole and ſounde. But whereas there dothe ryſe anye contentions in the Church vpon opinions of doctrine, worſhippes and obſeruations, contrary vnto Goddes worde, then it is not poſſible, that ſauing the vnitie of the catholike faith, thoſe things ſhoulde be beléeued and maintayned, which be both falſe, and ioyned alſo wyth vngodlyneſſe and ſuperſtition. He that doth beléeue thoſe thinges to be true and Chriſtian, doth depart from the true and only fayth of the Church, although hée wyth his mouthe confeſſe the ſame with others. And in caſe there doe ariſe diſſencions and ſchiſmes hereupon, they be in the blame which do maintayne the falſe faythe, and not they whiche doe withſtand it. And it maketh no matter whiche parte hée more or greater in number. For the Church it ſelfe doth not iudge accordyng vnto the multitude, nor it is not to be iudged after the conſente of the greater number, but after the manifeſt truth erpreſſed in the holy ſcriptures.

Rom. 14.

X. Of the povver of the Church.

IT is not méete nor conuenient, ỹ we ſhould referre thoſe things whiche we ſhall ſpeake of the power of the Church, vnto that one vniuerſall Churche ſpread through out all the world: but we muſt referre them vnto

vnto the members thereof, that is to ſay, vnto the particular churches, and that indifferently vnto euery one of them. For there is no reaſon that any one Church of Chriſt ſhoulde bée eſtéemed to haue leſſe eccleſiaſticall power than others whiche bée more wealthy and famous, bycauſe of the baſeneſſe of the powerty of them, and fewneſſe of the faithfull conteyned in the ſame: For lyke as the aduancement of riches & the baſeneſſe of powerty doth not make a byſhop higher or lower, euē ſo it maketh not the authoritie of the Churche nor greater nor leſſer. But whereas we do ſée nowadayes, that ſome ſmaller churches be ſubiect vnto the greater, it is more worldly than churchlike, whether it came of that that the leſſe churches of their owne accord haue ſubmitted and yelded their authoritie vnto the greater, as to the Metropolitane & mother Churches, or elſe that they haue ſuffered the ſame power to be taken frō them by the ſecular power, whether they woulde or not. Again, we wil not ſpeake of ſuch power as is peculiar to the miniſters of the word in the Churche, leaſt wée ſhall fondly confounde matters that be of theſelues diſtinct. And we haue ſpoken thereof alſo before, as muche as we thought néedefull, in the place of The miniſters of the word.

And forasmuche as apperteyneth vnto this preſente, euery particulare Churche hath thrée kind of powers. The firſt is that whiche all faithfull may & ought to vſe, to the intent that euery man may haue regarde of hys owne health: the ſame is the power to iudge of thoſe things whiche bée heard in the Church, and to eſchewe the ſayings of them whiche be ſtrangers vnto the ſame. We do not hereby giue authoritie, as ſome Sophiſters do, to the church, to iudge of the holy and Canonicall ſcriptures. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of thys matter in this wiſe: Therefore ſpirituall perſons, either ſuche as do gouerne, eyther ſuch as do obey, do iudge ſpiritually, not of the ſpirituall caſes which do ſhine in the firmament (by the firmamente he dothe meane the holye Scripture, in the ſame booke, the xv. chapter:) for they may not iudge of ſo high an authoritie, nor vppon the booke it ſelfe, in caſe there be in that any thing which is not apparant: for we ſubmit oure vnderſtanding vnto that: and we be aſſured, that the ſame which is hidden from our ſightes, is aright and truly ſayd. For though a man be ſpirituall and renewed vnto the knowledge of God, according vnto his image who created him, yet he muſte be the doer of the lawe and not iudge of it. And in the end of the ſame chapiter: For it is ſaid, that he iudgeth in thoſe things which he hath authoritie to reforme. This ſayeth Auguſtine. So that whereas the Apoſtle ſaith: Let two or thre prophets ſpeake and the reſt iudge, he ſpeaketh not of thoſe things whiche be ſpoken out of the holy ſcriptures, but of the other doctrines which be ſet forth by the prophets vnto ỹ church. Wherefore we muſt not herken vnto them whiche doe giue authoritie vnto the church to iudge of ỹ holy ſcriptures, in which reſpect they do aduance the ſea of Rome abone ỹ ſame. They ſay the ſcripture is not authenticall and alowable without the authority of ỹ church. And for this purpoſe they do

The povver to iudge in thoſe thinges vvhich be heard in the church. Auguſtin. *Lib. confeſſ. 13. cap. 23.*

1 Cor. 14.

alleage

allcage that out of Augustine: I had not beleeued the Gospell, vnlesse the authoritie of the Church had moued mee.

1 But what is to bee aunswered thereunto, we declared before in the place of holy Scriptures. The wicked generation of men, they doe suppresse the authoritie that is giuen to the Church, which is to iudge of opinions and traditions of menne, and they doe attribute that power vnto the Churche of Rome, whiche is not giuen vnto it at all.

Power to excommunicate.

2 The second power of ỳ Church is the same, whiche it oughte to vse, and the Ministers and pastors of it also, by the common verdicte of the faithfull, if it haue no christian magistrate. This the Apostle setteth forth in hys cause which kept his fathers wife. For I saith he, as absent in body, and presente in spirite, haue nowe determined as well as though I were present, that he whiche hathe done this facte, shall be deliuered, by you assembled togither and my spirit with you in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, vnto Satan to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirite may be saued in the daye of our Lorde Jesu. This sayeth the Apostle: and that whiche followeth of the cleansing out of the olde leuen, and casting out of the euill out of the Church. This power of euery particular Church, that is, to excommunicate the reprobate persons, the Bysshop of Rome hath disanulled and taken away, for as muche as he hathe chalenged the same vnto himselfe ouer all the Churches of Christe, not to the intente to vse it better to the health of the faithfull, but rather vnto the oppression of all mē, yea kings also and princes, and to the most wicked gaine of his court.

1. Cor. 5.

3 The third power of the Church is that which the faithfull folke vsed iointly, but without any consente of the ministers when they had no christian magistrate, when they dyd renounce and depose their naughty pastors, and chose themselues better in their stede: Of this ỳ blessed Martyr Cyprian maketh mention, and that not lightly but very vehemently, saying: Nor lette not the people flatter themselues, as though they coulde be free from danger of sinne, when they do communicate with a sinfull priest, and doe giue their consent vnto the wrongfull and vnlawfull ordinance of their Bishop or head, whereas the sentence of God, dothe threaten and say by Osee the Prophet: Their sacrifices be as the bread of wayling, all they whiche do eate of it, shall bee defyled, teaching no doubt and declaring, that all they be tyed vnto sinne whiche are defyled with the sacrifice of a prophane and vnlawfull priest. And a little after that. Wherefore the people that is obedient vnto Gods commaundements, and whiche feareth God, must sequester them selues frō the sinfull ouerseer, and not entermedle himselfe with the sacrifice of the sinfull priest: forasmuch as they themselues haue speciall power eyther to chose worthy priestes, either to refuse the vnworthie. This sayth he: I pray you, howe is it that they whiche do nowe a dayes crake, that they haue the power of the Church, do not see, that it is by no men more oppressed than by the Bishops themselues, and other Prelates? But of this

Power to depose naughty pastors, and to chose better.

this kynde of Churche power, wee haue spoke before, whereas we spake of the Election of the ministers.

They whiche vnder the pretence, that they be the Churche, for rule the Church as they list, do giue vnto it so large a scope & power, ỳ vtterly they may also eyther chaunge, either abrogate all statutes and lawes, as well of the Apostles, as of others.

1 The lawe (say they) Remember that thou keepe holye the Sabbath day. Sixe dayes shalte thou worke, and doe all thy worke, but the seuenth day, is the sabbath of the Lorde thy God. &c. and yet the church by their authoritie hath changed the sabbath day into the Sunday. Item, Christ saide vnto his Disciples vppon the Mounte: I came not to breake the law, but to fulfill the lawe: and yet the Apostles Churche, at their firste Councell, did boldely pronounce of the ceassing of the lawe matters.

3 Farther they say: The Apostles decreed in their councell, that menne should abstayn from choked meates & blood: & yet for all that the churche by their authoritie hath altered and abrogated the matter, so clerely and expressly defined vpon: for they do at libertie vse choked meats & blud. Lo the authoritie of the Churche is also aboue the decrees of the Apostles.

Vnto this we doe answer in fewe wordes. The precepte of the Sabbath forasmuch as it dothe concerne the litterall obseruation of it, was temporarie, & therfore was taken away as a figuratiue shadow, not by the authoritie of the Church, but by the truth it selfe, whiche appeared in Christ. And therefore it is, that the Apostle sayth: Let no man therfore iudge vs in meate or drinke, or in a parcell of the holy day, or of the new Mone, or of the Sabbaths, which be figures of things to come, but the bodie is in Christ. Wherefore in that that the Lawish figuratiue and shadowish Sabbath is taken awaye, it was done nother contrary vnto the holie and Apostolike Scripture, neither yet by the authoritie of ỳ churche. Yea and some of the aduersaries doe ascribe the taking away of the Sabbath, and the institution of the Sunday, vnto the traditions of the Apostles, and not vnto ỳ Church. Wherefore it is to no purpose that they doe argue heere: The Churche changed the Sabbath into the Sunday, *Ergo* it is lawfull for the Sea of Rome to doe any thing against scripture. 2 As for the ceasing of the lawishe decrees, the Apostles dyd pronounce, as that the vse of them was taken away indeede, by the dispensation of the newe Testament. Then they did not take away the lawe decrees, but did onely declare, that they were taken away by Christe. As for the law it selfe, Christ did not take it away, but he did fulfill it: Nor the Apostles nother did not take it away, but rather established it. We doe establish and not vndoe the law, sayth the Apostle. No nor Christe nor the Apostles did not abolishe the lawe of God, in almuch as it is eternall and remaining for euer into all worldes. Nor yet the Apostles did not pronounce that the rites and ceremonies of the lawe were abolished, as by their owne authoritie, but as taken away by Christ. Wherefore the aduersaries doe proue nothing, nother hereby. And yet suppose that there be

Rom. 8.

samewhat to be giuen to the authoritie of the Apostles, shall we therefore straightway giue all power vnto the sea of Rome, to ordeine, chãge, and abrogate what they list in the Church? yea and that contrary vnto holy Scripture? and vnder the colour of the church? where as there is no suche power in any place giuen vnto the Church. 3 Vnto the third obiection we do answer, That the churche which folowed next after the tymes of the Apostles did not ordeyne any thing contrarye vnto the decrees of the Apostles, in that they began to vse bloud and choked meates. For the Apostles did not so determine, that menne should for euer abstayne from bloud and choaked meates, but that the Churches of the Gentiles should for a tyme applye themselues vnto the weaknesse of them, whiche beléeued of the Iewes in Christ, and were yet in their conscience bounde vnto the lawe of Moyses, that they should not be offended in this matter. Wherefore at what time the feare of such sort of offence was taken away there was no reason to continue any longer in the decrée of the Apostles, & therfore it begã to ware weak of it self, & to decay by litle & litle. And it is no néede to haue it proued, ỳ it was abrogat by any cõtrary decrée of the catholike churche. This I thought good briefly to note of the power of ỳ church, which our aduersaries do auãce vp to ỳ skies, forasmuch as vnder the color therof, they do rule and reigne in the church, much like vnto thẽ which in the ciuile policy do prouide for their own priuat welth, and vnder the color of a cõmon welth, do oppresse the common welth: they do talk maruelous nobly of the cõmon welth, & auãce it exceedingly in words & set forth the authority of it, to ỳ intẽt, they may be able to order euery thing at their libertie in it, & do euery thing ỳ boldlier, in ỳ sort (which is worst of all) ỳ if any of the state doth speake against their wicked gouernãce, he shalbe take for an enimy of ỳ cõmon welth: whereas in dede the cõmon welth hath no crueller enimyes than they be which séeme to be ỳ patrones of ỳ same. We sée, ỳ the state of the church is altogither like now adays, which wold to god ỳ christian princes wold once vnderstand, who ought to be the patrons of Christes Church against all kynds of iniuries and wrongs, rather than the maynteiners of them which do oppresse it.

A Similitude.

XI. Whether that the church may erre

Our aduersaries doe vse a newe shift ỳ was neuer herd of amõg the old fathers: in ỳ they do maintein ỳ the church cãnot erre. Surely if we shuld yéelde to thẽ but in this poynte alone, they wold think ỳ they might be safe, & surely settled in their kingdom, & least it might be proued ỳ the church haue erred, & least they should giue vs way to proue that it hath erred, they do flée vnto this shift, to persuade al mẽ ỳ the church cãnot erre. 1. The church they say, is ỳ spouse of Christ, Christe doth not forsake his spouse, *Ergo* it cãnot erre. 2. Itẽ, The church is the kingdom of heauen. It appereth in the parables, in Mathew how then could kalhod haue reigned so many yeres in the kingdom of heuẽ? 3 Itẽ, The church is gouerned by the rule of the holy spirit, and the anoynting of the holy spirite doth alwayes

Mathe. 22. 13.

wayes teach the churche. *Ergo* it can not erre. 4 Item, The church is the piller & foundation of the truth, howe then cã it erre? We answer briefly. We do know right wel, ỳ the church is the only and welbeloued spouse of Christ, the kingdom of heauen, that it is ruled by the maistrie & leading of ỳ holy spirit, & that we be alwayes taught by his anoynting, and that it is the piller & foundatiõ of the truth. But these sayings do pertain not vnto al particular churches, but vnto ỳ only, vpright & catholik church, whiche is the cõmunion of the saints and elects throughout al the world, whiche doth beleue in Christ their Lord and spouse in all ages. And touchyng this, there is no variance. There is none of vs that doth say, that the catholike Church hath erred in ỳ faith of Christ. For how can it erre when it followeth Christ, & walketh not in darkenes, but hath the light of lyfe? Christ hath not forsakẽ it, nor neuer wil forsake it, all our whole strife is vpõ the particulare churches, which be mingled with good and euill togyther. They not only cã erre, but also haue erred, and doe erre yet in many points: And forasmuch as they cõfesse the Apostolike and catholike fayth, so far forth they do not erre: In case ỳ they doe with a true hearte beléeue the same, which they do confesse with their mouth. But forasmuch as they haue forsaken the only mediator and sauiour, and are fallen vnto fornication with creatures, and do leaue the calling off, of the olde man, and lyue not vnto Christ but vnto the world, and that they doe applye their eares turned from the truth, vnto the voice of strangers and to fables, and do gather vnto thẽ maisters to please their itching eares, whiche ỳ Apostle shewed before thonlde come to passe: in this respect no doubt they haue erred For by these means they haue gotte thẽ such kind of maisters, ỳ they haue receiued & yelded vnto al inchs inuẽtions, til at length they became to be like most seruile bondslaues, & began to abide any that listed to bring them into slauery, any man that would deuoure them, any that woulde take any thing of them, any mã that would be aduanced ouer them, yea and if anye man that woulde strike them in the face. &c. Nowe whereas the Papistes do argue, that the churche can not erre, bycause it is the spouse of Christe, and that he can not forsake it: we do answer directly, that Christ hath not forsakẽ his church, but that his grace is always ready and at hãd to the beleuers. But héere standeth ỳ pointe of this case, whether that the church of Rome with the rest, whych be subiect vnto it, hath sincerely and stedfastly stickt vnto the doctrine of Christ our sauiour or no, & hath folowed always hir husband Christ, and hath neuer forsaken him, nor yélded vnto any strãgers: & whether it hath builded no hey nor stubble vpon the foũdation of the Apostles, yea & whether it hath not shakẽ & decaied ỳ foũdatiõ itself, if it wer not possible to be so, ỳ admonition of ỳ Apostle had bin to no purpose, which he gaue vnto ỳ Romains, saying: But in case any of the braunches be broken off, & they beyng a wild Oliue, thou being grafted into it, & made partner of the rote & fatnesse therof, do not glory against ỳ braches. For if thou do glory, thou bearest not ỳ rote, but ỳ rote bereth

Christ neuer forsooke hys Church.

Rom. xi.

thee.

thee. Then thou wilt saye, the braunches wer broke of, to the intent that I should be grafted in. Verye well. They were broken off for their unbeliefe, now thou standest by fayth, lowke not to high, but be afraid, for if God spared not ỹ natural branches, peraduenture he will not spare thee. See then the goodnesse and straightenesse of God: his straightenesse towards thom which fell, and his goodnesse towardes thee, if thou continue in goodnesse. Else thou shalt be cutte off also, &c. Againe, To what purpose did the holy spirite warne vs before, that they whiche would not receyue the loue of the truth, should be giuen into a reprobate vnderstanding, to beleeue lyes: Item, That ther should be men in the Churche, and procéede out of it, which should erre theselues and deceyue others: And what hadde the Apostle néeded to feare, least that the faithfull Corinthians should bée seduced from the simplicitie whiche is in Chriſte Iesu by the suttletie of the serpent, if this were to be graunted to any particular Churche, and specially vnto the Church of Rome, that it coulde not erre: What auayled, I beseéke you, the aduise of Pope Hormisda, giuen to the Bishops of Spayne in this wise: Déerely beloued bréethren, let vs make continual prayers vnto the Lorde, and beseéke him with our dayly prayer, that wée may both in teaching and worke cleaue vnto him, whose members we doe desire to be, and that wée neuer stray frō that way which is Chriſt, to go into a bypath, least we be worthily forsaken of him, whome we do wickedly forsake: In case the church of Rome with his Bishops can not erre, why did the Pope feare at that time, least they should sometime wickedly forsake Chriſt, and be worthily forsaken againe of him: But these matters bée laughed at by the Papistes, as assuring themselues that the Churche hath a trusty husbande, of whome she can not be forsaken, as though she coulde not forsake hyr husbande, specially in the reprobate, of which it hath great multitude, and by whose wickednesse and power she is seduced and oppressed: whiche as they be not from aboue, so they doe not esteéme heauenly things, but doe most greédyly gape after the worlde. We thinke that the reason of these men being very Iewish, is not much vnlike vnto that whiche we can not forbeare without laughing, whē we heare those women make nowe and then that be charged with the cryme of adultery and breache of wedlocke, when they wil crie out: Sir, I would you knewe it, I haue an honest man to my husbande, as though it were a rare matter that an honest mā might haue a harlot to his wife: and they consider not, that by the honesty of their husbandes, they doe not escape the rebuke of their naughtie life, but are rather more to be blamed for the same, as such whome neither the vnspotted faithe & honesty of their husbands could moue to obserue & kéepe the chastitie of wedlocke.

Pope Hormisda hys aduice.

2 To that that they saye: Error hathe no place in the Kingdome of Heauen, for therein reygneth truth: the Church is the kingdome of heauen: *Ergo* there is no errour in the Church. We do aunswere, that thys is true in that respect, that the church is the kingdome of Heauen, and not the

the kingdome of the worlde and of the flesh. And it is sayd arighte of the true & Catholike Church of Saints, in as muche as it is obedientlye and faithfully subiect in all his members vnto oure Lorde Chriſte the king of heauens. But in as much as it is as in many of his mēbers very weake, like as it doth yet sinne, so it doth erre also in many poyntes. But they doe speake of the Romish Church, which is rather the kingdome of the world than of Heauen, in whiche vnder the pretence of religion, there raigneth more than a worldly couetousnesse, wantonnesse, pride, mischieuous simonie, wealth, power, &c. of Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, Friers and Monkes, with a Catholike idolatrie of the seduced multitude in all manner of superstitions, and howe can suche a Church be taken for the kingdome of Heauen?

It is greeuouser to do vvickedly, than simply to erre.

But graunte. Let the Churche of Rome be the kingdome of heauen for a few electes sake which be in it, yet it followeth not thereof, that it can not erre. For as the kingdome of heauen is the kingdome of truth, so it is also the kingdome of rightuousnesse. For it is written of our King, he shal reign in iudgement and righteousnesse. Wherefore if the argument be good, that there can be no errour in the Church, bycause it is called the kingdome of heauen in which raigneth truth, by like reason a man may argue thus: In the church whiche is the kingdome of heauen, there is no sinne and vnrightuousnesse, for as much as the kingdome of heauen is the kingdome of rightuousnesse: Therefore like as the Churche doth not erre, so it dothe not sinne nother. But the Churche of Rome dothe so muche sinne, as well in the Prelates as in the common sorte, that there is none of the Papistes so shamelesse, whiche can denie, but that there is plentie of sinne in it, and that moste grieuous and abhominable. Nowe what can be deuised more vnreasonable, than that they doe denay that there cā be any erroure in ỹ Church of Rome, when it is manifest that it is drowned vppe in moste detestable wicked life, as though it were not more grieuous in Goddes sighte to worke and liue wickedly, than simply to erre: And the cause of this vnreasonablenesse is this, It séemeth to be a foule matter to the ringleaders of the church, as guides of the Lords flocke, to haue erred so enormiously, and to haue seduced the lords shéepe, but withall, to haue sinned so sore in many poyntes, they take it to be nothing so much shame. For they séeme to sinne as menne, and that it is common to them with others. But for to erre as the guides of mē, they thinke it a matter not tolerable. In case a Maryner be a wicked person in manye respectes, he is borne withall, so that he be skilfull vpon the sea. And they doe suppose that the case of the Prelates of the Churche is alike. So that they erre not in religion, but do teache the people aright, they thynke they may be borne withall, how greuously so euer they doe sinne. And therefore they deny not but that they be sinners, but they doe denay that they doe erre. And they be afrayde withall, least their kingdome be gon, if it be tryed that they haue seduced the people.

A similitude.

3 It is a like matter that they s..

The Churche is ruled by the holy spirite. Ergo it erreth not.

The Churche is ruled by the gouernaunce of the holy spirite, and that it is taught by the annoyntment thereof, *Ergo* it dothe not erre. It is true, the Churche is ruled by the gouernaunce of the holy spirite, for the elect and faithfull be taughte by his annoyntment. And as far forth as it obeyeth the gouernaunce of the spirit, so farre forthe in deede it erreth not. But it can not be proued, that it hath obeyed it in all things, so that it neuer erred. The firste fathers of the Church did sometime erre in the obseruaunce of the lawithe customes. And besides that, how oft and in how manye poyntes did the Churches of the Apostles erre, whyles that the Apostles were yet alyue? And howe must not the like betide vs after that they were giuen? And who will say, that the firste Churches had not the gouernance of the spirite?

The Church is the piller of the truth *Ergo* it erreth not.

Fourthly, whereas they do obiect that of the Apostle, that the Churche of the liuing God is the piller and foundation of the truth, and doe gather also therevpon, that the churche of Rome can not erre, they do againe chalenge that vnto them, whiche is proper vnto the true and Catholike Church only, and therevpon they doe gather that which is false. Augustine in his preface vpon the 47. Psalme, alleageth this place of the Apostle in this wise. Therefore we must vnderstand by the second of the sabboth, none but the Churche of Christ, but the Church of Christ in the Saincts, the Church of Christ in them which be written in heauen, the Churche of Christe in them, whiche do not yelde vnto the temptations of this worlde. For they be worthy to beare ỳ name of the firmamente. Therefore the Church in them which be strong (of whome the Apostle sayth, We whyche be strong, must beare with the infirmities of the weake) is called the firmamente. Whereof it is song in the Psalme: Let vs heare, let vs knowe, let vs sounde, let vs glory, let vs raigne. For heare you and know, that the same also is called the firmament by the writings of the Apostles; Whiche is (saith he) the church of the liuing God, the piller and firmament of truth. This sayeth Augustine, whereby he doth expound the Apostles woords of the Church, not in respecte that it is mingled with good and euill, but as it abideth firme and stedy in the electes, bycause that like as it standeth stedfast and firme in the electe, so in the euill and reprobate, of which it is exceding full, it dothe not stand stedy, but it is ouerwhelmed and ouerthrowen. But nowe whereas oure variaunce is not aboute the Churche in respecte that it is grounded and stayed in the electe, in fayme faithe vpon Christe the rocke, and so is called here the firmament by Augustine: but in that respect that it is mingled with good and euill, and doth in the euill sinne much and erre, and doth fall, and is ouercome, there was no neede to alleage this place of the Apostle againste vs, as though we dyd say, that the Church of Chryste hathe altogyther in all his members swarued from the truth of Chrystes doctrine. All our variance is aboute the correctyng of the errors in the Churche. Therefore it maketh nothing againste vs, that the Apostle doth in this respecte call the Churche of Christ, The piller and establishement

ment of the truth, in that it continueth in the woord of the truth vntill the verye ende, whereas in the meane whyles the whole worlde eyther in the Churche, eyther out of the churche is ouerflowen wyth lyes and errors.

The Church of Ierusalem vnder the Apostles erred a greate whyle. *Acts.21.*

Chrysostome dothe expound thys place in this sorte. Not as that Iewish Church: for this is that whiche conteyneth the faith (that is to saye, the piller and establishmente of the truth) and the preaching. For truthe is the piller and establishment of the Church. This sayeth he. And he maketh not the Churche to be the piller and establishment of the truthe, but the truth of the Churche. For it is so also in the Greke copy, so that the translator can not be blamed. And howsoeuer it be expounded, ther can be nothing else proued vppon it, but that the truthe, whiche is the piller and establishment of the church, doth make the church stable and stedye: which we doe earnestly confesse and embrace. Then saye they, Howe can the church erre? I answere. Like as it is fast and firme in ỳ true faithful, and walking in the way of the truth, in asmuche as they doe with sincere faith sticke vnto their sauior Christ: so it is weake, and erring nowe and then, for asmuche as it yeldeth ouermuche vnto the flesh in the weaker & imperfecter members. I passe ouer the reprobates, whereas they do not receiue the spirite of the truthe, and be more of the worlde than of the church; though they be accounted in it, so they bee farre wide from thys sentence of Paule, and they doe not only erre, but they do also eyther violently compel the true members of the churche vnto their errors, or else they do craftely by deceit of hypocrisie & dissembled talke, abuse the & allure thē vnto the same. The primitiue church of Christ in Iury stayed a great while in the obseruatiō of lawish decrees, as we may perceyue in the Actes. You doe see brother (sayde Iames and the elders of the church) how many thousands ther be among ỳ Iewes, which haue beleued, & al be folowers of the law, &c. I would but aske of oure aduersaries, whether ỳ they will say that the same church were the piller & establishment of the truth. I thinke they wil not denye it.

Againe, whether ỳ they do thinke, that the same did erre in suche obseruation of the lawe, of whiche Paule dothe plainely testifie: If you be circumcised, Christ shall profite you nothing. If they be of that opiniō, then they must nedes graunte of necessitie, that the same Church erred whiche was the piller and the establishment of the truth. If they do denie it, what doe they else but condemne the Apostle: But they wil not condemne the Apostle: that is to say, they wyll not seme to be such maner of men, as shoulde condemne the Apostle: *Ergo*, the Church did erre. Then if that the church which was planted by Christ himselfe, and guided by the teachyng of the holy spirite, by so manifest argumentes coulde erre in a matter of so greate a waighte, in the Apostles days, let them giue me a reason why that the Church gathered out of the Gentiles, being ouerwhelmed wyth so many constitutions of men, coulde not erre after the Apostles tymes.

What neede many woords? Let vs deuide the Churche into his parties,

that we may see by them what maye be truly sayd of the whole. Lette vs first consider of him, whome they do make the pastor of the vniuersall Church, the Apostle Peter himselfe. Is it not written that he was reprehended of Paule, bycause that he proceeded not the ryghte way wyth the rest of the Apostles, whiche seemed to be the pillers of the Churche, to the Gospell of Christ: if this could come to passe to Peter and some others of the principal Apostles, what errour could not take place in theyr successors? If they did erre, and that erroꝛ maye take place also in theyr successors, why may it not do so also in other faithfull folke of whome the church is made? And seeing that the Church may erre in all his members, it followeth, that it can not bee sayde of the whole bodye, that it can not erre. But yet in respecte, that it doth cleaue fast in sincere faith vnto Christ hys sauiour, pastor, and doctor, in that respecte it dothe not erre.

Peter erred

If the church of christ can not erre, then the church of Rome, bicause it doeth erre, is not of Christ.

Before I make an ende of thys place, I will admonishe our aduersaries, that they wil consider into what dangers they do dryue the churche of Rome, when they affirme of it, that it can not erre, bycause that it is the spouse of Christe, and the kingdome of Heauen: and that it is gouerned by the teaching and annoyntmente of the holye spirite, and that it is the piller and establishment of the truth. For what can else follow vpon this, but that it is neyther the spouse of Christe, and kingdome of Heauen, nor that it is gouerned by the teaching and annoyntment of the holye spirit, nor that it ought to be reputed for the piller and establishmente of the truth, in case that it may be conuinced of anye errourc. If it be none of these, what is it else, but the church of malignantes, the harlot of Antichrist, the slaue of cuill spirites, and the forge of all kind of lyes: In thys admonition I haue not to doe wyth the elect, which do yet erre in ỹ same, but with al them which do raigne in it, and doe withstande the trueth of Christ, not vpon erroꝛ, but vpon the zeale of the flesh, of their priuat gain, and vayne glozy, and do stand at vtter defiance with the true members of the Churche.

Briefly, There be two kindes of errors, as there be two sortes of the Christians whiche do erre: that is to say, the elect and the reprobate. The one kinde is, when that the truth of God is vtterly forsaken, so that they can not abide anye more to heare of it. Of this kinde of errors Paule speaketh, whē he sayth, that the time shall come, when menne shall turne their eares frō the truth vnto fables: and that God should sende them the effecte of strong delusion, that they shoulde beleeue lyes, and be iudged whiche haue not beleeued the truth: that in the latter dayes some should fall from the faithe, harkening to spirites of erroꝛ: and that cuill men and deceyuers should proceede on, to the worse, erring and seducing. In thys kynde of erroꝛ the reprobate doe erre not of ignorauncc onely, but (as it is in the Psalme) of hearte also. In them the Churche dothe erre outragiously. And ỹ saying of Christ is knowen: False Christians and false prophets shall arise, and worke signes and wonders, so that the elect,

if it be possible, maye bee ledde into errors.

Another kynde of erroꝛ is, when menne do erre in any thing through ignorauncc, so that in the meane tyme they departe not from the true faythe in Christe, and hys grounde. Suche an erroꝛ is venial or pardonable, as Paule witnesseth, whych dothe attribute vnto the Bysshoppe Christe, that hee is mercifull and that hee can haue pitie vpon them whyche do erre. In thys kynde of erroꝛ the Churche maye erre in the electes also, vntyll that the tyme of the perfecte knowledge doe come. And who is able to rehearse all the errors of all ages, and particulare Churches? Was it not an erroꝛ as well in the Churche of Rome as also of Aphricke, when the sacramente of the Lordes supper was so gyuen of necessitie vnto infants, as though they coulde not be saued, albeit that they were baptised, in case that they were preuented by death, and departed out of this life withoute it? If thys was an errour, *Ergo* the church erred. If it was not, then it is nowe an erroꝛ, that they whiche came after, haue both done and taught otherwise, so that the whole Churche of Rome, dothe nowe erre in that matter. These kindes of errours be not so hainous, that they do exclude them that doe erre from Christ: yet for all that, they may not be dissembled but serue to the truth against them whiche doe shamelesly defende, that the Churche can not erre. For if the electe be sometimes subiecte vnto errors, with what face can it be granted to the reprobate in the Churche, that they can not erre?

XII. Whether that a Christian man may depart from *the Church withoute blame.*

Seeing that it is méete that there should be great vnitie and concord betwixt the Church and the pastors & al the members of the church, it doth easily appeare, that there is nothing more vnseemly, than if either the Pastor or the faithfull Christian do forsake the Church, or the church depart from his Pastor, or shake off any faithfull person out of the societie of the members. Wherfore it is not to be demaunded only, whether that it be lawfull for a christian man to depart from the churche, but there is a question to be moued also, whether that it be lawfull for the Pastor or the Church to shake of any Christian man out frō them, & to exclude him from the felowship of the faythfull. For wee see that bothe of these things be done. The churche is often times forsaken by the faithfull, and it bothe also sundry tymes forsake his members: yea rather it bothe cutte them off, and reiecte them from hauing to doe with it. Who perceiueth not that it is as vnmeet for the churche to forsake his members? I saye not vtterly to caste them off, as it is vnseemly for the faithfull to forsake the churche being the body, whereof they bee the members, and to sequester themselues altogither from hauing to do withall: Wherfore it is to be demaunded of wyse men, vppon what causes both is done. In worldly matters ther is nothing more fast and straight, than the knot or bonde

That the Church doth oftentimes forsake the faithful and that she is also forsaken.

of the husband and wife. And yet wee do see, that it happeneth so often, that the husband doth forsake his wife, or the wife depart from the husbande: againe, that eyther the parentes doe cast off their childre, or that the children of their owne minde do departe from their parents, in which chances it is not the fact only that is considered, but principally the causes and circumstances of the facte. Likewise in this question whiche we doe talke of nowe, we muste not immediately iudge of the fact, but search the causes of it. A Christian man is cast out of the Church by the president, or elders of the Church, the fact of it selfe is not pleasaunt to the Churche, and yet it is so done, if it bee not rashlye and unaduisedly done, but vppon necessarie causes, that it is not to bee blamed. A Christian man departeth from the Churche, the facte of it selfe is not meete for a member of the Churche, but for all that yet if there be good causes why he ought so to do, he is without blame, and Paule dyd excommunicate in the Church of the Corinthians a Christian man, yea betoke him vnto Satan. This facte was in it selfe very lamentable, and vnmeete both for the Apostle, and the Church of Christ also, but the causes do excuse the fact. There haue many at all times forsaken the Churche of Christ. Julian the Apostata departed from the Church of Christe. And in case he had a iust and necessary occasion, he had not bin worthy to haue bin called an Apostata.

Julian Apostata.

VVhy wee haue forsaken the Romishe Churche.

Now for our time the Papists do call vs Apostatas, as many of vs as do forsake the felowship of ỳ Church of Rome. We do not denye the doing of it, but thinke that we haue cause rather to glory of it, than to dissemble it or to be afrayd of it. Wherefore lette them whiche will iudge of oure going from it, consider and examine not the simple facte onely, but the causes of it also, least they fall in their iudgement. Let them not stand vpon the reportes, wherby the church of Rome doth aduance it selfe aboue all the rest, in that that it calleth it selfe the Apostolike, Catholike, and Mother of all Churches: nor let not men suffer themselues to be decepued by the opinion of the olde Churche, but let them consider as it is now at this present, and they shall surely find it most contrary to the olde. Fyrste lok me vpon their wicked lordlinesse expressly forbidden by Christ, wherby they haue chalenged vnto them the maistery ouer the Churches of Christe. Secondly, their holy robberies, their most damnable heresie of simony, whiche did firste assaulte the Church of Christ, whereby they sell their keyes of authoritie, all their holy things, their alters, and Christe himselfe: and they do not sell it only, but they doe firste buy it, so that they sell it not as receyued freely, but as bought full dearely before. Thirdly, that most dissolute excesse in fare and apparell, their abundance of riches gotten by crafte & deceyt, passyng the treasures of Princes, their most abhominable lecherie, wherby not only the Papistes themselues are abhorred of God & men, but they haue a great while also replenished other churches altogither with whordoms and adulteries: by their diuelish single life and forbidding of lawful mariage: & what doth this report testify else

else of the churche of Rome, but that it is very Babylon, and the seate of of Antichrist? This Bernarde sawe whē he said: The very offices also of the Ecclesiastical dignitie ar turned into filthy gaine and traffike of darknesse, nor there is not sought by thē the saluatiō of soules, but the excesse of riches. Therefore they be shorne, therfore they do oftētimes go to the churches, therfore they say Masse, & sing Psalmes. They do striue shamfully now a days for Bishoprikes, for Archedeaconrikes, for Abbotships & other dignities, to wast the reuenues of the Churches in superfluous and vain vses. The remainer is, that the man of sinne be discouered, the childe of perdition, the Diuell not onely of the daye, but of the nowe day tyde: whyche is not onely transfigured into the Aungell of lyght, but is auanced also aboue al that is called God, or that is worshipped. This sayeth he vpon the nynetie and one Psalm. Doth he not expressely declare, that the sea of the Courte of Rome is the sea of Antichrist: when he sayth, that the discouering of the man of sin is at hand, the son of perdition, the nowtide Diuell transfygured into the Aungell of lighte, whyche is auanced aboue all that is called GOD, or that is worshypped. Whereby dide he gather that the discouering of Antichrist was at hande? Truly by those things which he saw done openly at Rome, not as Apostolik, but as Apostatike: yea he saw it not symplie done, but so shamfully growne in that hugenesse, that there could be nothing else to be loked for at hande, but the discouering of the sea of Antichrist, whiche hath now ensued in our age. Therefore seing that nowe the man of sinne is discouered, the chylde of perdition, yea the Diuell of none dayes that Antichriste of Rome, wyth what conscience shoulde wee remayne in the communion and obedience of hym? And howe canne hē whyche consydereth this, fynde faulte with our departure? We were worthie to bee blamed for a runnagate, that would departe from the true Churche of Christe, and from Christe himself: but not so if a man forsake the malignaunte Churche and Antichrist wythall.

VVhether the communion of the Churche maye be forsaken vvithout blame.

But some man wil say: I graunte you that Antichriste, and all false pastors ought to be forsaken, may a mā therfore wythout blame leaue the cōmunion of the Churche? I answere. The cōmunion of the Church as it is nowadays, cannot be obserued without the company of ỳ Papists, for al Churches be subiecte vnto them, and the vse of all holy things are in their handes, whyche bee all confedered wyth Antichriste, and defiled either wyth Simony, eyther with Whordome, or wyth them bothe. And the Canons doe forbidde vs the communion of Simonistes, and do suspende all their ministery, and in their own law it is forbidde that any mā shulde heare the Masse of a priest, whom hē knoweth certainely to haue a concubine. But how say you, that they haue also falsified the very sacraments, in whiche the communion of the Churche doeth consiste? And haue defiled the Churches wyth corrupt doctrine and seruice? whereof there is no tyme to speake at thys present. The Apostle forbiddeth vs to be confeder-

Dist. 32. Can. Nullus audiat Missam.

red with whoremongers, Idolaters, couetous persons, and extortioners, so that we shoulde not as muche as eate with them, how coulde he abide it if a man woulde bee partener of their doings? But these folke be not only Idolaters, that is to saye, worshippers of Images, but they would compell vs also to communicat with them in the worshippe of Images, praying vnto Saincte, and to take part of their Malles. I speake not of the bloud of the sheepe and Martyrs of Christ, which they haue most cruelly shedden in our dayes, and do yet shed most greedily. These be of many greeuous and waighty causes, sufficiente to serue for this case, whereby wise men may vnderstande, that wee do not vnadusedly, and for naughte depart from the church of Rome. Let them on the other side giue a reason why they doe pronounce that we bee straungers, and out of the communion of the true and catholike churche.

Of the Sacramentall signes Generally.

The scrupulositie of learned men hath made the matter of the sacraments intricate.

NOwe that wee haue spoken of the Church, & haue touched those things which may bee profitablye considered therein, I thinke it conuenient to say somewhat of ỹ Sacramental signes. I know that I doe enter into a very contentious matter, and very intricate, not of it selfe, but by the scrupulositie of some learned men, whyche doctrine was fyrste darkened by the cloudes and mistes, that the Schole doctors and fonde fryers haue ouercast it withall, and afterwards when it myghte haue haue bin opened and brought into lyghte, it was brought farther out of frame, by the odious contentions of some learned persons, so that asmuche as in them lay, they made that matter to be odiouse, whyche ought to be specially desired and soughte for. But what shall I do? Albeit that I shall bee in daunger of many mens iudgements, yet I muste proceede and kepe my course whyche I haue vndertaken to the profyte of good folke. I beseeke God that hee wyll temper and moderate it with hys spirite, and graunte that we swarue not from the ryghte marke. My meaning is to treate of thys matter as playnely as I can, bycause of the children of lyght: simply, bycause of the simple, ignoraunte and rude: profytablye, bycause I woulde not offende, but edifye the godlye: and religiously, bycause of the holye maiestie of the mysteries of God.

I. What a Signe is.

When signes, a signification.

FIrste we muste see what a signe is: As well the Greeke worde σημεῖον, as the Latine worde *signum*, doth the sufficientlye declare, that those things and doings be called signes, which doe signifie some thing: For it can not be a signe, where there is no signification. Therefore whether that the whole thyng do by the sighte and vse thereof signifye anye thyng, or whether it bee added to anye thyng, as some marke to bee for a knowlege: it is a right called a signe. Augustk. defineth a signe in this wise.

A

A Signe is a thing which besides ỹ matter that it presenteth to the senses, doth make some other thing therby to come into our thought: as whe we see a foote step, we do thinke that the beast whose step it is, hath passed there: and when we see smoke, wee know that there is fire: and by hearing the voyce of a beast, we vnderstand the affection of hys mynde: & at the sound of the trumpet, the souldiers do knowe that they must eyther marche on or retyre, according as matter of the battel requireth. This sayth he. Wherfore we must euen now at the first admonish the reader ỹ forasmuch as all doctrine is either of things, or of signes, ỹ he do cunningly make his difference: and consider ỹ in the things which they properly be in deede: and in signes not so much that whiche they be, but that which they do signify. For vnlesse he do so, he can not attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth. For it is a perillous confusion & hindering our vnderstanding, when eyther the proper things be taken for signes, or signes for the very things in deede.

II. The kindes of Signes.

Signes giuen.

THere be many kinds of signes. Augustine doth deuide them into natural signes and signes giuen. He saith, that thei be natural signes which without wil and desire to signifie any thing, do make some other thing besides them selues to be knowe by thē, as the smoke doth, which doth signifie that there is fire. For the smoke doth it not of wil to signifie it, but it is well knowen by the perceyuing or marking of thinges proued, that there is fire withall, although ỹ there doe nothing appeare but smoke only. Like as the foote step is the signe of a beast, and the countenance the token of an angry mind. But our purpose is not at this present to speake of this kind of signes, For the sacramental signes whereof we must entreate be not of this sorte.

2 Signes giuen, maye be deuided into those signes which be giuen by God, and those which be giuen from men. Both be of that sorte that they do beare the signification either of things past, or present, or to come. Of things past, as the signes of remembrance & thankes giuing. Of things present, as the signes of grace, the signes of couenants: the signes of wines to be solde, the signes of the high way, the signes of seruice which men cal badges, &c. Of things to come, as the wonderfull tokens as wel in the skie, as in the earth. And we may recken among them also the Paschal lambe, & the brazen Serpent, in as much as they did prefigurate Christ. But leaning this diuision, let vs speake of the signes sente from God, in this respect, that some of them be miraculous and wonderful, and some not.

VVonderfull signes. *Genes. 9. Iud. 6. Esai. 38. Matth. 25. Acts. 1.*

1 Wonderful, as the raynebowe in the clouds. And those things whiche the Moyses did against Pharao: and the bush which was a fire, and burnt not: And the shadow of the diall turning back ten degrees: and the fleece of Gedeon: and the appearing of the holy spirite in the figure of a doue, at the Baptisme of Christ: And the fiery tongs, & such other like. Not marueilous, as Circumcisiō, the purifyings of the law, the lamb of the passeouer

Signes not miraculous.

The vnleauened breade, the brazen serpent, the oyle wherwith the kings and priests were annoynted, & that whole ceremoniall maner of worshipping, appointed to the Israelites by Moses, ful of figures & shadowes of spiritual matters. And in the new Testament, Baptisme, the supper of the lord, the washing of fete, the breathyng of Christes mouth, whereby he gaue the holye spirite vnto hys Disciples: and such other lyke, whiche I remember not at this present. And whereas I do not rehearse the signe of the Lordes supper among those which be myraculous, I do it not alone: for Augustine hath done the same before, who doth recken ỳ bread of the lords supper amõg those signes, which after the ministerie is done, do passe & are consumed: & for as much as they be wrought by mẽ, they may haue honor as things religious, but men may not be abashed at them as wonderful. 2. Agayne, There is found among those signes which be giuen from God & without wonder, a diuersitie in the vse wherunto they be giuen. For some be to signifie and to admonish only, which haue no other vse, but to signifie and admonishe somewhat, as ỳ purifications of the lawe, the swete bread, and the other seruices of Moses. 2 Others haue not only the vse of signifying and admonishing, but the vse of confirming also: as Circumcision in the old law, called by the apostle Paul σφραγὶς, that is a seale for that intent, and baptisme in the new Testament, whiche both be aright called also the firste signes of admission. 3 Others do both signifie and offer somewhat withal, as the bread and wine in the lords supper, and the breathing of Christs mouth: and in the old testament the consecration which was done by annoint-ment: and that the Prophet Achias gaue vnto Hieroboam the kingdome of the ten tribes, by the tenne pieces of the clocke.

Iohn 20.

De Trini. lib. 3. cap. 10. Augustine doth recke the sacrament of the altar amõg the signes not very wonderfull.

Baptisme and Circumcision, signs mutuall.

Our purpose is not at this present to speake of all these kind of signes, but of them onely, whiche were not only done sometimes, but also be left and appointed to our vse by ỳ lorde in the new testament, which we doe now cal sacraments or sacramental signes. But by the way I suppose I do offend no good folk, in ỳ that I do cal the sacraments of the new testamen giuen by Christ Sacramentall signes. For two of the principall Doctors of the vniuersitie of Wittenberg haue done the same before me, namely Doctor Martin Luther, & Philip Melanchon. Of which the first sayth thus: But if I wil speake after the vse of the scripture, I haue but one sacrament, & three sacramental signes, & ỳ other sayth thus: First that (sayth he) which the cõmon people calleth a Sacrament, we doe call a sacramental signe, for Paul calleth Christ himselfe the sacrament. And he doth the same in his first Common places.

Rom. 4. Heb. 11.

De circumcis. Rom. 4.

Lib. de Babylonica. In praeambulo Concil.

And the knowledge of signes semed vnto Augustine a matter of so greate importaunce, ỳ he iudged it a matter méete to treate of diligently, as necessary vnto Christian doctrin, as you maye see in mo places than one in his writings.

What

III. What a Sacrament is.

The word sacramẽt, did not signifie the same with the olde writers as it doth now in the Churche. For they called a sacrament the oth, or religious bond, which was of ỳ strength of an othe. So they called ỳ souldiers othe, wherby they sware when they should go on warfare for the common wealth, that they should serue faithfully. The souldiers Sacramẽt, as may we perceiue by Seruius and Vegetius in their bookes of warre matters.

But when the Church men begã first to attribute a binding vnto the sacramental signes, they did applye thys worde Sacrament vnto them. And some thinke now a dayes, ỳ the word sacramẽt in Latin, is as much as the word Misterie in greeke. But the word Mysterie & Sacrament be sundry things. Ther be many misteries in religion, that is to say, secrete thyngs, whiche a man can not well call sacramentes: and on the other side, what so euer is a sacramente, is not by & by a mysterie. But though we ought not to be ignorant of this matter, yet we must not striue vpon it in the Church. And for my part I am content to vse the worde sacrament after the accustomable and vsuall meaning.

Augustine defineth a sacramente in this sort. The visible sacrifice (saith he) is the sacrament of the inuisible sacrifice: ỳ is to say, the holy signe. And again: A sacrament (sayth he) is a visible forme of an inuisible grace. And yet the self same Augustin doth in many places cal them sacramẽts, which be taken for misteries in holy Scriptures, yea the figures of ỳ lawe also: and in one place, I thinke vpon the. 141. Psalme, he reckeneth the signe of the crosse, made vpon the foreheads of Christian men, as a sacrament. Thus the fathers and diuines do obserue their peculiar maner of speaking in the Church, whiche are not to be restrained vnto the rule of secular writers. And we be not miscontẽted, ỳ the deuines vpon their owne authority doe meane otherwise by this word Sacramente, than the old Lawiers & Historiers did. Wherefore I iudge it méete to kepe the vsual definitiõ of the sacramente in this case whereby it is defyned to bée an holye signe, and a visyble forme of an inuisyble grace.

De ciuit. dei. lib. 10. cap. 5. De confecr. Dist. 2. Can. Sacrificium.

IIII. Wherof a Sacramental Signe doth consist.

According vnto the former definition of Sacrament, it is manifest, that a sacramẽtal signe is made of two things, wherof in deed the one is visible: and the other inuisible: and ỳ the visible doth serue the inuisible, & that it is as it were a certain forme or figure therof layde before ỳ senses of our eyes. Otherwise ther be three parts of a sacrament. Augustin saith thus: The worde is ioyned vnto the Element, and it is made a sacramẽt. He calleth the word, the Institution of the sacrament ordayned by the word of Christ. And we doe read in an other place in this wise: These be therefore called Sacramentes, bycause there is in them

A sacrament consisteth in two thinges.

Tract. 80. in Iohannem. De confecr. dist. 2 Can. Quimandue cat.

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seene one thing, and vnderstanded an other thyng. That which is seen hath a bodyly kind and shape, that which is vnderstãded, hath a spiritual frut. This is in that place.

Thre thinges in the Sacrament. The vvord.

Ergo, there be in a Sacramẽt thꝛée things.

1 The firste is the woꝛde, whiche some do call the pꝛomise, and we the oꝛdinaunce of the Lord. The Papists doe meane by the woꝛde, that which is spoken by the Pꝛiest, when he goeth to his consecration. But our iudgemẽt is, that thẽre is no sacramẽt made by any consecration of man, but by the institution of the Loꝛde, whiche being once wꝛought, doth consecrate sacraments foꝛ the Churche vntil the very ende of the woꝛld. And we do recite the same in ỹ Church, to the intent that the faythful should heare and beléeue it, not that there groweth any vertue vnto the Element therby. It pertayneth to the Lord only to make a Sacrament in the Churche, and not to the minister. We be not makers of sacraments, but administratoꝛs of thẽ.

Element.

2 The second is the Element, wherunto there is added the woꝛd of the Loꝛds oꝛdinaunce, as water in baptisme, and bꝛead and wine in the sacrament of thankes giuing. And wée muste here abuse the woꝛde of Elemente otherwyse this Elemente is called the signe and sacrament, when it is put to the vse therof. The Maister of the Sentences calleth it a thyng, saying: There bée two pointes in which a Sacramẽt doth consist (that is to say) woꝛdes, & things: woꝛdes as calling vpon the Trinitie: things, as water, oyle, and the lyke. Besides this, it is called a

Lib. 4. Dist. 1.

visible foꝛme,

3 The thirde part is the thing signified. As if a Sacrament be a holy signe, there must be some other thing wherof it is the signe. And that they call the thing signified. Some also doe call it the matter of the Sacramente. So they were wont to sing: *Nulla rei sit scissura, signi tantum fit fractura, qua nec status nec statura signati minuitur*, that is: There is no cutting of the thing, but onely bꝛeaking of the signe, wherby noꝛ state noꝛ stature of the thing is minished. And by the Maister of the Sentences it is read in this soꝛte: They whiche doe come without fayth, oꝛ dissemblingly doe receiue the sacramente, and not the thing. Thys thing they do cal also the inuisible grace, wherasthey do define it, saying): A sacrament is ỹ visible foꝛme of the inuisible grace. And foꝛ as much as it is a signe bycause of the thyng signified, but not the thing signified, bycause of the signe, it is a sacramente, bycause of the thing of the sacramẽt, but it is not the thing of the sacrament, bycause it is a sacramẽt: it is the visible foꝛme, bycause of the inuisible grace, and not the inuisible grace, bycause of the visible foꝛme. Some men thought that the thyng oꝛ matter of the sacrament shoulde be called the substance, the essence, the nature, truth and vertue of the Sacrament, bycause that without it the Signe, Sacrament, and Elemẽt is vtterly voyde, and that al the vertue of the sacrament standeth in it. In déede these woꝛdes are vsed not without cause: but foꝛ as muche as of the ignoꝛant and vnexercised mẽ, these woꝛds be not so taken as they

shoulde of right be vnderstanded, but do giue occasiõs of grosser imaginations, I thinke it better to abstayne frõ them, & when we do talke in the Church of Sacraments, to vse such woꝛds as be conforꝛmable vnto holy Scripture, and easier to be vnderstãded of Chꝛistes people.

It appeareth therfoꝛe then, that a sacramẽt doth cõsist of thꝛée parts, that is to say, the woꝛd, the Matter, & Element: oꝛ else of the Woꝛd, the signe, and the thing signified: oꝛ else of the woꝛd, the inuisible grace & the visible foꝛme. They which doe deuide the sacrament into two parts only, do some of them omit the effect of the sacramẽt, as Augustin whẽ he sayth: There cõmeth ỹ woꝛd to ỹ Elemẽt, and ther is made a sacramẽt. Some leaue out the woꝛd, as Irenæus, whych sayth, that the sacrament consisteth of two things, an earthly, and heauenly: & other, of the signe, & of the effect of the signe, oꝛ of an inuisible grace, & a visible foꝛme. Wherfoꝛe theyr diuision is insufficient, so that the discrete reader maye way wyth himself what part of the sacrament is left out in the diuision of it. Foꝛ it helpeth much to the plaine & redy vnderstãdyng of the sacramẽts, if the diuision of them be considered full, and not lackyng any part.

And although that there be made thꝛée partes of a Sacramente, yet in my opinion we must beware, that the woꝛd Sacramente be not giuen to euery of thẽ indifferẽtly. Foꝛ it is not méete that we call either the woꝛd, either the effect and inuisible grace, the sacrament. We do cal the Elemente, an outwarde foꝛme and figure, the sacramente, as in baptisme the water, and in the supper of the Loꝛde, the bꝛeade and wine: which be not sacramentes of their owne nature, but by the loꝛds oꝛdinaunce. So saith Augustine, that the Sacrament is carnally, visibly, and with tæth chawed of them whiche dwelleth not in Chꝛist, but that the effect it selfe is not so. And the Maister of the Sentences sayth, that they which do receiue it vnwoꝛthily do not receiue the thing it selfe, but the sacrament.

The Sacrament is receyued vvhere the effecte of the Sacrament is not receyued.

We muste marke also well, that they do call that a sacrament, which without the effect of the sacramente is receyued by the vnwoꝛthye and strangers from Chꝛist, not by spirit and faith, but carnally & with theyr téeth. Therfoꝛe both it is a sacramẽt and there is receiued the sacrament, yea there where the effect of the sacrament is not receyued. And that Augustine ment when he sayd: The woꝛd ioyneth to the Element, and so is made a sacrament. In this respect the sacramẽt cõsisteth in two things, the woꝛd and the element. Ye maye receiue them both, whiche doeth receiue it bodyly without faith, foꝛ hée receyueth the woꝛde with his eare, ỹ elemẽt with his mouth oꝛ whole bodye, and so he is sayde to receyue the sacramente, although he be vtterlye void from the effect of the sacramẽt.

V. Of the number of Sacramental signes of the nevv *Testament.*

Seuen Sacramentes of the Papistes.

THe Maister of the Sentences in the fourth booke doth recken vp seuen Sacraments of the new law: that is to say, Baptisme, penaunce, confirmation, the Loꝛdes supper, the last annoynting, oꝛder, and Matri-

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mony. And the Schole diuines, whiche folowed him, appointed vnto the Church seuen sacraments, wherof I do maruell much, seeing that ye Maister of the sentences did but gather togither the opinions and Sentences of the Fathers, and is for that cause called the Maister of the Sentences, out of whyche of the Fathers wrytings and Sentences, he pickt out thys deuise of the number of seuen Sacramentes. Ambroses booke of Sacramentes (if it bee hys that is named vppon hym) maketh mention of Baptisme only, and of the supper of the Lord.

The Fathers knew not the nūber of seuen Sacramentes.

Ambrose.

And Augustine writeth in thys wyse of the Sacraments of the new Testament: but by this time, after ye there is appeared by ye Resurrectiō of our Lorde, a most manifest token of our libertye, we be not now burdened with anye greuous workyng of the same signes which we do vnderstande, but the Lord himselfe, and the doctrine of the Apostles, haue giuen vnto vs certayn few sacramēts in steede of many, and them most easy to be done, and most noble in vnderstanding, and most pure in obseruation: as the sacramente of Baptisme, and the celebration of the body and bloud of the Lorde. Which when euerye man receiueth, he acknowledgeth in the receiuing, wherunto they bee referred, so that hee maye reuerence them not in a carnall bondage, but rather in a spirituall liberty. This sayth he. Wherin he reckeneth but two sacramēts only, giuen by the Lorde hymselfe, and the doctrine of the Apostles, Baptisme, and the supper of the Lord. And in this saying he speaketh of the sacramentall signes gyuen by the Lorde, whych he reconneth to be only two. But in other places, hee addeth others to these two, saying: The gift of the sacraments in Baptisme, in the supper of the Lorde, and the other holy sacraments, what a gift is it? And in an other place also: When he had sayd, wherfore he linked in the company of his new people, with sacramentes most fewe in nūber, most easie to kepe, most highest in meaning, as the Baptisme is, which is consecrated in the name of the Trinitie, and the communion of his body and bloud, and whatsoeuer else is set forth in the Canonicall scriptures. And against the Epistle of Parmenian he sayth, that orders is a sacramēt not renewable, applying it to the purpose whiche he reasoneth vpon. And against the letters of Petilian he sayth thus: And in thys oyntment he wyll haue the sacrament of vnction to be ment, which is holy and sacred in the kind of visible signes, as Baptisme is it selfe. And in ye Canonical epistle of John he sayth: The sacrament of annoynting is the very inuisible vertue, the inuisible vnction is the holy spirite, the inuisible vnction is that charity. And in an other place he doth make wedlocke a sacrament. But we must conceiue that those sacraments whiche ought to be accounted for mysteries simply without any ordynaunce of the Lorde (in whych sense the worde of Sacramente is taken oftentimes vnproperly) are called Sacraments in one sense: the sacramentall signes ordayned by the Lord hymselfe, and giuen vnto the

The number of the Sacramentes not knowyn to the fathers. *De doctr. Christiana lib. 3. cap. 9.*

Church

Church in place of ye sacraments of the olde Testament, are in an other sense. The fyrst be many, more than seuen, but these latter be onely two. Bernard doth reckē vp the washing of the Apostles feete among sacraments, when speaking of sacramēts, he maketh mention of Baptisme, washing of feete and of the bodye and bloud. Augustine where he speketh of annoynting, he meaneth nother the last anoyling, nor confirmation, but the annoyntment whiche men do vse in baptisme. But the Papistes do recken neyther of thē both among the sacraments. And in that sorte there shoulde be accounted not seuen Sacraments only, but nyne. Wherfore we must make a diligēt distinction betwixt the sacraments, that is to saye, the mysteries, and the sacramentall signes, which were so giuen by Christ, that they should belong to the vse of the whole Church, and to be occupied of all faythfull. Secondlye, let vs looke that they agree with the words of Augustine: The word commeth to the element, & theris made a sacramēt. But let vs passe ouer eche of the Sacramentes in order, which they do recken vpon besides Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord.

They saye that Penaunce is a sacrament: In deede it is a very necessarie thing penaunce, but it commeth short in the definitiō of a sacramental signe. For it lacketh the element, the signe, and the visible forme: so that it agreeth not wyth the wordes of Augustine, The worde is ioyned vnto the element, and so there is made a Sacrament: nor it agreeth not with the definition of a Sacrament, whereas it is called a visible forme of an vnuisible grace, and a signe of a holye thing. Wherfore the famous doctour M. Luther, although he had rehearsed penaunce amongst the Sacraments, yet towardes the end in his booke he sayth thus: Our meaning is to call them properly sacraments, whiche be promised vnto the signes annexed, others that be not tyed vnto some signes, are but bare promises. Wher vpon if we will speake straightlye, there be but two Sacraments in the Church of God, Baptisme, and the breade: for as much as we see that in them only the signe is ordayned by God, and the promise made of forgiuenesse of sinnes. For the Sacramente of penance which I accompted wyth these two, do lacke the visible signe instituted by God: and I sayd that it was no other, but the way and repayre, vnto Baptisme. Nor the Scholasticall Doctors can not say, ye their definition can agree vnto penance, for they doe attribute also a visible signe vnto ye sacramēt, which do represent vnto the senses a forme of that thing which it doth inuisibly worke, but penance or absolution hath no suche signe: wherefore they shall be driuen also by their owne definition, eyther to deny that penance is a sacramēt, & so diminish the number of them, or else to bring an other definition of sacramentes. This sayth he.

Lutherus in lib. de capt. Babylonicæ.

As concerning the last anoylyng, we beseech thē to shew vs the word of ye ordinance of it, without whiche no element is made a Sacramente They do allege the place of James: Whē any body is sick amongst you,

Extreme vnction. *Iac. 5.*

let

let him bryng in the Papistes of the Churche, and let them praye ouer him, annoynting him with Oyle in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shal saue the sicke, and the Lorde shal relieue hym: and in case he be in sin, it shall be forgiuen him.

We answere, that Iames did not institute it a Sacramēt of the churche, and of the new law. For not we only do deny that he had any suche authoritie, but Doctour Duns also, which sayth: Of whence coulde he haue had authority to binde ỹ whole Church, wheras he was Bishoppe, of the Church of Icrusalem onely? Unlesse you wil say, that that churche was the chiefe Churche at the first, and so consequētly that he was the chiefe Bishoppe, which they of Rome doe not graunt. He speaketh of that whiche the Apostles were wont to doe, and of the maruellous annoynting, when they annoynted the sicke with oyle, and healed them, whereof we may see in the Gospell, where we reade in this wise: And going abroade, they preached that men shoulde doe penance, and they did cast out many Deuils, and they did anoynt many sicke persons with oyle, and they were healed. So that this annoynting was myraculous, done to this intent of the Apostles, that by it as by an outward meanes being common and accustomed in those countries, the sicke might be healed by the power of Christ. For Iames doth not hide thys when he sayth: Annointing him with oyle in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shal saue the sicke person. He ment from death, and therefore hee addeth: and the Lorde shall restore him vp. This much was vsed in ỹ primitiue Church, & other myracles also, to the cōfirmatiō of Christs Gospell, but afterwardes they were left. What hath the Sacrament of extreme vnction to do nowe, whereby they annoint none but when they be at the laste casse, and ready to dy by and by? Why did they not make sacramētal signes of other myracles also, wherby the shadow of Peter, & the handkercher of Paule, and laying on of their handes, whereby the sicke were healed, might haue bene sacramentes of new law? So this Popish sacrament is neither institu-ted by Christ, nor by the Apostles, but in processe of time, when the gift of healing in the church ceassed, that myraculous custome of annoynting & healing the sicke, was chaunged into a mysticall action and sense: and to keepe the olde honoure to the annoynters, there was ioyned vnto it an opinio of a sacramēt.

Mark. 6.

They do make confyrmation also a Sacramente, but therein is nother the worde of Christes institution, nor the Element. The Apostles did confirme Churches with doctrine and exhortation. And vnto thys ministerie they were sente by the holy Spirite. Of the Sacramēt we do reade nothing. When we require Christes word for it, they doe bring vs the promise of Christ, wher in he promised that the father should giue the holy spirit vnto them whiche should aske it. Some say that ỹ Element is the Chrisme wherwith the Bishoppe doeth marke the forehead of him that is Baptised: Some say it is the laying on the hāds, whiche the Apostles vsed. But there is no

no testimony of ỹ Chrisme in scriptures nor yet we reade that the Apostles vsed it. And laying on of ỹ hāds, was nether deliuered by the Lorde, nor vsed by the Apostles in stede of a Sacrament. The vsage of it was brought to the Church, of the maner of the Iraelites, without any commaundement. The laying on of the Apostles handes, was of the myraculous working by the giftes and power of the spirite, which after the times of the Apostles ceassed, when the Churche was well confirmed. The Bishops haue reserued the example of it, wherby they might seme the more to be successours vnto the Apostles: & to the intent there should be some countenaunce of it, and to haue an occasion to make it of a miraculous working mistical they haue put oyle vnto it, and forged an opinion of a Sacrament, and haue challenged the doyng of it vnto Bishops onely. But seeing that there is in it nother the institution of Christ, nother the authoritye of the Apostles, and that the opinion of the sacramēt is nothing but the deuise of Bishops and that the verye vse of the Apostles example, is corrupt in the outward working of it, and that it lacketh the olde efficacy thereof: there is no reason why that faythful folke shold take this falsse named Confirmation in stede of a sacrament.

Of Orders whiche they wil haue to be a sacrament, the Maister of the sentences writeth in this wise: If it be demanded what it is that is here called Orders, truely it may be sayd, that it is a signe, that is to say, some holy thing, wherby the spirituall power and office is betaken vnto him, that is instituted & ordayned. Therfore the spirituall marke at that time that the spirituall proceeding or preferment is giuen, is called Orders or degrees. And these orders be called Sacraments, because that in receyuing of them, there is giuen a holye thing: that is to say, grace, whyche those things doe signifie whiche be done at that time. This sayth he. So that he supposeth, that the same indelible or euerlasting marke (wherwith they that be instituted, be consigned like as souldiers, not vnto Christ, but vnto the high priest and captain of Rome (is a figural thing) able to conferre a special grace, and that therfore it is called a sacramēt. We say at one word, if they do mean by Sacrament, the othe and deuout bande whiche is vndertaken, let the order (for all me) be a sacrament, such as the Sacramente of saluation of souldiers in warfare was wont to be. But if they doe meane it of the sacramente of the Churche, suche as baptisme, and the supper of the Lord is, they must giue me the Word and the Element, wherof true sacramēts be made. In deed Christe gaue vnto his Church, Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Doctours, & so forth, but that he did ordain them orders to be an euerlasting marke & sacrament of the Church, it can not be proued.

How and vvhat Sacraments orders may bee.

Wherfore it is but a fained thing, that they do talke of this sacramēt: as that is also, that they doe make here in seuen degrees and orders, according vnto seuen folde grace of the holy spirite: and they do reckē vp, dore keepers, readers, coniurers, wayters, subdeacons, deacons, and priests, which al they do cal clerkes.

Seuen degrees of orders.

Let them answer me vnto Pope Anacletus, which saith thus: Wher thā these two orders of prieſtes (and he meaneth Bishops whiche were placed in stede of the Apoſtles, & prieſts in stede of the seuentie Diſciples,) there were none appoynted vs from God, nor the Apoſtles taught vs of no other.

Anacletus. Epiſt. 3.

They doe recken Matrimony also among the Sacramentes of the Church: But let them shew vs, wher is it appointed by Christ for a sacrament of the new lawe, since that it was ordained by God in Paradiſe, euē from the beginning of mankind, and that the vse of it doeth belong vnto al the natiōs of ỹ whole world, and refuseth no kinde of men: but ỹ Sacramentes of the Church be giuen vnto the faythfull onely. They doe alleage that place of the Apoſtle: For this, a man shal forsake father and mother, and sticke vnto his wife, there shal betwo in one flesh: this sacramēt is gret. But I mean in Christ and the Church. But firſt there is no such word in the Greeke, to signifie a Sacrament of the new law, but it is μυστήριον, that is to say a secret. In deede euery Sacrament of the Churche is a mysterie, but not the other way, euerye mysterie is a sacrament of the Churche. The Apoſtle speaketh of the mysterie of iniquitie, whiche you can not call aright, The sacrament of iniquitie. Beſides that there be many mysteries of our fayth, which we can not wel wrest to sacramēts of ỹ church.

Matrimony

Ephe. 5.

1. Theſ. 2

Secondly, thys mysterie is declared well inoughe what it is, by the Apoſtle, in specifying the matter afterwarde: I saye, (sayeth he) of Christ and the Church. Ergo this miſterie conſisteth not in ỹ carnal wedlocke of man and woman, but in the spiritual Matrimony of Christ and ỹ Church. Augustin vpon John saith: This sacrament is great. And leaſte that any mā should mean the greatneſſe of this sacramente to be in all sortes of men which haue wiues, he addeth: but I say in Christe and the Churche. What is this great Sacrament? There shall be two in one flesh. So therfore Christ cleaued vnto the Church, that there were two in one flesh. Thus sayth he, Ergo this miſtery pertaineth not vnto the carnall wedlocke of men and women, but vnto the spiritual coniunction of Christ and the Church.

It is a maruel to me, howe they make Matrimony a sacrament of ỹ Church, and yet eſteeme it so foule and filthy, that they do reſtraine thē that be maried, frō the miniſteries of the Church. Wherupon Syricius the Pope in his decrées alleaged that place of the Apoſtle: They which be in the fleshe, can not pleaſe God, as though it had concerned lawful wiues, to take away wedlock from the Miniſters of Christ: and added thys also: To them which be vncleane, nothing is clean, but vnto thē which be cleane, al things be cleane. Such is the blyndneſſe of this Popishe kingdome, and contrary vnto it selfe.

Pope Syricius. Epiſt. 2. Ad Himer.

Wherefore we do not allow this counterfayting of Sacramentes of the new law, partely bycause they be not inſtituted by Christ, and partly bycause they be not inſtituted as Sacraments of the Church. We do wel like the thinges themselues, as

Penance, Confirmation of the faithfull that be weake and newe called, the order of the miniſterie of the Church, the Viſitation and comfort of the ſicke, and lawful Matrimony, as godlye and profitable: and that not only in the new Teſtament, but in the olde also: so that we woulde haue no man to slaunder vs herein, as though we refuſed thoſe things which be of thēſelues good and godly: but we do not like the deuiſing of Sacrament in them, to haue them to be reputed for Sacraments of the Church and of the new Teſtament, but we do determine that there bee but two ſacramentall signes of the new teſtament giuen vnto ỹ church by Christ himſelfe our Lord, that is to say, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord, in which only the word of the Lordes inſtitution is ioyned with the Elemente, and so the true definition of a Sacrament standeth sure and fast.

VI. Why Chriſt did ordain outward Sacraments.

There is nothing done in thys matter without greate reaſon. The giuer of the Spirituall thyngs had no neede of outward signes, and the spirituall thynges themſelues be of that nature, that they may be giuen wout signes: lyke as they be giuen by the spirite of God, working spiritually in the hearts of the elect, things pertayning to our ſaluation, sometimes before, sometimes after, and sometimes withoute the signes. But as concerning partlye our common weakeneſſe, and partly custome, it hath a certayne ſpeciall strength, that it is wrought not onely by wordes, but by outwarde tokens also: and therupon it ryſeth, that tokens, rites, couenāts, & signes, be so muche vſed amongſt menne. Therefore the prouidence and louing kindneſſe of God, did abaſe it selfe vnto our capacitie, so that it did not onely yelde wordes vnto our eares, but viſible signes also to bee ſéene and felte by our eyes and other senses, wherby he woulde exhibite vnto our faith spiritual things, diuers and sundrye wayes to be credited and receiued. For if thou were ſt without bodye (sayeth Chryſoſtom) would he haue giuē thē those giftes also without body? But for as much as thy soule is ioyned vnto a body, they be deliuered to thē to be vnderſtanded in things ỹ be ſenſible.

In Matth. hom. 83.

That louing God our heauenlye father, which worketh all things in all men, doeth according vnto hys maruelous prouidence worke otherwyſe wyth heauenly spirites, otherwyſe wyth men, otherwiſe wyth beaſtes, and otherwiſe with thynges whiche haue no life: And yet he kepeth togyther al these his creatures with the power of his ſpirite.

God worketh otherwiſe with Angels and otherwiſe with men and other creatures.

Notwithſtandyng hee worketh wyth men, both by his ſpirite and word and signes, applying himſelfe to our capacity. And we should be in a maruelous daungerous caſe, if these thée things shoulde be not of God, but of man: and proceede not from God, but from the harte of manne: so that we were wrought not by the ſpyrite of GOD, but of Manne: by the worde not of God, but of man: by ſignes gyuen not from God, but from man. For so the authoritye of God should be

lacking wout which, our consciences may be seduced, but not edifyed. Let the consideratiō hereof serue to this purpose, that forasmuch as the prouidence of God vouchsafeth to haue a regarde to oure weakenesse in the matters concerning our saluation, that we haue also regarde of the same, and doe therfore the more diligentlye and practise our fayth in the lawful and good vse of the Sacraments,

To vvhat purpose the sacramentall signes be giuen.

The sacramentall signes therefore be giuen vnto vs to this purpose, that they should be the tokens of Gods grace, vnto vs, wherby we should put in vre our faith towards Christ, Therfore also the fathers defined them to be a visible forme of the inuisible grace. They be knit vnto the word of the Gospel, & vnto the word of grace and saluation: & they be giuen to no other vse, than the word it selfe was giuen, and yet they haue both of them a certaine peculiar vse to themselues, of whiche I will speake hereafter. The Maister of the Sentences sayth, that the sacraments were instituted for the abasing, instructing, and exercising of vs. And he meaneth that to bée the abasing, when we be so subiect vnto sensible things which be much inferiour vnto vs, that we doe seke saluation in them. And that this is the obedience which pleaseth God. But the instructing, when the minde is instructed, by that which is séene in a visible forme outwardly, to know the inuisible vertue which is within. The exercising, whereby we doe eschewe vaine and noysome businesse, and he alleageth that of Jerome. Be euer doing some good worke, ẏ the Diuell maye finde thée occupyed. It is a foule matter that he saith, we be subiect vnto the things which be vnder vs. It is a foule doctrine ẏ he sayth, that it pleaseth God, that we should seke saluation in ẏ sacraments, wheras he confesseth that it commeth only of God.

Wherefore we muste séeke it in Christe, and not in the signes. They are wōt to sing aloud in their Masse: *Sursum corda.* Lift vppe your hartes, and their aunswer was, *Habemus ad Dominum*: We haue lift them vp vnto the Lorde. To what purpose doe they bidde vs to lifte vp our hartes vnto the Lord, if that we muste seke oure saluation in signes that be muche inferiour vnto vs? And it is small to the purpose of the sacramentes, that exercise whiche hee doeth attribute vnto them, wherby we shoulde eschewe noysome occupations, leaste the Diuel should finde vs ydle. The exercise of the Sacramentes doth serue to the confyrmyng and establishing of our consciences in fayth, and it hath speciall admonitions of the grace of God.

The opiniō of the word wrought in Sacramentes is not to be borne withal, whereby they doe iudge, that he which taketh them, doth deserue grace in the verye worke it selfe: so that he doe not lay a lette, whereby it is hindered, yea although he doe not beleue nor receiue them with any good remorse of his owne harte. It is a madde matter to make God such a one, as ẏ the outwarde worke should please him howsoeuer it were taken inhand. But let vs rather credite Paul, who affirmeth ẏ it is sin, whatsoeuer is not wroughte in faith.

Nor we do not like them nother, which do make nothing else of the sacramens, but signes of the Christian profession, whereby we may bee distincted from Jewes and al other nations that be not in the fayth of Christ: as we do not allow them nother, which are of the opinion that the sacramentes be giuen onely to this purpose, that they should be as tokens vnto vs of the christian societie, whereby we be knit into one body, and be linked togither with the chayne of mutuall communion. For albeit that none of these both be out of the nature of the sacraments, yet the principall consideration consisteth not in them, muche lesse the whole reason wherefore they were instituted. We declared in a place or two before, that there may be sundry occasions & causes of one thing. And wheras there be many causes of one matter, there are some of thē wont to be the chiefe, and some secondary causes, whiche is verifyed also in sacraments. But how vnfyt a matter it is, that one cause, & that the secondary cause, should be set for the chiefe & general cause, as though that there were neither mo nor any greater, ye may easily imagine.

And the very like do they, which do waye nothing else in the Sacramentes, but the allegories of the Christian mortificatiō, quickning, & regeneration, & secondly of the spiritual foode. These considerations bée not euil, but thei be not correspondēt vnto the principall cause, for which they were ordayned sacraments by God.

VII. What maner of Sacramēts the Lord hath instituted.

In this matter being so contentiouslye handeled, I suppose I shall not do amisse, to alleage much the iudgements of the fathers: not ẏ the truth of Christs sacramēts haue néede to be confirmed by them, but bycause there be a great sorte, that do giue more credite vnto them thā they do vnto those things whiche be neuer so lernedly & truly written in our days. Augustine sayth ẏ ẏ sacraments left by Christ, were in nūber few, easy to do, & excellēt in mening.

De doctrina Christiana lib. 3. cap. 9.

In number few, that is to say, two. In the olde Testamente there was a great number of signs. That people were yet vnder the yoke of the bondage of the lawe, and vnder the spirite of feare: and therefore as children they were trayned on with many figures, rites, shadowes, and sacrifices. But the people of the new Testament, as now more growen and endued with the spirite of libertie, be exercised, and confirmed in ẏ faith of Christ with few signes. Wherefore they that do burden the Church with a multitude of rites & signes, goe néerer vnto the childishe teaching of the Jewishe people, than to the liberty of the church of Christ. Of which thyng Augustine also doth complayn, saying. For albeit that cannot be founde, howe they be againste the fayth, yet for all that they do ouercharge the verye religion with seruile burdens, whiche the mercye of God woulde haue to be frée wyth moste fewe and most manifest Sacramentes: so that the estate of the Jewes is more tolera-

In number fevve.

The multitude of out vvard signes and rites is not meete for the nevve Testament

Augustine. *Epist. 119. cap. 19.*

lerable and agreeable, for albeit that they knewe not the time of libertie, yet they be ſubiecte vnto the burdens of the lawe onelye, and not vnto mennes preſumptions. This ſayth he.

Moſt eaſye to be done.

2 Secondly, the Lorde gaue vs ſacraments moſt eaſie to be done. And in this point he dydde foreſee, that he woulde not ouerburden his Church. There is nothing in Baptiſme, nothing in the Lordes ſupper, that is vneaſie, harde, or cumberſome, or elſe vnpleaſant, or ſtraunge to mens doings. Circumciſion was cumberſome, bloudie, & ſubiect vnto griefes, as appeareth in Geneſis, where the payne of them which were circumciſed, is declared to be the greateſt the thirde day. The ſacrifices of the Iewes had muche trauaile, beſides that, they were alſo bloudie. The worſhip of Baal and Moloch required the bloud of man alſo, which the Poet doth attribute alſo to ỹ Gods of the Gentiles, when he ſayeth:

The Sacramẽts of the Iewes were cumberſome. *Geneſ.34.*

Vergile.

Sanguine placatis ventos, & virgine cæſa,
Cum primum Iliacas Danai venitis ad oras.
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandũ
Argolica, &c.
By bloude, O Greekes, and Maidens death,
you did the ſtormes and windes withſtande,
What time you did your ſelues embarke,
towardes this Troye lande.
By bloude you muſt ſeeke your returne,
by death of one of your owne bande,

But in this caſe there is nothing ſo. All things be without bloude, eaſie, accuſtomed, without coſte, withoute labour, without payne. That which was harde and neceſſarie to be purchaſed by bloud, that our moſt kind ſauiour toke vpon him, to the intent to diſcharge vs of all trouble and daunger.

3 Thirdly, they be alſo of moſt noble vnderſtanding and meaning. In outwarde countenance and to ſight, they do ſeeme baſe in the eyes of the deſh, and of no exceeding importance. Wherefore Auguſtine ſayeth, that they be moſte excellent, not to the ſight, but in vnderſtanding. In dede the meaning of the ſacraments, is of things moſte great, heauenly, & godly, wherof the viſible frames doe appeare outwardlye, of which it is not now to ſpeake, for they ſhall haue a time to be expounded in their places alone. But as touching this matter generally, we be done to vnderſtand in what reſpect and howe the ſacraments of the Church be precious and noble. They be not noble in ſiluer or golde, nor for any outwarde pompe, & worldlye gaynes, but for their vnderſtanding, that is to ſay, for thoſe things whiche be ſet forth to be conceyued, not by ſight, but by vnderſtãding. They be of all moſt excellent. Ambroſe ſayeth: The ſacramentes ſeeke for no golde, nor theſe matters do not pleaſe for the gold ſake, which are not bought for gold. The gaines of the ſacraments, is the ranſome of captiues, &c. Wherefore it is to be loked for of Chriſtians in the vſe of Sacraments, that they be ſtrong of vnderſtanding, ſo that they ſtick not in the outwarde ſignes. It is for vnreaſonable folke to conceiue no farther than as farre as the bodily eye doth reach. It is a ſeruile weakneſſe, to take the ſignes for the things theſelues which be ſignified: witneſſe Auguſtine.

The ma[illegible] ning ma[illegible] excelle[illegible]

Horwe ſacrame of Chri be pre ous an noble.

Ambroſ. De offic. lib. 2. cap.

Wherefore firſt thoſe carnall perſons are to be reiected, which do vnderſtand nor iudge nothing elſe in ỹ ſacraments, but that which is ſeene with

Cyrill.

with the eyes, and ſo do iudge of the ſacraments, according vnto the qualitie of the outwarde ſignes. They doe ſee the water, they doe ſee the breade and the wyne, but they doe not aduance their mind any farther, than the conſideration of them. Theſe men do hang to muche vpon the outwarde element. Secondlye, the ſuperſtitious perſons are not to be lyked neyther, whyche doe vſe the ſignes, as though that they had the things themſelues before theyr eyes, nor they make no difference betwirte the ſignes, & the things ſignified. It wer wel done, ỹ they were admoniſhed to lifte vp theyr hartes vnto the Lorde. Sacraments be the viſible formes of the inuiſible grace. The inuiſible grace muſt be conſidered and waged wyth oure mynde, vnderſtanded and receyued with fayth.

VIII. Of the difference of the ſacraments of the old and new Teſtament.

Some doe make difference betwirt the Sacramentes of the olde and new Teſtaments, & ſome do not. If they be compared one with an other, we ſhall finde a difference. Againe, there be ſome pointes in whych they differ not in diuers and ſundry reſpects. Firſt our ſacramẽts do differ from them of the old Teſtament in fewneſſe, for in the new Teſtament there be but two, and in the olde there were many, if all the figures, ſhadowes, and ſacrifyces are to be taken for Sacramentes, as the fathers ſeeme to doe, ſpecially Auguſtine. But otherwiſe if you loke to the orderly, and proper ſacraments, which are compriſed in the word of inſtitution, and the matter whiche doth ſignifie, there were but two nother of the old: that is, Circũciſion, and the Paſcal Lambe. The Apoſtle doeth adde vnto them the cloude, and the Sea, and the water of the rocke, and the Manna. But theſe things can not be referred vnto the lawful and ordinarye inſtitution of the Sacraments, albeit that they were ſo meruellouſly ordered, that the ſtrength of them had the vſe of Sacramentes. Therefore in that reſpecte that theſe be taken for Sacramentes, they doe exceede in number: but in reſpect of the conſideration of the lawefull and proper Sacraments onely, in which there is ioyned the word of the inſtitution vnto ỹ outward ſigne, in this reſpect the ſacraments of the old Teſtamẽt be euen in number with ours, ſo ỹ Baptiſme doth counteruayle Circũciſion, and the ſupper of the Lord, the Lambe of the paſſeouer.

1.Cor.10.

Secondlye, they doe differ in the variety of the ſignes. The Sacramentall ſignes of the olde and newe Teſtament be ſundry. For circumciſion is one thing, and Baptiſme is an other. And againe, the lamb of ỹ Paſſeouer is one thing, & the bread & wine the tokens of our Lords Supper, be an other thing. Yea, and touching the miraculous ſacraments, the cloude, and paſſing through the Sea, they were one thing, and the Baptiſme of ours, is an other: Item the Manna, and water flowing out of the rocke, was one thing, and the breade and wine in the

Sacramentes of the Lordes supper an other. So the signes do varye on both sides.

Furthermore, the Sacramentes of the olde Testament did consist in the shedding of bloud, partly of men and partly of beastes: of man in the Circumcision, of beast in the lambe of the passeouer. But these of the new, though that they be the sacraments of Christs bloud shed for vs, yet of themselues they be voyde of bloud. If you compare the cloud, the sea, the Manna, and the water out of the rocke, vnto our Sacraments, ours do differ also from them in this pointe, that they were myraculous, and ours not so.

Againe, the olde sacraments are turned into other fashions by the succeeding of the newe Testament, albeit that the faith of the Sacraments did continue all one. But the sacraments of the new Testamente be not subiect vnto such change, but shal kepe their maner & fashion instituted by the Lord himselfe, vntyl the ende of ỹ world, after which we doe not loke for any newe manner of Sacramentes, but for the full and perfect manyfestation of the truthe it selfe.

So that in these respectes it may be sayd aright, that our sacraments do differ from the old. But in case that we do in both waye the better parte in the Sacramentes, wee shall fynde that they do differ in nothing.

How we our sacraments do differ from the olde.

1 First, as there is one God and one Lorde both in the olde and newe Testament, so there is one also author of the sacraments, one mediatour of Gods grace, wherof as well the olde as our Sacramentes were tokens. And as ours be grounded vppon the authority of Christe our mediatour, so were they also which went before in the old Testamente.

2 Secondly, If we doe consider the cause, why God did institute certain sacraments to his Church, we shal not fynd the cause of the sacraments of the olde one, and newe Testament other. For bothe they and these were giuē to thys intent, to bee tokens of gods grace towards hys Church, by which the faithfull should be fed and strengthned in the faith of hys couenaunt: Again, that the whole churche of the Israelites should be knit in one faith, & dissenered frō all other natiōs of the whole world. To these endes he wrought both by word and sacraments with that people, like as he doeth wyth the church of the new Testament.

3 Thirdly, like as in the Sacraments of the old testament, so of the newe Testamente also, the signe and that whiche is signified, be not both al one, or the Sacrament and the effecte of the Sacrament, concerning theyr substaunces and natures. For then there shoulde be no reason of Sacramentes in them, if the thing signified, and the signe were all one. That whyche doth signifye is one thing, and that which is signified, is another: wherfore Augustine sayeth also, that the same which is seene, is one thyng, and that whyche is sette forthe to be vnderstanded, is another. So that oure Sacramentes doe not in this poynte neyther differ from the Sacramentes of the olde Testament.

The signe and the thing signified, not one.

4 Fourthly

4 Fourthly, in case we doe consider the very thinges theselues wherof our sacraments be signes, we shal finde the same in the sacramentes of the olde Testamente. Circumcision was the sacrament of the regenerating and cleansing of oure nature in Christ, and our Baptisme is the very same. Circumcision was the seale of the iustice of Faith, our Baptisme is the same. The Israelites were incorporate into the Church of Christ by Circumcision, we by Baptisme. Circumcision was the signe of Gods couenant, baptisme is the same to vs. Also the Paschall lambe was the sacramente of the immaculate lambe, by whose bloud we shoulde be redemed from the bondage of Satan, sinne, and death: the bread and wyne is the same vnto vs, the sacramente of the bodye and bloud of the Lorde. The meate and drinke is one in both as we may see to the Corinthians. So that this wayes our sacraments doe differ nothing nother from the olde. As these bee visible formes of inuisible grace, so they were also. For this inuisible grace is not differente from that in the sacramentes of the old Testament, but it is one in both.

5 Fiftly, the sacraments of bothe Testaments do agree also in faythe. For there is one selfesame faythe in both, wherby they beleued in Christ, which should come to be theyr redeemer: and we do beleeue in him, whom the father promised in time past, and hathe sente him into the world, not a sundry one, but the selfesame in himselfe, and one to all the electe, and to all the faithfull as well of the old as of the newe Testament. This is the onely beginning, the fountayne, and ende of all sacramentes. Wherefore seeyng that the faithe of the sacramentes of both Testamentes is not diuers and sundry, but al one: nor the object of faith is not sundrye but one selfe same, why doe we not rather acknowledge and honoure the conformitie and vnitie, than any difference of the same.

The efficacie of the sacraments.

6 Sirtly, There remaineth to be considered the efficacie of the sacraments. The fathers do attribute this to be greater in our sacraments than in them of the olde, and in thys respect they do aduance oures much aboue them, so that they saye, that oures be effectuall signes of grace, not significatiue onely, as theirs, but also yeelding and giuing grace, iustice, and saluation, yea vnto them that be in deadly sinne: so that there is no faith requisite, if that there bee not a blocke in the way, whiche they call the Actuall purpose to sinne agayne. This errour is to be dryuen out of all faithful mens myndes. For it is very contrary vnto the doctrine of the iustifying faithe, whiche is so required, that without it the sacraments be not only vnprofitable vnto them which do receyue, but hurtfull also. As the sacraments be signes of grace, so they doe signifie grace, as well in the newe as in the old Testamente: as they be the seales of the iustice of faith, so they doe seale and confirme it, not onely in the newe, but in the olde Testament also: and they do confirme vs, not as the verye enseeling spirite himselfe doth, but as enseeling signes: as they be figures and formes, so in the outward similitude they doe figure and represente the things signified, like as the olde, so

likewise the newe Testament also: as they be the first principles, so they doe firste instruct in the principles in them both: and as they be remembraunces, so doe they renue the benefites of the heauēly grace in ẏ minds of the faithfull, no lesse in the olde than in the new Testamente. If wée do attribute vnto our Sacramentes any more efficacie than this, wherby they may worke grace, iustice, and saluation in them which do vse them, we do attribute that vnto them whiche is the onely worke of the holye spirite, vnlesse we doe vse this moderation, that we say, that the efficacie of the sacraments is not reall but sacramentall: so that they whiche bée Baptised shoulde be regenerate, and iustifyed sacramentally, though they were not yet regenerate and iustifyed indéede. So the Apostle sayd that the Corinthians were washed, iustifyed, and sanctifyed, whome hée dyd yet reproue as carnal of those sinnes whyche doe exclude men out of the kyngdome of God. Hée spake sacramentally, bycause of Baptisme, the sacramente of wasshyng, iustifying, sanctifying. And thys kynd of speach dothe agrée not onely vnto oure sacramentes, but vnto them of the olde Testamente also. Wherefore accordyng vnto thys consideration also, we must make no difference betwixt the sacramentes of both testaments. But I doe speake not of all kinde of figures, but of the sacramentes, whiche bée properly sacramentes and in both. The fathers dyd very inconsiderately confound the figures of the olde Testamente, and the mysteries of the newe, with sacramentes, and dyd make the matter darke vnto thē-

selues, and others also. Briefly, that is a true saying: Not the sacrament, but the fayth of the sacrament dothe iustifye. Thys is true, not only in the olde, but in our new sacramentes also. Wherefore the efficacie of oures and theirs is not diuers. And it was not aduisedly sayde of Augustine: The sacraments bée not one, bycause there were other sacraments which giue saluation, and other that promise the sauioure. Shall we say that the elders haue not the saluation whereof they had the sacramentes? God forbyd. Agayne, Shall we saye, that our sacraments do saue, and not rather faithe in Christ? God forbidde that also. What can be sayde more fondly, than that the elders were saued by faith, and we by sacraments? He sayeth muche better in an other place, where he saith: The faithe remayneth, and the signes be altered. There the rocke was Christe, to vs Christ is that which is laid vpon the altare of God. And they for a greate matter dranke the sacraments of the selfesame Christ, the water which issued out of the rocke, and what wée do drinke, ẏ faithfull folke do know. If thou consider the visible forme, it is an other thing, but if a man consider the signification whiche is to bée vnderstanded, they dranke the verye same spirituall drynk. This is there. I beséeke you, is it al one to say, that the Israelites do eate and drinke the same spirituall meate, & drinke that we doe, that is Christe: and that the Israelites doe vse sacraments whiche doe onely promise Chryste? and that wée haue the sacramentes whyche doe gyue saluation? Howsoeuer that saluation bée obteyned by the

Not the Sacra but the faith of Sacra doth iustifye. In [illegible] Ysidore.

In [illegible] treat.

Crosse

Crosse, yet for all that the faithfull of the olde Testamente were neuer the lesse partakers of the same, than we be of the newe. For Chryste was yesterday, to day, and for euermore, and hée suffered from the beginning of the worlde as concerning the purpose of the father, and vertue of the redemption. But Augustine meante to aduaunce the happinesse of the newe Testamente, in that that the Sacramentes thereof doe not styll promise the Sauiour to come, but do sette forthe the grace of him, as presently exhibited.

IX. Whether there be grace annexed vnto the Sacramentes.

They whyche do lyue in the faith of the onely begotten of God, and be one spirite with hym, and haue hym dwellyng in them, haue him also as the foūtayne of al grace, of whose fulnesse they doe receyue grace for grace. They do not dispute of the grace of God, whether it bée annexed and tyed to the sacramentes or not, but when we do lacke faythe, and sticke vnto the outwarde vse of the sacramentes, and begin rather to deceyue, than to conforme oure selues, then we doe dispute of the sacraments, whether they be sufficient to saue vs or not: and bycause we do knowe by the testimony of our owne conscience, that it is not possible that wée can be saued without the grace of God, wée doe séeke meanes, how wée may be made partners thereof, although that wée lacke faithe. And for them that bée so affected, there be readye alwayes at hande, some false Doctoures that be sicke of the same disease. They doe so dispute of the sacramentes, that they do perswade the vnlearned and carnall men, that there is grace tyed vnto the Sacramentes. Wherefore I thynke it néedefull to speake somewhat of this matter.

VVho maketh question.

In that that they doe demaunde, whether there bée grace tyed vnto the Sacramentes, they doe sufficientlye confesse, that grace is one thyng, and the Sacrament an other, and therefore that the sacramente is not the verye grace it selfe: and reason. For the visible forme is not the very inuisible grace, and the signe is not the thing signifyed. And in thys sorte the water of baptisme, is not the very regeneration and washing away of synnes it selfe: and the bread of the Supper of the Lorde is not the bodye it selfe of the Lorde. For then nother that coulde bée the Sacramente of regeneration, nor thys of the Lordes Body. For nothyng can be the signe of it selfe: but it is necessary that the sygne and the thing signified, must be sundry things of their owne nature and substance. If the water of Baptisme and the bread of the Lordes Supper coulde bée Sacramentes of the heauenlye grace, in that sorte, that wythall they were the very grace it selfe, there were no cause why these folke shoulde demaunde, whether that there bée grace tyed vnto the Sacramentes or no. For so they that were partakers of the outwarde Sacracramentes, shoulde bée wythall partakers of the grace also, and by consequente, of lyfe and saluati-

VVhy the question is made of this matter.

The signe is not the thyng signifyed.

on euerla-

on euerlasting. But forasmuch as they doe finde, that this is not true, they demaunde not whether the Sacramente be the grace it selfe, but whether that there be grace tyed vnto the Sacrament.

The sacrament auayleth not vvithout grace.

Secondly, they do vnderstand that the outward sacrament doth auayle nothing to them which do recepue it, without his grace whose sacramente it is. And so they do dispute of grace, without whiche they do knowe that they cã not be saued. And forasmuch as they do know, that it is offered by the worde of the Gospell, it can not be receyued but by Faith, they aske not whether that the grace be tyed vnto the Worde, but whether it be tyed vnto the Sacrament or no, whereas the Sacrament can not be withoute the worde, and that the Sacramente as a sacrament, hath nothing whych it taketh not of the worde. They doe declare that they doe despaire of the participation of the grace of God, whiche consisteth in faith: and therefore they do loke vnto the outwarde sacraments, of which the euil as wel as the good maye communicate: as well the Carnall, as spiritual: as wel the vnfaithfull, as the faithfull: and they doe desire to bée perswaded in this, that there is grace tyed vnto the sacraments. And they do erpressly vse the worde Tyed, meaning that they doe séeke suche a coniunction of grace with the Sacramentes, so that it should be so knit, and fast bound vnto them, that all they should indifferently be partners thereof, as manye as doe take parte of the sacraments.

What shall we say to this? Wée can not pull from the sacrament the grace of him whose sacraments they be: as it is not méete that the thyng signifyed shoulde be disseuered from the signe of it. On the other syde, wée can not tye grace vnto sacramentes in that sort, as carnal men do suppose it to be tyed. Let vs sée therefore how we ought to iudge, that grace is tyed vnto sacramentes, and how not.

1 Firste, that coniunction is naturall, whereby the strength of fedyng and drinking is ioyned to the Bread and Wine, whereof the heart of the eater and drinker is strengthned and refreshed. By this coniunction, grace is not ioyned vnto sacramentes, nor that shoulde not serue the purpose of carnall men. For like as if a sicke man doe eate bread and drinke, hauing an euill affected stomacke, he is nother strengthned by it, nor refreshed: so it shoulde come to passe vnto these mẽ, which touching their faith, doe not come well disposed vnto the communion of the sacraments.

2 Secondly, there is a Locall coniunction, whereby the meate and drinke be ioyned with the stomacke. Nor this coniunction nother dothe not agrée with the grace and sacramentall signes. Grace is not so nother in bread nor wine, nor in water, that it is conteyned in it, forasmuche as it can not be compassed or closed vp in any place.

3 Thirdly, there is a corporal coniunctiõ also, wherby the head is ioyned to the body, and one member to an other. But the heauenly grace can not away with this nother: whiche being spirituall, can not be comprehended in a corporall knot.

4 Fourthly, there is also an obligatorie coniunction, wherby memnes faith is bounde to be kepte in promises. We can not appoynt vppon thys nother in this case. For the Lorde hath not so instituted his sacramẽts, that he hath absolutely promised saluation vnto all whiche doe recepue them. He said not absolutely, He that is Baptised, but He that beléeueth, and is Baptised, shall be saued, and hée that beléeueth not, shall bée condemned. Wherefore we may not so enforce the worde of the institution and promise in the sacramentes, as though that by the vertue therof, the thing signifyed were so tyed vnto the signe, that they doe indifferently receiue not only the signe, but the thing signifyed also, whosoeuer recepue the sacramẽt, albeit, it be without faith. It was not the Lords purpose to institute such sacraments in which not onely the godlye, but the wicked also shoulde participate of his grace: nor the words of the institution do proue any such matter.

Fiftly, we maye not saye nother, that grace is annexed to the sacrament as the heate of the fyre is vnto Iron. For firste the coniunction is sensible, secondly it is truly so, whether it be to some vse or to no vse. For the fyrie Iron is hote, although that the heate of it be applyed to no vse, although it serue to vnlawfull, and noysome things. We ought not to saye the like of grace and the sacraments. For that which is a sacrament if it be vsed, is not a sacrament in case it be not vsed: nor it hathe no grace annexed vnto it, if it be turned to any abuse.

There remayneth the Sacramentall coniunction, whereby the thyng signifyed is annexed vnto the signe, and the effect of the sacramente vnto the sacrament. Therefore when it is demaunded, whether that there bee grace annexed vnto the sacraments, it may be aunswered, that it is thus farre forthe annexed vnto the sacramente of it, as belongeth vnto the partes of it whereof it is made. If you say, that the sacrament is the visible forme of an inuisible grace, according vnto this definition the grace is tyed vnto the sacrament, so that it is requisite, to make it ful, whole, and perfect. For else if grace be excluded from the visible forme, it shall not be a sacrament. But if you doe say, that a Sacramente dothe consiste of the word and the element, as Augustine sayth: The word commeth to the elemente, and there is made a Sacrament: by this definition grace is not accounted in the partes of a sacramente, and therefore it is not so tyed nother to the sacramente, but that a sacrament may be taken without it. Therfore according vnto the double definition of a sacrament, both maye be aunswered, as well that grace is not knitte vnto sacraments, as that it is sacramentally tyed vnto it: all alike as the parte is tyed vnto the whole, vnto accomplishment whereof it is requisite of necessitie. In this sense he whiche dothe communicate without faith, forasmuch as he dothe not participate of the inuisible grace, he receiueth indéede the visible forme of it, the outwarde part of the sacrament, but he recepueth not the whole sacramente. But as touching the other definition of sacrament, whereby it is sayde, that the worde ioyned vnto the elemente, maketh a sacramente, not onely they do recepue the

sacrament, which be made partakers of the grace thereof by faith, but they also, whyche receyuing it without faithe, doe take the outwarde sygne only. So that in some sorte, that is to saye, sacramentally, there is ioyned grace to the sacramentall signes: and yet withall it is not so tyed vnto them, that hée can be partaker of it, which dothe receyue the sacramente without faith. And for an example, take Symon Magus, who when hée was baptised of Philippe, receyued indéede the sacrament of the inuisible grace, of regeneration, clensing, and iustification, but yet hée remayned vtterly voyde of the same grace. For he had no parte or lotte in the kyngdome of God. For his heart was not ryghte before God. But what néede wée anye example of scripture in so manifeste a matter: whereof we doe sée so innumerable examples dayly euery where?

Acts. 8.

Of the integrity or vvholenesse of Sacramentes.

De baptismo contra Donatist. lib. 3. cap. 4.

AVgustine disputeth in certayne places of the wholenesse of sacramentes, that it skylleth not what he beléeueth, and what manner of Fayth he hathe whych receyueth the Sacramente. For that that it is possible, that a man may haue the whole Sacrament and a naughty faythe: as it may be, that he may sticke fast to the whole wordes of the Créede, & yet for all that not beléeue arighte. Whys saying is true after that definition of a Sacrament, when it is defyned by the ioyning togither of the worde and the elemente. Accordyng vnto that the wholenesse of the Sacramente dothe consyst in the word, and the elemente: and it skylleth not to that, that we receyue the whole Sacramente, what wée doe beléeue. But it is an nother matter, in case the question bée of the partaking of the grace of God, and an other matter if we talke of the wholenesse of the Sacrament. Whyche Augustine hymselfe doth not hyde nother, when hée sayeth in the same place: In déede it maketh much matter to the waye of saluation, (what hée beléeueth whyche receyueth the Sacramente) but to the question of the Sacramente, it maketh no matter at all.

But in case wée bée of this opinion, that there dothe belong vnto the wholenesse of Sacramentes, not onlye the worde and elemente, but the inuisible grace also, so that whole Sacramente dothe consyste of the worde, sygne, and matter signifyed, as wée made mention before in the fourthe article, wée shall not allow that saying of Augustine which wée spake of. For so he whyche eyther beléeueth not at all, eyther beléeueth amisse, maye indéede receyue the wordes and signes of the Sacramentes, but hée can not receyue the whole Sacraments, byeause he doth not receyue the best parte of them, whiche is not receyued but by faith, and a cleane hearte. Like as it can not be sayde nother, that he dothe kéepe the whole Créede, which dothe obserue the wordes of it onely, and not the very effect of it also. For the wholenesse of oure Christian beliefe standeth not in wordes onely, but in faith also.

1 And howsoeuer we doe talke of the wholenesse of the Sacramentes, whether that wée doe saye, that there dothe belong grace vnto it, or denye it, we must bée assured of thys, that it is possible, and that it happeneth oftentymes, that the Sacramentes be receyued not whole, but in halfes. For a Sacramente is not a single matter, but a compounde, and that of partes: not of one, but of sundry natures, whyche bée not so tyed togither, but that the one may be receyued without the other. The common people whiche doe communicate in the Poperye, doe not receyue the whole Sacramente, for they bée restrayned from the word of the Lordes institution, by the adioyning of the whyche it is made of an elemente, a Sacramente. For the Priestes do chalenge that to themselues, and doe communicate it of purpose to theselues, that the people must vnderstande no péece of it, no nor heare it nother. But as Augustine sayeth in sundrye places: It is a greate madnesse to communicate in the Sacramente, and not to communicate in the worde. For the worde is more excellente than the elemente: and it is not possible, that the communion of the Sacramente bée whole, whereas men doe communicate in the signe onely, and not also in the worde.

2 But yet there is not a whole Communion of the Sacramente in the Popery: for that that the halfe of the Sacramente, that is to saye, the cuppe of the Lordes bloud, is with-holden from the faithfull people that doe communicate: whych is also of it selfe greate sacrilege, as wée shall sée when the tyme serueth.

3 Thyrdely, if wée be contented to recéaue grace also for one of the partes of the Sacramente, euen so also they doe not receyue the sacrament, whyche receyuyng without faythe, do remayne voyde of the grace of God. What then? In déede it is well done to kéepe and mayntayne to the sacramentes theyr wholenesse: But what shall it auayle, if we doe not withall kéepe the wholenesse of the communion? Albeit that the Sacramentes of themselues bée whole, yet to vs they bée not whole, vnlesse wée doe participate of all their partes wyth true and syncere faith.

Of Baptisme.

HItherto we haue spoken generallye of the Sacramentes, whych is a large fielde and wyde to walke in. But byeause wée wyll kéepe oure selues within oure boundes, nor wyl not passe oure lyttes, we wyll marke those things onely which may turne to some profyte to them that be godlye disposed. And nowe wée wyll procéede vnto the speciall treatye of eache of the Sacramentes particularly, fyrste of Baptisme, and then of the Lordes supper. We will make no very greate adoe in this matter, but we will content our selues with these foure partes, to declare fyrste what Baptisme is, secondly what the institution of it is, thirdly howe it is

The diſpoſition.

will or

well ordered, and fourthly which is the true vse of it.

I. What Baptisme is.

The vvord Baptisme.

The worde Baptisme commeth of the Greek, and it is as much to say in english, as dipping or drowning in. But forasmuche as it is not meante of euery manner of dipping, but of such a manner, wheras ther is one thing done outwardly, and another inwardly: it is necessarie that we make suche a definition of thys Baptisme, which maye expresse not that which is outwardly done in the element, but that which is set forth to the vnderstandyng by the visible forme of the element. We sayde before, that a Sacrament is a visible form of an inuisible grace. And baptisme is a sacrament, wherfore baptisme is a visible forme of an inuisible grace. This is the generall definition. So that we must seek suche a one whiche doth specially expresse that inuisible grace, of whiche the sacrament is sette forthe in the visible element or signe. But herein be sundry opinions.

The sacramente of Penaunce.

1 Firste of all, some doe define it to be the sacrament or signe of Penance or Repentance. And they doe take the reason of this definition out of Marke, where we reade in thys wyse: John was in the wildernesse, baptising and preaching the baptism of repentance, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Again, out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter sayeth: Doe penaunce, and bee euery one of you baptised in the name of Jesu Christ, to the forgiuenesse of your sinnes. Againe: John baptised the people in the baptisme of repentance. Indeede baptisme maye be called and defined to be the sacrament of penance, but not so that it must be the full definition of it, as though that there were nothing else to be considered in baptisme but penaunce or the repentance of him which is baptised. For according vnto this definition, baptisme shoulde not be the badge of Chrystes grace, but of the repentance onely of mans hearte. Againe, if there were nothing else in baptisme but repentaunce, and baptisme nothing else but the sacrament of repentāce, it should seeme that it mighte be as often iterated as repentaunce is: and thys way there shoulde be no meane nor ende of baptising, nor there shoulde be accompted no difference betwixte the Christian Baptisme, and the lawishe purifications of the Jewes. And whereas all menne do confesse that baptisme is a sacrament not to be twice taken, it must so fall out, that besides that, it is in some peece the sacramente of repentaunce, so it must be also some other thing, whose grace can not be iterated.

Marc. 1.

Acts. 2.

Acts. 19.

2 Secondly, baptisme is defyned by some, to be the sacrament of faith, as of Augustine writing of the Baptisme of children, sayeth: Therefore like as in some wise, the sacramente of the body of Christe is the bodye of Christ, and the sacramēt of the bloud of Christe, is the bloud of Christe, so the sacrament of faith, also is faithe. And he speaketh of Baptisme, which he calleth the sacrament of faith. And they whiche doe follow him, seeme to be moued by the wordes of Christe, where he sayth: Whosoeuer beleued and is baptised, shall be saued, where baptisme

baptisme is ioyned vnto faithe. The lyke matter is that that Chrysostome defyneth baptisme to be the signet of fayth. And Tertullian sayeth, that washing is ye signet of faith. Both they were moued of the words of the Apostle, whereas he calleth circumcision, whereunto baptisme succeeded, the signet or seale of the Justice of faith. This definition also is not sufficient. For albeit that baptisme be the sacrament and signet of faith, and that Basyll sayth arighte, that we must be baptised as we haue receyued, and beleeue as we be baptised, yet for al that the same inuisible grace is not expressed in this definition, the visible forme whereof is set forth in the outward signe, and whiche the beleeuer and repentant dothe receyue, as we declared in the place of Faith. In deede both repentaunce and faith also do come of the grace of God, but yet they be not the fulnesse of that grace whiche is conferred by Christ vnto the elect, the tokē, sacramente, and vpsealing whereof is in Baptisme.

3 Thirdly, Augustine in certayne places doth define baptisme to be the sacrament of new life. He considered that whyche the Apostle writeth in this wise: For we be buryed togither with him by baptisme vnto deathe: that lyke as Christ arose again from the dead by the grace of the father, so we shoulde also walke in newnesse of lyfe. Surely the condition of the obligation annexed vnto baptisme, is this, that he whiche is baptised, must cast off the olde life, and embrace a newe, so that hee muste be aunswerable vnto the misterie of the Lords death and resurrection. But yet wee haue not this way nother the ful definition of Baptisme.

The signe of christian profession.

4 Fourthly, there be some whych would haue Baptisme to be nothing else, but a token of Christian profession, whereby we maye be knowen from the vnbeleeuing and enimies vnto Christe. And it is somewhat agreeable vnto baptisme, that by it as by an open confession of the christian faith, we do professe of what religion we bee, and so be sequestred from the vnfaithfulll, not onely in hearte, but also by ye outwarde signe of faith and sacrament. So Cusanus sayeth, that baptisme is nothing else, but the confession of the same faith. But yet for all this, the inuisible grace is not sufficiently touched in this definition, whereof baptisme is the sacramente. Besides that it mighte be renued agayne in iterating of it, euen as Monkes doe chaunge their coules whiche they doe weare for tokens of theyr profession.

Cusanus.

The sacramente of christian societie.

5 Fiftly, there is a like definition of baptisme, when they define it to be the sacramente of christian societie. So Augustine calleth baptisme the sacrament of christian societie. The Apostle doth attribute the same also vnto baptisme, when he sayeth, that we be all baptised by the spirite into one body. And this is one vse of baptisme also, that we be incorporated by it into the societie and communion of the body of the Churche: but it is not such as can serue for the general definition of Sacraments, wherin they be called the visible formes of an inuisible grace.

Augustinus Epist. 28. ad Hieronymū. 1. Cor. 12.

6 Sixtely, their definition is not sufficiente nother, whiche doe defyne baptisme to be the token of afflictions and

The token of afflictions

ons and troubles, whiche they ought to sustayne that do embrace Chryst. So Chryst himselfe did call baptisme his crosse and death. And you sayeth he, can you drinke of the cuppe, that I shall drinke? and be baptised with that baptisme which I am baptised in? For this is their lotte which doe follow Chryst, that they be lefte vnto the crosse. But yet it is one thyng to say what we ought to suffeyne or do for Chryste, and an other vnto what grace they which do beleeue in hym, are consigned, the token whereof is in baptisme.

Marke 10.

The vvashing avvay of sinnes.

7 Seuenthly, baptisme is defyned also and called the washing away of sinnes. This definition pricketh somwhat neere to the marke, and it doth agree with that which Peter sayde: Be euerye one of you baptised in the name of Jesu Chryst, vnto ỹ forgiuenesse of youre sinnes: and wyth that whych Ananias sayde vnto Paule: Goe and be baptised, calling vppon hys name, but yet the definition of baptisme is not complete nother this way: for in case that baptisme were nothyng else, but the washing away of sinnes, there were no let but that it might be iterated euery day: for as much as we do sinne daply, and therfore seke the forgiuenesse of oure sinnes. Therefore after so many definitions, it muste needes be that there is yet somewhat lacking, needefull towards the perfect definition thereof, wherefore it ought not to be iterated. Indede we doe acknowledge, that baptisme is the sacramente of penaunce, faythe, new life, Christian profession, and felowshyp of the crosse, and washing away of sinnes, but doe yet besides these loke for some points more principall.

Acts. 2.

Acts. 22.

8 Eyghtly, let vs see what they be. If we loke vppon Paule, he calleth baptisme the bath of regeneration. And in an other place he sayth: For all yee that are baptised, you haue put on Chryst, and to put on Chryste, is not only to liue his life, but chiefely to be professed, consigned, sanctifyed, and incorporated into him. These be the principall poyntes in the sacramente of Baptisme, and in them there consisteth that inuisible grace, whose visible forme is set forth vnto vs in the outward signe. Wherefore we shall define baptisme arighte, to be the Sacramente of regeneration, purgation, profession, sanctification, consignment, and incorporation into Chryst our Sauioure. For all these things be wroughte by the spirite of Chryste in the electe and faithfull, of which Baptisme is the sacramente: so that it may be said aright, that the same is wroughte in it, sacramentally, whiche is done in dede and spiritually, by the spirit of Chryste. And these things be done, at the will of the holye spirite, of Chryst, eyther before or after baptisme, or at the very doing of the baptising: least that any man shoulde suppose, that the spirite is so bounde vnto the outward sacramente, that it dothe worke this inuisible grace of regeneration, washing, initiation, sanctification, and consigning, either in the heartes of al them that be baptised, eyther allwayes in the verye acte of Baptisme it selfe, spiritually and effectually.

The effect of regeneration. Titus. 3. Gala. 3.

The ministre Baptiseth.

1 Ioh. 3. Rom. 4.

1 I knowe there is no man so mad that wyll saye, that the holye spirite dothe worke the effecte of his grace in the reprobate when they be baptised,

baptised, whiche is appoynted for the elect and beleeuing. For we may call to remembrance the example of Symon Magus, of whome we made mention before. So Augustine agaynste the Donatistes: But in case that couetous persons haue not the spirite of God (saith he) and yet for al that haue baptisme, baptisme may be without the spirite.

2 Secondly, it were an exceedyng vnfitte matter, if we shoulde tye the most free worcking of the spirite vnto the outward acte of Baptising. The example of them is knowen, whyche receyued the spirite in Cornelius house before that they were baptised.

3 Thirdly, experience it selfe doth teach vs, that there be many of them that bee baptised, that be not conuerted long after theyr baptisme receyued by the grace and worcking of the holye spirite, vnto the studye of true godlynesse, yea and the moste parte neuer.

And therefore is that saying of Augustine: Lyke as in Abraham there passed before the iustice of faith, and there came after circumcision the token of the iustice of faithe, so there wente before in Cornelius the spirituall sanctification in the gifte of the holye spirite, and there came vnto it the sacrament of regeneration in the washing of baptisme. And lyke as in Isaac which was circumcised the eyghte daye after hee was borne, there passed before the token of the rightuousnesse of faithe, and forasmuche as he followed the faithe of his father, there followed hym (as he growe on) rightuousnesse it selfe, the token whereof passed before in the infante so there goeth before the sacramente of regeneration in the infantes, whiche be baptised also, and in case they doe holde on a Christian godly lyfe, there followeth also that conuersion in their hearte whereof the mysterie passed before in the body. Thys sayeth Augustine. And whereas he sayeth condicionallye, In case they doe holde on a christian godlye life, he dothe exclude the multitude of the reprobate, whyche albeit that they be baptised in theyr infancy, yet for all that they come not vnto christian godlynesse: and therefore we can not determine that there followeth immediately a conuersion in their hearte, of whiche the sacramente passed before in the bodye, so farre wider is it that the worcking of the spirite dothe accompanye the verye acte it selfe of baptisme in them. But withall I will not stande with any man in this poynt, whether they whiche be so baptised, that they be either long after baptisme, eyther neuer conuerted, do receyue ỹ whole or halfe sacramente, whereas both may be saide in some sense and some respect, as we declared before in the ninth article of sacramẽts generally.

The full & perfect definition of baptisme.

Let this therefore be the full definition of baptisme: Baptisme is the sacrament of regeneration, clensing, or if you lisk, of washing, admission, sanctificatiõ, and incorporatiõ, wherby they which do repent and professe the faithe and religion of Chryst, are incorporated and consigned vnto Chryste and hys Churche, that beyng washed from theyr sinnes, they may walke in newnesse of lyfe. In thys definition that mysterye of Baptisme is expressed, for whych

VVhy baptisme can not be iterated.

it can not be taken twice. In that that it is deſyned to be the ſacramēt of our regeneration, admiſſion, and incorporation. For regeneration, admiſſion, and incorporation can not be capable of iteration, for he whych is once regenerated from aboue, and admitted vnto the grace of Chryſte, and incorporated to the church, if hée doe fall altogither from this grace, it is not poſſible that he can be regenerated, admitted and incorporated againe. Héerevnto ſerueth that place of the Epiſtle to the Ebrewes wher it is ſaide, that it is impoſſible, that they which be once illuminate, and haue taſted of the heauenly gyfte, and are made partakers of the holye ſpirite, &c. if they fall away, that is to ſaye, if they altogither fall out and runne backe, ſhoulde be renued vnto repentance. Therefore ſéeyng that the miſterie it ſelfe of the Sacramēt can not be iterated, they doe iudge aryghte whych doe ſay, that the ſacramente thereof oughte not to be iterated.

Heb. cap. 6.

Thus muche of the definition of Baptiſme, which is the firſte ſacramente, and whereby we be admitted into the Churche, the like vnto Circumciſion in the olde Teſtamente, whereby they which were circumciſed, were admitted into the couenant of God. Beſides this baptiſme, there be reckened other two alſo: that is to ſaye, the baptiſme of inſpiration, and the baptiſme of the bloud. Of the baptiſme of the ſpirite or inſpiration, that is to witte, of the holye ſpirit, Chriſte ſpeaketh in the Actes ſaying: But you ſhall be baptiſed within theſe few dayes with the holy ſpirite. This kinde of baptiſme is

Baptiſm of the ſpirite & of bloud

Actes. 1.

not to be meante of the worke of the holye ſpirite, whereby the inuiſible grace (wherof the outward baptiſme is a ſigne) is perfected in the electe and faithfull, but of that miraculous power of the holy ſpirite, with which the Apoſtles were indued in the daye of Pentecoſt, and were made perfect in the gift of languages, to goe thorough with their Apoſtleſhip or meſſage, throughout all the worlde, and the like matter was that, that ý ſelfe ſame gift of the holy ſpirit was powred vppon them that beléeued by the laying vppon them of the Apoſtles handes, whereof mention is made in the Actes. But notwithſtāding this, ý Apoſtles had obteyned before that inuiſible grace of the ſpirit, whereof baptiſme is the ſacrament. Whyche thyng I do note to this intente, that we ſhoulde not determine that there be two baptiſmes in the ſacramente of baptiſme, and ſo be contrarye vnto the Apoſtle, which ſaith, that there is but one baptiſme.

Act.

Ephe.

Bapti. of bl.

Mark.

The baptiſme of bloud, is the martirdome, whereby the faithfull bée waſhed in their owne bloud, and bée borne into the heauenlye life out of this worlde. In this ſenſe Chriſt ſaid: I muſte be baptiſed in a baptiſme, and how am I troubled, vntill it bée done? Againe: Can ye drinke of the cuppe that I drinke, and be baptiſed with the baptiſme that I am baptiſed with? But this kinde of baptiſme is not giuen vnto the church for a ſacrament, nor it is not common vnto all faithfull folke, as though that there coulde be no Chriſtian man without it. It is a ſpeciall poynt, and for few, vnto whome the Lorde doth giue this, that they maye not onely confeſſe

confeſſe with their mouth the ſame whyche belongeth vnto all faithfull, but that they may teſtifye alſo wyth their bloud of the faithe and truth of God: for whych cauſe they be called Martirs, that is afmuch to ſaye, as witneſſes as by a certayne ſpeciall prerogatiue.

Some doe diſpute of the baptiſme of John, and doe make ſuche a difference betwixt it, and the ſame which the Apoſtles vſed, and which we alſo doe yet vſe, that they ſaye, that John waſhed the bodyes only, and that hée cleanſed them not from their ſynnes withall: and that he baptiſed them vnto repentaunce, and not vnto forgiuenelle: but that the Apoſtles dyd cleanſe them from ſinnes, baptiſing vnto forgiuenes: and ſo they do make two baptiſmes of the newe Teſtament: one whereby Chriſt and hys Apoſtles did baptiſe, as in haife part only, and vnſufficiēt: the other, wherby the Apoſtles were baptiſed at the commaundement of Chriſt, full and ſufficiente. But that John baptiſed not to the law, but vnto the grace of the newe Teſtamente, of whiche hée was the precurſor or forerunner, it is no néede to be proued. For in hys baptiſing he directed all vnto Chriſt to beléeue in him, as we maye ſée in the Actes. Beſides that he preached the kingdom of heauen, for we reade in this wiſe: In thoſe dayes there came John Baptiſt preaching in the wildernelle of Jury, and ſaying: Do penance or repent, for the kingdome of God is at hand. If hys preachyng was the preaching of the kingdome of heauen, it was then of the newe, and not of the olde Teſtament: and it requires the ſame faithe in Chryſte, whiche the Goſpell requireth, that was preached by ý Apoſtles. Wherefore ſeeyng that the baptiſme of John is not of the olde, but of the new Teſtament, what make they elſe which would haue it ſundry from the baptiſme of Chriſte, but two baptiſmes of the new Teſtament, and do ſequeſter from vs in baptiſme, Chriſt and the Apoſtles, whiche were in deede baptiſed of John, as though they were baptiſed after an other ſort than wée be? Whereas there is but one baptiſme of the new Teſtamente. For Chriſt and the Apoſtles baptiſed after in any other baptiſme, than wée be. And whereas the Maiſter of the Sentences ſayth, that John baptiſed into repentance only, and not alſo into forgiuenelle of ſinnes, it is contrary vnto the manifeſt truthe. For wée doe reade, that he preached the baptiſme of repentance vnto the forgiuenelle of ſinnes.

Ephe. 4.

Matt. 3. Luke 3.

When I conſider this, I can not put any difference betwixte the baptiſme of John and the baptiſme of Chriſt, inaſmuch as the ſame alſo is ordered corporally in water by the miniſters of Chriſte. We baptiſed in water, ſo he baptiſed alſo. We doe baptiſe vnto Chriſt, and we do admit men into ý kingdome of heauen, and we incorporate thē into the church of God, and he did the very ſame. Ours baptiſme dothe require profeſſion of repentāce and of faith in Chriſt, and the baptiſme of John required the ſame. Ours baptiſme doth promiſe forgiuenes of ſinnes vnto thē whych do repent and beléeue, and John promiſed the ſame. Ours hathe the outward ſigne of ý inuiſible grace, which the ſpirit of Chriſt doth worke in the

The compariſon of the baptiſm of Iohn, & of the Apoſtles.

heartes of the elect and faithfull, and he had the same. John baptised not in the holye spirite and fyre, but dyd leaue that vnto Christe only. Nor they nother whyche do baptise nowe adayes, can take that vpon them, vnlesse they will do Christ wrong, and deceyue Gods people. What néede many words? Like as our baptisme doth offer the same in the sacrament, whiche the preaching of the Gospell doth in worde, so the baptisme also of John did not offer vnto the Israelits one thing in worde, and an other in the sacramente. Wherefore séeyng that there is no difference betwixte them, but that the one was first, and giuen vnto the Israelites onely, and this later was communicate vnto ẏ Gentiles also, I thinke we ought not to agrée vnto them whiche doe make two sundrye baptismes thereof. Nor the Apostles nother did baptise anye other at the first, but Israelites, before that they were sent out into the world, and yet there is no mā so mad, that wil atribute two baptismes vnto them, one of the Israelites, and an other of ẏ Gentils: like as we ought not to make two Gospels nother, bicause that Christe and the Apostles did first preache vnto the Israelites, and afterwardes vnto the Gentiles.

Paule baptised again the twelue disciples. Acts. 19.

But some man will obiect. If the baptisme of John and the baptisme of Christ be all one, then the Apostle had no reason to baptise the twelue disciples in the name of oure Lorde Jesu, whiche were baptised before by John. For to what purpose was it to dippe them twice in one baptisme? Did not some of the Fathers, and Anabaptists of oure dayes, take the foundation of their baptising vppon this? Wherefore to mainteyne the fact of the Apostle, and to ouerthrow the error as well of the old as ẏ new Anabaptists, it wer wiselier done to sequester the baptisme of John from the baptisme of Christ, than to make them both one. For the rebaptising is not to be blamed, when they bée rebaptised not in the same, but in a sundry baptisme. This I say, may be obiected vnto vs.

Sundry opinions this fa Paule.

And vpon the occasion of this present matter, it were worth the labor, to way thys doyng of Paule wyth some diligence. The old writers and some also of the newe be of the opinion, that these twelue disciples were twice baptised, once with the baptisme of John, and agayne with the baptisme of Christe. Some others of the newe men, do denye that they were twice baptised, affyrming constantly that they were baptised but once onely. And they doe so vary among themselues, that some doe denay that they were baptised before that they came vnto Paule, and therfore that they were baptised but once by hym, and that aryghte: Some doe holde that they were baptised by John before that they were acquaynted wyth Paule, and that therefore they were not baptised agayne by him. The firste do take the baptisme of John not for a sacramente, but for a doctrine and instruction without any sacramēt: but that the baptisme of Christ whych Paule gaue, was not a doctrine and working of the spirite onely, but a sacrament also, and the latter doe take the baptisme of Chryste, for the doctrine and working of the spirite withoute the outwarde sacrament: and that of

John,

John, not for the doctrine onely, but for the outwarde signe of baptisme also.

The the twelue disciples were twice baptised.

My opinion is, that these disciples were twice baptised, and the playnnesse of the wordes maketh mée to thinke so. To iudge of anye matter, we must principally consider, what it is that is called into question. In this present case the questiō is, whether that those twelue disciples were twice baptised or but once onely. Wherefore we must way in Paules wordes what he demanded of them, and what not. For as much as hée sawe that they were reckened amongst the disciples, hée presumed that they were not only beleuers, but baptised also: and therefore he asked not whether they were beleuers, but whether beleuing they had receyued the holy spirite. And when they had answered: No we haue not so muche as heard that there is a holy spirite. Then againe he doth not aske them, whether that they were baptised or no, but as presuming that they were baptised, forasmuche as they were disciples, he asked them wherevnto they were baptised. As though hée hadde sayde: Séeyng that you be disciples, no doubte you be baptised, therefore tell mée in case you haue not hearde of the holye spirite, vnto what you be baptised? what manner of baptisme you be baptised in? and vnto whome you be professed? Héere vnto they did not aunswere: We bée not baptised, for they were not asked of that, whether they were baptised or no, but they sayde, We bée baptised with the baptisme of John. By these wordes it appeareth well, that they were baptised of Johns baptisme. He that asketh of me what kind of man I am, declareth playnely that he beleueth that I am a man. So by order he shoulde first haue asked, whether they were baptised or no, if he had doubted of it, rather than into what they were baptised.

Likewise I do gather of the secōd baptisme whiche is of Christ, by the demaund and answere of the Apostle. And also that there was a lacke in the baptisme of John, in that that they were not baptised in Chryste. For whereas hée sayeth, In déede John baptised with the baptisme of penaunce, speaking to the people of him whiche shoulde come after him, that is to say, of Christ Jesu. And whereas it is added: And hearyng this, they were baptised in the name of the Lorde Jesu, what meaneth it else, but that they were voyde of the baptisme of Christ: yea and ignorant of the holy spirite, and that for thys cause they were baptised agayne in the baptisme of Christ? So I thinke it is a cleare case that they were baptised not once onely, but twice.

And yet for all that, there is no gap opened by this opinion of mine, vnto the Anabaptistes to rebaptise. For ẏ Anabaptists haue not the like occasion, as the Apostle hadde with these twelue disciples, whiche were indéede twice baptised, but not wyth one, but sundrye kindes of baptisme. That rebaptisme is vtterly to be reiected, which is of one very selfesame sacrament. For it is written. There is one baptisme, like as there is one Lorde, and one faith. What maketh matter but that the Jew which is so oftē washed in ẏ law, might be washed again if he come to christ? But ẏ

Donatistes and oure Anabaptistes doe washe them agayne which haue bin once washed, and that with the very same sacrament. And that these twelue, before that they came vnto Paule, were not washed with ẏ baptisme of Christ, but with ẏ baptisme of John, so that they neyther vnderstoode ẏ they were baptised in Christ, nor had heard of any working of the holy spirite, it appeareth wel ynough by the very texte. In case that they were not baptised in the name of Jesu, in what name were they baptised then, but in the name of John? But lette it be in any, surely it was not in the name of Jesus Christe. For then Luke should haue sayd very vnaduisedly: And when this was heard, they were baptised in the name of Jesus. So that in case they were not baptised before, neither in the name of Jesus, nor had receiued any thing of the holy spirite, what remaineth else, but ẏ they were baptised eyther of false Apostles, eyther by some counterfait disciples of John? In this case what could the Apostle do else, but admitte thē by an expresse consignement vnto the Lord Christ in baptisme? For in case that the Corinthians, of whome we doe reade, had bin baptised in the name of Paule, certaynely they muste haue bin newe washed, not wyth the same, but wyth a sundrye sorte of baptisme, that is to saye, of Chryst. But bycause that they were baptised in the name of oure Lorde Jesu, albeit that of a naughty zeale they stucke vnto other Schoolemaisters, and deuided the vnitie of Christes bodye, yet for all that there was no cause to washe them agayne wyth the selfe same baptisme, but to bée putte in mynde of the baptisme of Chryste, and to bée perswaded to kéepe the vnitie of the Churche. For thys cause wée doe reproue the elders, bycause they dyd rebaptise agayne wyth the selfesame Sacramente, suche as hadde béene once admitted alreadye vnto baptisme, and nexte vnto them the Anabaptistes also of oure dayes, whiche vppon a madde gier do rebaptise them, whyche haue bene already baptised, in none other name, but of the father, the sonne, and the holy spirite: and in no other signe, but in that whyche was institute by Chryste hymselfe. And therefore they do vppon no good grounde abuse thys example of the Apostle, to the defence of theyr error. And so it can not bée proued by thys facte of the Apostle, that the baptisme of John was one, and that of Christe an other, although that Augustine was of thys opinion: from whyche Ambrose for all that, dothe differ, who wryteth thus: Thys gyfte of God was opened vnto men, to sette forth the beginnings of the faythe, as it came to passe at the verye beginning among the Apostles and other disciples, and also in those twelue, whiche bycause that they were in a counterfait baptisme vnder the name of the baptism of John, not clensed, but defiled, the Apostle Paule commanded them to bée baptised in the name of the Trinitie, vppon whome when handes were layde, there fell vpon them the holy spirit, and ministred vnto them the talke of dyuers tongues, wyth the interpretation of the same, so that no man durst denye that the holy spirit was in them. This saith he.

1.Cor.1.

Ambr. Epist. cap. 3.

He

He did more wiselye say, that the baptisme of those twelue men was counterfayt which dyd rather defile than clense them, than Augustin did which saith, ẏ they wer baptised by John. The Baptisme of John was not counterfaite, but from heauen, nor it did not defile folke, but did clense as many as did beleue vnto the forgiuenesse of their sinnes. It is no doubt a great lacke of consideration, that they whiche are of the contrarie opinion, do not way what it meaueth, that Christe himselfe & the Apostles were baptised of John: of whom for al that it is not writen, that they were eyther Baptised againe, either of any other baptisme, than we be baptised, innow a days.

II. Of the institution of baptisme.

We mayperceiue that John was the first that ministred the sacrament of Baptisme at the beginning of the new Testament, & that his Baptisme was called by Christ The counsel of God, and that it was from heauen. And that the disciples of Christ did baptise before his passion, which we must not thinke was done without his commaundement. As for the expresse commaundemēt of Baptising, giuen to the disciples after the resurrectin, as of the expresse institution of the preaching of the Gospel (albeit that the Apostles preched also before, as it appeareth in Matth.) we may sée in Matthew, and Marke the laste. And although that absolutely the first institution of Baptisme was not made at that time, yet it was then so instituted, ẏ not only such as beleued of the Jews were not therby consigned into the kingdome of God, as before, but such as beleued also of the Gentiles: lyke as the preaching of the kingdome of God also was then at length appoynted and ordayned to be such, as shoulde be opened not onely vnto Jewes, as it was before, but vnto the Gentiles also, whiche was not lawful before that season.

The Mayster of the Sentences supposeth that it may be better sayd, that the institution of baptisme was made at that time when Chryste was Baptised of John in Jordane. How this doth agrée wyth that opinion whych he followeth, that they make the baptisme of John a sundry baptisme frō ẏ baptisme of Christe, let himselfe be iudge. Let vs way ẏ institiution of Baptisme which doth concerne the Jewes not onely, but vs also, whiche doe beléeue in Christ of the Gentiles. Of the same we do reade in this wise: And when Jesus came, he spake vnto them, saying: All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth: Therfore goe ye, and teach al nations, baptising thē in the name of the father, the sonne, & the holy spirit, teching them to obserue al things, which I haue commaunded you. And loe, I am wyth you euery day, vntil the accōplishmēt of the world. This he sayth in that place. In which words, these thrée points be plainely ynough set forth: first who instituted ẏ baptisme wherby we be washed. Secōdly, vnto whō Thirdly, how it should be ministred.

The Mayster of the Sentences.

Math.28.

First, it is no small skil by whom the tokens of Grace be instituted, & who be the authors of them, ẏ they

VVho instituted baptisme.

become not as voyd, but ratified and
established. It is necessarie, that the
verye same be the author of the Sa-
crament, signe, and token, whiche is
the author also of the grace, whose
visible forme is in the Sacramente.
The authoritie to make sacramẽts,
is to be attributed vnto none, vnto
whom the authority of the inuisible,
grace can not be attributed. And the
same can not be attributed vnto a-
ny man, but vnto him which receaued
it of God his father. He is none of
the Apostles, nor yet of them which
do boast themselues to be the suc-
cessours of the Apostles, but onely
Christe the onely begotten of God,
who onely receyued all power in
heauen and in earth from God hys
father. Of this power of Christ, how
full and iust it is, and not only earth-
ly, but heauenlye also, we haue no-
ted in our Cõmentaries vpon Mat-
thew. We do se therfore by this in-
stitution of baptisme, not onely that
it is no deuise of the Apostles, but
ý commaundement of the Lord: but
we doe se also wt what authoritie it
is instituted by him; that we shoulde
not doubt, but that the same is the
author of the sacramẽt in him, whi-
che is the author of the grace, and ý
he is not of the Earth, but of heauẽ:
and that it is not the counsel of mã,
but of God. This consideration ser-
ueth our consciences to this end, that
we may know, that we do baptise
and be baptised, not by any authori-
ty of man, but of God.

Cap. 28.

Vnto vvhõ baptisme is appointed.

Secondlye, it is expressed vnto
whome baptisme & the preaching of
the Gospel is appointed by the cõ-
sel of God, & commaundement of our
Lord: Go (sayth he) and teach all na-
tiõs, baptising the. &c. Therfore not ý
Israelites only, but we also whiche
be of ý Gentiles, doe so belong vnto
ý kingdome of Christ, that we be no
lesse partakers of al that grace, than
they be. For he doth declare suffici-
ently by ý, that he would the doctrine
and baptisme to be cõmunicated vn-
to al ý nations of the whole world, ý
he wold haue al ý grace also wherof
baptisme doeth containe the visible
forme, to be cõmunicate vnto all na-
tions, ý they might be also partakers
of the washing away of sins, regene-
ration, sanctification, iustification,
ensealement, & incorporation therof.
And this is it which the Apostle cal-
leth the misterie hidden frõ ý world,
and opened vnto the Apostles. And
the Acts of the Apostles do declare,
why ý this misterie was hardly and
scarsly knowen vnto the firste Chri-
stians, that were of the Israelites,
yea after that this general commaũ-
dement was receyued from Christ.

Ephes. 3. Actes 10. Gen. 12.

Thirdly, there is added also the
ministring of the Baptisme, whiche
the Schole doctors do cal the forme.
He sayeth not absolutely, baptising
them, but he addeth, In the name of
the father, &c. whiche is reade two
wayes: for some do read it, In the
name of ý father, the son, & the holy
spirit: & some others into the name
of the father, the sonne, and the holy
spirit. And both these speaches be
founde in the holy Scriptures. For
in the Acts we reade thus: Repent of
your sinnes and be baptised euerye
one of you, in the name of Iesus
Christ. And in the place whiche I
touched before, whiche way so euer
we doe reade it, both is to be taken
in one sense. When he sayth, Bap-

The firste author why he spake not in the name of the god of Abrah. Isaac, and Iacob.

The ministrer of baptisme.

Actes 2.

tising them Into the name, or In
the name, of the father, the sonne &
the holye spirite, he doeth not sim-
ply commaunde them to Baptise
suche as doe beleeue, but to con-
signe them in Baptisme into the
name, that is to saye, into the posses-
sion, right, religion, and grace, of the
father, and the sonne, and of the ho-
ly spirite, to be the people of God,
the partakers of his couenaunt and
grace. And if we doe expounde In-
to the name, that is to say, into the
fayth and confession of hys name,
or into his possession, power, and iu-
risdiction, or into the strength and
power, or into the couenant & grace
of the father, and the sonne, and the
holy spirite, it is no matter. For all
this is true, and agreeing with the
nature of baptisme.

But some body will aske me here,
why Christ sayde not Into ý name
of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and
Iacob, or Into the name of the lord
God of Israel? Is not that only and
true God, into whose name we be
consigned ouer, the God of Abra-
ham, Isaac, and Iacob, and of their
sæde, into whome we which do be-
leue in Christe of the Gentiles,
are grafted in by baptisme, as into
the naturall Oliue tree? I answere.
No doubte it is no other GOD
into whose name we be Baptised:
and certaynely it can not be denied,
but that we be grafted oute of the
wilde Oliue into that kindely Oliue
of Israel, by baptisme. But yet for al
that, it is not without great reason,
that there is not prescribed vnto vs
such a forme of Baptisme, whereby
we should be baptised into the name
of the God of Abraham, Isaac, & Ia-

The second question vvhy hee sayde not, In the name of god, the vvord, and the Spirite. Psalme. 33.

cob, & Israel, but wherby we shoulde
be Baptised into the name of the fa-
ther, the son, and the holy spirite.

For firste there might be some
daunger, least we should seeme to be
Baptised vnto all the ordinances &
institutions and order of Moses law,
wherunto the church of ý Israelites
was consigned by circumcision: spe-
cially seeing that the firste beginning
of the gathering of the Churche of
Christ proceeded of the Israelites,
and that the Apostles, the mini-
sters of Christes kingdome, yea
and Christ himselfe, came of the Is-
raelytes, yea & seeyng that the same
lawith principles and Introductions
of Moyses, was stirye stucke vnto
by the Churche of the Israelites, as
we may perceyue in the Actes. Also
that reporte of God, that he is the
God of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob,
and of their sæde, doth better agree
vnto the olde Testament and vnto
Circumcision, by whyche the one-
ly people of Israell was consig-
ned vnto GOD, than to the newe
Testament and to Baptisme, wher-
by not one nation alone, but ge-
nerally all the nations of the whole
world are sealed vp vnto hys name
and peculiare possession, grace, and
faythe, who is the GOD, not of
ý Iews only, but of the gẽtiles also.

Secondly, it may be demaanded:
why he said not, Baptising them in
the name of God, the worde, and the
spirite, if hys meaning was, that the
misterye of the holy Trinitie shoulde
be reueled in the world: specially
seeing ý these words, God, ý word, and
the spirite, be knowen in Scripture.
As: The heauens be established by
the word of the Lord, & al ý strength

of them by the spirite of his mouthe? I answere, First that the knowlege of the holy Trinitie is not yet sufficiently comprehended in this, albeit a man do know, that the onely God, is God, the worde, and the spirit, whiche not only the Iewes may knowe by the Scriptures, but the Philosophers of the gentiles also did know, as their writings do testifie: but it is requisite also, that we do knowe by fayth, that the same worde wherby al, things were made, is of one and equall essence in his nature to God, as the sonne to the Father. And that the same also was sent from the father into this worlde, and was incarnate, that is to saye, that God the father sent his onely begotten sonne for our saluation, by whom, beyng giuen vnto death and offered vpon the Crosse for our sins, we shoulde be redemed: whereof there passed a certayne figure before in Abraham and Isaac. And therevpon it commeth, that Christe doeth oftentimes vse these wordes of father, and sonne: manyfestly declaring, that God the father can not be knowen aright, but by the sonne: nor the sonne, but by the father: and that there doeth consyste lyfe euerlastyng in thys knowledge, to knowe God the Father, and hys sonne Iesus Christ whom he sente. Wherefore to set forth thys mysterye of the Father, and the Sonne, in the nature of God, to be somewhat better knowen, and to be honoured also with the grace of that matter which was taken in hande, the lorde did appointe vs this manner of fashion and forme of Baptisyng. So that when we be baptised in ỳ name of the father, the sonne, and the holy spirit, we be wont any nay, sealed vp vnto the fayth of the holy Trinitye, and according vnto this fayth we be admitted vnto the seruise & honor of the father, the sonne, and the holye spirite. So that Basile sayde aryght: We muste be baptised as we haue receiued, and beleeue as we be baptised, and glorifye as we haue beleeued, the Father, the Sonne, and the holye Spirite. This argument we must vse also stoutly against the newe Arrians.

Thirdly, some men doe demaund that where as Christe commaunded menne to baptise in the name of the father, and the son, and the holy spirite, how chaunce we read not ỳ the Apostles did vse that forme, but that they did Baptise absolutelye in the name of our Lorde Iesu: as Peter sayd in the Actes: And let euery one of you be Baptised in the name of Iesu Christ. Item: Men and women were Baptised in the name of Iesu Christ. Againe: Peter did bid them of the household, kinsfolke, and frendes of the Centurion, to be baptised in ỳ name of Iesu Christ: I answere, that it can not be affirmed ỳ the Apostles did not Baptise in the name of the father, and the sonne and the holy spirit, by that it is not read, that they did so baptise. For the scripture doth not make mentiō neyther with what wordes they did Baptise, but it setteth forth this only, that they did baptise in the name of Iesus Christ, that is to saye, that they did consigne thē which beleued in Christ, vnto hys name. Againe, to Baptise in the name of Iesu Christ, is not to Baptise seuerally in the son

The third question vvhy vve reade not that the Apostles vsed this fourme of baptising. Act. 2. Act. 10.

of

of God, but in the father himselfe also, and in the holy spirit. In case that he whiche beleeueth in Christ doeth not beleeue in Christ only, but in the father also, as the Lord himself saith: He that beleueth in me, doeth not beleeue in mée but in hym onely whych sent me, what apleth it, but by the same reason he should be baptised in the father, which is baptised in Christ: To be baptised in Christ, is to be baptised in the annoynted of God, yea and (as Ambrose doth note right well) in the father also whiche annoynted him, and in the holy spirite also, by whom he is annoynted of the father. Besides this, the name of Christ was wel knowen, cōmon & wel liked of ỳ people in the Hebrew tong משיח of whence ỳ firstlings of the Church of Christ was gathered, so ỳ it was not without cause, ỳ the Apostles commaunded suche as beleeued at the firste, to be baptised in the same: specially seeing that the misery of the holy Trinitie did not wel like that people.

Fourthly, we must beware, least we giue occasion to the ignorant by this place, to make thrée Goddes, as though that the Father were seuerally a God, the son a God seuerally and the holy Spirite seuerally another God. For asmuchas the names of the thrée persons be as it were seuerallye reckened in this forme of baptisme. We be not baptised in the names, but in the name: not of many Gods, but of one in nature and essence, and triple in persons & properties. Nor it is not so hard a matted to conceiue of the Trinitie in Unitie. and of the Unitye in Trinitie, seeing that it is playnely to be perceiued not onely in the nature of God, but of men and other liuing things also. There is in manne the soule, the spirite, and the bodye, thrée distinct substances, which for al that do make but one man, and not thrée. In the soule there is the mind, the vnderstanding, and the wil: but these doe not make thrée soules, but one only. In the Sunne there is the verye substaunce of it, the heate, and the lyghte, and yet there be not thereby made thrée sunnes, but one. Take the lyght and shynyng from the sunne, and thou shalte see the bodie of it no more: take awaye the heate, or warmeth, and thou shalte not feele whether the sunne be in the skie or no. The shewing of the sunne is in the shyning and the heate. Take away the worde and spirit from God, & we shal come by no knowledge of him at al. Therfore whereas the sunne, and the spirite are ioyned vnto the Father, it doeth further nothing to the makyng of manye Goddes, but to the manyfestyng of one true God, whiche was to be spred throughout the worlde by the Gospel,

And we must beware of this also, that we suppose not that the sonne is lesse than the father, and the holy spirite lesse than the sonne, bicause that the Father is sette in the first place, the Sonne in the seconde, and the Spirite in the thyrde, as *Donatus* thoughte as Augustine doeth witnesse in hys Booke of Heresies *Ad quod vult Deum*. These wordes or appellations of the Father, the sonne, and the holye spirit, be not so set one after the other, that they should make the persons

There is set foorth no equalitie of persons.

sons

ſons in the godhead the one higheſt, the other mean, and the other infinit, but they be ſo rather ioyntly linked togyther, to aſcertaine the equalitye of Godhead to ech of them. And this knitting togither of them is ſuche, that it giueth no place to anye creature in this caſe of Sacramental admiſſion, that we ſhould not be Baptiſed vnto anye creature, and turne the honor of the Creator, redéemer, and releuer, vnto creatures. Wherfore we muſt conceyue, ẏ this coniũction of thrée perſons hath ẏ ſtrength and force of making equal, and not of makyng leſſe, ſo that we maye therby right wel defende and maintayne the godhead of ẏ father, the ſonne, and the holy ſpirite to be one and true God, to be al one and equal.

Of the adminiſtration of Baptiſme.

NOw that we haue cõſidered of ẏ inſtitution, we muſt next ſée of the adminiſtration of it. For it can not be ſufficient to the holeſome vſe thereof, that Baptiſme of it ſelfe is holy, and inſtituted by Chriſte himſelfe, oneleſſe it be alſo lawfully diſpenſed and beſtowed, like as a medicine though it be neuer ſo good of it ſelfe, and giuen of neuer ſo cunning a Phiſition, yet it can not be auaileable, vnleſſe it bee well vſed. And herein are thrée things to be cõſidered. Firſt vnto whom Baptiſme may be giuen: ſecondly vnto whõ it ought not to be giuen: thirdly, howe it muſt be miniſtred.

The order of this Article.

I. Vnto vvhom Baptiſme may be giuen.

ALthough that there be an innumerable ſorte and diuerſitie of nations, and people, of kindes and ſexes, of ages and eſtates, of behauiour and degrées of men, yet there is no man, what nation, kinde, ſexe, age, eſtate, and degrée ſo euer he be, whether that he be an Ethnike or a Iew, man or woman, yong or olde, frée or bound, rych or poore, although that he be ſubiecte to neuer ſo grieuous faults, that ought to be put frõ the Baptiſme of Chriſt, for aſmuch as Chriſt himſelfe doth cal all vnto him: and came into thys world for this purpoſe, that he woulde be the ſauioure of al: And gaue this charge vnto his Apoſtles, to teach and baptiſe al nations. And ſéeing that he woulde haue the preaching of hys grace common vnto al, and therfore commaunded it to be ſet forth vnto all liuing men, who may not ſée that Baptiſme alſo whiche is annexed vnto the preaching of ẏ goſpel, may be communicate vnto all them vnto whom the grace it ſelfe (wherof it is the Sacrament,) is communicated by the Lords cõmaundement: And to this purpoſe ther do ſerue many places of holy ſcripture, as this: So god loued the world. &c. And Paul ſaith: One died for al. Agayne, that he by the grace of God ſhould taſte deathe for all men. Item, Who wil haue all men to be ſaued & come to ẏ knowledge of the truth. &c. *Ergo* the ſigne of this grace alſo, ẏ is to ſaye, Baptiſme, is to be communicated vnto al men.

No man ought to put from the baptiſme of Chriſte.

The communication of grace doth include common of the Sacrament.

Iohn. 3. 2. Cor. Heb. 2. 1. Tim.

And

And this vniuerſall communion of the heauenly grace which is propoſed vnto all, conſiſteth in two things. 1. The one is the common neceſſitie whereunto al kinde of mẽ is ſo ſubiect, that without the grace of Chriſt, whoſe ſacramente Baptiſme is, none therof can be ſaued, no not the infant of one houre olde. And therupon is that ſayd of the Apoſtle: All haue ſinned, and haue néede of the glory of God. And, In Adam all do dye, and in Chriſt al be reſtored vnto life. And for this cauſe ſome of the fathers and of them Auguſtine namely thought that the infantes which were taken from this life withoute Baptiſme, were condemned: as thoughe that the infantes could by no meanes be partakers of the grace of Chriſt but by Baptiſme only, whereas Iacob being yet in his mothers belly, was beloued of God, and obtayned ẏ grace, not afterward by circumciſion, the ſacrament of admiſſion. In déede they iudged aright in this point, that they thought that they nor the infantes neither, could be ſaued wythout the grace of Chriſtes bloud: but this were a very hard point, and not agreable to the grace of Chriſt, that they which are bereft by any occaſion from Baptiſme, ſhoulde be in like caſe, as they which are bereft of the grace it ſelfe. The Pelagians did vpholde, that infants dying without Baptiſme, be not damned: but they did it for ſuch a cauſe, as can not be allowed of the faithful. For they dá[illegible] that they had no ſinne in them why they might be damned, and ẏ therefore they were ſaued by their owne innocency. And to withſtand this errour, the fathers ſponne me ſuch a thréed, or groſſe corde rather in their argumentes, that they denyed, that the infants of the faythful were ſaued, which were taken away by death before Baptiſme, and not only bycauſe that they were cõceyued and borne in ſinne, but for that they ſuppoſed, that when they were berefte of Baptiſme, they were berefte alſo of the verye grace of Chriſt.

2 Secondly, the vniuerſal cõmunicating of the grace of Chriſt ſtãdeth alſo vppon that will of God, whereof we ſpake in the places of the ſcripture before recited. And in the Goſpel of Iohn: This is the wil of the Father, &c. Thoſe things whiche we haue touched before hereof in the matter of fayth, that fayth in Chriſt belongeth vnto the elect only, doth not hinder, but that the grace of Chriſt ſhoulde be propoſed vnto al men, as in preachyng, ſo in communicatyng alſo of the Sacraments.

Iohn. 3. 1. Timo. 1. Iohn. 6.

II. Vnto vvhom Baptiſme ought not to be *giuen.*

ALbeit that it is apparant, that both the grace of Baptiſm, & the preaching of the Goſpell is to be ſet forth vnto all, and that the Sacrament therof ought to be denied to no man, yet for all that this is a cleare caſe alſo, that Baptiſm is not without reſpect to be giuen vnto euerye man. For it is one thing to ſay, that it ſhoulde neuer be giuen: and an other matter to ſaye, that it oughte not as yet to be giuen: and as ther is

Euery man is not immediatly to be baptiſed.

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no man of whome ye may say, that the Sacraments of baptisme ought neuer to be giuen vnto him: so there be many also vnto whome you may say, that it ought not as yet to be giuen.

Tvvo impediments of baptism. If a man be not elect.

Wherfore, there be certain lettes and impediments to hinder, that the grace of baptisme cā not take place. And they be of two sorts, the one is secret, the other is manifest. That is secrete, in case that a man be not of the number of the Elect, but be of the reprobate. And albeit this let do alwayes make the man voyde of the grace of Christ, yet it can not be so obserued in the church of Chryst, as touchyng the administration of the sacraments, that we can baptise the elect only, and admitte them to the communion of the lords supper only, and put away the reprobate, no more than it could be done in ẏ olde Testament, in which God himselfe did so institute the sacrament of circumcision, the signe of his couenant, that he would not haue any differēce made in the administration thereof betwixt the elect and the reprobate, by the presumption of man, but he did so reserue the knowledge of his difference vnto himselfe, that he cōmaunded, ẏ the sacramente of hys grace should be ministred the eyght day to all infants, as wel reprobate as elect, as wel vnto Esau whom he hated in his mothers wombe, as vnto Jacob whom he loued before that he was borne. Therfore seeing that this difference of the elect and reprobate of the new borne infants is so hidden from our iudgement, it is not meete that we should enquire vpon it, when baptisme ought to be ministred, least by ouersight we may reiect the vessel of grace, and least we should seeme to seeke to be wiser and more circumspect in the administring of the sacrament, than God himselfe was in the first institutiō of ẏ same.

The manifest impedimēt and the let thereof, is the manifest refusall & reprofe of the grace preached and offered by the gospel of the kingdom of God. In respect of this he ought not yet to be Baptised, which doeth by incredulity eschewe and refuse ẏ the grace of Christe preached vnto him, as long as he doth continue in that obstinacye and incredulitie, and kepeth that impenitent hart. Albeit it chaunceth oftentimes, that such a one may be appointed by Gods predestination vnto life, and maye be a vessel of grace: the example whereof hath passed before in Paule, who albeit that he were of the number of the elect, and was partaker of that grace, the Sacramente whereof consisteth in Baptisme, yet for all ẏ he coulde not be partaker nor capable of baptisme, as long as he dyd withstaud the preaching of grace by incredulitie.

The manifest refusall of Gods grace.

For this cause the Apostles dyd require repentaunce and confession of the fayth in Christ, of them whiche were of yeres of vnderstanding, before that they would baptise thē. So Peter sayde: Repent, and be euerie one of you baptised in the name of Jesu Christ, by which words he did assuredlye signifie, that it is required of them that be of vnderstanding, that they repent, for as muche as the sacramente of the grace of God ought not to be bestowed vpon them which be impenitent. And in ẏ same

same chapter we read thus: therfore they which receyued his word, were Baptised. *Ergo* they which receyued not his word, but withstoode it, were not Baptised. Againe: And when they beleued (sayth he) Philips preaching of the kingdome of God, they were baptised both men and womē, in the name of Jesu Christ. And in the same chapiter of the Eunuche: Lo here is water sayth he, what is ẏ let, but that I may be baptised? and Philip sayde: In case thou doest beleue with al thy harte, thou mayest be. And he answered and said: I doe beleue, that Jesus Christ is the son of God. And he badde that the charet should stay. And they went down both into the water, Philip and the Eunuche, and he Baptised him. By these places it appeareth, that there is required of them which be of vnderstanding, a repentant hart, receyuing the word of grace, and beleuing in Christ: so that they which be impenitent, and refusing the worde of grace, and vnbeleuing, can not be yet able to receiue this grace, albeit that they be of the Elect, vntil that they be conuerted.

Of the Baptism of children.

The Anabaptistes doe argue vpon this place, In case (say they) that repentance be requisite before Baptism, then infants are not meete to ẏ receiue Baptisme, for they can neither repent nor beleue ẏ preaching of the Gospel. Therefore they ought to be Baptised at such time, as they come to yeares of vnderstandyng, and be able to do both. And hereunto they doe apply that whiche Chryst spake, setting fayth before Baptisme: He that doeth beleue and is Baptised, shall be saued. Besides that, that the Apostles also did baptise onely suche as were of some vnderstanding, and did professe their faith: and they say also, that it is not readde in Scriptures, that they did baptise infants. And they be moued by these argumentes vtterly to condemne the baptisme of children, and therefore doe bring in Rebaptising.

Infants can not beleue

First, wheras they do say, that infants can not beleue the preaching of the gospel, nor professe repentāce, they be not the first alone that do so saye. Albeit there be some in oure dayes whiche in disputation of the fayth of infantes doe holde, that they maye beleue: which opinion we can not allowe, as we declared before in the place of fayth, in the seuenth Article. And it is not sufficiente in thys case, to haue a secrete fayth, but there is requisite also the profession of fayth, whiche can not doubtlesse be ascribed vnto infantes, although ẏ the Papistes dodemaūde the same of them at their baptisme particularly, one peece after another throughout al their Crede, as wel as they do of them that be of vnderstanding.

Euerye thing is not required vppon infāts, vvhiche is required of thē that be of vnderstanding.

Secondly, whereas they do argue here vpon: Seing ẏ they oughte not to be baptised whiche can not professe repentance & faith, but infantes cā professe none of thē both: *Ergo* infants ought not to be baptised. Albeit we graunt the seconde part of ẏ argument, yet we do stick in the first part, and wil haue that more specially sifted, & we do denie the conclu-

sion. If the question be touching the that be of yeares of vnderstanding, we do allow the first part, but in case it be touching infants, we do not so. For the case of infantes is otherwise also before God than the case is of them which bee of yeares of vnderstanding: nor it is not itte, that the very same in matters of religion be required of infants, whiche is of necessitie required of them that be of yeres of vnderstanding. Wherof we haue noted more at large in our Commentaries vpon Math. 8. Wherefore some men haue written very inconsiderately in our days, that if it doe appeare that infants haue no fayth in Christ, they doe admise vs that we shoulde vtterly and spedily forbeare from the Christening of them, whych kynde of writing I beleue hath ministred greate occasion of erroure to the Anabaptistes, albeit that they whych wrote it, wer cleere inough frō their error.

The faulte of incredulitie cannot be imputed vnto infantes.

Furthermore, although that infants haue not yet fayth, yet for al ỳ incredulitie can not be charged vpō them, much lesse the manifest wythstanding of it, whiche proceedeth of incredulitie. Nor we can not attribute impenitence vnto them, which do let them that be of ful vnderstanding, nor there can not be required repentaunce of them, such as maye be of them that be of yeres of vnderstāding, to returne vnto innocency of life, and to be made like infantes, according vnto saying of Christ: Vnlesse you conuert, & become like as children, you shall not enter into the kyngdome of heauen. Therefore seyng that infants be such, that they be set forth for an example vnto thē, that be of ful vnderstanding, that by repentaunce they may be made like vnto infantes, who is so grosse to iudge that repentance is as much to be required of infants, as it is of thē that be of yeares of vnderstanding: Wherefore they be but vaine matters which the Anabaptists do apply vnto infants to haue faith and repentance in them before Baptisme.

They doe also oftentimes alleage those definitions of Baptisme, which we sayd before, be insufficient, which they do, bicause that they wolde proue by some colorable definition of baptism, ỳ infants are not mete to take it, and that therfore they ought not to be baptised. But they do not way what that principal grace of Christ is, of which baptisme is the Sacrament, and wherof infantes also may be receiuers, as of the couenaunt of God, the regeneration, the washing, the sanctification, the consignement, & incorporation. They do in their colorable argument gather this vpon the insufficient definition: Baptisme is the signe of repentance, but infāts cā not repent *Ergo* they ought not to be consigned with the signe of repentance. Item: Baptisme is the signe of faith, but infantes haue no fayth, *Ergo* be not to be admitted vnto the signe of Faith. Item: Baptisme is the signe of mortification and of newe life, infantes be yet voyde of mortification and newe life, *Ergo*, they ought not to be baptised. They might argue likewise also of Circumcision: Circumcision was the signet of the righteousnesse of fayth, which was in Abraham, but the infantes of the Israelytes coulde not haue the fayth by the eyghte daye, *Ergo*

Ergo they ought not to haue bene consigned with the signet thereof, & circumcised. The circumcision of the flesh required, the circumcision of ỳ hart, as we may see in Deuternomie, infantes could not do that by the eyght day, *Ergo*, they shoulde not haue bene circumcided the eight day. And what doe they else by thys manner of arguing, but exclude not onely the infantes of the faythfull from the grace of GOD, the tokens whereof they will not haue communicated vnto them, but reproue and condemne the counsel and purpose of GOD also, whereby he would haue them consigned and admitted vnto the grace of his couenant: They consider not, that Baptisme is the sacrament, not onely of faith, repentance, and newe life, but principally also of the couenaunt of God, and of his heauenlye grace. Like as Circumcision also was the signe of the couenaunt whereof infantes of the Iewes were partakers, although that they hadde not yet obtayned the fayth of Abraham. They were circumcised into the fayth of Abraham, not so that they then hadde it, but so that they shoulde be brought vp in it, and endued withal. The case of Abraham was otherwise. It was required of him, that he shoulde beleue and walke before God with an vpryghte hart, before that he was consigned with the signe of the couenant. So nowadayes also the case of them is otherwise, which do come vnto baptisme being of ful vnderstanding: of them is iustly required repentance, conuersion, faith, and newnes of life, before that they be baptised.

As cōcerning the words of Christ: He that beleueth and is baptised, shall be saued, and he that beleueth not, shal be condemned, the answere is easy.

He that beleeueth, & is baptised.

1 First, Christ doeth not prescribe here who ought to be baptised, and who not, but whiche be saued, and which be condemned. He sayth not, He that beleueth, let him be Baptised: and he that beleueth not, let hym not be baptised: but he that beleueth, and is Baptised, shall be saued, and he that beleueth not, shall be condemned.

2 Secondly, Although that he had said thus: He that beleueth, let him be baptised, yet it were not to be vnderstanded but of them that be of yeares of vnderstanding. Such sayings of Faith, hope, loue, obedience, fear, & seruice of God, conteyned in ỳ scriptures, are not to be applyed vnto infantes, but vnto them that be of full yeares of vnderstanding, which be of capacitie to receiue them by age. As these be to the Ebrewes: Withoute faith it is impossible to please God. And whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne: Again: Whosoeuer calleth vpon the name of God, shall be saued, and, Blessed is the manne that feareth the Lord. Item, He that is of god, heareth the words of God. Item, Blessed are al they, which do trust in ỳ Lord, & such other like, as this saying is also of Christ: He that beleueth and is Baptised, shal be saued, but he that beleueth not, shal be condemned. The first foundation of our saluatiō is nether faith, nor hope nor charitī, nor ỳ feare of god, &c. but ỳ election of God, by which are saued not only they which ar of ful yers of

Hebr. 11. *Rom.* 4. *Rom.* 10.

The first foundation of our saluation, is election.

derstanding doe beleue, hope, loue, feare, cal vpon, and obey God, &c. but the infants also, albeit that they be taken out of thys life, not only wout Baptisme, but also without fayth, and al the rest whiche is required of them that be of full yeares of vnderstanding.

That the Apostles baptised them that vvere of vnderstanding.

Besides that, the doings of the apostles in Baptising of them that were of full yeres of vnderstanding, and beleued, is not so to be taken, as though that they Baptised onely such as were of full age and none else. It is no good argument. The Apostles did Baptise such as were of ful age, *Ergo* they Baptised no infantes. God is called the GOD of the Israelites in the Scriptures, whereby a manne shoulde grounde but an ylfauored argument to saye, *Ergo* he is not the God of the Gentiles. Christ was promised vnto Abraham and his séede, and yet it foloweth not the rvpon, that the Gentyles also doe not belong vnto hym. The harte of the king is in Goddes hande sayth Salomon, but that is no let but that the hartes of the rest of men be also in the hande of God. So there is nothing to lette, of that that the Apostles Baptised men of ful age, but that they Baptised also their infantes and children.

That it is not read, that the Apostles baptised infantes.

Nor it is not to any weyght that they say, that it is not read, that the Apostles did Baptise infants, *Ergo* they did not Baptise infantes. By lyke reason we may say: We reade not that the Apostles were Baptised thēselues, *Ergo* they wer not baptised at al. Christ himselfe baptised none: Then who baptised ẏ apostles? If we maye argue in this sorte, we shal conclude that the Apostles were not Baptised. If they were not baptised, how could they being not baptised themselues, Baptise others? But they did Baptise others, yea & that before the passion of Christ. So it appeareth that the argumente is weake, to argue from not written, to not doing. When they say: It is not written that the Apostles baptised infantes, *Ergo* they did not Baptise infantes,

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There was no cause of necessitie to write of infantes, nor it was not fit that the Apostles should worke any other waye in this case, than it was prescribed vnto them before in Circumcision: & they could no other way demeane themselues, but firste to preach the Gospel vnto thē which were of full age, and to require repentance and faith of them, and so to establish the beginning of the churche of thē: and after that, not to exclude the Children of them neyther, whiche beleued and were consigned vnto Christ, from the grace of the couenant, nor to sequester them frō their parentes, in whiche sorte God wrought also with Abraham and his children, and set them for an example to administer the signe of the couenant vnto; which maner of consignement Christ would neuer abrogate. And the same no doubt, the Apostles folowed, as it appeareth in the Acts in the house of the woman whyche solde purple, and wyth the keper of the prison.

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Wherefore we do conclude, that although that infantes of the faithful can nether propresse repentance nor fayth, yet it is no stoppe, but that they may be Baptised, séeing that it is a cleare case that they doe belong vnto the couenant of Abraham, and that Christ woulde haue them broughte vnto him, for that the kingdom of heauen did belong vnto them: and bycause no man is so madde that dare goe about to lay in theyr waye the stoppes of Gods grace, as impenitence of the harte, vnbeliefe, contempt of grace, refusing and striuing againste it, whiche commeth of incredulitye, which points do hinder ẏ bestowing of Baptisme, in them which be of full age, and do not beléeue.

And yet for al that, I see not how thys can be wel lyked of wyse men, that they be so careful and superstitious, to make so muche haste wyth theyr children scarse borne, to receiue baptisme, they care not how. I do not commend it, if a man doe fondly and neglygently differ it, but yet for all that, I do not alowe that busie hast of theirs. Gregorie Nazianzene doth aduise, that in case there be no daunger, the Baptisme of childrē shold be differred for thrée yeres, vntill that they might both heare, & answere somewhat of the misteries. But as the behauiour of men is in our dayes, I woulde wishe thys rather, that the yōg childrē of the faithfull, myghte wyth sounde faith and vnderstanding be broughte vnto the Sacramente of admission, nor to carefully nor too neglygentlye, nor ouer hastlye nor yet ouer slowly.

[illegible] vvhich doe hast to scrupulously vvith their infantes to baptisme. *Sermone de baptismate.*

If it be so vsed, that questions of the Scholemen shall take no place, where they do dispute, whether that

The question of the Scholemen.

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Men ought not to be ouer curious in searching out the causes of Gods secrete counsels.

And yet for al that, I see not how thys can be wel lyked of wyse men, that they be so careful and superstitious, to make so muche hacke wyth theyr children scarse borne, to receiue baptisme, they care not how. I do not commend it, if a man doe fondly and negligently differ it, but yet for all that, I do not alowe that busie hast of theirs. Gregorie Nazianzene doth aduise, that in case there be no daunger, the Baptisme of childrẽ shold be differred for thrée yeres, vntill that they might both heare, & answere somewhat of the misteries. But as the behauiour of men is in our dayes, I woulde wishe thys rather, that the yõg childrẽ of the faithfull, myghte wyth sounde faith and vnderstanding be broughte vnto the Sacramente of admission, nor to carefully nor to negligentlye, nor ouer hastlye nor yet ouer slowly.

The question of the Schoolemen.

If it be so vsed, that questions of the Scholemen shall take no place, where they do dispute, whether that

child being wholy in ye mothers belly, and appearing nothing outwarde, ought to be Baptised or no: and in case any part of it doe appeare outwardly, whether it may be baptised? speciallye if it be the head, hand, or foote: whether it be borne with the skinne of the secondine called the cal, it may be baptised or no? and whether it ought to be baptised, if it be a monster? Such questions be not worthy to be vsed amōg christiā mē.

III. Hovv Baptisme ought to be ministred.

The sacrament muste be ministred fully and vvhollye.

HEre be thrée things to be considered belonging vnto the maner of Baptisyng. The first is, that it be done fully, and perfectly: secondly, that it be done in conuenient order: Thirdly, that it be done, so that it be vnderstanded. First it is requisite, that it be done fully and wholye: ye is to say, that the partie be Baptised both according vnto the institution and nature also of this Sacramēt. And I thinke that ther is none, that can skill of the sacramentes, wyll require any more. And thys sacramente is so instituted, that it is accōplyshed in water with the word ioined vnto it. The nature of it is that it cōsisteth in the Worde and in the Element, In the worde is the forme of the Baptisme, (as we men call it) and in the Element, the matter. But we commonly, al the sorte of vs, doe call this elemente Water, which as it is a Sacrament, it is a visible forme of an inuisible grace, hauing a similitude of that, wherof it is a Sacrament. Therfore séeyng that this Sacrament is so instituted, that it is performed in water, and standeth in the worde and the element, or as the Schole doctors doe speake, of a Matter and a Forme, and that the matter is nothing else but water, who perceyueth not that all the rest of the trompery whiche is added by the Papistes, be not of the substance of the matter, but accessorie, nothyng at all perteyning to the wholenesse of the sacrament? For they were not instituted by any commaundement or vse of Christ or of the Apostles, but added by mans deuise, of Byshops, ouer-much gyuen vnto ceremonies. And yet they be religiously and catholikely obserued, as they were requisite of necessitie vnto the wholenesse of Baptism, as oyle is, which by the Gréeke word is called creame, salt, spettle, burning candels, coniuring, halowing of the water, thrée times dipping in of the childe, and suche other like. In whych we do not read that eyther John or ye apostles dyd baptise.

Accessories to baptisme vsed by the Papists.

Oyle is very muche vsed among the people of the East countreys, and not so much amongst vs. They doe annoint their wrestlers and runners when they go to their game, and in the lawe the priestes and kings and prophets wer annointed. Therupon the Bishops of the Easte partes, applyed the vse of annointing vnto baptisme, as conuenient to the purpose, after their owne iudgemente, but without the word and authority of Christ. The Latines folowyng them, haue charged our countries with the ceremony of annointing, to little purpose to them, which neuer vsed the maner of annointing. The old men do expounde the signification of it, meaning that they whyche be

Oyle.

be consigned vnto Christ, be kings, priests, & wrestlers, or maisters of fence, to fight against Satan, sin, and the world: but they whych came after them, so couered this matter, ye it séemed to the common sort of christian men, as a straunge pointe and paradoxe, when they be taught in our days out of the holy Scripturs, that all Christian men be Priestes. No doubte it is a greate abuse, that they do not teache the same whiche the Apostles taught, and yet withal, doe such things in their Baptising, which the Apostles did not.

The vse of salt in the olde Testament was appointed to the Iewes by the law prescribed by Moyses, to them that were vnder the law. If it had béene Christs pleasure, that his ministers should haue loked backe vnto the rytes of Moyses, and taken out of them suche as they listed, he would either haue had declared the same, or els Thapostles woulde haue done it. Wherefore our opinion is, that this vse of salt, also in Baptisme is to be attributed vnto the wil-worship of the bishops.

The spettle whereby they do not lighten but defile and beray the infant, they toke out of the myraculous fact of Christe, wherewith he did strike ouer the eyes of him that was borne blinde, with spettle and claye, and opened them. Thys myracle the Apostles did sée, but for al that none of them stroke their spettle in the eyes of them that shoulde be Baptised. What faithful man would not wishe to haue the spettle of Christe for himselfe or hys friendes? But I thinke there is no manne that greately longeth for the spettle out of the mouth of a sinner, yea and peraduenture an whoremonger. Why doe they not rather tell the faythful people ye significatiō of this myraculous fact in theyr teaching?

And whereas they do bring thyther burning Candels, and that at noone dayes, it must néedes come frō the superstition of the Ethnykes. The old Christian mē vsed burning Candels, but it was in the nighte time, bycause they durst not assemble togither in the day seasō, and it was not very hādsome to sit in the darke. Wherupō Ierome also sayth: we do not light candels at broade daye, as you do slaunder vs without cause, but by thys comforte we doe delaye the darknesse of the nighte, and doe watch by light, least like blynd folk, we should sléepe in darknesse, like as thou doest.

Burning Candles

Contra Vigilantium.

Nor the Apostles vsed not the Exorcising in Baptising, wherby they do coniure the Diuell to go out frō the Infantes that shoulde be Baptised. This they do also altogither wythout any example of Christe or the Apostles, not onelye as concerning the ceremonye of Baptising, but also all other wayes. For which of them euer coniured Satan to depart out of him that was subiect vnto sinnes, and possessed of him not in body, but in mind? The Apostles did deliuer suche as were possessed with Diuels commaunding the spirits to go out in the name of Iesu Christe, but we read not ye they did any such thing with sinners. And I thinke ye our aduersaries be not so madde to say, that infantes be corporally possessed of Satan, for then Christ shold haue driuē out the euil spirits out of

Exorcising

them which wer brought vnto him, which thing for all that he did not. But if they saye that this is done bycause of Originall sinne, in respect wherof infantes be in bondage to the kingdome of Satan, then I pray you, why did not Christ so vnto the Publicans and sinners, and the apostles vnto al them which they baptised, beyng also conceyued & borne in sinnes: I knowe that this custom of Exorcising was in the Church in the times of Cyprian and Augustin, but I seeke not what the fathers did, but what Christ did institute, and what the Apostles dyd.

The halowyng of water.

And wheras they did halowe the water twise a yeare, that is no suche matter, neyther that it is necessarily requisite vnto the substaunce of Baptisme, or set forth by the exāple of the Apostles. The true and righte halowing of this element standeth in the institutiō and word of Christ, whereby it is also made a Sacrament.

The dipping of the children. *De Ecclesiast. dogmat. cap. 74.*

Lastlye, as touching the dipping downe of the childe that is to be Baptised, I thinke it is not so necessarie, but that the Churche is at libertie to Baptise eyther by dipping in, or else by sprinckling. We may see in Augustine, that this libertie was kept in the Church: He that is to be Baptised (sayth he) doth confesse his faith before the priest, and doth answere as he is asked. &c. And after his aunswering, he is eyther sprinckled with water, or dypped into it. Cyprian doeth vpholde the vsing of sprinckling in Baptism, but yet so, that he sayth, it is at mens libertie. *Lib. 4. epi. 7 ad Magnū.*

Therefore we can not otherwise thinke of al these matters, forasmuch as they can be commended neyther by the institution of Christ, neyther the example of the Apostles, but that they do not belong to the perfect administration of the sacramēt of baptisme as ought of the matter, but accessorie: and therfore as they wer inuented by men, so they may be omitted also without any scruple of conscience. The Maister of the Sentences noteth in this wise: Therfore the Sacrament of Baptisme doeth consist in two things, that is to say, in the Word, and the Element, so that although that the other things be away whiche were instituted for the better beautifying of the Sacramēt, yet for all that it is neuertheles a true and whole Sacrament, in case that the Worde be there and the Elemēt. For both in this and in other Sacraments also, there are accustomed to be done some things to the beautie and comlinesse, and some thyngs which doe belong to the substaunce and cause of the Sacrament. The word and the Element be of ỳ substaunce of this Sacramente, the reste is applyed to the solemnitye of it. This sayth he, Of whiche I like wel, that he doth acknowledge, that the wholenesse & substaunce of Baptisme doth consist in two things, ỳ is to witte, the Word & the Elemēt: and that the Sacrament is true and holye, if it haue these two things, though ỳ rest be away. But wheras he doeth refer the rest vnto beautye, comlinesse, & solemnity, what followeth therof else, but ỳ John and the apostles did Baptise neither beautyfully, comly, nor solemnly: forasmuch as they vsed none of these things.

The Maister of the Sentences.

So

Secondlye, it belongeth vnto the manner of Baptising, that the partie whiche is to be baptised, be baptised as it is conuenient for him. And I meane not of the conuenience of the Ceremonies whiche men haue imagined vnto it, but of that conuenience whiche is aunswerable vnto the qualitie of them which are to be baptised. As for example: If he which is to be baptised be of yeares of vnderstanding, let him be first instructed in the faith of Christ, so that he be firste exercised in the Religion before hee be baptised: and afterward when hee shall be baptised, let him confesse hys faith before the Church of Christ, if it may be: if not, at the least way before them by whome he is baptised. But if an infante shall be baptised, there oughte not to be required of him neither faithe, nor confession of his faithe, as it is of him that is of full vnderstanding, forasmuche as it were altogither without purpose to require that of an infant, whiche neither God himselfe dothe require of him, nor which he is able to haue or expresse for lacke of age.

Wherefore I see not howe it can be maintayned, that they do demand of the infant when it shall be Baptised, whether it dothe renounce the workes and pompes of Satan or no, and then the witnesses do answer that he dothe renounce: and whether that he do beleeue in God the Father almightie, maker of Heauen and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his onely begotten Sonne, and in the holye Ghost, and his Godfathers doe aunswere in his steede vnto the three questions of the faith, three sundrye times, that he doth beleeue. Wheras there is no man so shamelesse, whych if he be seuerally demaunded of the infant, whether that he dothe knowe and vnderstand those things that bee conteyned in the Creede, as if there be a GOD, and whether that he bee one, and the father almighty, maker of heauen and earthe, &c. Item whether he beleeue that Jesus Christ be the only sonne of God our Lorde. Item, Whether that he do loue, feare, and honor God, &c. but he will be afrayde to aunswere that the infante doth know these things, and is able to performe them. Then what necessitie is it, that for cuckome sake, men must doe and say those thynges in the Church, which can not be spoken vpon any likely or sure ground? Augustine saith: If we wil in words declare that the little children doe know Godly matters, which doe not yet vnderstande worldly matters, I feare least we shall seeme to do wrong vnto oure verye senses in so saying, whereas the playne euidence of the truth dothe easely surmount all that strength and meanes of our sayings. *Augustin. Epist. 28. ad Dardanum.*

I knowe what Augustines aunswere was vnto this question to Boniface the Bishop, where he writeth in this wise: It is answered that the chylde doth beleeue, whiche hath not yet any affection of faith. It is aunswered that it hath faith, bycause of the sacrament of faith. Thus sayeth he. He calleth Baptisme the sacrament of faith. But in case that the sacrament of faith be faith, how is it said that the infant hath faith, which hath not yet baptisme, & is therefore demanded whether that he doth beleeue, to the intent that he maye receyue Baptisme? Againe, the que-

tion is not whether that he hath the Sacrament of faith or not, but whether that he dothe beleeue. The question is of faith, and not of the Sacrament of faith. Although that he haue Baptisme, whiche is the Sacrament of fayth, yet for all that it can not be truely reported, that hée hath faithe therefore. And so it is a very fœble answere that this great man maketh in this matter, for as much as the infant when he is thus demanded, hath neither faith neither the Sacrament of faithe. For howe should he haue that whiche he hathe not yet receiued? But yet this they are compelled to answer the matter, which wil nèeds mainteyn and kéepe this custom vsed in the church, without any ground of it. And this being so fonde a custome, that it can not be defended, risen first of this, that the Bishops did disorderly applye that forme of baptising of such as wer of perfect yeares of vnderstanding, vnto the baptising also of infants, and so began to demaunde of infantes, of the abrenouncing of Sathan, and of the fayth in the holie Trinitie, as well as they did of them that wer of yeares of full age.

It is the fathers parte to require baptism for his chylde, & to make confession, of his faith & to promyse to bring vp his child in the same.

In my iudgemente it were more conuenient, if the father of the infant that is to be baptised, were present at the fonte to require baptisme for his child, and that he should be openly examined of his faithe by the Minister, in presence of them that stande by, of the Faithe, not whiche the infant hath, but which he himself hath, in Christ our Lord and sauior: and whervnto he will bryng vp and teach his infant, & being so asked, it were good that he shuld declare with an open and loud voyce the Christiã beléefe, and after hys Confession so made, that he shoulde reuerently require to haue his child consigned vnto this faith and grace of Christ. I doe prescribe or gine order vnto no man, but by other mens leaue, I doe only declare what I think more profitable and expedient.

Thirdly, baptisme muste be celebrated not only perfectly and conueniently, but so also, as it may be vnderstand. And, as touching the infãt that is broughte to be baptised, & for God himself also it is all one, what language soeuer he be baptised in. But in respect of them which do stãd by, & for the Gossips or sureties, that they may also be edifyed, yea and for the church it self, in presence of whõ it were conuenient, that not onely the Lords supper, but baptisme also should be dispensed, it behoueth that all thinges be done in the common and countrey language, that al that is sayd and done may be vnderstanded, and that all persons may be admonished of the grace of Christ (the forme whereof is in the visible baptisme, and to praye altogither vnto God the father, to obtaine the gift of the spirite as well to themselues, as to the infantes also. The Baptisme ought to be bestowed with an exceeding high reuerence, fayth, and deuotion, not only of the Minister, but of the parents & sureties also. But we do sée, how great lightnes ther is crept in, touching this matter, emõgst the Papists. And it cõmeth most of this, that all things be so saide & handled, that they cannot be vnderstanded of the standers by. There is no maruel therfore, frõ whence is issued so great a cor-

a corruption of our christian faythe, seyng that the admission and fyrste entrie of it, is so irreligiously bothe beStowed and vsed.

And in that that we do teach that baptisme oughte to be administred perfectly, conuenientlye, and so as it maye bee vnderstanded, and that all things are to be cut off from it whiche doe not agrée with the institution of the Lord, and with the example of the Apostles, the nature of the Sacramentes, and with the edifying of the Churche, we doe open no gappe vnto rebaptising, but we doe admonishe men of the reformation of the abuses in Baptisme. Wherefore let no man aske me and say: Forasmuch as we be most part of vs all baptised with these ceremonies, of oyle, salte, spettel, burning candles, conjurings, &c. must we not therefore be baptised a new, purely and simply, accordyng vnto the institution of the Lord: We be baptised nother in the name of anye sainctes, nor of the Bishoppe of Rome, nor into the primacie of the Romish Churche, but in the name of the father, and the sonne, and the holy spirite: wherein there doth consist the verye wholenesse & substance of baptisme, which those things take not away that were added to by mens deuices. The ground of baptisme was leste whole, which is not to be remoued or translated in them that be baptised. Let those things that be superfluous and vnprofitable in baptisme be shred off, and cast away.

Of the vse of Baptisme.

Lastly, we muste consider also of the lawfull and true vse of baptisme. And I doe call the vse of baptisme not the very dœde of baptisme, the consideration whereof dothe belong vnto the bestowing and administration of the sacrament, whereof we haue spoken: but that applyemente of it, whereby he that is baptised hauing once receyued the Sacramente of Baptisme, dothe so employ hymselfe all the dayes of hys lyfe, that hée dothe agrée therevnto, and dothe atteyne the efficacie and frute of it, so that the fulnesse of the Sacrament maye bée truely accomplished in hym and not be a barren and a vayne signe.

And the generall fulfilling of all the Sacraments, not only of the old, but of the newe Testamente also, is that the same which is once done sacramentally, or as some saye in the signe, must be truly fulfilled, and in effect throughout al the life lõg. The circumcision of the forefkin was fulfilled by the circumcisiõ of the heart, whiche Moises did require of them that were circumcised, and he dyd promise it also to them which should turne to the Lord in the latter days. The vse of the Passeouer was, that they shoulde be mindefull of the redemption whiche they had receiued, and be thankefull vnto God theyr redéemer, and stedfastly depend vpon him in true faith. Besides this, (hauing the truth it selfe of Christe the true lambe, which the Iewes might well beléeue on and loke for but not perfoyme) what was the Circumcision and Passeouer among the Iewes else, although that they were solemnised in the Sacramentall acte, but vayne and naked signes, as it were a bodye wythoute a soule?

Deuter. 10.

Deut. 30.

In

In like sorte we muste iudge also of the vse and fulfilling of Baptisme. We doe then vse it aright, when the same whiche is done in our body Sacramentally, is in deede and truely fulfilled in vs, throughout al our life. Faith being ioyned there vnto.

The fulfilling of baptisme is two pointes.

The true and reall (as I may call it) fulfilling of baptisme, consisteth in two partes. For the qualitie and condition of the things of whiche baptisme is the Sacramente, is of two sortes.

1 For some be fulfilled of Christ only by his Spirit, and some agayne be loked for of arighte of them that be Baptised. Of Christes part there is fulfilled in the electe and faithfull the washing away of sinnes, the regeneration of the mind, and renuing of the Spirit, the consignment, sanctifying, and incorporation into the grace, flocke and kingdome of God. And I speake not of the Sacramentall and outward consignement, sanctifying, and incorporation, whych is done by the Minister and dispenser of Gods misteries in baptising, but of that whiche the holy spirite dothe truely worke in the heartes of them that be baptised, whereof the Apostle maketh mention saying: In whome also when you do beleeue, you be sealed vppe with the holy spirite of promise. Whereupon this spirite also of God is called the Spirit of sanctification. For this accomplishmente of Baptisme, they which be baptised, muste daily praye and sigh from theyr heartes. For it is not of that sorte that it is done at once alone, but it is made vp by the increase of it in dayly continuance therof, as long as we be in this fleshe.

Ephes. 1. The spirite of sanctification.

2 It is principally required of the that be baptised, that they haue fayth aunswerable vnto their baptisme, so that according vnto their baptisme, their faithe be in the father, and the sonne, and the holye spirite, one and true God, in whome we be baptised. It is a wicked matter to wil a Christian man to beleue in him, to whom he is not consigned by baptisme, as the Saincte seruers do in oure dayes: Doest thou not beleeue (say they) in Saincte? In this sorte they doe require of Christian men to beleeue in dead Saincte, which they know were baptised not in the name of Saincte, but in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirite. They be not contented with the faith whiche is correspondente to the Sacrament of Baptisme, but they do drive men vnto that, whiche ought to bee farre from al Christian folke. They might better aske, whether that wee do beleue in the father, and the sonne, and the holye Spirite. But in case that it be necessarye for vs to beleeue also in Saincte, then let vs adde also of Saincte, in the forme of baptisme: and baptise not only in the father, the sonne, and the holy spirite, but in Saincte also.

1 And whereas we doe saye, that there is required of him that is baptised, a faithe conformable vnto the baptisme, we do not meane of the historicall faith onely, but of that also whereby we doe call vpon that God also, honor and serue him in whome we do beleeue: whereof we spake before in the place of Faith, and whereby we doe beleeue also the grace of baptisme, that is to say, the washing from sinnes, the consignement, iustification,

fication, and sanctification to be gyuen vnto vs in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy spirite. And I meane of the washyng away of sinnes obteyned by the bloud of Christ, whereby not only the originall sinne and the others that passed before baptisme, but all they also whiche we doe committe after baptisme, are washed away, that is to saye, forgiuen. For it is the one selfesame grace of Christes bloud, whose Sacrament baptisme is, whereby al our sinnes gathered both before and after baptisme, are forgiuen to the true faithfull and electes. And therefore John sayd in his Canonicall Epistle: And his bloud dothe cleanse vs from all our sinne. Item. My sonnes, I write this vnto you, to the intente you should not sinne. But in case that any man do sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father Jesus Christe the iust, and he is the appeasemente for oure sinnes. Unto this grace wee be consigned and sanctifyed by baptisme, and it endureth for all our life long, like a continuall running fountayne, alwayes washing the electe: whereof indeede the Sacramentall signe baptisme is receyued but once, but it selfe doth stil wash and cleanse vs by the continuall and euerlasting effect thereof. So that the faithe of this grace is exceedingly decayed by them, which do attribute vnto it the washing away of the sinnes past, only, and doe leaue the riddance of them that followeth, vnto our owne righteousnesse and satisfaction. And therfore it was, that in times past verye many did put off theyr Baptisme vntill the extremitie of their life, to the intent that they would depart out of this life, faire and cleane, and so they wouldne not be baptised but at the very poynt of death, by sprinckeling of water vpon them in their bed, whom they called by the Latin worde, Clinikes, that is, beddemen, after which sort we do reade that the Emperour Costantine also was baptised. They do euen the like, which for theyr money doe purchase themselues from Rome pardons in the Popery, by the vertue of whiche they would be absoyled from their sinnes at the verye poynt of death. None of this geare would be vsed among Christian me, if they did acknowledge the grace of Christ, whose Sacrament Baptisme is.

Clinick.

Newnesse of lyfe.

2 Secondlye, it is required of them that be baptised, that they followe the baptisme in newnesse and holynesse of life. And therefore the Apostle saide: What shall we saye then? Shall we remaine in sinne, that grace may abounde? God forbidde. For howe shall we liue stil in sinne, which are dead to sinne? Knowe you not brethren, that as many of vs as be baptised in Christ Iesu, be baptised into his death? For we be buryed with him by Baptisme into deathe, that as Christ rose from the dead by the glory of the father, so we shoulde also walke in newnesse of life. Thys the Apostle counselleth them that be baptised, that they shoulde truly performe by newnesse of life, the same whiche was wrought in them sacramentally, when they were baptised.

Rom. 6.

We be dead (saith he) vnto sinne. Againe: We be buried with Christ into deathe. Howe be we dead vnto sinne, and buryed with Christ to death? If we be so in very deede, [illegible] nedeth this aduise? But [illegible]

so in deede, how is it then: He sayeth, By Baptisme: that is to saye, sacramentally. As much as the sacramentall signe of baptisme dothe signifie. And he doth adde the thing it selfe, of which the signe passed before in baptisme, saying: That as Christe rose from the deas by the glory of the father, so we should also walke in newnesse of lyfe. *Ergo* it is required of them that be baptised, that they doe mortifie the olde man, that is to say, the body of sinne, and dye vnto sinne, and rise agayn vnto newnesse of life, that is to say, to puritie and innocencie, & not to suffer sinne for to reigne in their mortall body, to followe the lustes therof: and that they doe not yelde their membres vnto sinne, but vnto God, in true endeuoure of righteousnesse.

So that these two things bee required of them that be Baptised, as necessary to the accomplishmente of their baptisme. One, that they do renounce themselues, and mortifie the body of sinne, that they liue no longer to the lustes thereof, and to sinne. Yeere be reiected all dead and seruile workes, that is to saye, al that desire to sinne, wherevnto the olde Adam is subiecte, the bodye of sinne lurking and raigning in them, whiche be not of the grace of Christ, although that they be vnder the lawe, or worldlye wisedome, or in anye superstition, though it be neuer so monkishe and religious to the outward shew, much more they that liue vnder the spirite of Epicures.

Another is, that they walke in newnesse of life: for it is not ynough to be dead vnto sinne, and not to follow the lustes and workes of sinne, nor to serue wickednesse, and vnrighteousnesse, but it is requisite also, that we doe liue to godward, and serue to righteousnesse by newnesse of life. It is not ynough to proue a tree to bee good, if it beare no euill fruite, vnlesse it do also beare good fruites. It is not the qualitie of a good tree to be barren, but of an euill tree. But howe farre be we yet from the fulfilling of the truth of baptisme, which haue not yet forsaken the desire of sinne? We are not gotten vp to the first steppe: when shall we gette to the other? Surely as long as we be in thys flesh, this mortifying and renuing is not altogither so accomplished, that there may nothing more bee desired therein. Wherefore Basile also in a certayne Epistle vnto Gregory Nazianzene doth write, that he had lefte the life of the Citie, as the occasion of many euils, but that he coulde not yet leaue himselfe. Nowe then there must needes be greate difference betwixt them whiche haue no desyre nor endeuours of this mortifying, but be yet drowned vppe in the bondage of sinne, and them whych haue made an entry of this renuing, & whome sinne dothe no longer gouerne, as it dothe the reprobate.

Basile.

And to this purpose also that appertayneth, that the same Apostle dothe argue vpon this grace of baptisme sacramentally receyued, saying: And this you were sometymes, but you be washed, but you be iustified by the name of oure Lorde Jesu, and by the spirit of oure Lorde God. He had said before: Be not deceiued, nother whoremongers, nor worshippers of Images, nor adulterors, nor wantons, nor mē louers, nor

1. Cor. 6.

nor

It is not ynough to be dead vnto sinne, vnlesse that we do also liue vnto righteousnesse.

nor couetous, nor drōkerds, nor backbiters, nor extorcioners, shal receiue the inheritance of the kingdome of God. And forasmuche as the Corinthians, neglecting the grace of ỳ baptisme, whereby they were sacramentally washed from the filthinesse of this life, and being sanctifyed and iustifyed vnto newnesse of life, dyd yet apply themselues vnto sinne, as well as the Gentiles: he doth admonithe them as men that were baptised, to consider that they were washed and sanctifyed from their sinnes, and that so they should liue not vnto sinne, but vnto righteousnesse. Who seeth not how inconueniente a matter it is, after that mē haue bin cleane washed, to runne backe againe, like swine, vnto their olde filthinesse? What auayleth it to be washed and made cleane, when we haue a desire to bee defiled againe? to be sanctifyed and iustifyed, if an vngodly life and purpose of vniust dealing do not exclude vs after that wee bee once washed, sanctifyed, and iustifyed sacramentally, from the kingdome of God? Wherof Christian men ought to take warning, I meane that they bee washed, sanctified, and made cleane in ỳ baptisme of Christ, so that they shuld declare the grace receyued throughout all their life: but faithfull folke be not onely not admonished of thys matter, but the whole opinion of holynesse is so turned into saintes onely, that it were a great offence to cal any man in this life, holy, sauing only the Bishop of Rome, whome hys flatterers are wont to call, Most holy of all, in that sense, that the Poet calleth the honger and desire of gold, Holy. Furthermore, least that thys newnesse of like which is required of them that be baptised, should bee appoynted at the deuice of mans heart, this commaundement was added by Christ, that they whiche were baptised, shuld be taught to kepe al things which he commaunded. Teachyng them (sayth he) to obserue all whatsoeuer I haue commanded you. Therfore like as there be in the doctrine of Christ two partes, one concerning faith, the other obedience: so they bee both also requisite of them that bee baptised. For baptisme is added to the doctrine of Christ, so that a man may say aright in this case: I doe testifie to euery man that is baptised, that he is a debter to accomplishe the whole doctrine of Christ, as well as the Apostle sayde vnto the Galathians: I do testifie vnto euery man that dothe circumcide himselfe, that he is debter to fulfill all the lawe. For like as to the sicke person there is not only ministred medicines, but there be preceptes or diets also prescribed vnto him to follow, least the operation of the medicine should bee hindered: so Christ commanded that his preceptes whiche do serue to the following of true godlinesse, shuld be layd vnto them that be baptised, least they should fall from hys grace, vnto the Sacrament whereof they be admitted and consigned.

Matth. 28.

Two partes of Christes doctrin

Comparison.

Lastly, it is to be considered also, that by baptisme we be al consigned and sanctifyed into one body, one spirite, one Lord God and father, and one faith: Therefore let baptisme also admonithe vs, howe we ought to followe the vnitie of Christes bodye, that wee swarue not from the sacrament of Baptisme. What that

We must followe vnitie.

vnitie

vnitie of Chrystes body is, we declared before in the place of the church.

Hytherto we haue expressed somewhat of baptisme, what it is, what the institution of it is, what is the dispensation and vse thereof, not according vnto the greatenesse and worthinesse of the grace of it, but we haue briefly past it ouer after our order. We know that there be yet many things which might not vnprofitably be spoken of this sacramente, but we meane not to make whole bookes of euery matter. And in case a man lyke scrupulous questions, let him seeke the Scholemens summaries. I graunte that there be many poyntes, wherein the vnlearned desireth to be informed. But no man is able to prescribe of all particular cases, bycause of the varietie of the circumstances: but in such cases wee must take counsell of the ministers of other Churches, whiche be elder and better learned. Or else it may be ordered in particular Synodes, if it be nother contrarye vnto scriptures, nor breedeth any offence to ỳ church.

Of the Supper of the Lord, the other Sacrament of the grace *of Christ.*

The decay of the vnderstãding and minde is verye hurtfull.

THere be two principall things in man, that is to witte, the vnderstanding, and the minde, the decay of whyche turneth all oure life from the high way of truth and righteousnesse, and bothe nowe and then ouerthrowe it into foule errors, and innumerable turmoyles and troubles. The olde serpente did decay them both in vs, in that sort, that we can neyther vnderstande nor desire such thinges as be true, and appoynted vnto our saluation. And the true good things be of that nature, that they would not only haue oure vnderstanding to be suche, that they mighte be vnderstanded aright, but they would haue our mind also greedy and feruently affected towards them. They would not onely be knowen, but loued also, and earnestly desired. Wherefore no man can atteyne them by vnderstanding only, but it must be done with hartie and earnest desire also. Yet for all that, the vnderstanding doth help the affections, when it doth declare vnto them what is to be desired. Wherefore they that will speake of ỳ Lords supper, must be very carefull, diligẽtlye to instructe the vnderstanding of vnskilfull meane, that they may vnderstande what is done therein, and inflame the mindes of such as do vnderstand it, that they may deuoutely desire, and embrace with their heart those things, which they do conceyue in their mind. I suppose that in both these intentes we shall speake more profitably of the Lords supper, than if we should follow the contentions of this present time, which I beseech God I maye see ridde out of those Churches that be sequestred from Antichrist by the benefite of the holy spirite, before I depart to the Lord out of this world.

And to consider all those thynges particularly and orderly that are necessarie to be knowẽ, we will make the same diuision of this matter that wee vsed in ỳ sacrament of baptisme. For I suppose that not onely ỳ worthinesse, but the conformitie also of both the sacraments is such, that the selfe same members effectually considered in both, may serue to the sufficient vnderstanding of them. For whereas they do aduance this other, whereof we are about to speake now aboue baptisme, and doe searche and determine of muche more hydden matter in this than in that, it proceedeth of the scrupulositie and superstition of oure carnall witte, and not of the nature of the Sacrament. Therfore we will consider.

1 What the Lords Supper is.
2 What the institution of it is.
3 Which is the right dispẽsation and administration of it.
4 Which is the true and lawfull vse of it.

I. What the Lordes Supper is.

FOr the full and readye vnderstanding of the Lordes Supper, there is somewhat to be spoken before that we set forthe the definition thereof. First the reader must vnderstand, that it is to be wayed not as a simple matter, but as a compounde. For it is a mysticall thing. And mysticall things be those, wherein there is one thing seene or heard of, and an other thing vnderstanded, in the sort of whiche things the verye Canons, take out of the words of Augustine, doe playnely graunt, that the Lordes supper is to be accompted. And the very nature it selfe of the sacramẽts, of which we spake before, doth sufficiently proue, that it is not a thyng simple, but compounde of the signe, and the thing signifyed: or according vnto Augustine, of the Worde and of the Elemente, or of the Visible fourme, and the Inuisible grace, vnlesse that wee will haue it to be none of the Sacramentes of Chrystes grace.

Simply and compound. things are diuerly to be cõsidered.

And as simple and cõpound things doe differ one from an other in theyr quality, so they must be sundry ways considered of. Those things that bee simple, do require to be simply considered: but those things whiche bee compounde, be more confounded thã opened by the simple consideration of them, whether we loke to the nature, cause, or condition of them. Wherfore we must vse a distinction when things cõpound are to be iudged of. As for an example. A man is a compound creature, made of flesche and of a reasonable soule, as Athanasius saith in his Creede. If it were a question, whether that man bee an earthly or an heauenly creature, mortall or immortall, no man coulde cõueniently aunswere it without a distinction. For the partes of man are to be considered whereof he is made, and the question must be aunswered according vnto the varietie of the partes, as that he is earthly touching his body, and heauenly touching hys spirite: mortall in body, and immortall in spirite. In like sorte also we must consider of the Lordes supper, which as Ireneus writeth, is made of an earthly and an heauenly thing. And what varietie there is betweene heauenly and earthly things, I needs not to tell you, for although that in their composition they do make some

Irenæus.

one thing, yet they do differ in the diuersitie of their natures. And so, in case the answere shall be made of this sacrament of the Lords supper, whether that it be an earthly or an heauenly thing, we must answere, that in part it is earthly, and in part heauenly: earthly in the signe, and heauenly in the matter that is signified: earthly in the earthly bread, heauenly in the heauenly bread, Christ, (for it is made of two breads of sundrye natures one to an nother) earthly I say, in the visible forme, heauenly in the grace inuisible.

The vnitie of thinges compounded.

And albet that we must acknowledge the sundry natures of thinges compound (for the knowledge of the doth much help to the understanding of the whole compounde) yet for all that, the thing compounde dothe receiue a certaine kind of vnitie, which is specified & expressed in one name, wherein the partes also, whereof it is made, be comprehended. So we do call the Word incarnat, being made of God and man, two things most diuers in nature, by one name, Christ, and the flesche and ỹ reasonable soule, being sundry things and made one, we call also by one name, Man. It is in like maner also in the sacramẽts, which though that they be also made of diuers things of their owne nature, yet by the vnitie of the sacramente, they doe gette them some one name, whereby they be expressed. So we doe call baptisme The regeneration, washyng, consigning, admission, and sanctification, by reason of the sacramẽt: and by what names the Lordes supper is called, we wyll se hereafter.

I suppose that there shoulde not haue rysen so muche contention and confusion in the Churche of Christ, eyther touching our Lorde Christe hymselfe, eyther touching his Sacramentes, in case that the manner and reason of the things compound, had bin firste well and distinctly considered, as touching the diuers natures of the things compounded: and secondlye if the vnitie made by the composition of them, were wel wayed. So in this matter of the Lordes supper, whyles that some do iudge of it only accordyng to ỹ inward thyng, and some accordyng to the outwarde onely, or else when they do make an other manner of composition of the partes of it, than can agree with the orders of the Sacramente, what can rise vppon it else, but desire of strife and debate, and no discussing of the matter, but rather the darkening of it? Wherefore we had nede to vse a diligent and discrete iudgemente, to consyder, that the Lordes supper is a thyng compounde, and that the partes thereof be diuers of nature: and one to an nother, but yet vnited in the sacramente, and that we doe attribute vnto eache of them, that whiche is proper to euerye of them particularly: and when they be vnited, that whiche the nature of a Sacrament doth require.

Secondelye, we doe distincte the Lordes Supper from profane matters, acknowledging it to be a moste holy thyng, and that it ought to be religiously handled. Furthermore, that it is not onely holy, but mystically also, as to be esteemed hygh and honorable, not onely for the vse of it, but also for the mysterie sette for the in the same. Yea and not onely mystically,

sticall, but ceremoniall also or vnitu-all, as I may call it. The brasen serpente hadde a mysterye in it, but it hadde no ryte. The stones whyche were layde after the passyng ouer of Iordan, hadde a memorye of the passing, but they hadde no ryte. But the Lordes Supper is not only a holye thyng, but it conteyneth also a memorye, a mysterie, and a rite, or if you lik so to tearme it, a Solemne ceremonie instituted by the Lorde, which we do celebrate in the solemne concourse of people, by his commandement.

Therefore the Lordes Supper, in respecte that it is holye, muste haue the guestes holye, and it refuseth them that bee prophane: and in respecte that it is mystically, it muste haue suche guestes, whyche are able by theyr well practised senses, to distincte the inwarde mysteryes, from that whyche appeareth to the eyes.

Thirdly, in that it hath a remembraunce, it requireth a mindful heart of the good turne receyued.

Fourthly, for as muche as it conteyneth a rite giuen to the Churche of the faithfull, it must haue men to be Church like, whiche will esteeme and obserue the rite of the Churche, left vs by the Lord.

Now to procede, I thinke it were good to the further opening of thys matter, if we cõsider the name whereby the Lordes supper is called. For by the common iudgemente of all menne, euerye thyng is to be called that, whyche it is in dede, or that wherefore vpon some speciall cause it is taken, though of his owne nature it be an nother thing. And in dede the names of things be some proper, and some improper, and there is muche difference betwixt the definitions of Sacramentall and naturall things: but yet vnlesse that the names doe conteyne a certayne and sure declaration of thyngs, and doe teache vs what we ought to iudge of them, it is not possible but that he muste fall into some errour, whosoeuer following the sense of them, doe iudge the same of the thinges as they be named. Now where as the vse of names or wordes is onely to be signes of things, signifying what we shoulde iudge of them, I thinke I shall not doe amisse, if to make a definition of the Lordes supper, I doe consider orderly, by what names it is called.

The names of the lordes Supper of three sorts.

There be three sortes of them, for some were spoken by the Lord hymselfe, some by the Apostles, and some vsed by such as came after them, euẽ vntill these dayes. Firste when the Lord did institute this Sacramente, he sayd: Take, eate, this is my Body, which is betrayed for you. This doe in remẽbrance of me. Item, drinke al of thys. Thys cuppe is the new Testamente in my bloud. &c. Doe thys, as often as you do drinke, in remembrance of me. *Ergo*, the same whyche we do call ỹ Lords supper, the Lorde himself called it His body and bloud, and the Newe Testamente in hys Bloud. These wordes we will expounde in the processe of this treatie. But yet we muste carrye in mynde to knowe that the Lordes Supper is called by the Lord himselfe, hys bodye and bloud in the new Testament.

The bodie and bloud of the lord.

Secondly, ỹ Apostles called it the

Breaking of bread. Acts. 1.

breaking of bread. So the Euangelist Luke doth write, no doubt following the custome of the Apostles: And they were continuing in the doctrine of the Apostles, and communion and breaking of bread. Thys speach is taken vp of the holy rite or ceremonie of breaking of bread, whiche the Lorde vsed not only at other times, but also at the institution of this Sacrament. Of the mysteries of the breaking of the Sacramentall bread, we will consider hereafter.

The bread & cuppe of the Lorde. 1. Corin. 11.

Thirdly, the Apostle calleth it the Bread, and the Cup of the Lorde, as Augustine doth also when he sayeth, that Judas dyd eate the Lordes bread against the Lord. This speach doth not expresse the misterie of thys Sacramēt but it doth only admonish vs, and this bread is not a common and prophane bread, but holy and misticall, commended by the Lorde to the Church of his faithfull.

The Lords Supper.

Fourthly, the Apostle calleth this holy thing The Lordes supper, saying: When you come togither, you do not nowe eate the Lordes supper, for euerye man goeth on before to eate his owne. But by this kynde of speach we be admonished to referre our minds vnto the last supper of the Lord, and that for two causes. First, for the example of the Lords doings, and againe, for the institution of the Sacrament. Our aduersaries should at the least way, for the reuerence of the Apostles speach, I say not for the honorable mention of the Lords supper it selfe, forbeare their scoffes and scornes, which they do taūt vs withall, bycause we doe call the forenone Communion of the Lords body and bloud, the Lordes Supper. And they would forbeare so to do, but that they doe perceyue, that the same whiche they doe, were quite contrarye vnto that, whiche the Apostles did, bēeing taught by the Lord himselfe, and therefore called it the Lordes Supper.

Fiftly, this supper of the Lorde is called also the Communion of the bodye and bloud of the Lorde, whereas he sayth: Is not the cuppe of blessing whiche we do blesse, the communion of the Lordes bloud? and the breade whiche we breake, is it not the communion of Christes body? And the Apostle in so saying, dothe declare that whiche is the chiefe poynte in the sacramente, that is to witte, that thys breaking of bread, and cuppe of blessing, is the communion of the bodye and bloud of Christ, offered vppe and shed for vs vppon the crosse. And this communion is the partaking of all those things which Christ, dying for vs vppon the crosse, did deserue and procure vnto mankinde, by the offering vp of his body and bloud.

Sixtly, it is called by the same Apostle, the Lords table, when he sayeth: You can not be partners of the Lords table, and of the Deuils table also. By the name of Table, this holy thing is distincted from a sacrifice. Unto a Sacrifice there doth belong an aulter, and to the communion of the sacrifice, a table. The aulter of Christes sacrifice was ẏ crosse, but there was a table appointed for the communion thereof, where the faithfull should take part of that offering made for our sinnes vpon the aulter of the crosse. Thus farre wēe haue rehearsed the wordes of the

Synaxis. Communion.

of the Lord and of the Apostle, wherby the Lords supper is called in the holy Scriptures: nowe consequently lette vs sēe also those whiche were broughte into the Churche after the Apostles dayes. Firste the Grēekes called it σύναξιν, that is to saye, the congregation, for bicause that it was celebrated at the solemne congregations of the people with some special deuotiō, and so that the solemne mēetings and commings togither, dyd sēeme to be made therefore bycause of it. And besides that the profane people were suffered to be at ẏ publike preachings, but when the verye communion of the Lordes Supper should begin, then they were cōmanded to departe, and the holy to drawe nēere, vnto whome it doth belong onlye to repaire to the communion of the Lords table. Wherof it was also called aright by this name, σύναξις.

They called it the holy table, by which speach they that do communicate bēe admonished to thinke that they be fedde not with earthly, but with the heauenly foode, of Christ the feast maker, and therefore endeuour to yēelde them selues as holy guests to the holy table. This manner of speach was vsuall in the time of Antony the Greate, as it appeareth in the Ecclesiasticall histories, where it is redde of this vision, that he sawe the holy table ouerthrowen by Moyses. Thirdly, they called it also the publicke ministery, whereof the Angels be called λυτουργοί to the Hebrewes, and the magistrates also to the Romaines, and the reliefe to the poore bestowed by the publike ministery: to the Romaines in the. xv. Chapter.

The memorie of the Lorde.

Fourthly, it is called also the memory of the Lord, which name came of that that Christ sayd, when he did institute this holy thing: Doe this in remembrance of me. But this speach hathe not the full definition of thys sacrament.

Thanksgiuing. εὐχαριστεία.

Fiftly, it is called by the Grēekes εὐχαριστία, that is to say, thankesgyuing, which word is so accustomably vsed, that it is very well knowen also to the Latine Churches and commonly vsed. The reason of it is, bycause that in this Sacramente the Church doth giue thankes vnto our redēemer, when they declare and celebrate his death, according vnto the institution of the Apostles, whereby they do acknowledge themselues to be saued.

Loue. ἀγάπη.

Sixtly, it is called also Loue, to the intent that Christian men when they goe aboute to solemnise this sacrament, they shoulde nourishe and practise mutuall loue one towardes an other by workes of charitie, as being all members of one body: and therefore the vse of gatherings was added vnto thys Supper, whereby the poore and nēedy shoulde be relieued.

The sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord.

Seuenthly, it is commonly called among vs, The sacrament of the body & bloud of the Lorde, which name would to God it were knowē aright vnto all menne, as it is vsed of all. What a Sacramente is, it is declared before.

The sacrifice of the bodye and bloud of the Lorde.

Eightly, this sacrament was called also by the old men, The sacrifice of the body and bloud of the Lorde, whiche they did not so meane, as though that Christe were offered vp agayne for the forgyuenes of sinnes,

as the Papists do hold (whereof wée will speake whē the place doth serue) but bycause that the memorie of the onely sacrifice, and once done vppon the crosse, is celebrated in the Lords Supper. So Augustine sayth, that this visible sacrifice is the sacramēt, that is to saye, the holye signe of the inuisible sacrifice. Againe when the host (sayeth he) is broken, when the bloud is poured out of the cuppe into the mouthes of the faithfull, what is else signified, but the offering of the Lords body vppon the crosse, and the shedding of his bloud out of his side? And Chrysostome sayth. What thē? Do not we also offer dayly? We doe offer, but we doe make the remembrance of his death. And this is one offering and not many. How is it one, and not many? Bycause it hathe bin once offered. And the same is caried into the *Sancta Sanctorum*, Thys is the type, that is to saye, the figure of that. And a little after. We doe this (saith he) for the remembraunce of that which was then done. For he saith, Do this in the remembraunce of me. We do not make a sundry oblation as the chiefe priest did, but alwayes one, yea we do rather make a remembrance of the oblation. This sayeth he. So that this sacrament is improperly and not properly called of the fathers, The sacrifice of the body and bloud of the Lorde. Nor it can not bée, that this sacrifice should be referred vnto the Popishe Masse. For they dyd not call it so, but they called it the Communion it selfe of the Lordes Supper, by that name.

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Chrysost. ad Heb. hom. 17

We doe allowe and like all these speaches, whereby the sacramente of the bodye and bloud of the Lorde is expressed, in case they be well vnderstanded. But so for all that, that wée suppose that that last that the fathers beganne to call the Supper of the Lorde a Sacrifice, that is to say, a memory of the sacrifice, is not very conueniente for the Churche, bycause of the olde abuse of it, whereby our later men vnder this name, haue broughte in theyr most fylthy merkating into the Churches, and perswaded the people that they did offer an expiatory sacrifice at their Masse, for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

At length the Papistes beganne to call their sacrifice the Masse, whyche word it is best to cast off as new, and not knowen to the old churches. And whereof it beganne, we will tell yon in an other place.

When we doe well way all these speaches of the Lordes Supper, and heape them as it were into one body, we suppose that the godly and faithfull person shall lacke nothing pertayning vnto the definition, or if you list, the description of this sacramēt, if we doe defyne it in this wise, that the Lordes supper is the gatheryng togither of the fathfull of Christ, and the publike ministery of the newe Testament, in which the sacramente of our Lords body and bloud is giuē and receyued according vnto the institution of our sauiour Christe, by the misticall breaking of bread, and the blessing of the cuppe, in the communion of the Churche, from hys table, and with all the memory of the only sacrifice, whiche was once performed for oure saluation vppon the aulter of the crosse is celebrated with thankesgiuing, and with the exercise

Of the Supper of the Lorde. 711.

of Christian loue. All these things be so concurrent in this case of ẏ Lords supper, that I sée not what maye bée left out thereof, without the empayring of the perfection of the same, when the Apostle saith, Is not the bread whiche we do breake the communion of the Lords body? no doubt he dothe open vnto vs the two substanciall partes of this sacramente, that is to witte, the outwarde signe whiche consisteth in the breaking of the bread, and blessing of the cuppe, and the mystery whiche standeth in the communiō of the body and bloud of the Lord: which two do serue well ynough for the matter that he had in hand, to ouerthrowe the communion of the Deuils table, and to call home them from it whiche did sitte at the Diuels table with the vnfaithfull, to communicate in the bodye and bloud of the Lord, vnder the mystical breaking of bread, and the blessing of the cuppe: but he did not yet comprise all the partes of this matter in that substanciall definition whiche we haue added vnto it, to the intente that the reader maye sée, as it were paynted before him in a table, what he ought to iudge of the Lords supper. Wherfore those thynges whyche shall bée spoken héereafter, shall serue to the fuller expounding of thys definition.

II. What is the institution of the Lords *Supper.*

First, is to be had the consideration of the institution of ẏ Lords supper. For without this all that ceremonie shoulde be to no purpose which the Churche dothe vse in thys respecte, that it is the sacramente of the Lordes bodye and bloud. And for this matter we must séeke not euery where, but in the scriptures of the Euangelistes and the Apostles only, that out of their certaine teachings and testimonies, we may bée assured of some grounded authoritie of Gods ordinance, which the consciences of the faithfull may safely followe.

The same is redde of in Mathew, Marke, Luke, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, whiche places brought all into one frame, are thus much to say: *I receiued of the Lord, that which I haue also deliuered vnto you, that the Lord Iesus, the same night that he was betrayed, when they did eate, hee tooke bread, and gaue thankes, and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples, and sayde: Take, eate, this is my body, whiche is giuen and broken for you. This do in the remembrāce of me.*

Likewise hee tooke the cuppe also after he had supped, and gaue thankes, and gaue it vnto them saying: Drinke all of this. And they dranke of it all. And he sayd vnto them: This cuppe is the newe Testament in my bloud, which is shedde for you and many, for the forgiuenesse of sinnes. This do as often as you drinke, in remembrance of me. For as often as you doe eate this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, you do declare the Lords death, vntill that hee come. This is the institution of the Lords supper, which we do comprise in certaine members, that is to saye these.

1 Who did institute it.
2 What he did institute.
3 What hée did commaund vs to doe.

The institution of the Lordes Supper. Matth 28. Marke. 14. Luke. 22. 1. Cor. 11.

I. Who did institute it.

The author of the Lords supper.

FIrst, the Apostle dothe set forthe vnto vs the author of this misticall supper. And he doth it not without reason. For when we way the authoritie of the ordeyner of it, it doth further exceedingly to make vs to vse that rightely and lawfully, which we haue receyued of his goodnesse. When Christ woulde reforme the faultes of matrimonie, he did alleage God for the author of it, and concluded the matter in that sorte, that he warned them that they ſhuld not passe that boundes which the author himselfe of matrimonie had set, and that they ought not to be separated, whome he ioyned togither: wherby he did sufficiently declare, that the corruption of matrimony came of that, that the rashnesse of man, leaning to followe the author thereof, did not vouchsafe to loke vnto the first institution of the same. And can wee thinke any other in this matter, that all the abuses thereof came of any other thing, than hereof, that they whiche haue gotten the gouernaunce of the Churche, making lyghte of the authoritie of the beginner, haue not bin afrayd to take away or adde, or chaunge anye thing as they lift themselues?

Of whence are the abuses in the Lordes Supper.

Therefore let vs heare of the Apostles wordes, with what faith and religion he dispensed the misterie of the Lords supper in the Church, and what authoritie he did set forth to the faithfull, not of his owne, but of the Lords: and how he called them backe thervnto, when they were swarued from the right vse, saying: I receiued of the Lorde, that which I haue also deliuered vnto you, ỹ the L. Jesus, &c.

So that we haue this mysticall supper not from the authoritie of the Apostles, much lesse of men, but from the Lord himselfe. The Lord himselfe our sauiour and redeemer hath instituted and recommended vnto vs that be his faithfull, the misery of his bodye and bloud, by the offering vppe whereof he hath redeemed vs. Paule did lay his authoritie to the Corinthians, and set it before that whiche hee meante to speake of his owne, to the intent that he might so reforme that which he went about to reforme, and withall shewe, that it did vary from the institution of the Lorde. For it is somewhat quicke that he saith, For I haue receiued that of the Lorde, whiche I haue also deliuered vnto you. For it is as much to say, as if he should tell them: Whereas you are gone frō that whiche I deliuered vnto you at ỹ beginning, you haue done it not so much against my ordinance, as against the institution of ỹ Lord. For I receyued it of the Lord, I dyd not presume vpon that of mine owne head whiche I betoke vnto you, and from which you are gone. He might haue sayd: I your Apostle: or else, I by the authoritie which I occupy as the Apostle of Christ, haue so deliuered it vnto you. But he had rather lay vnto them the Lords institution, thā his owne authoritie. Wherfore they be muche out of the way, whiche doe not sette forthe those things to the Churche which are deliuered from the Lorde, but suche things as they presume vppon by the rashnesse of menne, wyth the képing of whych, they doe more straightely charge

Where the Apostle doth confirme his ordinance of the Author.

The diffe rence of faith full and mat.

the faithfull, than if they were deliuered by the Lord himselfe. It is the duty of a faithful minister, to be the dispensor of those things whiche he hath receiued of the Lorde, that he may be able also to say: That which I haue receiued of the Lord, I haue deliuered vnto you. These two must go togither, to receyue, and to delyuer: to receyue from the Lord, and to deliuer vnto his church. It is the condition of false folk, to chappe and chaunge that whiche they haue receyued of the Lord, and not to delyuer it truſtily vnto them that be of the familye. It is the condition of false folkes, not to receiue of the lord that whiche they doe deliuer to the churche, but to deliuer things to the Churche, to the intent ỹ they would receyue again: to deliuer vnto them the chips of mens traditions, and to receiue theyr gold and siluer.

That the Pastors are ordeyned to feede.

2 Secondly, it is the duety of religious and Christian people, vnderstanding the institution of the Lord, so to reuerence his authoritye, that they will earnestly conforme themselues vnto his rule, and flée immediately from all straunge fyre layd vppon Goddes aulter: nor he maye not herken vnto them, whiche doe alwayes tatle, fathers, councels, custome, the sée of Rome, the Apostolike sée, the Catholike Churche, I wote not what other like: but he must more esteéme one word of the Lords institution, than al the fumes and smokes of these wordes, wherwith they are wonte to blinde the mindes of the faythful. They crake that James the Apostle and brother of the Lord, was author of a Popish sacrament. I beseech you, if they had kept that which was deliuered from the Lord, what had it néeded to haue made any other author therof than ỹ Lord himself? We haue nor James nor Peter, nor any other of the Apostles to make the author of the lords supper, but the Lord himselfe. And when we haue the authoritie of the Lord and mayster, what néede we crake of the authority of the seruāt? But thus they are compelled to do, whiche can not without shame laye vnto the Lords ordinaunce, whyche they do vse, for ỹ they know, that their doings do not agrée there wall.

II. What the lord did institute.

Bothe the doing and the wordes of Christ are to bee considered.

FOrasmuch as the Lords institution doeth consiste not onely in wordes but in doings and wordes both, we must consider both of them, as wel his fact as his words. It was not without great cause, that he dyd institute this sacrament neyther by act without wordes, nor by wordes without doing, but he did so ioyne both togither, that ỹ disciples should both sée in déede and heare in worde, wherby they might be instructed of this sacrament, and so there shoulde be left no occasion to the headdinesse of men to imagin any thing of their own, or to corrupt any piece of this sacrament. Surely he was very diligent & carefull, that they ſhuld not afterwards vse any other thing thā his wil was they ſhuld, or mistake & expound the same that he would haue vsed, otherwise than the misteric of the fact doth require. He did the same firste before their eies, whiche they ſhould doe afterwards, and deliuer vnto the churche: and then he did expounde

pound his doing (bicause it was mystically) by a mistical declaration also. The matters of the churches haue so much set at light this diligence of the lord, ỳ they haue changed ỳ simplicitie of the facte into an other fashion, and haue so wrested the exposition ỳ was added vnto it, from the true sense, ỳ they haue deuised a most gainefull wickednesse & marcating in this matter, & haue after ỳ sort set it forth ỳ church. But let vs see euery parcel in order.

The fact of Christe.

As for the doing of Christ, for as much as perteyneth to the institutiõ of this sacrament, he toke bread: and secondly, gaue thankes, no doubt to the father: thirdly, when he had taken the bread, he brake it: fourthly when he had broken it, he gaue it vnto his disciples, which he had with him at supper: fiftly, he toke in hys handes likewise also the cup, ỳ is to wit, of wine, of the braunch or grape of the vine: sixtly, he gaue thanks againe: seuenthly, he gaue this also to his disciples. In these parts is cõteined ỳ fact of doing of Christe & the very outward forme also this saccament.

1 First wheras he toke bread into his handes, gaue thankes, brake it, & gaue it to his disciples, it mighte seme ỳ he did it after his custome & maner, for so he was wõt to do. But the order of ỳ wordes which he added for ỳ declaration of his doeing, did sufficiently shew, that this facte was not to be taken as customably vsed, but that it was a meane and an institution of the sacrament.

2 Secondly, we must consider, why he would institute this sacramẽt of ỳ new testamẽt in bread & wine: but of this matter I haue spokẽ vpõ Pat.

3 Thirdly, it may be known what bread he vsed, by the circũstance of the obseruation of the law. It was the feast of the Passeouer, at whiche it was not only vnlawful to occupy any leauened bread, but there coulde be found no such bread at al. For it was a solemne matter in ỳ lawe, to cleanse & rid away all leauen at the beginning of the passeouer, whiche thing the apostle doth set forth to the faithfull for a figurall lesson, saying: cleanse out the old leauen, ỳ you may be a new sprinckling. So that the Lord vsed vnleauened bread at hys supper, not bycause that he might not haue vsed other, if that he had instituted this sacrament at an other time: but bycause there was no need to vse leauened bread thereunto, and also if he had done that whiche was against the law, he shoulde haue giuen a great offence to his disciples. In deed it was the obseruation of ỳ law and of the Iewes, that he occupyed vnleauened bread, at the seasõ of the passeouer: but he did yelde therin to the time and to the weakenesse of his disciples, specially seeing that the dispensation of the law was not yet fulfilled. Wherefore in my iudgement, ther was no reason why the Latin church should so condemn the custome of the Grekes as vnlawful, in that they vsed leauened bread at the Lordes supper: nor the Grekes shold not so haue abhorred vnleauened bread, that they shoulde for ỳ respect haue suffered theselues to be sequestred frõ the Latine churches, seeing that it maketh no matter at al, whether that we do communicate in leuened or vnleauened bread, as

VVhat bread he vsed.

1. Cor. 5. VVhy he occupied vnleauened bread.

VVhat was the syr. Mat. 26. Mar. 14.

The cause wherefore the Greekes and Latines of the breaden Lord Supper.

Exod. 12. 13. Deut. 16.

(as we do read that the Grekes did afterward acknowledge in the eight Synode in Eugenius the fourthes time) but it maketh exceeding greate matter wt̃ how sincere & true faith we do cõmunicat. We do stick fast to vn leauened bread in this sacramẽt, but we haue long agone for the moste part shaken of the newe sprinckling of our hartes. We do cast out the leauen out of the breade, but in the meane while we do kepe still the leauen of malice and wickednesse in our hartes. This holy & mysticall table must nedes haue vnleauened harts & not of necessity vnleauened bread. When the apostle sayd: Cleanse out the olde leauen, he meant not of the braune but of the figuratiue leauen, which he terneth the old leauen, ỳ is to say, of the old life, the leauen of malice & wickednesse. The leauen ỳ is to be abhorred in this sacrament, is the wickednesse of the hart, vnbeliefe, idolatrie, and the vncleanesse of ỳ old life. This shold be abhorred.

4 Fourthly as concerning the cup, I suppose that there is no man that wil deny but that there was wine in it, wheras the lord said that he wold drinke no more of this branch of the vine, vntil he dranke newe wyth hys friendes in the kingdome of God. Wherfore we do millike firste the water drinkers, whiche vsed water, only at this supper, whom Cyprian doth refute: secondly them also which it is written in the Decrees. Thirdly we do millike all that the Papists do vse to mingle water with theyr wine in the chalice: & that not as a custome at liberty, (which might be borne withal) but as so necessarie, that they do make them as damned soules, which do vse wine alone without water: wherein in blaming of other, they declare themselues to be worthy of blame, & that for two causes. First, bicause they do poure water into the wine, without the example of Christ. Secondlye, bycause ỳ they doe condemne the vse of cleane wine, which is conformable to the example of Christ, they haue this in theyr Decrees: For there ought not to be offered either wine alone or water alone in the Lordes cup, but let ther be offered both mingled together. If he had sayd: There muste not be offered water alone, it might haue bene borne withal. But when he sayth, Wine ought not to be offered alone, it is nothing else to saye, but that it ought not to be done: which christ did. We do read of wine only, there is no mention made of water. The Cannon sayth further: For we do reade that both issued out of his side at his passion The Canon *Non oportet*, hath the same in the same distinct. But let them answere vs, where it is written, that both issued out of Christes side, I meane bothe wine & water. We do read of bloud & water, but we reade not so of wine & water. I beseech you what may we iudge of this argumẽt? we must offer neither wine alone, nor water alone in ỳ cup, but both mingled together. And why? He sayth not, bicause ỳ lord did so order it, but bicause both issued out of ỳ side of Christe. First, wheras he saith, ỳ wine issued out of Christs side, it is an opẽ lie. Secõdly, albeit ỳ water did issue out of it, yet for al that it ought not to be take to the vse of the sacrament, seing ỳ we

De consecr. Distinct. Can. In sacramentorum obla-tionib.

They doe mingle water to the wine.

haue

haue neither ỹ doing of Chriſt to auouch it, nor his word neyther. Cyprian doth inforce marueilouſly and that aright, that we muſt do nothing in this ſacrament, but that whyche the Lord himſelfe did firſt, and commanded vs to doe. And yet contrary vnto this rule, he doeth alſo defende the mingling of the water in the cup. So eaſy a matter it is to know the rule of the truth, but ſtoutely to folow it, it is not ſo eaſye. As touching the water of Chriſts ſide, Cyprian himſelfe ſayth, that it perteyneth nothing to the cuppe: and doeth turne it vnto Baptiſme, as the Maiſter of the Sentences doeth alſo. Wherfore they proue nothing at al by the iſſuing out of bloud and water out of Chriſtes ſyde,

Cyprian.

Li. 4. di. 5112

I doubte not but it was an vniuerſal cuſtome & maner in that East countries, where there groweth very excellent and ſtrong wines, to delay ſomewhat the ſtrength of the wine by pouring in water. Wherof the word in Ebrew is read alſo in ỹ ſcriptures, whiche ſignifyeth, to mingle, and it is vſed ſometimes in the ſenſe of powring in, as we maye ſée in the Prouerbes and Eſaye. And I ſuppoſe it came of that, that the Byſhoppes of the Eaſte countries, and after them the Italians, beganne to mingle water with theyr wine, as well in the myſticall vſe of it, as alſo in the prophane vſe. But yet for all that, they ſhould not haue ſet lawes thereuppon to the Churches, and colour their commō cuſtome with myſticall expoſitions or gloſes, and condemne them whiche do communicate without mingling of water.

The maner of the East countrey.

מסך

Pro. 9. & 23. Eſay. 5. 22.

5 Fiftly, whereas he gaue thankes at both, as wel at the dyng of the bread as of the wine alſo, he did it in deede of cuſtome: but ſo no doubt, that he vſed a ſpeciall feruencye in thys caſe, whereby he was kyndled vnto it, according vnto that of Luke: I haue deſired with very earneſt deſire to eate this Paſſeouer with you before I ſuffer. And it is our parte, as often as we do eate and drinke, to giue harty thankes vnto GOD the giuer of all, but it behoueth vs at the Communiō of this ſacramēt, to doe it ſo muche the more religiouſly and feruently, the more excellent that the meate of the minde is, than the meate of the bellye. But what thanks giuing is, & to whom it belongeth, and how it perteyneth vnto Chriſt our lord, we haue noted in our Commentaries vpon John. This trade and endeauour of thanks gyuing vnto God, was ſo greate a matter in the Church in times paſt, that the fathers beganne to call all this whole myſtical action, Thanks giuing.

Of the kinges of Iſrael.

Luke. 22.

Iohn. 6.

Of this we ſpake in an other place, ỹ the Euangeliſtes and Paule do vſe theſe two wordes εὐλογεῖν and εὐχαριστεῖν, in one ſenſe: for to giue thanks. So that wheras Marke ſayth here, ỹ the lord did bleſſe, it is not to be referred vnto the bread, as though that he did conſecrate it by bleſſing, & turned it into his body, but vnto God ỹ father, vnto whō he dyd refer al the grace of our redemption, as the firſt fountaine thereof, and taught vs alſo by his example to do the ſame.

6 Sirtly, he brake the bread. It is very likely ỹ it was an vnleauened cake

VVhy he brake the bread.

cake and brokie. It is meant that he toke it whole into his hands, for that it is ſaydo, that he brake it: and he brake it for to diuide it. And ỹ was his cuſtome. The aftercommers béeing more ſuperſtitious than religious, haue abuſed this ſimplicitie of breaking, into a partition into thrée parts. They ought ſo to breake the Lords bread vnto the faithfull, that euery one might haue his portiō: but they haue left off this breaking of ỹ Lordes, and the communion of the Churche, and do breake the hoſt (as they call it) into thrée parts, whereof they doe apply the firſt vnto them in heauen, the ſecond vnto them that do yet liue vpon the earth, and the third vnto the dead: after that the prieſte doth eate the firſt and the ſecond, and hurleth the thirde péece into the chalice, & ſwalloweth it vp in his drinke. None of this geare came frō ỹ Lord. The ſpirite of diſcorde ſwaruing frō the Lordes ordinaunce, deuiſed thys geare. They do breake it not to haue it diſtributed, but leaſt they ſhoulde ſéme not to breake it, as though that the breaking without the diſtributiō did fulfill the Lordes inſtitution. Bread is broken to be diſtributed to the féeding of them that are hungry. Wherfore ỹ breaking is not ſuche a thing, that it ought to be done for it ſelfe, but for ſome other thing, and ſo that breaking is to no purpoſe, wherunto there followeth no diſtribution. The purpoſe and ende of this breaking, is the communion. And there ought to goe in the mids betwirt the one and the other, the diſtribution, whereby the ſacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord is communicated to the church. So that theſe thrée points do hang togither: To breake, to diſtribute, and to communicate. To what purpoſe is it then, that they do breake it, when they do not diſtribute the bread after it is broken, but do eate it vp alone? Whē Chriſt did breake his bread, he brake it not to offer it vnto God his father, but to make it méete for euery man to take part of it, and to diſtribute it among his diſciples. He ſaith not: he brake it and offered it: but he brake it & gaue it them. If they do that which Chriſt did, why do they it not after the ſame manner, and to the ſame intente that he did it? The Apoſtle ſayeth: The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of the Lords body? *Ergo*, the Apoſtles dyd ſo breake bread in the church, that it ſhould be the communion of the Lords body. That can not be truly reported of the Papiſtes bread: bycauſe it is not broken to that intente, that it ſhoulde be diſtributed to the communion of the faithfull.

VVhy he gaue it not to the Diſciples to be broken.

He brake it (ſaith he) and gaue it vnto his diſciples. He brake ỹ bread himſelfe with his owne hande, and when it was broken, gaue it vnto his diſciples. He gaue it not whole vnto them, and to be broken by them, but he gaue them the bread which he had broken, he gaue it not them to the intente that they ſhoulde diſtribute it, but that they ſhould take it as diſtributed by him, and eate it. The Apoſtles were at the Supper of the Lorde, not as diſpenſours of the myſteries of god, but as gueſts, as faithfull, as diſciples, as communicantes: but Chriſte was as the feaſt maker, as ỹ maiſter, by one ſelfſame meanes both inſtituting and diſpenſing alſo

with

with his own handes the sacrament of his grace, and sáctifyings with al the dispensation and ministerry therof to come, and declaring that it is not possible, that any man can participate thereof, vnlesse that he do dispence it by the vertue of his spirit, Wherfore we may not herein wayle theyr Apostolical worthynesse, but ỳ ecclesiastical cómunion perteyning equallye vnto the faithful. I do not speak this in vaine, it shall serue to some purpose hereafter.

Take, eate and drinke of this all.

It is to be referred also vnto this fact of Christ, that he said: Take eat. Item, drinke of this al. He gaue it not vnto them to lay it vp in store, to kepe it, to carry it about, and to worship it, but to eate and to drinke it. He gaue it not to one of thẽ alone, which shoulde eate it, and drinke it for other men, but vnto all that were presente, that euery one should take it, eate it, and drinke it. But of thys matter I haue spoken also in an other place. Wheras he sayde of the cuppe: Drinke all of this: and sayde not of the bread. Eate of this al: it is likely that it was done bycause that he gaue about of the bred ỳ he brake a peece to euery one, but not so of the cup. For that he gaue to some one of them first, as it was whole, to drink of it himselfe, and so euerye one to drinke of it afterwardes in order. Whether ỳ ther were many cuppes vpon the table, or but one alone, it is no matter, he wouldе haue them all drinke but of one selfe same cup. So when he gaue the cup first, he saide: Drinke all of this. Yet we may not hereby condemn their custome, whiche for the multitude of the cómunicantes, doe vse many cuppes at the Lords supper: And yet for al ỳ the vsing of one cup, doth helpe well, to signify the mystery of one & self same bloud, wherof all faythful are equally giuen to drinke of. Nor I do not misslyke the opinió of some, that this was the cup of which the Lord himselfe did peculiarly drinke of al that Supper, so that, in that respecte, it should be called aright, the lords cup. There is no cause why we shoulde affirme, whether that he did eate & drinke first himselfe of this breade & cup, as Chrysostome thoughbt, and that Cannon doeth signifie. In ỳ, that he doeth make hymselfe to be in thys Supper both the guest and the feast it selfe, the eater, and hym that was eaten, we nede not to stãd in it. And yet wythall, there is no cause why we should stoutly denye it. For it is verye likely, that lyke as in that, that he was Baptised of John, he did sanctifie vnto vs the sacrament of admissiõ, euẽ so he wold also sanctifie the Sacramente of communion, and therefore dydde eate and drynke of it firste hymselfe.

Hytherto we haue considered the outward fact of Christ, for as much as it belongeth to the institution of the mystical Supper, now we must procede and see of his words whiche: he added to declare his doing, as Thys is my body, which is giuen & broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me. Item: This cup is the new testament in my bloud, whyche is shed for you, and for many, to the remission of sinnes. Do this as oft & as you drinke, in the remembrance of me.

By these wordes we haue a declaration therof expressed, sufficient for a godly and a faithfull man. Hytherto we might occupy ỳ outward senses, and the natural vnderstanding to iudge of this outward facte of Christ: but now when we muste enter into the very secrete partes of Christs mind, & see in what sense vpõ what cause, & to what ende, he gaue bread & wine to his disciples, whẽ he shoulde die: we muste sequester the iudgement of our outward senses, & we must get a faythful mind, which may receyue and embrace Christes mind & meaning in this fact. Here our mindes had nede to be pure and spirituall, as theirs be whiche lyke cleane cattel do chaw within theyr hartes, that whiche they do see and beare outwardly, and do make gwo difference betwirt the outward facts and minds of the doers.

Wherfore it is cõueniẽt, ỳ the vnskilful & ignorant folke be informed of ỳ vnderstãding of it, before ỳ they come to this table of the Lordes. So the lord cõmaunded ỳ Israelites to cõmunicate the vnderstanding of ỳ Passeouer vnto ỳ yonger mẽ, saying: When you be entred into the lande which the Lordyour God shall giue you, you shall kepe these ceremonies. And when your children shal say vnto you: What religion is this? you shal say vnto them: It is the offering of the Lords Passouer, when he passed ouer by the houses of the children of Israell in Egypt, striking Egypt, and deliuering your houses. And he commaunded also of the consecrating of the firste begotten vnto the Lorde, that their children shoulde be instructed of the manner therof, as of the testimonies, iudgementes, and lawfull ceremonies. I beseche you, how much more diligently ought the ignorant to be instructed emongst vs, that they may vnderstande the nature of the Lordes Supper, by the very wordes of the Lorde? least whẽ they be ledde by naturall iudgement onely, they sticke still in the outward facte, and either make light of it, or else for lacke of the true vnderstanding, obserue it to superstitiously. For so men may wander out of the way as wel to farre vnto the right, as also vnto the lefte hande, from the true and naturall vse and meanyng of it.

Exo. 12. Deut. 6.

His purpose to keepe modestie.

And for as much as the wordes of Christe, whereby his facte is declared, and the Sacrament of the newe Testamẽt instituted, are more darkned, than lightened now adayes by vnchristian cõtentions, I haue determined vsing all Christian modesty, to forbeare from that kinde of brawles, so that albeit I fall sometimes into the mention of them, yet I will so handle it, that it may appeare that I do it not to maynteine any contentiõ with any man, but rather that I may truely and faithfully sette forth mine owne iudgement, and that whiche I thinke that all Christian menne ought to iudge therof, & yet wil leaue the determination therof to our brethern, whiche all I doe louingly embrace in the Lorde, though that they do dissent in this matter from me, or emongst thẽselues (so that they maintaine not the Popishe impiety & marketting) as vtterly voyde from that bitternesse, whiche some vse nowe a dayes, in cursing & betaking them to the Diuell, whiche doe dissent from them, and doe make spitefully

at them with innumerable and most biting blasphemies & tauntes, which no Christian man can reade without great sorow and shame. And by thys dealing there is not set forthe the séeking of the truth, as it is pretended, but the bitternesse of mens heartes wonderfully pestered with rayling and tanting, and the truth nothyng opened, but brought into greater suspition to be false. But let them passe, and let vs cōsider the matter itselfe.

Tvvo Sacramentes as vvell in the nevve as in the old Testament.

This is a cléere case, that as there were two sacraments of the old Testament, Circumcision and the Passouer, so there be two instituted also by the Lord of the new Testamente. I meane Baptisme, and that which the Apostle calleth the Lordes Supper. Baptisme dothe counteruayle Circumcision, and the Lords supper the Passouer. And the fathers doe agrée vppon baptisme and circumcision: wherfore Augustin also speaking of baptisme against the Donatistes, doth compare circumcisiō with baptisme, which thing Bernard doth also muche later than he, in his sermon of ẏ Lordes supper, and in his lxxvij. Epistle, that the Lords supper dothe counteruaile the Passouer, it is declared both by the abrogation of the one, and institution also of the other, which both Luke doth more diligētly describe than the rest. Of the abrogation of the Passouer he speaketh in this wise: And the day of the swéeie bread was come, at whyche tyme it was necessary to offer the Passouer. And he sent Peter and John saying: Goe, and prepare the Passouer for vs, that we may eate it, &c. And as they went, they found as he had told them, and they prepared the Passouer. And when it was due time, hée sate hym downe, and hys twelue Apostles with him, and said vnto them: I haue had a great desire to eate this Passouer with you, before that I do suffer. For I tell you, I wil not eate any more of it after this, vntill that it be fulfilled in ẏ kingdome of God. And taking ẏ cuppe, he gaue thanks, and saide: Take this and deuide it among you. For I tell you, that I wil not drinke of the fruite of the Vine, vntill that the kingdome of GOD come. Thus much of the olde Passouer, which shoulde be fulfilled immediately by the killing of the immaculate Lambe, and to be abrogated by the succession of the newe sacramente. And adding the institution thereof, he saith: And taking bread, when he had giuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to them, saying: Thys is my body, whiche is giuen for you, &c. The very contexte and order of Christes doing, to leaue the matter it selfe, doth sufficiently declare, that this mysticall supper did so succéede the old Passouer, the Sacrament of the old Testamēt, that an other Sacramente of the newe Testamente mighte be ioyned vnto baptisme, to counteruayle the olde.

Lib. 4. ca. 24

Luke. 22.

How he made the nevv Passouer after the olde.

And the Lorde dothe so determine the olde Passouer, that the disciples mighte playnely perceine the goyng from that, to the institution of the new, yea and that they might easely and readily vnderstand those thyngs that he did. For he did declare vnto them playnely, that they shoulde not afterward eate of the old, but of the new Passouer of the new Testamēt: as though he had saide, Hitherto the olde Testament hath endured, nowe the

the beginnyng of the newe is at hande. The confirmation of the olde consisted in the bloud of the Lambe which your fathers killed in Egypt at Gods commaundement, by the meanes of whose bloud, they were deliuered frō the Angel which stroke Egypt, & soone after from al the bondage of Pharao, the remembraunce also wherof they kept euery yeare in a solemn feast of this Passouer. But hereafter it shall be no more vsed. For the old Testament beyng once determined, the Sacraments thereof bee also determined. And they be determyned by the succession of the newe Testament, and this figuratiue Lambe which we doe now presently eate, shall be fulfilled immediatly with the figure thereof by the successiō of the truth, when the true Lambe shall bée slayne, to the begynnyng and confirmation of the newe Testament. Wherefore I doe with feruent desire sitte downe, to eate this Passouer with you, knowyng that this is the laste wée shall haue, and that the fulfillyng of it is at hande. I doubte not, but when he tooke that figuratiue Lābe into his handes, he gaue thankes firste vnto his father, and spake such like words vnto his Disciples, as it is mentioned that he spake also of the cuppe, of the Passouer: whereby his Disciples might vnderstand not only that he should suffer, but that he shoulde also fulfill in the kingdome of God, and determine the figure of the olde Passouer by his death.

So that when he had made this introduction before, & takē his leaue of the figure of the olde Testament, meanyng to institute the new Testament, he tooke bread, gaue thāks, brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples, and sayde: Take, eate, This is my body, whiche is giuen for you. This do in the remembrance of me. Likewise the cuppe also when supper was done, & sayd: This cuppe is the newe Testamente in my bloud, which is shed for you. Thus he doth institute the new Testament to succeede the Old, & euen in the very beginning of it doth institute a Sacrament of two partes, to counteruayle the Sacrament of the old Passouer which was of two parts also. There was in the figural Passouer, meate & drinke, both Sacramentall & memoriall also. The meate was the Lābe with the sweete breades. The drinke was the cup of the Testamēt, wherin was the memory of the bloude, whiche beyng daubed and sprinkled vpon the postes of the houses, did deliuer the Israelites. It was an vnkindly matter to drinke bloud, but it was no vnkindly matter to eate the fleshe of a rosted Lambe. Wherfore the memoriall of the testamentary bloud was not so vsed of them in the Lambes bloud, as the memoriall of the Lambe offered, was in the Lambes fleshe: but they did vse it in a cuppe of wine, whiche they dranke in the remembraunce of the testamentarie, and sauyng bloudde, wherof we sée mention is made here in the texte of Luke. The Sacraments of God bée not so appoynted, that they doe require to haue any done, more beastly, than méete for men.

The sacramente of tvvo parts.

After this sorte there is instituted also meate & drinke, in the sacramen of the new Testamēt. The meate is

Meate and drinke in the Sacramente of the newe Testament.

the body of Chriſt, offered vp for vs vpon the Croſſe: the drinke is hys bloud, ſhedde for our ſinnes vpon the Croſſe. The Lord inſtituting the ſacrament of them both, vſeth not the fleſh of the Paſcal Lambe, leaſte it might be applyed vnto the old teſtament, and to the Sacrament of the figural Lambe, but he vſed breade, both commonly vſed, and eaſy to be gotten, and the cuppe of wine, which both they were wonte to haue in the ceremony of the old Paſſouer. He vſeth nothing that was not vſed at that ſolemne and accuſtomed ceremonie, but he doeth tourne thoſe things which were vſed in it, to the Sacrament of the new Teſtament, and not vnfitly. For as the changing of the figure into the truth, and of ỹ ſhadowe into the body is done by an alteration of things not farre fette a ſunder, but of things nere & allied one to an other, ſo thoſe things alſo which were vſed in the Sacrament of the figural Paſſouer, are not vnfitly tranſlated to the Sacrament of the true Paſſouer.

This is my bodye.

Therefore he toke that vnleauened breade, the bread of the olde Paſſouer, and the cuppe alſo thereof, which both they were wont to vſe at that ſolemne ceremonie of the Paſſouer, and when he had giuen thankes to the father, he brake the breade, and gaue it to his Diſciples, ſaying, Take, eate, Thys is my bodye, which is giuen for you. He doth not ſaye: Let this be from hence forth the body of the Paſcall lambe, which your fathers in time paſt killed in Egipt: but he ſayth, Thys is my body, whiche ſhall ſhortlye be giuen to be offered for you. Nor he doth not ſay of the cuppe: Thys cuppe is the old Teſtamente in the bloud of the Lambe, whiche was ſhedde ſomtimes in Egipt, and was ſprinckled, vppon the walles for the deliuerance of your fathers, but: This cup is the new teſtamente in my bloud, whiche is ſhedde for you, (and as it is in Matthew) for manye to the remiſſion of ſinnes, as though he ſhoulde ſaye, You ſhall ſée that I ſhall ſuffer, and be offered vp as a true Lambe for the forgiuenelle of your ſins, and of manies, and that I ſhal confirme the new teſtamente by my bloud. Wherefore you nede not hereafter to eate the figuratiue Paſſouer of the old Teſtament. Lo I doe ordaine a newe one for you. Thys breade which I do breake and diſtribute among you to eate, and ỹ cup which I doe offer you to drinke, be not to be referred to this old Paſſouer, nor they muſte not be taken ſimply as breade and wine, to fede and moyſten the body, but as the ſacrament of the new Teſtament: I do commende vnto you my bodye and bloude, of which I do inſtitute vnto you here a Sacramente and communion. This bread is my body the body of the true lamb which ſhal ſhortly hereafter be offered vppe for you. This cup is not the old Teſtament, but the new in my bloud, the bloud of the true Lambe which ſhal be ſhed for you. Therefore like as this figurall lambe is taken for the Paſſouer of the old Teſtamente, ſo ſhall this breade and the cuppe be taken hereafter for the Sacramente of my bodye offered, and my bloud ſhedde in the newe Teſtamente. This I ſuppoſe was the meaning of Chriſt

Chriſt in theſe wordes, that like as Moſes the mediator of the olde Teſtament, did ordeyne the Paſcall Lambe, and did begin a Jubilie and a ſolemne memoriall thereof, before that he was immolated, and that he ſhould turne away the ſtriking Angell by his bloud, and ſo did inſtitute it for a ſacrament of the olde Teſtament: ſo he alſo meanyng to make an ende of the olde Teſtament, and to beginne the Newe, ſhoulde inſtitute this ſacrament of the newe and true Paſſouer, that is to ſay, of his body and bloud, before that he ſhoulde be offered vp vpon the croſſe, for the deliuerance of mankind. And this ſenſe is playne inough to the mindes of the faythfull, and it was no harde matter for the Apoſtles to vnderſtande what this newe ceremonie meanie (brought in by the ſo handſome a conueyaunce from the olde Paſſouer. But let vs conſider eache parte in order.

Take, (ayth he) and eate. This is my body. Firſte of all we may not referre the pronowne, This, to any other thyng, but to the bread, whiche he brake himſelfe, and gaue to his Diſciples to eate. He mighte haue ſayde: This breade is my body, as he ſayde of the cuppe: This cuppe is the newe Teſtament: but there was no nede of any ſuche ſpecification, when they had the breade yet in their hands whereof hee ſpake, and dyd eate it. I knowe that ſome of our bretherne haue referred this worde τοῦτο, that is to ſay, This, not to the bread, but to the very body of our Lorde, as though that hée had poynted to himſelfe, and ſayde: This my bodye, whiche you ſée here before you, ſhall be giuen for you: Againe, ſome other by the pronowne, This, ſuppoſe that there is ſignified the miſterie of the ſpirituall foode, as thoughe that the Lorde ſhould haue ſayde: My bodye which ſhall be giuen for you, in the kinde of ſpirituall things is thys, that is to ſay, ỹ bread of life, &c. But if we do harken vnto Paule, where he ſayth: The bread which we doe breake, is it not the communion of the Lordes body: and to that whiche was ſpoken by the Lorde of the cuppe: This is the newe Teſtamente, &c. I ſuppoſe it ſhall be manifeſt ynough, that it is not reported and ſayde of the Lordes body, that it is bread, but of the bread, that it is the lords body. The ſubiect or the matter conſiſteth in ỹ word, This, but the thing reported, is in ỹ which is added, Is my body, whiche is giuen for you.

VVhich is the ſubiect.

He ſpeaketh not ſimply of bread.

Yet for al that we muſt admoniſh the ignorant, that they vnderſtande not, that the lord ſpeaketh of bread, as bread, but as of bread ſanctified by thankes giuing, broken, and diſtributed to the faythfull, to take part of it. So the Apoſtle doth not ſay ſimply, bread, but the bread whiche we do breake, is it not the communion of the lords body? I do note this, to exclude the Papiſtes bread, which they do vſe not to diſtribute & to cómunicate, but to cloſe vp, to carry about, & to worſhip finally in that ſort, that the prieſt only may eate it.

VVhat the Lord ſayth of the bread

Therefore ſeing ỹ the pronowne (this) is to be referred to the bread ỹ is broken and deliuered vnto the diſciples, & that ỹ ſubiect of this ſpeci conſiſteth in it: conſequẽtly we muſt ſée what is reported of it by the lord.

He taketh bread, he giueth thankes to his Father, he breaketh it, and giueth it to his disciples, and he doeth this, not now in the beginning of the supper, as he was wont to doe, but when he hadde made an ende of his Pascall supper. Therefore the circumstances of this doing wold that he should expound what he woulde do. And so he doth saying, Take, eat, thys is my body, which is giuen for you. Therefore he sayth of the bread which he had broken and gyuen to hys Disciples, that the same was his bodye. In thys case the naturall man is sodenly abashed and offended, as the Capernaytes were. I see (sayth he) bread, and I do heare that it is the body of the Lord. How shal I agre my eyes and mine eares togither? Myne eyes doe say, It is bread that we see: mine eares say the contrary, we heare (say they) that it is the Lords body, and that by the very mouth of the Lord. Whiche shall I credite? If I credite myne eyes, mine eares telleth me an other tale. If I herken to mine eares, myne eyes go an other way, whose witnesse is wonte to be better regarded than the witnesse of heare saye. If I will credite myne eyes and my eares both, I can not see how the same speache can be allowed, where one thing is reported to be both breade and the Lordes bodye: whiche two doe so much differ betwixte themselues in nature, substance, condition, and worthynes, that they can not stande both in one subiect.

This is my body.

The naturall man abasheth.

And by this mauer of reasonyng, the Papistes are deceiued, which for as much as it is not possible, that the same material bread should be both bread & the lords body, & ẏ two sūdry substāces shuld really be comprehended in one subiect, do cōclude, ẏ ẏ substances of the bread altogether chāged into the bodye, and that by the vertue of the Lords words, This is my body: and by this sense they doe make a new article of our faith, which they do cal Transubstantiation. By this sophisticatiō, they do vtterly extinguish the Testimonye of the eyes, and do make men blinde, not onely in minde, but in body also. And to this purpose serueth the Seraphicall fynenesse of the Sophisters, where they do dispute, whether that euery priest vtteryng ẏ words, do the same that Christ did: how the accidents of the bread may be without a subiecte? how a body bearing quantitie, can stand togither wan other quantitie? how a thing of greater quantitie, may be togither wyth or in a thing of lesse quātitie in an euen place? how the body of Christ maye be vnder the kinde of breade, seeing that it forsaketh not heauen? how can it be in sundry places togither? how long it continueth vnder the shape of bread? what it is when it is no longer there? What if it be burned? eaten of vermine, hored, & many such like matters, which commeth into question vppon this false reasoning of the Papists.

The deceiuing of the Papistes.

Transubstantiation of the bread.

The fynenesse of Sophisters.

We intend not at this present to speake against this error of the Popishe Transubstantiation: we haue said in our Cōmentaries vpon Mathew, that it is cōtrary to the words of Christ, and of Paule, & contrarie vnto the testimonie of our eyes, contrary vnto the opiniō of Augustine, to the

to the definition of a sacrament, to the nature of the subiecte and predicate: finally, to the nature of the sacrament which Augustine maketh. It is noted by others how it is contrarie to the iudgements of the olde fathers, & how triflyng the Papistes reasons be in this point, and what inconueniēces doe folow of this error.

But our opinion is, that it is so sayd of Chryst, that this bread is his body, ẏ there falleth out no necessity to denay the substance thereof, but that it is necessary, that the substāce must remayn whole and souud. For there is nothing to let, but that in the sacramentall sense, in whiche Christ speaketh here, this bread may be sayd to be his body, and yet for al that kepe his substance stil.

But we must make a difference betwixt that which is naturally said or spoken, and that whiche is sacramentally sayd: Those things that be naturally sayd or reported, do declare what that Subiectes be, of theyr nature, wherof they be sayde or reported: as if it be said or reported of that which Christ brake at his Supper, and gaue to his Disciples, that it is breade, it is a naturall saying or report, declaring that it is bread. But those things whiche be sayde or reported Sacramentallye, doe teache vs, not what the subiectes be of thēselues, whereof they sayde or reported, but for what they oughte to be taken and vsed. So when Christ doth say or report of this bread, saying: Thys is my bodye, he teacheth, vs not what it is of his owne nature: nor it was no neede to teach that, for as muche as it was otherwyse manifest, nor it made nothyng to the purpose and intent, but he doth teach what he would haue it to be vnto his Disciples and the faythful, that is to say, for what they ought to take and eate it sacramentally. It is one matter to say of any thing what it is in deede of it selfe, and an other matter to say, what it is in this place, at this present, in some special deede & purpose, according vnto the wyl and meaning of him that appointeth and gaue it. If a man take thys saying in the natural sense, it is made impossible and vnreasonable. For it is not possible, that bread shoulde be naturalsy the Lordes body. But if a mā take in it that Sacramentall sense, as the very institution it selfe of the Lord doth require, it shall be sayde of bread, not what it is naturally & substantially, but what the Lorde would haue it to be Sacramentally, and for what he woulde haue it taken, and to what vse he appointed them the breaking, distribution, and communion of it. He would haue the bread to be the Sacramente of hys bodye, whiche shoulde be immediately delyuered vnto death for them, and he woulde haue the parttaking thereof to be the sacramental communion of his body, and the remembraunce of hys death. Wherfore wheras he sayth, Take, eate, This is my body, if a man can not take it as the wordes do sounde, but requireth some addition, whereby that may be declared, which sundry men haue sundrye ways attempted, euerye man vppon good intent, I thinke it shal not be done amysse, if we saye that it is all one, as to saye, Thys is the sacrament of my bo-

The Lord vroulde haue bread to be the Sacramene of his body

1.Cor.10.

body, or according vnto ỳ exposition of Paul, where he sayth: The bread which we do breake, is it not the cõmunion of the Lords body? This is the communion of my body. Augustine saith in one place: The lorde doubted not to say, This is my body when he gaue the signe of hys body. After this Sentence, that which the Lord said, This is my bodye, is all one, as to saye, This is the signe of my body. No doubt he gaue breade. So that if the breade be the signe of the Lordes body, then he gaue it not as a bare table bread, but as the sign of his body. And wheras he calleth it his body, what doth he meane else, but ỳ he giueth in this sign hys own body: & he wold ỳ, ỳ this bread should be receiued of the faithful, not for bread, but for his body? And this I ment when I did enforce the Sacramentall giuing in Matthew: And ther is nothing wherin these expositions doe differ one from an other. Alwayes the bread of the Supper is the Sacrament, cõmunion, and sign of the Lords body. Wherfore no mã can say, that I do bring sundry expositions, and that I doe wrest and corrupte the simple terte to diuers meanings. I do kepe the text of the Lordes words whole, nor I would not haue it otherwise expressed, then it is expressed by the Lorde. It is plaine ynough to me, by the grace of the Lord, that he sayth, Take, eate, This is my body. Those things that I do note, I do note for the simpler sortes sake, not that they shoulde make an other text out of my words but that they might somewhat better vnderstand that texte whiche we haue of the Lorde, that they be not ledde out by the Popishe Sophistrie into all kind of errors.

But what and I saye, that This is my body, is all one as to saye, In this, or vnderthys is my body: Was Christe at that pointe, that he would tel his Disciples either wher his body was then, which sat in the middes of them, brake breade, and distributed it, & did the other things whiche be mentioned: either where they should seke it afterwards which shoulde be assumpted into heauen in their sightes: What and if I say, that he did it rather to teache them to what intente he gaue them this breade whiche he brake, and in what meaning and affection also they ought to take it? I think there nedeth no greate kynenesse of witte to vnderstande, that it is not altogither one thing to saye, This is my body, and in this, or vnder this, is my bodie. He doth not say of his body, that it is vnder bread, or in bread but of bread, that it is his body. He saith that of his body, which did much profite his disciples to know: that is, that it should be giuen for them to death, when he sayth: Which is giuen for you. And he saide alls that of bread, which did muche auaile hys disciples to knowe, that is to say, that it is his body, that is to saye, the Sacrament of his bodie. So be ther in these words two subiects & two things sayd of thẽ. The first subiect is breade, and of it is sayde or reported the bodye of the Lorde, in a saying not naturall, but Sacramentall, as we haue tolde before. The other subiecte is a body, expressed in the pronoune, (whiche.) And therof is sayd, ỳ it should be gyuen

The lordes body is not in the bred by vertue of the wordes.

uen for the Disciples. Which (saith he) is giuen for you, So I suppose, we be taught plainely ynough, what we ought to iudge and saye, as conuenient to this sacramente of the bread of the Lords supper, and also of the Lordes bodye. But that the Lords body is corporally eyther in the bread, eyther vnder the figure of bred, I se not how it may be proued by these his words. Our brethren do vehemently inforce vs, ỳ we oughte not to flee from the Lordes wordes. And I do in case like wel that we do most religiously stande to these wordes of the Lords, and that we wrest not, nor wry any of them. I do know that the wordes be so spoken, that the Lordes meaning is sufficientlye expressed therby, and that it coulde not haue bene better spoken, so that they be not wrested to bringe blinde contention, and incuerrently tolled & tombled, to enforce them vnto such a a sense as doth disagree with other places of Scriptures. He saith, This is my body. I can not apply the pronown, This, to any other thing, but to the bread broken, and distributed by the Lord. He sayth not aduerbially ὧδε, ỳ is, Here but τοῦτο, ỳ is This. Nor he sayth not ἐν τούτῳ, or ὑπὸ τοῦτο, ỳ is to say, In this, or vnder this. He sayth none of al this: wherfore I can not like that any of them should be allowed: but that we must stand vnto that which was spoken by the Lord. And in so doing, I se not how he sayth of his bodye, ỳ it is included, adioyned, or coniogned corporally vnto the breade, as I made mention before. Wherfore we can not maintaine by the Lordes wordes, that the Lords body is corporally present in the breade, by the vertue of his words. For the Lorde sayd not so. Nor I se not howe that sense can stand with that whiche he spake. For if that the breade be the lords body, according vnto his word, then his body cãnot be corporally & really in it. For so eyther the bread shoulde not be the Lordes bodye, contrary vnto his expresse worde, but should contain the Lordes body in it, otherwise then the Lord spake eyther we shoulde haue a double body of his in the Supper, one which representeth of the breade, saying, This is my body: the other whiche he speaketh not of, but whiche we say is bodily present, either vnder ỳ breade, or with the bread, or in the bread. If I do wel, I can not allow none of these, because I may not go from the very wordes of the Lord, It is not lawful for me to say, that the breade of the Supper is not the Lordes bodye. For in so saying, I should say contrary vnto the Lorde which sayde, This is my body. If I should say that the Lordes bodye is corporally presẽt, either in the bread or vnder the bread, or with ỳ bread, I do not abide in the Lordes word: For this were besides the Lordes word. I can not put two bodies of the Lord in the Supper, because of that which foloweth: Which is giuẽ for you doth restrain that, that wil before, to that one only body whiche was giuen vp for vs vpon ỳ Crosse. I may not think ỳ there is no difference betwirt these two speches: this is my body, & in this is my body. For this imaginatiõ should deceiue me, & bring me out of ỳ right. For it is not al one to say, nor in word nor in sense,

saye, In this my bodye is corporally present, and that whiche the Lorde sayde, This is my bodye: as if wée lyke to leaue contention, it doeth appeare by our common sense. For in the Lordes wordes, This is my body, the Subiect is in the Pronoune, This, that is to witte, in the bread, and the Predicate, or reporte of it, is in the wordes whiche foloweth, Is my body: so that it is reported of bread, that it is the Lordes bodye. But in these wordes, In this, or Under this, or Wyth this, is my body, the order of the subiect and the predicate is altered, so that the Subiect is made the Predicate, and the predicate the subiect. For it is there reported not of the bread that it is the Lordes bodye, but of the Lordes bodye that it is in the breade, or vnder the bread, or with the bread. Wherfore by imagning this way I shoulde lose both the right and ỳ sense also of the Lordes worde.

To change the Lordes vvorde.

Neither can I anoyde it if I shold say: I do not alter the Lordes word, I doe not forsake the plaine texte, but I stedfastly holde mée to that, This is my bodye: yet for all that, why may I not say in talk, or otherwise in treating of this matter, that the Lordes body is presently in the bread, to expresse my faith in that I doe beleue, that the body of the Lord is corporally present in the breade? For in so expressing my fayth, I doe not make a new texte, nor I doe not say, that these my words be ỳ words of the texte: but I do retaine the true and onely text, This is my body. May I not expounde myfayth in what wordes I lik, and saye. The lords body is vnder the bread: This is but a weake deuise. For it is not méete to beleue that of the Lordes body, whiche is not expressed by the Lord, and to set forth the faith by expounding of the Lordes words, being wide of the right, and of hys meanyng. If I doe beléeue the lords wordes, I can not beleue that hys body is corporally present vnder the breade, but that the bread giuen by ỳ Lord, is his bodye: and this fayth of mine I may not expound otherwise, but to say, that the bread of the supper is the Lords body. If the Lorde had sayde, Take, eate, In thys my body is present: or vnder this you haue my body corporally present. I shoulde beleue aright that the Lords bodye is corporally presente in the Supper vnder the breade: and wold expresse my fayth also in the like wordes. But now séeing that he neyther sayd so, nor as it appeareth did meane so, then how may it be, that I do not chãge the text of his words and yet doe deuise my selfe both a faith and an exposition contrary vnto it, and do vphold that it is true & right, according vnto the Lordes worde? Wherfore I would that in any wise we sticke fast to the Lords wordes, in that same meaning and sense that they were spoken by him: and that we neyther beleue nor say, that hys bodye is corporally presente vnder the breade: but that the breade of the Supper gyuen by the Lord, is his body. Truely I had rather say a hundred times, the breade of thankes giuing is the Lords body offered for vs vppon the Crosse to ỳ Father, than that vnwritten worde & contrary vnto the Lords meaning once, ỳ the Lords body is corporallye

The Lords body is not in the bread by vertue of the vvordes.

lye presente vnder the bread. For in the one, the Lords word maketh for me, whiche is the only foundation of true faith, in the other, it doth not so. And in the one there is not so muche daunger as in the other, least ỳ faithfull man may conceyue in himselfe two superstitious imaginations.

What then? Is it possible that the bread can be the Lords body, gyuen for vs vpon the crosse, whereas it is impossible that the selfesame bread shoulde bée of hys owne nature and substance the baked bread, and also the Lords body crucified? Hathe not the Papistes for this cause deuised a translation of the bread, whereby it is so chaunged into the Lordes body, that there remayneth nothyng but the figure of the bread, to the intente that it might be truly reported therof, that it is the Lords body? But we do not allowe their deuice, but do reteyne the true and naturall substãce of bread in the supper. Therefore we muste sée, what way the bread is the true body of Christ giuen for vs vpon the crosse, so as it nother léeseth his owne nature and substance, and yet taketh vnto it that whiche is of Christes body, nother that Christes body doth cast off his nature and substance, and take vpon him that of the bread. For this is moste true. The bread which the Lord giueth, is hys body, and yet withall it is bread, as well before, as in the verye communion. The Lords body is in verye déede of man, and reteyneth the nature of a true bodye, and yet for all that, it is héere reported by the Lord himselfe of bread. In my iudgement, he that dothe earnestly beléeue the wordes of Christe, may reasonablye consider with himselfe the way, how both these do stand togither.

I suppose that no man doth saye, that the bread of the Supper is naturally or personally the Lordes body. And Luther himselfe that godlye man, doth playnely denye both. I can not tell whether that any man will say, that it is really. For really, bread is bread, and a bodye is a body. And we can not in one sacramente make two realties (as I may call it,) of one thing. For if the bread be really the Lords body, wheras the body it selfe is in any wise really the Lords body, it shoulde follow, that in this Sacrament two things of sundrye natures one to an other, should be really one thing. Wherefore I can not say, that this bread is really the bodye of the Lorde. What and if I say that it is corporally? That way can not frame nother, for euerye body is the same Corporally, that it is naturally and really. The corporall being of anye thing is in that, that it is accordyng vnto the nature of the body, and to the property of the nature. No body can receyue vnto it the corporall essence of an other thing, but changing hys owne essence. So the bread corporallye is nothing else but bread. It taketh not vnto it the corporall essence of Christes body, whiche is left vnto the bodye it selfe, as long as the nature thereof abideth safe and whole.

V Whether bread be naturally, personally, or really the Lordes bodie.

V Whether corporally.

Wherefore I can not by any probable reason say, that the bread in the supper is the Lordes body naturally, personally, really, and corporally. And yet for all that the truth of the Lords word which saith, Take, eate, this is my body, whiche is giuen for you, compelleth me to graunte, that

it is the Lords body. Wherefore we muste seke an other way howe we may say truly and agreeably, that the bread is the Lordes body.

V Whether spiritually.

I perceiue that it remayneth, that we muste say it is eyther in a spirituall sort, or figuratiue, or significatiue, or Sacramentall. The spirituall way dyd not mislyke some of the fathers. And there be some later men which do not mislike it nother, if spiritually be taken for inuisiblye, so that they may gette, that Chrystes body is presente in the bread inuisibly.

In thys sense it were a readye shifte to saye anye thing of matters inuisible. But I do take, Spiritually, to be in a spirituall sorte, that is, in such sort as appertayneth to spirites. Wherefore when we doe saye, that Christe is spiritually presente in the supper, we do not meane of the inuisible presence of his body, whiche the Papists do appoynt vnder the forme of bread, but of that way, that he is present by the working of his spirite, feeding, and refreshing their mindes whiche doe receiue with sincere and true faith, that which he gaue at hys last Supper. Thus I se that one word is diuerslye taken, which can by no meanes serue to make vp agreement. But yet for my part, as I doe not enforce, so I will not let, but that this Aduerbe, Spiritually, maye be allowed in thys case taken in that sense, which dothe agree aryght with the proper signification of the worde, and of the thyng whiche is in hande.

Figuratiuely.

Some of the olde and newe writers also haue sayde, that the bread is typically or figuratiuely the Lords body, whyche opinion they doe vnderstande that doe suppose it to be there corporally. They doe make a greate difference betwixte the figure and the truth, as betwixte the olde and the newe Testament, and they doe in reprowe call them Figuristes, whyche doe lyke this figurall way, as though that they dyd with the Manichees denye the truthe of mans bodye in Christe. But I wyll not contende wyth them vppon thys figural way: sauyng for all that, that sense vpryghte, wherein some of the fathers vsed this worde, and that without blame.

Furthermore, forasmuche as the Lord did not say, This doth signifye my body: but, Thys is my bodye: some are not contented that we shoulde saye, that bread is the Lords bodye significatiuely. Of which matter we haue noted somewhat in our Commentaries vppon Mathewe. And albeit that I doe perceyue that this way is not sufficiente to agree theyr myndes that doe vary herein, nor so necessarie, but that it maye bee otherwise erpounded, yet I cannot allowe that thys word, Signe, in this place, which the Fathers vsed, is so condemned of some of our brethren, as if it were wicked and vngodly. Augustine sayde, and it is in the decrees of the Popes, that the Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gaue the Signe of hys bodye. And the Churche dothe vse in Latine, There is no cutting of the thyng, onely the breaking of the signe, whereby neyther state nor stature is decayed, of that whyche by the signe to vs is layde. They doe giue thys definition of a Sacramente, that it is the signe of a

Spiritually

of a holye thyng. But wee meane not to contende muche in this point neyther.

Lastly, Seing that the breade is not the Lordes body, neyther naturally, nor personally, nor really, nor corporallye, nor some men will not haue it spiritually, nor figuratiuely, nor significatiuely: and yet for all that, as Augustine sayth: The Sacramente of the Lordes body is not absolutely, but after a certaine sorte the Lordes bodye, yet remayneth after all this, that we muste saye that the bread of the Supper is the Lordes bodye Sacramentally. And that may be sayd agreeably of al men. It helpeth wel, that it is nother strange nor newe, that this breade is called the Sacrament of the Lordes body. For it is moste vsuall in the Churches: and I thynke that there is no wyse man that will denye it.

Luther, whereas he disputeth of the vnion of thys bread and the Lordes bodye, after that he had rehearsed a sorte of wayes, he endeth at the last in thys, that he determineth it to be Sacramentall. *Ergo* if the bread be the Sacramente of Chrystes body, it remaineth that the same is a Sacramentall speache, and to be erpounded Sacramentally, which is spoken by the Lorde of this bread, Take, eate, This is my bodye. In this sense there remaineth safe and sounde vnto bothe, the bodye and the bread their owne nature, so that we nede neither to denise the miracle of transubstantiation, nor to flee to the argumente of Gods omnipotencie: nor there is nothing lefte that is discrepant with the holy Scriptures, if that we do holde the righte vnderstanding of the sacraments, agreeyng with the definitiõ of them, and runne not from it in argumente more lyke Sophisters, than Diuines. Neyther can there be a more conuenient exposition, than when the Sacramentall wordes be Sacramentally erpounded, the proper, properly, the spirituall, spiritually, and the mysticall, mystically. Or if you will (for I perceyue that some doe sticke in thys poynte,) lette the Sacramental matter it selfe (though it be lette for the in wordes, that hathe their proper signification) bee erpounded in such order, as is mete for Sacramentes.

That there is no word herein spoken, but in the proper sense.

They holde, that there is no word here, but spoken in hys proper sense. For they saye, that Thys, is referred to very bread, and Body, to the true bodye of Chryste: and that the worde, Is, dothe signifye nothyng else, but as it soundeth, and therefore that there nedeth here no Sacramentall exposition, but the proper and true meanyng. But thys shyfting in my opinion is more than nedeth. I doe not take the worde, Body, in anye mysticall or syguratiue sense, nor of anye other thyng thã of the true body of Christ: but I doe searche the way how it is spoken of bread, not ymaginarily, but true, and I doe fynde it to bee Sacramentall, as oure brethren also doe determine, whyche in thys poynte woulde shyfte the matter, and denye that the Sacramente is to bee erpounded Sacramentally. For the Sacramentall wordes, requyre none other meaning or interpretation, than euen as they be spoken: but the manner of the thyng

whyche is declared and vttered in them, is not proper, bnt Sacramentall, for the which I do say, that Sacraments are Sacramentally to bée expounded. As for example, Circumcision is the couenāt, and the Lambe is the Passouer. I take no word here otherwise than in the proper sense. Circumcision as it soundeth, is the very carnall cutting of the foreskin, and the couenant is nothing else, but the same which God made with that people. And the Lambe was but a naturall lambe, which they killed at the Lords commaundement: and the Passouer was spokē of no other, but of the Angell which stroke the Egiptians. And yet for all that, the manner of spéech whereby the circumcision is called the Lords couenant, and the Lambe the Passouer, is not proper and naturall, but sacramentall. Nor it can not be said, that circumcision properly and naturally is the couenaunte, and the Lambe the Passouer: but as that was the signe sacramentall of the couenant, so was thys also of ẏ passage of deliuery. In like maner in this present case, Wheras the Lord saith, This is my body, it is a sacramentall spéech, bycause of the sacramental maner of the predicate, or of that which is reported, for that it is reported of bread not properly, but sacramentally, that it is ẏ Lords body giuen for vs. I do leaue to eche word his proper significatiō, that the bread Be very bread, the body ẏ very body of the Lord, and that Is, bée Is: but I can not make the manner of the predicate or reporte to be proper (vnlesse I should make an vntolerable confusion, and very vnreasonable in this matter,) but Sacramētall, and conuenient to a Sacramēt.

Therefore, let vs agrée in iudgement, that the bread of the Supper is the verie body of Christ, crucifyed and deade for vs, as he sayde: Take eate, this is my body which is deliuered for you: and so let vs kéepe these words euery one in their proper signification, and when the manner is asked, howe bread is the Lordes bodye, let vs say, that it is a report or speache, not naturall, but sacramental, so that the bread is the Lords bodie, neyther naturally, nor corporally, nor personally, nor really, but sacramentally.

Then let vs determine in a sound and concorde sense, what it is for the bread to be the Lordes bodie Sacramentallye. And I suppose that the man that is not contentious, must so iudge of this matter, that he wil say that to be sacramentally, is to be according vnto the nature and meanes of a sacrament. As the breade in as muche as it is the Sacrament of the Lordes body, in that respect it is the Lordes bodye giuen for vs, in suche order and waye as is conueniente to sacraments, lyke as by the order and way of his owne nature it is bread. And it is therfore called the Sacrament of the Lordes bodye, bycause that by his ordinance, it is the holye signe and remembraunce of hys bodye gyuen for vs. By the breaking and distribution of whiche, he dothe recommende the communion of his bodie and remembrance of his death vnto his Churche. And that a sacrament is a signe of a holy thing. I declared before, where I spake of Sacraments generally: Whiche definition nother the fathers dyd refuse, nor

VVh[illegible] sacram[illegible]tally.

nor anye of the latter men is able to disproue. According vnto this definition, the bread of the Supper is the sacramentall signe of the Lords body, and is so called the Lords bodye, bycause that Sacramentes doe take the names of those things of whyche they be Sacraments. Wherfore we do say, that it is the body of ẏ Lorde, not that it is transubstantiated into the Lords body, or that it dothe conteyne the Lordes body presently and corporally in it, or vnder it: but bycause and in respect that it is the Sacramente of the Lordes body whiche was giuen for oure sinnes vpon the Crosse.

Some man will say héere: But in this sorte we may haue the Supper without the presence of ẏ Lords bodye and bloud. I aunswere: When we be gathered togither in the name of the Lord, and do deuoutely accomplish that whiche was instituted and deliuered by him for the remembrāce of his death, and for the communion of his bodye and bloud, yea and haue bin presente in the middes of vs, according vnto that whiche hée sayde, (Wheresoeuer be two or thrée gathered togither in my name, there am I in the middes of them,) and do communicate of his body and bloud, as well spiritually in faithe, as Sacramentally in the sacrament, howe haue we the Lords supper withoute the Lorde and without the body and bloud of the Lord? Is there not a nother manner of partaking of the bodye and bloud of the Lorde, than that corporall is, whiche consisteth in the corporall presence of them in bread and wine? Doe we séeke Gods presence? That is promised vs by the Lords owne mouth, as we haue said. Doe we séeke the corporall presence of his body and bloud in the bread and wine? Of this we haue not as much as one Iote in the whole institution of the Lordes Supper: nor I sée not how it may be certainely proued of the Lords words, and yet wée doe not lacke the body and bloud of our Lord in the supper, in whych according vnto the Lordes institution, we haue their Sacraments. Neither is it méete that we haue them any other wayes, than as they be giuen vs from the Lord himselfe. So he gaue them, and so we haue them. And bycause he gaue them verely, it is ours verily that he gaue. We doe not sequester the truth from the Lordes tradition, God forbidde: but we doe kéepe the way and manner in whych he deliuered vs hys body and bloud. If the Lord had giuen me all heauen for a halfepeny, I myghte boast me that heauen were no lesse mine, than if I had it fast in my owne handes. The truth of the Sacrament deliuered by Christe, is not in the corporall presence of his body in the bread, but in the truth of the worde, and in the efficacie of his inuisible grace.

Of the clarified body of Christ & the personall vnitie.

Our bréethren doe alleage arguments to proue the corporal presence of Christes body in the bread, by the subtiltie or finenes of Christes clarifyed body, whereby he did at his resurrection passe thorough the stone that was layd vppon the graue, and afterwardes wente in vnto his Disciples through the dores when they were shutte. Item, by that personall vnitie whereby his body is conioyned to the godhead of the worde, and of the omnipotencie and right hande of

of God, whereby he may be, yea and is spredde abroade in euerye place: yea and they will haue vs not to followe the iudgement of reason in this case, but to goe on as it were by moste grosse darkenesse, and to grounde vs vpon the only worde with moste assured faithe, for that it can not be knowen, how the Lordes bodye is presente togyther in Heauen and in Earth, and that in many places, yea and in euerye place. But the verye matter whereof they doe dispute, is not of that sorte, that it muste be so argued. For if we be assured of the sense of Christes word, no Christian man will seeke further how it maye be true.

Wee haue no other worde but Christes worde, as where hee saide: Take, eate, This is my body, whych is giuen for you. And we doubt not, but that this is true. Yet for all that, we doe seeke for the sense of it. If it were as much to saye, as In thys is my body, we wold not seeke the maner of it, but permit it to the power of Christ. For to what purpose is it to dispute of the clarifyed bodye of Christe, seeyng that this bread was his bodye at the last Supper, before that he arose agayne and went vp to Heauen, and sate at the right hande of the father, and seeing that it is not meete that it shoulde otherwise bee now, than it was at that time. Loke in what sense the Lorde saide at that Supper of his body, whiche was yet mortal, This is my body, euen in the very same sense we muste beleeue at this day, that the bread is his bodye, without that miraculous abilitie of the clarifyed body.

And as touching that that they do attribute vnto Christ such a body after his resurrection, as is spredde abroade euery where, I hadde rather hold my peace than say much. It pitieth me to see the Church of Christe so sundrye wayes and sore assaulted, more in these latter times than euer. What the fathers iudgemente was of this poynt, their writings do testifie. Of whiche Augustine writeth in this wise: Doubt not therefore but that the man Christe Jesus is there from whence he shall come, and consider in thy minde, and firmely holde the Christian confession, that hee is risen from the dead, went vp to heauen, sitteth at the righte hande of the Father, and shall come from no other place but from thence, to iudge the quicke and the dead. And the voice of the Angell doth testifie, that he shall come so, as he was seene going into Heauen, that is to say, in the same fashion, and substance of flesshe, whereunto no doubt he hath ioyned immortalitie, and yet not bereft it of his nature. According vnto thys forme or fashion, we may not thynke him to be spred abroode euery where. For we muste beware that we do not so affirme the godhead of the man, that we bereaue him of the veritie of his bodye. And it followeth not, that any thing that is in God, be so euery where as God is euery where. For the scripture is moste true which saith of vs, that we doe liue, are moued, and be in him: and yet we be not euery where as he is. But that man is otherwise in God, forasmuche as God is otherwise in that man, after a certaine proper and singular sorte. For one person is God and man, and both be one Christ Jesus, forasmuch as he

Of the quicke Christes bodie.

as he is God, in euery place: and in heauen, forasmuche as hee is man. And in the conclusion of the Epistle: Doubt not (saith he,) but that oure Lord Christ the only begotten sonne of God, equall to the father, and the selfesame is the sonne of Mā, whereby the father is greater than hee, is both euery where presente as God, and is in the selfesame temple inhabiting as God, and is in some certaine place of Heauen for the forme of his true body. And in an other place. He spake (saith he) of the presence of his body, for according vnto his Maiestie, according vnto hys vnspeakeable and inuisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him: Loe, I am with you vnto the ende of the world. But according to the flesshe, which the word toke vpon it, according to that, that he was borne of a virgine: according vnto that, that he was caughte of the Iewes, that hee was nayled to the tree, that he was taken downe from the crosse, that hee was wrapped in sheetes, that he was layde in a graue, that he was declared by his resurrection, you shall not alwayes haue me with you. Why? For hee kepte companye with hys Disciples the space of forty dayes, according to the presence of his body, and in the conueyance of theyr owne saying, but not of their following, he went vp to Heauen, and is not heere. For there hee sytteth at the righte hande of the Father. And heere he is. For hee departed not away touchyng the presence of his Maiestie, else according to the presence of hys Maiestie we haue Christ alwayes: according to the presence of the flesshe, it was sayde aryghte to the Disciples, But you shall not alwayes haue me. For the Church hadde him after the presence of the flesh for a few dayes, but now it holdeth him by faith, and seeth him not with eyes. This sayeth he. Howe some of these things be expounded by some of our brethren, I am not ignorante. But seeyng that they do leaue that which is moste manifest, vntouched, as that he sayeth, that it followeth not, that the same whiche is God, be euery where so as God: and that Christe, according as he is man, is in some place of Heauē, bycause of the forme of the true bodye, and that he is not spredde abroode euery where, they do sufficiently declare, that they do otherwise iudge of Christes body, than the fathers did in the Christian Faithe and simplicitie.

See Cyrill vpon Iohn Lib. 5. c. 14. & li. 9. c. 21.

Wherefore I beseeche them for Christes sake, that they handle this matter more moderately and circumspectly in their writing and teaching, least if they continue in theyr conueyance of thys contention to our posteritie, they leaue withall the seedes of moste sore dissentions, and daungerous Doctrines to the Churche after them. Briefely, all this contention dependeth vppn the ryghte sense of Christes words: This is my body, if that be once well vnderstanded, all thase arguments are nothing to the purpose at all, whereby they doe contende that Christes bodye may be in many places at once, yea euerye where, to the entente they maye prowe it to bee corporallye vnder the breade. For seeing that it is not so said by the Lorde, there is no cause why a Christian manne should dispute therevpon.

The Lord saith: Take, eate, thys is my body, whiche is giuen for you. We do credite these wordes, and doe iudge and saye, that the bread of the Supper is the Lordes body, not that it hathe it corporally included in it, but that the Lorde woulde haue it to be the Sacrament of his body. It is a very miserable matter, if a Christian man do not understand howe the bread of the Supper is the Lordes body, seeing that the Iewe is not ignoran, howe circumcision is the couenaunt, and the Lambe the Passouer. Truly they do too muche shut vp the eyes of their minde, which do so darken this case sette forthe by Christe with so greate simplicitie, thorough their scrupulousnesse, that it can not be understanded, and withall they saye, that it is not needefull that wee should understand, how that it is true which Christ saith. The ignorannce of the Sacramentall way, hath filled Christes Churches, with horrible superstitions, with blinde and fonde argumentes, and most sharpe strife and contentions, for which we maye thanke partly oure owne sinnes, and partly the scrupulositie of some learned men. I beseech the Lord, that we may shake off all scrupulositie, and ý he will restore vnto vs that Christian simplicitie, whereby we maye participate all in one mind of his bodye and bloud, not in the Sacrament only, but in the very truth also. But let vs returne to the text of Christes wordes.

This is my body (saith he,) which is giuen for you, for as the Apostle hath, Broken. This as I said before, is the other predicate, which ý Lorde referreth not of the bread, but of hys body, that it should be giuen or broken for his Disciples. Yet there bee some which doe refer this predicate, not to the body of Christe, but to the bread already broken, and giuen to the Disciples, as though he shoulde saye, Take, eate. This bread is my body, whiche is giuen, or broken, for you. But by their leaue, I thinke there was no reason, why God shuld haue said of the bread, that it shoulde be giuen for them. For if we shall understand it of the distributiō therof, in that there was giuen to euerye one of the Disciples his portion, to, what purpose had it bin to informe them by hys wordes of a matter so manifest? Whiche of them knew not that they had bread giuen them? But if we do understand it of that which was to be accomplished the next day after vppon the Crosse, the sense can not stand wherein it is said of bread, that it is giuen for the Disciples vpon the Crosse. But such a predicate doth agree only with the body which was giuen for vs to deathe. And besides that, the very wordes themselues doe declare, that the Lorde speaketh not of bread, but of his body, in that he saith not, whiche is giuen to you, but whiche is giuen for you. Like as in that whiche is before, we doe not reade, that he gaue the bread which he brake for his Disciples, but onely that he brake it, and gaue it to hys Disciples: so if he had in this place spoken of the bread, he woulde not haue said, Whiche is giuen for you, but simplye, Whiche is giuen vnto you. It is an other maner of matter to be giuen to the Disciples, and to be giuen for the disciples. The bread was giuen to the Disciples, as a sacrament

V Whiche is giuen for you.

crament of the Lordes body: but the very body it selfe should be giuen vpon the Crosse, not to the Disciples, but to God the father vnto deathe, for the Disciples.

And this was the very poynt whiche he wouloe haue knowen to hys Disciples, and wherein the substāce, as it were of this Sacrament, should consist. For our whole saluation doth stand in this poynte, that the body of the onely begotten sonne is giuen for vs to God the Father vnto deathe, to be an offering of propiciatiō or mercye, and the raunsome of our redemption. And this the Apostle doth sundry tymes reporte of Christ, saying: Whyche gaue hymselfe for oure synnes. Agayne, Who gaue hymselfe for me. Also, He gaue hymselfe for it: that is, for the Churche. Item, He gaue himselfe to bee an offeryng for vs. And, Whyche gaue hymselfe to be the raunsome of redemption for all. Item, Whiche gaue himselfe for vs. And no man nede to obiecte, that he sayd not, Which I will giue for you, but Which is giuen for you. For firste he gaue the bread whiche he brake, to hys Disciples, and yet he sayeth not, Whiche I will gyue, but Whiche is giuen for you. If they can neuertheless expounde this of the breade whyche he gaue, howe can they not expounde it of the body whyche hee shoulde gyue also for hys Disciples vnto deathe? Besydes that, not he only should giue his body for vs, but his father also should giue it. As the Apostle sayeth: Who spared not also his owne sonne, but gaue hym for vs all: so that hee may also therefore saye aryghte: Whyche is giuen for you. The father gaue hys sonne for vs vnto deathe, the Sonn gaue hymselfe for vs, obeying hys father, for an oblation of redemption and attonemente. Wherefore in both respectes he sayd aright: Which is giuen for you.

Therefore we do in these wordes of the Lorde, make a difference betwixte the Sacrament of the Lords bodye it selfe. He brake and gaue to hys Disciples the bread, whiche hee calleth hys bodye, bycause he woulde haue it to bee the Sacramente of hys bodye: but he brake not hys bodye at the Supper, nor he gaue it not at Supper for hys Disciples: but hee gaue it for them vpon the crosse. Hee woulde haue the bread whiche hee brake to be the Sacrament thereof, and gaue it to, and not for, his Disciples. Both can not be sayde of it, but we must attribute vnto breade that which is conuenient to a sacramente, and the grace it selfe to the Lordes bodye, whose sacramente hee would to be in the breade, that is to witte, the yeelding of it, when it was giuen for vs to death. I doe muche marueil howe it maye be, that in so playne a case, the true meaning of the Lordes wordes shoulde be obscured by straunge expositions. Is it possible for vs not to knowe what is giuen to the Disciples, and what for the Disciples? The matter it selfe is manifest, and the wordes doe agree fayre and well. To the Disciples was gyuen the Sacramente of the body, and for the Disciples, the body it selfe.

But you wyll say: Seeing that hee sayde of the breade whyche hee gaue to hys Disciples, Take, eate, This is my body, dothe it not follow that

He gaue his bodie also to his disciples.

he gaue his body not onely to God the father for the Disciples, but vnto the Disciples also: Yea certainly it followeth so. And this was his intent in the institution of this Sacrament, to assure vs by that Sacramentall giuyng, that hys bodye is ours, his bloud ours, whyche hée would giue for vs to that intent, that wée myght bé redéemed. And this is the Communion of the Lordes body and bloud, the Sacrament wherof is the bread and the cuppe, wherby wée bé partakers of all those thinges whiche hée purchased vnto mankinde, by the giuyng of hys bodye and bloud.

And it is no matter that he speaketh in the presente tyme: Whyche is giuen for you. The very giuyng of him was at hand, and was done a greate parte of it by Judas and the Priestes: Wherupon he sayde vnto Judas, not that whiche thou wilt doe, but in the presente tense, That which thou doest, doe quickely: wherfore he spake in this sorte, to giue warning thereof to his disciples.

But marke that he saith not: This is my body whych shall rise againe, goe vp into heauen, sitte at the right hande of the father in Heauen: but whiche is giuen or broken for you, not onely giuen, but giuen for you. So, that he doth beate into hys disciples heades, his death, whyche hée shoulde take for vs, and doeth sette it forth to bée remembred in thys Sacrament: wherefore he saith to hys Apostles also: As often as you do eate of thys breade and drinke of this cup, you shall declare the Lordes death vntil that hée come. Wherefore what doe our brethren which do set forth vnto vs in the Supper the bodie clarifyed, deifyed, sitting at the right hande of the Father, percyng all things, and present in all places, & withall doe enforce vpon vs these wordes, This is my body: There is set forth vnto vs in the Lordes Supper, the Sacrament of his body gyuen to death for oure sinnes, and of his bloud shedde vpon the Crosse for vs, not clarified and deifyed. Christs bodye (saye they) sitteth at the right hande of the Father. The Fathers righte hande is euery where, *Ergo* Christes body is euery where, Lette them say rather in this sort. Christe sitteth at the right hande of the Father, and that pearceth all thinges: *Ergo* Christ also pierceth all thyngs. And in so saying, no Christian man will contrary them. But when wée doe speake of the Lordes Supper, & that we must exponde those his wordes, to what purpose is it to dispute of his Ascension, and syttyng at the right hād of the father, seing ỳ there is set forth vnto vs in thé the sacrament of Christes bodye not yet glorified, but giuen to death for vs, and crucified. But let them weigh with vs this poynt, wherin the Lords bodie is sette forth, giuen for vs as the raunsome of our redemption. Wée wer guiltie of euerlasting death, and the children of wrath bycause of sin, wée coulde not bée delyuered but by him, whiche was pure from all sin, and the immaculate Lamb. He therfore gaue hymself for vs. And forasmuche as hée gaue hymselfe not in vayne, but to good effecte, it foloweth that we be made frée from sinne and death. For he gaue his body, and did shedde

He saith not This is my bodye vvhich shall rise againe.

shead his bloud for vs, to this intent that we should be deliuered from all guilt, blame, and punishment, and be reconciled vnto God the Father.

The Sacrament of this grace, is set forth vnto vs in the Lordes supper, wherunto the verie wordes do leade vs: This is my body, which is giuen for you: and This cuppe is the new Testament in my bloude, whiche is shed for you. Therfore to what purpose is it to refer that which he sayeth here: Which is giuen or broken for you, not to the lords body, but vnto the bread, and to make light of the very substance and pythe of this sacrāmente, whiche is sette forthe by these wordes.

As touching the worde of breaking whiche is in Paule, the Lorde vsed it to apply himselfe to the sacramentall breaking of bread. For like as the breade when it is broken, is broken for them among whome it is distributed to eate, forasmuche as vnlesse it were broken, it coulde neither be distributed nor eaten: so the Lordes body, the liuely bread, sente from heauen to be our meate, was broken, that is to saye, slaine for vs vppon the Crosse. For it must not seme any newe matter that hée calleth the killing of hym, the breaking: whereas it is written: You shall not breake a bone of hym, séeyng that hée doeth attribute destruction vnto it, saying: Destroye thys Temple, whiche the Euangelistes do signifie to bée spoken of the Temple of hys bodye. Therefore the Lordes bodye is in thys respecte broken for vs vpō the Crosse, in that that it is dead for vs thereuppon. But the breaking of the breade in the Supper, can not be attributed vnto it, as they do confesse in theyr song. There is not cutting of the thing, it is alone the breaking of the fygne, whereby neither state nor stature is decayed, of the thing signified. They say ỳ the word of Breaking, hath the sense of parting & distributing, as often as it is vsed in bread or other meat, and that therefore it can not be applied to the lords body. It is true in that ỳ we do read, he toke bred, gaue thāks, brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples. This perteineth to the bread, & doth teache vs of the sacramentall breaking, partition and distributiō therof. In like sort Paul saith: The bread which we break &c. But in this particle, Which, is broken for you, the worde of Breaking is not take in ỳ sacramētall sense of breaking, partition and distribution: for it is spoken not of of bread, but of ỳ lords body. Wherunto such breaking as mē do breake bread doth not agrée. For it is not so broken that it maye bé deuyded into partes, but that as destroyed by Deathe, it myghte be the meate of saluation vnto vs, if it be taken with true fayth. 1.Cor.10.

I doe perceyue that these words, Which is giuen for you: Itē, Whiche is broken for you, bée verye vnconstantlye applied by some of oure brethren in contention, not to the bodye of Christe, giuen and broken for vs vpon the Crosse, but to the bread, the Sacramente of that, by the distribution whereof, the Lordes body is giuen and broken at the Supper, wheras when they do not so conferred, they do apply thē vnto the worke of our redemptiō, wherby the Lords bodye was gyuen and broken for vs VVhich is giuen and broken for you.

vs vppon the Crosse. Agayne, there bee some of them, whyche doe take the wordes of Paule, Whiche is broken for you, in an other sense thā the wordes of Luke, Whyche, is gyuen for you. They doe applye the relatiue Whyche in Luke, vnto the very body of the Lorde giuen for vs vpon the Crosse, and in Paule to the breade of the Supper: as thongh it were credible, that Paule did say one thing, and Luke an other in the selfesame matter, yea that Christe spake in sundry senses. If in Luke he spake it of his body Whyche is gyuen for you, howe maye we beléeue that in Paule hée saide it of the bread, Whiche is broken for you: both myght be said by him Whiche is giuen for you, and broken, but not in sundrye respects, but of one, that is to witte of his body, which shoulde be giuen and broken for vs vpon the Crosse.

It is not so easie a matter my brethren to be assuredly ware, that wée do not our selues the same, which we doe blame in others, You doe gather the argument of the erroure vppon that, that sundry menne doe sundrye wise expounde the selfesame wordes of Christe. This is my bodye: and yet withall you do not marke howe your poure selues do diuersly and vnconstantly expounde in sundry senses these wordes of Christe, Whyche is gyuen and broken for vs. O howe easie a matter it were to agrée oure sayings, if the defyre of contentions coulde bée leste, and everye manne consyder, not so muche what others, but what he himselfe dothe amisse.

Of the cup he said thus, after that they hadde dranke: This cuppe is the new Testament in my bloud. Luke doth adde, Which is shedde for you. Mathewe, And for manye to the forgyuenesse of Synnes. For that that Paule and Luke hathe, This cuppe is the newe Testamente in my bloudde: Mathewe and Marke doe write that the Lorde sayde, Thys is my bloud of the new Testamente. Thys is the other parte of thys Sacramente, which he doth expound also. And the exposition of it hathe as manye partes as the first: that is to witte, two Subiectes and two Predicates.

The fyrste subiecte is in the pronowne, This, which is vsed of Mathewe and Marke, and that it is to be referred vnto the Cup, Luke and Paule doe sufficiently declare when they doe recyte the Lords wordes in this wise: This Cuppe is the newe Testament, &c. Thus the holye Spirite meant to prouide, that it shoulde not be referred vnto the verye bloud of the Lorde, as some do for all that, and therefore doe like more to reade Mathew and Marke, than Luke and Paule. And they be so vnadui sed, that whereas they wyll haue, the pronowne, This, in the firste part to bée referred vnto the bread, and that arighte, they doe not perceyue that in this parte likewise it is not to be referred vnto the bloud, but vnto the cup. Truly the Lord doth say of thys subiecte, Cup, that it is his bloud, after Mathewe and Marke: but after Luke and Paule, that it is the newe Testament in his bloud. The other subiecte is in Christes bloudde, of which he reporteth and sayth: Which is shead for you and many, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes.

And we may not iudge otherwyse of the first Predicate when it is said of the cuppe, that it is the bloude or newe Testament in the bloude of Christe, than wée do of that when it is saide of bread, that it is the body of Christe. Like as he saith there, not by naturall, but sacramentall speache, that it is his bodye: so hée doth say here also of the cuppe, that it is his bloud not naturally but Sacramentally. And lyke as there wée said, that this is my body, is al one to saye, as this is the Sacramente of my bodie: so also whereas he sayeth hére: Thys is my bloud, or Thys cuppe is the newe Testamente in my bloude, wée saye it is all one to saye, This cuppe is the Sacrament of my bloude, or thys Cuppe is the Sacramente of the newe Testamente in my bloude. Thys Cuppe naturally is a Cuppe of Wine, but Sacramentally it is the Cuppe of the Lordes bloudde and newe Testamente. And thys latter vertue it receyued not of mans will, but of the Lordes institution, bycause the Lorde meante to recommende hys bloude in this Cuppe to hys Disciples and to the faythfull, he called it hys bloude, not that hys bloud is really in it, but that it shoulde be the Sacramente of hys bloud. By thys kynde of speache we be gyuen to vnderstande, with what faithe, what respect, and what affection we ought to vse the Sacramentall signes in the Lordes Supper, where as he calleth thys bread his bodye giuen for vs, and the Cuppe of Wyne, hys bloud shedde for vs. That whyche is seene (sayeth Augustine) is the bread and the Cuppe, whiche our eyes doe also tell vs. But that whiche oure faithe requireth to be instructed of the bread is the Lords body, and the Cuppe his bloudde. That whiche both be, is of nature visible and subiecte vnto the testimonie of the eyes, whiche doe witnesse it to be breade and Wyne: but as for that whiche they be not of nature but by the institution of the Lorde, that is not visible, and it requireth the testimonie not of oure eyes, but of the Lordes worde, that whiche he wouldde haue them to be vnto vs not naturally of themselfe, but Sacramentally: that is to saye, his body and bloudde that whiche we receyue by fayth, and deuoutely embrace, crediting ỳ Lords worde. The faithfull man dothe not loke for the corporall presence of the Lords body and bloud in the breade and cuppe, whiche he knoweth is not promised vnto hym by any worde of the Lords, but yet for all that, for asmuch as he doth beléeue that ỳ bread and cuppe of the Lords supper is the Sacrament of the Lordes bodyeand bloud, he cõsidereth in them not what they be of nature, but what ỳ Lords institution doth recommend in them vnto vs, that is to witte, the Lordes body and bloud.

In this respect Cyprian sayd: We doe cleaue vnto the Crosse, and suck of the bloud, and fasten our tongue betwixte the verye woundes of the Redéemer: and he sayeth, that they whiche doe participate of the Lords Cuppe, doe sauour of the bloude of Christe by the taste of the Wyne. Who is so madde to thynk that these wordes be spoken properly, and not rather sacramentally? Howe fonde a matter were it for a man to saye,

Cyprian, vvee doe cleaue to the Crosse, and sucke the bloud.

that hée dothe cleaue reallie vnto Chriſtes Croſſe, to ſucke the bloud, and to faſten his tong betwixte the woundes of Chriſt: And it is euen as fonde a poynt to holde that the bloud of Chryſte whyche was once really ſhedde vpon the Croſſe, is really in the Cuppe. But if a man will ſaye this in the ſacramentall ſenſe, as the thinges themſelues be ſpoken of the Sacramentall ſignes, whoſe Sacramentes they be, there is no inconuenience in it.

To fauour Chriſtes bloude, by taſte of VVine.

In this ſenſe, by the taſte of the Wyne, we doe ſauoure the bloud of Chriſt. Why? Bycauſe thys Wine was giuen vnto vs by Chriſt, not as wine, but as the Sacramente of his bloud. And yet it kéepeth the taſte whiche it hath of nature, the ſauour wherof to the faythe of a Chriſtian man, is rather of Chriſtes bloud thã than of Wine. Acknowledge in the taſte of wine the naturall condition thereof, & in the ſauour of Chriſtes bloude, the inſtitution of the Lords Sacrament. The Chriſtian faithe dothe take that the naturall taſte of the Sacramentall Wyne dothe ſauoure of Chriſtes bloude, by the reaſon of the Sacrament, and not of the corporall preſence.

It is the Teſtament, howe it is ſaide of Paule.

This cuppe (ſaith he) is the newe Teſtament. In Luke and Paule it is ſaide of the cup, that it is the newe Teſtament. It is ment that it is the Sacrament of the newe Teſtament, in reſpecte of the olde Paſſouer Sacramente, whereof hé did make an ende, then at the laſte ſupper, and did ſubordinate this newe one vnto it.

VVhat is a Teſtament.

For being ready to dye, hé erected the newe Teſtament. And what a Teſtament is, it is ſo well knowen, that it needeth no declaration: the laſt wil of one that is redy to dye, wherby he doeth diſpoſe hys goodes, and giueth them frankly to whome hé lyſte.

The conditions required by a Teſtamente iuſtified.

1 And it is firſt requiſite to make the Teſtament allowable, that the teſtator haue frée power ſo to doe, ſo that hée muſte be frée and his owne man as wée ſaye. If a manſeruant or woman that is bounde, or ſonne or Daughter that is in the houſe, or vnder the iuriſdiction of the goomã of the familie, woulde make a Teſtament, it were not allowable. Howe is it then that Chryſte the ſonne of God, being in the houſe of his father made a Teſtament when he ſhoulde dye? I aunſwere. The father gaue him all things into his handes, and made hym heyre and Lorde of all things, both in heauen and in earth. So that he had frée power to make a will. Againe, the Father woulde haue him ſo to make his wil, and to that entent ſente him into the worlde to confirme this newe Teſtamente by his death, which he had promiſed: Hieremie in the [illegible]. chapiter, wherof ſée alſo to the Hebrues in the eight Chapiter.

2 Secondely, it is requiſite that thoſe things which be bequeathed in the Teſtamente, be no other folkes goods but his owne. For no mã can make a will of that whiche is another mans. So that in this poynte there lacketh nothyng in Chriſtes Teſtament, ſeing that he is the only begotten of God, and heire of all.

3 Thirdly, the wil muſt be ſo made that there be no wrong done to the naturall children, and brethern, if there be any: For they be heyres by the

Heb. 9.

the priuiledge of Nature. And it ſhould be a wrong to pull the inheritaunce from them, and to tourne it vnto ſtraungers, vnleſſe it be vpon iuſte cauſes. If the Aungels of heauen hadde bene of nature allyed vnto Chryſte, truely the inheritaunce ſhoulde haue pertayned vnto them. But they be not ſo. Nor the onely begotten of God hath any ſuche alyance, whiche maye by priuiledge of nature bée his heyres, but onely by adoption. So that he myght alſo by this reaſon make his bequeſt to whõ he woulde.

4 Fourthly, that cannot be bequeathed by Teſtament, which is due of deſert. For a deſert drawyth vnto a dette, and a dette excludeth grace or fauor, whiche the frée god will of a Teſtament doth require. Wherfore whatſoeuer procéedeth of deſerte, is not of grace. Therfore thoſe things which the only begotten of God doth giue by this his Teſtament, muſt be ſuche, that no man maye boaſte or crake vppon anye deſerte or dette of them.

5 The order of a teſtament doth requyre, that there be ſome appointed to be the executors of the will. Theſe he made his Apoſtles to whome hée committed that charge, that they ſhold ſeruiſeably diſpoſe the grace of this Teſtament by preaching: And therevppon the Apoſtle ſaide: Lette men eſtéme vs as the miniſters of God, and the diſpoſers of Gods miſteries.

6 Laſtly, it is requiſite to the ratifying of a teſtament, that there paſſe the death of the teſtator. For whiles hé is aliue, the teſtament is not yet confirmed. Whereof wée doe reade to the Hebrews, in this wiſe: Whereſoeuer there is a teſtament, there muſt nédes paſſe the death of the teſtatour. For a teſtament is confirmed in the dead. Otherwiſe it is not yet good whiles he liueth, that hathe made the teſtament. But thys teſtatour the onely begotten of God is dead, and hath confirmed the Teſtament that he made by his bloud. And whereas hé is aliue agayne, it auaileth not to make the ſame voyde whiche he confirmed by hys deathe, but rather to bring it vnto hys ende and perfection. For he aroſe agayne for oure iuſtification. So that this newe Teſtament is in all poyntes lawfull, allowable, ſtrong, and perfecte.

In my bloud howe the newe Teſtament is in Chriſtes bloude.

This cuppe (ſaith he) is the newe Teſtament in my bloude. Mathew and Marke ſaith thys: This is my bloud, whiche is of the newe Teſtament. The olde teſtament conſiſted in beaſtes bloud, the figural and ſhadowing bloud: whoſe truthe was to be accompliſhed in Chriſtes bloud: but the new Teſtamẽt ſtandeth not in the bloud of beaſtes, but of Chriſt the true immaculate lambe. And to declare that he ſayde, This cuppe is the newe Teſtamente in my bloud: or, It is my bloud, whiche is of the new teſtament. The ſelf ſame thing is expreſſed by dyuers and ſundrye wordes: that Chriſtes bloud is the cõfirmation of the new Teſtament. Therfore it is called the bloud of the the newe Teſtament, & the new Teſtamente is ſayde to be in his bloud: Wée néede not to toſſe theſe wordes. Let vs auoid ſcrupuloſitie, and ſtand to the truthe. Thys Teſtamente is is confyrmed by Chryſtes bloudde,

shedde vpon the crosse. Wherefore it is all one to saye, it is eyther the Testamente in hys bloud, eyther the bloud in the Testamente, or of the Testamente. If a man saye, the Testamente is in death, or deathe is in the Testament, what else is meante, but that the Testamente is confirmed by the deathe of the testatoure? But by the shedding of bloud there is signified a bloudie death.

VVherevnto this particle is applyed, VVhiche shall bee shedde for you.

Whiche is shedde (sayeth he) for you, and manye, for the remission of sinnes. Lyke as he sayd of his body, Whiche is giuen for you: so he speaketh more playnly here of his bloud, saying: Which shall be shed for you and for manye, to the remission of sinnes. Here some do argue vpō that that it is not redde in Luke. Whych is shedde for you, to be spoken of the bloud whiche was shedde vppon the Crosse for oure sinnes, but in thys wise: This cuppe is the newe Testamente in my bloud, whiche is shedde for you: so that it shoulde bee spoken not of the bloud, but of the Cuppe, whiche shoulde be powred out for vs at the table, so as Wine is filled or powred into the cuppes, and distributed among the guestes. And to make this opinion more probable, wherein for all that they are not well stayed, they saye that For you, maye be as much to say, as In your sight, or Before you. Thus when they are chafed with the furie of contention, they doe apply these wordes, Which is broken for you, and which is shedde for you, in whyche the profyte and fruite of thys whole matter is sette forth, not vnto the deathe of the Crosse, and to the shedding of the bloud vppon the Crosse, but vnto the sacramentarie communion of the Lordes Supper, whereas for all that the contrarie is expressed in the translatiō of the new Testamente. For so is that translated to the Corinthians: Whyche is broken for you. Take, eate, thys is my bodye whyche is broken for you, whiche is not referred to the breade, but to the body, &c. But let thys deuice passe, whyche is growen of the Spirite of contention, and putte in writing contrarie to the manifest truth. Whereof can we hope to bee assured, when in so playne and simple wordes of the Lorde, there is soughte (as it were) a knotte in a rushe: I doe impute thys not to the malice, but to the heate of contention, wherein they thoughte that they fought most handsomly for the truth of Chrystes wordes: and whyles they charged others wyth vnstedfastnesse and slitting in the wordes of Chryste, This is my bodye, they themselues seeme to be not very well assured in thinges more manifest. So by ouermuche striuing, the truthe is lost goe.

The vse of the

And I thinke that it appeareth by Matthew, that the word of shedding in Luke, is not to be applyed to the bloud of the Sacramente, but vnto the bloud of Chryste, shedde vppon the crosse. For there we doe reade in this wise, This is my bloud which is of the newe Testamente, whiche is shed for many, where not onely the Disciples, which were present at the Supper, but all the electes also are appointed to bee partakers of the bloud that was shedde. Nor it maye not be abidden by to say, that it was otherwise meant of Luke, than it was of Mathew. For that were as cuil to be

be liked, as if any man would hold, that the same, This is my bodye, were taken in sundry senses of the Euangelistes. Wherfore that in Luke, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, is nothing but τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, not to be referred to ἡ cup, but to the bloud, euen as it were τοῦ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνομένου.

But let this new exposition passe, and let vs returne vnto the wordes of Chryst.

Whiche shall be shedde (sayth he) for you and for many to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Let the diligent reader marke here, that like as he sayth not, This is my body, whiche shall rise againe, shall be glorified, & shall sitte at the righte hande of the father: but whiche is giuen for you, meanyng to death so he sayth not of his bloud neyther: This cup is the new Testament in my bloud which shal be clarified and exalted vnto heauen: but, Whiche shall be shedde for you and for many, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes: doth he not speake playnely of his bloude whiche the wicked did shead in scourging and crucifying hys body? Yes no doubt. He speaketh not of the bloud that was not shead. And how can the argumentes of the clarifycation agree thereunto, whereby our brethren go about to proue, that Chrysts bloud is bodyly present in the chalyce? Did the Apostles drinke Chrystes bloud at the Supper? They did. And what other bloud, but that which shoulde accordyng vnto his word, be shedde vppon the Crosse? For he sayth not only, This cuppe is the new Testament in my bloud: but he addeth: Whiche is shed for you. The bloud of Chryst as he satte at his suppe, & instituted the Sacramente, was not yet shedde. Wherefore that whiche he speaketh of here, is not to be referred to it, but vnto the bloude which the wicked did shedde the day folowing. And whether it be that bloud of Chryst whiche was shedde vppon the Crosse, wherewith he arose againe, went vp vnto heauen, and sytteth at the right hand of the Father, let other men be iudges. We do not attribute vnto Chryste sundrye bloudes: but we doe sticke vnto his wordes, and seeke for the true meaning of them, and for the mysterie of this Sacrament.

The opinion of the corporall presence.

To what purpose is it therfore, to bring into ỳ church an opinion of the bodily presence, by the glorifyed and deifyed body and bloude, seeing that the very wordes of Chryst, touching his bloud, cā not be vnderstanded, neither of the bloud as he had it at the table, nor as he shoulde haue after his resurrection, but as it should be shedde vppon the Crosse? And as he recommended this vnto his Disciples before it was shedde (not corporally in the cuppe, but Sacramentally) so likewise after this resurrection, the Churche hath it shedde not corporally, but sacramentally in the cuppe, and spiritually in the hart by faith. That which yet is not, can not be hadde by corporall presence, but it may by a sacramētal presence Chrysts bloud was in Chrysts body at ỳ supper, but ỳ bloud was not yet in very deed shed, whiche being shed, might be corporally present in ỳ cup, & giuen to drinke. Of the glorified we neede not to argue, forasmuch as Chryst speaketh not therof. Thus

me thinketh, the verye wordes of Christ do lead vs as it were by the hand, and shew vnto vs, that that opinion of the corporall presence of Christs bloud in the cup, can take no place, but that this is spoken in ỹ sacramental sense. We nede not to argue what became of christs bloud after it was sheadde in the ground, whether that it were receiued into his glorified body or no. There is left ynough and that sufficiēt for the Church of the faithfull, vntyll the ende of the world, to be dronke not corporally. but sacramentally in the sacrament, and spiritually by fayth: there is left (I say) the efficacie therof, vnto the appeasment for the sins of all the elect and faythfull, to the iustifying, pacifying, sanctifying, and cleansing of our consciences: whyche efficacie thereof may so indure, that it may be the bloud of the euerlasting Testament, of which matter the minister of the word may with more fruit reason, than of his corporal presence in the chalice.

There is recommended vnto vs in this sacrament, the substaunce of the Lords bodie and bloude, not corporally presente, but an host offered for our sinnes to God the father, a bloudy death, as it is of an hoste, a sheading of bloud, which was done vpon the aulter of the Crosse, the efficacie whereof is not in the corporall presence vnder bread & wine, but in the hartes and consciences of the faythful. The very breaking of Christes body, and the sheadyng of his bloud, of which he maketh mention, saying: Whiche is broken for you, and whiche is shed for you and for many, to the forgiuenesse of sins as sone as they be once past in fact they can not be corporally iterated: and yet for al that they be iterated in the Churches of the faythful by the sacrament of remembrance, not by the corporall presence, whereby the bloud may be in the cup bodyly without bodye, or the bodye in the bread without the bloud, nor ther is not one word spoken in the scriptures eyther of the Euāgelists or of the apostles, of the profite or consideration of this presence. I saye nothing what an absurditie it is, to deuise such a bodilye deuision, as that the body shall be present without bloud, and the bloude bodily without body. In dede there was suche a bodilye diuision vpon the crosse, where the bloude was by shedding separated from the bodie: but at the verye supper, as after the resurrection also, it was not corporal, but sacramental, and recommended vnto vs in thys sacramente, to this intente, that we should acknowledge, and with moste assured faith embrace, that the same which passed before figurallye, and seuerally in the Lambe of the Passouer is truely fulfilled in the verye body and bloud of Christ.

What is the reason and profite of the shedding of the *bloud of Christ.*

WHich (saith Christ) shal be shed for you and for manye to the forgiuenesse of sins. This is the profite and the cause why Christs bloud shoulde be sheadde. That is to saye, forgiuenesse of sinnes, whereof there is mention made also in Ieremie, in the Prophecie and promise of the new

new Testament, which the Epistle to the Ebrewes doth diligentlye expresse. Of this we nede not to speak in this place, bycause we haue spokē of it in a seuerall place before. And the dispensation that he toke vpon him of mediatiō, is declared in that that he saith, For you, and for many. He became the Mediatour betwixt God, and vs, & toke vpon him the cause of vs all, wherfore he suffered also for vs, to pay that which we and not he, did owe, and to satisfie God his Father for vs. But of this matter, and why he sayde not onely For you, but also For many, and also what is to be obserued of all this place, wee haue noted in our Commentarie vpon Matthewe.

Let the godly reader cōsider here what it meaneth, that he sayth his bloud should be shedde not onely for many, as for such as should beleeue in him, but for the very Apostles also, in that he saith, Whiche shall be shedde for you, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. *Ergo* he should shed his bloud also for the sinnes of the Apostles. And yet for asmuche as they did already beleue in him, they were iustified and make partakers of euerlasting life, of whiche none of thē both coulde be done without the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Therefore seing that they had obteyned this before by faith, it may be demaunded what he nēded to shedde his bloud for their sinnes.

I answere. Like as the bloud of Christ was the satisfaction for al the sinnes of all beleuers, euen from the begynnyng of the world, before that his bloud was shed vpon the crosse, so it was also for the sinnes of the Apostles. And they we made partakers of this satisfaction by faith, but the very actuall satisfaction it selfe, was in fine to be accomplished vpō the crosse. Therefore like as he should shedde his bloud for the sinnes of all the Patriarches, Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, whiche were also iustified by fayth before his death, so he shoulde shedde it also for the sinnes of the Apostles, as well as for the sinnes of them whiche did not yet beleeue in him.

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THis piece also doth depend vpō the institution of the Lordes supper. For there be two parts of it. The first doth comprise what Christ hym selfe did at the supper, and the last what he commaunded vs to do. Of ỹ first we haue already spokē according to our final abilitie, now we must say somwhat of the last. How, why, & to what end, he did institute the sacrament of his body and bloud in outward tokens, we haue declain our Matthew.

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to be accomplished by anye but by him. For it is not required that we should dye also for our sinnes: But thys mysticall and sacramental deed of Christ is set forth to be done of vs also, for it doth not depend properly vpon the redemption of mankinde, wherunto his death doth serue, but vpon the ecclesiasticall ceremonye and exercise, that we may be trained vp and practised in the faith thereof.

Cyprian.

This do (sayth he.) Cyprian doeth referre This, vnto that whiche the Lord himselfe did, when he sayeth: We must do that, which the Lorde did first, and cōmaunded to be done. And what he did first, it is sufficiently expressed in that which wente before: He toke bread and the cuppe, he gaue thankes to God the father, he brake it, and did distribute it among his disciples, he bad them eate and drinke it: and with all did declare what he did institute and recōmend vnto them by this rite. *Ergo* when he sayth: Do this, he commaundeth them also to take bread and wiee, to giue thankes, to breake it, and to distribute it amongst them, and to eate it and drinke it.

He sayeth not, Offer this to God the father.

He saith not, Offer this to God the father, but do this. He himself did not offer his body and bloud at the table, but he woulde offer it vppon the crosse. Wherfore he doth not bid them to offer, but to do ẏ same which he had done at the table. That which he shoulde doe vppon the Crosse, he would do alone: but he would haue that which he did at the table, to be rather our worke than his own. For he did it this intent, to institute thys rite of breaking of bread, & to recōmend it to be kept of his church.

He bid vs doe vvhich can doe

This do (sayth he) *Ergo*, he speaketh of such a matter whiche he shoulde not himselfe doe afterwardes, but whiche the faithfull should & mighte also doe. Therfore he doth not bidde them to chaunge the substaunce of bread & wine into his body & bloude. For that passeth all mens power, & cannot be done with out great miracle. And it is to no purpose to saye; that the same which can not be done by the prieste, maye be done by the Lord himselfe. For he doth not saye: This I wil do againe: but This do ye. That which he doth commaunde vs by these words todo, is altogither suche, that it must and may be done by vs. Wherfore there is nothyng commaunded here that is miraculous, so that all that preheminence and prerogatiue is altogither a vain imagination, whiche the Popishe priestes doe chalenge vnto them in this respect, and do boast full proudely of, that they be able to change the substance of the breade and wine into the very body and bloud of christ, yea and to call Christ himself down from heauen. They do attribute this to the strength of Christes words, but Christ sayde neyther, Say this, and by these wordes turne the substance of breade and wine into my body and bloud, nor his very words do signify any suche thing. He sayde Do this: which is as muche to saye, as breake and eate this bread wyth thankes giuing, and deuide and drinke this cuppe among you, wher vpon the Apostle also sayeth: The bread which we do breake. Item, As often as you eate of this breade and drinke of the Lords cup. Wherefore although these words be a thousand

times

times spoken: This is my body, and This is my bloud: yet for al that no man is able to compasse thereby, to change the substaunce of bread and wine into the body and bloud of the Lorde. For this was no piece of the Lordes wyl, for as much as it is not expressed in his commaundemente.

Bishop Rochester John

Wherupon John also sometimes bishop of Rochester here in Englād, in the defence of the kings Assertiō, against the Captiuity of Babylon of Martine Luthers. N. 8. and O. writeth thus: But first let vs go to this and teache, that besides the interpretation of the fathers and custome lefte vnto vs from them, no man shall proue by the verye bare word of the gospel that any priest in these ourdayes doth consecrate the very body and bloud of Christ. Not ẏ, that this matter is so doubtful, but bycause that the certainty thereof is had not so much of the words of the Gospel as of the interpretation of the fathers, and the custome of so long a time, whiche they lefte vnto their aftercommers. First if anye man will graunt (which Wickliffe yet doth not vtterly deny) ẏ Christe did vtterly make his body and bloud of bread and wine, it can not be inferred thereof, that euery Priest shal likewise change the breade into the body, and the wine into bloude. For it is out of doubt that christ did many things which now no man can doe, though he be neuer so holye or wise. Wherefore vnlesse it be plainly promised in the foresayd words, that whosoeuer he be, priest or laye man ẏ shal attempt the same thing, that the like effect shal folowe of it, we shal be at no certaintye in thys matter. But there is no suche thing promised in the Gospel as shall appeare.

And in the same place: Thus much (sayth he) hath Matthew, who doth also onely speake of the new Testament. Nor there is no word founde here to proue that there is the true presence of Christs flesh and bloude in our Masse. For albeit that Christ made his flesh of bread and bloud of wine, it foloweth not therefore, that we shal also do ẏ same as ofte as we wyl attempte it, by the vertue of any word that is there.

Item. It can not therfore be proued by any scripture, that eyther a lay man or prieste, as often as he shal go about that matter, to make likewise of bread and wine the body and bloude of Christe, as Christe himselfe did, seing that this is not comprised in the scriptures.

Further. By this I thinke (sayth he) euerye man vnderstandeth that the certainty of thys matter dependeth not so muche vpon the Gospell, as it doth vpon the vse and custome, whiche is recommended vnto vs in so many hundred yeares, from the very first fathers. For so it pleased them to interpret this peece of scripture vnto vs, by teaching of the holy spirite, and thus they thoughte good to vse it in their times, so that whosoeuer woulde nowe bring in a sense or vse, he shall algates wythstand the holy spirite, by whose instinct the first father did deliuer this ryte and ceremony in the consecration of the sacrament of thankes giuing: For he that is not ignorant of the Gospel, may be moste assured, ẏ the holy spirite (which was giuen to

be a

be a cõtinual teacher vnto ỹ church) would neuer haue suffered it to erre in a matter of so great a waight, in such & so long a succession of tymes.

This saith he. And although ỹ he was exceedingly wedded to the Papisth priesthod, yet for all that he did acknowledge and opẽly confesse by these wordes, that it can not be proued by any writings of the gospels, that bread & wine is consecrated into the very flesh & blond of Christe.

One thing vvas done by the lord once, and another by vs to be done contynually.

It is one thing whiche was done of the Lord himselfe in few wordes once, touching the sacraments, & an other thing whiche we muste do continually: As in the Passouer it was one thing whiche was done by the Angell once, & an other that was to be done by ỹ people euery yere. In this sacramẽt the worke of the lord was that which was done but once, not the Transubstantiation of the bread & wine, but the gyuing vp of his body vpon the crosse, & the shedding of his bloud, the Sacramente whereof he would haue to remayne in the breaking of bread, & in the cõmunion of the wine: but our worke is that which muste be done vntil the Lordes returne, the breaking & eating of this bread, & the cõmunion of the cuppe. It is a wonderfull ouerthwartnes, that the Papistes do take vpon them to do that which neither was done of the Lorde at the Supper, nor cõmaunded to vs to do, neyther can be done of vs, & that whiche is commaunded and ought and may be done of vs, they will not doe.

The ouerthvvartnes of the Papistes.

Wherfore, wheras Chrysostome saith: There be not sette forth the workes of mans strẽgth. He which did the same at that supper, euen he doth the same now also. We do stãd in the place of ministers, but it is he which doth sanctifie & chaũge them. It is spoken rather by a rhetoricall amplificatiõ, than according vnto ỹ simplicitie of the case. For whereas he saith, that there be not set forth ỹ workes of mãs strength, & that the Lorde euen now also doth the same which he did at the laste supper in sanctifying & changing, if it be referred vnto that whiche he cõmaunded vs to do, saying: Do this in remembrãce of me, it doth vtterly varie frõ the simple truth of the Lordes commaundement. For the Lord did not cõmaund vs that we should sanctifie & change the bread & wine, but that we should breake it and distribute it amongst vs, & with thankes giuing eate it, & drinke it in remẽbrance of him, as the sacrament of his body & bloud, which sacramẽtall ceremonie doth not exceede the strength of man. For it is not requisite, that he should sanctifie the same by doing it again & againe, which he did once sanctifie by the worde & deede of his institution. For the institution once done, doth sanctifie the sacramẽtall signes vnto the vses of the Churche, vntill the end of the world. For he did not chaunge the substance of the bread & wine, but he did turne their natural vse appointed to fede & moysten our bodies, into a sacramentall vse, to serue to refresh our mindes, & to cõforte our faith by ỹ working of the holy spirite. And this whiche he did once, is unapleable in all churches vntil the end of the world. He sayde once: This is my body, This cuppe is the new Testamẽt in my bloud, Do this in remẽbrance of me. And by

Chrisostom *In Matthæ homil.* 3.

by these wordes he hath once instituted and sanctified this ceremonie, and changed the thing from the naturall vnto a sacramentall vse.

This do, saith he. We haue considered that the Lord sayde: This do. Now cõsequently let vs see to what ende we muste do this. Unto the remẽbrance of me (saith he.) It is not without good cause, that he vsed the worde, This, not once onely: but for almuch as he did institute the sacrament of his body & bloud in two distinct membres, he did adde it vnto both of them, reciting them aparte: This do in remembrance of me: to expresse not onely to what purpose he would haue vs to kẽpe this ceremonie in the churche, but also to enforce ỹ he wold haue both the parts therof deuoutly and perfectly kepte. Wherof we shal speak in ỹ nert article, where we shal set forth ỹ right administration of this Sacrament.

Do this in the remẽbrance of me. I see not what could be not only spoken, but also driuẽ into mens heads by the Lord himself, streyght way at the first institutiõ more briefly, more simply, more openly, yea and withall more effectually against al kindes of errours, scrupulositie & superstition. For he saith not: Do this to my presence, that is to say, to the end, that you may haue my body and bloud corporally present in the bread & the cuppe; but do this in the remẽbrance of me, truely we haue no occasion to thinke of the corporal presence of ỹ lords body & bloud in ỹ bread & wine of the supper: but wee haue rather great cause to reclaime our mind frõ it to the heauenly things by the vertue of the remẽbrance therof. And to this purpose the Lorde meant to institute a memoriall of him, by this sacrament of the new Testament, ỹ we should direct our mindes from al the troubles & temptations of this present life, vnto him to Heauẽ, wether he would ascende, and that we should seeke cõfort frõ thence, wherupõ that was vsed: *Surſum corda. Habemus ad Dominũ.* That is to say. Up with the hartes. We lift the vp vnto the Lorde. And the Apostle dothe diligently admonish vs, ỹ we should seeke those things whiche be aboue, where Christ is. He shoulde returne after his resurrection vnto his Father, and take away his bodily presence from the earthe. And that he meante when he sayde, Doe this hereafter in remembrance of me. As though he should say: Hereafter you shal not haue me corporally present. Wherefore I will haue you to doe that, whiche I doe now betake you to doe, to kẽpe and kindle the remẽbrance of me in your hartes. For I will haue this to be a memoriall sacrament of me.

Bernard. *Serm.* 33.

I beseech you, doth this worde of Christ agree with the opinion of his corporall presence at the Supper? Bernarde vpon the Canticles, doth attribute remẽbrance vnto this present time, wherein we do walke by faith, & presence vnto that to come, in whiche wee shall walke in very forme & shape, & see face to face. For this he sayth there. The vtter barke of the sacramẽt is not receiued with like pleasure, as the fatnesse of the corne, faith & shape, memorie & presence, eternitie & time, the cõtenãce and the glasse, the image of God and the fashion of a seruant, &c. by which

wordes

wordes he doeth so deuide remembrance from presence, that he doeth attribute the one to the lyfe wherein we be, and the other to the lyfe to come.

VVhether vve haue the memory of Christ absent at the supper.

But some man will saye: Doeth thou so take the remembraunce of Christe, that thou doest excluse hys presence from the Supper, & iudgest that we haue the remembraunce of Christ not present, but absent? Answer. I do know that the Lord sayeth: Lo I am with you, vntill the end of the world. Wherefore God forbid, that I should reiecte the presence of Christ so playnly promised. I do speake of the corporal presence of his body and bloud in the bread & wine, wherof no man (as farre as I know) is able to bring any testimonie of the holy scripture. Vnto that I do lay this sacrament of remembraunce, knowing withal, that the Lord is present with vs, not onely at the supper, but also in all assemblies of the faithfull, by his holy spirite working in their hartes. For howe should the head be absent frō the body, and the true vine from hys braunches? God forbid. We haue not such a Christ, which as thoughe he were altogither absent, must haue a vicegerent, by whom those things that do appertaine to the head, should be wrought in the body of ỹ church. To attaine vnto those things which do procede from our sauiour, mediatour, king, and head, that it is to say, for such things as be necessarie vnto our saluation, there is nothing lacking in Christ our Lorde, albeit that he be not corporally present with vs in the bread & in the cup, but doth nourishe and governe both vs and all our things, by the vertue of the godhead of his spirite. And yet for al that, this is a cleare case, that the remembraunce is not of the presente, but of the absent, as hope is not of the present, but of things to come. And Christ did institute this Sacrament for the remēbrance of him. *Ergo* he did institute it, not in respect that he is present in spirite, but in respect that he shoulde be absent in body. For both is said of him aright, both that he is presente with vs vntill the end of the world, and also that he is absente vntil he returne at the daye of iudgement. So he sayd, that he woulde depart to the father and returne: so he was sene of his Apostles taken vp into a cloud, and carried vp; and going into heauen: so it was sayde vnto them: You men of Galylea what stand you loking vp vnto heauen? This Iesus whiche is taken vp from you into heauen, shall come so as you sawe him going vp to heauen. I knowe howe some of our brethren do confounde ỹ spirituall and corporall presence of Christ, and do expound the saying of Paul, Vntil he come, not of the bodily comming, but of the glorious appearing: not why he shal come down corporally from heauen, but when he shal change his inuisible presence into an open presence. Howe thys doth agree with the simplicitie of the Christiā faith and of holy scriptures let wise men be iudges. When that point of the sacramente is to be expounded: This is my body, men doe stifly enforce, that there is not one iote in the wordes which is not to be taken in his proper and common sense, and yet they doe wreste the wordes

not almost in what sense they should beleue, and confesse the article of our faith. I say by my bretherns leaue, that I haue not redde in any place, that to ascend into heauē, is almuch to say, as to vanish into the ayre and to be inuisible: to sitte at the right hande of the father, to be deuided in body euery where, bycause that the right hand of God is euery where: & that to come to iudgement, is not bodily to come downe from heauen, but of inuisible to bee made visible, and to appeare glorious. Woulde God that this newe doctrine as it is bredde in contention, so it might be by the benefite of the restitution of concorde be taken away.

The argumyng of some bretherne.

Moreouer, we must marke that he doth not say, Do this to the forgiuenesse of sinnes: but In remembrance of me. In deede he doth attribute forgiuenesse of sins to his bloud, and yet not as it is sacramentally dronke at the supper, but as it is shedde vpō the crosse. This is my bloud (sayth he) which is shed for you, to the forgiuenesse of sins. But he dothe not attribute forgiuenesse of sinnes vnto this sacrament, whiche he did recōmende vnto vs to be celebrated in the remēbrance of him. Nor it is not conuenient that we should ioyne it vnto this remēbrance, least ỹ we should attribute ỹ vnto our worke, whiche doth belong to the hoste only whiche was offered vpon the crosse for our sins. The Christiā man doth cleaue with Cyprian to the crosse, & seeketh forgiuenesse of sins in Christes bloud, which was shed vpō the crosse, & doth drinke it by faith, and so drinking receyueth forgiuenesse of sinnes, and is iustified. He doth vse withall the sacrament of this grace in the church, to practise this his faith by ỹ publike remēbrance of Christ, according vnto his institutiō, & to giue thākes vnto his redēmer. We muste specially beware, ỹ we chaunge not the pricke & marke which Christ himself set vp vnto vs, saying: Do this in remēbrāce of me, or knit vnto it such geare, as is not knit vnto it by himselfe.

Some of our brethren argued after this sorte: The new Testament is in the Lordes supper, therefore there must nedes be in it also forgiuenesse of sins, the spirite, grace, life, & true felicitie, & al these things be comprehēded in the word. The word is first, for without it, neyther the bread, nor the cup should be of any estimation. Secondly, without the bread and the cuppe, the body & bloud should not be there. Thirdly, without the body and bloud of Christe, there should not be there the newe Testament. Fourthly, without the new Testamet, there shold not be the forgiuenesse of sins. Fiftly, without forgiuenesse of sins, there should not be their life and felicitie. Thus the worde doth comprise the bread & the cuppe, that they may be a Sacrament. The bread and the cuppe doth cōprise the body & bloud of Christ, and the body and bloud of Christ doth contayne the newe Testament, the newe Testament hath forgiuenesse of sinnes, and forgiuenesse of sinnes doth conclude life and true felicitie. And all these things be in the worde of the supper, & we doe cōceaue thē by faith. This say they. Wherevpon we haue thought good to note some things. As touchyng forgiuenesse of sins, the truth & simplicitie of Christes word nedeth not

this gradation, or talke in degrees, for it doth not attribute it to the supper, but simply to the oblation of the body and bloud of the immaculate Lambe, which was once made vppon the crosse, which Christ himself ment when he said: Thys is my bloude of the new testament, which shal be shed for you and for many, to the remissiō of sinnes: in which wordes, there be conteined these poyntes: the shedding of Christes bloude done vppon the crosse, the new testament, the sacrament of the bloud which was shed, & the forgiuenesse of sinnes. The beginning of this grace is not in the word of the Supper, but in the shedding of the bloud, which this worde doth preach and recommende vnto vs. Thereof speaketh not onely the sacramentall worde, but the whole gospel also, whereby there is preached vnto vs repentance and forgyuenesse of sinnes in the name of the Lord crucified. The redēption which was made vpon the crosse, was first. There followed the word of redemption and of reconcilement. In thys word is the preachyng of the Gospell, the ministers, Baptisme, the lords supper, al which do set forth vnto vs forgiuenesse of sinnes, to be sought in the bloud of Christ, shedde vppon the crosse. For without shedding of bloud, there is no forgiuenes of sinnes. Secondly, the newe Testamente is confirmed by the shedding of Christes bloud, whiche was appointed from euerlasting of God, to the saluation of the electes. Further is in it the death of the testator, whereof we spake before. Thirdlye, there is in the bread and the cup, the sacrament not simply of ỹ body, but of his body giuen for vs: and of the bloud, not simply, but of hys bloud, shed for vs vpon the Crosse.

Fourthly, there is mention made of remission of sinnes: but it is not spoken of the sacrament of the lords supper, but of the bloud which shuld be shed vpō the crosse, the sacrament wherof is in the mystical cup, & how ỹ is the bloud of Christ shed for vs, we haue sufficiently noted before. Briefly, forgiuenes of our sins doth truly consist in the bloud of our lord once shead for vs vppon the Crosse, not in the sacrament therof, whiche we doe ofte tymes renue. For then christ shuld haue said, Do this to your chase forgiuenes of your sins, rather than Do this in remēbrance of me. And the Apostle shoulde haue sayde wiselyer, As often as you do eate of this bread, and drincke the Lordes cup, you doe atteyne the forgiuenes of your sinnes, than in saying, You do declare the Lords death vntil that he doe come. For it is the calling to remembraunce of the redēmer, and the declaration of his death in them which are iustified by the faith of the bloud shed vppon the crosse, and doe giue thankes vnto their Redēmer, wherevpon this Sacrament also is called Thankes giuing. Wherfore the vse of this Sacramente was not instituted by the Lorde to this purpose, that we shuld receyue in it forgiuenesse of our sinnes, and be iustified, but to the intente, that beīng iustifyed by the faythe of Chrystes bloud, and deliuered from our sins, wee shoulde gyue thankes vnto the Lorde, and bee the better stayed in thys faythe. Thys the man of worthy remembraūce D. Luther bydde

acknow-

acknowledge, when he sayde: Thys Sacrament doth iustifye no manne, nor maketh him faithful, but it requireth that thou be iustifyed, and faythful before that thou come vnto it.

Therefore, to what purpose is it to striue by this argument of Gradation of the sacrament, to seeke the forgiuenesse of sinnes in the supper? Thou mightest saye more aright: There is in the supper the word, the sacrament of the Lordes bodye and bloud, by whiche both, the forgiuenesse of sinnes obteined for vs, by the bloud once shed for vs vpō ỹ crosse, is preached & set forth. Item, There is in the supper according vnto the Lords ordinance, the remēbrance of the lord, & the declaratiō of his death wherby the faithfull ỹ be redemed & iustified, do giue thankes vnto theyr sauiour, for the forgiuenesse of their sinnes, receiued by faith.

But these are right and truely reported of the lords supper, according vnto his word. And in case we take pleasure to gather by a gradation or argument of degrees, where the forgiuenesse of sinnes is to be sought, I suppose we may do it better in thys sort: The word of the gospel hath the crosse, the crosse hath the Lords body and bloud, in the Lords body & bloud shed for vs, there is the newe Testament. In the new Testament ther is forgiuenesse of sinnes, life & health euerlasting, *Ergo* there is forgiuenesse of sins in the crosse. &c. Unto this gradation the Apostle doth agree where he reporteth, ỹ the word of the crosse is the power of God to them that be saued, And that Christ hath reconciled vs vnto God in one body by the cros. Also, that he hath made a peace by the bloud of his crosse. Againe, he sayth, that he hath pluckt away and fastened vnto the crosse the hād writing of the decree which was against vs. In this there is neyther doubte nor danger. But what errours and superstitions hath ben bread vnto vs of that, that in the Poperie they haue tyed grace vnto the sacraments, they haue found which in our dayes haue stoutely denied and withstanded it. Wherfore we do conclude, that it is a dangerous speach, & contrary vnto the word of Christ, to auouche that men should seeke forgiuenesse of sins in the supper.

What the vertue of the Lords remēbrance is, we haue noted in our Cōmentaries vpon Matthew. And loke howe necessarye it is, that they which be deliuered, should giue thāks vnto their deliuerer and sauioure: so necessarie is this remembrance of ỹ Lord vnto thē, & for that this sacrament of his body & bloud was instituted by him, & recommended vnto ỹ faithful. For there is no thanks gyuing without the remembrance of a benefit receyued.

What is the right disposing and administration of the *Lords Supper.*

I Thinke it good after the consideration of the Institution, to passe on, to the very Administration of this Sacrament to be considered also in some part, wherin we wil see in order:

1. By whō this Sacrament ought to be ministred.
2. To whom it ought, and to whō it ought not to be giuen.

3. When it ought to be ministred.
4. How it ought to be ministred.

I. By vvhome the Lordes Supper ought to be ministred.

The lordes supper is not to be ministred of euery man.

FIrst it is a cleare case, that it is not for euery mã to minister in the church of god, specially to dispose and bestow the mysteries of Christ: but for thẽ vnto whome this charge is committed, as lawfully called to serue the Lord Christe in preaching of the gospell, & bestowing of the sacraments, in whome it is required that they be found faithful. They cã not be accounted suche, whiche in the Popery do run of their owne accord vnto the Suffragane byshops, & for mony be annointed with oyle, not to preache the gospell of Christe, but to offer and sacrifice for the quicke and dead, vnto whom the Suffragan sayth, when he giueth them the cup: Take vnto thée the power to consecrate, and to offer for quicke & dead. This kind of men, vnder the pretẽce of Priesthode, is ordeyned not to dispose the mysteries of God, but to make a market of Masses, and to prophane the Lordes supper.

In some places the ministers of the vvorde do not administer the sacramẽtes.

I knowe that it is vsed in some churches, ỳ the ministers of the word do occupie the place of prophets and doctors, & do leaue the administratiõ of the sacramentes vnto the parishe Clerkes and simple people, with the deacõs. Yet for all that, this custome may not be preiudicial to other churches, where the very same ỳ do dispose the worde, do minister the sacramẽts also, in case ỳ they be able well to execute both the partes of the ministery. Els it were better according vnto the sayings of the Apostles that they should leaue off the ministery of the tables, & apply the prayers & the administratiõ of doctrine, for asmuch as there may be more founde able to dispose ỳ sacramẽts, than able to dispose holsome & sound doctrine aright in ỳ church. And what mãner of ministers the apostolical Canõ doth require, it is noted before, where wé spake seuerally of ỳ ministers of the word. The Papists do compell thé whome they do anoint, to forsweare lawfull, honorable, & holy wedlocke, whiche they do cõtrary vnto the maniefest doctrine of the Apostle, the custome of the primitiue churche, & the Coũcels of Nice & Gaũgrence. And yet they do alow them concubines & whores, cõtrary vnto their Decrées, and contrary to the opinion of Pope Zacharie, who saith in his Epistle to Boniface: What wise man will iudge them to be Priests, whiche do not abstayne asmuch as from fornication? But these holy folke be fitte ynough for the holy things that they do. They doe dispute of this, whether the administration of the sacramentes whiche is done by naughty parkes, be not as alowable as that which is done by sincere and vpright persons. And they doe suppose that as golde is golde, of whome so euer it is gyuen and receyued, so the sacrament is truely a sacrament, whether it be giuen of a good or of a naughty mynister. I am not agaynst it, in case the Sacramentes bée considered of themselues euen as the worde it selfe alie, but that the authoritie dothe not depende vpon the qualitie of the minister, but vppon the institution, truth and power of Christ.

Acts 6.

But

But yet it maketh much to the matter, that the administratiõ of the sacraments be effectuall, by what ministers they be dispensed, good or euill, reprehensible or irreprehensible. For it is not possible that the Lordes people cã be so well moued with the ministerie of a vayne, wicked, & mischieuous person, whose minde & life they sée doth much differ from those things, which he sayth & doeth in the churche, as by the ministery of him, whom they perceyue to sauour all of the Lordes zeale, in hart, mouth, and in his whole life. And to what purpose serueth the integritie of the sacramẽt, onelesse it procéede to the purposed end, (that is to say) to the edifying of mens consciences?

Carthage the fifthe Councell. Cano. 6.

II. To vvhom the Lordes Supper is to be ministred, and to whome not.

THe administratiõ of the supper standeth not in a priuate wage, as belõging to some chosen & apointed persons, but it is publicke and cõmõ vnto the whole church, so that as many as be reckened amõgst the members of the churche, for whome Christes body was giuen, and his bloud shedde vpõ the crosse, are to be admitted therevnto. And the very tradition of the Apostle, and the custome of the primitiue churche doth sufficiẽtly declare, that the vse thereof is common vnto al faithfull, in so much ỳ the fathers did admitte the infants of ỳ faithful also, as we may sée in Cyprian and Augustine. The Papists do dispẽse their Masling sacrifice also to the dead, so that it is a wonder to sée, what the third Coũsel of Carthage meante, that it decréed after this sort: It hath pleased vs, ỳ the sacrament of thankes giuing be not giuen to the bodies of the dead. For the Lord sayd: Take, and eate, whereas the dead carkases can neyther take, nor eate. This is there. But what nede ỳ dead carkases to take and eate it, if the Masling priest may take & eate it for them? What reason is this? The sacrament of the Lordes body and bloud doth not pertaine to the dead. Why? Bycause they can not eate and drinke. Then what doth he whiche dothe sacrifice for the dead? It was vsed in ỳ church after the Apostles times, that at the cõmunion & seruice, there shoulde be mention made of the faithfull that were dead, specially of the Martyrs, not so that the efficacie of the sacramẽt should be dispensed vnto thẽ, but ỳ there should be thãks giuen to the lord for their stedfast faith, & that the faithfull people might be prouoked vnto the folowyng of them: and that mention was made secretely before God, but openly & plainly in the peoples eares. But for asmuch as afterward Pelagius the. 62. Pope, apointed the cõmemoratiõ of the dead vnto the secretes of the Canon of the Masse, it began to be done in silence, whiche before time was done openly, to the intent the people might heare it, & be edified, for it was now no lõger done to the intent to set forth the cõstancie of the faith of the Martyrs to the church to be folowed, but that the vertue and efficacie of the Masse might be communicated to the dead.

Mentiõ of the dead in the communion.

Pelagius Pope.

Wée do say that the cõmunion of Christes body and bloud ought to be dispensed sacramentally to the faithful of Christ that be aliue, whiche cã

The Lords Supper to be ministred not to the dead but to the liuely.

not only receue & eat it, but giue thãkes also to their redemer, & embrace that by faith, which is giuen thẽ. As the preaching of the gospel is not to be ministred to the dead, but to thẽ ỳ be aliue: so the dispensation also of the Lords supper doth not pertain to the dead, but to ỳ faithful aliue. Yet for al ỳ we do not exclude the faithfull that be dead, frõ the efficacie & vertue of Chriſtes death, by which they be also redemed: but we doe make a difference betwixt the very effect of the sacramẽt, by the vertue of whiche they be also saued whiche are dead in the Lord, and so be partakers of the cõmon redemption, & betwixt the dispensation of the Sacramentall signe whiche doth belõg to them that be aliue only. Like as to the faithful & one ỳ is cõuerted to the Lord, in case he dye without baptiſme, not for that that he did neglecte it, but coulde not be baptised, bicauſe he was otherwiſe letted, the baptiſme is not dispensed vnto him, forasmuch as he hath already gotten the fruit therof by faith: so the sacramental cõmunion of the Lords supper is not to be diſpẽsed to the faithfull that be dead, forasmuche as by faith they haue alreadie atteyned to the vertue and efficacie of the Lordes bodie and bloud.

VVe doe not exclude the deade from the efficacy of Chriſtes death.

Two kindes of dead folkes.

And there be two sortes of dead folkes in the church, vnto which the sacramentall cõmunion of the lords body and bloud ought not to be dispensed. The one is of them whiche be dead in body, whether they departed out of this life in faith or without faith. For the one sort hathe no nẽede of it, and it doth not profit the other, so that it may be dispensed to none of thẽ both. The other sorte is of thẽ whiche liue yet in body & are able to come to the ecclesiaſtical cõmunió, & take ỳ which is giuen thẽ, & eate it, but yet for all that, they be dead to Chriſt in spirit, & do liue vnto sins, mete to be accoũted vñ them of whõ the Lord said: Let ỳ dead burie ỳ dead: & with ỳ widowe, whiche ỳ Apoſtle saith be dead whiles they be aliue, bicauſe they do liue in pleſures. The first dead cãnot cõmunicate sacramẽtally, these cã sacramẽtally: but yet for al that, not spiritually & truly, bicauſe they do not liue vnto Chriſt in spirit & faith, but do liue to ỳ worlde, to sin, & to Satã. And forasmuch as they ſtaũder the churche of God, by their open folowing of sin, & do excõmunicate, & set them selues out of the fellowshyp of the kingdom of God, nor will not abide to be reformed, they be not worthy to haue this Sacrament ministred to thẽ. And where as the Papiſts at their liſt, do excõmunicate whõ they wil, yea for very smal dets or duties we let their holineſſe alone withal.

1 Cor. 11.

Of them which are ready to dye, and yet liue.

After these two kinds of dead persons, to whom the dispẽsation of this sacramẽt doth not belong, we muſt consequently speak of them that be redy to die as of ſicke persons & priſoners which are iudged to deth for their offẽces. In this point ỳ Churches do vary. For some do minister this sacramẽt to the ſick in case they do demaund it, and some not. They that do miniſter it, are of sundry opinions. The Papiſtes doe suppoſe that there is no way to heuen, without this laſt communion of the dying. Wherfore they do determine, that such as do depart out of this life without their howſel, shal not be buried in the cõmon christian buriall. And they do cal this communion or howſel the paſport, or ſafe conduct, as though that they which haue it, were wel appointed to depart happily out of this life. But yet for all that, in that sorte that they goe not streight way into heauen, but to the Popes fire of purgatory firſt, to be purged at the ful, and that yet neuertheleſſe they muſt be clenſed & redemed by the sacrifices of Maſſes, the firſts, and ỳ seuenths, trentals, & yere obites as they cal thẽ, wherunto is added also at length the Popes pardons. But in some churches whiche do profeſſe the gospel, although the opiniõ of ỳ Papiſts be banished, yet for al ỳ ther is kept, ſtil the priuat & laſt communion of ỳ ſicke, to the intent ỳ by the body & bloud of ỳ lord, they may be the more confirmed in their faith, & be made the abler to wſtand the tẽtations of Satan, and to abide the pangs of death. This opinion they haue of the sacrament of ỳ body and bloud of the Lord. And to the intent ỳ the ſame which they do, may be called a communion, the miniſter himſelfe which doth miniſter, and they of the house, and the kinſfolkes & neighbours, doe cõmunicate also with ỳ ſick person. They be in danger to fal into the opinion of such as do attribute to muche to the worthyneſſe of outward worke, which is wrought, and to be entangled with the superſtitiõ of the ſimple and vnlerned, which do ſeruilely attribute more to the sacramentall signes, than is conuenient.

Other churches do forbeare from this priuate & domeſtical cõmunion to the ſick, for these causes. The firſt is, bycauſe the Lord wold haue this communion to be ecclesiaſtical and publike, as we may ſee in the tradition of the Apoſtle. The secõd cauſe is, in hope of the priuate and laſte communion, men should forſake the publike and eccleſiaſticall communion, and so it should come to paſſe, that they ſhould ware rare & more ſeldome than doth become a wel ordered church. The third is, that ther be no gap opened vntõ priuate and domeſtical Suppers, to the opinion of attributing to much to the work which is wrought, and to the prepoſterous and rathe truſte and hope, wherby like as the Papiſts do hang vpon their priuate Maſſes, so the carnal gospellers do depend vpon ỳ sacramentall signes, receiued as it were, for a safe conduct. And these reasons doe ſeeme vnto me to bee waighty and pithie ynough, so ỳ the ſicke be diligentlye inough viſited of the paſtors & miniſters of the word, and refreſhed and confirmed by the comfort of Chriſtes word: & also the eccleſiaſtical communion oftener vſed.

And it ſeemeth that there ſhoulde be an other way taken for them ỳ do fal, and are excõmunicate frõ the church, if they do amẽde, & seke to be reconciled vnto the church, before ỳ they doe departe out of this life. Of thẽ there is an hiſtorie in Euſebius whiche Dionyſius of Alexandria writeth in this wiſe: There was a certaine faithful old man among vs called Serapion, which had liued a great while without blame, but at the perſecution he fel. And he desired oftetimes to be receued in again, but:

Of them that doe fall, an hyſtory of one that fell. *Euſebius. lib 6. cap. 44.*

no man harkened vnto him, bicause he had sacrificed. And being fallē into sickneſſe, he continued three whole dayes dūme & deſtitute of the power of his sences. Afterwardes beyng somewhat recouered, the fourth day he called his sisters sonne vnto him & sayd: My sonne, how lōg do you hold me backe? I pray you make speede, & dispatch me quickly. Call to me one of the Priests: & after he had so said, he waxed dumme againe. The boye ranne to the Priest: And it was night. And the Priest was sicke, so that he coulde not goe with the boy. But for asmuch as I had cōmaūded, that such as were ready to dye, shold be receyued againe, in case that they did desire it: yea and specially in case that they had also hūbly requested it before time, so ỳ they might departe encouraged with good hope, he gaue the boy a litle of the sacrament, and bad the boy to put & poure it into the old mans mouth. The boye returned and brought him the Sacrament. And when he was not far off, before he came in, Serapion sayde agayne: Cōmest thou my sonne? I perceyue that the priest cā not come, but come thou immediatly, and do that which he commaūded thee to do, and let me goe. And the boye did put and poure it into the olde mans mouthe. Who when he had tasted a litle, streyght way gaue vp his spirite. This is there. Whereby we do sée what cōsideration is to be had of thē that haue fallen & are excommunicate, in case they fel into daunger of death before that they were receiued againe vnto the communion of the Churche.

He gaue a litle of the Sacrament to the boy, and bad him to put it into the old mans mouth.

O. Prisoners.

No prisoners & such as shal suffer, the sacramēt is not giuen in the Poperie. And yet for al ỳ, the hope of the grace of Christ, & of euerlasting lyfe is not cut from them, but if they do make the confessiō of their sinnes secretely into the eares of some Frier or Priest, thē they be absolued from their sinnes, & do receyue promise of euerlasting life, without the Sacrament of the Lords body, so that they dye in the Christian fayth. Where we sée in this case it is alowed in the very darkneſſe of the Poperie, that forgiueneſſe of sinnes, & hope of euerlasting life is to be giuē to repentāce & to the faith in Christe, without the sacramentall communion: though in some others it be dissēbled. And this I speake of the vse & custome of the Papists: but besides this the doctors doe not denie, but that it shoulde be graunted vnto them, if they do desire it. In the Churches whiche doe professe the Gospell, in some places the sacrament is giuen to prisoners: and in some not. There be reasons for both suche as we allcaged before of the sicke persons.

Of them which are put to death.

Wée doe reade of them whiche are put to death, in this wise: It is demaūded by some of our brethern, concernyng them which are hanged for theyr offences vpō the Galowes, after theyr confession made to God: whether theyr corses shoulde be caried to the Churches, and offerings bée made for them, and haue Masses sayde for them or not. To whome wée do answere: In case when men haue made cleane confession of all their sinnes, & haue worthily repented, the communion also ought to be giuen vnto them at the ende, according vnto the preceptes of the Canons: why do the Canons forbidde them

them the communion or burial, which doe suffer extreame payne for their offences, and do confesse themselues, or doe desire to be confessed? For it is writte, God doth not iudge twise vpon one thing. This decrée is in the Councell of Maguntia.

It is knowen that the sacrament was giuen to the childrē of the faithfull also in the tyme of Pope Innocent, Cyprian, and of Augustine, as well in Europe as in Afrike. Neyther do I read that the custome was contrary in any place of Asia. There is a story redde in the Sermon of Cyprian, *De lapsis*, of a yong wench that was brought by hir nurse in the time of persecution to the sacrifices of the Gentiles, whiche was afterwardes, when all was quiet, brought by the mother to the sacrament of thankesgiuing of the faithfull. There is mētion made in many places of Augustine of the sacrament of thankesgiuing, giuen to litle children. But after the time of those fathers, that vniuersall custome beganne to decay by little and little, vntill that the cōtrary preuayled so much, that he is to be taken for a mosse ranke heretike, that dothe holde that the sacramente of the Lordes supper is to be giuen to infants. In Lorrayne there is left vntill this day some piece of that custome. For there when the infante is baptised, the minister or priest which did baptise hym, fetcheth out of the Vestry to the altare the pire wherein certaine parcels of the sacramentall bread, as they call them there be be kept, and he holdeth one of the pēces vp to shew to the people: afterwardes he layeth it vp againe in the pire, and putteth forthe his two fingers wherein he helde it, to the Sexten to washe with wine, and of that wine he doth droppe into the mouth of the infante, saying: The bloud of our Lorde Iesu Christ profite thée to life euerlasting. These leauings of the old custome remayned not onely in the Churches of Lorrayne, but in many others also, as I suppose. And that saying of Christe also did moue the fathers to giue the sacramente of the supper vnto infants: Vnleſſe you do eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, you shall not haue life in you. Wherevpon they thoughte it necessarie to admitte the infants also vnto the Sacramente of the Lords Supper, that they myghte be made partakers of the grace of Christ, and of life euerlasting. For they did turne the same to the ceremonie of the Sacramente, whiche Christ spake of the spirituall eatyng and drinking of his flesthe and bloud, and of the fruite of his deathe, and their aftercommers were moued by the saying of the Apostle, to withdraw the vse of this sacrament from the infants: Lette a man proue hymselfe, and so let him eate of that bread and drinke of the cuppe. For they gathered vppon that, Infantes can not proue themselues, *Ergo* it is not lawfull for them to eate of this bread, and to drinke of the Lords cuppe.

Iohn. 6.

Let them sée héere which do crake vpon the fathers, that they do not in sundry wise, but agréeably expounde the holye Scriptures. Cyprian, Augustine, and Pope Innocent knewe well ynough that the Apostle sayde: Let a man proue himselfe, and so let him eate of that bread, and drinke of the cuppe. Neyther were they so ve-

How vve agreably the fathers doe expounde the holye Scriptures.

rye Asses, but that they knewe that infants wer not able to proue themselues. Agayne, they also which folowed them, knew, that the Lorde had sayd: Unlesse you do eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke hys bloud, you shall not haue lyfe in you. Then howe did the one sort so take the saying of the Apostle, that they iudged it did not lette, and the other iudged ẏ it doth let, that the infantes may not be partakers of the Sacrament of the Lordes supper? Agayne, how did they vnderstand the saying of Christe to gather vpon it, that the infants of Christian men coulde not be saued, vnlesse they wer partakers of the sacrament of the Lords Supper: and yet these men haue thought, that no suche matter ought to be gathered vpon it, in so much that theyr opinion is, that the infantes of the faithfull may be saued withoute the sacramentall communion? This diuersitie of expositiōs is such, that the one doth reproue ẏ other of errour, and ẏ in a matter of greatest waight: that is to witte, concerning the saluation of our Children, which we do care most for nexte after our selues. Is this expounding of Scriptures after an agréeable sense, I doe not inuey againste the Fathers, God forbidde: but I do blame their ouerthwartnesse which do condemne the giftes of God for heresie, in them whiche doe in this our age expounde the holye Scriptures, bycause that they doe in many poyntes differ one from an other. If the disagréeyng exposition of Scriptures be Heresie, lette them charge the fathers also with all, or else harken to that saying of the Lord: Iudge not according to the outward appearāce, but iudge right iudgement. As for me, I am so farre from condemning the labours of learned men, whether they be olde or new, bycause that they do in some places sundrye wayes expounde the holy Scriptures, euery one after his owne vnderstanding, that I doe for that cause reade them the rather, thā if they were all so seruily restrained to some one Doctors iudgemente, that no man might fréely declare his owne iudgement. The diuersitie of opinions and expositions doth profite the wise man, so that no body do vnaduisedly condemne him, which doth dissente from him, and so breake the band of peace in the Church.

As concerning this matter wherof we talke, I suppose we shall not vnfitly consider it, if the doyng of the Elders, whiche did admitte infantes vnto the sacramentes of thankesgyuing, be discretely wayed a part frō the reason of it, whereby they were moued vnto it, & that we may iudge thereof according vnto other godlye and probable reasons also, of which I will set forth some to be considered by the reader. The firste is, that the signe séemeth not to be denied vnto him, which is partaker of the thyng that is signified. The seconde is, that Christe is the Sauiour of his whole body, that is to say of the church, and that the infants also do belong vnto the integritie and wholenesse of the ecclesiastical body. The third is, that Christe sayde himselfe: Let the little ones come vnto me, and forbid them not: for to such doth belong the kingdome of heauen. For vpon these reasons me thinketh we may gather in this wise. First, if he which is partaker

VVith vvhat discretiō ought to iudge of the communion of infantes.

Iohn, 7.

ker of the thyng that is signifyed, may be made partaker of the sygne, and the children of them that do beleue, be partakers of Christes death, that is to say, of the redemption purchased by him: *Ergo* they may be partakers also of the Lords supper. Secondly, if our little children be parcel of the Church, which is the bodye of Christ: it followeth that they do perteyne also to the communion, whereby according vnto the saying of the Apostle, we be one body, whiche doe participate of one bread, and of one cuppe. Christ is the féeding of hys whole body, *Ergo* of our childrē also. Wherefore like as the little children of the Iewes did apperteyne to the Passouer, the Sacrament of their redemption, as well as their parents: So our children also do as wel belōg vnto the sacrament of our new Passouer, as we. Thirdly, if Christe dyd vouchsafe to haue children come vnto him to embrace them, to lay hands vpon them, and blesse them, how shal we iudge them vnworthy to be admitted vnto the Sacramente of hys body and bloud, séeing that there is no mā, I suppose, that wil estéeme it to be preferred aboue christ himself?

And it séemeth that an aunswere may be shaped to the place of Paule: Lette a man proue himselfe, and so eate of that bread, and drinke of the cuppe: that it is to be vnderstanded of them onely, in whome it is daungerous, least they should vnworthily eate of the Lordes bread, and drinke of the cuppe, and so becomming giltie of the Lords body & bloud, shoulde eate and drinke their owne iudgement: as the text it selfe doth euidētly inough declare. But there is none of this to be feared in the little children of them that do beléeue: whyche I sée not why we shoulde saye, that they be vnworthy of ẏ Lords table, séeing that they be worthy by ẏ grace of Christ, to be incorporate vnto him by Baptisme, although that they can not yet (bycause of theyr tender age) beléeue, much lesse cōfesse their faith, and trie themselues, which things be required of them that be of perfecte yeares of vnderstanding. And wheras the Apostle doth warne vs to trie our selues before that we do participate of this bread and cuppe of the Lordes, it doth not serue to make vs able to come to the Lordes table by this endeuour of prouing our selfe: but that we should not rashly, lightly, and otherwise disposed than it becommeth vs, vnworthily vse, yea abuse the Sacrament of grace, and offende againste the body and bloud of the Lord. This reason doth not hinder, but that the little childrē of such as doe beléeue, may be partakers of this bread and cuppe of the Lordes.

Thus I suppose a godly mā may thinke of the doing of the elders: and maye attribute the reason of hym whome Augustine did greately constreyne vnto the common opinion, whereby these thinges that are spokē of the spirituall eating, are drawē to the sacramental eating. And grace applyed vnto the sacramētall signes.

Some man will saye, *Ergo* doest thou so allowe the doyng of the Elders, ẏ thou doest condemne all that which hath bin receiued in all other churches after them? I aunswere, I condemne nor this, nor that, nor I wil not be author to any man, to goe aboute to bring in the Communion

Hovve I doe alovve the doing of the Elders, and not improue the presēt vse.

of

of infantes into the Church againe. Or that he shoulde iudge it mete to be vsed, & giue any occasion of strife. So that those things which doe concerne their saluation in Christe, doe remayne fast and sure. To be shorte, I doe not allowe that saying of Augustine, that infantes if they be taken out of this lyfe without the outwarde participation of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, can not be saued: but I do allow that which is nowe a dayes holden, that it is not necessarie for them. Nor I will not striue, if it be sayde that for some incommodities, it is better that they should not be brought to the communion of the Church: but as for that, whether that it be lawful or no, that they may be admitted vnto it, my opinio is, that it may be talked vpon by wise men and discretely learned in Christe, so that it be done with a conuenient temperancie, and without all contentious reasoning. But of this matter I haue sayde peraduenture more than ynough, whyche I thoughte good to touche, to minister some matter to the settlyng of the consciences of godly folk, which are careful for the saluation of their little children.

III. When the Lords Supper ought to be Ministred.

The opinion of the elders not agreeable touching the tyme of the celebration of the Lords supper.

THe Elders did not all agree neither in thys opinion. There were some that helde the opinion, that in respecte of the example of Christe, the supper of the Lord should be celebrated onely at euening, and some in contrarye wise, in the morning: which is also nowe commonly vsed in the churches. The Lord hymselfe did prescribe nothing in thys poynte, touching the determination of the time, but sayde only, Do thys, as often as you drinke, in the remembrance of me. And the Apostle also when he added: As often as you doe eate this bread, and drinke this cup, you do declare the Lords deathe vntil that he come, he expressed nothing of the time certayne, yet for all that there is no man of vnderstanding but wil say, that it is mete it should be done in the morning, than at euening, although it were conuenient that we should be so disposed, that we should be as mete to holy things at euening, as in the morning. It was appoynted to the people of the lawe vnder an expresse determination of time, but the obseruance of time was set at large to the people of the new Testamente, that as the time falleth out moste conuenient for euerye Church, we may be at libertie to doe that whiche we haue receyued of the Lord.

Agayne, in Augustines time some thought that the Lords supper should be celebrated euery daye, as the Papistes do also of their Masse, on the other side some thoughte good to haue it seldener vsed, to purchase a greater reuerence to the matter. Augustine sayth thus: Some doe communicate in the bodye and bloud of the Lorde dayly, some do receiue it some certayne dayes. In some place there is no day ouerpassed, but that there is offering: in some other place it is vsed vpon the Sabbath or holy day, and Sunday also, and in some other, vpon the Sunday only. All those kinde

Dayly Augu.

Epist. ad Ianuar. cap. 2.

kinde of matters haue their obseruations at libertie. Men do reade in Chrysostome vpon Matthewe, that these mysteries were celebrated in euery congregation of the Churche. And in Iischius vpon Leuiticus, we fynde this: It was the daye whiche is called the Lordes, or the Dominicall day: in whiche it behoued the Apostles in any wise to doe the mystical and holy things. For we also following their tradition, doe sequester the sunday vnto godly metings.

At length when the feruentnesse of the Fathers waxed colde in them that came after, and that the Ecclesiastical and brotherly loue beganne exceadingly to slake, it fell oute eyther by the negligence of the bishops eyther by the slouth of ỳ people, that the publike & ecclesiasticall Supper of the Lord began to be kept onely three times in the yeare, and that by a constitution Synodall, as it is red in the Councell of Agathense in this wyse: Let the secular persons which do not communicate at the feasts of the birth of the Lord, at Easter, and at Whitsontyde, not to be taken for Catholike men. But lastly this continued not neyther in ỳ Poperie, but it fel to kéeping the cõmunion of the Churche but once a yeare, onely at Easter. Thus the Lordes Supper came to be drowned by the Popishe Masse, so that it remayned stil in the church, but at that paint only of Easter: and that not whole, but the one halfe of it vtterly taken away.

In my iudgemẽt it is not so much required of the faithfull, that they should often celebrate the Lords supper, as to vse it wel, worthily and to their profite, for there appeareth no Decree, neither of the Lords, nor of the Apostles, howe oftentymes it shoulde be kepte in the yeare: nor at what tymes, but we haue an earnest admonition of the Apostles, that in no case we doe vse it vnworthily. They doe not offende whiche doe communicate oftener, nor they doe not offende, which do it seldomer, but they doe sinne agaynste the body and bloud of the Lord, whiche doe communicate more vnworthily, than it is mete for them. And I maye make the same aunswere vnto them, which do vary amongest themselues, howe often they shoulde haue the holye sermons: for some bée of that minde, that they would haue the preaching vpon the Sundayes onely, & some twice or thrise a wéeke, and some would haue them euerye daye. In those cases where there is no certain determinatiõ of the Lord, it is at libertie for euery Churche to assemble either oftener, or seldomer, according to the condition and commoditie of euery of them, so that it bée done deuoutely, Godly, and profitably.

IIII. Hovv the Lords Supper oughte to be celebrated.

WE wyll not entreate here of those wayes of celebrating the Lordes supper, which be at mens liberties to obserue, and may without offence eyther be kept or left, but of those only which be so requisite, that without greate offence they can not be neglected and omitted.

And first it is requisite, that thys sacramente be fully and wholly administred,

This sacramente is to be wholly minister.ed.

ministred, as it was instituted by the Lorde hymselfe, and deliuered vnto the Churches of the faithfull by the Apostles, and we do call that the full administration, whiche concerneth not the circumstances, but the substance of it. The substaunce of it is, that when the sacramentall signes, I meane when the bread is broken, and the cuppe of the Lorde distributed vnto the faithfull, the communion of his body and bloud must be celebrated vnto the remembrance of him. The circumstances of it were, that this Sacrament was instituted and deliuered at nyghte tyme, after Supper, whiles the Disciples were sitting at the table. These circumstances be not so necessarily requisite, but that it is lawfull for vs to minister this Sacramēt to the faithfull out of Supper seasons, in the day time, and as they do stand. For these poyntes be not of the substaunce of the Sacrament. We heare that it is well liked in some Churches now a dayes, to communicate without respecte sitting at a table, bycause they doe surmise that this manner of sitting dothe resemble the example of the Lorde. But that table at whyche it is redde that the Lorde sate wyth his Disciples at his laste Supper, was made ready to eate the old Passouer, nor there was no ceremony in it, which should be appoynted to the celebration of the mysteries of the new Testament, and sette for an example to them whiche shoulde come after, to followe. But it was some olde solemne vsage of that nation, wherewith none of the Disciples were offended. Wherefore we be not so childishly nor folishly, that we will surmise, that bycause the Lorde vsed the sitting at the table at the institution of this Sacrament vpon the occasiō of the old Passouer, that it was done to that intente, that he woulde prescribe a rule and example of sitting vnto vs at the Communion of the newe Passouer, like as there is no law set vnto vs herein nother to followe, in that he did institute thys sacrament not in the morning, but at nighte. Againe, it is not so handsome for a greate multitude of communicantes to sitte at tables in a Church, as it was for the Lorde to sitte with a fewe, that is to saye, with twelue Disciples at one table. Therefore I can not allowe that, whiche Martine Luther, otherwise an excellent man, wrote of this matter in the exposition of the Epistle vpon S. Stephens day in this wise. And the Papistes did bereaue the faithfull of Christe of the whole administration of the Lords Supper, giuing the one kinde only, (as they sayd) that is bread, and withdrawing the cuppe. These men do offende firste againste the manifest institution of Christ, who did not only institute the sacrament of his body by the breaking of the bread, but of his bloud also by the communion of the cuppe, and sayd expressly of the cuppe, Drinke all of thys. And it is very wicked and abhominable, that Eckius in his places durst auouche that the same was spoken by the Lord vnto the Apostles only, Drinke all of this, and that it doth not belōg vnto lay men (so he calleth the Lords people) bycause wee reade not that there were any lay men at that supper. If this reason may serue for the cuppe, it serueth also for the bread:

and

and so no piece of this sacramente shall appertayne vnto the Lordes people. For we do not reade of anye thing that was done by Christe, that maketh anye difference in them, and so what can followe else of this, but that not only the vse of the sacramēt, but that the effecte also of the sacramente shoulde appertayne to the Apostles only, and that it was in vaine that the Lorde sayd: Which shall bee shedde for you and for manye, vnto the forgiuenesse of sinnes.

Secondly: they do offend agaynste the very fulnesse of this sacramente, not without great sacrilege, of whiche thing we doe reade in this wyse: We do finde that some do receyue a portion of the holy body only, and do abstayne from the cuppe of the holye bloud, whiche men for as much as I knowe not vppon what superstition they be taughte to restreine, let them either receiue the whole sacramēts, or be restreined from the whole. For the diuiding of one selfesame misterie, can not procede but of some great sacrilege. Thus much in that place. And it is nothing to the purpose that the Glosar sayth, that it is written of priests only: for the text speaketh not of particular persons, but of ỹ whole receyuing of the Sacramente: and dothe playnely pronounce, that the diuision of one selfe same misterie, can not come but of some haynous sacriledge. Which should be false, in case that the receiuing of one kynde only, might be defended as lawfull.

Thirdly, they doe offend specially and enormiously against the ratification of the newe Testamente, the mystery whereof is specially instituted and recommended by Christe in the sacrament of his bloud, when he said: This cup is the new Testamēt in my bloud, which shal be shedde for you and for many, to the forgiuenes of sinnes. And the signification of his bloudy and violent death, forasmuch as he meante it to be an host for vs, dothe consist in the shedding of hys bloud. They consider not vpon what reason the Lord speaking specially of the cuppe, doth call it the new Testamēt in his bloud. Let them yet reade the. ix. Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrues: whereas this mysterie of Christes bloud and of the newe Testament is expoūded in these wordes: Wheresoeuer there is a Testament, there must of necessitie be the deathe of the Testatour. For a testamente is ratified in the dead, for it is yet of no strength, as long as he liueth that made the will. Wherefore nother the firste was ordeyned without bloude. For when the lawe was redde by Moyses to all the people, he toke the bloud of calues and Goates, wyth water and purple woll, and hysope, and sprinkled the very booke, and all the people, saying: This is the bloud of the Testamente, which God commaunded vnto you. Thys is redde there. Loe all the people were sprinkled with the bloud of the firste Testamente, whiche was a shaddowe of this new, bicause it was the bloud of that Testamente, whiche God commanded vnto the people. And what mā of meuer so meane vnderstanding seth not, that Christe had a respecte herevnto as a figure, when he ordeyned the new Testamēt in his bloud, and saide: This is my blonde of the new testamēt, which shal be shed for you and for many, to the forgiuenes

of

of sinnes: and that therefore hee added: Drinke all of this. So that they do offend againste this confirmation of the newe Testament, whiche doe vpon their owne rashe heade take awaye thys Sacrament of Chzistes bloude from the faithfull people, and do rent the Testament of the Sonne of God a sunder, whereas it is not lawfull to breake the Testament of any man: to the Galathians in the thirde Chapiter.

Of that that they say, that there is as much in one kinde as there is in both. *Eckius in suo Enchiridio.*

How is it then, that Eckius saith in his places, that there is as muche in one kinde, as there is in both: because that Chzistе is whole vnder eche kind, both in body and in bloud: and so saith he: The laye man vnder the kinde of breade, doeth drinke the wine also: and besides that, he doeth also in the person of the priestе that doth offer, spiritually communicate, not of the body onely, but also of the bloude. What doth he else in so saying, but condemne the institution of Chzistes Testament of foolishenesse and vainenesse: as though that when he saide severally of the cuppe. This cup is the newe Testament in my bloude, which shall be shedde for you and for many to the forgivenesse of sinnes: drinke of this all: He knew not belyke, that bothe the partes of thys Sacrament was in the breade, and that hee whiche shoulde receyue it, should participate not of the body onely, but of the bloude also. O blind bayardes, I will saye no more. The Lorde woulde haue the Sacrament of his bloude to be not in the bread, but in the cuppe: nor it is not possible for ever, that anye man can Sacramentally communicate thereof, but as it is instituted by him. Heare me you disguisers of the Testament of God: If there bee as much in one kinde as in both, and if the communion of the bloud be also in the bread, why be not you also contente wyth that one kynde alone? So that by your owne tale you do communicate twise: once in the bread, and secondly in the cup? Doe you not make that communion to be superfluous, which you do iterate in the cup, as much as in you lyeth, in vayne? But not in vaine, but for a moste abhominable gayne?

4 Fourthly, they do offend againste the tradition of the Apostle, whiche Paule dothe set forthe, saying: For I haue receyued from the Lord, which I doe also deliuer vnto you, &c. And yet withall they would be the successors of the Apostles.

5 Fiftly, they doe breake the custome of the Primitiue and pure Churche, in whiche the faithfull of Chzistе did many yeares communicate of both the partes of the sacrament, according vnto the Lordes institution, so that there was no difference betwixte the Ministers of the Churche, and the people of the faithfull, as concerning the communion, eatyng that they did dispense it, taking of it themselues, and giuing it also to others, as it is song in theyr Churches, to whome it is so conuenient, to take and to giue vnto the rest. And that the faithfull people in the primitiue Church did communicate vnder both kinds, there be testimonies prough and prough in the writings of the Fathers, and in the Ecclesiastical histories, and Decrees of the Popes. Cyprian writeth of the Lords supper vnto Cornelius in this

this sort: For how do we teache and prouoke them to shedde their bloud in the confession of the name, if wee doe denye them (goyng as it were to warfare) the bloud of Chzistе? Or howe shall wee make them meete to the victorie of Martirdome, if we do not admitte them firste to drinke the Lordes cuppe in the Churche, by the righte of their communion? And in his Sermon *De lapsis*, the facte of the deacon is manifest, whiche did poure the bloud of the Lord into ỹ maydes mouth refusing it, whereof we made mention before.

And Hierome sayth, The Priests (saith he) which do serue at ỹ Lordes supper, and do deuide his bloud vnto the people, doe wickedly againste the lawe of Chzistе, supposing that the words of him whiche prayeth vpon it, doe make the Sacrament, and not his life.

And Ambrose to Theodosius the Emperour. Howe shalt thou (sayeth he,) stretch out thy hands, frō which the wrongfull bloud doth yet droppe downe? Howe shalt thou with suche handes receyue the Lordes bodye? With what ouersighte shalte thou take the cuppe of the precious bloude with thy mouth, when by the furie or rage of thy wordes, there is so much bloud wrongfully shedde? And in the Decrees we reade thus: Whē the host is broken, and when ỹ bloud is powred out of the cuppe into the mouthes of the faithfull, what is signified else, but the offering of the Lordes bodye vpon the Crosse, and the shedding of his bloud out of hys syde? And hereunto serueth the hystorie of Serapion, whiche we alleaged before out of Eusebius.

And this manner and custome endured not onely vntill Gregory the thirde, for the space of. 759. yeares, whiche wrote in this wise to the Bishop of Thuring: Let the participation of the Lords body and bloud be giuē to leapors also, if they be faithfull Chzistians: but also farther vntill Thomas of Aquines dayes, who dyed in the yeare of our Lord. 1274. there cōtinued whole and sound the communion of bothe kyndes in the churches, to the vse of the Chzistian people. For so he writeth: Forasmuch as the multitude of Chzistian people is growen great, in the which are both olde and yong menne, and little boyes, of whiche some be not of suche discretion, that they can haue worthye consideration concerning the vse of the sacramente: therefore it is well prouided in some Churches, that the bloud is not giuen to be receiued of the people, but that it must be receyued of the priest onely. Thys sayeth he. Wherby wee doe perceyue, that thys communion of one kinde was not yet vniuersall in his dayes, but in some superstitious Churches onely. For he sayeth not, Therefore it is prouided in all: but it is well prouided in some Churches, that the bloud should not be giuen to the people. And why saide he, Well prouided? Bycause of the olde, yong, and little ones, of whiche some haue not so great discretion, that they can vse worthy consideration aboute the vse of this sacramente. I thinke hee meaneth of that, that Paule sayeth, let the mā proue himselfe, &c. Whereof we spake before. But I beseeche you, is this a Chzistian prouision, to take away the vse of the holy cuppe from

They did communicate vnder both kinds in Thomas of Aquinos dayes.

Parte. 3. quæstion. 80. articulo. 12.

from all Chriſtes people, bycause of them which can not trie themſelues, and therein to breake the Lords Teſtament: Could they not haue bin reſtrayned ſo long whyles from thys Sacrament, vntill they ſhould come to full yeares of diſcretion? Agayne, Myghte not the Sacramente of the Lordes bodye be denyed vnto the Churche of Chriſte by the ſame reaſon alſo? For the Apoſtle ſpake it not of the cup only, but of the breade alſo, let the man trye himſelfe, and ſo eate of that bread, and drinke of the cuppe. But they would prouide leaſt they ſhould be thought to haue taken away the whole Sacramente from Chriſtes Churche: and yet withall they woulde haue a difference betwixt the prieſts and the lay people in the vſage of this ſacramēt. Marke by ẏ way that he ſpake of little children: whereby we may coniecture, that the communion of little children continued yet in the churches in hys dayes: and that firſt they began to be reſtreyned from the communion of the cuppe, till that at length ẏ whole Sacramente of the Lordes Supper was taken from them alſo.

A booke called Agendam in the Church of Auſburg.

Moreouer in ẏ yeare of the Lord, 1520. at the aſſembly of the Lordes of the Empire at Augſburgh, ther was founde a Booke in Sainte Maurice Church, whiche they called Agendā, in which there was a rubrike in this ſorte: Let the Deacon ſtande at the lefte ſide of the Altare, and gyue the Lordes cuppe vnto the communicantes.

To be ſhort, the vſe of both kinds cōtinued amōg the people of Chriſt, euen from the firſt inſtitution thereof, and at the lēgth in the yeare 1414. at the Councell of Conſtance, it was vppon a wicked headineſſe vtterlye forbidden. There be mentioned certayne inconueniences in apparance, why it was not mete that the people ſhoulde be admitted to the communion of the cuppe: but this was the very thing that they meante: In caſe (ſaid they) that the people ſhould communicate vnder both kinds, then there ſhould be no difference betwixt them and the prieſts. But howe friuolous a reaſon this is, and aduaūcing more the pride of the Prieſtes, than true religion, it dothe appeare not only by that which is before declared, but alſo by Chryſoſtomes wordes, who ſayth thus: Sometimes there is no difference betwixte the Prieſt and him that is vnder hymas when they ſhall take the vſe of the terrible myſteries. For to receyue them, we be reputed all a like worthy. Not as it was in the olde lawe, when the prieſte did eate a part, and the people alſo a parte, and when it was not lawfull for the people to be partaker of thoſe things of whyche the Prieſte was partaker: but it is not ſo now, but there is vnto all men giuen one body and one cuppe. Thus ſaith he: Therefore let the office of the miniſtration, and not the righte and authorite of the full communion, make the difference betwixte the miniſters and Chriſtes people.

We do conclude therfore, that the Papiſtes doe offende in this matter againſt the inſtitution of the Lord, againſt the integritie and wholeneſſe of this ſacrament, againſt the confirmation of the newe Teſtamente, againſt the tradition of the Apoſtles, and contrarye to the cuſtome of the primi-

Conſtā. Confeſſ. enſis.

Vpon ſecond Epiſtle to the Cor. Homil.

primitiue & moſt pure Churche: ſo ẏ it may appere hereby, that they practiſe to be Lords ouer Chriſtes flocke, and preſume to haue all thinges at their commaundement, rather than to do thoſe things, that of right or lawfull miniſterie ought to be done, as their owne wordes doe teſtify, when they ſay, that the laye men ought to be cōtent with that one kind: as that the people of Chriſte were boughte & ſolde vnder their dominion, & that they ſhoulde deſire no more, than it may pleaſe them to giue them. Wold God they woulde once come home, & acknowledge the enormitie of thys offence, and would reſtore the whole tradition of the Lorde to Chryſtes churches. At the leaſt way, let them read that which Cyprian wrote: For in caſe (ſaith he) it be not lawfull to breake the leaſt of ẏ Lords cōmandementes, how muche more is it not lawfull to breake ſo great & ſo hygh commaundementes, ſo belonging to the very ſacrament of the Lords paſſion, and of oure redemption: or by mans tradition to change them into any other thing than was inſtituted by the Lord? For to expounde the inſtituyng, & the teſtament of the Lord, and not to doe the ſame whiche the Lorde did, what is it elſe, but to caſt off his ſayings, and to neglect ẏ lords diſcipline, and to commit not earthly, but ſpirituall theftes and adulteries, when a man ſtealeth our Lords wordes out of the truth of the Goſpell, and doth corrupt and adulterate Gods commaundements.

The Lords ſupper muſt be miniſtred conueniently.

Secondly, it is requiſite, that the Lords Supper ſhuld be conuenientlye miniſtred. It maketh a great matter whether the ſacramente whiche the Lord gaue, be diſpenſed whole or mangled. But the miniſter of Chriſt muſt not be ſo contented only: if he take nothyng from the tradition of the Lorde, but though he do miniſter the ſame wholly whiche he hath receyued, it is not ynough, vnleſſe hee be do it alſo conueniently, that is to ſay, by mete and conuenient meanes. For not onely he which doth receiue it, but he alſo which doth miniſter it vnworthily, maketh him ſelfe guiltie of the Lordes body & blood. And it were much better not to miniſter it all, than to miniſter it after an vnworthy ſorte. For it doth offende and hurt more, than if he doe not miniſter it at all.

Three reſpects of conuenient miniſtratiō.

And I ſuppoſe this may be in three reſpectes. Firſt of the perſon, whiche he repreſenteth that dothe miniſter. Secondly, of the thing it ſelfe, in the miniſtration wherof he doth ſerue. Thirdly, of the people whiche doeth cōmunicate. The miniſter doeth repreſent the perſon of the good ſhuard, that is to ſay, of the diſpenſor of the myſteries of God, of whom it is required, not onely that he be founde faithfull, but alſo that by the exāple of his faith and feruencie, he ſtir vp the familie of Chriſt which he hath taken in hande to fede, and do prouoke them by the worde to the myſticall table to folow him, and to his power, to make them ſo deſirous of heauenly foode. It can not be expreſſed how loathſome the vayne & light miniſter dothe make the gueſtes of this banket: and on the other ſyde how much the feruēt zele of the miniſter doth inflame their harts, if he doe ſauor thereof without fayning, both in wordes & life. Let him be bold

of the hypocriticall players gesture of the Popishe Masters, meeter to make them that be presente to laugh at him, than to stirre the affections of any godly minde. Let his wordes, life and gesture agree together, so ỳ they al may be testimonies of a godlye disposition, and of the feruencie of a faithfull minister of Christ. Let him neuer forget what becommeth him to doe, so that he may honestly, and comely performe his ministery, not wittingly giuing occasion of offence to anye man. Let him eschewe the examples of Masking priestes, whiche though they be for the moste part vaine persons, yet they get thē neuertheless to the aulters to do sacrifice. Let him differ from their vanitie and manners, whose sacrifices and life he doth blame in wordes.

2 Secondly, he doth minister conuenientlye, in case he haue a consideration of those things which he doth dispence, and doth aptly applye himselfe vnto the same. He doth dispence the communion of the Lordes bodye and bloud. The bread which we doe breake, saith the Apostle, is it not the communion of the Lordes bodye, and the Cuppe of blessing, whiche wee blesse, is it not the communion of the Lordes bloud? Therefore let him administer this sacrament so conuenientlye, that it be a communion, and not a priuate Sacramente. He dothe dispense the remembrance of the Lord, or as Augustin saith in a place the sacrament of the remembrance. He shall do it conuenientlye, if hee doe ioyne the declaring of the Lordes death to the mistical communion, according to the saying of the Apostle, which saith: As often as you do eate this bread, and drinke this cup, you do declare ỳ Lordes death vntil that he come. For so he ordeined thys ceremonie in the Church of the Corinthians. It is not meete that the communion shoulde be dumme or in silence. But let some thing be redde to the people or song, of the historie of the Lordes death, as it is begunne to be vsed in manye Churches in oure dayes. He doth dispence the *Eucharistia*. The *Eucharistia* is a thankesgyuing, and a sacrifice of praise. Therefore let him loke ỳ this holy communion be concluded and ended wyth a publike giuing of thankes. He dothe dispēce the banket of brotherly loue. Therefore it is cōuenient that there shoulde be vsed some open exercise of Christian loue, & mutual cōmunion. Wher vnto he must traine and accustome the people, not onely by exhortations at the very acte & doing of it, but also by appointmēte of some certain order for the same. These be the principal points, whereof the dispensor of the Lordes table ought chiefly to take care and consideration, that he may conuenientlye and worthily frame himselfe vnto this sacramēt.

The third respect is of the people that dothe cōmunicate. The simpler & ruder ỳ they be, so muche the playner ỳ minister ought to speake of the misterie of the Lordes supper, that he may apply himselfe to their capacitie. And he must by all meanes beware of those two dangerous faultes of ỳ people: superstition & contempt. Of superstition, least they worship & honor that which is the signe, in stēd of the thing it selfe. Contempt, least they doe dwell in the bread & Wyne onely, not makyng the difference of the Lordes body: and therefore vnderstāding nothing aboue the iudgement of their eyes, do cōtemne that, whyche they percepue by syght and taste to be breade and wyne. Augustine gaue the like warning, where he sayeth: It is ynough for the wyser sorte, as touching the Sacramente whiche they shall receyue, to heare what the thing doth signifie: but we musse worke with them whiche bee duller, with somewhat more wordes and similitudes, least that they doe contemne that whiche they doe see. This sayeth he. In fewe wordes he must beware that he fall not neyther to the Corinthians, neyther to the Papistes, in this case of the Lordes supper. And to the intente that the people may receiue that which is giuen vnto them, not onely with theyr hands and mouth, but also with faith and hart, let hym speake all thynges which are to be sayde, in the vulgare and accustomed tongue: not the exhortations only, but the very wordes also of the Lordes institution, the prayers also, and giuing of thankes, so that he may be able to vnderstand all, and to assent vnto it in his heart, according vnto the admonition of the Apostle.

In case the number of the communicants be great, he must beware by all meanes, that nothing be confusely or negligently handled, as it is wont to be when they be many. Let hym bestowe all things into an order, that all maye communicate in honest and comely sorte. Let them reach out their hands with reuerēce, and receiue that which is giuen thē: which was the manner of the faythfull before that the Popish superstition reigned in the Churches. Loke in the Ecclesiasticall historie, and the wordes of Ambrose vnto Theodosius the Emperour, of whyche I made mention before. Lette the Minister way with himselfe, whether it be good for Chrystes people to communicate ofter or seelder. Lette hym marke the qualitie and condition of his Churche, and apply himselfe vnto it, rather than to the example of others, and he shall specially beate into their heades that saying of the Apostle, Let a man trie hymselfe. &c. And he must beware, that hee bestowe not the Lords Sacrament vnto suche as shall take it vnworthily, and to their condemnation: he can not bee thoroughly ware that there shall none at all come vnto it vnworthily: but for all that, he maye beware, that it bee not done thorough his negligence and wincking on, if he be not slacke in exhorting and admonishing them. Neyther lette him compell anye man to come vnto it, neuertheless in case he do see any man come vnto it, whyche he iudgeth to be vnworthy, lette him talke with him after the communion, to learne how, and why he came. And in case he come againe to it afterwardes, and not reformed, lette hym see that hee be called before the elders of the Churche, and so bee reformed. And in case the Minister wil frame hymselfe to these meanes and respectes of hys owne person, and of the Sacramente, and of the people whyche dothe communicate, it is possible ynough, that hee maye conuenientlye dispense the Lordes Supper.

Augustine against the Manichels. lib. 20. ca. 21

Eusebius de Ecclesiastica hist. lib. 7. cap. 9.

V. What is the true and lawful vse of the lords Supper.

A double vse of this sacrament.

HItherto we haue briefly touched that, whiche wee haue thoughte meete to be spoken of concerning the definition, institution, and ministration of the Lords supper, now it remayneth that lastly we speake of the vse thereof. And what the vse of Sacraments is generally, we haue mentioned before in the matter of Baptisme. And there is a double vse of this Sacramente, as there is also of Baptisme. One which is fulfilled by Christe only: an other the fulfillyng whereof is required of vs. For likewise as to our corporal feeding there be two things required: One that there be giuen vs good meate, which is able to feede and refreshe him that eateth thereof, else it shall be eaten in vayne: the other is that it be receiued, & conuerted into a whole and hungry stomacke, to be concocted and digested. For the meate can not norish vs, vnlesse we receiue it, no nor if it be receiued nother, vnlesse it be of a whole and hungry stomacke: of whiche the firste is to be loked for of the banket maker, the other of hym that eateth: and euen so we muste thynke in this matter also, that it is requisite firste, that there be giuen vs true meate from Christe the banket maker, wherewith we may be fedde vnto life euerlasting. This meate hee onely doth giue as the only and true sauioure. And therefore he crieth: Come to me all you that trauayle and be burdened, and I will refreshe you. Laboure for the meate (sayeth he) which doth not perishe, but which dothe remayne to euerlasting lyfe, which the sonne of man shal giue vnto you. Item: I am the breade of life. He that commeth vnto me shall not be hungry: and he that beleeueth in me, shall not thirst for euer. Item, And the bread which I will gyue, is my flesshe, whiche I will giue for the life of ỹ worlde. And, Verely, verely, I saye vnto you, vnlesse you doe eate the flesh of the sonne of man, & drinke his bloud, you shall not haue lyfe in you. He that eateth my flesh, & drynketh my bloud, hath life euerlasting, and I will rayse him at the last day. For my flesshe is meate in dede, & my bloud is drinke in deede, &c. So that there can be nothing required more neither in Christ the banket maker, nor in the meate whiche he hath prouided for vs, but that the same may be truly fulfilled in vs, which is done sacramentally at his supper, vnlesse that we be vnmeete to receiue thys meate. Christ himselfe doth feede vs, in that he dothe refresh vs, confirme and strengthen and conserue and keepe vs by his spirite vnto euerlasting life, by his body and bloud gyuen for vs: and so dothe vouchsafe to dwell in vs, and make vs incorporate vnto him.

VVhat is required of Christe.

Let vs see nowe what things be required of vs for our part, so that we may be fed of Christ, & what things be truly perfourmed by vs when wee be fed: which we doe make the other, of the vses of this Sacramẽt. And it is required of thẽ which are to be fed herewith, ỹ they vse not the Lordes table vnworthely, nor vncõuenietly.

Matth. 11. Iohn. 6

1 Firste, that we do not contemne it, like as it is mentioned in the parable of the Gospell of them, whych

wer wedded vnto worldly matters, and refused to come: of whome the Lord doth pronounce, that they were vnworthy. These folke Christ surely will not feede. For howe shoulde hee feede the despisers of his supper: hee doth feede such as be desirous therof, and hungry, albeit that they be letted and restreyned against their willes from the outward communion of his bodye and bloud, but as for suche as do loath it, he leaueth them vnfedde.

2 Secondly, although that we do not contemne it, but doe communicate with other, according to the vse of the Church: yet for al that it is requisite: that we doe it conueniently, and accordingly, that is to say: Firste that we be members in the bodye of Christ. For he that is not yet grafted in Christ, but is still the member of a harlot, of Antichrist, Satan. &c. cã not be fedde with this meate, wherewith Christes body, that is to saye, the Church is fedde. Of this matter Augustine speaketh in this wyse: Therfore he that is in the vnitie of his body, that is to say, in the consert of Christian members, the sacramẽt of which body, the faithfull whiche do communicate, are wont to receiue at the Altare, he may be sayde truely to eate the body of Christ, & to drink the bloud of Christ. Item, But they also which do vnderstãd a right, that he is not to be reputed to eate ỹ body of Christ, which is not in the body of Christ. Itẽ, For these two sayeth he) meaning him which was fallen into hereſy, and him which liued wickedly in the catholik church) can be said, that they do eate the body of Christ, forasmuch as they be not to be accounted among the members of Christe. For to make fewe wordes, they can not be both at once the members of Christe, and the members of a harlotte. Finally, He that sayth: He that eateth my flesshe and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, &c. declareth what it is to eate the body of Christe, not toaching the sacramentall eating, but truely. For this it is to dwell in Christ, ỹ Christ also maye dwell in him. For so he speaketh this, as though he sayd, He which dwelleth not in me, & in whõ I do not dwell, lette him not saye or think, ỹ he doth eat my body, or drink my bloud. This sayth Augustine. "

2 Secondly, it is required of them that doe communicate, that they doe not eate and drinke in mouth only sacramentally, but truly also in heart. Vnlesse that the heart be in all thys sacramentall vse of the Lordes supper, in the eares, eyes, hands, mouth, and stomacke, the truth of the sacrament can not be fulfilled in the communicants. For how shoulde the inwarde man be fedde when it neyther toucheth nor embraceth, neyther eateth nor drinketh this meate, & drinke of euerlasting life? The outward mã is not fedde, vnlesse hee doe receiue some meate to be digested in the stomacke. And how shal the inward mã be fedde, vnlesse he be made partaker of thys meate after his sort and condition.

VVith vvhat hart vve muste communicate.

3 Thirdlye, it is a greate matter with what maner of heart we come vnto this Sacramente, as it maketh muche to the matter also with what stomacke wee take thys corporall meate. Lyke as there is in that required therevnto a whole and a hungry stomacke, so there is

required also hære a whole and hungry heart. The healthe of the hearte is true faithe, and the hunger is the good appetite vnto heauenlye foode. And it is not euery faithe that is requisite, but that whiche groundeth vpon the wordes of Christ, where he saith: This is my body, which is giuē for you, and, This cuppe is the new Testament in my bloud, which shall be shed for you and for manye to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. So that wee must beleue that the body and bloud of Christe was giuen and offered vp vpon the Crosse for the remission of our sinnes, & that the new Testamēt is confirmed, and the Sacramente thereof set forth and recōmended vnto vs in this supper. Whereby wee shoulde solemnise and celebrate the publike remembrance of our sauior and redemer. The hunger of ỳ heart is the grēdie desire of the grace of Christ, and of the heauenly foode, purchased vnto vs by ỳ death of Christ. This hunger can not bee in them, which be fed either of themselues or of some other, supposing that they may atteyne vnto euerlasting life, either by their owne righteousnesse, after the maner of the Turkes and Iewes, either by the iustice of others, as of dead Saincts or Monkes, Friers, Masse and Priestes. Nowe they which eyther come not to the Lordes table vpon contempt thereof, eyther although that they doe come vnto it, be not of the body of Christ: eyther came not worthily vnto it as they ought to come to the communion of an heauenly meate with their heart, and that a faithfull and hūgry heart, albeit that they do eate and drinke it sacramentally, yet for all that they do neither eate nor drinke the body and bloud of Christ in deede. Yea and to be yet more playne with you: whosoeuer dothe receyue these externall sacramentall signes, the breade and cup of the Lorde, without the vnderstanding of them, as the Corinthians did: and so do turne the mystical supper of the Lord, vnto a prophane Supper, not making a difference of the Lordes bodye, they do not truely eate nor drinke it. Yea and though that a man do vnderstand al ỳ points thereof exactly as they be taught by the wordes of Christe, and yet beleueth them not to be true, for lacke of the historicall faith: he vnderstādeth what Christe hymselfe reporteth of his body & bloude, and in what sense hee gaue the bread and wine to hys Disciples, and howe he did institute this outward actiō vnto the remembrance of him: thus farforth his vnderstanding is good, but for lacke of faith, he dothe not beleue that those things be true, which are appointed vnto vs to be kepte in solemne memorie, that is to say, he dothe not beleue that Christes deathe is auayllable to the redemption of ỳ worlde, to the forgiuenes of our sinnes, & for our reconcilement with God the father. Item, though ỳ a man haue this historicall faithe, and yet for all that dothe not appropriate vnto himselfe the grace of this redemption, but only vnto some certain saincts and iust persons, and therefore can not saye with the Apostle: Which loued mée and gaue himselfe for me. Item, though a mā do beleue ỳ Christ died for him, & yet for al ỳ doth not muche regard ỳ benifit therof, nor is not moued by the remembrāce thereof vnto thankes

The hunger of the hearte.

VVho doe not eate nor drinke the bodye and bloude of the lord.

thankes giuing. Neyther is it to be wondered at, howe that should come to passe, seeing that we doe finde by dayly experience, that it is no straūge matter in the nature of mā, to make light of good turnes, and to giue smal thankes to the giuer of them, thoughe wee knowe that the benefites be neuer so great, and proceēding frō neuer so kinde a hart. Whosoeuer is of this disposition, doth not take of ỳ meate of euerlasting life, ỳ Lordes body and bloud, although that he amongst the reste do participate of ỳ bread and cup of the Lord. And we haue the like iudgemente of thē also which are not endowed with ỳ spirit of brotherly loue, and which by their mischiuous life do declare thēselues to be none of the members of christes body.

But I supppose it were laboure wel spent bycause of the vnlearned, to treate somewhat more at large of the eating of the Lords body. Firste as concerning the worde of eating, (and it is like also for the drinkyng) no man wil deny I thinke, that in this matter it muste bee taken in a Metaphoricall sense, and not in the proper sense. In this matter I saye, when we do speake not of the bread and of the cuppe, but of the body and bloud of the Lorde: The breade is properly eaten, and in his kinde, but Lordes body is eaten improperly, & Metaphorically. And there be some that do deny, that the very body it self of our Lord, which was giuen for vs vpon the crosse, is eaten, & the bloude it self which was shed for our sinnes dronke: and there be some on the other side that do affirm it to be true. Augustine doth deny it, and it is alleaged in the Decrées. The wordes be these. You shal not eate thys body whiche you doe see, and drinke that bloud which they shall shed whyche shall crucifye me. I haue recōmended a sacrament vnto you, if it be spiritually vnderstanded, it shall reuiue you. And albeit that it be necessarye to be visibly celebrated, yet it muste be inuisibly vnderstāded. And in the Decrées, the wordes of Ierome be alleaged, whiche in a place vppon Leuiticus sayeth thus: In dede men maye eate of thys bodie, whyche is marueilously wrought in the remembraunce of Christe, but of that which Christ offered vpon the aulter of ỳ Crosse, as of it selfe no manne can eate. And in the Decrées the wordes of Augustine be rehearsed, where he sayeth. This doeth offende you, that I sayd: I doe giue you my flesthe to eate, and my bloude to drinke, but in case you shall see the sonne of man going vp where he was before. What meaneth he by thys? Here he declareth the thing that moued them, and openeth verye plainelye wherein they were offended, if they could vnderstande it. They thoughte that he woulde gyue them out hys bodye. But he sayde, that he should goe vp to heauen euen whole. When you shall see (sayth he) the sonne of Man goyng vppe to heauen where he was before, surely you shall see then at the leaste wayes, that he doeth not beestowe out hys bodye in that sorte as you thynke, ye shall yet vnderstande then his grace is not consumed by byting. This saith Augustine.

De consecr. dist. 2. Cuncti. Dicit ie quidem.

Can. 1. quidem. August. in Ioan. tra. 27

On the other side there be some

Such as do affirme that the flesh of christ is eaten.

which do affirme, that the same very body of the Lord is eaten at the supper, which hong vpon the crosse, and the verye same bloude dronke, which was shed vpō ỹ Crosse. They haue respecte vnto the wordes of Christ, where he sayth, Take, eate thys is my body which is giuen for you: and, Take, drinke, this is my blood of the new Testamen whyche shal be shead for you, and for manye to the remission of sinnes. Thys sense as it is conformable vnto Christes wordes, so it doth also differ nothing from the first, if it be cōsydered a righte. For those places whiche wē alleaged out of the Decrees, do take the word of eating in the proper sense, as we say, that the meate of the body is eaten, and as the bread of the supper is corporally eaten wyth the mouth, and the cup dronke off. Surely in this sense, they do wel to deny, that the very body of our Lord, which was giuen for vs, is eaten, and the bloud it selfe which was shedde for vs vpon the Crosse, dronke of. For I thinke that there is anye wise body wyl saye, that it is so eaten and dronken of. And yet withall they doe not denay, but that the verye flesshe of Christe is eaten, and the bloud dronke of, in a conuenient sorte, like as they do not deny, but that the breade in some sorte is the body, and the cup the bloud of the Lord.

Wherefore there is no cause why that the faithfull shoulde striue vpon thys matter. If anye manne do saye, that the very bodye of Christe is receiued and eaten, and his very bloud dronken of at the Supper, we nēde not to be againste hym in so saying, so that he do take the wordes of receyuing, eating and drinking in the Metaphoricall, and not the proper sense: On the other side, if an other shall saye, that we neyther eate the very body of Christ which dyed vpon the Crosse, and was raysed againe from the dead, and was taken vp into heauen, nor drinke his very bloude, whiche was shedde vpon the Crosse, but the Sacramente of eche of them, that is to say, the bread and cuppe of the Lorde: we may not be againste him neyther that speaketh in this sorte, so that he vse the wordes of eating and drinking not in the Metaphoricall, but in the proper sense. Onlesse this difference be obserued in the Church there shal be no stay, nor ende of striuing, whereby the truth at length is darkened, and displeasure of them that do contende one againste an other. The one rageth and crieth out, heritike, heretike. Loe he eateth and drinketh nothyng at the supper, but bare breade and mere wine. For he denyeth that the very body of the lorde is eaten, and his verye bloude dronken of at the Supper. The other againe on the contrary part chargeth them with rawe flesshe eating, and raw bloud drinking. O what do you my brethren? Onlesse you had a wil to contende, you might long synce haue broken off thys contention by Christian discretion, and vse a peace and quietnesse in Christs Churche, but let vs procede.

Now we must consider of the sundry sorts of the eating of the verye bodi of Christ, and of the drinking of his bloud. I say of the sundry sortes, bicause we do not vse this meate and drinke

drinke all in one sorte. There is one whiche is vsed for the tyme and moment, as we may terme it, and such as may be oftentimes iterated: And there is another continuall, perpetuall, and neuer ceasking.

That which is for a season and iterable, is when Christes bodie is eaten, and his bloude dronke of (as Augustine calleth it) so farre as perteyneth to a Sacrament, or in the sacrament, that is to saye, Sacramentally, as it is in the Communion of the Church, where the body is eaten by parcels, when the parcelles of the breade that is broken, bee receyued and eaten: and the bloud is dronke, when the cuppe of the newe Testament is receyued and dronke. The bread and cup of the Lord is eaten & dronke corporally: but that is eaten dronke sacramentally, whose Sacrament the bread and the cup be in the verye same sorte, as the sacramente of the bodie is called the bodie, and the sacramēt of the bloud, the bloud. Whereof we noted before in the exposition of Christes wordes. In this sense we do saye aright, that they do receyue, eate and drinke the Lordes body and bloud, whiche doe receiue eate and drynke the breade and the Cuppe, that is to saye, the Sacrament of his bodye and bloude in the mysticall Supper. If any man will contende herein, that it is done corporally: make mē a difference, so that thou graunte of the sacrament, that it is euen so eaten and dronke corporally; but as concernyng the substance it self, the sacramēt wherof is corporally receiued, you maye not grant that it is otherwise receyued than sacramentally.

The sacramental maner of eating Christs body is yterated.

This sacramentall sort of eating of Christes body, is iterated as often as the Lordes supper is celebrated, which is not yterated oftētimes to this ende, that we should yterate the receauing of the Lordes body in very dēde, lyke as we doe with corporall meate, which doth perishe after that it is eaten: but to the intent, that in celebrating the remembrāce of the Lordes death, according vnto his institutiō, we may fēde our faith in him, and offer a sacrifice of prayse vnto our redeemer. For as the bread of life once truely receyued, wanteth not after it is receyued, so it dothe not requyre to haue the yteration of receyuing. For it sticketh by them, fēdyng them vnto euerlastyng lyfe whiche are once made partakers thereof. Hereof I doe admonishe men, bycause of the ignorant, that they doe not referre the yteration of this receyuing to the very heauenly meate it selfe, but vnto the Sacrament thereof.

The cōtinuall and vncessing sort of eating of Christes body, is not sacramentall, but spirituall, and that onely hath power & efficacy to fēde vnto euerlasting life: whereunto we must apply those things whiche we alleaged before out of the sixte chapiter of John. This is obteyned by fayth onely, by whiche wē be incorporated into Christ: and beyng once incorporated, doe line in a continuall fruition thereof, by the grace of the redemption purchased by his flesshe and bloud. To eate and drinke the flesh and bloud of Christ in this sort, is to be continually refreshed, & continually to enioy this heauēly fode. For as wē alleged before out of

The continuall and vncealing manner of eating christes body.

Augu-

Augustine, this grace is not consumed with bitings. This manner of eating is to enioye the euerlasting lyfe, purchased by Christs death, not only in faith, but in verie dæd. Euen like as if a man shoulde saye, that a people deliuered from destruction, do eate and drinke the flesh & bloud of their captain, which suffred death to deliuer them, that is to say, to enioy life and heith, purchased through his death. Or else if a man shoulde saye, that we which be grafted into Christe by faith, do so eate his flesh and drinke his bloud, as the braunches doe eate and drink the sleth and bloud of the Vine, into which they be naturally grafted: which is lyker vnto the grace of oure Redemption, and refreshing: bicause they do vnceassingly e and contynuallye receyue bothe lyfe, and their whole nourishment, & power to beare fruit of the same. So in the Decrées Augustines wordes be alledged: They (sayth he) whiche do eate and drynke Christ, doe eate and drinke lyfe. To eate hym, is to bée refreshed, and to drinke him is to lyue. And vpon the wordes of the Apostle he sayth: To eate that, is to be refreshed, but thou art so refreshed, that it decayeth nothing, wherof thou art refreshed. To drynke that, what is it else, but to liue? Eate lyfe, drink life, thou shalt haue life, and the lyfe is whole still. For then this shall be done, that is to say, the body and bloud of Christ shall be lyfe to euery manne, if that whiche is receyued visibly in the sacramente, be spiritually eaten, and spiritually dronke in the very truthe it selfe. For we heard the Lord himselfe saye, It is the Spirite whiche dothe giue lyfe, the flesthe profyteth nothyng at all. The wordes whiche I haue spoken vnto you, be Spirite and lyfe.

We be verily made partakers of this continuall fruition of the Lords body and bloude, as sone as we bee incorporate and grafted into him, the Sacramente of the whiche grafting in, is baptisme. Therefore albeit that we neuer haue the vse of the Lordes supper, yet we be neuerthelesse partakers of thys heauely meat and drinke. And therevpon is ỳ spoken. Noman must in any wise doubt but that al faithful folk be thē made partakers of the body and bloude of the lord, when they be made the mēbers of Christ in Baptisme, and that they be not voyde of the felowshippe of that bréade and cuppe, thoughe that they do depart out of this world before that they doe eate this bread and drinke this cuppe, so that they do stande in the vnitie of the body of Christ. For he is not bereaued of the participation and benefit of that sacramente, whiche is founde to be in that, whyche thys Sacramente doeth signifye. These be the wordes of Augustine in that place. Nowe in case that there be a signification in the Lordes supper, of the true helthful, endelesse, and spirituall fruition, wherein we be refreshed of the flesh and bloude of Christe vnto euerlasting lyfe, and that the very attainment therevnto commeth by the sacrament of our grafting in: who seeth not, what manner of menne wée ought to be when we doe come vnto the mysticall table of the lord: Surely not such as should séeke the fruition of the Lordes body and bloude

Augustin. De consecra. dist. 2. cum Quimans dicat. Serm. 2.

Iohn. 6.

How we be made verily the partakers of the continuall fruition of Christs flesh and bloud.

De consecra. dist. 2. Cum quimans.

What manner of men we ought to be when we come to the Lordes Table.

first therin, as being yet without feeling therof: but such as haue ben already partakers therof before by faith, and do couet to confirme and strengthen more and more the grace once receiued in our hearts by this Sacramental cōmunion of the Lordes body and bloud, and remēbrance of his deathe, and to giue thankes therfore to our redeemer.

You wil say then: Do you make the Lordes Supper to be only a Sacramentall eatyng of the bodye of Christe? Howe is it then that the fathers do attribute therevnto not this eating onely whiche is by the mouth of the bodye, but that also whiche is with harte and spirite through faith, whiche they doe call also spirituall? I answer. The spirituall feeding which I do also acknowledge to be in the Lords Supper, doth derogate nothyng of that whiche I haue said of the continuall and vnceasing fruition of the bodye and bloud of Christe. For that is nothing els, if it be wel considered, but a certain putting in remembrance of this, wherby & by ỳ efficacy of calling to remēbrance (like as certain clean cattel do fetch vp again those things ỳ they haue once eaté in the pastures, to chaw the cudde, and fully to digest them, the grace of Christ once receiued, is reuiued again in the harts of the faithful cōmunicāts, by the faith in christs word, which is set forth in the Supper. And this kinde of chawing the cudde, which is vsed in the Sacrament of the Lords bodye and bloud by faith, is not vnfitly called, The spirituall eating, forasmuch as by it the heauenly meate is called vp againe into the mouth of the hart to be ruminated: And doeth so by the swetenesse therof moste pleasantly refreshe our spirite: and the meate is also by thys order made more sauorie and effectual. And to speake further hereof by a similitude: Is not loue a certaine continuall life in the hart of the louer, so that he liueth rather in him whom he loueth, than in himselfe accoyding to thys saying, he that loueth is more presently wher he loueth. It is so no doubt. And yet as oftentimes as he is touched with ỳ special remembrance of the benefits of him who he loueth, so oftentimes the loue which he hath continuallye nourith in his hart, doth by some certaine newe increase growe and auaunce greater, so that he loueth his friende yet more than euer he dyd before. After the lyke sorte is thys spirituall eatyng of the Lords body. In déede it is not firste begonne in the communion of the Sacramente, but it is as it were renued sometymes, and made more effectuall therby with faith, and the remembrance of our redemption ioyned vnto it. Wherefore wée doe not take from the supper the spirituall eating of Christes bodye, in that that wée doe require the same to bée in all them that shal communicate, wherby they bée continuallye alwayes nourished with the body and bloude of Christe.

Here is moued a question, whether that the wicked also do eate the Lordes body at the Supper? Some do hold with it, and some be against it. In my opinion a Christian man ought not to bestow any labour to contende of the wicked, with whome they haue nothyng to doe, whether

that they also doe eate Christ, seyng that they be the members of his body. They whiche doe affirme this, least they should seeme to teache curiouse things, & nothing to the purpose, doe holde, that this question of the euill and wicked is one of the chiefe poyntes of the doctrine of the Lordes supper, and that it is profitable and necessarie. That is their iudgement, and they do seeke the confirmation of their opinion out of the wordes of Paule, where he threateneth iudgement vnto them, which do vnworthily eate of the Lordes supper, for asmuch as they doe become guilty of the Lordes body and bloud, and specially out of the wordes of Christe This is my body: and so they thinke to proue, that the wicked also doe eate the Lordes body by the very same reasons, whereby they do proue that the body of Christ is corporally in the bread. It is (say they) Gods worde, This is my body, that is to say, In this is my body. The worde of God is not one thing to the faythfull, and an other to the vnfaythfull, but the selfe same vnto all. For the truthe thereof is not altered, by the vnbeliefe of men. For lyke as the worde of God is not true therefore, because that we doe beleue it to be true, euen so it is not false therefore, because that we do not beleue it. *Ergo* that is true as well to the vngodly as to the godly, whiche Christ saith: This is my body, and therefore bothe the one and the other doe eate his body at the supper. This is their principall argument, whiche is inough and inough, in case it be sufficient to proue that whiche they entende to teache, if not, the rest serueth to no purpose. Wherefore we will specially speake of that.

It is in deede the worde of God whiche Christ sayde: This is my body and that of it selfe is faste and firme, and whether we doe beleue it or not beleue it. There is no doubte in this, but by their leaue, that whiche they doe gather vpon it, is not so sure as they take it to be. They doe gather herevpon: *Ergo*, at the supper the wicked as well as the godly receyueth the body of Christ. Why: Bycause Christes body is corporally in the bread, according vnto the immutable truth of Christes worde. But as a certayne man sayth, *Nil valet exemplum, à quod litem lite resolvit.* That is to say: The example is nothing worth, whiche openeth one doubte by an other doubte. For that whiche they doe gather vppon the wordes of Christe, that the corporall presence of Christes body is in the bread, as though he had sayde: Take, eate, in this is my bodye: (whereof I spake before in the exposition of these wordes:) is not graunted to be true. The wordes of Christ are true and stedfaste, but the sense is not therefore streight way true and firme, whiche they doe attribute vnto it. He sayde, that the bread which he gaue, was his body, which shoulde be giuen for vs. He sayde not, that his body was corporally presente in the bread. And how he spake this, it is declared before. He would haue this bread to be the Sacrament of his body whiche shoulde bee giuen for vs vppon the Crosse. And so farre forth as the Sacramēt of the body is the body, so farre forth this

It is not there right the L vvord that vvith cate Lord &c.

1. Cor. 11.

this bread is called his body: and so farre forth the Lordes body, is eaten of them whiche do eate the bread of the supper. But yet for all that, it is eaten otherwise of the godly, than it is of the wicked. The godly doe eate it not onely sacramentally, but also truely, bycause they do eate it not onely with theyr mouth, but with theyr hart also: but the wicked doe eate it, not truely, but Sacramentally onely, bycause they do not eate it with theyr harte, but with theyr mouth onely: and so they doe eate the Sacrament onely, and not the very effecte of the Sacrament, which is not eatē but by faith onely: whiche Cyrill doth witnesse also against the obiections of Theodoretus: saying, For our Sacramēt doth not auouche and maintayne the eatyng of a man, leadyng the myndes of the beleuers irreligiously vnto grosse imaginations, and endeuoring to subdue vnto mans thoughts those things which bee conceyued by onely pure and assured fayth. This sayth he. In case that our sacrament dothe not auouche the eating of the man Christ, but of those things onely, whiche bee conceyued by fayth alone: how then doe the wicked eate Christ at the supper, seyng that they do eate and drinke this Sacrament without faith? The Christian religion knoweth but two manners of communicating at the supper, the one Sacramental, & the other spirituall. It doth acknowledge that the sacramentall way is comonly vsed of all communicantes, as well the euill as the good: but the spirituall, of them onely which do receyue and eate not only the sacrament with mouth, but the effect of the Sacrament also thorow fayth in theyr hart. Wherevpō came that in the Decrees: He that doth disagree with Christe, doth not eate his flesh, nor drinke his bloud, although that he do receyue the Sacramēt of so great a worthinesse vnto the iudgement of his destruction. This is in that place. What is it else to disagree with Christe, but to be vtterly a straunger vnto him and none of hys members? And surely the wicked be none of his members, whiche as Augustine dothe holde, doe not eate truely the Lordes bodie, for asmuch as they be not of the Lordes body, as wee declared before.

De consecrationi, dis. sanctione. 2.

Augustine.

As touching the place of the Apostle, Whosoeuer eateth this bread, or drinketh the Lordes cup vnworthily, shal be giltie of the Lordes body and bloud. We do answere plainly: A man may eate of the Lordes bread vnworthily, but of the Lords body he can not but Sacramentally. They whiche doe eate it vnworthily, do two things. First they eate it, and secondly they doe sinne in eating vnworthily. What they do eat, it is playnely expressed in the Apostles wordes, when he saith: Whosoeuer eateth this bread, &c. he saith not Whosoeuer eateth of the Lords body, or drinketh of the Lordes bloud vnworthily. And in this doing they do sinne: against what? Here he doth not say, against the bread and cuppe of the Lordes bloud vnworthily. And in this doyng they doe sinne: against what? Here he doth not say, against the breade and cuppe of the Lorde, but against the bodie and bloud of the Lorde: he shalbe guiltie

1. Cor. 11.

(sayth he) of the Lords body & bloud. Therefore when the question is of the vnworthy eating of the wicked, what they doe eate and drinke vnworthilye: I thinke he shall not be made an heretike whiche doeth aunswere with Paul, that it is the bread and the cuppe of the Lorde. But whē the question is of their sin, we do say aright with the same Paul, that thei do offēd against the body and bloud of the Lord. Why? Not for that, that they do eate the very body of ỹ lord, and do drinke his bloud, Unworthyly: but for that, that they do eate & drinke vnworthily the bread and the cuppe, which be the Sacramente of the Lords body and bloud.

Iudas.

Here they do bring Judas for an example, and they do enforce, that he dyd eate the body, & dranke the bloud of the Lord togither with the rest of the Disciples. Wher vnto we do aunswere, that of so uncertain an example whiche the fathers doe so muche contende vpon, there can be nothing proued of certaintye. Hilarie doeth plainely deny that Judas was stil at supper wyth the Disciples, when ỹ Lord did institute the Sacrament of his body and bloud. For he sayth: After which things Judas the traitor is discouered, without whō the Passouer is made in receyuing of ỹ cup and breaking of the breade. For he was not worthy for the Communiō of the eternal Sacraments. For it is understanded ỹ he departed streight way from thence, for that, it is declared howe he returned agayne wyth great companye. Neyther coulde he of a truth drinke with him bycause that he shoulde not drynke wyth hym in the kingdome, where-

Hilarie doth holde that Judas was not presente, whē thys Sacramente was instituted. Mat. Can. 30.

as he promysed that all whiche at that time dranke with him of that fruite of this vine, shoulde drinke with him afterwardes. Thus sayth he. And forasmuche as the declaration of the Lords supper whych Luke did seite forth, semeth to mean otherwise, Rupert the Abbot doeth diligently shewe, howe it ought to be taken, that it varie not from the other Euangelistes: and what was the cause of it, whose exposition I will not refuse to set hereunto.

Rupe. Abbo. poun. the p. of L.

The very same order of narration (sayth he) is in Marke, that is, that ỹ traitor was discouered whiles they were eating and drinking. Whyles they did eate the old Passouer, that is to saye, the roasted Lambe wyth the vnleauened bread, and that wilde Lettuce, in saying, Verely I say vnto you, that one of you shal betraye me, and so forth, as the text doeth declare, vntil that, that he sayde vnto Judas, Thou, hast sayde. And then that after the Lord did giue the Sacrament of his body and bloud to his Disciples, where there was now no mention made of that traytor, but the texte or order of the letter is otherwyse in Luke. For he doeth firste describe both the Passeouers, that is to witte, the olde and the new, in a whole narration, and then at the laste he addeth these wordes of the Lord: But lo, the hand of him which doth betraye me, is wyth me at the table. This diuersitie in the order of the narration hath bredde diuerse and sundry opiniōs, in great and catholyke fathers about Judas the traytor: where as some saye, that he was presente when the Lorde gaue the forsayde Sacramente of his

his body and bloud to his Disciples. And a little after that: Therefore if it be needefull to know, or if we doe desire to know, whose reasen is the stronger, we must consider wel first, how that Luke doth not differ from the other Euangelistes, Matthewe, and Marke, in this narration, for as much as S. Augustine did not doubt of theyr agreement in this poynt, when hee semeth to folow the narration of Luke, but for them that do searche further of the matter, I find that when Luke had sayde, And taking bread, he gaue thankes, & brake it, and gaue it, saying: This is my body whiche shall be gyuen for you, do this in the remembraunce of me. Likewise the cuppe also: and hee concluded the narration, so that he sayde, After he had supped. Surely if it were after that he had supte, then it was also after those wordes: But loe se the hande of him whiche doth betray mē, is at the table here with mē: for (as it is sayde before) according vnto the other Euangelists, he spake these wordes not after he had supped, but as he was at Supper, and toke a pece of meate at supper, and dipte it, and offered it vnto Judas, who as John also declareth, wēt out immediatly.

Now the question is here, what this Euangelist neded to vse such a manner of narration. For it is the same whiche is called a Recapitulation. &c. And a little after. This is therfore the question (as it is sayde before) why the Euangelist Luke, writing of the Supper of the Lorde, would vse suche a manner of narration: And to them which do demaūd this, we must firste of all declare that he onely (I meane Luke) did note that these wordes of the Lorde were spoken at that firste supper of the figurall lambe, or Paschal labe, which he did eate with his Disciples after the custome, and manner of the olde commaundement: I haue much desired (saith he) to eate this Passouer with you, before that I suffer, for I say vnto you, that from henceforth I will not eate it, vntill it be accomplished in the kingdome of God. And taking the cup he gaue thankes, and sayd: Deuide it among you. For I say vnto you, that I will drynke no more of this kinde of vyne, vntill the kingdome of God be come. Thus Luke onely (as it is sayde before,) regarded to wryte, that the Lorde sayd, that he had much desired to eate the Passouer of that yeare, with his Disciples, whiche was the .33. yeare of the takyng vppon him of mankinde, and that he added this to bee the cause of his desire, bycause that he shoulde not eate that Passouer, and drinke the cuppe of the figuratiue Passouer, vntil it should be fulfilled in ỹ kingdome of God. Therefore it was cōuenient that he should set forth immediatly the manner of the fulfillyng thereof: and therefore putting ouer vntill an other time those things whiche were spoken at the same Supper, (he sayde) that taking bread, he gaue thankes, & brake it, and gaue it vnto thē saying, This is my bodie, which is giuen for you: This doe in remembraunce of mē. Lykewise the Cuppe also. &c. So that this wyse that was fulfilled in the kingdome of God, whiche was figured in that firste Passouer, and firste cuppe, for from that tyme th-

kyngdome of GOD came on, the beginnyng of whiche kingdome was his passion, whereunto he was deliuered that same night to rise againe the thirde day after. So that I suppose that we haue tolde a mete occasion, why Luke onely would goe on with the narration of the old and new Passouer togither, & afterwards by a way of recapitulation or rehersall agayne, returne to the wordes, whiche as the other Euangelists do witnesse, were spoke before the Sacrament of this new Passouer. Thus much sayth Rupert. And Theophylactus, though he did somewhat stagger in this matter, yet he gaue this note vppon it: Some say (sayth he) that he gaue this Sacrament vnto the other Disciples, when Judas was gone. Therfore we muste do so likewise, and sequester euill men frō the sacrament. In whiche saying, though he doe not affirme the same which Hilarie and Rupert do hold, yet for all that he doth not so muche reiect this opinion, but that he dothe set forth an example therupon, to restraine euill folkes frō the vse of the sacraments. And I doubt not at all, but that Judas was gone away to performe the mischieuous treachery whiche he had entended, before that this sacramente was giuen by the Lord vnto his disciples. But let our brethren wrestle hereupon almuche as they like, they shal neuer obtayne that whiche they doe seeke: for although that it were manifest that Judas was partaker of the sacrament with the other Disciples, yet for all that it followeth not therupō, that he receyued any more, but that whiche he might receyue with his

Theophylactus.

hande, mouthe, and stomacke, like a wicked person as he was. That is to say, the Lordes bread and cuppe, agaynst the Lorde, as Augustine sayth, but not the very body and bloud of the Lorde, for asmuche as he was voyde of Christe: not beyng a mēber of his body, but a betrayer of him.

But they doe reply, and say, that like as the worde and the gifres of God, the sunne and rayne be comon, and all one aswell to the euill as to the good, so be the sacramentes also. Of naturall gifts there is no doubt, God byngeth forth his sunne vpon the good and the euill, and rayneth vpon the thankefull & the vnthankefull, and the Sunne is not after one sorte vnto the good, and after an other to the euill: and the rayne doth asmuche good vnto the euill persons fielde, as it doth to the good and godly persons grounde, vnlesse it be by the speciall iudgement of God. And the sēde is good of it selfe, though it fall into a barren soyle, and beare no fruyte. And golde is golde, as wel to the euill as to the good. And meate doth as well fēde the thiefe, as him that hath gotten it by his true trauayle and labour. So standeth the order of naturall giftes through the abundance of Goddes goodnesse, but whether that the order of spirituall giftes be such, especially of Sacramentes, there may well be some doubte. The Lorde would haue (say they) his Supper to be common vnto all, as well to the euill as to the good: and whereas he gaue the Sacrament of his body and bloud, he gaue it to be bestowed vnto ỹ whole church, in which there be many euill

VVher the truth is craued comon wel, the euil to the good.

and

and good. *Ergo* the euill doe as well communicate of his body as the good. But howe is this proued? Chrysostome sayth, that the Lordes table dothe receyue neyther Judas nor any couetouse persons, but the Disciples onely. And the Deacon was wonte openly to crie: Approch you holy, depart you which be vncleane. If God wolde haue his table to be common vnto all, as well euill as good, then it is not lawfull to restraine the cuyll from the communion thereof, vnlesse that we may doe contrary to the Lordes will. Of the worde of the Lorde we muste thinke otherwise. That he wolde haue the preachyng thereof to be set forth indifferently vnto all menne. And that hath bene allwayes obserued in the Churches. Neyther are the Iewes, nor the Gentyles excluded frō the hearyng of Gods worde, yet not withstandyng they be excluded from the societie of the Sacraments, vntill that they be turned vnto the Lorde by fayth.

The worde is all one, whether it fall vpon the euill, or vpon the good. Surely it is all one in it selfe, but not all one in the myndes of the hearers. And the sacramente of the Lordes body and bloud is all one, whether it be receyued of the good, or of the euill. In it selfe it is all one, but vnto them which do receyue it, is not all one. The Gospell in it selfe, is the power of God to sauing, and it doth also saue, But it is not al a lyke to the vnbeleeuyng, as it is to the beleeuing. This sacrament is of it selfe the body of Christ, but to the wicked whiche doe contemne it, and to them which do receyue it vnworthily, it is farre otherwise. But we do not seeke now what it is of it selfe, which is giuen by the Lord, & what is set forth vnto vs in the Churche: but what is receyued of them that doe communicate, whether it be all one that is receyued by the euill and wicked, as that is receyued by the good and godly. The bread of the Supper is the Lordes body. So the Lorde did institute it, I do acknowledge and confesse it, and all faithful doe acknowledge what is gyuen of the Lorde, but vnto whome hath the Lorde gyuen hys body and bloud in this sacrament? I finde his Disciples, but the wicked and straungers from Christe, I finde not. Neyther is this sacrament the same vnto the that it is to the godly, nor they doe not eate the same in it, whiche the godly doe. And this opinion dothe neyther binde the truth of the sacrament vnto the persons of them that doe communicate, neyther dothe it make all things in it vncertayne, as some men doe finde faulte. God himselfe although that he be neuer so vnmutable of himselfe, he is not all one to the good and to the cuyll. For with the holy he is holy, and with the frowarde he is frowarde. Shall we therefore say, that his truth doth depende vppon the qualitie of the persons, and that we haue nothing left in him that is certayne and sure? God forbidde. Therfore to conclude, it can not be proued by the worde of Christe, This is my body, neyther by hys will, neyther by the qualitie of the wicked, nor by the condition of the Sacramentes, nor by that which is alleaged of Judas, that the wycked doe eate the Lordes body,

and drynke his bloud at the Supper, onlesse we say, that they do it in this respect, for as muche as they do eate and drynke the bread and the cuppe of the Lorde: but I leaue of. They will not seme to be suche as shoulde holde with the Papistes, whiche doe maynteyne that the wicked doe receyue the body and bloudde of the Lorde: and yet for all that, they doe so tye them vnto the sacramentall signes, that they do suppose that they can not bee touched, no not of the wicked, but that the body and bloud of the Lorde bee touched withall. The Papistes, for as muche as they doe affirme that the substaunce of bread is turned into the Lordes body, are become to bee such laughingstockes, that they doe call into question what the brute beastes and myce doe eate, in case they doe eate of the bread: where some doe suppose that the Lordes body is deuoured of thē. Some say nay. Some say: God knoweth: The lyke matter is that also that they call into question, how long Christes body is in the mouth or stomacke of hym that dothe eate it. To whiche question some do answere, that it doth remaine there vntill that the breade doe beginne to leese his shape and forme: some say as long as it is mete to the nourishment of man, vntill that the operation of the nourishyng bee done: some say, that it is no longer the Lordes body when it goeth once towardes the place of anoydance: Other some say, that the body of Christe is taken vp into heauen, as sone as the bread is bruised with the teeth. Into these straights be they brought, whiche with their scrupulositie do ouerthrow the simplenesse of Christes worde, and presume therevppon to grounde the presence of his body, some in the bread, some in the forme and likenesse of bread, far otherwise than he meante.

Hitherto wee haue briefly noted what things be requyred of them, whiche shal be truly fedde of Christ at his table: and what it is to eate the flesshe and to drynke the bloud of Christe: and what we thinke is to be iudged of the eatyng of the wicked: nowe consequently wee haue thought good to say more, howe they do behaue thēselues in this matter, whiche be in deede the members of Christe, and do verily participate of his body and bloud.

Horrer true lyf full doe haue the selues the Lo supper.

1 First of all before the communiō, and before they doe enter into the church of God to communicate, for asmuch as they doe know that they be called vnto the Lordes table, and to the moste holy communion of hys body & bloud, they doe tarie the time of the supper with ioye, and prepare themselues vnto it with thoughtes passing before the same, and will most carefully take heede, least that if they do present themselues among the Lordes guestes with vnwashed handes (as the Prouerbe sayth) and without a wedding garmēt, it might be sayde vnto them: Friende, what do yon here, hauing not your weddyng garment?

2 Secōdly, when they be at the cōmunion, they do behaue themselues comly towardes ỹ outward things, which they doe conseyue with theyr eyes & eares. They do diligētly harken to the doctrine of the truthe, & to the wordes of the Lordes institutiō.

They

They doe pray faithfully with the churche, they do giue thankes vnto their redeemer for his vnspeakeable loue, that he offered by himselfe an hoste of reconciliement vnto God his father for the sinnes of the whole worlde. If it be the custome of the church, that the people shoulde sing Psalmes, they do open their mouths also to the sacrifice of prayse, and do with their lips also reioyce in ỹ lord their God: whē they come to the cōmunion of the Lordes table, they do receyue the bread & the cup, and doe eate & drinke it reuerently, as the sacramentall signes of the Lords body and bloud instituted by him. These things they doe outwardly with the reste of the faithfull as deuoutely as they cā: but inwardly in their harts they be cōueyed vp into heauen, and do looke vpon Christe himselfe with the eyes of their fayth. By thus doyng, they breake the shell, and enter to the fruite, the true meate & drinke of the soule, the truth and lyfe it self, and then they doe spiritually eate & drinke the body & bloud of Christe, that is to say, they do ruminate and renewe in themselues Christ which dwelleth within them, and are fedde & filled with his spirite. And beyng thus furnished, they do depart, being ready to suffer all aduersitie in this worlde for Christe their redeemer, so that they may truely say with the Apostle: I liue not now as my selfe, but Christ liueth within me.

3 Thirdly, when they be in this wise fedde and incorporate, not only into Christ as into the vine, but into the faithfull also as the branches of him, they doe liue of the spirite of Christ, and be kinde towardes theyr brethern, merciful towards the troubled and afflicted, liberall towardes the poore, humble & lowly towardes all men, taking nothing vpon them, but hanging wholly vpon the grace of Christ theyr Lorde, and redeemer. And where this is not, men doe but in vayne talke of the Lords supper. These fruytes ought to be seene to come of it, and al that stryuing vpon the corporall presence of Christes body and bloud in the bread and the cuppe, and vppon the eatyng of the wicked, ought to be sette a parte. Thus we haue as briefly and plainly as wee coulde, made vp the tale and laide parte of this matter of the Lordes supper, and haue declared what the Lorde commaunded vs to doe in this matter, and to what ende, and therefore doe ende this present treaty of the sacrament of the Lords body and bloud, accordyng vnto the diuision thereof made before at the beginnyng. My purpose was not to swarue from my accustomed temperancie, as nere as I could: sauing the truth which hath bene exceedingly tossed and troubled in this case. And I thinke I haue not ranged far from it. If this matter mighte be handled and opened according to the desires of all godly persons, there is nothing that I haue more longed for a great while, than that God would sende some mete and conuenient reconciler of disagreyng opinions, by whom this noysome and most hatefull variance might be taken quite away: so muche doe I misliyke to poure oyle into the fire, whiche burneth ouer fast already. And in case I haue sayde any thing that seemeth not to be direct inough to the pur-

pose, lette the godly reader consider how harde it is, yea impossible so to wade in a matter full of contention, that a man shall speake nothing at all that shall offende one or other of the contenders. In my opinion, for as much as it appeareth now by the experience of so many yeares, that this matter can not be attayned by wryting, bicause that mens mindes be so sunderly disseuered one from an other, the beste way were, that the churches should make theyr earnest prayer vnto the Lorde, & as it were styrre him vp, that he may put these great blastes and stormes to silence, wherewith the quietnesse of the Church is troubled, & mercifully restore vnto vs the cleare weather of moste pleasant vnitie, and concorde.

Of the Popish Masse.

The custome of euery age is the tyrāny thereof.

HOw great the strēgth of an inueterate custome is, he wiste full well, that called it the Tirannie of euerye age: whereof we doe féele too many proofes for our tyme in the corruption of our religion, and especially in the Popishe Masse. For asmuche as wée sée, that it dothe preuayle agaynst the manifest truth, yée & that there be a number whiche woulde sooner speake agaynst the holy Scriptures, than departe from theyr superstitions rooted in them by the vse of so many yeares: so that it is no wonder, that the Iewes doe so obstinately sticke vnto the olde obseruation of Moses lawe, by reason of the wrong vnderstandyng of the manifest Scriptures. But what so euer becommeth of them, we muste preferre the manifest truthe before any custome, though it be of neuer so lōg continuaunce, and hath bene neuer so many hundred yeares. Wherfore nowe that wée haue dispatched the matter of the Lordes Supper, the case it selfe séemeth to leade vs to speake next of the Popishe Masse, as the spitefull enimie and adulteresse therof. And I thinke there is no ancient prescription to let vs, but that we may faithfully informe menne what they ought to iudge therof out of the Lordes worde. And the order of that whereof we will speake, shal be deuided into two partes, first touchyng the errours whiche are in the substaunce of the Popishe Masse, secondly of some accessarie errours & abuses thereof.

I. Of the Substaunce of the Masse.

TO vnderstand a right what the Popishe Masse is, wée muste searche what the substaunce thereof is. For we doe not call the Masse cōmonly, those outward things which be beaten into the eyes and eares of the standers by: as those counterfayte gestures, the duckyngs, the knéelings, the apparell, and manner of the Masse, nor the Epistles of the Apostles, nor the Gospels, nor the Créede, nor the Pater noster, Kyrye eleyson, *Sanctus, Agnus Dei*, and suche other lyke, whereof wée will speake whē the tyme serueth: but we doe call that rather the Masse, which the Priestes doe peculiarly ascribe vnto

vnto their priestly dignitie and prerogatiue: so that it may be done by no Christian man, vnlesse he bée annoynted lyke a Priest, and ordeyned to say Masse. For euery man dothe not say Masse, that dothe reade any place of the Epistles or of the Euangelical Scriptures or Psalmes, or of the Créede, or that sayth the Lordes prayer. No nor if he doe reade the wordes of the Lords institution, and doe communicate of the Lordes breade and cuppe, he is not iudged by and by to say Masse. So that the substaunce of the Masse muste not consiste in those thinges whiche we nowe rehearsed: but in that onely whiche the Priestes, that be by speciall authoritie consecrated therevnto, may doe and none else. And that is that, whiche they doe affirme, that Christe is offered by the Priest at Masse to God the Father, as makyng meanes and intercession by that oblation betwixte God and the Churche. Whiche oblation shoulde bée auayleable for the forgiuenesse of sinnes, as well of the dead as of the lyuing. This opinion we doe call The substaunce of the Masse: so that it appeareth thereby, what we may call it, no doubte, a sacrifice for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

That is the substaunce of the Masse.

The wordes of the Canon.

And that this is sayde of the Popish Masse, I think there is no Priest can denie. For they say at the Canō, euen at the first enteraunce vnto it: That thou wilt accept these giftes, these rewards, these pure holy sacrifices, whiche we doe offer vnto thée, chiefly for the holy catholike church. And after the eleuation which is as a token of the oblation, they do say: We doe offer vnto thy noble Maiestie of thine owne giftes & giuings, a pure hoste, a holy hoste, an immaculate hoste, the holy bread of euerlasting lyfe, and the cuppe of perpetuall health, &c. And at the ende: Let this doyng of our seruice please thée O holy Trinitie, and graunt that this sacrifice whiche I vnworthy haue offered vnto the eyes of thy Maiestie, bée pleasant vnto thée, and mercyfull vnto me, and vnto all thē for whome I haue offered it, &c. And at the Masse for the dead: We do offer (say they) vnto thée O Lord, hosts and prayers, receyue thou them for theyr soules whose memory wée doe kéepe this day, make them to passe from death to lyfe. This geare is in those places to be séene.

So that the Priests do clayme vnto them and to theyr Masses these thrée things. Firste, that when they doe Masse, (I speake as they are wonte to do,) they doe performe the office of the mediation betwixt God and his Churche, by the Masse. Secondly, that at the Masse they doe offer Christes body and bloud. Thirdly, that by the worke of this oblation, they doe obtayne at Gods hand all kynde of good things, and the forgiuenesse of sinnes, as well for the liuing as for the dead, and that they do apply the merite of Christes passion vnto whome they liste. If they be able to assure this, and make that come to passe by the authoritie of Gods worde, there shal be no reason to speake against theyr Masse, but if not, no Christiā mā ought to estéeme it, but rather with all theyr harte to reiect it, as the very hinderance and darkenyng of Gods truth.

VVhat things the Priests do attribute vnto theyr Masse.

Howe the Masse may be naught.

Wherefore we must first chiefly speake of this priestlyshe mediation, oblation, and efficacie of the Popish Masse: for in them there bothe consiste as it were the substaunce thereof, wherefore it is to be reiected. Wilfull men doe muche maruell for what cause this holy Masse, whiche is so gay a thing, and deckte with so deuoute wordes and ceremonies, shoulde be condemned. Howe can it be naught (say they) seyng that it hath so many good things in it, which no manne can finde faulte withall, onles he hath swoorne to be wicked. But they whiche be wise doe not iudge thereof accordyng vnto those things whiche be outwardely done: but they doe loke into the substance, and vnto the intent of them that doe sacrifice. When we doe say that a man is naught, we doe not blame those things in him whiche be created, and giuen him by God, but the malice of his harte, which commeth of Satan, whereby those thinges whiche be good in him, bee also made naught: likewise when we doe finde faulte with the Masse, we doe not finde faulte with the Lordes prayer, the Creede, the Epistles and Gospels whiche be in it, &c. but with the opinion of mediation, oblation, application, and suche other thinges whiche are creepte into it, contrary to Gods worde.

I. Whether that the Priest when he singeth Masse, doe *play the mediator betwixt God and the Churche.*

Gabriell Byell.

IF this matter Gabriell Byell writeth in this wise. At ỹ Masse our matter is hādled before the chief iudge Christe our God, by the priest as by the messenger going betwixte the bridegrome and the bryde, that is to say, Christe and his Churche, whiche doth speake in the behofe of the Church, obteyning for it by his prayers and sacrifice many giftes: sometimes the conuersion of sinners by grace, sometimes the preseruation of the righteouse in grace, sometime munition and defence against the perils of the worlde, sometimes the wardyng and sauegards of Angels, sometimes the refrayning of temtation, somtimes the deliuerie of soules out of purgatorie that should be purged, and so of many other things. This sayth he. And of this opinion it came to passe, that what soeuer they will obteyne of God, they goe about to get it by the office and sacrifice of the Masse. And this mediation the Papists do attribute not vnto their owne merites, but vnto the office of priesthode. For bycause it is the office of priesthode, to be a mediator betwixt God and the people, therfore as sone as they doe beginne to take priesthod vpon them, they do consequently vsurpe also this mediation. And that it is the office of the Priest to make meanes vnto God for the people, wee may see in the Epistle to the Hebrewes.

That the Priest is mediator betwixt the spouse and the spouse.

What shall a Christian manne thinke of this? I trowe nothing else, but that they ought of right to be required to proue this by holy Scriptures. For it is writte to ỹ Hebrues: No man taketh vpon him honor, as nother Christe did glorifie himselfe. Therefore wee doe require Scriptures, not to proue themselues to be lawfull

Hebrew.

It must be proued that the Scriptures meane there is suche office ordeined of God. Heere.

lawfull Priestes and mediators betwixt God & the Church: but wherby they may teache vs, that God ordeined such an ouerwarde Priesthode of the new Testament, which should be like vnto that of Aarons, and of the lawe, not common to all faithefull, but for them only whiche be annoynted, and consecrated by the Bishoppes for to sacrifice. Wee will not inquire vppon the meanes, by which some doe endeuor themselues to atteyne vnto this their Priesthod, and the reasons and occasions wherby they be moued to be made Priestes: whereof there is muche indede to be seene in the Decrees of the Bishops: but the Bishops themselues take no care at all thereof, and so do at their owne will and lust admitte euery vile Iaueil into the order of priesthode, by whome the goodes of the Churche, whiche in tymes passe were appointed to the vses of the poore, are foolyly and filthily deuoured vp and wasted. How lawfully this is done, we will not seeke it out of the Scriptures: which we would doe if we did allowe that priesthode whiche they chalenge vnto themselues. Let them teache vs, that it is instituted of God in the Churche of the new Testament, and vsed by the Apostles. And let them teache it vs not out of the writings of the Fathers, nother out of the Councels of the Bishops, nor by the prescription of the inueterate custome, but out of the holy and Canonical Scriptures, by which only the consciences of the faithfull may be certifyed of the authoritie of Gods will, and institution in thys case, lyke as in all other cases also whiche doe concerne oure faith. And in case we seke and search the holy Scriptures, to see what ministers the Lorde gaue vnto hys Church in the new Testamente, we shal finde no mention of this Priesthode. But in a place alone before, where we haue spoken of the priesthode of the new Testament, we haue sufficiently declared, that this Popish priesthode can not be mainteyned by any holy scriptures: but that it is a meere inuention of Antichrist, wherby this worlde is blinded with innumerable superstitions, and ouerwhelmed with false religion. Wherfore we do send the reader vnto that place, as concerning this priesthode.

VVhether that Bishops and Elders were Priestes.

They say, that Bishops and Elders were Priestes. And in case, to be a Bishop and an elder be all one, as to be a Priest, then to be a Priest is to be a Bishop and an Elder. And so they should haue as many Elders and Bishops, as Priests, which none of them wil euer grant. But in case it be not all one to be a Bishop or an Elder, and to be a priest, & so he that is a Priest, is not streight way a Bishop or an Elder: then the order of Priestes is a sundrye thing from the order of Bishops and Elders, in so much that Gabriel Byell in his fire and twentie Lesson sayeth, that the Masling priest hath the highest degree in the policie of the Church. So that it is nothing which they do pretend, that Bishops and Elders were made Priestes by the Lord. In deede we doe reade, that the order of Bishoppes and Elders came from the Lord: but not so of Priests. Wherefore they must proue, that the Lorde did institute Priests in the Churche, when he did institute Bishoppes and

The office of a bishop and Elder.

Elders. The office of a Bishop is, that he be Superintendente in hys Churche, and take the charge of all: whiche is also ẏ office of the Elders, as we maye sée in the Decrées, so there were many Bishoppes of one Churche, as we may sée in the Actes, bycause that there were manye Elders, so the Apostles called themselues Elders. And whereas in the times following ther was one of the Elders chosen to be aboue the rest, it was done, as Hierome writeth, to auoyde Schisme. But this serueth not to priestes, whome they can not for shame call Bishops and Elders.

Dist. nct. 93.

Acts. 20. 1. Pet. 5.

2. & 3. epi. Iohan.

They doe saye, that the Apostles, Bishoppes, and Elders were called Priests in the old Councels and writings of the Fathers, and in ẏ church stories: and they do alleage, Epiphanius, the Epistles of Cassiodorus, Platina, Eusebius, and Dionysius. If we did striue only vpon the name of Prieste, and not rather vppon the priesthode it selfe, which they do chalenge vnto them: they shoulde séeme to say somewhat. But séeyng that the question is not of ẏ name Priest, but of the Popishe priesthode: they must proue that by ẏ name of priesthode, there was ẏ same thing meant at that time, as beganne to be vnderstanded by it afterwardes, ἱερεύς in Gréeke, is a minister of holy thyngs, not he only whiche is consecrated to make sacrifice of hostes: but whosoeuer is set ouer the charge of godlye things. Wherefore they saye, that ἱεράτευμα is the charge of those things whiche do belong vnto God, and ἱερουργός, he that worketh in the holy things. In this sense no doubte the Apostles, Byshoppes, Elders, Pastors, and Doctors, were surely Priestes, bycause that they were appoynted by God vnto the godlye and holy mysteries of the Kyngdome of God. But no mā can readily proue, that they were called Priests in the primitiue Churche. But we do not stande onely vpon the name Prieste, but we doe constantlye denye, that this Popish and Massing priesthode was instituted by the Lord: whereby the sacrificers (receyuing the ceremonie of priestish anoynting from the suffragan Byshop) doe receyue authoritie to cōsecrate for the quicke and dead, and to applye the merite of Christes passion to whome they list. Wherefore we saye, that the same priestishe mediation, which they doe vse in the Churche, as apperteyning peculiarly to the office of a Prieste, can not be proued nor allowed.

Whether that the body and bloud of Christ be offered *to God the Father, at the Masse.*

The vvrdes of the Canon.

They say at the beginning of the Canon of the Masse: Wherfore we do humbly pray and beséeche thée most mercifull Father, by thy sonne Iesus Christe oure Lorde, that thou wilt accepte & blesse these ✠ giftes, these ✠ rewards, these holy ✠ pure sacrifices. &c. Héere is to be considered of what sacrifices they do speake of héere. They do speake not of some one sacrifice, but in the plurall number of manye: wherfore these words can not bée meante of the onely oblation of Christe, specially séeyng that they bée spoken before that there is made an alteration of the

bread

breade into the bodye, and of the Wyne into the bloude, whiche they doe attribute vnto theyr Consecration.

In case they do call the bread and Wine pure Sacrifices, they do it besides the ordinaunce of the Lordes Supper. For Christe did not offer breade and Wyne to God his Father, but hée gaue them vnto hys Disciples, and would haue them to be the Sacramente of his body and bloud.

A Melchisedeck. 14.

They doe alleage to this purpose the historie of Melchisedek, of whom it is redde in Genesis, that he mette with Abraham, when hée returned home, after ẏ slaughter of the Kings of the Eastes Countries, and broughte him forthe breade and wyne, in which fact they doe surmise that they doe fynde a figure of their Masse, bycause that Christe in the Psalme is called a Prieste after the order of Melchisedeck.

Psalmo.

But they shoulde haue marked more diligentlye, that Melchisedeck did not offer vnto God, but broughte forthe vnto Abraham being wéery, bread and wine, wherewith his hoste mighte be refreshed, and that hée dyd it not as the Prieste of God, but as the King of Salem. And the Ebrew worde is not to offer, but to bryng forth. And the text is this: And Melchisedeck King of Salem, broughte forth bread and wine: and he was the Prieste of the high God, and he blessed him, and saide, Blessed be Abraham of the high God, who possesseth heauen and earth. This is the texte. Wherefore in that the common trāslation saith: For he was the Prieste of the most high God: as though that this were the cause, why Melchisedeck brought forth bread and wine, bycause that he was the Prieste of God: it doth not agrée with the truth of the Ebrew text: forasmuch as hée did not that as Priest, but as King. For as prieste, he blessed Abraham: and so the same whiche is in the Ebrew: And he was the Prieste of the high God, is to be referred vnto that which followeth, And he blessed him. For Moses meaning is by an apt diuision, to expresse both the works of a king and of a prieste done by Melchisedek vnto Abraham: therefore he declareth of him first that he was K. of Salem, & that he broughte forthe bread and wine to the méeting of Abraham. Secondlye that he was the priest of the high God, and that as a prieste he blessed Abraham. Wherefore when he should make mention of blessing, he set before, that he was the priest of the high God, least anye man shoulde thinke, that it hadde bin vnaduisedly done. And therefore it is, that the Author of the Epistle to the Ebrewes, when he doth compare the Priesthode of Melchisedek with the Priesthode of Chryste, he maketh no mention of the breade and wine: but he speaketh of the blessing, where as he should chiefly haue spoken of the bread and wine, in case the bringing forthe of them had perteyned anye thing to the priesthode of Melchisedek, and of Christ. So that the Massing priestes can not father theyr offering vpon this historie of Melchisedek, besydes that the bread and wyne can not serue to a propitiatorie Sacrifice, whyche they doe make theyr Masses to be. And what they doe obiecte vnto vs héerein,

Melchisedeck didde not offer bread to the Lorde, but broughte it vnto Abraham.

Hebr. 7.

and

and what our answere is thereunto it appeareth in our boke called *Anticochlam*.

The oblation of the primitiue Churches.

In dede it appeareth, that this was vsed in the primitiue Churches that the richer sort did synde breade, wine, and other things for the refreshing of the powre, at the Communion of the Lordes Supper. For they did receyue and fede the needy at a common table, whiche was for that cause called ἀγάπαι, that is loue: wherof we do reade in the Apologeticus of Tertullia in this wise: Our supper doth declare the cõsideration of it by ỹ name. It is called ἀγάπη whiche in Greke is loue. What charge so euer it standeth in, it is profite and gaynes to be at the coste for Godlinesse sake. For in this refreshing we doe ayde all the nedie, This sayeth he. The lyke matter is touched also by *Pontius Paulinus* in ỹ boke *De Gazophylacio*. And this maner of cõtribution was called an holy, and an acceptable oblation vnto God, as we do reade also, that those things whiche were sent to the Apostle by *Epaphroditus*, for a relief from the Philippians, are called a good sauoure, and an acceptable oblation, and thankefull vnto God. But thys offering is not for some certain men only, as Priestes, but for all that be faithfull: which our massing priestes haue not a greate whyle any longer bestowed among the powre, but began to employ it to the maintenance of their lecherie and wanton lusts. Besydes that, there was no suche thyng attributed vnto thys oblation, as they doe attribute vnto theyr Masse.

Tertullian.

And after the beginning of theyr Canon they saye thus: Remember Lorde thy men seruants and women seruants. N. and N. and all that standeth heere about, whose fayth is knowen vnto thee, and their deuotion is also knowen, for whome we do offer vnto thee, or which do offer vnto thee, this Sacrifice of praise for them, and all theirs, for the redemption of their soules, for the hope of their healthe and saluation, and they do yelde vnto thee, theyr vowes, the euerlasting, liuely, and true God. Heere he maketh mention of a Sacrifice; but it is not suche, that it doth properly agree with their Masse, and that it ought to be offered by them only. For the sacrifice of praise, whereof they doe speake heere is generall vnto all the faithfull, so that it is to be offered of all meyne, as well priuately, as publickly: whiche they doe also testifie, when they say not simply, For whō we doe offer vnto thee; but do adde, Or which do offer vnto thee this sacrifice of praise, for them & al theirs, for the redemption of their soules, for the hope of saluation, &c. Which is nothing else, but which do praise and aduaunce thee, because that thou hast heaped vp vpon them & theirs, many and great benefites, thou hast redeemed theyr soules, and giuen the hope of saluation. Although manye of them do not say this in this sense, but do meane it of them only which haue bought the Masse for their money, whereat they doe stande. They doe apply this sacrifice of praise vnto them, bycause that it is offered by the Massyng Priest in their name & behoofe, albeit that they thinke of no suche matter, and be most vnapt and vnmete of all to sacrifice any sacrifice of

The wordes of the Canon.

fice of praise vnto the Lord.

Whatsoeuer they make of it now, it is a cleere case, that the Lords supper was called by the old fathers the *Eucharistia*, that is to saye, gyuing of thankes, and sacrifice of praise: bycause that the faithfull did at that time vse to giue solemne thankes for the grace of their redemption obteyned by Christ. Whereunto the Lord had respect, when he sayd: Do this in the remembrance of me. And the Apostle saying: As ofte as you do eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, you do declare the Lords death, vntil he come. And this sacrifice of praise doth peculiarly appertayne vnto the people of the new Testamẽt, so that after the sacrifice of our redemptiõ, it is to be offered in the Churche of Christe continually vnto the Lorde our redeemer and sauioure. And this God reserued vnto himselfe, when he did reiect the sacrifices of the Iews, as we maye see in the fiftie Psalme, where the Prophete singeth in the person of God, saying: He which doth sacrifice praise, doth honor me. And Augustine alleaging this place of the Prophete, sayeth, that the sacrifice of the newe Testament, is the sacrifice of praise. And Tertullian also against the Iewes, saith that the pure oblation is that, whiche accordyng vnto the prophecie of Malachie, is offered in euery place, from the rising of the sunne, vntill his going downe.

But this kinde of sacrifice also is not of some certayne men onely, shauen and annoynted, but of all Christian men, whiche being mindfull of their saluation whiche they haue receyued, doe gyue thankes therefore vnto the Lord, of whome also only it may be offered aright. For to the sinners the Lord sayeth: Why doest thou take my Testamente into thy mouth. And it is written also: The praise is not comely in the mouth of a sinner. Wherefore the Massing priestes did not much like with thys Sacrifice, but they deuised an other thing to be taken for the substaunce of the Masse, and to be offered by al, as well the euill as the good.

The wordes of the Canon.

This they do plainly declare, whē they say after the Consecration, We doe offer vnto thy noble Maiestie of thy gifts and giuings, a pure ✠ holk, a holy ✠ holk, an vnspotted ✠ holk, the holy bread of ✠ euerlasting life, and cuppe of ✠ euerlasting saluation. This can not be vnderstanded of the earthly bread and wine of the table. For neyther the bread can be called the bread of euerlasting lyfe, nor the Cuppe can not be called the cuppe of euerlasting saluation. Neither the Massers themselues do grāt that there remayneth still bread and wine vpon the Altare after the consecration, but they do hold, that they oughte to be taken for Christe hymselfe, for asmuche as he is the breade of euerlasting life: and so they doe affirme, that they do offer vp Christ himselfe at the Masse.

Fyrste, whatsoeuer they doe affirme, in case that they list to cõfesse that whiche is manifestly true, they can not doe that at the Masse with any truth, whiche Christ neyther did himselfe at his last Supper, nor dyd institute, nor commaunde vs to doe. Reade those things which be writtē by Mathewe, Marke, Luke, & Paule (for else there is nothing to be found of this matter in the writings of the

Cuan-

Euangelistes and the Apostles) and see whether that Christe did at ỳ supper offer his bodye and bloud vnto God the father, and ordeyne that we should do the same. He brake bread, he gaue thankes, he gaue it vnto his disciples, and said: Take, eate, this is my body, which shal be giuē for you. And likewise he distributed the cup among his Disciples, saying: Take and drinke all of this: This is the cuppe of the new Testamente in my bloud, which shall be shedde for you, and for many, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. And in both places he added, Do this in the remembrance of me. I praye you what is there in these wordes that may be applyed to the offering of Christes body and bloud at the Masse: Christ offered his body and bloud not at the supper, but the day following vpon the Crosse. And he did not commaund vs to doe that which he should do vpon the Crosse, but that we shoulde doe ỳ in remembrance of him, which he had done at supper. And why it is not conuenient, that we shoulde do that in thys matter, whiche Christe nother did at the supper nor commaunded to be done by vs, let them heare Cyprian, who writeth thus: Wherefore if Christe only ought to be hearde, we must not regarde what anye person before vs hathe thoughte good to bee done, but what Christe, who is aboue all, dyd before all. Neyther must we follow the custome of man, but the truth of God: seyng that God speaketh by Esay the Prophet, and sayeth: They doe worship in vayne, teachyng the commaundementes and doctrynes of men. And the Lord in the Gospel, sayeth: You doe refuse the commandemente of God, to establishe youre tradition. And a little after: To expounde the iustifyings and Testamente of the Lord, and not to doe the same whiche the Lord did: what is it elſe, but to refuse his wordes and to despise the Lordes discipline, and to committe, not earthly, but spirituall robberies, and adulteries, when a man doth steale the Lordes wordes, and doings out of the truthe of the Gospell, and dothe corrupt and adulterate Gods doings; This sayth he. Therefore seeyng that they can not make the oblation of their Masse authentically, neyther by the doing, neyther by the institution of the Lorde, what remayneth to be considered of theyr doynges elſe, but that, whereas they doe sette forthe with intolerable headinesse, the tradition and doctrine of manne, vnto the faithefull in the Churche of Christe, they doe corrupte and adulterate therewithall the commaundement of the Lorde?

Cyprianus. Lib. 2. Epi. 3.

Christ not offred.

Heb.

Secondly, the offering vp of Christes body and bloud is of that sorte, that beyng once perfourmed and done vppon the Crosse, it can not bee done againe. For Christ by offering himselfe once, is dead, and risen agayne: and it can not be, that he shoulde dye hereafter agayne. Neyther can the offering of Christ whiche doth serue for the forgyuenesse of synnes, bee without bloud. As we may see to the Hebrewes. The oblation and death of Christe be so linked togither: that the one can not be wrought indeede without the other. Therefore they which do goe about to offer vp christ againe in very deede, and that for the forgiuenesse of sinnes, they do by the same reason also goe about to crucifie him agayne. Manye do so truly in crucifying of the sonne of God towardes themselues: but no man can crucifie Christe agayne in his owne person, no nor offer him nother. And thereuppon it is, that hee hathe consummate, finished and made perfecte them whyche be sanctifyed, by one oblation for euermore: bycause no doubte that the offeryng of hym requyred to haue a bloudye deathe: And as for hymselfe, hee coulde not dye oftentymes, but once alone.

Thirdly, Christ can not be offered by any, but by himselfe: for as much as he is the only mediator betwixte God and vs. It behoued that not only he shoulde be the offering for oure reconcilement, but also that he shuld bee offered by no other, but by hymselfe, as being the chiefe Priest. I say offered, bicause I speake not simply or only of the delinery, in that he was deliuered by God the father, by Judas, by the Iewes, and by Pilate: but I speake of the offering also, whereas hee offered hymselfe vnto God the father, as a Priest, mediator, and reconciler.

Furthermore, it can not bee that the offering shoulde be greater and more acceptable vnto God, than hee whiche dothe offer it: whiche for all that muste needes bee so, in case the Priest should offer vp Christe in hys Masse. And an oblation or offering dothe please God in respecte of hym which doth offer it, but if he whyche maketh oblation bee not accepted of God, then can not the oblation be accepted. The sacrifice of Abel was well lyked, bycause of the person whiche did offer it: The sacrifice of Cain was misliked, bycause ỳ Caine himselfe was not liked. So the oblation of Christ (I meane the bodye of Christ) deliuered vnto death, and hys bloud thedde vppon the crosse, dothe please God the father, bycause of his onely begotten and onely beloued sonne whiche doth offer it, for whose sake it is so acceptable, that it is effectuall for the redemption of all mankind. By these arguments, wherin is neither doubt nor darkenesse, it appeareth sufficiently, that it cā not be that Christe shoulde be offered agayne. And now we must declare also whether that it be needefull or necessarie, that Christe should be often offered or no, notwithstandyng in that we haue declared, that Christ can not be offered more than once, it is sufficiently declared, that it is not needefull nor necessarie to be done. For vnlesse those things whyche bee necessarie to be done, may be done, they be without cause necessary, I meane of those thinges whiche wee oughte to do. But let vs by some speciall argument declare that it is not necessarie, that Christe should bee oftentimes offered.

It is not necessary that Christ should be offered agayne.

The offering vp of Christe was done for our sinnes, and thereby our sinnes be forgiuen vs. For so he sayeth: Whiche shall be shedde for you and for many to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. *Ergo* when the forgiuenes of our sins is once gotten, it is not necessarie, that the offering of Christe be iterated. And that is proued by that which we do reade in the Epistle to the Hebrewes: But whereas there is forgiuenesse of them (that is to saye) of sinnes, there is no more

Heb. 10.

Any

any offering for sinne. This proposition is so certaine and manifest, that it needeth no proofe, whatsoeuer the aduersaries do alleage to the contrary. This is the nature of Christes Sacrifice, that beyng once done, it hath finished and perfourmed ẏ worke as well of our redemption, as of oure reconcilemente, so that there is no cause, why it shoulde be iterated, after that it hathe once purchased for vs the forgiuenesse of sinnes.

And that the same is obtayned by the bloude of the newe and euerlasting Testament, it is so thought in the place before alledged: and the holy spirite himselfe doth testifye it vnto vs also, where as he sayd long before: This is the Testament which I will make towardes them, after those dayes (sayeth the Lorde) giuing my lawes into their heartes, and I will write them in their myndes, and I will not remember their sinnes and wickednesse anye more. It appeareth that this was spoken of the newe Testament, out of the Chapiter of Ieremie, wherby it is proued, that God will not call to remembraunce the sinnes of his faithfull, whome he woulde haue to be partakers of the newe Testament. And this grace doth the Apostle diligently confirme, by the vertue and efficacie of Christes oblation, which being done once vpõ the Crosse, hath made perfecte for euermore, them that bee sanctified. In whiche will (sayeth he) we be sanctified, by the offering of Christes body once done. And euery Priest doth stande vp to do sacrifice dayly, and offering oftentymes the selfesame hostes, whiche can neuer take sinnes away. But this Priest offering but an host for sinnes, sitteth for euer at the right hand of God, abiding that whiche is to come, vntill that his enimies be made his foote stole. For by one only offring he hath made them perfecte for euer whyche be sanctifyed.

Hieremie.31.

And according to this, he frameth an exhortation and sayth: Therfore brethren, seeing that we haue libertie to enter into the holye places by the bloude of Christe, by that waye whiche he did dedicate vnto vs newe and liuely, by the vayle, (that is to saye) by his flesche: and seing that we haue a great Priest, the President of Gods house, let vs repaire vnto him with a true hearte in assuredenesse of faith, sprinkled in our hearts, and shaking off the euill conscience, and washed in our body with cleane water, lette vs keepe the confession of oure hope, not wauering: For he is faithfull whiche hath promised, &c. It appeareth therefore by the premysses, that there is forgiuenesse of sinnes in the newe Testament, and that the consciences of the faithfull be clensed by the only oblation of Christes bodye once done, and that therby we haue an open entrie into the holy places, euen vnto the verie throne of grace. Wherefore we doe conclude, that there is in the newe Testament no cause why Christe should be once againe or oftentymes offered for our sinnes: forasmuche as there is obteyned vnto vs whiche do beleue in the bloud of the newe Testamente, forgiuenesse of oure sinnes, the accomplishment of Saintes, the clensing of our consciences, and meanes to enter into the holye places to the throne of grace, with assured boldnesse,

nesse, by that only oblation of bym done once vpon the crosse.

Heb.10.

Hærewithall agreeth that whych Chrysostome sayeth: Likewise as a medicine in case it be so effectuall, that being once taken, it riddeth the disease, needeth not to be vsed more than once, else it declareth that it is not effectuall, if it must be taken oftentimes: after the same sort is thys oblation of Christ also. The sacrifices of the olde Testamente, were dayly renewed, bycause they were vneffectuall: but the oblation of Christe once made, hathe giuen perfecte health, and saluation, so that it is needefull to reuoke it agayne dayly for the forgiuenesse of sinnes, as the aduersaries do teach.

The obiections of the Papists, here.

They doe obiect whatsoeuer they thynke may serue for the defence of their sacrifice, to kepe stil their great gaine and marting. I speake of them which do without shame practise the Masse Markettes in the Churche. I know that there be many which are ledde with a zeale without knowledge, which do thinke that they doe God the most highest seruice in religion, when they doe maintepne the Masse. I beseech the Lord to open their eyes, that they maye acknowledge the truth, and leaue off to fight for, and to defend lies.

It hath bin euer (say they) the office of the Priest to offer for ẏ sinnes of the people, according to this saying: Euery Bishop taken from men, is appointed for men, in those things which be to godward, to offer giftes and sacrifices for sinnes, whiche can also haue compassion on them that do amisse: for asmuche as he is also compassed with infirmitie: & therfore musse offer also for himselfe in lyke sorte, as he doth for the people: We doe aunswere that these things were spoken of the high Priest of the olde Testament, and of the lawish sacrifices, and that they can not be referred vnto the new Testament, nor to any kinde of priestes not expressly ordeyned of God. Under the lawe the priests did offer for the sinnes of the people, but theyr Sacrifices did not take away sinnes, nor they dyd not cleanse the consciences of them, that did offer them, which things doe belong vnto the sacrifice of Christ only. What doth this serue to ẏ tymes of the new Testament, in whych our sinnes be wiped away by the onely sacrifice of Christ, so that there is no other host remaynyng necessarye for our sinnes.

Hebr.10.

Secondly, they doe alledge also ẏ place of Malachie: I haue no pleasure in you, nor I will receiue no reward at your hande. For from the East to the west, my name is greate among the nations, & in euery place there is sacrificed & offered vnto my name a clean oblation. The prophet (say they) in this place did foreshewe the ceasing of the sacrifices of the law, & the institution of ẏ sacrifice of ẏ new law, ẏ is to say, of christs body whiche is euery where offred at the Masse as a cleane oblatiõ. First this place is not a prophecie of ẏ sacrifice of ẏ new Testament to come, but it doth rebuke the Priests of the lawe, which offered the lord through their heinous sins: and he sayth ẏ their sacrifices be not accepted of God, bycause hée was displeased wyth the Priestes: so that those things which hée sayde hére, doe make more to

Malach.1.

A cleane oblation.

the reprose than to the commendation of the Masling sacrificers: whose sacrifices in case that they hadde bin institute by God, as they of the lawe were, yet for all that they should not haue bin of any waight in the sighte of God. I doe muche maruell what they meane, whiche doe alleage thys place for their sacrifice, seeing that God sayth by expresse wordes: I haue no delight in you, neyther I will receyue any reward at your hand. *Ergo* God dothe not receyue offerings of them, whose persons hée can not abyde. He had no pleasure in the sacrifices of the Iewes. Why? Bycause they did beskowde the offering of their Sacrifices not for hys sake, but for their owne gayne. Behold the studie and deuise of the whole order of the Priesthode that is nowe adayes, and finde me one among them all, bée they neuer so many, that dothe not sacrifice for hys bellies sake, and for idleneese: But they reply: Albeit that we do displease the Lordes eyes, yet for all that the sacrifice which we do offer doth please, I meane the bodye and bloud of Christ, that is Christe hymselfe. Ah, vile men, what and if God should saye vnto you: I knowe Christe my sonne, but what be you? hée offered hymselfe vnto mée once for the sinnes of the worlde, who byddeth you offer hym agayne a newe?

Againe, if this place of Malachie must be vnderstanded of the oblation of the masse: then ther was Masling in the Prophetes dayes, and that in euery place. But if ye wil not haue it spoken of the time whith was then present when it was spoken, but of the time which was thé to come, (whiche is nothing so for all that) it followeth, that after Christes byrth now adayes there is Masling in euerye place, frō the East to the West: which for all that was neuer so, nor neuer shall be, till the worldes ende. But this is well vnderstanded of the sacrifice of prayse, whereby the name of God is glorified thorough-out all the worlde of all the elected. And they saye that it is written also in Malachie: And he shall purge the sonnes of Leuy, and he shall purifie them like Golde and siluer, and they shall offer vnto the Lorde sacrifices in righteousnesse, and the sacrifice of Iuda, and Hierusalem shall please the Lord, as the dayes of the worlde, and the old yeares. Loe, say they, the sauiour hath purged the Priestes of the Gospell to offer sacrifices, not in bloud but in righteousnesse: that is to say, the Lordes supper. I answere: He speaketh not héere of anye other Priestes, but of the Priestes of the law, as the Prophete began héere euen at the first, and therefore he calleth them playnely the sonnes of Leuy. Wherefore it is wrested, and vntruly handled when they doe applye this vnto the Priestes of the Gospel. God threateneth the Priestes of the law, that he will trie and cleanse thē: that is to saye, take out the wicked from them, as the drosse by tryall is taken from siluer, that when they be gone, the rest may sacrifice the cleaner. He speaketh not of the alteration of the lawish sacrifices, but of the cleansing and fanning out of the Priestes. And whereas hée sayeth: There shall bée some offering Sacrifices in righteousnesse, he dothe not exclude the lawish sacrifices, bycause that

Iere. 4.

Malach. 3.

Mat. 26. offer sacrifices vnto the Lord.

that they were bloudye, but he foreshewethe that the verye same shall be offered more deuoutely and purely than they were before. If the sacrifice of righteousnesse had bin the oblation of the Masse, then Dauid would haue hadde commaunded the Iewes in his time to haue song Masses, whereas he saide: Offer yée the sacrifices of righteousnesse. But when it is added héere, As the dayes of the worlde, and the olde yeares, is it not playnely specified, that these thinges are not to be vnderstanded that the sacrifice of the new Testamente should be in the Masse, vnlesse that we will say, that there hathe bin Masling from the dayes of ỳ worlde, and in the olde yeares? Tertullian doth expound this place of Malachie to speake of the sacrifice of prayse.

4 Yet they do lay vnto vs ỳ place of the twelfth Chapiter of Daniel, when the continuall sacrifice is taken awaye, and the abhomination left vnto desolation, a thousand dayes twoo hundred and ninetie. The continuall sacrifice (say they) is the Masse, which shall generally cease almoste foure yeares at the comming of the abhomination, that is to saye, of Antichrist, when the Churches shall be desolate. Therefore they whiche in particulare Churches do cause thys continuall sacrifice of the Masse to ceasse, be the forerunners of Antichrist. I do answere: The continual sacrifice was the morning and euening sacrifice of the law, which was taken away before the destruction of Hierusalem. The abhomination of desolation is expounded by Hierome in this wise: It may be eyther absolute taken of Antichrist, eyther of the Image of Cesar, whiche Pilate had set in the Temple, eyther of the Image of Adrian on horsebacke, whiche standeth vntill this presente daye in the verye *Sancta Sanctorum*. They called the abhomination also, after the olde writing, an Idoll: and therefore it is added, Of desolation, bycause the Idoll was set in the desolate and destroyed Temple. Thys sayth he. And Chrysostome: He hath sente them agayne (sayeth he) vnto Danyell. And he calleth the abhomination, the Image of him, whyche should destroy the Citie: in the whiche béeing desolate, and the temple ouerthrowen, he did sette it vp, wherefore he called it also Of desolation. This sayeth he. But there bée some that saye that the Prophete spake of ỳ desolatiō & destructiō of ỳ Temple, done by Antiochus, whiche endured thrée yeares and a halfe, as we may sée, in the Machabees. And what abhomination of desolation Christe meant, we haue declared in our Commentaries vpon Mathew. So that it is asmuch as nothing, ỳ oure aduersaries do alleage out of this place of Daniel, for ỳ defence of their Masse.

Chrysost.

Mach. 1. 2. & 4.

Math. 24.

5 They doe also alleage the writtings of the Fathers, which after the manner of theyr tymes, doo call the Lordes supper The sacrifice of Christes bodye, But they spake neyther of the Popishe Masse, neyther after the proper, but in the improper sense, giuing that the name of a sacrifice, which is not a sacrifice, but a calling to remembraunce of the onely sacrifice of Christ. So Chrysostom saith: What then? Doe not wée also offer dayly? Wée do offer, but so that wée doe make a remembraunce of hys

The writtings of the fathers.

deathe. This is one offering, and not many. And howe is it one, and not many? Bycause that was once offered, and that is carried into ỹ *Sancta Sanctorum*, and thys is the figure of that. And a little after: This is done to the remembrance of the same, which was then done. For this (sayd he) doe you in the remembrance of me. We doe not make an other offering, as the chiefe Priest did, but we make euer the selfe same: yea rather we doe make a remembrance of the offering. This sayeth he. And dothe he not teache vs playnely, that the same whiche the Lord commaunded vs to doe, is not properly a sacrifice, but a remembrance of the only sacrifice? Wherefore we will not suffer oure aduersaries, to call theyr Masse a sacrifice of the Lordes body and bloud, in such sort that the bodye and bloud of the Lord shoulde not be able to be attributed vnto the Lords supper, nor yet that they shoulde ascribe vnto their Masse an oblation for the quicke and the dead, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. But lette vs procede to the rest.

III. Whether that by the Masse all kynd of good things be obteyned of God, and whether the forgiuenesse of sinnes be bestowed with all the Merite of Christes death.

Gabriel Byel Lection. 26.

Gabriel Byel writeth of thys matter: You must diligentlye marke, that the Priest by his office, is the messenger of the Churche vnto God for the people, and therefore when he offereth his sacrifice in the person of the Church, he may apply ỹ fruite and vertue thereof peculiarlye to some one or more. For this authoritie hee receyued at hys institution, when it was sayde vnto hym, at such time, as the chalice and breade was deliuered vnto him: Receyue power to offer for the quicke and the dead. Wherefore his office is not only to offer vnto God the prayers of the Churche, and the sacrifice in theyr name, but also for as muche as he hathe the chiefe degree in the policie of the Church, he may by the reason of his order of priesthode, determine and appointe the vertue of the sacrifice, and oblation. And further in the same place: For the vnderstanding of these things, we must nowe conceyue, that the merite or vertue of the Masse, may be vnderstanded to be auaylable in three degrees: that is to say, most specially, most generally, and in a meane sort, or specially. After the firste way, that is to saye, most specially, it is auaylable only to him, which saith the Masse at the left way, if he do it worthily: for asmuche as it is auaylable vnto him, as ỹ merite of euerlasting life, and of his essentiall reward, bicause of his charitable motion towards God, that hee will say Masse of his charitie, and finally for Gods sake, whome hee loueth aboue al things. This fruite he can not apply vnto an other man: for albeit that one maye deserue for an nother the first grace, or the increase of grace, yet for all that no man can deserue for an other the essentiall reward. For that is the same whych is aunswerable vnto the personall merite of euerye man, accordyng vnto that: Their workes do followe them. Most generally it is auaylable vnto

That the sacrifice may apply and determine the vertue of the Mass specially.

They say that the vertue of the Mass is auailable, most specially most generally, and in a meane sorte.

vnto the whole Churche, and from this vayle or gayne the Priest ought to exclude no man, at the least way, if he be a member of the Churche. The thirde way it is auaylable vnto him, vnto whome it is specially applyed by him that sayeth the Masse: and as concerning that auaile which is in a meane sort, there be appointed certayne special prayers and collects for diuers persons, and for sundrye thinges to be obteyned, and dyuers offices of the Masse for ỹ quick and the dead, by the Church, whyche hauing the spirite of hir spouse, doth not erre, in so ordering the matter. And yet this order were in vayne, if it shuld be auailable equally vnto al.

And as concerning this vayle or valne of the Masse, there is in thys meane degree an application appointed by the ordinance of the Churche, which doth institute in sundry parishes sundry parishe Priests: whyche are bounde to applye the Churches and sing Masse, specially for their parishioners quicke and deade. So there be sundrye menne instituted in sundry Colledges, benefices and prebends, to celebrate, specially for their founders, and for them for whome they be bounde by their foundations to pray for, then for thē, vnto whome they be bound by naturall right and kindnelle, as for their parents and other benefactors, which do giue them things both temporall and spirituall. But whereas there is no such bāde, it is at the libertie of the Priest, to applye it vnto whome he lift, in thys third degree: Whether it be to one alone, or to many equally, or to many not equally by euen parcels, but in sundrye degrees. But how muche is due to this man or to that man, in this or that degree, he onely knoweth which did institute this office, and in him there is offering made vnto the father for all, and the fruite of the Masse is deuided and parted, according to the determination of ỹ priest.

Lect. 27.

Item, Neyther dothe the malice (saith he) of the priest, excommunication or suspension, hinder in this maner of application. For they doe not take away the vertue of the sacrifice, whiche it hathe by vertue of the worke which is wrought. For as touching this vertue, that sacrifice hath not his efficacie by the goodnes of the Priest, but by the institution of Christe, and the merite of the Church, whose messenger the Priest is, when he saith Masse. Thys sayeth Gabryell.

1 Vnto this geare we aunswere briefly. First that they muste proue where this office (as they call it) to offer Christe vnto God the father, and to apply the merite of his death with all manner of good thinges, at the libertie of the Priest beyng the highest office in the policie of the Church, was institute eyther by the Lord, eyther by his Apostles.

2 Secondlye, let them teache vs, how that can be a meritorious sacrifice to deserue by the very worke as it is wrought, forgiuenesse of sinnes, and Gods grace: whiche is neyther instituted of God, nor taughte by his Apostles. The holy scriptures do acknowledge but one meritorious sacrifice alone, wherby we haue grace, forgiuenesse of our sinnes, and euerlasting saluation: and it is that whiche was offered vppon the Crosse. Thirdly, whereas they saye, that the

priest may at his pleasure apply the grace and vertue of Christes Sacrifice to whome he list, it is as easily denyed, as spoken. The minister of Christe doth dispense the worde and sacramentall signes: but Christ doth himselfe apply the grace and vertue of hys sacrifice to whome hee will.

Fourthly, wheras they doe saye, that this sacrifice of the Masse hath efficacie by the merite of the Church, it is spoken to the iniury and derogation of Christes deathe. For all the whole merite not onelye of oure redemption and reconciliatiō, purchased vpon the Crosse for vs, but of the application of it also; dothe belong vnto Christe onely, and not vnto the Churche. The Churche is redeemed, and therefore in thys matter there belongeth no glorying nor boasting of merite vnto the Church, but gyuing of thankes. No man in ỹ world may be partner with Christe of the glory of merite. Fiftly, let vs consider also the manner of this applicatiō. First, the Masse priest dothe apply the merite of euerlasting life vnto himselfe, by vertue of the worke which he worketh. And this he dothe most specially. For orderly charitie (say they) begimneth at hir selfe; according vnto this saying.

Si fueris quarum diuisor particularum,
Hanc discas artē meliorē da tibi partē.

That is to say:

If thynges in partes for to diuide authorised thou be,
Learne well thys arte, that the best part thou alwayes keepe to thee.

For he that deuideth the partes, must learne to take the beste share vnto himselfe: So that a man maye wonder, how it were possible that any of them should miscary, whyche cā in one halfe houres space appoynt himselfe euerlasting life by saying a Masse. And what dothe Gabriell meane in adding. At the lest if he celebrate worthily, seeing that this merite, by their iudgemente, standeth not in worthinesse of the Maker, but in the institution of Christe and the merite of the Church, neyther is any thing at all hindered by the wickednesse of the Priest: Is there a respect of worthinesse to be had in celebrating when he dothe apply the merite of euerlasting life vnto himselfe: and is there no respecte of worthinesse to be had, when he doth applye, I wote not what grace, vnto others: Dothe the vertue of the worke wrought not profite hym when hee worketh for himselfe, and doth it for all that profite when he worketh for others, although he worketh it vnworthily: If this be the manner of the worke, I see not what certaintie there can be of this merite to him whiche sacrificeth for himselfe: forasmuch as he cāneuer be assured that he dothe worthily celebrate, Secondly he doth apply the vertue of the Masse most generally vnto all the members of the Churche. But there is no greate accompte made of this application, for it warmeth not their kitchen. It maketh a gay face to set forthe the dignity of the office of priests, that they haue power to sacrifice for all Christian men, as well quicke as dead: and to applye the merite of Christes sacrifice vnto them all. What is the better way to gain, that they do offer

Christe

Christe specially for their founders, benefactors, parentes, kinsfolke and friendes, and for them whiche doe bupe the Masse with theyr money, & that they do bestow the vertue of the Masse vpon them. Out of this heade spring and fountayne did flowe that innumerable multitude of the priuate Masses, of Massing priests, prebends, chauntries, and other foundations. And therupon it came, ỹ suche as were become riche by spoyle, extortion, vsurye, or any other vnlawful trades: whensoeuer that deathe drewe on, and that they felte the remorse of their consciences, and fell into the feare of hell fyer: they fledde to the defence of Masses, and founded certaine Masses, as they call it, and endewed them with yearely Chauntries or reuenewes. And thereof came also that filthy and foule marketting of Masses, when after the burial of the dead, they do for a pēce of money celebrate as many Masses, as the superstitious creatures themselues desire to haue.

But now if I may be so bolde as to aske them: In case that it is in the libertie of the priest, to apply the vertue of this sacrifice particularly vnto whome he listeth, & that to the redemption of soules: why doth he not then so redeeme that soule, for which he doth sacrifice out of hande with one Masse, that there shoulde nēd no more. To what purpose is it to Masse oftentimes, for the deliuery of one pore soule, if the vertue of one Masse be sufficient for the redemption of many soules, and that the priest may specially applye it, at his owne lust to whome he will? Is the vertue of the sacrifice of Christ insufficient for the deliuerie of one soule, if it be but once applyed? or be not the priests assured how farforth it is applied aright, and sufficiently? They saye that Christ onely dothe knowe what will serue for euery man: and yet for all that they do adde therevnto, that he doth dispence the vertue of the Masse, according to the application & determination of the sacrificing Priest. So sayeth Gabryell: I beseeke you can we call them any better than most mischeuous deceyuers & falce packers, which do stand vpon such vncertainties, and do not onely teache, but also sell so slipper ware in Christes Churche, and that in so earnest a matter.

2 Secondly, lette them tell vs the reason, why the rich mans soule that must be deliuered out of that purgatorie, which they haue deuised, should haue nēde of any more Masses, thā the pore mans soule, which they doe redeeme with one Masse alone: Yea rather they care not for the redeeming thereof, although they may do it with one Masse, vnlesse there bee some money to bee gotten thereby. When there dyeth a rich man, there is not an altare in the Churche, but there be Masses at them all, one still after an nother, and that not only at the buriall, but at the seuenth day, at the thirtie daye, yea, and the yeares day, to be payde by the heyres or executors: which are compelled still to paye, leaste theyr yearely gayne, (whyche they haue appoynted to remaine for euer) shoulde decay. Bee the riche mennes synnes more greeuous before GOD than the pore mennes sinnes, that they can not bee quickely cleansed by the vertue of the

Masse:

VVhy they saye the soules without Masse, so hurtfull vnto vs.

VVhy the rich mans soule hath neede of more Masses than the poore mās soule.

Masse: or is there more good to bee done for the Priests at the buriall of the rich, than of the poore? It is euen so.

The more is bestowed vpon Masses, the more Masses there needeth.

So that it followeth, that ye more cost that there is bestowed in Masses, the more Masses it is neede to haue: and the lesse cost that there is bestowed, the fewer sacrifices there needeth at the funeralles of ye deade. And therof doth arise this prouerbe, No peny, no pater noster. And a gayne, Small prayers, tyll we know who shall pay vs. Thus these market Mediatours do either vtterly despise the soules of the poore, or else they doe quickly dispatche them, passing them lightely ouer with a fumbled Masse or two: but they runne by heapes to the funeralls of the riche, as Rauens to a carren, and they doe fayne that they will deliuer theyr soules with their often yterating of their Masses.

How the soules of the dead in the Apostles tyme could be saued, when the Masse was vnknowen.

Thirdly, I would aske them this also, how it came to passe that the Apostles neyther knewe any thyng of this vertue of the Masse, nor taught the Churches nothyng therof: so that it is to be maruelled, what shift there was in their tymes to saue the faythfull. For we doe not reade any where in the holye Scriptures, that they vsed to sacrifice for the quicke and the dead. We doe reade of the breakyng of breade of the Lordes Supper, and of the Communion of the Lordes body and bloud: but wee doe not reade of the sacrifice and application of the Masse. And why that after this opinion of the sacrifice of the Masse was broughte into the Churches, the number and multitude of Masses toke not place immediately, but that there was vsed fyrste but one Masse in a daye, and that vppon the Sundayes, and afterwardes vppon the holye dayes, and at length dayly: so that in the olde Abbeyes, though there were there neuer so greate a multitude of Monkes, yet there was but one Priests in the house, and but one Masse in a weeke. It can not bee denyed, but that there was neyther so great a multitude of Priestes nor of Masses in our forefathers dayes, as there hathe bin in their tyme that hathe succeeded them. Were not our fathers trowe you as religious as they that came after them? Or dyd they not vnderstande thys vertue of the applying of the Masse? Or was not the number of them so greate which were meete to say Masse, by cause of the yoke of chastitie that was layde vppon them? Or dis they not yet knowe that chastitie was charged vppon the Massers, to thys intente onely, that there shoulde bee pretended a singular couloure or countenaunce of holynesse, whereby thys Masse myghte haue the more estimation and name? not to the intente that there should be euer a whit the more perfecter holinesse of lyfe, which doth not consist in abstayning from mariage, but in lawfull wedlocke, and so it was in the olde fathers dayes, and may be also in these our dayes. And therefore among the Priests this saying was muche sette by, that it was Sainte Bernardes rule: If not honestly and chastly, yet wisely and warely, that all the world perceyue them not.

Si non caste, tamen caute.

Besides that, the vse of concubins was not yet admitted, whiche was

allowed afterwardes among the banishers and forswearers of lawfull wedlocke. Or was the effect of the Masse more effectuall at that tyme: so that there needed not so greate a multitude of Massers? or were there not so many and so fatte prebendes or chaunteries for the Massers, as there hath bene founded since euery where, through the superstition of the common people? For there is an order that no man should be admitted to the degree of this Priesthod, vnlesse that he haue some prebende or chaunterie whereby he may be fedde and maintained in idlenesse.

Lastly, let the Papists aunswere me, howe he can haue neede of this sacrifice of the Masse to be deliuered out of purgatorie, whiche hath purchased and bought him for his monie the promise of euerlasting life by the Popes pardons: so that by the vertue of them, he beyng absolued by his confessor at the poynte of death, shall immediatly without all doubte goe pure and cleane, not into the fyre of Purgatory, but clyme vp vnto the ioyes of heauen. If the Popes marchandise be approued to be good and effectuall, they do thrust the Massers quite out of the doores. If the Pope by his pardons do conuey the soule of the dead man immediatly vnto heauen: what good shall the Priestes doe him with his Masses? And in case that notwithstanding the Popes pardons, we haue neede still of Masses to deliuer suche a silly soule: then muste the Pope needes be a decepuer, and his pardons but baggage and trifles. But if we haue no neede of Masses, then is the masking Priestes a decepuer, and his masses but meere trifles. Thus that saying of Peter is verified in the one of them, yea truely in them bothe: They shall make marchandise of you with fained wordes. It is a wonder to see how the order of Priesthode can away with the Pope, which sendeth out his Bulles like a fishers angle, and selleth euery where in the Churche for monie the assured deliuerance of soules out of hande, before that there be any sacrifice of the masse made for them: and so decayeth and maketh theyr office to be starke naught. On the other side, it is as muche to be maruelled at, why the Pope dothe not stryke the masking priests with the lightnyng of excommunication starke dead, whiche doe vtter their Masses also vnto them, whome he hath absolued by his pardons from all their sinnes, at the very poynt of death, and conueyed vp vnto heaue by his authoritie. For in that that they do presume to sing masse for them also: what doe they else, but condemne the Popes pardons of falsehode and deceyte, and withall do chalenge vnto themselues this office of deliuering of soules?

The history of a certaine shoomaker.

These maters be so manifest, that without the light of Goddes worde, very shomakers and coblers may vnderstande them. When Martine Luther in the begiming of his race, began to dispute agaynst the Popes pardons, for that that Leo the Pope, had sent a certayne Friar with the marchaundise of his pardons, to bee solde euery where in Almaigne, and promysed forgiuenesse of sinnes and euerlastyng saluation vnto all them that would by them, & solde withall

at a pryce a pardō to eat flesh, chese, milke and egges, whiche was in the 1517. yeare: It chaunced at Hagenow, that a certayne shomakers wife, for a peece of golde, bought hir a Bull of these pardons, that shee might be the better assured to be saued, and escape the fire of Purgatorie, and goe streight to heauen as some as hir soule were out of hyr body: For so that Bulle made hyr a promisse vnder the full power of the vicare of Christe. A whyle after, the woman began to be sicke, and was like to dye. And forasmuch as shee was out of hope of this presente lyfe, shee sents for a Frier, and shewed him the Popes Bull: and when shee had made him the confession of hir sinnes, she receyued full absolution of them, and so died. Hir husbande was not content that hys wyfe had gyuen a peece of golde for the Bull. Notwithstanding he saw hys wyfe bestowed to the earth: but as for those things (whiche the custome was,) shoulde be done in the Churche for hyr soules health, hee was at a poynt. Hee cared not for them, nor would haue none of them.

When the Curate of the parish vnderstood it, he was mislontent with all, and complayned vpon the shomaker to the head ruler of ỹ towne, that he was a contemner of Christes religion, and vngodly towardes his wyfe that was dead. The shomaker was sente for to come to the magistrate, and he toke the Popes Bul with him, and made his appearance. The Burgemaister sayde vnto him: Is thy wyfe dead? Ye saide he, shee is departed. What hast thou done for hyr (sayth the Magistrate) nowe that shee is dead? Mary (sayth he) I haue buried hir body, and commended hyr soule vnto God. Then sayde the Magistrate, Hast thou done nothing else? Hast thou had no care to haue hadde Masses song for the sauyng of hyr soule? No sayde the shomaker, I haue no care of that geare, for shee hath no neede to be saued by Masses, for that that shee was immediately conueyed to heauen, Conueyed to heauen (sayd the Magistrate)? Howe arte thou sure of that? I am well assured of it (sayth he) for I haue an assured and a trusty testimony thereof. Hast thou an assured testimonial thereof, and worthy to be credited sayde the Magistrate, that thy wyfe is in heauen? Shewe mee that testimoniall. The shomaker drew forth ỹ Popes bul, & deliuered it to the magistrate, and desired to haue it read. And hee toke the Bull and deliuered it to the priest to be read: who was also ther presente for the same matter, as his accuser. When he sawe the Popes bull, firste he was abashed and refused to read it: at length he was compelled by the magistrate to reade it. And when it was reade, they were all ashamed bothe the magistrate & the parrishe Priest also, and durst nothyng say agaynst it. Then sayd the Shomaker: Bee you Iudges whether I haue a sufficiēt testimoniall for my wiues soule or no, that she is conueyed not into Purgatory, but into Heauen. This testimoniall cost my wyfe a peece of golde. And why then doth our maister Curate beare me in hande, that my wyfe whiche is deade, muste of necessitie be deliuered by his Masses? If he do well in it, then my wyfe is deceyued by the Pope. If she were not deceyued by him, then maister Curate goeth about to beguyle me. And when neither the Magistrats nor the parishe Priest had any thyng to reply agaynst it, they discharged the shomaker cleane from them. For they durste not finde faulte with the Popes Bull. But no more of this matter.

Nowe that we haue refuted that false applying of the merite of christ whiche they doe attribute vnto the Popishe Masse, wee haue thought good after that to set forth the same whiche is true and consonant to the holy Scriptures, bycause of the simpler sorte of men. And in this matter wee muste firste see to whome the authoritie doth belong, to apply and dispece the merite of Christes death. Secondly, whose parte it is to minister vnto this applycation, and how. Thirdly by whome, and howe it is receyued.

Firste, no man can say the contrary, but that all power whiche may serue to saue sinners, pertayneth vnto Christe onely, giuen vnto him by his father by whome also he is ordayned the Lorde of all things that be in heaue and in the earth. So that the free power is in him to dispense and apply the merite of his death, to whome, howe, and when he willeth. He sayth: All power is giuen to me of my father. And, No man knoweth the sonne but the father, Nor no man knoweth the Father but the sonne, and he to whome the sonne will reueale him. There is one lord, sayth the Apostle: if there be one Lorde, that is to witte Christe, then there is but one that hath free power to dispense and apply of his grace, to whome, as much, and when he will. And he dothe reueale him selfe by his spirite, by whome he dothe also dispence his giftes.

Secondly, there be in deede sundry mynisteries, but there is but one selfe same Lorde. He hath set mynisters in his Church, Apostles, Euāgelists, Prophets, Pastors and Doctors: there is no mention made of Masking Priestes, by whome his body, whiche is the Churche, may be edified. These be the assistant workers of Christe, the mynisters of Gods mysteries, who onely dothe gyue the increase.

The mynisterie of those folke, is to reporte the Gospell of the kyngdome, and to sette it forth vnto the worlde, and truthly to preache the worde of lyfe. By this preachyng they doe, (as much as in them lyeth,) dispence vnto men the grace of reconcilement, gotten by the bloud of Christe. The Gospell sayth (the Apostle) is the vertue of God, to saue: and the preachyng thereof the Lorde committed vnto them. For so it pleased God that by the foolishnesse of preaching, he might saue the beleeuers.

Thirdly, it is not possible that the grace and merite of Christes bloude (in as muche as it is dispenced by the mynisterie of the preachyng of the Gospell) can be receyued of any others than of them, whose harts God openeth by his holy spirite. The exāple of the woman that solde purple is well knowen. And they be those, whome God hath predestined and ordayned vnto lyfe.

To whom the ministery of this dispensation belongeth. 1. Cor. 12.

How they do minister

Math. & Marc. vlt. 1. Cor. 1.

By whom, and howe this dispensation is receiued.

Acters. 16.

Actes.13.

Rom.1.

1.Cor.11.

They do take holde of this grace by faith, when they do earnestly beleue the worde of grace. So the Apostle, when he had sayde, that the Gospell is the power of God vnto saluatiō, he added. Vnto euery beleuer. And to the Corinthians, he saith not absolutely that it pleased God by the foolishnelle of preachyng to saue, but he added, ỹ beleuers. For this cause the same is oftentymes driuen into our heads by Christe: He that beleueth in mẽ, hath euerlastyng lyfe: & the Apostle doth stiffly ascribe iustification vnto faith. And Christ himself doth attribute cõdemnation vnto vnbeliefe, saying: He that beleueth not, shall be condemned. And he that beleueth not is already condẽned, because he dothe not beleue in the name of the only begotten sonne of God.

Iohn.3.

Hereby I suppose it is made manifest, that the true and lawfull minister of Christ hath no more power in the Churche, than is committed vnto him: and that it can not be, that he may apply bothe more of ỹ grace of the bloud of Christe, and also vnto other men, than so much, and vnto such as be appoynted by God to embrace those things by faith whiche are set forth and offered. Wherfore the Massing priest hath not onely no power to dispence the merite and grace of Christes bloud (as it is pretended) particularly to whome he listeth, but he hath not so much as the ministery or office to serue the Lord in any suche dispensation. For the Masse is not an instrumente of this application, forasmuche as it is not instituted by Christe. Neyther doe the Massers once preach the Gospell to them that be aliue, much lesse to them that be dead: Vnto whome for all that they do vainely say, that they do apply the merite of Christes passion by the vertue of the Masse. So that all whatsoeuer the Papists do teach vs of the vertue of this application, is nothing else but a crafty deuice of barterynge, and makyng marchandise in the Churche.

The conclusion of this part.

The Seconde parte of the Popish Masse, of the *accessorie errours and abuses thereof.*



I Saide, that I would speake in the seconde place of this matter, of the accidentalles of the Popish Masse: which the Papistes do make so necessary, that they can not be omitted without deadly sinne. And that I may in some order talke of them, I will folow that difference of them, whiche Gabriell Byel doth set forth. He saith that there be some things necessary vnto the priest, and some things to be necessary vnto the very action of the Masse. As for the abuses, of whiche some they doe defende, and some though they defend not, yet amende none: of them all we will speake afterwarpes.

I. Things necessary to the Priest.

THose, he sayth, be of two sorts. And that some be absolutely necessary, so that without them the bread and wine can not be consecrated into the body & bloud of Christe: and that some things be necessary onely of congruence: and yet so for all that, that if the Priest doe omitte them but vppon necessitie, he sinneth deadly.

Things absolutely necessary be these, sayth he: Firste the authoritie to consecrate, receyued from the Bishop, and declared outwarde by the shaning and anoynting. Secondely, by the habilitie of speache, so that he may pronounce euery thing distinctly. Thirdly, a stedfastnelle of intent and purpose, that is to say, that the Priest haue an effectuall intent and purpose, which may be discerned frō an actuall intent, to doe that whiche the church doth purpose and intend, albeit that he doe not beleeue that there is any thing done: so that it is inough, if he haue that effectuall intent in the beginnyng, so that there fall not out a contrary intent in the very acte, for then he muste not consecrate.

He deuideth such things as be necessary of congruence, into the puttyng away of impediments, and the application of things conuenient. Of the impediments we will speake in the laste article.

1 The things conuenient be, saith he, firste, that he whiche shall say Masse, must be fasting from the midnight before, so that he take nothing that is nutritiue or medicinable: and in case he hath taken any such thing, he muste not celebrate. And they haue suche scrupulous Decrees in this poynt, that they haue deuised by a certayne singular wisedome what is to be done, in case that after midnight the spittle chaunce to slippe downe his throte that shoulde saye Masse: or if any thing sticking by vnwarenelle in his teethe of that whiche he did eate the night before, fall downe into his stomache before he celebrate: or if he beginne to receyue the water powred into the chalice alone by negligence, &c.

2 Secondly, that he be cleane of body, so that he come by no vncleanelle of this bodye, throughe hys dreame.

3 Thirdly, that he washe his hãds, and kembe his head, and come not to his sacrifice with vnwashed handes, or not finely kembed.

4 Fourthly, that at the least he say his Mattins before, and the entry to the aulter, appoynted by Celestine.

5 Fiftly, that he weare the garmẽts prescribed vnto him, mete for the sacrifice. That is, the albe, the girdle, the phannell or hande cuffe, and the stoale, and the planet or vestment. There be added also the signification of euery one, not very well knowen sometimes to the Priestes themselues. For what skilleth it to know what euery of the garments doe signifie, when it is sufficient for the consecratiō to haue a stedfast intent to doe that whiche the Church hath instituted?

Thinges necessarie to the action of the Masse.

THese be the things generally, say they, which be instituted by the Church and appointed vnto this action. And they doe meane of those things whiche be brought in by the Bishops

They do graunt that there is nothing sette forth by Christe besides the institution of the sacraments.

Bishops of Rome. For Gabriell also himselfe dothe graunt, that there was nothing thereof lefte vnto vs by Christe besides the institution of the Sacrament, but that all the rest was accessorie, brought in by a little & little, not al at one tyme, but at sundry seasons: and that at length they were all packte vp togither into one heape by the Pope Gelasius, whiche was the. 51. after the Apostle Peter. Agayne, the very histories themselues doe declare sufficiently that the olde fathers did begynne the communion, at that place where they doe sing: The Lorde be with you: Lifte vp your hartes, and, Lette vs gyue thankes, &c. puttyng therevnto the Lords prayer, and the wordes of the Lordes institution, and that all the reste was added by Bishops of Rome.

The author of the Canon.

And that the Canon also was made by one that was called *Scholasticus*: as *Beatus Rhenanus* dothe note, wryting vpon Tertullian.

Necessarie of congruence, they do make this geare.

1 First the Introite of the Masse, the *Kyrie eleyson*, *Gloria in excelsis*, the Colleats, the Epistles, the Grayles, and the Gospels, and all such things as be therein vsed.

2 Secondly, that the place be Consecrate by some Bishop.

3 Thirdly, there muste be an Altare of stone Consecrated also by a Bishop, wherein muste be layde vp some reliques of saincts, & it must be couered vp with two white linne clothes, and a corporasse, as they call it.

4 Fourthly, a Chalice of golde, siluer, or tinne. 5 Fiftly, Candels burning vpon the Altare.

6 Sirtely, as touchyng the time of celebratiō, the publyke Masses must be about nyne a clocke, and the priuate Masses muste be celebrated frō the beginnyng of the day, vntill nine a clocke: and they doe limite the beginnyng of the day so scrupulously, that it muste be one howre, and one fifte parte of an howre before the rising of the body of the sunne. And they will not haue it to be lawfull to sing Masse in the nighte season, but vpon the dayes of the byrth, and resurreation of the Lorde.

7 Seuenthly, that the Canon and Consecration of the Lordes body & blonde, muste be done vnder silence, and so that the Lay menne doe not come acquaynted withall, that these great mysteries growe not to be of lesse reputation, whiche are committed vnto so holy persons.

8 Eightly, that there be water mingled with the wine.

9 Ninthly, that the Hoste be deuided into three partes, whereof one muste be caste downe into the Chalice, and the other twoo eaten vp togither.

10 Tenthly, that there be nothing omitted touchyng the crossings and gesture.

And as for the questions and cauteles they can scarsely bee numbred that be earnestly talked of in this matter of the Masse: As by whome the Masse should be sayde: Whether that euery Priestе may consecrate: Whether that hee also that is in deadly sinne: Or whiche is maymed in body may celebrate: Whether that many Priestes may consecrate one hoste at once: What and if hee that celebrateth do remember whyles he is at Masse, that hee did eate or dynke before: What and if any meate doe sticke in his teeth: What and if the Priestе chaunce in the mornyng wallyng his mouthe, to swalowe downe a droppe of water: What and if hee hath not slepte all night before: Whether he be bound to say Masse bare headed: Whether that there be requyred any intention, or no, and what: What and if any thing be lefte out: If another substaunce be administred vnto the Priestе than ought to be consecrated: What and if a flye or spyder fall into the Chalice: If there fall in a droppe of bloudde: If when he hath receyued the bloudde, there remaine yet some in the chalice: Whether that a droppe of wine stickyng vpon the foote of the chalice be consecrated: What and if there be no water put into the chalice: What and the wine be frozē in the chalice: What and if the Priestе doe remember that he hath not sayd somthings that should haue bene sayde: What and if the hoste be broken before the consecration: Whether that a Masse of Saincts be as vayleable for the soules of the dead, as a Masse of *Requiem*? Whether that there may bee a Masse said without a Masse booke: Whether that it may be sayde in a place not halowed: Whether it may be sayde at night: Whether more than once in a day: Whether it may be sayde for children that be dead: Whether that the merite bee all one, if a Priestе say one Masse for three folkes: Whether that hee may goe to his breakefaste as soone as Masse is done: And an infinite number of suche lyke, whiche they doe scrupulously talke of, with great circumstaunce. But lette vs see what is to be thought of them, and firste of those things, whiche they say, be absolutely necessary for the Priestе.

Of those things vvhiche be absolutely necessary for a priest, as they say.

And therein they doe chiefly require the power of consecration whiche is gyuen from the Bysshop by these wordes: Receyue power to consecrate for the quicke & the dead. But we doe assuredly iudge and affirme, that it can not be proued by any holy Scriptures of the Euangelistes, or the Apostels, that thys power was giuen from Christe, that by hys worde, the breade and wine, by the Consecration should bee Transubstantiate into his body and blonde. For whereas they say, that these wordes of Christe, Doe this in the remembraunce of mee, were spoken to the Apostles onely: and that thereby they were made Priests, and receyued power to consecrate for the quicke and dead: it is so fonde a deuice, that there is no man so dull headed, but if hee do consider the matter well, he shall see immediatly that they bee very lopes and tryfles.

They doe refer that, Doe this, to the Priests onely.

But I beseeche you, in case that it was not spoken of Christe vnto all the faithfull, Do this in the remembrance of me, but vnto the Apostles only, and to them that woulde fayne be accompted to bee the successours of the Apostles: by what authoritie and power did the congregations of the faythfull communicate of the body and blond of the Lorde from the tyme of the institution thereof, and the Apostle recommended this Communion to the Churches as

delyuered by the Lorde? If that were done without the Lordes commaũdement, the Apostles did naught, & the faithfull people were decepued, and the Apostle ought to haue sayd, Let no man eate and drinke of this bread and cuppe of the Lorde, but the priest onely, leste he be guilty of the Lordes body and bloud, and let the priest trie himselfe, and so let him eate of this bread and drinke of the cuppe. For in case that the same doe not belong vnto lay men, as they cal them, Do this in remembraunce of me, then it foloweth, that it is not lawfull for them to communicate of this bread and cup. So that it should not haue bene sayde to the Churche of the faythfull: He that eateth vnworthily, eateth his own iudgemẽt. And, let the man trie himselfe, and so eate of that bread, and drinke of that cup. For so the faythfull lay manne both eate and drinke his iudgement, not in vnworthily eating, but in case he doe eate or drinke it at all. And therevpon it should folowe also, that the Lordes body and bloud was giuen and shedde vpon the Crosse, not for all faithfull, but for the Apostles and Priests onely.

Neyther can they say: We do not exclude lay men from the communion, that is to witte, frõ that which the Lorde sayde: Take eate, This is my body whiche is giuen for you: Take drinke, This is the cuppe of the new Testament in my bloudde, which is shedde for you, and for many, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes: but we doe exclude them from it whiche foloweth, Do this in the remẽbrance of mee, bycause the same pertayneth to the Priestes onely. For there is nothing in all this action of the laste supper of the Lordes, whereby this Communion was instituted and recommended vnto the aftercõmers, but this cõmaundement of the Lord in these wordes, Do this in remembraunce of me, beyng twise expressly spoken. The rest dothe belong to the very action of his last supper, which should no wise concerne vs, or be celebrate by vs, vnlesse that it had ben in this wise instituted and commaũded by the Lorde, in these wordes: Do this in the remembrance of me.

Doe this (sayth he) is as much to say, as Consecrate this, or Offer this: and therefore it belongeth not to the people of the faythfull, but vnto the priests onely. By these words he did ordeyne his Priestes, and enioyned them this office to doe that which he did. And he did consecrate the bread and the wine, and changed it into his body and bloud. Let them proue these two poynts, that ỹ Lord chaunged the substance of bread into his body, & the substaunce of wine into his bloud: and offered it at supper to God his father. Secõdly, that he commaunded his Disciples, that they should also doe the same. What he did, it is playnly inough expressed by the Euangelists, He toke bread, brake it, gaue thankes vnto God his father, and gaue it to his Disciples, saying: Take, eate, this is my body, whiche is giuen for you. Do this, &c. Likewise he toke the cuppe also, he gaue thanks, and gaue it to his Disciples, saying: Take and drinke all of this. This cuppe is the newe Testament in my bloud, which shall be shedde for you and for many to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Doe this, &c.

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This the Euangelists doe declare, and the Apostle bothe. Is it not manifest inough, what he did, and what his disciples did by his commaundement? Yea, and with what wordes he did set forth his doyng? and what he cõmaunded vs to doe afterwards, and to what intent?

But let vs see their deuise for the Consecration. Howe doe they performe this worke of consecration & transubstantiation? The power to doe it (as I sayde) is a meere imagination. And the very worke (as they say,) they doe perform by wordes. No doubte it passeth altogither mãs strength and power, and it is a very declaration of Gods power, by wordes to chaunge the substaunces of things, into one thing or other, cõtrary to the course of nature, and specially into the very body & bloud of the Lorde. Wherefore we haue good cause to aske what wordes those be of so wonderfull an efficacie? yea rather to aske whose wordes they be: their owne, or some other bodies. The wordes whereby they bragge that they worke this matter be the Lordes, and not theyrs. But the sense in whiche they doe vse them, is theires, and not the Lordes. The wordes be: For thys is my bodie: and This is my bloud: They doe so speake thẽ ouer the bread and wine, that the breath of theyr mouthe with the signe of the crosse also must touche the breade, and the cuppe: so that by the vertue of them they may be transubstantiated into the body and bloude of the Lorde. And they will haue this to be the sense of these wordes, whiche they doe gyue vnto them: This, that is to say, this body, is my bodie: And this, that is to say, This bloude, is my bloude: Or This, that is to say, this forme of breade, is my bodie: Item, This cuppe, that is to say, This forme of wyne, is my bloud. For they doe strongly affirme and say, that the Lorde speaketh not of bread and wyne, but eyther of hys bodie and bloude, or else of the forme and shape of breade and wyne. And this they vpholde to bee the sense and meaning of the Lordes wordes, whereas it is not the Lordes, but theyrs. For the Lorde did speake of nothyng else, but of breade and wine as it appeareth playnely by the wordes of the Apostle. Wherefore they doe attribute this strength and power vnto theyr sense and meanyng whiche they doe deuise of the Lordes wordes, that it dothe Transubstantiate the bread into the body, and the wyne, into the Lordes bloud.

But suppose it were so, that the Lorde spake not of bread and wine, but of the forme and shape of bread and wyne, when he sayde, This is my bodie, and this is my bloud. So that when hee sayde, This, the bread was no longer bread, but the forme of bread, nor the wyne was no longer wyne, but the forme of wine onely. Let them tell vs then, when and by what wordes he chaunged the substance of breade and wine into his bodie and bloud, before that hee sayde, This is my bodie, and This his bloude. For he did not this in saying, This is my bodie, and This is my bloude, in case that hee spake this (as they will haue it) not of breade, and wyne, but of the

formes of the breade and wine onely. For then he shoulde haue sayde of the breade, Let this be my body: and of the wyne, Let this bée my bloud: or to the bread, Be thou my bodie, and to the wyne, Be thou my bloud.

Gabriell Biel. Lectione. 36.

Gabriel Byel graunteth, that the Doctors be not all of one opinion in this matter. For Christe (sayth he) in as much as he is very God, might haue Consecrated the substaunce of breade and wine, that is to say, haue chaūged it into his body and bloud, without any worde speakyng, lyke as he made heauen and earth by his will onely: or else he mighte haue spoken some wordes secretely, & haue Consecrated by thē: or else he might Consecrate by these wordes, This is my body, and This is my bloud, by the whiche wordes (saith he) wée doe also consecrate at his commaundement. Or he might first haue Cōsecrated, and haue distribute it afterwardes, and say, Take, eate, this is my body, &c. Or else he might distribute it firste, and Consecrate it afterwardes in saying: This is my body.

They say that it is not certain by the holy Scriptures how christ did Consecrate.

But which of these he did, (marke this well reader) it is not certayne (sayth he,) by the holy Scriptures. This, sayth he, so wauering they be in their doctrine. And that not without cause, for nothing cā be certaine, that is not grounded vpon a trueth. If it doe not certainely appeare by Scriptures, howe, and by what wordes Christe did Consecrate, and chaunge the substaunce of breade and wyne, into his body and bloud. Howe then shall it appeare? It standeth with reason, that they can not proue theyr deuise by the holy Scriptures, bycause it is not taken out of the holy Scriptures, but wrested to this purpose by mannes presumption, not without the counsell of him, who is the Father of all lyes.

And yet for al that, they do ground themselues vppon that, that Marke dothe vse the worde of Blessyng: ἐυλόγησας, ἔκλασε, that is to saye, When hée had blessed, he brake it. For they do surmise, that to Bleste, in this place, is as muche to say, as by a secrete vertue to chaunge and Cōsecrate the substance of the bread into ỹ body. But to Bleste is not to Consecrate, but to gyue thankes, and to speake well of a man: Wherfore Erasmus also did translate it in Marke: When hée had gyuen thankes, he brake it: And I passe ouer, that neyther Mathewe, nor Luke, nor Paule, vsed the worde of Blessyng in this matter, but did set expressly, ἐυχαριστήσας, that is to say, When hée had gyuen thanks: wherby it appeareth well, that the same which they called, To giue thanks, is that whiche Marke meante by Blessing. Wherefore it is vtterly to no purpose, that they goe aboute to grounde their errour vppon the worde of Blessing.

Therefore seyng that they can not shewe out of the holy Scriptures, that Christ did turne the substaunce of breade and wine into his body and bloude, neyther when, nor by what wordes, neyther that hée commaunded them to doe the same, as the 15. Bishoppe of Rochester doth not onely playnely confesse, but standeth vnto it also: as wée touched

before

before in the place of the Lordes supper: Who sayth not, but that all this brabble of Consecration and Transubstantiation is nothing else, but a mére imagination of certayne Spirites of errours and seducings, whiche doe beare rule in the Churches? Rochester dothe attribute it vnto the tradition of the Fathers: and why not to the tradition of the Apostles? Bycause that the Apostles were not of this opinió. Agayne, why dothe he not expresse the fathers names which did first teach this sense? But graunt that some of the Elders were of this opinion: what credite shal we giue vnto their sense, whiche neither they thēselues, nor they whiche came after them, coulde vntill this day, proue out of the holy Scriptures and institution of the Lorde? in so muche that Cyprian sayeth, that wée muste not in this matter regarde what any man eyther hath done, or thought god to bée done, before vs: but what Christe him selfe dyd firste, who is before all, and what hée appoynted to be done.

But lette vs sée howe this Popishe Consecration and Transubstantiation dothe agrée with the Sacramente of the Lordes body and bloude, according vnto those things whiche bée reade thereof in the writyngs of Augustine, & in the Popes Decrées.

The saying of Augustine is: The worde commeth to the Element, and there is made a Sacramente. There is no man that is yet against this saying, as far as I know. And he calleth the Element in the Baptisme, the water. And forasmuch as the consideration of Sacraments is all one, this saying is also applyed aright vnto the Sacramente of the Lordes body and bloud: wherein the breade and wine (although they bée not reckened among the naturall Elementes,) yet they doe stande in the same stéde that the Element of the water dothe in Baptisme. For lyke as the water is in the Sacramente of Baptisme, so dothe the bread and the wyne also as the nourishement of the bodye, stande in place of the outwarde signe and visible forme, in the Sacramente of the heauenly meate and drynke. And a Sacramente is as well made of them, by the addyng of the worde vnto them, as it is of the Water, by ioynyng of the worde therevnto. This I say to the intent no manne houlde pyate as Cochlens dothe, and denie that thys saying of Augustine may bée referred vnto the Sacramente of thankes gyuing. If Augustine hadde sayde, The worde is ioyned to the Water, and there is made a Sacramente, it had bene all one. So thou shalte not say amisse, The worde is ioyned to the breade and wyne, and there is made a Sacramente. For the truthe of this Sacrament dothe not depende vpon the reason of an Element, as though that it coulde not bée a Sacrament, vnlesse that the worde bée ioyned vnto a naturall Elemente: but it dothe depende vppon the ioyning of the Lordes worde, although that it came not vnto any Element, but vnto other visible and palpable creatures: as wée doe sée it is in the Sacrament of the Lordes body and bloude.

There commeth (sayth he) the worde vnto the Element, and there is made a sacrament. What worde? Not euery mans worde (for thereby there is not made a sacrament of inuisible grace,) but the worde of Christe himselfe: and that not euery manner of worde, but the same which was spoken of him for the institution of this Sacrament. If the worde of the institution whiche was once spoken by Christ, be applied vnto the breade and wyne, it maketh of them a Sacrament. And that is it which he spake in commaundemēt, Do this in the remembrance of me. This worde commeth to the breade and wine, not in respecte that it is spoke by the minister, but in respect that it was once spoken by Christe himself, and maketh a sacrament: as often as folowyng this institution, we doe breake this mysticall breade among vs, to the ecclesiasticall communion, and remembraunce of the death of Christe, and receyue this cuppe with thankes giuing.

The element is not only not taken away by that worde is, but is also required to be.

And when he sayth, the worde commeth to the Element, and there is made a sacrament: he sayeth before vs two things whereof the Sacrament is made, that is to say, the Worde, and the Element. These two things he so requisite vnto a Sacrament, that the Element dothe not onely remayne vntaken away and vnchaunged by the worde, but is rather the more requisite to be there. Things whiche be necessarie, doe not take away those things whereunto they doe come: but doe neede to haue them to be still there, for that otherwise they cā not come vnto them. He dothe not say, succeedeth or ensueth, but commeth vnto it. Neyther dothe he say: Taketh away or chaungeth the Element. In Baptisme the worde commeth vnto the water, and there is made a Sacrament. Hereby no manne dothe gather: *Ergo* the substaunce of the water is chaunged, that it may be a Sacrament. But all menne rather doe graunt, that the water in Baptisme doth not hinder Baptisme to bee a Sacrament. If therein the truthe of the Sacrament can stande for all the coniunction of the worde, and water: by what reason can it not stande also in this sacrament by the coniunction of the worde, and the breade and wine. Yea, and in case this saying of Augustine can not be agayne sayde, it is necessary that there should in both the sacraments remayne the outwarde things, water, breade, and wine: whereof the worde of the Lordes institution cōmeth vnto them, maketh Sacraments.

Now in case that the priests haue power to take away the substāce of bread and wyne, it folowyth that by theyr consecration the truthe of the Sacrament is taken away: whiche can not be preserued nor kept, onlesse that bothe the partes thereof doe remayne vndiminished: that is to say, the worde, and the breade with the wine. Some menne doe take the worde of Christ after the letter, and not after the naturall or right sense therof. For if they take it aright, it is so farre frō takyng away the bread and wine from this Sacrament, that it dothe rather require to haue it there. In case that they haue a worde of Consecratiō, wherby the substāce of

That whiche is seene is bread.

of the bread and wine is take away, they haue the worde not of Christe, but of Antichrist. If they haue not the substaunce of bread and wine, they haue not the breade and wine, bothe whiche this Sacrament must nedes haue. And so it is tried, that they haue not the truth of the sacrament instituted by Christe, but that they haue in steede of that, the Idoll of mens hartes in theyr Masses.

And in lyke manner Augustine writeth: Vnlesse that the Sacramentes had some likenesse of those things, whereof they be sacramēts, they shoulde not be sacramentes at all. Than let the priests tel vs, what lykenesse there is betwixte the Sacrament and Christes body & bloud, whose Sacrament it is. If there be none, then it is no Sacramente: if there be any, it can be none other thā of nourishment, as to feede and to moysten, whereby our lyfe is maintayned, so that we may vnderstande thereby, that the flesh of Christe is verily meate, and his bloud verily drinke, as Christ saith in John. But this similitude or likenesse can not be in the Popish Sacrament, where there remayneth not any longer the bread and wine, but as they doe affirme the forme and figure onely of bread and wine, wherein can be no efficacie of feedyng and moystening. But they doe very handsomely to sequester the lykenesse of the heauenly feeding from their Sacramēt, because that they haue not the true sacrament of Christe, but the vaine imagination of mans harte.

Hereunto serueth that, which is alleaged out of the wordes of Augustine, in this wise: That which is seene, is the bread and the cup, which the eyes do also tel vs. But y which the faith desireth to be instructed of, the bread is the body of Christ, & the cup, y bloud. These be therefore called sacraments, bicause that there is one thing seene in them, and another vnderstanded. That whiche is seene, hath a bodily forme: and that which is vnderstād, hath a spirituall fruite. This is in Augustine. Doth he not specially recognise the bread and the cuppe in the Sacrament? Doth hee not alleage y testimony of the eyes? If the substaunce of the bread be so taken away in the Popish Consecration, that there remayne nothyng of it but the outwarde forme, why doth he not say: That whiche is seene, is a bodily figure or forme? But sayth, That whiche is seene, hath a bodily figure or forme? He sayth, the same that whiche is seene, is bread, and hath a bodily forme. So that there be two things in this Sacrament all signe, the bread whiche is seene, and the bodily figure thereof. To haue a bodily figure, is one thing, and the very corporall figure whiche is had, is an other thing. That outwarde colour whiche is represented to the eyes of the lokers on: is the bodily figure, not of Christes body, but of bread. For that (sayth he) whiche is seene: is bread, and hath a bodily figure: but that which is not seene but vnderstanded, hath not a corporal figure, but a spirituall fruite. If these things be true, then is the Cōsecration of the Massing priests not true, but counterfayte.

Againe, howe can it be true that Augustine saith: But that which our faith requireth to be instructed of, is

That vvhereof our fayth requireth to be informed that breade, is the body of Christ.

that the bread is the body of Christ, in case that there be no bread in this Sacrament? Is not this the nature of a predicate, that it taketh not away the subiect, wherof it is sayd, or reported, but doth rather cõfirme it? It is sayd of the bread, ỳ it is ỳ body of Christe. *Ergo*, it is necessary that that thing be bread, whereof it is reported & sayde, that it is the body of Christ. This is not sayde of the outward figure & forme of bread, but of the bread it selfe, which hath a bodily forme and shape. Wherefore they be but trifles & toyes that Cochleus talketh of, that the outward forme & figure is called bread, bicause of the colour and tast of bread. But we do stand to long in the refelling of this deuise of Transubstantiation, seyng that the forged imaginatiõ therof is cleane cõtrary vnto the holy Scriptures, & sayings of the fathers. The Apostle doth oftentimes call this sacrament, The bread and cup of the Lord. And the Canon of the councell of Nyce doth so likewise. And Cyprian calleth it the halowed bread. And Augustine saith, that this sacrament is bruised with teeth: And it is song in their church, that there is no breaking of the thing, but of ỳ signe: of which none cãbe attributed vnto the outwarde forme, but must of necessitie be applied vnto the breade. Whereby it appeareth sufficiently, ỳ this opinion of Transubstantiation was not knowen vnto ỳ old fathers. Hitherto we haue spoken briefly of the power of Consecration, whiche they say is giuen from the Bishop by these wordes, Receyue power to consecrate for the quicke & the dead. Now let vs goe further.

They say, that it is necessary for the makyng of the consecration perfect, that ỳ priest saying Masse, haue an intention to doe the same whiche the church intendeth, other wise that it can not be, that he shoulde consecrate. But we do say, that the truth of the Lordes supper, dothe consiste neyther in the intentiõ of the priest, nor of the Church, but in the Lords institution. I pray you, how can the faithful be assured of the right intẽtiõ of the minister? Is it not a clere case, that the most parte of Massing priests do principally and chiefly intend, how to gaine by their Massing, and care but litle whether that their Masses be effectuall or no? *Ergo* they which do say Masse with this intẽt, do not Consecrate: and so commeth it to passe by their owne talke also, that the people standing by, do commit idolatry in adorying it. We doe pronounce the wordes of the institution with a playne voyce, and able to be vnderstanded, that the people may heare it, and communicate in fayth. Wherefore there is no man deceyued among vs, for asmuche as the wordes of Christe be set forth vnto all men, and he whiche beleueth them, can not erre.

But as concernyng those things, whiche they say be necessary of congruence, as well to the partie that doth say Masse, as to the very action of the Masse it self, this is our iudgement: that is, that some of them be superstitious, specially bycause of the careful and scrupulous obseruation of them, as though that of themselues in case they be diligently celebrated, they be of some reputation in the sight of God: & that some of them be of a mean sort, so that of thẽselues they bee neyther good nor euill: and that some be good of themselues, as those things whiche be sayde at the Masse out of the holy Scriptures: and yet that they be all to be misliked, bycause that they be brought in to adorne the Popish Masse, whiche is in so many respects worthy to bee cõdemned, and bycause they be estemed for a seruice and worshippe of God. Whereas they be added vnto this Sacrament, not by the institution of the Lorde, but by the deuise of menne. Among all whiche those things which be good of themselues, doe make this Masse neuer the better, but doe make it rather more dãnable for the abusing of the good things. Such things as be of themselues good, ought to serue truth and not falshode: they ought to serue the worde, worke and will of God, and not mens inuentiõs: they ought to serue for the saluation of menne, and not for the deceiuing and destruction of them. As in the Masse the vsing of the name of God and of his only begotten sonne our Lord Iesus Christe, of the holy Scripture, the Epistles, the Gospels, the Lordes prayer, the cõfession of the faith, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, the wordes of the Supper, and such other lyke, whiche things we do not blame, though that we do reproue the Masse it selfe, but wẽ doe acknowledge and confesse, that of themselues they be good. If the action, and saying of the Masse were of it selfe blameles, and agreable vnto the Lordes institution, it might be born withal, if these things were added vnto it, so that it were at libertie, with moderation, and to profite. But seyng that this Masse is of a contrary nature, we muste haue a contrary iudgement also of the shifting in of those things, which are most iustly reproued in this matter, bycause that they doe paynt out so poysoned an abhomination with the deepe colour of godlinesse: yea of the most highest seruice of God: and therefore the more plausible, and the better lyked that this geare is the worse it is: euen like as a cuppe of wine mingled with poyson, the pleasanter and fayrer that it is to see, the more it doth allure him that is dry to drinke of it, and it killeth him the spedyter. By this gay glose of the Masse it is fallen out, that in respect of it the very true Supper of ỳ Lord is set at right naught.

Of the Canon of the Popishe Masse.

Amongst those things which they do say be absolutely necessary to the action of the Masse, they doe recken also the Canon (as they terme it,) bycause that the same is as it were a certayne rule of the celebratyng of the Masse. And they will haue that to bee so passyng holy, that it muste bee preferred before all holy Scriptures: and therefore they doe mumble it moste superstitiously and softely, takyng good heede leaste any Laye manne standing behinde the Priestes backe, shoulde heare the wordes of it, and happly vnderstande them, which they would take for a maruelous highe offence: and they vpholde that it is not lawfull for any Lay manne to reade it, wheras for al that it is layd [illegible]

Chriſtian men to read euery part of the holy ſcripture: But as for this Canon, men were not acquaynted withal in the times of the Apoſtles, & of the fathers which folowed thē, Tertullian, Cyprian, & Auguſtine, but it was patched vp nowe at the latter caſt, & encreaſed by peecemeale by the Popes Leo, Gregorie, Gelaſius, & Sergius: & yet they haue ſuch a diſordered deuotion and reuerence vnto it, that it is ſcarſely lawfull for the Prieſtes themſelues out of the Maſſe time, to reade any peece of it, or to ſearch to vnderſtand the ſenſe & minde therof. But when they be at the very Maſſe, after that they haue read all the reſt from the beginnyng thereof, with runnyng eyes & wandering mindes, whē they come once to the Canon, they be ſtrayght way in a great dumpe, ſtroke with a terrible feare & quaking, leſt ſome peece of it be negligently handled, or not perfectly inough ſpoken: ſo that in caſe they chaunce to ſtut or ſtumble at any worde, they ſweate, & ſounde wel neere for care, leaſt they fal into ſome deadly ſinne, and do ſtāde in no leſſe feare in readyng of this Canō, than the ſothſayers & coniurers doe when they ſpeake their wordes of coniuryng, in expreſſing certayne characters, preſcribed vnto them, in careful feare, leaſt they do omit any thing, & ſo giue occaſion to the euill ſpirites to hurte them. And yet for al this, though that ſome of them doe ſay or ſing theyr Epiſtles & Goſpels negligently, without harte, without faith, without vnderſtanding, they are not touched with any conſcience of ſinne at all therefore.

But in what poynts this Canon is to be found faulte withall, others haue noted before me. And I reherſed ſome things before, wherein it is founde to be worthy of blame. But I will adde yet ſome more vnto them, & that groſſer geare. Firſte of al, it is very haynous that the prieſt a ſinfull man, dothe prayp vnto God the Father, that he will accepte his Sonne, & giue him a fauorable loke. For after the Eleuation he ſayth in this wiſe. Vppon whiche, (Gabriell expoundeth it, that is to ſay vpon the body and bloud of Chriſt the ſonne) vouchſafe to loke with a fauorable and milde countenance, and accepte them, &c. We ſinners haue obteyned grace and recōcilement by the ſacrifice of Chriſtes body and bloud, and beſides that what ſoeuer we obteyne of God, we doe obteyne it by Chriſt the beloued ſonne of God: And dareth the ſinfull man prayp vnto God the Father, to accept or like well his ſonne? Why do they not rather prayp that he will accept vs in his ſonne, as it is in the Epiſtle to the Epheſians? It is a cleare caſe, that the holt whiche Chriſte his onely begotten ſonne did once offer vp for vs vpon the Croſſe, dothe excēdingly pleaſe God the father, ſo that he ought rather to prayp, that he woulde for this holte and ſacrifice of Chriſtes ſake, loke mercifully vpon vs with a fauorable and milde contenaunce.

And he addeth vnto this, & ſayth: Like as thou didſt vouchſafe to accept the gifts of thy iuſt childe Abel, and the ſacrifice of our patriarch Abrahaam, & that which the high prieſt Melchiſedek did offer vnto thee, to be a holy ſacrifice, an immaculate holte, &c. Who can away with this compa-

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Gabriel Super C man. Mi

Epheſ. 1.

compariſon? What did Abell offer? An vnreaſonable creature. What Abraham? he offred eyther a beaſt, or elſe a man conceiued and borne in ſinne? What did Melchiſedek offer, as they ſay, bread and wine? But in verie deed there is not one word red any where of his Sacrifice. But of hym we haue ſpoken before. So that the Maſſing prieſt dothe prayp that the offering of Chriſt, that is to ſay, his body & bloud may ſtand in ſuche ſtede in the ſight of God the Father, as did the beaſtlyſhe ſacrifices of Abel and Abraham, and (that which they doe vntruly attribute vnto Melchiſedek) of bread and wyne. In caſe that the ſacrifice of Chriſte, be of no more regarde with the Father, than they were, farewell the ſalnation of the worlde.

But Gabriell coueting to conuey away cleanly the abſurditie of thys prayer, doth expoūde it in this wiſe: To be accepted (ſayth he) not in conſideration of the offering in it ſelfe, whiche beeing the onely begotten of the Father, can not be but acceptable: but in conſideration of thē that do offer it, through whoſe filthineſſe it may wel be refuſed, foraſmuch as appertaineth to the power of reconcilement of the offerers, bicauſe of their vnworthyneſſe. Secondly, hee doth adde, that the body and bloude of Chriſte is not compared here vnto ỹ ſacrifices of the old Fathers, as touching their value and worthines, but that the Prayer is, that it may be accepted of God in reſpecte alſo of the faithe of the offerers, like as in time paſt the ſacrifices of them whiche offered in faith, were acceptable vnto him.

1 Firſt, we doe not denie, but that the ſacrifices of Abraham and Abell pleaſed God, they pleaſed, but not for themſelues, (for God is not pleaſed with burnte offerings, nor will not haue ſacrifice and offering) but onely for the perſons of them whiche dyd offer, and ſo Caines ſacrifice did not pleaſe him, but Abels did pleaſe him, bycauſe he lyked the one, and miſlyked the other. Pſalme. 51.

2 Secondly, we do allowe that alſo that he will not haue the ſacrifice of Chriſt compared with the ſacrifices of the Fathers, bycauſe that hee dothe in infinite degrees paſſe them, and goe beyonde all the ſacrifices of the old Teſtamente, but we doe diſallow that they do not ſtand only vpon him, ſo as he is once offered for the ſinnes of the whole worlde, and can be offered no more, but that they doe as much as in them lyeth, decaye the efficacie and ſtrength thereof by dayly offering him agayne, and doe make Chriſtes offering lyke vnto the lawiſh ſacrifices, whiche were oftentimes offered agayne, bycauſe that they were ouerweake to cleanſe away ſinnes.

3 Thirdly we do demaund them, howe that can be maynteyned, that (as Gabriel ſaith) the Prieſte dothe prayp, that Chriſt (whome he maketh men beleeue that he offereth) maye pleaſe the Father, bycauſe of ỹ faith of the offerour: whereas hee dothe pleaſe him well ynough already, and is ſo well accepted, that there can be nothing added therevnto by vs, whereby hee maye bee commended more. The common condition of the ſacrifices is, that they maye pleaſe for their ſakes that do offer. And the

offering of Christe hymselfe had neuer wiped away oure sinnes, vnlesse that it hadde incomparably pleased for the persons sake of the onely begotten of God. Wherefore it standeth not with reason to praye, that Christe may please God, bycause of the faithe of the offeroure: whereas this his sacrifice is much better thā they be, which do take vpon them to say they do offer it. How much more aright doth the Apostle Peter aduise vs, to offer spirituall hostes, acceptable vnto God by Jesus Christe? And I saye moreouer, to what purpose is it to praye to God that hee wil accepte this sacrifice, bycause of the faithe of the sacrificers, seeyng that they manifestly mayntayne that it skilleth not what the Priestе be that doth sacrifice, good or euil, accepted of God or misliked; for as much as the worthinesse of the Masse is so greate before God, that it is wonderfull acceptable vnto him of it selfe, by the working of the worke, and not of the worker. Thus they do perswade the common people one thyng openlye, and in silence mumble out the contrary in this their Canon. 1. Pet. 2.

Secondlye, that is no lesse vnreasonable, which they do say after thys in the Canon: We doe humblye beseech the Almighty God, commaund this to be carried by the hands of the holy Angel vp to thy holy Altare, into the sighte of the godlye Maiestie. They do say: Commande this to bee carried. What? Heere ỳ expositours of his holy Canon, are at their wits ende, and can not tell what to say. It muste be vnderstanded, saye they, eyther of the vowes of the faythfull, eyther of the Churche Militant, either of the bodie and bloude of Christe. Truly ỳ very processe of the wordes will not suffer that it may be taken of anye other, than of these thinges which were spoken of before, that is to witte, of the body and bloud of the Lorde. But I beseeche you how doth this agree vnto Christe, that he must be carried by the handes of an Angell into heauen, and sitte before the Father, whereas hee is in Heauen long since, and dothe appeare before the face of God for vs? For Jesus is not entered into the holye places made by hands, the patterne of true things, but into Heauen it selfe, to appeare nowe before the face of God for vs. And he beeyng the onely host offered for our sinnes, sitteth for euermore at the right hande of God. If they saye: Wee meane it not of Christe, but of the body and bloud of Christ presente vnder the formes of bread and wine, whiche we doe offer vnto God the father: *Ergo* they do separate the body and bloud of Christ, really presente, as they wyll haue it from Christe hymselfelfe, so that in this Sacramēt they haue not Christ himselfe, but the bodye and bloud of Christ, without his spirite and Godhead. But to auoyde this absurditie, they thinke it better to vnderstande it of the vowes of the faithful, whereby they may in themselues offer vp the body and bloud of Christe vnto God the father, in their harts, which vowes of theirs the Priestе may desire to haue caried by the handes of the Angell into the sighte of Gods Maiestie. So some of the Patrones of the Popishe Masse do instruct the faithfull people now a dayes, that at the Masse tyme they doe offer Christ Heb. 9. Heb. 10.

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in their heartes, that is to saye, praye God the Father, that he will be mercifull vnto them, for the offeryng of Christe hys sonne: whereby the sinnes of all the worlde is once wiped away. If they be of this iudgemente, why do they not openly teach so in the Churche, that is to witte, that this sacrifice of the Masse is in very deede nothing else, but a memorie of the only sacrifice of Christe: in whiche sense the Fathers did call the table of the Lords communion a sacrifice? And thys sense shoulde not haue made a diuersitie betwixte the Masse and the Lordes Supper, neyther shoulde it haue serued to suche greedye catching vppe of greate riches and spithye gayne, neyther shoulde it haue aduanced the ministers of the Churche into so hygh a prerogatiue and dignitie, for as muche as this manner of sacrifisyng and offering Christe vnto God the Father maye be common vnto all faithfull folke.

Thirdly, it is not to be allowed, that in this Canon they do flee to the Intercession of dead Saintes, and say: And by the intercession of the blessed and alwayes glorious virgyne Mary the mother of God, and thy blessed Apostles Peter & Paule, and Andrewe, wyth all Saintes, giue vs mercifull Lord peace in oure dayes, that beeing ayded wyth the helpe of thy mercy, we may bee both euer free from sinne, and safe also from all trouble. This sayth the Canon. But let them shewe vs but one iote out of all the holye Scriptures, whereby it maye be proued that the dead Saintes doe make intercession, and praye for vs in Heauen. The Scriptures doe teach vs nothyng of this matter. And in case that they do make intercession for vs in deede, and that we must flee vnto their intercession, I see not howe the Apostle dothe truly attribute vnto the holye Scripture, that it is profitable for comforte, doctrine, and instruction: seeyng that it maketh no mention at all of a matter of so greate waighte and importance. I beseech you what faith can the faithfull man conceyue in his mind, of those things whyche are affirmed to be done in Heauen, and yet haue no testimonie of holye Scriptures for them, I meane of Gods worde? Besydes that, howe can thys agree with so holy a Masse, that whyles they doe presente and offer Christe the onely begotten of God vnto the Father, as they say they doe, that in so hygh a deuotion, they do turne their thoughtes from thence vnto the merites and intercession of dead Saintes, and desyre God, that he will vouchsafe vppon their mediation to be mercifull: as though that the offering, merite, mediation, and Priesthode of Christe the sonne of God were not sufficient to please Gods Maiestie, vnlesse that they should withall flee vnto the merites and intercession of Saintes.

Woulde God they woulde once knowe, what the vertue, efficacie, and prerogatiue of the onely oblation of Christe once done vpon the Crosse is, and howe greate good things be gotten vnto vs therby, and howe sure and safe a waye there is set wyde open vnto vs vnto the throne of grace. If they wold acknowledge this, and embrace it with true hope and confidence, the opinion

which

whiche they haue conceyued of the intercession of the dead Saintes, would sone fall from them. Thys I saide by the way of the Canon of the Masse, whiche all they that haue a true faith and knowledge of Christ, must nedes disalowe. Wherefore they haue god occasion to committe it vnto the shaueling and greased crowes onely, to mumble it vp in silence, who doe abuse and peruert all sacred thinges and sacramentes, to make of them their priuate gayne and lucre.

Of the outwarde abuses of the Popish Masse.

Hitherto in this seconde parte of thys treatie, we haue spoken of the accidentalles of the Popish Masse: whereof they doe make some to bee so necessarye for the Priest, and some for the very action of the Masse, that none of them can be omitted without deadly sinne: Now it remaineth that we speake of some outwarde abuses, of whiche they do maynteyne some as good and vprighte, and some though that they doe not maynteyne them as good and vprighte, yet they do not correcte nor amend them.

They doe saye Masse in a strange toung.

The first of them whiche they doe mainteyne as good and vprighte, is that they do sing Masses in a strange tong, and to the faithfull people vterlye vnknowen, wherein they doe seeke nothing else, but a wonder and admiration of the people, whyche hathe this peculiar qualitie, that the lesse they do vnderstand those things which they do see and heare, so much the more they doe wonder at them, and the more also esteeme them: yea and can be contente also to bestowe the more cost vpon the Sacramets, and the Priestes also, when they vnderstand them not. For this purpose they doe celebrate their Masses not in the vulgare but in the Latine tong, which is not commonly vnderstanded, and howe muche this is againste the doctrine of the Apostle Paule, we may perceyue by him in that he doth expressly finde fault with their fondnesse, whiche do talke so in Gods Church in an vnknowen language, that the people whiche heareth it, can not vnderstand them, and therefore hee commaundeth that all should be done to edifying. Whereof we doe gather this arighte: That in case that all things must be done in the Church vnto edifying, *Ergo* those things which do not edifie, ought not to be done there: but it can not serue to edifying, when the holy things be done in the Church before the people in strange and vnknowen languages, vnlesse there be made an interpretation of them. Hereof the Apostle speaketh in this wise: He that speaketh in a tong, meaning a straūge tong doth edifie himselfe: but he whiche dothe prophecie, that is to saye, doth speake out, so as he may be vnderstanded, dothe edifie the congregation. Item, And nowe brethren, if I come vnto you, speaking in tongs, what shal I profite you: vnlesse that I do speake vnto you, eyther by reuelation, eyther by knowledge, eyther by prophecie, eyther by doctrine? And further, for if they doe blesse in spirite, how shall he that standeth in the place of the vnlearned, say Amē, vnto the giuing of thankes? for as muche as he can not tell what thou

1. Cor.

sayest: notwithstanding thou doest well in giuing thankes, but an other man is not edified therby. This sayeth the Apostle. *Ergo* those thynges which are to be done in the Churche before the people of God, ought not to be done in vnknowen tongs, vnlesse they be interpreted. And in thys poynte the Papistes doe not only despise the tradition of the Apostles, although that they do glory neuer so muche of the see Apostolike: but they doe also boldely and carelesly contemne the Lords commaundemēts. For so he concludeth this poynte: If any man seme to be a Prophete, or to be spirituall, let him knowe, that these things which I doe write vnto you, be the Lords commaundemēts.

I beseeche you, in case that the Apostle dothe not suffer him to speake or sing in the Church of God, which speaketh in a strange tongue, whereas he vnderstandeth not the vulgare tongue of that Churche wherein hee is, vnlesse that he haue an interpreter, to expounde his wordes vnto the Churche, when will he allowe them, which whereas they do vnderstande the vulgare tongue better than the Latine, yet they had lieuer to speake and sing in Latine before them that vnderstandeth no Latine, than to speake or sing in a language that is vnderstanded to edifie the Churche of God thereby. But we nede not speake much in this matter at thys time, for as muche as we haue treated more at large thereof in oure Commentaries vpon the firste Epistle of Paule.

2 The seconde abuse is, that they doe not declare the Lords deathe at their Masses, whiche they doe celebrate in their Churches, as well publike as priuate, whereas the Apostle sayeth expressly: For as often as you do eate this bread and drinke of the Lords cuppe, you shal declare the Lords death vntill that he come. To declare the Lordes deathe, is not secretely to mumble, leaste anye man should heare and vnderstand it: but with a loude and intelligible voyce, earnestly to denounce vnto the eares of the Church, the benefite of our redemption obteyned by Christes deathe: so that all the standers by, may be throughly moued vnto the sacrifice of prayse: that is to saye, to the celebration of the sacramente of thankesgiuing. But the Apostle spake of the Lordes supper, whiche the Lorde himselfe did institute for the remembraunce of himselfe, and not of the Popish Masse. Wherfore a man may peraduenture do foolishlye and vnaduisedly, to loke for the declaring of the Lordes deathe of them, which do presume to celebrate a sacramente farre wide from that, which was deliuered vnto ỹ church by the Lord.

1. Corinth. 11.

That they do Masse vvithoute Cōmunion. 1. Corin. 11.

3 Thirdly, it is a manifest abuse also, that the Priestes dothe eate and drinke alone at the Masse. For that is not to eate the Lordes supper, but his owne supper: which thing the Apostle findeth fault withall, and saith in this wise: Therefore when you do assemble into one place, that is not to eate the Lords supper when euery man taketh his owne supper to eate: and at the ende of the Chapter: Therefore my brethren, sayeth hee, when you doe assemble togyther to eate, tarry you one for an other, and in case that any man be hungry, lette

him eate at home, least you assemble togither vnto condemnation. When the Lorde dyd institute this Sacramente, and committed and betoke it vnto his Disciples and followers, he did nother eate nor drinke it alone, neyther commaunded that anye of them shoulde eate and drinke for others, but he sayde, Take, and eate, and Drinke all of this. For hys will was to institute a mysticall communion of his bodye and bloud, not a Priestish sacrifice, of one Priestе sacrifisyng for others. This the Apostle declareth saying: Is not the cuppe of blessing which we do blesse, the communion of Christes bloude? The bread whiche we do breake, is it not ỳ cõmunion of Christes body? For we being many, are one breade and one body: for as much as we do all participate of one bread. Accordyng vnto this institution of ỳ Lorde and tradition of the Apostles, before that the priuate Masses were vsed, the ministers, and the people dyd communicate togither, and there be yet founde certayne tokens thereof in the Bookes whiche they call the Secretes and Complends: and there was but one communion, and that publike euery Sonday, from whych they that did not communicate, were driuen out, as we may see in the sermons of Chrysostome and in certayne Councels, in whyche it was decreed, that they shoulde be putte out of the Churche dores, whyche woulde not communicate. And in the Decrees we doe reade thus: When the consecration is done, let all communicate, whyche wyll not bee thrust out of the Churche. For so the Apostles also did order the matter, and so the Church of Rome doth holde it styll. Thys is in the Decrees, whiche the gloser woulde restrayne, to be spoken of the ministers only, but so for all that, that hee addeth, Or else thus it was in the olde time, for we doe see that it is not so left now. Surely that which was of olde, the Churche of Rome did forsake, but we doe aske, whether that they myght leaue that, whyche they do graunt themselues was left them from the Apostles, or no: If thys decree of the Ecclesiasticall communion was of olde, *Ergo* this is newe which they do now vse in this Priestishe Masse, in the which one eateth and drinketh alone, and the rest doe stande by and do not communicate. What will they saye to this, whyche doe crie out, that those rites and customes which the Churche of Rome doth vse, hathe their beginning from the Apostles, bycause that ỳ Church hath constantly kepte the traditions of the Apostles? If thys be true that they saye, howe can that Decree bee true, whereof we made mention euẽ now: But if the Decree be true, then is that false which they doe obiect, so that wee maye saye aryght with Augustine, that the weste Churches of whyche Rome is one, did not obserue those things whiche were taught by the Apostles.

Surely the Ecclesiasticall communion of the Lordes Supper as it was fyrste instituted by Christ, and after that deliuered vnto the Churches by the Apostles, continued vntyll that there grewe dissentions, whereby the Priestes dyd sequester themselues from the Bysshoppes, and bryng Schismes into the Churches,

1. Cor. 10.

In tyme passed the Minister and the people did communicate togeather.

De cons. dist. 2. c. Presete. The che che of R me forso that vn the vnu olde.

Ad Casu num Epi.

Wyrthey wil rather in Masse priuately, than to cõ municate togither.

How lo the Eccle siastical cõmun continue

ches, and so neglecting the communion, beganne seuerally to celebrate the Lordes Supper. And thys mischiefe by little and little waxed so greate, that the Bishops did not onlye dissceuer themselues from the Priestes or Elders, but the Elders also varried among themselues, one from an other, and dyd their sacrifice eache man seuerally a parte, so that in case there were a hundred assembled vnto one place for to sacrifice, yet for all that they did euerye one celebrate a parte withoute communion. And the richer sorte of the people following them, and they whiche passed the rest, made themselues priuate Chappels, and priuate Priestes, and Sacramentes. And since that this corruption hathe gotten the vpper and stronger hand in the Churches, Chrystes poore Shéepe are thereby compelled to vse, honor, and to maynteyne to their greate charges, these manner of sacrifices, béeyng neyther Apostolike nor Churchlyke, but playne false and counterfayte.

If you aske me the reason why that ecclesiasticall communion first, and after the communion wyth the Priestes was left, and that so euerye man delyred rather to Masse priuately, than to communicate wyth the Bysshoppe, or wyth the Churche: I thynke thys may be saide therein for a truth: That for as muche as that Priesthode was deuised, and broughte into the Churches by the counsell of the most craftie and wyly Fox the Deuil, to the end that by the vse thereof his craftinesse myght bee exercised not generally only, but in euerye Priestе seuerally also, so that eache of them receiuing the power to consecrate and to sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, might seuerally practise the same. The prerogatiue and priestly dignitie of whom, should not haue so high preheminence, in case that when one dyd consecrate and celebrate, the rest shoulde cõmunicate with him, yea and it shoulde haue muche lesse, in case that they should communicate in commõ with al faithful people. It was altogither wrought by the spirite of errour and falshode, to aduance this newe deuised priesthode, that at the *Synaxis* or communion, the annoynted Priests shoulde be sequestred from the communion of the faithfull people: wherby there was found out a difference betwixt the priestish and layish communion, and the one, I meane the last, so light estéemed in comparison of the other, that in case a Priest for some haynous offence were thrust from the priestish communion, yet he mighte be worthy to goe to the layemennes communion. Afterwardes bycause that it séemed to be more for the reputation of the Bysshoppes than of the Priestes, if that the priest shoulde not communicate wyth the Bysshoppe at the Lordes table, they fell also from that communion vnto ỳ celebrating of priuate Masses. And so it fell out, ỳ they forsoke the Ecclesiasticall cõmuniõ, and did celebrate not togither the Lords supper, but euery mã apart said his Masse alone.

And to the same end, I meane for their honor and reputation, they take to themselues the whole communion of both kyndes, as they call it, and suffer the laye menne to haue but the one halfe of the communion

in one kynde: whereof we spake in the place before of the Lordes Supper. The Masters meante by thys difference to aduaunce the dignitie of their Priesthode. And vnto thys purpose serues also the bringing in of their abstayning from Mariage. For they will so aduance the dignitie of Priesthode, that the married man must be vnworthy to be admitted to say Masse: but he may be worthy to communicate vnder one kinde alone with the people, notwithstandyng that the Apostle doth require that a Bishop be the husbande of one wyfe. But at that time Bishops were no Priestes, nor there was no Masse, nor authoritie to consecrate for the quicke and the dead. And therefore it was not required of the Bishops and Elders, that they should refraine from Marriage: for suche as were married were also worthy ynough to preach the Gospel, and to dispense the mysteries of God, whiche afterwards began to be vnworthy to say Masse: as though that the excellency of a Masling Priestе were greater, than the office of the Apostleship of a Bishop, and of the ministery of the Gospell. These things be so manifest, that they can not be denyed.

The sole life of Priests.

We haue spoken briefly of the outwarde abuses of the Popishe Masse, which the Priests do not onlye not reproue, but also maynteyne: now let vs consider the rest, which in deede they dare not maynteyne for good, yet for all that they doe not reforme them. The firste is, that the most part of them do say Masse without vnderstanding, that neyther they wote what they saye, nor what they meane by certayne of their appointed gestures: neyther haue anye care to vnderstand it. For they make suche vnlearned Priestes, that they can not some of them verye perfectly reade. And in some Dyoceses there is no more required in the makyng of them, but that they can reade, or sing a little. In the Decrees is declared of a Priestе which was so ignorannte of the Latine tong, that in Christening of a childe, he sayde in the Latine tongue, *Ego baptiso te in nomine patria, & filia, & Spiritua sancta.* And they laugh & haue a good sporte at it, when suche Masling Priests be made. In the third Booke of Moses called Leuiticus, Priestes are forbidden the vse of wyne at the tyme of their ministration, that they may be able to iudge betwixt the holy and vnholy. And the Prophete Malachie saith: The lippes of the Priestе doe kepe knowledge, and let men seke the lawe at his mouth. But thys is spoken of the Priests which be instituted by God. This kind of Priestes whereof we talke, hathe no nede at all of knowledge, for it is ynough for them, if they doe vtter certayne prescribed words, and intende to doe the same that the Church intendeth, although that they vnderstande nothing at all, neyther what they saye, nor what they doe. Wherefore it is not necessary that they shuld be verye great Clearkes.

They doe say Masse without vnderstanding.

Secondlye, they can not deny, but that there bee a number of Masses sayd without any religion or deuotion: yea so whipt vp and fombled together in such hast, that when a man woulde thinke they had scarcely begon, they are runne straighte to the Canon. And the sooner hee can dispatche

V Without religion and deuotion.

patche his Masse, the better he is accepted of them that be present. They take it to be ynough if they haue the purpose and mynde to consecrate, though they doe it not in acte, yet in the effect of their minde onely. For what needeth anye deuotion in the worke, whiche is not vndertaken to the intent to worke effectually wyth God, but to serue his chauntery, and the people that be present? Who can sufficientlye way and consider howe much this hypocrisie doth offende the eyes of Gods Maiestie, when wyth their curious duckings, and gestures they doe not lawfully sacrifice, but play like foles and dissards in a stage play, and therein we may saye wyth the Prophet and with Christ: Thys people honoreth me with their lips, but their hearte is farre from me.

Thirdly, this Masse for the moste parte sauoreth of nothing else, but of gayne, and bying and selling, whych Christe declared twise by his owne doyng, that he could not suffer in hys Church. Firste the very beginning of this Massing priesthode, as touching the Bishops which be the ordinarie makers of them, is defiled with the hereste of Symonye. For they bee made Bishoppes eyther for entreatye, or for money, or for their diligēt seruice, and be so defyled with Symony, that they can not lawfully ordeyne others if we may credite their owne Decrees. Wherein wee doe reade in this wise: Whē the Bishop was made, that whiche he gaue was golde, and that whiche he lost, was his Soule: when he made an other, that which he receyued, was Golde, and that which he gaue was the Leprosie. Ergo the Symoniacall Bysshoppe can not giue Priesthode, vnlesse the Priesthode be Leprosie, that is to say, Hereste. For as we reade in the same place: Hee can not giue that which he receyued not himselfe. And he receyued it not, bycause that he receyued not the same freely, whych can not to be taken but freely. Therefore the Priestе whyche is made by such a Bysshoppe, eyther for money, eyther freely, can receyue nothyng else, but that whiche he could gyue. But if the Priestе bee made also by gyuing of money, he is subiecte vnto the lyke curse, and can not gyue blessing. Wherefore in the same place we finde, that who soeuer doe sell or buy holy orders, can not be Priests: whereof it is written, Curse to the gyuer, and curse to the taker. Thys is the Symoniacall hereste. *Ergo* if they be accursed, and not holy, howe can they make others holye: and when they be not in Christes bodye themselues, how can they giue or receiue Christes body? Howe can hee blesse which is accursed? Thus much in that Canon.

Con. Grana.

Canon. Qui cunque.

Secondly, the verye coueting and seking of Prebends and promotions of the Churche, is Symony, for you shall hardly finde one or two among a thousande, that come by this geare aright and lawfully, or wyth emptie hands.

Thirdly, the very celebration of the Masses also, with all that pertayneth thereunto, both prayying and singing, is infected with the leprosie of Symony. For it is set forth to bee sold for money, so that you shal haue none without ready money, & therof came our olde Prouerbe. No penny, no Pater noster. Truly if there were

nothing else to be blamed in this Popishe Masse, but this mischiefe of wicked gayne, it were cause ynough why it ought to be reiected, that is to saye, for the Heresye of the Symonicall wickednesse, whereof there is so muche redde in the Decrées, whiche be shortlye knitte vppe in thys wise.

By the authoritie of Pope Leo, they that doe committe Symonie, receyue nothing but the spirite of lyes. And accozding vnto Gregorie, the Prieſthode doth not remaine with them that be in Symonie, their blessing is turned into cursing: there is curse both to the giuer and to the receyuer, for that they be not holye, nor placed in the body of Christ, for as muche as they bée curſed themselues, and can not sanctifye others, neyther giue nor receyue the bodie of Christe, nor bée able to blesse others. But after Ambzoses iudgemente, they be condemned to beare the repzoſe of cursyng, and are separated from the participation of the Lordes bodye and blond. When they receyue Golde, they deliuer Lepzosye for it: and for asmuche as the wicked cryme of selling of the ministerie can not be purged nor satisfyed, for accozding vnto the Councell of Calcedone, they be nothing the better by suche ozdeyning: and accozding vnto Gelasius, they bée wzapped in the damnation of Symonie: and accozding vnto Gregorie Nazianzene, they can by no meanes neither continue in the holy ozder, nor bée renued in it: they bée cast into the Lepzosye by Elizeus, and by Peter they bée condemned vnto destruction, and by Chzysse they bée cast out of the Temple, &c.

And in the same the Symonikes bée compared and associate vnto Judas the Traytour, and what be the Aultars of the Pallers but the Tables of the money chaungers: no lesse worthy, yea better worthye to be ouerthzowne, than those whyche Chzisse did ouerthzowe in the Temple at Hierusalem.

Fourthlye, what shall wée saye of the manifeste and shamelesse whozehuntyng of the Pallemongers? These holye thinges whiche are thoughte to be of moste hyghe reputation in Chzystes religion, are committed vnto whozehunters and concubinaries, whiche were wonte to bée secluded from the Communion of the Churche, if they were manifestlye founde suche, as the Prieſtes bée for the moste part now adayes, bycause that they hadde neither parte nor felowshippe in the kyngdome of God. If anye of Aarons sonnes bée vncleane, they bée shifted from the Prieſthode, bycause that the vncleanenesse of the Prieſtes is the defylyng of Gods name. Whyche lawe Hierome dothe suppose to bynde the Ministers of the newe Testamente also. The Lozde sayeth vnto the wicked. Why doest thou take my Testamente into thy mouthe? If thou sawest a Thiefe, thou dyddest runne with hym, and diddest putte thy portion wyth the adulterour. And in Esay God dothe refuse their sacrifices, whyche had vncleane handes. And Malachie sayeth: I haue no pleasure in you, and I wyll not take anye rewarde at youre handes. What doth he elſe say here, but that hée wyll not accept

theyr offerynges, in whome he hath no pleasure nor delite? And that hée hath no good lykyng in whozemongers and adulterers, althoughe I speake not of wickedder things, ther is no doubt at all. Gregozie doth alledge oute of the lawe, that the vnclean person doth not offer vnto god in any wise, and giueth a reson why, bicause that he can not vndoe other mennes sinnes, whiche is burdened yet with his owne sinne. And again we reade this. In case that there be any Prieſtes, Deacons, or Subdeacons, lying in the crime of fornication, we do forbid them to enter into the Church in the behoof of God, the Almightye Father, and by the authoritie of S. Peter, vntill suche time, as they do repent and amende. And in case that there be anye that lift to continue in their sinne, sée none of you presume to heare their Masse. For their blessing shall be turned into cursing, witnesse the Lord by the Prophet: I will curse (saith he) youre blessings. But they whiche will not obey this moſt holsome precept, shall incurre the sinne of Idolatrie, as witnesseth Samuell. And Gregozie teacheth the same. For it is the sinne of witchcrafte, not to obey, and the mischiefe of Idolatry, to refuse to be taught. The verye same we may sée in the Decrées.

But in so playne a detestable matter they séeke shiftes, not to auoyde the filthinesse of theyr vncleane life by reformation and amendment: but to saue the estimation and marketting of their Masse among the vnlearned. Therefore they deuised that pretence of the worthynes of the worke which is wrought, according to the which they do saye, that the Masse is good of it selfe, as well if it be sayd of a wicked and vncleane person, as of a iuſt and cleane person. And to this ende they doe apply the vertue of the Masse vnto the worke whiche is wroughte, whiche Gabriell doth also. The cleanelle of the Prieſte (saye they) giueth not to the Masse that vertue which it hath, but the vertue commeth of the very worke which is wrought, what so euer the worker be. *Ergo* the vncleanesse of the Prieſt doth take nothing from it: like as the qualitie of the tauerner dothe neyther encrease, nor decay any thing at all the qualitie of the wine, being of it selfe good. For it is good, whether that he which selleth it be good or euill. Wherefore the Masse of ỹ whozemonger Prieſt, is no more to be eschewed, than the Masse of him that is, chaſt: and sole: neyther is the one to bée estéemed more than the other, bycause that the Masse pleaseth God of it selfe, albeit that the wicked and vncleane Prieſt doth not please him. This saye they. The blynde buſſards do not see, that if the Masse bée to bée compared wyth wyne whiche is good of it selfe, for that the Masse is good of it selfe, whatsoeuer the Maller be, as the Wyne is good whatsoeuer the seller of the Wine is, that it followeth that the wicked man dothe as well participate of the vertue thereof, as the faithfull and iuſt, if hée buy it for his money. For so goeth the vertue of the wyne, that it is not onely all one whether that it bée solde by the good or the euill, but it dothe also worke all alyke, whether that it bée dzuncke of the good or of the

euill. If this be the condition also of the Masse, what is the lette, but that we may leaue all endeuour of godly life, and be saued all by the Masse?

1. Cor. 11. Truely it is manifeste by Paule that he eateth & drinketh his iudgement, which eateth and drinketh vnworthely: and therefore it is requisite, that he which will eate & drynke it, doe trie himselfe, and so eate and drinke, least that he be guiltie of the Lordes body and blood. And it is no matter whether that a man eate and drinke it for himselfe or for others, for in both he is made guiltie of the Lords bodye and bloud, who so euer doth eate and drinke it vnworthyly. But Gabriel sayeth, that the euill Priest in celebrating dothe helpe others, and condemne himselfe. But howe dothe he help other menne, by such a worke as he cõdemneth himselfe by? It maye bee so in the ministerie of preaching, but it can not bee so in the Masse. For in the Masse the matter is handled by blessinges and prayers, but the blessing of an euill Priest, as we alleaged a little before out of the Decrees, is turned into curse: And how shall the Priest helpe them by cursings, for whome hee doth celebrate. For God is not pleased with curses. This Gabriell perceyued, and therefore although that he did also follow the opinion of the worthynesse of the worke whiche is wroughte, yet he did warne ỹ priests in this wise: Let the faithful priests haue god regarde with themselues, with howe greate puritie of conscience, and preparation of minde, and deuotion of hearte, they ought to come to offer this pure, holye, and vnspotted hoste, the bread of life and cuppe of euerlasting saluation: least if they offer beyng subiecte vnto sinne, theyr offeryng bee lyke hys, whyche dothe sacrifice the same in the sight of the Father, least if they come to it, not tryng themselues, they doe rather crucifie the sonne of God agayne, than offer hym for a pleasaunte sacrifice to God the father, to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. This sayeth Gabriell. And what needed this warning, if the worke it selfe (as it is wrought) do please God alike, whether it be done of a good Priest or of an euill? Agayne, howe shall the oblation of the Masse, done by an euill Priest please God, if it bee no otherwise regarded of him, than if hee shoulde kyll the sonne in the sighte of the Father, yea whiche is yet more horrible, than if he shoulde crucifie Christe agayne? But they whiche be so folishe to defende the whoremongers Masses by the opinion of the worke whiche is wrought, do by a manifest argument vtter themselues, that they be farre wide from all zeale of Christian religion, and that they haue reiected not only the holy Scriptures, but the Decrees also of the Bishops, and the writings of the Fathers.

Gabriell Byell.

Whose. 48.

The like shift is that also, that as in the former respecte of the worke which is wrought, so in this respecte also of the Churche, they goe aboute to mainteyne the estimation of their Masse, and saye, whatsoeuer the Priest is, yet for all that his Masse is good, bycause that hee dothe celebrate in the name of the Churche. Wherefore although that hee bee a whoremonger, or a Symonist, or in anye other respecte haue neuer so euill a name, yet notwithstandyng, his Masse is to be regarded neuertheless. But we doe charge them agayne, that it can not be proued, that this was institute by the Lorde, that any man should offer and eate in the name of the Churche. It is Christe whiche offered for the Churche, gyuing himselfe vppon the Crosse, to cleanse the sinne by his bloud. None of the Apostles did offer and eate for the Church. This is in the institution of Antichrist, and not of Christe, of Apostatas, and not of ỹ Apostles.

The pretence of the Churche.

Furthermore lette them tell vs: what Church that is, which doth appoint open whoremongers and Symonistes for it selfe to Godwarde. For Christes Churche as it was institute by the Apostles, dothe excommunicate suche, and dothe not take them for members of the Churche. Whereof we may see to the Corinthians, and to the Ephesians. The Church of Christ hath appoynted no man to any office to the intente that he should be giltie of the Lordes bodye and bloude, eate and drinke hys owne iudgemente, and to crucifye Christ rather than to offer him, and to prouoke the anger of God rather than to appease it. Yea what neede hath the Churche to make any man mediatour betwixte God and it: after that it hathe gotten Christe the only begotten sonne of God to be the mediatour: muche lesse to appoynte therevnto whoremongers and Symonistes? It happeneth nowe and then, that a iust man maye praye for the vniust, but who can suffer that the vncleane person should praye for the Churche, or in the name of the Churche, and of that Church, which

is of so great reputation with God, that through hir worthinesse it may excuse the vnworthynesse of the Priestes, and make it tolerable. Agayne, howe shall they praye vnto God, and offer in the name of the Church, which can not be reputed among the members of Christes Churche. I pray you can there bee a greater blotte and shame come to the Churche, than that they do attribute vnto it, that for the celebration of Christes Sacraments it doth appoynt Priestes, which shoulde praye and offer in hir name: and make themselues not only giltie of the bodye and bloud of Christe, but also doe defyle the Sacraments, and do prouoke the most heauie wrath of God: And in case that this be done in the name of the Churche, is not she also guiltie of so haynous offences? speciallye seeyng that she doth not onelye not speake agaynste it, but also maketh hir selfe partaker of such sacrifices.

Among the Masters are many good folke.

But they doe say, God forbid, but that there shoulde be found in the order of Priestes some that be neyther Symonistes, neyther whoremongers, neyther vnlearned, nor irreligiously disposed. For you shall fynde manye among them whiche vnderstandeth the holye Scriptures, & handleth them religiously, and liueth also vprightly: and why be their Masses also condemned? I aunswer: Our meaning is not to reiect the Masses, bycause of ỹ seruices of the Priestes, and the impuritie of their life: but rather for that, that the Masse is of it selfe naughte and very wicked, as we haue declared before. And wee touched those grosse abuses & faultes

of Priestes, bycause that we would declare fully to the vttermost, howe that it is in all partes culpable, as well by reason of the faulte of them which do celebrate the Masse, as also of the Masse it selfe. As for them whiche séeme not to be altogither so euill, I am sory for their case wyth all my hearte, and yet withall doe much maruell, howe, and with what conscience they can endure in the filthye dregges of so manye wicked Massers. If they be good, why doe they communicate with the reprobate? Why doe they not reade in the Decrées those things whiche belongeth to thys purpose, where it is written to neglecte or make light of it, when a man may trouble and disappoynt the wicked, is nothing else, but to cherish them. And he is not without the scrupule or suspicion of secrete felowship, whiche forbeareth to méete with a manifest mischiefe. And agayne he séemeth to consente with him that dothe amisse, whiche goeth not aboute to cutte off the euils whiche oughte to be reformed. And least this shoulde be referred vnto Bishops only, we reade in an other place in thys wyse: As well Priestes as all other faithfull ought to haue speciall care of them, that do perish, to the entent that by their reprouemente they maye be reformed from their sinnes, or if they séeme to be past amendment, that they may be separate from the Church. This and manye other suche lyke there be in the Canons. But in case this euill be growen so strong, that lyke vnto the goute it can not away with Phisike or any Medicines, then they are to be excused which are taken to bée the good, if they do flée from the company of this wicked sacrifice and sacrifisyng Priestes, and séeke to saue their owne soules.

Distinct. 83. Cano. Error.

Canone. Consent. re. 23. quest. 3.

Thus farre wée haue recounted suche thinges, as we haue thoughte worthy reprehension in the Popishe Masse, sufficient to enforme the godly creature that serueth God, and is desirous to know the truth. There might yet manye things be touched more, if a man woulde consider those things which be sayd, song, and done at the priuate Masses: speciallye of suche as be appoynted to the honor and seruice of Sainctes. But wée meane not to employ that little leysure that we haue, vpon these manyfolde erroures, whereof there is so wyde and large a sea, and leaue off to be better occupyed. I beséeche God it may please him of his singular clemency and mercy, to delyuer and cleanse his Churches at length, from all erroures, superstitions, bying and selling: and from the corrupt dealing of all filthy persons.

Of the true Seruice of God.

For as muche as the Popishe Masse is set forth vnto men to be the chiefe seruice of God, and that therefore they whyche doe make their gaine thereof, crye out that the seruice of God is abolished, when the Masse is abolished: I thinke it shall be verye conueniente, nowe that we hane shewed for what causes it ought to be taken away, to treate nexte of the true seruice of God: that it may appeare, that it is nothing so, that the true seruice of God is abolished, whē that ẏ Masse, whiche is in so many respectes wicked, is abolished.

I. What it is to vvorship.

That is worship.

Whereas the Latine worde of worshipping is of that nature, that it signifyeth both to serue, and obserue, and honoure, it is aptlye referred vnto God, so that all that seruice, obseruaunce, reuerence, and deuotion, whereby we do worship God as well inwardly in our hearte, as outwardely in déede is called, The worship of God.

II. That God is to be VVorshipped.

God is to be vvorshipped for two causes. The first of dutie.

There be two most waighty causes why God oughte to be worshipped: the one is, that it is our dutie: the other that it is for oure commoditie, yea rather for our necessitie. All things liuing bothe in Heauen and in earth, oweth vnto him of dutie, worship and obedience. Let euery spirit (saith Dauid) praise ẏ Lord. This iurisdiction he hathe ouer all things. He is the Lord of all, & therefore he saith most worthily in Malachie: If I be the Lorde, where is the feare of me? He is the creator of all thinges, and in that respecte also hée hath iurisdisdiction ouer all thinges. For there is nothing that was not made by him. And no doubt he is vnworthy to be and to liue, whosoeuer doth not worshippe the fountayne of his being and life, and by not worshyppyng him, doth despise him. Yea he is vnworthy to haue anye place eyther in heauen or in earth, whych supposeth not that he ought to worshyppe the Lorde of Heauen and earth.

Malach. 1.

Secondly, if we will consider our necessitie, it behoueth vs to worship and to serue God in the respecte thereof also. For our saluation dothe depend vppon him only. And yet wée maye not so worship him, as though that he had anye néede of our seruice & attendance, God forbidde: but for that, that we be not able to endure for a little while, much lesse for euermore, without his grace. So sayeth Augustine: Neyther hadst thou néede of me, neyther I am anye suche good thing, whereby thou art holpen, my Lorde and my God: not ẏ I do serue thée in suche sorte, that thou shouldest else be weary in doing, or that thy authoritie should be the lesser if thou lacke my seruice: neyther that I shoulde so mainue and till thée, as men doe the earthe, or that else thou shuldest be vndressed, if that I should not worship thée, and serue thée, to the intente that I may haue good of thée. From whome I haue it, that I am able to receyue good. Thus dothe he attribute the cause of Gods seruice, not vnto his néede, but vnto our profite and necessitie. And therewithall that agréeth whiche Dauid saith: My good is nothing vnto thée, as though he had sayd: In case I do any good, it profiteth not thée but me. For thou hast no néede of my good things. For howe shoulde hée haue néede of anye thyng, whiche dothe supplye all mennes néedes of hys owne

The secōd cause is for our necessitie.

August. lib. confessionū. 13. cap. 1.

Psalm. 16.

owne? Wherefore in the Ebrewe God is called Sufficiēt in al things. And therefore he sayeth vnto them whiche doe surmise, that he taketh pleasure in their sacrifices, rewards, and burnte offerings: Heare me my people, and I will speake: harken Israel, & I wil testifie vnto thée: I am thy God, I wil not trie thée in thy sacrifices, thy burnte offerings be alwayes in my sight, I will not receiue Calues of thy house, nor Goates out of thy flockes, for al the wild beastes of the woods be mine, and the cattell vpon the Hilles, and Dren, I know al the birds of the skie, and the beautie of the fielde is with me. If I bée hungry, I wil not tell thée, for all the compasse of the Earthe, and the fulnesse thereof is mine. Shall I eate ỹ flesh of Bulles, or drinke the bloud of Goates? &c. They shoulde not haue néeded to haue bin admonished hereof, if they had not so worshipped God with giftes and sacrifices, as though he had bin more pleased with the receiuing of them, than with the gyuing vnto them, of whiche condition all they be ỹ stand in néede to be holped with other mens doings and liberalitie, as not béeing able to serue their owne turne in all poynts. But the estate of God, who is sufficiente in all poyntes, is farre otherwyse than is the estate eyther of Angels, eyther of menne, yea though they bée neuer so mighty Kings and Princes. For whatsoeuer they haue, they haue it not of themselues, but from elsewhere: neyther doe they encrease their goodes by giuing them out, but decrease them: and do encrease them by receyuing. Neyther be they able and sufficiente to serue theyr owne turne, but they haue néede of the ayd of others, without the which they cā not continue. But God hath all, and is able to doe all of himselfe, and of himselfe giueth vs all thinges to enioy, as Paule witnesseth: And yet for all that, his riches and wealth decayeth not one whitte, nor he can not be holpen with oure worshippe and seruice. Wherefore he is serued to oure greate profyte, and to none of hys owne.

And these two causes, for whyche it is méete that we shuld serue God: firste bycause that we doe owe vnto him our seruice, and secondly bicause that our profite and necessitie dothe so require, be two respectes in hym whervnto they be referred well and aright. The first is that he hathe power ouer all, as the God, Creator, & Lord of al: the second is the euident, and vndoubted proofe and trial of his Goodnes and Loue towards mā, and of his Righteousnesse and of our impotencie, wherin he is good and mercifull towardes all them whiche doe hartily serue hym, and a righteous iudge towards the wicked, and such as doe contemne his Maiestie. The eyes of the Lorde (saith Dauid) are vpō the iust, and his eares vnto their prayers, but the Lords countenance is vpon them, whiche doe euill, to destroy the memorie of them from the earth. He is not blinde, deafe, nor strange towardes the vowes and desires of the faithfull, which doe serue him. Wherefore it can not be, that we may serue him vnprofitablye or in vayne, so that it be done vprightely, directly, and faithfully. He dothe not lye, where he saith: I will glorifie them which do glorifie me.

But

But they are in an other minde that say: There is no God. This sorte of men doe laugh at all seruice and obseruaunces of God in theyr harte, and doe condemne it as a foolishnesse: for that that they do thinke there is no God: whiche Cicero also doth touche. And they do also thinke otherwise, whose wickednesse is reproued in Malachie, to be the denying of the prouidence of God: He is a vayne mā (say they) that doth serue God: or as it is in the Ebrewe: It is in vaine to serue, or to worshipp God. And what profite commeth thereof, that we haue kepte his seruice, and that we haue walked after a mourning sort before the Lord of hostes? And we call the arrogant men happie, and they be maynteyned whiche do wickedly: yea and they which do tempt God are deliuered. Thus doe these folke thinke of God: they confesse in déede that there is a God, but they thinke, that it is but in vaine to serue him, for that that he doth neyther saue his seruāts, nor condemne the wicked, but rather make them happier men than the rest. But the godly, and such as doe feare God, be of an other manner of minde, which doe not onely knowe that there is a God, but are also assured of his special prouidence, which he doth faithfully and for euermore vse towards them, whiche do feare and serue him. Their study & endeuour is to stirre then one an other in the Loue, obseruance, & seruice agaynst the wordes of the wicked folkes. Whereof wée do reade in the place before alleaged of Malachie, in this wise: Then spake they whiche doe feare God, euery one to his neighbour, saying: The Lorde dothe bothe heare and herken, and there is written a booke of notes before hym, for them which doe feare the Lorde, and thinke vpō his name.

III. Which is the true seruice of God.

All they whiche doe stryue about the true seruice of God, doe confesse that wée ought to serue God: whiche kinde of stryfe and contention is growen maruelous great in the Churche in this our age. For albeit that we doe all graunt that wée ought to serue God: yet for all that wée be diuided into partes and sects in this question. Whiche is the true seruice of God. Some thinke that it skilleth not in what things a man worship and serue God, so that his intēt be to serue him in those things. Theyr saying is, that whiche a man dothe of a good meaning, doth please God well. They doe measure the truth of Gods seruice by the good intent of the man, and they will not be driuen from this opinion by any doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.

2 Where be some that doe sanctifie those things whiche were institute and brought into the Church by the fathers, for a seruice of God. For they do attribute them vnto the prouoking and direction of the Holy spirite. The most parte do not so much as thinke in theyr minde, who they be, whom they do serue. So that we do dissent from all these, and doe not only after the common meaning determine that God ought to be serued, but doe also limitte the seruice of God vnto these conditions, that

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Some think that it skilleth not in vvhat things a mā serue God.

Some doe referre the seruice of God vnto the institutions of the Fathers.

Some do not thinke vvhat they be vvhome they doe serue.

אל שדי
El shadai.

owne? Wherefore in the Ebrewe God is called Sufficiēt in al things. And therefore he sayeth vnto them whiche doe surmise, that he taketh pleasure in their sacrifices, rewards, and burnte offerings: Heare me my people, and I will speake: harken Israel, & I wil testifie vnto thée: I am thy God, I wil not trie thée in thy sacrifices, thy burnte offerings be alwayes in my sight, I wil not receiue Calues of thy house, nor Goates out of thy flockes, for al the wild beastes of the woods be mine, and the cattell vpon the Hilles, and Oxen, I know al the birds of the skie, and the beautie of the fielde is with me. If I bée hungry, I wil not tell thée, for all the compasse of the Earthe, and the fulnesse thereof is mine. Shall I eate ẏ flesh of Bulles, or drinke the bloud of Goates? &c. They shoulde not haue néeded to haue bin admonished hereof, if they had not so worshipped God with giftes and sacrifices, as though he had bin more pleased with the receiuing of them, than with the gyuing vnto them, of whiche condition all they be ẏ stand in néede to be helped with other mens doings and liberalitie, as not béeing able to serue their owne turne in all poynts. But the estate of God, who is sufficiente in all poyntes, is farre otherwyse than is the estate eyther of Angels, eyther of menne, yea though they bée neuer so mighty Kings and Princes. For whatsoeuer they haue, they haue it not of themselues, but from else where: neyther doe they encrease their goodes by giuing them out, but decrease them: and do encrease them by receyuing. Neyther be they able and sufficiente to serue theyr owne turne, but they haue néede of the ayd of others, without the which they cā not continue. But God hath all, and is able to doe all of himselfe, and of himselfe giueth vs all thinges to enioy, as Paule witnesseth: And yet for all that, his riches and wealth decayeth not one whitte, nor he can not be holpen with oure worshippe and seruice. Wherefore he is serued to oure greate profyte, and to none of hys owne.

Psalme. 50.

And these two causes, for whyche it is méete that we shuld serue God: firste bycause that we doe owe vnto him our seruice, and secondly bicause that our profite and necessitie dothe so require, be two respectes in hym wherunto they be referred well and aright. The first is that he hathe power ouer all, as the God, Creator, & Lord of al: the second is the euident, and vndoubted proofe and trial of his Goodnes and Loue towards mā, and of his Rightuousnesse and of our impotencie, wherin he is good and mercifull towardes all them whiche doe hartily serue hym, and a rightuous iudge towards the wicked, and such as doe contemne his Maiestie. The eyes of the Lorde (saith Dauid) are vpō the iust, and his eares vnto their prayers, but the Lords countenance is vpon them, whiche doe euill, to destroy the memorie of them from the earth. He is not blinde, deafe, nor strange towardes the vowes and desires of the faithfull, which doe serue him. Wherefore it can not be, that we may serue him vnprofitablye or in vayne, so that it be done vprightely, directly, and faithfully. He dothe not lye, where he saith: I will glorifie them which do glorifie me.

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Psalme. 3

But

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Idolaters.

1 Firste of all they whiche doe serue Images and Idols, and therefore be called Idolaters when they doe serue them by fallyng before them, by makyng them altares, by burnyng of Candels and sacrifices: truely they serue not God, but creatures. For albeit they be not so mad to thinke that the dumme, deafe, and insensible Images, be Gods: yet for all that they do serue them as Gods, and call them also Goddes, whereas they be in déede the workmãship of the hands of men. Of them we do read in this wise: Unhappy be they and among the deade is their hope, which haue called ẏ workes of mẽs hands, Goddes, golde and siluer, and the inuention of arte, and the similitudes of beastes, or an vnprofitable stone, the worke of an auncient hande, &c. And a little afterwarde: And he when he maketh any vowe, inquireth of the Image concernyng his substaunce, and for hys children, or for his mariage. He is not ashamed to talke with him whiche hath no soule, & he prayeth to that whiche is weake and féeble, for health, and to the dead for lyfe and calleth vpon the vnprofitable for ayde, and for his iourney he asketh counsel of him whiche can not goe himselfe, and he séeketh vpon him, to obtayne, and to bryng to passe any matter, and for the successe of al things of him whiche is good for nothing.

Sapient. 13.

Diuell seruers.

2 Secondly, they do not serue the true God, but counterfaite Goddes, whiche doe folowe the wickednesse of the Heathen, and serue the Diuell vnder the name of Iupiter, Saturne, Mars, Mercury, Uenus the Sunne, & of the Moone, after whose names the dayes in the wéeke be named yet among Christian menne, so that the Lordes day is called Sunday, *Dies Solis*, and the second day of the wéeke is called Monday, for the Moones day, *Dies Lunæ*, the thirde, tuysday, as the day of Mars, *Dies Martis*, the fourth Wednesday, of Mercury, *Dies Mercurij*, the fifte Thursday of Iupiter, *Dies Iouis*, the sixt of Uenus called Friday, *Dies Veneris*, the seuenth of Saturne Satursday, *Dies Saturni*, whiche leauings of Gentilitie, we may thanke the negligẽce of the Bishops for. What shall we say of thẽ whiche do apply ẏ seruice of images vnto dead Saincts? Do not they also serue not God but creatures? But of them we haue spoken in the Decalogus. Albeit that they do say, that they serue no straunge God when they doe worship sainctes, yet for all that they can not denie that they be creatures and not the creator, which they do worship and serue, wherfore theyr seruice is also to be blamed, bicause that they do not serue the true God, but creatures.

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than is it requisite, that we whiche must serue God, yéelde our selues in all things vnto his will? Dothe not the very reason of seruice it self, and subiection of seruants, and the common opinion of all menne shewe the same? How els came that into Socrates minde to say, that euery God ought so to be worshipped and serued, as he himselfe should cōmaunde to be worshipped and serued. Which opinion Augustine also doth allege, and for that cause saith, that the Romaines whereas they had appoynted to serue all manner of Goddes, and therefore had a tēple called The Temple of al Goddes, yet for al that they would not serue the true God, ý is to say, the God of the Ebrewes, bicause that if they should serue him any other way than as he appointed to be serued, they shoulde not serue him, but theyr owne deuice. For in case that they wold haue serued him after that sorte, as he appointed him selfe to be serued: they coulde not haue worshipped any other Goddes, whiche he had forbidden. So that he sayth, that they refused the seruice of the only true God, bicause that they would not offend all the other counterfayte Gods, fearyng more the displeasure of them, than trustyng that the fauour and good will of him should do them good. Then the auncient Romaines, whē they were yet straungers from the knowledge of God, and before that they became Christians, did acknowledge it to be better for them, not to serue God at all, than to serue him not after the appoynted order of his will: and yet theyr successors whiche doe so much crake of the faith of Christe, and of the knowledge of God, haue so loste the perseuerance of the cōmon sense, & are so foolishe, that they do estéeme the seruice of God to consist in those things, whiche be institute by the deuice of man, and not of God. Lette thē examine theyr seruice of Saints, and of Masses, and such other trumpery, as they vse in the Churches, with the rule of Gods worde, as the oracles, and answeres of Gods will, and let them consider whether that they be such as may please God, and wherby the consciences of the faithfull may be assuredly perswaded of the will of God.

Socrates.

De consensu Euang. ca. 18.

Math. 15.

παντεῖον

IIII. Which be the partes of the true seruice of God.

Obedie[illegible] the fir[illegible] parte [illegible] Gods [illegible]uice.

First of all, forasmuche as it appeareth, that the true seruice & worship of God is not to be measured by the iudgement of man, but by the will of God, it is manifest that it must néedes folow, that the first part of Gods seruice is true obedience. And that appeareth by the testimony of Samuell. And Samuell sayde vnto Saule: Suffer mée, and I will tell thée what the Lorde hath sayde vnto me this nighte: And he sayde vnto him, Speake on. And Samuell sayd. When thou wast litle in thine owne sight, waste thou not made the head of the Tribes of Israel? and the Lorde anoynted thée to be the King ouer Israell, and the Lorde sent thée on a iourney and sayde: Go and slay those sinners the Amalechites, and thou shalt fight agaynst them, vntill the vtter destruction of them. Why then didst thou not heare the voyce of the Lord, but hast turned thée vnto the spoyle, and haste done euill in the eyes of the Lorde? And Saule sayde vnto Samuell. Yes sir, I haue heard the Lordes voyce, and I haue walked by the way which the Lord sent me. And I haue brought away Agag the king, & haue slayne Amelech, but the people tooke some of the spoyle, as shéepe and Oxen, the chiefest of the things which were slaine, to offer vnto their Lorde his God in Galgalis. And Samuell sayd: Will God haue burnte offerings and sacrifices, & not rather haue his words obeyed? For obediēce is better than sacrifices: and to harken vnto him, better than to offer the fat of Rams. For to be disobediēt, is like the sinne of witchcraft: and to be obstinate, is as muche as the mischiefe of idolatrie. Therefore forasmuch as thou hast caste off the Lords Worde, the Lorde hath shaken thée off, that thou shalt not be King.

1. Sam[illegible]

Thus muche in Samuell. By whiche wordes we sée it expresly meante, that the first parte of Gods seruice doth consiste in this poynt, if he be obeyed.

2 Secondly, that this obedience is requyred, whereby men muste obey his will, certified by expresse words, albeit he commaunde to haue many thousand of the wicked slayne, much more when he commaundeth to doe good vnto all men.

3 Thirdly, that this obedience is more worth than al sacrifices, hosts, and burnte offerings, we may sée in Ieremie the seuenth chapiter.

[illegible]7.

4 Fourthly, that to disobey, is as much as if a man commit the mischiefe of Idolatrie. So that they be farre wyde, whiche doe measure the seruice of God by outwarde & church seruices, sette forth by no worde of God. How much more méeter were it to admonish all men, and specially Princes, Magistrates, and Iudges, to do iudgement and rightuousnesse, to loue well doyng, & to walke carefully with the Lorde their God: for this is good, and commaunded by the Lorde. But of this obedience wée will speake in a place a parte. And for this present let this be inough, to know that this is the first and chief parte of the seruice of God.

Math. 6.

2 The seconde parte of the seruice of God, is attributed arighte vnto Inuocation. Wherof we sing in the Psalme: Make a Sacrifice of praise vnto God, and yéelde thy vowes vnto the most high. And call vpon mée in the day of trouble, and I will deliuer thée, and thou shalt glorifie me. The people of the lawe supposed, that they did highly serue God in the Sacrifices of beastes, as though that he tooke pleasure in receyuyng, and not rather in giuing and sauing. He findeth faulte with this foolishnesse of theirs, and giueth order vnto them for the seruice whiche he requireth at theyr handes, and sayth thus: Call vppon mée in the day of thy trouble, and I will delyuer thée, and thou shalt glorifie mée. As if he sayde: If thou serue me as God, thy God, thou shalte not serue by thy giftes, which I couet not, but rather desire thou and recyue all things at my hande. And so doyng, thou shalte glorifie me as true God, whose wisdome this is, not to receyue, but to bestowe all things vnto his people. This glory is commonly for the Maiestie and magnificence of God,

Inuocatiō, the second parte of Gods seruice.

Psalm. 50.

Of the true seruice of God. 845.

wherent

whereof it were séemely that Kings and Princes shoulde declare some resemblaunce, as suche as God himself in his Scriptures calleth Gods. Wée may consider withall the nature of excéeding goodnesse, whiche so excelleth in God, that he doth nothyng more readily, than good vnto all men: and therefore wée can offer vnto him nothing that is more acceptable, than the callyng for of his helpe, whiche in thys respecte is also moste rightly reckened amongst the partes of Gods seruice. And it is not without cause that Augustine dothe put Fayth and Hope amongst the partes of Gods seruice. For vnlesse that we doe beléeue and hope, wée shall neuer boldly call vpō the Lorde our God. For howe (sayth the Apostle) shall they call vpon him, in whome they do not beléeue? Wée must beleue that God is ready to do good vnto them which doe cal vpon him in truthe, and hope that he will heare vs when we call on him. Incredulitie and mistrust, maketh a man to be doubtefull, and not to call vpon him.

Psalm 82.

Ioan 10.

The nature of Godt goodnesse, is to doe good vnto vnto al mē.

Fayth and Hope.

Rom. 10.

3 The thyrde parte of Gods seruice is gyuen to the Sacrifice of prayse: whereof is song in the foresayde Psalme. Hée that dothe Sacrifice of prayse, dothe gloryfie me. And the Sacrifice of prayse ryseth vppon the féelyng of Gods goodnesse and mercy: whereby our mouthes be opened to preache and prayse him. For this openyng of the mouth the Prophete dothe pray, saying: Lorde open thou my lippes, and my mouthe shall shewe foorthe thy prayse.

The sacrifice of prayse, the thirde part of the seruice of god

Psalm. 51.

4 Unto these partes of Gods seruice wée muste also referre Adoration, or the vtter submission, and prostratyng and bowyng downe of themselues, if yée wil so call it. This péece of Gods seruice so farre foorth as it pertayneth to the submission of the Spirite, is common vnto the reste, and of that nature, that without it the reste can not truely and iustly be perfourmed. For there is neyther true obedience, neyther true inuocation, nor yet true Sacrifice of prayse, where there dothe not also concurre this submission of the Spirite, reuerencyng and fearing God, wherefore Christe did ioyne this adoration and seruyce of God togither, saying: Thou shalte adore the Lorde thy God, and serue him onely. But so farre foorthe as it is taken for the outwarde behauiours of the mynde. Whiche humbleth it selfe, it dothe include in it all those Rites, Ceremonies, and Seruices, whereby the godly doe worshippe and serue God accordyng vnto his worde. But vnto the firste sense, that is to be referred, which Christe sayde to the Samaritane: The houre is come, and euen nowe it is when the true worshippers shall worshippe the Father in Spirite and truthe. For the Father also woulde haue suche to worship him. God is a Spirite, and it behoueth them whiche doe worshippe him, to worship him in Spirite and truthe: whereof wée haue spoken in oure commentaries vpon John. In these partes I suppose is comprehended the true seruice of God, if there bée yet any moe, they may be well referred vnto these as to the more generall partes.

Adora

Ioan. 4.

To

To vvhome the seruice of God belongeth.

If you will aske me to whome this seruice of God doth belōg, it may be well aunswered to all, and not all. Unto all, in respecte that it is conuenient for all things created as well heauenly as earthly, to serue God. For why shoulde not all men, and all things serue hym, by whome all menne and all things bothe bée, and also be conserued? And it dothe not belong vnto al, for asmuche as he is not serued of all, but is of many eyther vtterlye contemned, or not serued aright. Augustine sayth that the sincere seruice of God is in fewe. Surely if we consider those things, whiche we haue before touched of the true seruice of God: that is to say, what it is to serue god, & that none is to be serued but God, and none else but he, & what the true seruice of God is, and what be the partes thereof, I suppose it shall be manifest inough, that there be not onely fewe, but also very fewe true seruers of God. In the Popery they be taken for true seruers of God, whiche be anoynted therevnto, to pray, to sing, and to say Masses in the Churches, if those things which they do be cōsidered and tried to the holy scriptures, as to ẏ touch stone: agayne if they be also considered of what they bée, and what they doe séeke for, in Gods Churche, I suppose it is put out of all doubte, that they be nothyng lesse than true seruers of God. For howe can he bée a seruer of God, whiche dothe neyther serue God in spirite nor in truthe, but in hypocrisie, as a belly slaue, & counterfayteth the seruice of God, and doth not those things whiche agreeth vnto Gods will, but is as far wyde thereof, as it is from the East vnto the West.

And what they be whiche may be taken for the true seruers of God, it is not harde to know, in case we vnderstande who be not the true worshippers of God. Whosoeuer is disobedient vnto Goddes worde, ought not to be accompted among the seruaunts of God, for as muche as the first parte of Goddes seruice is true obedience, employed hartely to the rule of his will. *Ergo* hée that dothe obaye Goddes woorde and hys will, is the true seruer of God. Agayne, who so euer dothe not cal vpon God in true fayth and sincere truste of harte, surely he dothe not serue him, but hée that dothe so, doth serue him. *Ergo* the true callers vpon God, bée the true seruers of God. Furthermore whosoeuer doth not offer ẏ sacrifice of praise vnto God, cā not bée ẏ seruer of God: no more than he can whiche dothe not adore him with feare, lowlinesse, and reuerence, and that in spirite & truth. But he which dothe offer vnto him a sacrifice of prayse, & is an adorer of him, is verily also his seruer. Wherefore it foloweth that there be very fewe true seruers of God, & that there be none other but the elect & faythful, whiche onely be obedient callers on him, desirous of Gods prayse, & adorers of him. Let vs here consider how farre they be wide, whiche when they doe heare of the seruice and seruants of God, doe conceyue nothing else, but those church seruices and degrées of the shauelings and annoynted folke.

V Which be that fevve seruers of God.

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to whome be graunted pardons by kings charters, and priuileges from all publicke charges and burdens, with many other prerogatiues, to the ende they may the more at libertie serue God. Whereof it is chiefly come to passe, that they be fallen vnto all kinde of corruption, of whiche they can not blushe nor be ashamed, so that theyr owne lyfe doth crie out vpon them, that they be nothing lesse than Gods seruants.

VI. What kinde of seruice pleaseth God.

That God is delited in the seruice of the spirite.

Like as our sauiour Christ doth gather vpon that, that God is a spirite, that he is to be honored in spirite and truthe, and that he dothe requyre that, to haue such adorers by whome he may be honored in spirite and truth: so we doe gather aright, that God is pleased with the seruice of the mynde and Spirite, bycause that he is a Spirite and delighteth in spirituall sacrifices. For each mā is delyted in things lyke vnto himselfe in condition. The fleshly man in fleshly lustes, the heauēly in heauenly things, the earthly in earthlye thinges, and the Spirituall in Spirituall things. This argument is so agreable vnto reason, that the Ethnikes also were acquaynted withal: wherevpon Cato sayde:

Seyng God is a mynde as verses do vs ensure,
Aboue al things thou must him serue, with harte and minde most pure.

That God is delyted with the seruice of a pure spirite.

God therefore looketh not for earthly nor bodily seruices, wherein he hath no delite, but for spirituall seruices. And for as much as the spirite is moste pure and holy, it foloweth that hée is not absolutely delited with the seruice of the spirite and minde, but of a pure innocēt and holy spirite and minde. The Diuell is also a spirite, and accordyng to hys nature deliteth in spirituall things: but forasmuche as he is an euill spirite, vniuste, and vncleane, he is delited with the affections, counsels and deuises of euill, vniust, and vncleane mindes, by the seruice of whiche he is serued. Therefore Cato, bycause he did vnderstande that God was a moste pure mynde, did very well in saying not absolutely, Serue him in minde, but Serue him in a pure minde. I would that they vnderstood so muche of God and of the true seruice of God, whiche will séeme to be the seruitours of God, as this Ethnike manne coulde perceyue by the iudgemēt of reason. Now seyng that God is delited with the seruice of a pure mynde, it foloweth, that he doth abhorre all that seruice whiche procéedeth from them that be impure. Therefore he sayth to the wycked: Why doest thou declare my righteousnesse? &c. Wherby it appeareth what is to be thought of all the seruice of ẏ vncleane Massing priestes: whereof we spake before in the place of the Popishe Masse.

Cato.

Psalm.5.

But some man will say, If God doe not regarde bodily seruice, what meaneth it that the Apostle sayth: I beseche you brethren by the mercies of God, that you yéelde your bodies a lyuely hoste, holy and acceptable vnto God, your reasonable seruice? &c. And what meaneth it, that God regarded the sacrifice of Abell, and smelled a sauour of pleasing in the sacrifice

An obiection. Aem.12.

Genes.4.

sacrifice of Noe: whereas they both for all that offered vp one of theyr beastes. I answere, that the Apostle speaketh not of the body of the flesh onely but of the whole man, so that to yéelde our bodies vnto God, is nothyng else, but to yéelde our selues altogither to the seruice of God: wherein there is not considered the fleshe, but the faithe and obedience, whereby our bodies bée offered vp into a liuely hoste, holy, and pleasing to God. And to giue vs to vnderstād of what kind of seruice he speaketh, he addeth. Your reasonable seruice.

And as touchyng the sacrifices of Noe and Abell, it is a cléere case that God had pleasure in them, not for the outwarde slaughter of the beastes, whiche hée maketh not account of, but for theyr faith, inuocation, Godly loue, and thankfulnesse: vppon these respectes he looked vnto the Sacrifices and seruice of Abell, but vnto Cayn he looked not. Thus muche wée haue noted of the seruice of God.

An Addition of the seruice of Angels.

And whereas wée noted certayne poyntes before, touchyng the creation & fall of Angels, we declared by the way, what the Angels be of nature, and what by office, & that they be not gotten of God, but created by him. And nowe before that I procéede any further, I thinke it not amisse, to adde a little vnto this matter of Gods seruice, agaynst the seruice done vnto Angels, bycause of some superstitious persons.

That Angels ought not to be serued. Apoc.19. Apoc.22.

Firste of all that Angels ought not to bée worshipped or serued, it dothe sufficiently appeare by that that we doe reade in the Apocalyps in this wise: And I fell before hys féete, (that is to witte of the Angel,) and hée sayde vnto mée, Sée thou do not so, I am felowe seruaunt vnto thée and thy brethren, whiche haue the testimonie of Iesu: but honour God. Adoration is a parcell of the seruice of God, as wée noted before. And vnto whome the parte can not frame nor agrée, vnto him can the whole not agrée neyther. But to the Angels there agreeth not Adoration, wherefore neyther seruice nor worshippyng can agrée vnto them. And further a Christian man muste eschewe all that is founde faulte withall by the Apostle. But he blameth this seruice or worshippe of Angels, *Ergo*, the seruice of Angels is to be eschewed of Christian men. Wée finde a place to the Colossians where wée reade in thys wyse: Lette no man ouerthrowe your victory of purpose by humblenesse and superstition of Angels. That which Erasmus doth trāslate Superstitiō, is in the Gréeke καὶ θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων, that is, in worshippe and seruice of Angels. The olde translation is, and in the religion and deuotion of Angels. Augustine readeth it seruice of Angels, and sayth, that the Apostle dothe speake of the principates, whiche men thought should be worshipped in certayne obseruations, as ouerseers of the Elements of this worlde. And the same Augustine

Coloss.2.

Epist.59. ad paulinum quæst.7.

stine in an other place dothe expresly reproue the seruice of Angels, where he writeth thus: *Ergo* the same which the chiefest Angell doth serue, the very same the basest man must also serue. For the very nature of man by not seruing the same, is made basest of all. For the Angell is not made wise & true by one means, and the man by an other meanes, but bothe through one immutable wisedome and truth: for that it was wrought by order of time for our saluation, that the vertue it selfe of God, and the immutable wisedome also of God, of one substance and coeternall with the father, vouchsaued to vndertake mans nature, wherby he might teache vs, that man ought to serue that whiche is to be serued of all creatures of vnderstãding and reason, and to let vs beleue, that the very beste Angels, and most excellẽt ministers of God, woulde also the same, that we shoulde serue all one God with them, in the contemplation of whome they be happie and blessed. For neyther be we happy by the sayings of angels, but by the saying of the truth. Wherefore we doe also loue the Angels, and reioyce with them: and a little after: Wherfore we do honour them in loue, and not in seruice, Neyther do we builde them temples, for they wil not be so honored of vs: for they do know that we our selues when we be good, bée the tẽples of the hygh God. So that it is written to good purpose, that the man was forbidden by the Aungel, that he should not adore him, but God onely, vnder whom he was also his fellow seruaunt, &c. Sée there what foloweth.

Secondly, for as much as it appéereth that Angels ought not to bée serued, it foloweth that none of those things doe agrée vnto them whiche doe belong vnto the seruice of God: as inuocation, adoration, temples, sacrifices, holy dayes, and such other things appertaynyng vnto the seruice of God. That no Temples ought to be made for Angels, Augustine dothe witnesse where he wryteth thus: If the holy Spirite were not God, surely hée should not haue vs to be his Temple. For it is written in the Apostle: Knowe you not, that you be the temples of God, and that the spirite of God dwelleth in you: And agayne: Knowe you not that your bodies be the Temples of the holy spirite whiche you haue frõ God? Shoulde wée not be accursed from the truthe of Christ and the Churche of God, if we should builde a Temple of timber and stone to any Angell though he were the most excellent of all? for that that wée should yéelde that seruice vnto a creature whiche is due onely to God alone. Then if we should be accursed for makyng a Temple vnto any creature, howe is not God true, to whome wée make not a temple, but to whome wée our selues be a temple? This is Augustine.

And the very same man Augustine dothe denie, that wée ought to sacrifice vnto Angels, and sayth: There remayneth a spirituall creature, whiche is eyther Godly, or vngodly. Godly no doubte in iuste men and Angels, and suche as doe serue God aright: but wicked in wicked men and the Angels, whiche we call also Deuils. And therefore we may

Epistola 4 in solutione quæstionis

not

not sacrifice to any spirituall creature neyther though it be iuste. For the more godly and subiecte vnto God it is, so muche the lesse it dothe take vpon it that honour, whiche it knoweth is due to none but vnto God. Howe muche more pestilent is it than to sacrifice vnto Diuels, that is to say, vnto the wicked spirituall creature, whiche dwelleth in this darcke and dimme skie, at hand, as in his ayrie pryson, and is predestined vnto euerlasting punishment? Wherefore when men also doe say, that they do sacrifice vnto the higher powers of Heauen, whiche bée not Diuels, and suppose that there is no difference but in the name only, that they doe call them Goddes, and wée call them Angels, it is nothyng else but that Diuels, whiche are delyted and in a manner fedde with the errours of men, doe goe aboute to mocke and delude them in sundry sorte of deceytes. For the Holy Aungels doe not lyke any Sacrifice, but that whiche by the doctrine of true wisedome and true Religion is offered vnto the onely true God, whome they doe serue in one holy societie and felowship. Therefore lyke as the wicked pryde eyther of men eyther of Diuels, commaundeth or coueteth these honours of God to bée done vnto them, so the godly humblenesse of men or of holy Angels hath refused those things, when they haue bene offered them, and haue shewed vnto whome it is due. Whereof there bée moste manifest examples sette forth in the holy Scriptures. This is out of Augustine. Therfore seyng that there dothe neyther seruice nor Temples, nor Sacrifice, pertayne vnto Aungels, it followeth moste assuredly, that they ought not to be called vppon, nor adored. For these matters bée so lynked togither, that vnto whome so euer seruice, Temples, and Sacrifices doe not frame withall, it doth not agrée with them neyther to be called vpon and adored: all whiche things are dewe vnto the onely true God alone. And this that we haue noted touchyng the seruice of Aungels, is suche, that it dothe at large proue, that all that seruyce is naught and wicked, where deade Saincts are openly and euery where serued, by Temples, Holy dayes, Sacrifices, Inuocations, and Adorations. A man shall hardely finde a Temple that is not dedicate vnto some Saincte, and named after some Sainct. Consider well what a worke this is of the suffragan Byshoppes, whiche doe consecrate no place, Temple, or Altare, vnlesse it bée dedicate vnto some Saincte. Augustine sayeth, that wée shoulde be accursed from the truthe of Christe, and committe Sacrilege in making a Temple to any creature, forasmuche as wée shoulde yéelde that seruyce vnto a creature, whiche is due vnto God onely. Lette the seruitours of Aungels and Sainctes make aunswere vnto Augustine. The tyme shall come, when they shall bée aunswerable for it vnto God, and lette them assure themselues that they can not deceyue nor disapoynt his iudgementes.

VVhy it is harde to forsake false Seruice.

BY this that we haue said before of the true seruice of God, it is to manifest, that all the Popery of oure tyme is packed vp with counterfait and false seruices: so that it is a maruel how it may be, that so many Churches doe so stiffly sticke vnto them. But if we doe consider with how muche adoe, they do acknowledge Gods truthe, whiche do eyther of themselues flée from the light of Gods woorde, or else are compelled by outwarde power to flée and forsake it, we shall no lenger meruayle howe this dulnesse cómeth to passe, specially, if we consider with what slayes and bydles the blynde multitude is broyded and kepte in their errour.

The title of Gods seruice.

The Poppyshe seruices be recommended vnto the vnlearned, vnder a gay and holy title, and be called the Seruice of God. For there is grafted in the mindes of all men a religion or deuotion towards God, so that there is no natiō any where, but iudgeth that the greate and terrible Maiestie of God ought to bée serued of all men. For though that there be alwayes a greate number wicked and vngodly, yet for all that the multitude is perswaded, that there is a God, and that he ought to bée deuoutly serued, though they haue not the true knowledge neyther of God nor of his seruice. Vnder this pretence the subtill witted men, and suche as séeke their owne gayne, vnder ỳ colour of godlinesse, haue giuen out what they lysted vnto the vnskilfull multitude, and haue deliuered it vnto them to be obserued deuoutely, & to please God withall: and that not in one or two, but throughout all the nations of the whole worlde: so that neither Iewes, nor Christians are frée from this euill. The hystories of the Iewes be knowē, but we be better acquainted with our owne, which shal also once haue an ende as well as the other. That maistership of menne whiche hath reygned thus many hundred yéeres in the Churche, is growen so great, that the Ceremonies whiche they haue instituted of their owne, not onely besides, but also cleane cōtrary vnto the woorde of God, are solde out for the seruice of God. Thus they haue deceitefully bewitched the people of Christ, and bound the consciēces of the vnskilful to obserue theyr statutes, and traditions with all religion, and deuotion that may be. And therevpon it commeth, that in our dayes they doe tormoyle al the worlde, and crye out vpon vs, that Gods seruice is decayed, when mens traditions, whiche bée contrary vnto Gods woorde, be abolished: and wherewith the Princes of this worlde be much offended: For it séemeth horrible, and very wicked in common iudgement, to thinke vpon any thing cōtrary to the seruice and Religion of God, much more to abrogate any such thing.

Horrible ignorance of Gods seruice is meth.

And the cause of this offence, is ỳ ignorance of the true seruice of God, bredde at that, that the Holy Scriptures be not knowen. Herof cōmeth all euil (sayth Chrysostome) that the Scriptures be not knowen. The deceptfull creatures haue taken away the light of Gods woorde, and doe in the darkenesse of ignorāunce sell vnto the people one thing for an other, drosse for Golde, the Idols of mans harte, for the very seruice of God. So it commeth to passe, that by the tytle onely of Gods seruice, there is holden faste by the téeth, all kynde of Superstitions and raging in Idolatrie. For they whiche haue a zeale of God without knowledge, are by no meanes easilier seduced and deceyued, than by the opinion of the seruice of God. There was neuer any Idolatrie that deceyued the vnskilfull and simple multitude, but by this title of seruyng God. For what should mē do else, but deuoutly kéepe those ceremonies, which be appointed by the Pastors and Doctors for Gods seruice, & be in that respect mainteyned by them in authoritie, & so do obteyne the generall opinion of Gods seruice? In déede this zeale is to be commended, when all that is thought to belong to the seruice of God, is religiously obserued: but the ignorāunce of the true seruice of God is not to be commended, but to bée blamed, specially among that people, where Goddes woorde may be had.

A wise Christian is not lightly deceyued in a matter of religion.

A wise Christian man will not be lightly deceyued in a matter of religion. For he iudgeth not of the seruice and seruaunts of God, according to the accustomed titles, which are oftentymes of no effect, but according to the iudgement of Gods woorde which can not lye. As for the that be commonly called Byshops, Priestes, Pastors, and Doctors, he taketh not them to be suche, bycause that they be so commonly called, but he wayeth their workes, purposes and endeuours, whether that they be truely such as doe performe in very déede the same whiche they are called to be. Likewise he dothe not credite the common sense also of the seruice of God.

The best pleaseth not the most men.

For the matter goeth not so well with men, as a certayne man sayth, that the beste things doe please the moste of men. Wherefore he marketh what truthe there is in all vsed seruices, not what is vsed and accustomed. And herein he vseth not his owne iudgement, but the iudgement of Gods woorde, whereby hée is informed whiche is the true seruice of God, and whiche is not. But they whiche haue not this Christian vnderstandyng, can very hardly be perswaded to iudge any otherwise in these matters, than according to the accustomed tytles, and therefore be not easily pluckt of from theyr accustomed manner of seruices.

The outwarde gaynes.

Secōdly, there is ioyned also vnto these Catholyke titles, whiche these false seruices haue, an outwarde and curious trimmelle, specially in notable Churches, Altares, Images, and Walles, whereby not onely the eyes, but the mindes also of the beholders of them be bewitched. Superstition bredde wealth, of wealth came that gaines and decking of the churches, which cōsisteth in Golde, Siluer, Precious stones, Silke, Ornaments, and personages after the fashion of the worlde, very gay to beholde. I speake nothing of those things whiche doe please their itching eares, and of that specia[ll]

mistery of seducyng and errour, that the Sacraments are ministred in a language vnknowē, and by persons professyng a sole lyfe: As all these things doe delite and contente the vnskilfull, euen so they do also make them astonied and dull of vnderstandyng. This is the beginnyng of errour (sayth Augustine) that those things are thought to please GOD whiche doe please vs: and to displease God, whiche do displease vs. Those things do please vs, which do eyther like our eyes with theyr glystering & gaynesse, eyther our eares with some speciall pleasauntnesse: and therefore wée doe thynke that they do please the heauēly God also. This is the childishe fondnesse of mans harte, wherewith we do read that the Iewes became straught and out of their wittes, whose eyes the seruice of the Gentiles, the altares, woodes, high altars that were in euery corner, the Images, &c. séemed maruelous gay, & contrarywise theyr lawishe Ceremonies séemed vile. They thought it also not religious inough, to sacrifice in one place only which the Lorde chose, and that so all other places shoulde lacke the seruice of God: but so despising that seruice of God whiche was appoynted in the law, they folowed the seruices of the Gentiles. The facte of Achab is well knowen. In like mā-ner altogither, the Popishe seruice doth thorough the gaynesse thereof, allure the mindes, eyes, and eares of the vnskilfull folke vnto it, and bycause it is thought singularly to please God: Therefore it is stoutly maintayned and kept still.

The beginnyng of errour.

1.Reg.16.

On the other side, forasmuche as the true seruice of God is done in spirite and truth, and standeth not in any outward obseruations of Ceremonies, & requireth not any worldly beautie, but rather a spirituall beautie, whiche dothe consist in true fayth, hope, inuocation, and adoration, &c. Therefore it séemeth to be little worth in theyr eyes, whiche do neither knowe God, nor his seruice aright. But vnlesse that they doe sée stately Churches and many Altars, and curiously wrought Images, glistering with siluer and Golde & sundry colours, vnlesse they heare the roaring of the Churche song whiche they vnderstand not, and suche other like things they be offended, bicause that they do beléeue that God is not contented with base things.

The very same betideth vnto thē, whiche chaunced vnto the Iewes concernyng the person of Christe, whome for that he séemed to be the sonne of a Carpēter, and that al maters concernyng him were base in respect of the world, the place of his bringyng vp, his parents, kinrede, and the very estate of his person, the cōpany of fishers being men obscure and of no estimation, they tooke hym to be nothing lesse, than as he was in déede, that is to say, the sauiour & onely begotten of God. And it made his basenesse the more cōtemptible, bicause that he did solemnise, or institute himselfe no Ceremonies with his Disciples, neyther of the lawe, nor any other, he did not vse outward seruices, Altares, offerings, & purifications. He did also nothing estéeme the traditiōs of the fathers, whiche were most set by among the Iewes, and auaūced aboue the very

The basenesse of the person, condition and life of Christ.

com-

commandements of God, yea sometimes he cōdemned them. He taught euery where in priuate houses, in the fieldes, in wildernesses, vppon hilles, vpon the sea, &c. Albeit that he wente once or twice to Hierusalem in the yeare, yet for all that hée did it for no other cause, but to instructe the people by his teachyng whiche had their recourse thither. They that were carnall, & vnskilfull of spiritual things, did vtterly despise such a one as did al things so basely, & séemed to haue so little care of the outward seruice of god, but they iudged that the gorgiousnesse whiche they sawe in the Byshops, Priestes, Scribes, Pharisies, the beste sorte of ẏ people, in whome there was sightly and renowned Power, Aucthoritie, Holinesse, knowledge of Lawe, &c. and also in the stately buyldyng, greate solemnitie, and repayre of the Temple in the sacrifices, hostes, oblations, and burnte offerings, and other innumerable ceremonies was the very seruice of God. When the conuersation of Christ our Sauiour was cōpared vnto such exceding gorgiousnesse, what séemed it to be else, but some vngodly lyfe wherein was no exercise of religion and seruice of God: yea it séemed to be a manifest contempte of all Religion, and some moste wicked paterne of vngodlynesse. This kynde of offence whiche riseth vpon both the respects, as wel of the gorgiousnesse in the seruice of the Iews, as also of the basenesse in Christ, did muche hinder the lawishe people from comming vnto the truth of Christe.

But lette vs passe from this vnto the Churche whiche was gathered togither by the preachyng of the gospel, after that Christe was exalted into heauen. This Churche the Apostles did institute without all outwarde seruice of ceremonies, lyke as they had bene moste simply instructed by Christe theselues. They taught nothing of the stately buyldyng of Churches, of Alters, Offerings, Priest, Vestiments, Images, Masses, Burning candels, of the decking and dressing vp with golde, siluer, precious stones, and silke: but of the true fayth in Christe, Hope, Charitie, pacience in aduersitie, and true amendment, & holinesse of life. When the faythfull assembled togither, the gospel of the kingdome was preached, mē prayed vnto God, they did communicate, the remembrance and shewyng of Christes death was solemnised by the breaking of bread. The controuersies of the bretherne were determined, the reléese for the poore was gathered and distributed. These were the exercises of the Churche, base in the appearaunce of the eyes of the Gentyles and of the Iewes, whiche bothe were vsed to the gaynes & goodlinesse of outward ceremonies, and were vnacquainted with the true seruice of God.

The basenesse of the primitiue Churche.

The exercises of the Churche. Act.2. 1.Corinth.11

If a man liste to cōsider the times folowing after the Apostles, he shall find in very déede that the churches coulde not kéepe that simplicitie and sinceritie of Goddes seruice, whiche the Apostles had receyued frō God himselfe, and they from the Apostles. For there was immediatly brought in by the will worship of Bishops, sundry Ceremonies into the Churches, one after an other, as gay and sightly as coulde be deuised,

The Churches continued not in the basenesse of Gods seruice.

the multitude of whiche so grewe by little and litle, that they gaue Augustine also cause to complayne of thē. For he wryteth in this wise: But I am exceeding sory for this, that many things whiche be most holsomely commaūded in the holy Scriptures, be little regarded, and that all things are full of sundry presumptions, that hée is more grieuously corrected whiche dothe within his eight dayes touche the grounde with his bare foote, than he whiche drowneth his minde in dronkennesse. And a little after hée saith: For although that neyther this can be found, how they be agaynst the fayth, yet they doe ouercharge the very religion with seruile burdens, which Gods mercy woulde haue to be frée, with the vse of moste fewe and manifest Sacraments of solēnitie: so that the estate of the Iewes is more tolerable than oures, who albeit that they knewe not the tyme of libertie, yet for all that they bée subiect vnto the lawish burdens, and not vnto the presumptions of men. Thus much saith Augustine in that place. But the more ceremonious and gaye that the deckings and vses of the Churches bée in the eyes of the vnskilfull, so much the more it séemeth to be the seruice of God. And therefore the simplicitie and basenesse of the religion of the Gospell, séemeth to sauour lesse of Gods seruice, bycause that there is no suche gaynes and glisterings of ceremonies set foorth to the eyes of thē that do behold our Churches. In the meane whyle the doctrine of the truthe is despised and darkened, the Christian fayth corrupted, and innumerable superstitiōs, and kinds of Idolatry thrust into the Church, and all that outwarde seruice of Ceremonies, wherevnto the Churchemasters haue wholy gyuen themselues, is turned into moste filthy gaine and lucre.

August. in psal. 119. Cap. 19.

The estate of the Ievves more tolerable than that of christian mēn.

The thirde brydle whereby the vnskilfull are kept backe in the false seruice of God, is the olde rotten custome, whereby they obiecte vnto the simple agaynst Gods truthe, that wée doe preiudice and wrong vnto an auncient prescription of tyme. But we must set against that the auctoritie of the truth, to which the falsenesse of any custome, bée it neuer so auncient and old, must giue place. A custome without truthe, is the ancienty of errour, as it is alleaged out of Cyprian in the decrées of the Popes. In the seruice of God, it is not to be sought what is olde and what is new, but what may be proued to be true, out of the holy Scriptures. When the assured truth is shewed, any lye muste giue place, be it neuer so auncient and olde.

The olde custome.

Dist. 8. C. Consuetu.

Therfore by these thrée restraints the multitude of the vnlearned is holden backe in the false seruices of the Papists, euen vnder the name of Gods seruice, through an exceedyng worldly gorgiousnesse, and through an olde rotten custome. And the more that heresie and wickednesse is against the seruice of God, and the desire of newnesse is layde to the charge of suche as doe forsake the false seruice of God, and folowe the true seruice of God, the faster doe these bandes holde. The electe and faithful doe cutte off this thrée-folde corde of twisted falshoode, with the sharpe axe of the only & most simple Truth,

Truth, knowing that there is saluation in the onely truthe, and not in lyes, though they be neuer so gorgious and aunciente: but of that that they lay to oure charge a detestable newe-fanglenesse, we thinke it mēete nowe to speake thereof particularly.

Of the newnesse of the Doctrine, Faith, Religion, and seruice of God, whiche the aduersaries do charge vs withall.

The pretence of Ancienty is to be borne withall, not only in the matters & manners of men, but also in religion: and on the other side, the studye of Newfanglenesse is hatefull. And there bée reasons for both. For this worlde is of that nature, that the further wée goe and procéede from the former ages and times, the more all thinges doe goe out of kinde, into worse and worse. Wherefore they are thought to be muche to blame, which are gyuen to corrupte, or vtterly to take away the manners and customes of the olde auntiente honesty and goodnesse, being both ciuill and holy, with a deuise of noueltie: forasmuch as it can hardly be beléeued, that the new things which be vndertaken, can bée as good as the olde, much lesse to bée better than the olde. And thereof it commeth, that sometimes the auncient is taken for the better, and the new for the worse. So the aduersaries of the truth, when they wil perswade the vnskilfull people vnder pretence of religion, to holde fast the aunciente superstitions of so manye hundred yeares, they do crake of the olde and aunciente religion, & charge vs with the newe which is nothyng else they say: but the running away and forsaking of the olde. Wherfore we must consider, what truth or vntruth there is héerein. And wée will make héerein a thréefolde diuision, whereby we may perceyue.

The pretence of Ancienty is possible.

1 Whether that which is new, be alwayes euill.

2 Whether that our doctrine and religion bée newe in déede, and whether that we or they be the innouators of holy things.

3 Through whose fault it is, that our doctrine séemeth to be new, when it is not new.

1 Whether that vvhich is new be alwayes euill.

These things which be alwayes euill, be euill of their owne nature, absolutely, and of themselues. But to be new, is nother euill of nature, nor absolutely, nor of it selfe: but if it be euill, it is euill by chance: and things that be of that sorte, may as well be good by chaunce, as euill. Wherefore it is possible, that a new thing may be good as wel as naught, if the circumstances thereof be cōsidered. In worldly things it is a cléere case, that manye thinges the newer that they be, the better they be liked, and also the better they be in déede. Who had not rather to haue a newe house than an olde? who setteth not more by a newe garment, than by an olde?

To bee nevv is not euill of it selfe.

olde: Such things as be woxne, or at the leaſt way decayed by vſe, occupying and oldneſſe, no doubt be better whiles they be newe, than after that they become olde. *Ergo* it is not ſo greately euill of it ſelfe to be new, but that oftentimes it is better to be new than to be olde.

An obiection.

But you will ſay, There is an other conſideration to be had in holye things, whiche do not periſhe by oldneſſe, as earthly things, but doe continue ſtill whole without blemiſhe: and therefore they can not without raſhneſſe be chaunged by puttyng newe in their ſtéede. I aunſwere. In this poynt alſo neweltie of it ſelfe is not euil, vnleſſe that it be made euill by circumſtances. For if neweltie were altogither euill in religiõ, then Chriſt ſhould vnaduiſedly haue had compared hys doctrine vnto newe wine. I doe giue you a newe commaundemente, that you loue one another. And at the laſt ſupper, Thys cuppe is the newe teſtamente in my bloud. And that is a naughtye newneſſe, whereby thoſe things whiche be good be taken away. But the doctrine of Chriſt was not ſuch, whereby the weake law was taken away, & that whiche it could not performe, was wrought by the vertue & newneſſe of the ſpirite.

Math. 9.

Iohn. 13.

VVhich is a naughty nevvelty.

That was a naughtye newneſſe, when the Iewes preſumed to ſerue newe and ſtrange Gods, which theyr fathers knew not. For by this neweltie, that true only and olde, yea the euerlaſting God of theyr Fathers was forſaken, whereof we maye ſée in Deuteronomy. That is a good neweltie or newneſſe, wherevnto ỹ Apoſtle dothe prouoke vs, ſaying:

Deut. 32.

A good nevvelty.

Clenſe out the olde leuen, that you may be a new ſprinkling. Agayne, If any man be in Chriſt, he is a new creature, for lo, the olde is gone, and all is become new. And againe, Put on the new man, which is created according vnto God. And Ezechiell ſayth: I will giue you a new hearte, and I wil ſet a new ſpirite amongſt you. Why doth the Apoſtle prouoke menne vnto this newneſſe? To this ende no doubt, that by the ſame the euill oldneſſe of the fleſhe, of the olde mans heart, of the old creature, that is to ſay, that man of Sinne, decayed by ſinne, and ſubiecte vnto concupiſcence, is put off and mortified by the holy regeneration, whiche commeth by the ſpirite of Chriſt. Is this Neweltie a prophane matter, and not rather a péece of Chriſtian religion: So that Neweltie is not alwayes euill, nother in holye matters, but ſometimes it is beſt.

1. Cor. 5. 2. Cor. 5. Ephe. 4.

Colloſſ. 3.

Eze. 36.

No doubt it maketh muche matter vnto whome the neweltye or chaunge in religion be ſet forth. For if it be vnto them whiche do alreadye kéepe the true religion ſafe and ſound, it is worthily blamed and condemned: but it is otherwiſe, if it be ſette forthe vnto them that be out of the way, and of long tyme haue bene led and roted in ſome falſe religion. There was newe doctrine ſet forthe vnto the Iewes and Gentiles, when the Goſpell of Gods kingdome was preached vnto them, wherevpon alſo it was ſaide. What newe doctrine is this? And the Atheniens ſayde vnto Paule. Thou doeſt put certaine new matters into oure eares. Was the doctrine of Chriſt naught therefore, bycauſe that it was new, and neuer

It maketh matter vnto whome nevv doctrine is ſet forth.

Mark. Actes.

heard

heard of before? God forbidde. It was the beſt of all other, and neceſſarie for the people which hadde bin entãgled and blinded tw long in oldneſſe of eroures. For by thys the Iewes were trayned from the oldneſſe of the letter, from the bondage of the Elements, from the ſhadowes of the lawe, vnto a newneſſe of Spirite, vnto a libertie of rightuouſnes, vnto the truth and light of the newe and euerlaſting teſtamente, and the Gentiles from their blyndneſſe and ſeruice of falſe Goddes vnto the true knowlege of one true God in Chriſt Ieſu. So that they did not only take no harme by this neweltie or newneſſe, but therby they were alſo called from deſtructiõ, vnto true ſaluation. Likewiſe in theſe dayes, if a man ſhould preache the Goſpell vnto the Iewes or Turkes, he ſhoulde ſame to preach a new doctrine vnto them, though it be not ſo of it ſelfe. And in caſe they ſhould withſtand it and ſay, we allow no newe doctrine, what ſhoulde he aunſwere elſe, but that euery thing that is newe, is not euill, and that a new doctrine is both profitable, and neceſſarie for them, that do erre in religion.

But it is farre otherwiſe, if a man ſhould attempt to thruſt in a new religion amongſt Chriſtian mẽ which haue already receyued the true doctrine, and the religion of the heauẽly kingdome. For he ſhoulde do euen a like, as if he ſhould ſuborne ate a newe huſband to a woman which hathe a huſbande already. And therfore the Apoſtle dothe ſtoutely beate into the Galathians heads, ſaying: Although that we or an Angell from Heauen ſhoulde preache vnto you an other Goſpell, than that whiche we haue preached vnto you, let him be accurſed. Like as I ſayde before, ſo I ſaye now agayne. If anye man preache vnto you any other Goſpel, than you haue receyued, let him be accurſed. Vnleſſe that the Galathians had receyued the true Goſpell alreadye from the Apoſtle hymſelfe, thys curſe ſhoulde haue taken no place, in caſe any man ſhould haue ſet for the a newe doctrine vnto them, after him. Wherefore there can not without greate offence any new doctrine be ſet forthe vnto Chriſtian men, to leade them from the true and Apoſtolike doctrine. If we did ſo, wée ſhoulde worthely beare the blame of vnlawfull innouation and raſhe preſumptuouſnelle. Thus I ſuppoſe it appeareth wel ynough by that we haue ſpoken, when a neweltie or newneſſe ſet forth in religion is euil and when it is not only not euil, but profitable alſo, and neceſſarie.

II. Whether that oure doctrine and religion be newe indeede, *and whether we, or our aduerſaries be innouators of holye thynges.*

BVt our aduerſaries doe inferre vpon this: *Ergo* you be ſeducers and innouators in Chriſtian religion. For you do ſette forth your doctrine neither to Iewes nor Turkes, but vnto Chriſtian men. And it is in theſe dayes verye newe and vnknowne vnto Chriſtian eares.

Bycauſe they do charge vs thus, wée muſte ſée, whether that it bée newe Doctryne in déede or not: and that ſhall appeare, when we

perceiu e arighte, what is newe and what not. For euerye thing is not newe by and by, that seemeth to bée newe.

VVhat it is to be nevv

That is knowen to be newe, whiche neyther euer was before, nor hath bene yet séene or hearde of, but nowe beginneth and cōmeth to light firste: and therefore Salomon saith, that there is nothyng vnder the sun that is newe, nor that it can be said: Lo thys is newe: for that, that it hath gone and bene before in times passed: In déede a thyng séemeth to bée newe, when that whyche hathe bene in time past, and is nowe corrupted and perished eyther by tyme, abuse, or negligence of men, by restoring agayne is renewed, not that it beginneth nowe firste to bée, but rather to be the same whiche it was before. And in verye déede, it is nothyng lesse than newe. For it is one thyng to make a thyng newe, and another to renewe a thyng whyche was made long agoe. They be sayd to make newe things, whiche do institute newe thinges béefore vnused and vnknowen, and they are saide to renewe, which doe restore thinges decayed vnto theyr olde estate and vse.

Ecclesi. 1.

It is one thing to make nevv, and another to renevve.

So the lawe was newe whyche was giuen by Moses to bée kepte of the Israelites, when it was first set forth in the mounte Sina: and the Gospell of Christe was new, when it was firste declared in the worlde by the Apostles. But the lawe was not newe, when by the care of godly Kyngs, it was restored and renewed after that it had bene once corrupte. The histories of the Kynges Asa of Ezechias and of Josias be well knowen. Neyther was the doctrine of the Prophets newe, when they didde rebuke the corruptnes of the lawish religion, and required the right and true obseruation of Gods lawe, althoughe it séemed neuer so new and strange.

2. Paral. 29. 34.

Likewise if those things whiche wée doe now teache in the behoofe of our religion, bée considered and examined to the rule of Gods truth, whether they haue bin also taughte, receiued, and vsed of Christian men before time, and that in the Apostolicke Churches, which the Apostles themselues dydde institute: I suppose that all they whiche be desirous of the truth, shall manifestlye perceyue, that they be nothing lesse thā new, for as much as there is no new or vnused matter broughte in thereby, but that the ancient things whiche haue bin altered and decayed many yeares, are renued agayne.

But if those things be examined which haue bin thrust into the churches by Popes about which they do so bitterly contende now adayes, it shall playnely appeare, that they bée not olde but new, aduentured vppon by the rashnesse of men, after the Apostles times. If they say nay, lette them aunswere vs, whether this bée not more auncient, that we do adore God only than that they do teache to adore dead Sainctes also? And whether it can be referred to the antiquitie of the Apostles, that in the Poperie there bée institute Closettes, Temples, Chappels, Altares, Images, feastes, and seruices, that they be estéemed for mediators and Patrones, whereas there is but one mediator betwéene God and menne, the

The Popishe doctrine is nevve.

the man Christe Iesus: that menne runne and wander out so farre in Pilgrimages, vnto places where their memorials are kept: that at the baptising of infantes euill spirites be coniured: that there is a faithe and a confession of faithe required of these infantes, that there is salt, oyle, and spettell added vnto baptisme: that the faithfull people be robbed of the communion of the Lords bloud: that the Lordes supper is changed vnto a sacrifice of ẏ Masse: and is celebrate for the quicke and the dead: I say nothing of all the rest which is done in their Masses, contrarye vnto the Lordes ordinance. Whiche of the Apostles did first institute Auriculare confession, and forbadde the eating of flesh vppon the Frydayes and certayne other dayes? Which of them gaue anye commaundement for the kéeping of the Lenton fast? which of them sent out the Popes pardons into the world? which of them was author of so manye sectes of Monkes, Friers and Nonnes? which of them withdrewe lawfull mariage from Bishops and Priestes, and layd vppon them vncleanly chastitie? which of them gaue any doctrine of the fire of Purgatorie? whiche of them multiplied the Lords sacramentes vnto the number of seuen? which of them sprinkled coniured water vppon the graues of the dead, and vppon the multitude vpon the faithfull? whiche of them taught to shut vp the Lords bread, to carrie it aboute, to worship it and adore it with burning tapers? which of them deuised the dedicatiōs of Temples and Altares, and deliuered vnto the Churches an innumerable sort of such other like matters? Were not all these geare newe whē they were firste institute? Why dyd not ẏ Byshops crye out then? These things be newe, vnwonted, and vnused? No doubte there neuer lacked some godly menne, which did wythstande these inuentions, but as the misterie of wickednesse preuayled, they could do no good. Now when we doe fynde fault with their innouations, and blame the corruption of the olde Religion, and crye out that the olde aunciente Doctrine and Religion which is decayed, may be renued agayne, we be accounted raylers, and be condemned for newfanglednesse, and ouerthrowers of the olde religion.

That vvhich is true is auncient.

Therefore we do iustly chalenge vnto vs the Antiquitie of the Apostles in christian religion and doctrine, and do iustly lay vnto our aduersaries the faulte of newfanglednesse. And in case they will not bée contented withall, let them marche with vs into the camp of truthe, and graunte that the same is aunciente which is true: and that that is newe, which is false and counterfaite. For it is so ordered by God in all cases of all things, that the truth is of more auncientie than the falshode, euen lyke as God is more aunciente than the Deuill. Euerye thyng is not straightewayes true that is olde. Truth can not so be reported of antiquitie, as the prescription of antiquitie is rightely attribute vnto the truthe. Wherefore it were muche wiselier done in matters of religion, to séeke what is true, than what is olde.

III. By

III. By vvhose faulte it is come to passe, that oure *doctrine seemeth to be newe whereas it is not new.*

NOwe whereas we doe séeme to bring in a new doctrine and religion, when we trauayle in nothing elſe but to renue the true and old religion, the fault is not to be layd vnto theſe our times, but vnto ỹ times of our forefathers, when they began to turne theyr itching eares from hearing the truth vnto fables, and to heape themſelues vp maſters thereof, which turning away of them, the Lord did ſo reuẽge by his iuſt iudgement, that the more they turned thẽſelues from the light of the truth, ſo muche the more groſſe darkeneſſe of erroures they were wrapped in, and did credite lyes, for as much as they refuſed to credite the truth, and they ſerued the preſumptions of men, bycauſe they would not obey the word of God. Through this occaſion there crept into the Churches, ſeducers, & innouatours, whiche proceéded ſo far in their deuices and inuentions, that when libertie was once oppreſſed, and the truth darkened, then at lẽgth there beganne to raigne and rage that ſtudde of mens traditions, conſtitutions, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, wherevnto the multitude is ſo vſed, that what ſo euer is brought to the contrarye out of Gods worde, ſeemeth to be not the olde truthe, but ſome new falſhode and deceyte. So it falleth out, that the olde and Apoſtolike religion is not knowen of hir owne children, lyke as if the true mother whiche in time paſt hath bin thruſt out of hir owne houſe, and at length returning home again, ſhould not be knowen of hir owne children which ſhe had borne and bredde, but ſhoulde be taken for a ſtraunger and a forrayne woman: or like as if the behauioure of olde honeſt life beyng in time paſt decayed, ſhould be taken for new, when men goo about to reſtore it agayne.

They deſerue not to beare the blame of this error, which do bring home againe the olde religion, agreéable vnto Gods word, and go aboute to reſtore it into his place, ſeing that the faulte is in them which did firſte forſake it, yea and when it was once turned out of the doores, did ſubornate their owne inuentions, and traditions in ſtéede thereof.

What time the booke of the lawe was found in the dayes of King Joſias in the ſecreate corners of the Temple, and was exhibited vnto the King himſelfe, it might haue ſéemed ſome newe thing vnto them whyche hadde liued a great whiles without law: whereas in déede nothing ought to haue bin more vſed or knowen to the people. But through whoſe fault was it? was it not the fault of their auncetors whiche would no longer heare the wordes of that Booke? I meane of the Kings and Prieſtes, whiche leauing the ſeruices of the lawe followed the ceremonies of the Gentiles?

Cõpare herewithall thoſe things which are betyded vnto vs, hath not the holy Bible be-hidden and caſt into corners theſe many ages, and vnknowen to ỹ multitude of the faithfull, yea to manye of the Paſtors alſo, and in this oure age what time it is

is tranſlated into all languages welnére, and ſette forthe commonly to be redde, is it anye otherwiſe taken of the ſuperſtitious Papiſtes, than if there were ſome newe and vnwonted doctrine thruſt into the Churches? You might haue foũd in times paſſed in the Poperie a number of Maſſyng Prieſtes and Paſtors, whych had neuer as muche as ſéene the holy Byble. Came not this thorough the fault of oure auncetors? Woulde God the heades and Princes of Chriſtian people woulde acknowledge it, and ſay with Joſias: Goe, and aſke counſell of the Lorde for vs, and for oure people. For the Lordes anger is great ouer vs, bycauſe oure Fathers hearde not the wordes of this Booke, and that they would not only acknowledge theyr faulte, but alſo with a godlye and holye endeuoure renue and ſet vppe agayne the decayed religion accordyng vnto the Lords word, and in ſo doing, they ſhoulde turne away the Lordes wrath from themſelues, and from their people.

So that it appeareth by this that I haue ſayde, that it is not ſtraighte wayes euill what ſoeuer is new, but that it maye be, that neweltie and newenelle in Religion alſo is good and profitable.

It appereth alſo that our doctrine is not new, but ỹ it is the verie ſame auncient doctrine whiche the Primitiue Churches receyued, as delyuered vnto them from the Apoſtles: and that the doctrine of the Papiſtes, as lately brought in, is faultie, newe, and worthie to be withſtanded.

Thirdely, it appeareth playne, thorough whoſe faulte it is come to paſſe, that the doctrine of the Goſpell ſeemeth in theſe oure tymes to be newe and counterfaite, where as it is the Olde, the Lordes, and the Apoſtles doctrine, and ſuch as ought of all things to be beſt knowne in the Churches of Chriſte.

This I meant to touche briefly, bycauſe of the vnlearned, againſt the ſlaunder of Newfangledneſſe, that they may conſider and vnderſtande the Grace of this renewmente, and embrace it heartily, profitably, and with thankeſgiuing.

Of Traditions.

FOraſmuche as it appeareth, that welneare all the ſeruices of the Popiſh religion be but patched vp out of mens traditions, we ſuppoſe that we ſhall not do amiſſe, if after the place of the True ſeruice of God, we doe adde ſomewhat to be conſidered of the Traditions of menne, ſpecially ſéeyng that there is muche controuerſie aboute thys matter, and thereof hathe alwayes riſen much adoe in the Churches agaynſt the truth of God.

I. What the vvorde of Trading is.

THe word *Tradо* in Latin, wherof tradition commeth, is of ſundry ſignification. For ſometymes it ſignifyeth to betake into a mannes

power, sometimes to teache, sometime absolutely to saye, and sometimes to sell: but in this matter wée will holde that sense, whiche agréeth moste to the matter whereof we intende to speake, so that it shall bée as muche to say, as to conuey ouer anye thing to the aftercommers, to be obserued and kepte, not in wryting, but by words and ordinaunce, as it were by mens handes one to an other, so that a tradition in this sense is as muche to saye, as an vnwritten doctrine. They holde that all things be not written by the Apostles, whiche the faithfull of necessitie oughte to kéepe, but that there be many things vnwritten, deliuered vnto the churches, which be no lesse of authoritie, but as reuerently to be kept, as the things that be written. In déede the Apostle maketh mention of his tradition to the Thessalonians. Neither be we against it, but that there were many things deliuered vnto ỳ churches by worde of mouthe of the Apostles: but for asmuche as it is vncertaine whiche shoulde be taken for suche, we thynke it a surer way to iudge of the vnwritten, according to that which is written, than to iudge of those things which be written, according to the vnwritten. But of this poynte we haue spoken in an other place.

A Tradition.

Those whiche we doe héere call Traditions, some do call them Constitutions, and doe runne riot frō the traditions of the Apostles vnto the decrées of the Churche and Popes. And they which striue moze for mēs constitutions, than they doe for the kéeping of Gods commaundements do attribute the selfe same Authoritie vnto these, as they doe to the others. But we meddle not now with the constitutions but with the traditions, whiche they do attribute vnto the Apostles. As for the power of making decrées, which they will haue to be in the Bishoppes, wée spake thereof before in the place of the ministers of the worde. And in this matter, wée doe sequester Traditions from the doctrine of faithe and godlinesse, as it were ceremonies and outwarde rites, as waytyng on and doyng seruice vnto true faithe, and godlynesse.

Constitutions.

II. The kindes of Traditions.

AND we will not ouerscrupulously searche out the sortes of traditions, but we be contented with two only, the one is of them which the Apostles deliuered vnto the Churches as receyued from the Lorde. The other sorte is of them, whiche of theyr owne authoritie and diligence, they recommended to the aftercommers, being not receyued from the Lorde. In the firste sort, we must sette that whiche we do reade of to the Corinthians: I receyued from the Lorde, that which I haue also deliuered vnto you, that the Lord Iesus the same night whē he was betrayed &c. The Lord had ordeyned the remembrāce of his deathe. The same the Apostle as receyued frō him, deliuered faithfully vnto the Churches. Of the latter sorte be all those things, whyche without anye expresse ordinance of the Lorde, the Apostles deliuered to the vse of the Churches by the wisedome of the spirite of Christ. What they be, it can not for a certayntie be determined. Albeit that Augustine writeth of them in this wise: That whiche the whole Churche holdeth, and is not ordeyned by councels, but hathe bin alwayes kepte and obserued, is moste rightlye beléeued to bée deliuered onely by the authoritie of the Apostles. And in an other place: And those things (saith he) whiche we do kéepe as not written, but deliuered vnto vs, whiche are kepte throughout all the worlde, it is to bée deemed that they be kepte as recommended and decréed eyther by the Apostles themselues, or by full and sufficiente Councels, the authoritie of whiche is moste wholesome in the Churche, as that the Lordes passion and resurrection and ascension into Heauen, and the comming of the holy spirite from heauen, are kepte in a yearely solemnitie: and whatsoeuer other suche like thing, whiche is kepte of all menne, wheresoeuer the Church is found and spred abroade. This saieth Augustine. But in my iudgement, it is as vncertayne whether that those things whiche be vsed in the west Churches, were deliuered from the Apostles, as whether that those things whiche were delyuered by them in déede, be yet vntyll this daye faithfully obserued of the Churches: yea it is well to be proued, that like as many things be now obserued, which were not deliuered by the Apostles, so there be manye things also which they deliuered, decayed and put away a greate whyle agoe. The very same Augustine saieth, that it is reported of the Weste Churches, of whiche Rome is one, that many of thē obserued not those things whiche were deliuered them by the Apostles. Whereof is good testimony séene in the Decrées, where the olde rites, of whiche hathe bin no vse of long time, are reported to bée decayed. Wherefore we can not certainely determine, which rites be deliuered vnto the Churche by the authoritie of the Apostles. And as for the latter sorte of traditions, I sée it moste commonlye vsed, that the authoritie of the Apostles is pretended, to coloure mens presumptions and faultes, so that those be called the Apostolike Church, the Apostolike see, the Apostolike power, whiche be nothing lesse thā Apostolike. The lyke presumptuous rashnesse is vsed also in traditions.

III. To whome it belongeth to giue Traditions.

I Thinke no man doubteth, but that it is not lawfull for euerye man to deliuer out any thing in the house of God. For the thing it selfe declareth, that they can not delyuer anye thing which haue nothing that ought to be deliuered. I say, whyche ought not to be deliuered, not which can not be deliuered. It is one thing to haue that whiche maye be deliuered, and an other to haue that whiche thou oughtest to deliuer. There bée many faithfull folke in the Church, whiche though they vnderstand many things to be profitable, yet for all that they haue not that power & authoritie, to betake and commit those things which they do vnderstand, to others to be kept. There bée some things whiche be deliuered to be beléeued, and others be appointed

It is one thing to haue that whiche thou must deliuer, and that which thou ought'st deliuer.

be kept. Those things whiche muste be beleued, may be deliuered by the, whiche haue the knowledge of the truth, so that they haue withall the calling of God. But those thynges whiche are to be obserued, can not, nor ought to be deliuered, but by the which haue authoritie either of their owne, or else graunted vnto them: Of their owne, as that was whyche Christ had graunted vnto them, as that was which the Apostles hadde. And whereas the power is in hymselfe, I thinke no man is so shamelesse to be agaynst the deliuerer: but whereas that authoritie is not, there it muste be graunted from other. For it is not alwayes necessarie, that to whome so euer any thing is to be deliuered, the respecte of the authoritie be layde to their charge, whereunto they maye acknowledge that they ought to obey. Those things whiche are set forth to be beleeued, maye bee authorised by the word of the truth: but those things which are deliuered to be obserued, when they can not be approued by expresse word, they nede eyther the proper authoritie of the Lord, or else the graunted authoritie of the Apostle.

Eckius. Eckius in his Places dothe trifle in this wise: The Apostles doe declare that men may make Decrées, in that they doe commaunde to abstayne from the things offered vnto Idols, and from bloude and choked beastes: and Paule declareth it, in that that he gaue so many lawes for making of Bysshops, for wyddowes, for couering of women, that women should not preach, that a man should not forsake his vnfaithfull wife: and yet Paule was but a man. This sayeth he. In deede the Apostles were but menne, but those things whiche they deliuered vnto the Churches, they deliuered them not as men, but as the Apostles of Christe, informed by ỹ authoritie and spirite of Christ. There is muche difference betwixte those things which the Apostles dyd as men, and those things which they did in Christes cause as Apostles. Those things which they did as me, may be done by all sortes of men, as things belonging vnto menne: but those things whiche they ordered in Churches, as the Apostles of Christ, be not suche, that they may or ought to be ordered of euery man. Wherefore it is very folishe and vaine that Eckius saith, that the Apostles doe declare, that menne maye make Decrées. What king is he vnder the cope of Heauen that is not a man: Inasmuche as he is a man, he hathe all things pertayning vnto man, common with all other men: but in respect that he is a king, he doth and commaundeth manye things, not as a man, but as a King. We muste haue the like iudgement also in this matter of the authoritie of deliuering any thing in the house of God, that therein muste nedes be, not the authoritie of man, but an authoritie giuen of God. I know what Eckius meante: he thought that we doe condemne all those traditions whyche haue bin made by men in the Churches, bycause that they be the doings of men. And therefore he obiected, that the Apostles were also menne, which he neded not to haue obieted vnto vs. For we do not teache, that euery thing which is deliuered vnto the Churches by men, is to be condemned

Gods traditions.

temned immediatly for that respect, bycause it was not deliuered downe by Angels from Heauen: but we doe set lighte by those things whiche bee charged vppon the Churche by men, withoute anye lawfull authoritie to beare them. But he stode all vppon this poynt, to make good that the Bishops and Popes haue authoritie to deliuer and Decree what they list in the Church. And to that purpose hee wrested the example of ỹ Apostles, as though ỹ it were lawfull straight way for the Popes to do the lyke, of that whiche was lawfull for the Apostles. So he dothe alleage ỹ place to the Corinthians. I commend you brethren, that in all things you bee mindfull of me, and do keepe my commaundementes as I deliuered them vnto you, &c. As though ỹ this saying shoulde belong vnto all Bishops of the Church.

IIII. Some traditions be of God, and some of *Men.*

Mens traditions.

It is a cleere case, that all traditions be not of one nature, but that some bee of God, and some of men. And he muste be verie simple, that vnderstandeth not, howe greate difference ther is betwixt godly matters, and the matters of men, & that they be not to be estemed both alike. Wherfore we must haue a diligent consideration, lest vnwares (for lack of knowledge) traditions be so confounded, that those which be of men be not ascribed vnto God, and those whiche be of God mystaken, for the traditions of men.

We saye that those traditions be of God, which be either immediatly deliuered from the Lorde himself, or by meanes by the Apostles through the counsell and aduice of the holye Spirit. The order of the Lords supper was immediatly deliuered from the Lorde, whiche for all that came to the churches by the Apostles. No Christian man doeth denie but that the tradition of it is of God. They be mediatly or by meanes from the Lorde, whyche were deliuered to the Churches by the Apostles, and yet we do graunt that they be also of God, for as muche as they be of the spirite of God. For lyke as that doctrin of ỹ Apostles is of God, which they did set forth vnto mē by the instinct of ỹ holy Spirit: so their traditiõs also which they did deliuer vnto the faithfull, are likewise of God, bycause they were set forthe by the aduice and counsell of the holy Spirite.

Mens traditions be they, which be not only deliuered by mē, but by the counsell of man also. And we do not mesure mens traditions by the qualitie of the things wherunto they be applied, as though that those only were of men, which ar deliuered touching the political matters & affaires: but we do call them of men also, whiche are giuen in matters of religion, not by the counsell of the spirite of God, but by the mere deuice of manne, although in outward apparance they seme to be religious. That tradition of the Scribes and Phariseis semed verily to be of religiõ, whē euery one of them said to his father or mother: What reward soeuer goth from me, shall profite thee also: that is to say, what soeuer I doe offer to God vnto

the treasurie, shall be vayleable not onely for my selfe, but for thée also, that is to say, for thy saluation. And yet for all that, Christe doth repute this amongest mens traditions, for that that the spirite of mans deuice and not of Gods counsel was the deuiser and beginner thereof. And in this number I may put those, which procéede neyther of God, neyther of the heart of man, but of the instinct of euil spirits: such as those be, when Marriage is forbidden in Christes Churche, and commandement giuen to forbeare certayne meates, which pointes the Apostle toucheth by expresse wordes: And the spirit telleth assuredly, that in the latter tymes some shall fall from the faith, harkening vnto deceiptfull spirites, and to the Doctrines of Diuels, thorough the dissemblyng of false speakyng men, which haue a conscience marked with a hote yron, forbiddyng to marrie, commaundyng to absteyne from meates, whyche God created to be receyued of the faithfull with thankes giuing. &c. Wherein he referreth the latter parte to the doctrines and commaundementes of men. Suche kynde of Traditions may be called diuellishe, by the beginner of them from whence they come, notwithstanding that they be deliuered out by menne: like as those thinges whiche bée of God, be aright called Godly, albeit they be giuen vnto the Churches by the ministerie of men. But lyke as those things whiche bée not of God, are wonte to be imputed to men, to declare that they be not of God: so those traditions also be reputed among mens traditions: to signifie that they be not of God, and that therefore they ought not to bée taken for godly. And besides that, the Deuill is so greate a Prince of this worlde, and so raigneth in the heartes of men, that any thing maye hardly escape the daunger of Diuelishe instincte and deuice that procéedeth out of the heartes of men, specially in religion, without the instincte and motion of God. Wherefore by this reason also, they bée worthyly tearmed Mens traditions, whiche are deliuered out, through the speciall aduise of Satan, by men, in matters of religion.

Diuelishe traditions.

1. Time. 4.

Coloss. 2.

V. What Traditions ought to be obserued.

That nother all traditions are to be reiected nor all to be vsed.

Albeit that there is muche controuersy now a days in the churche of God, whereas some do holde, that all Traditions without respect oughte to be obserued, and some on the other side without choyce, do reiect them altogither: yet for all that I suppose that they be in the ryght, whiche are in the opinion, that neyther al ought to be kept, nor al without regarde refused. For it pertayneth to the discretion of Christian men to trye all things, accordyng to the saying of the Apostle, and to hold fast that which is good: and wher as the Apostle sayeth, Proue all: no doubt he doeth admonish vs, that all is not to be refused, nor to be receyued neyther at the firste, but rather that things ought to bée examined and tried by sounde iudgement. And where as he addeth, Holde fast that whiche is good: he doeth expresly ynough teache vs, ẏ we must beware that we kepe not that which is euil, and

and reiecte the good. For both those are the pointes of vnreligious or very vnwise folke, suche as Christian men can not be withoute shame and rebuke. And in the worde All, we may well recken traditions: wherefore whereas the Apostle sayd generally, that men must trie all, it ought to be referred vnto them also. Therfore lette vs trie oure traditions by some conuenient difference, that the euill maye bée perceyued from the good, and that those which are to bée obserued, may be obserued, and suche as be worthy to be refused, refused.

Whiche good traditions.

And it is an easie matter to saye generallye, that all good traditions ought to be obserued, and the euill to be reiected. But when we shall goe to the specialties, to sée whiche bée good, that can not be so easely determined, speciallye in so sundry iudgements of the faithful, of whych some are more affected to things accustomed, rather than true. Olde traditions séeme to be good, and méete to be obserued, bycause that they be olde. In déede antiquitie hath some prerogatiue in rites, ceremonies and traditions, if there be good proofe that they be good: but whether that they be good or no, it is to be decided, not by the auncientie but by the truthe. For euerye tradition is not good immediately whiche is aunciente and olde. To be olde, helpeth nothing to the goodnesse thereof. The tradition whiche is good of it selfe, was no lesse good when it was new, than when it wared to be old. Yea it may so fall out, that the same which was sometime good, be now no longer good, and that it was better whyles it was newe, than it can be now when it is become olde: as when the times bée altered, and behauiors also of ẏ faithfull perhappes may become vnprofitable. Euery traditiō hath his cause and his ende, when the cause of it ceasseth, and the ende is altered, the profite therof also ceasseth, although it were neuer so olde.

Therfore let vs séeke whiche traditions be good. Peraduenture no man will think that it is to be doubted, but that those be good whiche be of God. For that ẏ there can be nothing of god, but that which is good. But in this poynt there is also muche a do, and great reasoning, which are to be taken to bée of that sorte. The Bishop of Rochester sayth, that the tradition of the Popishe consecration where it is sayde, that the breade and Wine be Transubstantiate into the bodye and bloud of the Lorde, is therfore of God, for that the Fathers receiued it, through the instincte of the holy Spirite, and deliuered it so vnto the churches, albeit that it can not be proued by anye writings of the Euangelists & of the Apostles: Looke in the booke of the Kings assertiō against Martine Luther. The Papists do pronounce the like of other traditions also of Popish superstitions: but that they bo of the holye Spirite, they doe not so stoutely proue, as they stoutely saye it. Wherefore they be not assured straight way to be good, whiche bée vpholden to be godly. If we say that they of the Apostles traditions bée good, we fall into the lyke daunger. For the Papistes are wont to father their traditions vpon the Apostles, when the Authors of them bée not knowen. And this is not lately come vp.

The Byshoppe of Rochester.

The traditions of the Apostles.

vp. They did the same in times past, whiche did attribute a sorte of Byshoppes Canons, vnto the Apostles, and called them, the Canons of the Apostles, of which notwithstanding we doe reade in the Decrees in thys wise: They whiche be called the Canons of the Apostles, for asmuche as the see Apostolike hathe not receiued them, nor the holye fathers gyuen them their consente, for that it is knowē that they were made by Heretikes in the name of the Apostles, albeit there bee founde some good things in them, yet for all that it is certaine, that their doings be sequestred from the Canonicall and Apostolike authoritie, and reckened among the Apocriphall or reiected Bookes. These things be written there. Wherefore we must take our iudgemente, concerning traditions, vpon some better ground than vpon the name of the Apostles, whereby they maye be able safely to be sette forthe, and recommended vnto men, as things that be right vp and good, and suche as ought to be obserued & kept. And it is no matter for the obiection of the place of S. Augustine, whiche I alleaged before, where hee saith, that the same whiche the vniuersall Churche holdeth, and is not institute by Councels, but hathe bin alwayes vsed, maye verye well bee thoughte to be deliuered only by the authoritie of the Apostles. For although that it be well knowen that some traditions haue bin kept in the vniuersall Church, yet for all that it can not be certainely gathered therof, that it was deliuered from the Apostles, vnlesse that it be tryed that it hath bin alwayes from the tymes of the Apostles stedfastly kept in all Churches. As for an example: It is a generall poynt that children be not admitted vnto the mysticall table of ye Lordes supper in these later times: and is so obserued euerye where as farre as I knowe, in all Churches. But it hathe not bin alwayes generall: for as we noted before in the place of the Lordes Supper, it was sometime generall as well in ye East Churches as in the West, that children were also admitted vnto the Lords table. Wherefore the opinion of Augustine is to be vnderstanded with this moderation, that is, that it is requisite, that suche a tradition should not be taken to be generall or vniuersall, bycause it hathe bin vsed some certaine time or age: but that it must appeare that it was vniuersall, euen from the times of the Apostles. And therefore also he added: Which neither was instituted by councels, but was alway vsed and kepte. And how can this condition which is added, be certainely proued in the traditions of the Popes, that is to saye, that their generall and vniuersall traditions, haue bin neither instituted by Coūcels, nor by Bishops: but alwayes and euery where vsed in ye Churches? Surely it is more likely that those things whiche were sometimes vniuersall and Apostolicall, be for the most part by processe of time worne out and altered: thā that those things which are at this time generally vsed, haue bin euer and euerye where generall, but let vs proceede.

Canons of the Apostles. Distinct. 16. Can. Canones.

It is not much to generall as to be euergen

1 It remaineth therefore that we muste saye, that those traditions bee good and meete to be obserued, of whiche it may be certainely proued: First,

VVhich traditions are to be obserued

First, that they be not vnlawful and repugnant vnto Gods worde. But that tradition whiche is vsed in the Poperie of the communion vnder one kind only, is none such. For howe contrary the same is vnto the Lords institution, and sundrye wayes vnlawfull, we haue declared before in the place of the Lords Supper.

2 Secondly, it must be proued, that they be not only lawful, but also profitable. Profitable I say, either for ye exercise of faith or loue, or some other true godlinesse. I saye not that it is requisite, that they were sometimes profitable: but that they must be suche as be profitable for the present vse. For in traditiōs it is not requisit to regard how profitable they haue ben in old times, but ther must be a present profite in traditions. It was profitable for ye primitiue churches which were gathered of Iewes and Gentiles, that ye Apostles made a tradition to absteyne from things offered vnto Idols, and from strangled things, and from bloud: and as long as it was profitable, it was also meete to be kepte: but in ye Churches whiche were after that, it was no longer profitable, and therefore it decayed and was taken awaye. So that it were no reason to giue eare vnto hym, whyche woulde striue to haue it called in againe as an olde, Godly, Apostolike, and in times past profitable tradition.

3 Thirdly, it is requisite also, that traditions be honest, comely, moderate, and easye to be kept. For it is not conuenient, that those thinges which do either offend men in some outward shewe of dishonestie, either doe shew forth any vncomlinesse, or else do by their exceeding multitude or hardnesse, wring or ouer-charge Christs people, shuld haue any place in Christes religion. For albeit that as Augustine saith, that this can not be founde howe they be againste the faith: yet those things which be sette forth to be obserued, which be either too many or too sore & painefull to be kepte, do ouer-lay the true religion with most seruile burdens, whiche Gods mercie wold haue to be free, & to be vsed in most few and manifest sacramēts. Neither is it meete also ye those things which be superstitious rather than religious, or which at ye least way haue the outwarde shewe of superstition, should be vsed in the Churches.

Augustine Epist. 119

At one worde, my iudgemente is, ye all those traditions ought to be refused, which be against Gods word, which be ydle, vaine, & vnprofitable, which be dishonest, vncomly, & superstitious, although it be but in ye outward shew, whiche be grieuous and burdennouse, whyche serue more to gayne than to edifying, and whiche do bynde the consciences of the faithfull vnto anye bondage. But those whiche be not of thys sorte, but may bee allowed for good, profytable, godlye, honest, religious, easye and moderate, may be wel kept in Christes Churche, according vnto that saying of the Apostle to the Philippians. For the rest, my brethrē, what thinges so euer be true, honest, vpright, pure, conueniente and of good reporte, if there bee any vertue in them and commendation, thynke vppon them, whiche you haue both learned, receyued, seene and hearde in mee, these thynges doe. &c. And

VVhat traditions ought to be refused

Philip. 4

the God of peace shall be with you. These words of the Apostle, Eckius dothe alleage in his Places, to perswade that the constitutions of the Churche oughte to be obserued and kept. And yet for all that, he doth not proue them to bée suche, as these wordes of the Apostle maye agrée withall: If they were such, no godly man would be against them.

VI. Hovv Traditiõs ought to be obserued.

That the causes of the traditions ought to be considered.

Every tradition hathe some certayne causes and some certayne ende, why, and wherevnto it is institute. Therefore each of them is so to be obserued of the faithfull, that it maye agrée with the causes thereof, and be directed to the purposed ende thereof. And the diligence of the ministers is necessary to be had in thys matter, that the causes and endes of the traditions maye bée expounded vnto Christes people. For it is a moste seruile thing, and in Christes religion most vnséemely, that those things which are to be done, shoulde be done without knowledge and vnderstanding. We must beware, that there be nothing done eyther seruily, eyther superstitiously, or scrupulouslye, or negligently, and withoute regarde. There be sundrye reasons in traditions. Some do serue for faith, some for godlye lyfe, some for loue & cõcord, some for discipline of maners, and holynesse of lyfe: Let the Lordes people be taught to vnderstande this by the dilligence of the Ministers, so that they maye apply them selues to euery of these traditions, wyth suche obseruaunce, as is méete for them. When there commeth a tradition sette foorthe by the speciall authoritie, either of the Lorde hymselfe, eyther of the Apostles, it is méete that it be obserued also with a speciall reuerence. If there come one whereof the Author is not knowen, it muste be wayed what it is, eyther of it selfe, eyther for the vse of the people: whether it serueth for the profyte or for the honestie of the Church, and according vnto ẏ qualitie therof, lette it be eyther obserued or neglected.

There bee sundry causes of traditions.

Men must respecte charitie in traditions.

But in case a man be so far profited in the religion of Christ, that he can take littell or no profite of anye tradition: yet if the tradition be such that it may serue the vnskilfull multitude to edifying, let him kepe it also for charities sake (in which respect they that be perfecte, be debters to the vnperfect) least he do hurt by his example those, whome hée ought in his whole purpose of lyfe to do good.

Yea though it apere to be a mere mannes tradition whiche is openly kepte in the Churche, the Christian man that is godly and desirous of quiet. shall keepe it also, though not with the reuerence which is due vnto godly things, yet for al that without contempt: so that he vnderstand ẏ ther be nothing in it vnlawfull or vnhonest. Forasmuch as we be men and do liue also in the Church amõg men, it is not mete ẏ in the behauior, rites & traditiõs of men, we shuld be founde to be ouerthwarte, crabbed, and crooked. Let godly thinges be obserued as godly things should be, and mens matters as maters of mẽ oughte to bée, so farre foorth as they maye be obserued wyth a frée and

cleare conscience.

Popish traditions to be esterred.

But I say not this to defende the Popishe traditions, rites, and seruices, God forbidde. And I call them Popish traditions, which doe eyther of theyr owne nature, or by abuse, serue to vngodlinesse, superstition & Popishe blindenesse, all whiche I woulde haue excéedingly eschewed. Neyther lette any man deuise with himselfe any interpretations, which to the outwarde shewe should séeme to serue his turne, whereby he may suppose that he may obserue the popishe traditions without any hurte of conscience. For the godly manne muste be excéeding circumspect, least by his example he doe establishe the blinde and deceyued multitude in their errour, whereof we haue spokẽ in an other place more at large.

Hovve perillous, yea and somtimes pernicious mens *Traditions bee.*

We néede not to teache you that those traditions whiche are begonne of the instinct of the Diuell, or of mens presumptiõ, and so thrust into the Churches, are hurtfull and pestilent. For no Christian man wil maynteyne such. Neyther néede wée to informe you, howe euill they be, whiche doe serue vnto vngodlinesse, idolatrie, superstition, false seruice of God, lucre and gaine, and biyng and sellyng. For there is no body that dothe stande in it, but they onely, whiche be so blinded vp in gayne or vngodlinesse and superstition, that they will take no warnings. Wherfore it is no speakyng of thẽ at this present, but of those Traditions rather, whiche though they be not euill of themselues, yet for al that they do bring destruction vnto the vnskilfull and rashly religious people, whiche doe misuse them.

The ab[illegible] of good traditio[illegible]

And there is no tradition so good of it selfe, but it must néedes do some harme, if for lacke of the vnderstanding thereof it doe degenerate to an abuse, yea although it be giuẽ from God. Let the Brasen serpent be for an example, whiche albeit he were set vp by Gods commaũdement, not to hurte, but to ayde them that were in daunger by byting of Serpentes, yet for all that, he was made hurtful to the Israelites, through their own faulte: wherefore he was taken away by Ezechias at length, bycause he beganne to serue for idolatrie. What betided of the Lordes supper, it is to manifest, if those things be well considered whiche we noted of the Popishe Masse. These kindes of traditions the more they be cõmended by Gods authoritie, so much the more occasiõ they haue to do harme, not of theyr owne nature, but thorough theyr malice, by whome they be peruerted vnto a wicked abuse.

1. Reg. 18.

If this dothe chaunce in Godly and Apostolike traditions, that they be made hurtfull through the faulte of the abusers thereof, I sée not how those that be of men, can be assured to be profitable. The fleshe doth like these better, bicause they come of the fleshe: specially if there be ioyned withall, and olde custome and some gorgiousnesse and trimnesse whiche pleaseth the fleshe.

The eui[illegible] of mens traditio[illegible]

1 The firste and the accustomed euill in those, is the opiniõ of seruice and worshippyng, when vnskilfull

The fi[illegible] opinion [illegible] seruice

folkes doe thinke, that they doe God seruice & honour, if they kepe deuoutly the traditions of the Church. But our sauiour crieth out to the cōtrary, saying: They doe serue mee in vaine, teaching the doctrines & commaundements of men. Hereof they ought to be admonished by the Pastors and teachers. But they doe vtterly dissemble this saying of the Lord, to fish the more readily for the gaine whiche they seeke for, at the hands of the vnskilful multitude, by the obseruance of the traditions. In the meane season wee doe see that it commeth to passe, that such traditiōs be turned into an idoll of mans hart, very abhominable vnto God.

Matth. 15.

2 There foloweth this opinion of seruice, an other euill as pernicious as that, that is, the trust vpon theyr owne merites, vpon their own righteousnesse, vpō satisfactiō & forgiuenesse of sinnes. And whereas this felow taketh place in the harts of mē, there is the feeling of Gods wrath, & the accusing of his owne consciēce extinguished in them: & so al the way is shut vp from the gospell of grace and true repentance, & frō the fayth of Christ our only mediatour and sauiour, whom the father would haue to be our throne of Grace and our rightuousnesse. Ther vpon it cōmeth to passe, that no man dothe more resiste the doctrine of grace, than they whom this trust conceyued of mens traditiōs, hath bewitched. This euil is aūcient as the histories of the gospels do testifie. So that these two euils, the opinion of Gods seruice, and the ouerthwart trust, folowyng one to an other, do make mens traditiōs very pernicious and hurtfull, when the Pastors do sleepe or do stiffly and superstitiously (without knowledge) enforce the keeping of them, or seeke theyr owne gayne and lucre.

The truste of merite.

3 On the other side, as it were cleane contrary, there riseth trouble of conscience of the opiniō of the necessitie of them. For whē men do beleue that the traditiōs of men ought of necessitie to be kept, and that they can not be omitted without sinne, there riseth a seruile slauery, & a miserable torment of mens consciēces. Hervnto helpeth forward the power and authoritie of the Bishop out of all measure layde vnto mens charge as though menne shoulde obey it no lesse than the Lorde himselfe. This euil remaineth vnder false Pastors, whiche doe better beare with the transgression of the commaundementes of God, than with the neglecting of theyr own traditions, such as they were to whome the Lorde sayde: You do make the commaundemēt of God of none effect, for your tradition.

The trouble of consciences.

Matth. 15.

4 And a man would not beleeue, what great occasion of discord there is in the Churches by mens traditions, when the hartes of the faithful bee lightned with the light of Gods worde, and ledde from vnlawful and noysome traditions. Yea there ariseth there vppon greate persecutions, whyles they bee all condemned of heresie, that doe for any cause shake off the yoke of mēs traditions from them. Of bothe these euils there be ouer-many examples shewed in this our age. These bee the fruytes of mens traditions, where the tiranny of Bishops, & the blindnesse of minde doth reygne. I speake not

Occasiōs of discordes.

not of the moste filthy lewdenesse of whorings and sundry wantonnesses, which haue ouer-flowen the Church by the tradition of solelyfe, and refrayning from Mariage.

Of the Name of God.

For asmuch as there is oft mention made in the scripture, and in the Churche, and in our common lyfe & worldly matters, and muche vsing & occupying of the name of God: and that it is meete that all men shoulde beware of the prophanation or dishonoring therof, and to be very carefull to vse it as lawfully, truely, and religiously as may bee, we haue thought good besides those things whiche wee haue spoken in the Decalogus, that is to witte in the thirde precepte, of the prophanation of the name of God, to open here in a sundry place in fewe wordes those things that doe concerne this matter, as:

1. What the name of God is.
2. What it is to do any thyng in Gods name.
3. To whom it belongeth to doe any thing in Gods name, & to whome not.

I. What the name of God is.

It is a playne matter, that all things which be in Heauen and in Earth, be called by theyr owne names for a difference to be had, to the intent that euery thing might be knowē what it is, and that not only the generalities, but the specialties also mighte be disseuered, whiche is very necessary for the vse of man. And whether that the Maiestie of God may be drawen into this consideration of names, it may be doubted. For it seemeth, that seyng God, according to the essence of his Godhead, is no manifold or diuers thing, but moste singular & onely one, there can no suche thing be determined of him. Neyther needeth he any proper name to be separated thereby from others, whiche eyther haue all one likenesse, or which be sundry one frō an other. And yet for al that, there is a proper name giuē vnto him in the scriptures, which he chalēgeth sometimes to himselfe, as in Exodus where he sayth: And my name *Iehouah*, I haue not made knowen vnto them. And in Esaie he saith: I *Iehouah*, this is my name. But although that this name doe so properly agree vnto God, that it may not be cōmunicate vnto any creature: yet it is not such ẏ therby we may attaine to know the whole essence & substāce of his Maiestie, the knowledge wherof is vtterly incomprehensible: so that the same which is spokē in the booke of Judges, was sayde aright: Why askest thou my name, which is wōderfull? Of this name, Rabbi Moses an Egyptian in the booke called *More*, sayth thus: All the names of the Creator, that be founde in all bookes bee deriued of effects, sauyng that name onely, *Iehouah*. And it is a name appropryate vnto ẏ most high Creator. And therefore it is called an expresse name. He meaneth that there is signified and shewed therby the

Vvhet that an proper name be conuen vnto G

Exod. 6

Esay. 42

Iudic.

Moses gyptus More.

the substance of the creator, and that there is nothyng in it common vnto God and creatures. But the reste of his names haue some double or mingled significatiō, bycause they come of the workes lyke vnto them, which be deriued in vs. Thus ẏ Hebrewes doe speake of the name of God *Iehouah*: but wee doe thinke it good to leaue that name which is vnsearchable, and take it to be more profitable and conuenient for our capacitie, to call that the name of God, whiche is reported of him, whereby we may be instructed rather what manner of God, and how great he is, thā what God is. After this sorte it is sayde in Exodus: Almighty is his name. So it is reported of him, that he is our Lorde, our iudge, iuste, mercyfull, gratious, and kinorable, whatsoeuer of this is reported of God, that is his name. Secondly, his name is his glory and his prayse. In this sense the Scripture doth sometimes take his name for prayse, whereas it sayth: A good name is better than muche riches. So the name of God is called great: God is knowē in Iewry, and his name is great in Israel, that is to say, his glory is greate, and his prayse is large, and his name glorious, &c. And yet for that all these cōmeth to one. For what is the prayse and glory of God, but that which is religiously and honorably thought and reported of him, as that hee is good, mercifull, iuste, true & Almighty? &c. Wherefore it is song in the Psalme. According vnto thy name, so is thy prayse also.

That is the name of god vvhich is reported.

Exod. 15.

Psalm. 76.

Psalm. 48.

II. What it is to doe any thing in the name of God.

To do any thing in the name of God, is diuerslye spoken.

To do a thing to the glory of God.

1 Firste, it is to doe a thing to the glory of God. For it is a common matter in all our businesse almoste, when we begin any thing, to say: In the name of God, or in the name of the Holy trinitie: whiche is all one as to the glory of the Holy trinitie. So it is sayde to the Colossians: Whatsoeuer you doe, doe all in the name of Iesus Christe, that is to say, to the Glory of our Lorde. The Apostle expresseth the same to the Corinthians, where he sayth: Whether you doe eate or drinke or doe any other thing, doe all vnto the glory of God.

Colos. 3.

1. Cor. 10.

To doe a thing in the name of God, is to doe it in the truste of Gods name.

2 Secondly, to doe a thing in the name of God, is to doe it in the truste of Gods name. So the Psalmiste singeth: In the name of our Lorde we will auaunce vp our standerdes, as if he shoulde say, in respect & truste not of our owne strength, whiche is nothyng: but in respect of the name of our Lorde God, whome we know to be Almighty and a defendor of his people, we will auaunce vp our standerdes, and fight hande to hāde with our enimie. Item. They in Charets, and they in Horses, but we wil remember the name of our God: or else, wee will rise vp in the name of our God: by whiche wordes he doth signifie, that by ẏ truste of the name of God, they will ouerthrowe the strength of their enimies, though they be neuer so well armed. In like maner Dauid sayde vnto Golyath: Thou cōmest vnto me with sworde, shielde,

To doe a thing in the name of God.

Psalm. 20.

shielde, and speare, but I come in the name of the Lord of hostes, the God of the armies of Israell, &c. That is to say, In the truste of the Lordes name.

3 Thirdly, to doe any thing in the name of God is to doe it in the person, steede and power of God: after whiche sense he that is sent from any man, is sayde to doe that which his commission leadeth him vnto, in the name of him from whome he is sent. So Christe sayth in Iohn: I came in the name of my Father, that is in the steede, authoritie and power of my Father. Wherefore he sayth in an other place: The wordes whiche I doe speake, be not myne, but his who hath sente me. And, He whiche receyueth me, receyueth not me, but him whiche sent me. And in Luke, And that (sayth he) repentāce and forgiuenesse of sinnes be preached in his name, that is to say, in his behoofe & power. So Paule doth expounde it, saying: God was in Christe reconcilyng the worlde vnto him, not reputing theyr sinnes vnto them, and he hath set the word of reconcilement in vs. Therefore we doe vndertake this message for Christe, as though God shoulde exhorte you by vs. We beseeche you in Christes behalfe, be reconciled vnto God. To doe a message for Christe, and to beseech them in Christes behalfe, is to doe his message. And to beseech them in the name of Christe. Agayne: I (sayth he) though absent in body, yet present in spirite, haue already iudged as present, that he whiche hath done this, shall in the name of our Lorde Iesu Christe, &c. which is nothing else, but by the authoritie and power of our Lorde Iesus Christe. Therefore when any thyng is mentioned to be done in ẏ name of God, in Scriptures, wee muste see vnto whiche of these senses it is to be referred, which may easily be knowen by that whiche goeth before, and cōmeth after.

III. To vvhome it belongeth to do any thing in the *name of God, and to whome not.*

It is not for euery man to doe any thing in any Kings name, how much lesse is it meete for euery man to doe any thing in the name of God? Surely it is not for thē which haue nothing to do with god. Wherefore we must see to whome it belongeth to doe any thing in the name of God. And we muste consider it not slightly, but carefully, that we doe not vnaduisedly bereaue any mā of his worthinesse. Wee shall the better doe this, in case We will way in the consideration hereof those three senses, wherein wee declared in the article before, that a thing may sundry wise be done in ẏ name of God. Therefore as touchyng the firste, where we sayde, that to doe a thyng in the name of God is all one, as to do it to the glory and prayse of God, there be two things requisite.

It is not for euery man to doe any thing in the name of God.

VVhat manner thing it is that is done.

1 The one is, that such a thing be done in the name of God, which may helpe to the glory and prayse of his name. And that all things whiche be done by men, can not helpe to the glory of God, no man will denie. So that all things can not be done in the name of God, but those things only, whiche doe serue to the glory of his name.

name. And some men doe suppose, that nothing can be done to the glory of God, which is not expressly set forth in the Scriptures, & pertayne to the commaundementes of God. And that the rest as it serueth not to the glory of God, so it doth not belóg vnto him neyther. But they muste open their eyes a little wider. For al things could not be namely expressed in scriptures, which be requisite to the aduauncement of Gods glory. That orderly dispositiō of Gods gouernment, is much larger than so, ỳ al things belóging therevnto, might or ought to be comprehended in writing. It is sufficient that some brief and generall rules thereof be put into the Scriptures, wherevnto wee may frame al our life, and be instructed of these things whiche be particular and vnwritten. Loke vpon our life, and vpon the multitude and varietie of worldly things, and consider what a passing number there is of those things which ought to serue to the glory of God. Wherevpon the Apostle bathe require of vs, that what soeuer we either say or do, we should do it in the name of our Lord Iesu Christe, & to the glory of God, giuyng vs planely inough to vnderstand, that all our whole lyfe ought to be suche, that all as well wordes, as deedes therof may be done to the glory of God, and in the name of our Lorde Iesu Christe.

All things be not described in the scriptures vvhiche doe serue to the glory of God.

Col.3. 1.Cor.10.

How it is done.

The other thing that is requisite vnto this, that any thing be done in the name of God, that is to the glory of God, is that it be done in cōuenient minde & fashion, with a minde desirous of Gods glory, in such a fashion as becōmeth Gods glory. For it is possible for a man to do ỳ which of it self is right, and yet not to do it with a minde bent to the name & glory of God, & so he should not do it in the name of God, what so euer hee should pretend. Thus we may iudge what māner seruice of God that is, whiche the Papists do fayne & counterfaite. For first it is not such as of it selfe helpeth to the glory of God, for asmuch as it serueth neyther vnto true fayth, nor vnto Charitie. Secondly, they do it not neyther in that minde to auaunce the glory of God, but to hunte for gayne and lucre, and to serue their idle bellies withall: neyther doe they so practise it, that it may help to the glory of God. That saying of the Philosopher is knowen in the Ethikes: Suche things as be done by artes, are good of themselues, so that it is well inough howe so euer they be done, so that they be done, but those thyngs whiche be done according vnto vertues, are not rightly and wisely wrought when they be in any wise done, vnlesse he whiche dothe them, doe them in some sorte and manner. And a litle after, Besides that that a thyng be done well and a right, hee would haue it done at suche time, by such persons, towarde such, for suche cause, and in such sort, as it ought to be. Which circumstances if they be in any thing requisite, they be moste iustly requisite in this case whereof we talke now.

Ethicorum lib.2. cap.

By this it may easily be séene, to whome it belongeth to do any thing in the name, and the glory of God, that is to witte, to all the faythfull. But lette vs make our difference in this place. To belong or pertayne vnto

To vvhom it pertaineth to do any thing in the name of God.

vnto men, is two wayes sayd. First, bicause they can doe it. Secondly, bicause they ought to doe it. Bicause they can, as if a man shoulde say, it belongeth vnto menne to speake and not to beasts: it belongeth to birdes to flee, and not to menne: and it is not euery mans feate to bee a good traueller. And ỳ Apostle saith: Faith belongeth not vnto all men, that is to say, it is not gyuen vnto al men to beleue. Bicause they ought to do. As if I shoulde say, that charitie perteyneth vnto al Christian men, for that they ought to loue, bycause they bee bounde therevnto, by the Lordes cōmaundement. Now to the purpose: To do any thing in the name and to the glory of God, belongeth to the faithfull: first bycause they onely hauing faith can doe it, others that bee vnfaythfull and vngodly, can not: For they can not consider the glory of God without fayth, whiche they haue not. Secondly, it belongeth therfore also to the faythfull, bicause they ought to doe all things in the name, and to the glory of God. This they ought to doe, but not they alone. For all menne generally be bounde in this duetie: and therefore in thys sense, it belongeth not onely to the faythfull, but to all menne also, not to doe some thing onely, but to doe all things altogither in the name & to the glory of God. As according vnto the saying of the Preacher: It belongeth vnto all menne to feare God, and to keepe his commaundementes. So that to doe all things in the name of God, belongeth not to all men, but to the faithfull onely: and agayne it belongeth not to the faythfull onely, but also vnto all men. The faythfull onely, bycause they onely can doe it: and vnto all men, bycause all ought to do it. Yet for all that it belongeth chiefly vnto Christian men, whiche ought to practise, say and doe also al things to the glory of God, not only bicause of the common grace of our creation and conseruation, but also bycause of that speciall Grace, whiche they haue obteyned in Christe Iesu. For they be in two respectes not their owne men, but Christes, who dyed for them, and by his death redeemed them, wherevpon that was sayde by the Apostle: None of vs dothe liue to himself, and no man dieth to himself. And, You be bought vpō a raūsome, be not the seruāts of mē. And, For your mēbers be the temples of the holy spirite, and you be not your owne men, for you be bought. And Christ died for all, to the intent that they whiche do liue, should not lyue to themselues any longer: and therefore it is that we must make an accompt vnto God of all things. Why of all things? Bycause that we doe owe al things vnto him. First, in the right of our creation and generall prouidence. Secondly, of our redemption also. Wherefore it followeth, that we must do all things vnto his glory, & forsake all whatsoeuer seruceth not to this ende, & therefore the Apostle doth require that we should auoyde & flee not only those things ỳ be euill, but those things also whiche belong not to the matter: and go on with thanks giuing. He thought he had not sufficiētly expressed the boūden desire of Gods glory in cōmaunding them to eschue fornication, vncleannesse, & couetousnesse, knowing

Rom.14.

1.Cor.7.

1.Cor.6.

2.Cor.5.

2.Cor.5.

Ephes.5.

that

that not only those euils were to be auoyded, but those things also which doe not some way serue to the glory of God, and that whiche he termeth there to belong to the matter, he termeth in an other place to serue to edifying. Wherefore he saith immediatly in the same place: Haue not to do with the vnprofitable workes of darknesse, but reproue them rather. He saith not with noysome workes: for so he had not sufficiently expressed the matter: but, with vnprofitable workes, to warne vs, that idle doings be also euill in this respecte, because they be vnprofitable, and he addeth: Of darknesse, that is of ignorance: meaning that they which be the children of light, ought to doe all things that be fruitefull, and eschew the vnfruitefull things, vnlesse they will still continue in darkenesse. Yea he biddeth them also reproue the workes of darkenesse, lyke as the darknesse is confounded by the light. The like saying is in Matthew. For what soeuer idle worde that men do speake, they shall answere therefore at the day of iudgement. What is an idle worde? euen that which furthereth not to the glory of God, that whiche belongeth not to the matter, that whiche is vnprofitable and vnfruiteful, that which doth not edifie. The lyke reason is also of doynges. And why is there accompt to be giuen thereof? Bicause that whereas we be Gods, yet we neyther speake nor doe that is to Gods glory. No master doth thinke, that an idle and an vnprofitable seruaunt is worthy to be kepte in his house whome he hath bound vnto him in all respects. Euen so, therefore Christian menne not onely may, but ought also aboue all other men to doe all things in the name of God, and to the glory of God, as dwellyng in Gods house: so that it is to be taken for a greate faulte, if they say or doe any thing that is vayne and vnprofitable.

Matth. 12.

In very deede it is a moste pestilent doctrine, that the Papists do restrayne the housholde seruaunts of God, the faythfull people, vnto some certayne workes and prescripte places, more superstitious than Godly, to serue the glory of God in, wheras all our lyfe in all places, purposes, wordes and workes, ought to be nothing els, but the sanctifying of gods name, and the true seruice of God. Thus it commeth to passe, that they whiche seeme to bee the chiefe seruers of GOD, doe neuer serue God truely, and that they whiche seeme to doe moste to the glory of God, do further it nothing at al. But let vs procede to the reste.

All our life ought to be the true seruice of God.

We sayd, that in the second sense, to do any thing in the name of God, is as muche to say, as to doe it in the truste of Gods name, and let vs see to whome it belongeth to doe any thing in the name of God in this sense. In this poynt it is first requisite, that the same whiche is done, be suche as may be done in the fayth of Gods name. For lyke as all things can not be done to the glory of God, so all things can not be done neither in the truste of Gods name. But to be shorte, those things may be done to the glory and in the truste of Gods name, whiche be vndertaken not by the deuice of man, but of God. For otherwise, harke what Esay sayth: You take counsell, but not of mée.

To whom it belongeth to doe any thing in the truste of gods name.

Esay 30.

But

But what things so euer the vse and occupying of things necessary dothe require to be done, they may all be be done in the name and truste of God, and to Gods glory also.

2 Secondly, it is requisite that such things be done orderly & aright. For albeit that they bée good of theselues, yet vnlesse they be done aright, they cannot be done in the truste of Gods name. It is good of it selfe to marry, yet vnlesse thou doest it after a right & lawful sorte, thou canst not doe it in the truste of Gods name. Further it is good to seeke how thou and thyne may liue, but if thou doest it with deceyppte and with doyng other men wrong, or if thou be greédier than necessitie requireth, thou canst not do it in the truste of Gods name. And why? Bicause the ayde of the Lorde can not effectually be trusted vppon, towardes those things whiche be euill handled.

3 Thirdly it is necessary also, that in those things whiche be right and be handled aright, our minde be free from al the truste of the flesh, so that it may do all that whiche it doth, by the only hope & truste of Gods name: and that not onely when all earthly things doe fayle him, but then also when hée hath all things most plentyfull at hande. For the true truste of Gods name hangeth vppon God alone, not onely in prosperitie, but in aduersitie also: and as hée is not dismayed by aduersitie, so hée is not puffed vp neyther in prosperitie. This considered, wée doe easily perceiue also in this sense to whome it belongeth to doe any thing in Gods name: that is to say, whiche of all men may doe that which they doe in the truste of the Lordes name, that is to say the beléeuers only. For like as fayth is not in all men, so neyther the sincere truste of Gods, name can be in all men, but in the faithfull only. There is no man that hath altogither no fayth and truste, but yet though they haue fayth, yet it is not straight way alowable, and suche as is requyred in this case.

If you will aske mée, whether that they onely whiche doe beléeue, are bounde to this truste of the name of God: I aunswere, that they bée not so bounde onely, so that they only maye truste aright. For this truste dothe so muche belong vnto all men, and all menne bée so bounde vnto it, that the Apostle sayd expressly: Whatsoeuer is not of Fayth, is sinne. And why sinne? bicause we be all bounde to yéelde our hartie truste vnto the goodnesse and prouidence of God. Like as it is sinne not to pay a man his due, so it is sinne, not to truste vnto God. And besides that, they whiche doe not truste in God, doe truste altogyther vppon creatures. For it is not possible, that a manne shoulde doe any thing without all manner hope and truste, eyther of his owne wysedome and industrie, or wealth and friendes, or of some other thyng whatsoeuer it bée. And that hée is accursed that dothe make flesthe hys strength, and dothe truste in man the Prophete doth testifie. And well worthie. For hée placeth the creature in stéede of the Creator, and hangeth wholly vppon the Idoll of his harte: whiche is almoste the greatest reproche that can bée shewed vnto the Maiestie of God. Thus I suppose it is manifest.

Hier.

that in this seconde sense also, to doe any thing in the name of GOD, belongeth to the faythfull onely, in respect that they only can perfourme it: and that it belongeth not onely vnto them, but thoroughly vnto all men in the respect ỳ all men do owe this glory vnto God, as to depende vpon him in pure hope and trust.

To whom it belongeth to doe any thing by the authoritie of God.

Lette vs now see for the thyrde sense, in which wee sayde that to doe any thing in the name of God, is as muche as to doe it in the person, steede, and authoritie of God. And in this poynte also it is very needeful, that those thyngs which may be done, be done, vnder ỳ person, authoritie, and steede of God. And these can not bee any other things, but suche as bee charged to bee done by hys commaundement. For it were a thynge very folishe-hardie and vayne, to doe any suche thyng in his name, whereof hee gaue no commaundement: as they are wonte to doe, whiche doe pretende I wote not what reuelatiõs, or else do crake of theyr fulnesse of power in the Churche. Secondly it is requisite that those things whiche bee commaunded by the Lorde, and therfore not onely may, but also ought to bee done in his name, bee not done negligently, but as they shoulde bee done. And they shoulde be so done, that the meanyng of the Lord which did commaunde the doyng thereof, mighte be accomplished. Yee will say: But this is not in the power of the mynister, and of him that doth worke the commandement of God, as wee may perceyue in the Prophetes, Apostles, and in Christ himselfe: who complaynyng of this thing sayeth: Howe often woulde I gather togither thy Children, as the Henne clocketh hyr chickens vnder hyr wynges, and thou wouldest not? I answere: The commaundements of God bee so to be perfourmed faithfully and orderly, that the lacke be not in the Mynisters, but so that the counsell of God be fulfilled. And that is, when men doe not by negligence swarue from the mynde of the commaunder.

How the cõmaundements of God ought to be done.

Thirdely, this is necessary also, that the same whiche ought to be done in the name of the Lorde, bee done by them to whome it is commaunded. This is a cleere case and out of all doubte. Those thyngs which bee commaunded in the name of a King, can neyther bee done all, nor as euery man liste, nor of euery man: but those thyngs are to bee done whiche hee hath commaunded, and after that sorte whiche hee commaunded, and by them, whome hee commaunded to doo them. He which dothe that whiche is not commaunded by a Prince, or if it be commaũded by him, not so as it was commaunded, or else presumeth to doe that whiche he was not commaunded to doe, is neyther alowed of the Prince, nor it is meete to be reputed of any authoritie, howe much more be these conditions requisite to this, whereby any thing may be well done vnder the name, person, steede and authoritie of God?

Of the ministers of God.

This matter doth altogither belong to the ministers of God, which doe serue the Churche in his name. If they doe teache and set forth any thyng to the people vnder the name of Christe, whiche is not deliuered

from

from him, what do they else but wickedly abuse the name of God? The Lord would haue his Apostles to beware of this, where as he sayde vnto them, when he sent the to preach: Teachyng them to keepe all that whiche I haue commaunded you. And Peter to admonish men of this matter, saith: That he whiche speaketh in the Churche, doth speake the wordes of God. The false Prophets were to be reprehended in this poynt, for that they didde sette forth to the church of God their owne dreames, vnder the name of God, saying falsly: Thus sayth the Lorde: whereas they had receyued none of those things of the Lorde whiche they did set forth. Where vnto agreeth also the saying of Christ: They do serue me in vaine: teachyng the doctrines and cõmaundements of men. Why in vayne? Bycause he dothe not acknowledge them vnder his name whiche be not deliuered by him but presumed vpon by mens deuice.

Secondly, although that the very worde of the Lorde be set forth vnto the church, yet for al that it is requisite, that not onely the letter thereof, but the Spirite also, that is to say, the very minde and sense of the Lord be set forth aright. Else it can not be set forth in the Lordes name, if it be sette forth in a straunge sense and not after his meanyng. For so there is sette forth not the worde of the Lorde, but the Idoll of mans heart.

This the Anabaptistes do in the sacrament of Baptisme. The Lords worde is, He that beleueth and is baptised shal be saued: Herevpõ they doe gather, *Ergo* infants ought not to be baptised, bycause that they do not beleue. But this is not the meanyng of the Lorde. He sayde not: Let him whiche beleueth be baptised: and he whiche beleueth not, lette him not be baptised: but who soeuer doth beleue and is baptised, shall be saued: and he that beleueth not, shall be condemned. By which wordes he doth not teache vs, who ought to be baptised, & who not: but what grace and felicitie they shall attayne vnto, which do heare the gospell of ỳ kingdome, beleue it, and doe yelde themselues by theyr open confession to be consigned with the seale thereof: and on the contrary side what dothe remayne for them, whiche doe refuse to beleue it. The lyke matter is that in Mathew, Sweare you not at all. Herevpon they doe condemne all othes, takyng the Lords worde contrary vnto the Lordes minde. And that whiche is spoken in the same chapter: Resiste not euill, *Ergo* say they, among Christian men there is no place for the Magistrate to resist euil men by ỳ power of the sworde. The Lorde thought none of these things, but of these places you may see in our worke vpõ Mathew. This abuse of Gods worde is a common matter among the Papistes. And would God it found no place amõg our Brethren which doe professe the founde doctrine of the Gospell. They had neede specially to beware whiche doe so glory of the Lordes worde, ỳ besides that they wil allow nothyng in religion which they will esteeme to be authorised (which they doe not without reason I meane lest they shoulde be trayned againe into theyr olde or some new errors) I say

they had néede specially to beware, least they do thynke that they folow the Lordes worde, when they folow the sense in the letter thereof, not of the Lordes, but contrary vnto the Lordes minde. It is an easie matter for vs to boast of the Lords words, and to reporte therof, that it remayneth for euermore: and that it ought to be folowed onely. Neyther is it any harde matter to refuse at once all the doctrines & cōmaundements of men, whiche are not committed vnto vs by any worde of God, much more those whiche be against it: but it is not so easie, a matter, to conceyue, hold, and constantly folow the true and naturall sense of the Lorde himselfe, in the letter of Gods word.

The māner of Satan.

For this is the manner of most wylie Satan, to seduce them by, whiche allow nothing but Gods worde, hée doth not sette forth the traditions of men, but the letter of the Lordes worde: and therein he doth lay before vs sundry errours, to seduce vs by, vnder the colouc of the Lordes worde. What did he else, when he did reply again to the Lord himself, which layde vnto him Gods worde, and sayde: It is written: Man liueth not in bread only, but in euery worde whiche procéedeth out of the mouth of God, and sayde: If you be the sonne of god, cast thy self backward. For it is written, that he hath charged his Angels with thée, & they shal take thée vp in theyr handes, least peraduenture thou hurte thy foote at a stone. Did he not vnder this letter of Gods worde, sette forth a moste wicked sense, farre from the meaning of God, and vtterly repugnant vnto the assured worde of God, as appeareth by the answere of Christ? This manner of seducyng is moste noysome, and very daungerous for them whiche folowyng the auctoritie of Goddes name, couet to hang wholly vpon the worde thereof. Unlesse they haue an assured knowledge of the Spirite or meanyng of the Lorde, they be moste easily seduced by the pretence of Gods worde, whyles they doe allowe and folowe the imaginations of menne in stéede thereof: like as if a man that loueth and desireth outragiously to haue Golde, without any assured knowledge of Golde, receyue and kéepe in stéede of golde gylted Copper. They whiche doe teache suche doctrine of Gods worde, doe falsely boast them of the name and worde of God, yea they doe outragiously offend against bothe. So that the thyrde condition is requisite to be in the mynister of the worde, whiche we sayde is, that the same which ought to be done in the Lordes name, be done by him, vnto whome it is cōmaunded by the Lorde. He whiche runneth vpon his owne headdinesse to teache, is worthy to heare that saying: They rāne, & I sente them not. Wherfore a choosing & calling is necessary & therevpō the Apostle doth so oftētimes obiect his callyng vnto the false Apostles.

Math. 4.

Hovv [illegible] appeare [illegible] vvho is sente by God.

But you wil say: How can it appeare who is sent by God, and who not? I aunswere, we muste chiefly marke, whether that any manne doe step out of his owne accord to teach, called lawfully therevnto by no man. And there is two manner of lawfull callings. One whiche is by Christe immediatly: another which is by the Churche, or ẏ elders of the

Lawfu[illegible] callyng.

Church.

Church. That whiche is immediatly by Christe, is not vsed nowe, as it was in times paste. It had certaine tokens of it, by whiche it might bée knowen, of which Marke the Euangelist maketh mention in his laste Chapter, saying: And they wēt forth and preached in euery place, and the Lorde wrought with them, and confirmed theyr sayings with tokens folowing. The other is an ordinarie calling which the Church hath vsed, of which we haue spoken before. He whiche is called & teacheth by this, doth so far forth escape the blame of a false Prophet, forasmuch as it can not be proued, that he vseth the office of teachyng vppon his owne head. Secondly, it is to be marked, whether ẏ he do set forth Christes word vnto the Churche, neglecting mens doctrines or no. Thirdly, whether that he do conceyue the very minde of Christ, and expresse it in teaching. For these thrée be the markes of a true minister of Christe, whereby he may be knowē: if he be called orderly to teach, and preache nothing but Christes worde, and teach so, that he do declare vnto the people, not only the sounde & voyce, but the meaning also of Christes wordes. Such a Minister, the Church may safely heare in the name of the Lorde, and folow his teachyng.

Hitherto wée haue briefly noted what the name of God is, and what it is to doe any thing in the name of God, and to whome that dothe belong, & to whome not: which things diligently considered, may doe much good vnto godly disposed persons, as well priuate, as to suche as be appoynted vnto the ministery of God. For in case ẏ we do all generally direct all our endeuours to this ende that firste all things be done in the name and to the glory of God: secōdly in the assured truste also of his name: albeit we get no other profite thereof, yet wée shall be sure to liue more circumspectly, and offende our Lorde and master so much the lesse. For it is not possible but that hée whiche standeth altogither vppon this endeauour of godlynesse, that he directeth all his doings vnto the glory of God, and doth nothing but in the truste of his name, muste néedes bée the more circumspecte in all his lyfe, so that he will with all care and diligence auoyde and eschewe whatsoeuer dothe not further to the glory of Gods name, and can not be well lyked of him. Again we shall be ryd of all trust, as well of our owne selues as of any creatures, if we doo accustome our selues to doe all things in the name and truste of God. Furthermore our good disposition towardes God, true fayth and loue, true obedience and seruice of God, and all other good thyng shall increase in vs. But as concernyng them whiche bée in the ministery of the worde, if they haue him alwayes in theyr eyes whose mynisters they bée, if they neuer forgette that they ought to doe all things vnder the name and power of God, and will not bée founde blame worthy in all thing that euer they doe, they will in any wise haue a speciall regarde of these two poyntes: the one that they take nothing from Gods commaundement: the other, that they adde therevnto nothyng besides the meanyng and will of the Lorde.

The mynister of the worde must euer say in his minde. Take hede what thou doest: thou arte the mynister of God, that which thou speakest vnto the people, thou speakest it in Gods name, and shalt make an account of it all. For if we shal all of vs giue a reckenyng for euery worde, how much the more shal they doe so, whiche vppon speciall commaundement doe speake vnto the people in the name of God? Wherfore take hede thou speake nothyng contrary to the minde and will of God, and see thou neyther adde nor diminish any peece of it. And besides this, in case they be thus affected, they shall haue a stoute courage and strength agaynst al daungers hanging euer theyr heads: without which they can not constantly and vprightly doe theyr duety: For who can make him afrayde, which knoweth and determineth in his minde, that he serueth not any rashe mans head, but the power & name of God himselfe? And that he is not withstanded onely, but God himselfe is withstanded also, when there happeneth any aduersitie vnto him, Amanne would not beleeue, howe vnabashed and stoute strength of the faythfull harte commeth therof, to accomplish their mynisterie.

Lastly, in case the people do know that the ministers of the worde bee suche, as doe faythfully sette forth the very wordes, Spirite, and meanyng of God in the name of God, no doubte they will heare his sayings the more deuoutly, and will regarde them in respecte of Gods name, and the fruyte of Gods worde shall be the plentifuller. For it skilleth much how deuoutly, and with what respect the worde of God be hearde. The Lorde sayd not in vaine: Take hede how you heare. Neyther it is without cause, that the Apostle commended the Thessalonians in this poynt, saying: You receyued it not as the worde of a man, but as it is in deede, the word of God, who worketh in you, which do beleeue. 1. Thess. 1.

Of the Nature of God.

The conceyuing of Gods nature very hard.

THey whiche haue written of the Nature of God, haue thought this to be a very harde and obscure question, & yet notwithstanding so necessary for the order of Religion, that vnlesse it be taken aright, men must of necessitie trauayle in great errour and ignoraunce of most high matters. Surely the knowledge of all things is of that sorte, that vnlesse the nature of them be knowen, they cā not be truly and perfectly knowen. For the knowledge which riseth vpō things accidentall and of chaunce, can not be sure and sounde, bycause that accidents, as they happen to come of outwarde things, and continew not alwayes, so they doe not expresse the true, and naturall qualitie of any thing. But that whiche is naturally in things, as it is of them, so it doth also declare the nature and naturall qualitie of them. Wherefore to haue a sure and sounde knowlege of those things whiche wee muste of neces-

How the knowlege of things is.

necessitie knowe, it is very necessary to knowe the nature of them. In like manner it is concernyng the knowledge of God: of whiche wee will speake when the tyme serueth. Neither can this knowledge of God be playne and perfect, vnlesse his nature be knowen. As long as this is not knowen of a surety, mēs mindes muste nedes bee in darkenesse, and wander they wote not whether, lyke blinde mē into al kindes of errours. And yet withall we doe acknowlege and confesse, that it is very harde to compryse, and muche harder to expresse, the nature of God, howe slenderly soeuer it be done, whiche by the opinion of Nazianzene can not be perceyued at all. Neyther our meanyng is to make any earnest or curious searche thereof, but to keepe vs within the boundes of the holy Scripture, least wee shoulde speake any thing vnaduisedly of the Maiestie of God, whiche may sauer more of mens Imaginations, than of the heauenly truthe.

I. What Nature is.

FIrste wee muste see what Nature is. It is sundry wayes defined. Some doe take it to be a certaine strength voyde of reason, stirring by necessarie motiōs in our bodies. Againe, some do iudge it to be a strength whiche hath reason and order, as proceedyng some certayne way, and declaryng what the cause of euery thing worketh, and what followeth, the quickenesse and actiuitie wherof, no arte nor hande, neyther workeman is able to attayne vnto by imitation or followyng it. Epicure dothe call all things by the name of nature. Augustine defineth it after this wise. Nature (sayth he) is a certain strength and power put into things created by God, whiche giueth to euery thing that whiche belongeth vnto it. Surely ỳ very word seemeth to signifie, that nature is called to be ỳ same, which is proper vnto euery thing, & that as grafted and bredde in it at the very beginning, so that what soeuer any thing is of the birthe as it were, that is the nature therof. Lactantius saith: that nature is termed of the Latine worde, *Nascendo*, whiche is of birth. My opinion is not, that nature is the thyng it selfe, but the proper and peculiar strength of the thing naturally giuē vnto it, strayght way from the begimyng thereof, whereby it receyueth that qualitie, which it hath not onely of beyng, but also of doyng, bearing, begetting, &c. And how this definition of nature is to be allowed, we wil better examine hereafter. For it is not yet so perfect, that it dothe in all poynts agree to the matter, whereof we doe speake.

II. Whether that Nature haue any place in God.

AS nature is defined to be a certaine strength bredde and grafted in any thing, so farforth surely, it can not be attributed vnto God. For seeyng that hee is not borne, there can be nothyng bredde in him, or alied or knitte vnto him, or Originally grafted in him at his byrthe for as muche as he hath no birthe at all. Basile sayth, that to be borne & created is al one, so the nature and

creature might seeme thereby to be bothe one. Suche manner of nature hath no place in God, who is not created, but is ỳ creato: of al things that bee. Ambrose sayth, that nature is the worke of the creato. In this respecte there is no nature in God, but in things created onely. Nature dothe conteyne that whose nature it is, and doth gouerne it. Wherefore it can not bee of any thyng infinite and endelesse, but God is infinite and endelesse: and can not be subiect vnto any lawes of nature. Therefore in this respecte, hee can haue no nature. And yet it is in all mennes mouthes, The nature of God. And Christe is called the naturall sonne of God: and there be two natures giuen vnto him, the natures of God & of Man. Howe can there be a godly nature, if there be no nature in God. If there be no nature in God, then there is not in God the nature of begettyng. If the nature of begettyng be not in God, then Christe shoulde not be the natural sonne of God: and so all our fayth whiche is grounded vpon him, shoulde fayle. And Peter sayth, that there be suche promises made vs, whereby wee bee made fellowes of Gods nature. Howe can this be true, if there be no nature in God? And Paule sayth to the Galathians: But then when you knewe not God, you serued them whiche of nature were not Gods: by whiche wordes in that that he doth deny that the counterfaite gods were Gods of nature, no doubte he doth herein distinct them frō the true God, whiche was vnknowen to the Gentils: for ỳ he is of nature god: ỳ they not of nature, but in the opiniō and errour of men. Therefore seyng that the true God is God of nature, surely there is nature in him. Besides that, seing that there is in God some qualitie whereby hee differeth from all things created, and is of that qualitie, as the true God muste nedes bee of: and seing that qualitie cōmeth not by chaunce or accidentally, or by any industrie gotte from any other, neyther is mutable but naturall, peculiar and vnchangeable, it foloweth also therefore, that there is in him nature.

Ambrose.

That there is nature in God.

2. Peter. 1.

Galath. 4.

Hovv many sortes of natures there be.

The thing wherof we do treate, is suche, that it is necessarie to put a difference betwixte nature and nature, that the same whiche wee seeke, may the better appeare. For there is as sundry a diuersitie of natures, as the thyngs bee sundry whereof they bee. Wherefore wee can not talke of the nature of God, without a difference makyng, least we steppe amisse.

And I doe finde generally two Natures. One not made, the other made. Wee cal that vnmade, which belongeth vnto God, not so muche for that that wee thynke that it can bee expressed by thus callyng it, what manner of nature it is, but to distinct it from that whiche is created and made, and rather to expresse what it is not, than what it is. And this is the firste degree to the knowledge of God, afore all to knowe what he is not, least wee cleaue vnto any thing whiche is not GOD: not that it is inough for vs if wee doe

Two natures.

do not depend vpon that which is not God, but that from thence we maye be directed further, vntill we maye begin in some behalfe, parte at the least way, to knowe what he is. So we must doe in this matter also. Aboue all things we must determine by some conueniente difference, of what sorte the nature of God is not, before that we do procéede to knowe of what qualitie it is.

What manner the nature of God is.

Therefore the nature of God is in this respecte requestred from all other Natures, bycause all other bee made, and that is not made, it hathe not aboue it any God to be the worker and maker of it, but is of it selfe, yea it is the creato and worker of all things that be. This the wyse heades of the Ethnikes dyd well know. Wherfore it is called of Plato, δημιουργὸς, that is the worker. In this sense Seneca saith, the nature and God be all one thing.

And although the nature of God be most simple, and voide of all composition, as Chrysostome and Basile did well note, yet it maye be diuided into three partes, bycause of the three persons in Godhead. For like as they be differente one from an other in this respecte, that the Father only is vnbegotten, & the Sonne only begotten, and the holye Spirite onely procéeding, in that respect also the nature of god is in ỳ father only vnbegotten, in the sonne onely begotten, and in the holye Spirite only procéeding: yet so that there be not in God three natures, as there be not in him three Godheads, but one, and the very selfe same only. There be three properties of Gods nature, which be distincted one from an other, according to the difference of the persons, but there is but one selfe same essence thereof, accordyng vnto the whiche, the Father, the Sonne, and the holye Spirite, be one selfe same true and naturall God. The Manyches were worthily condemned bycause they belde that there were two natures in God, one of goodnesse, an other of naughtinesse, whiche mingled togither, the worlde shoulde bee made as of sundry beginnings, and contrarye one to an other, and yet notwithstanding continuing togyther for euermore. But we do holde, that there is but one selfesame nature in God, that is to witte, of most greate and onely goodnesse, whereby all creatures and all natures bee made in a good kinde of makyng, but through our owne fault corrupt and decayed in our kinde.

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Augustine writeth in thys wise: All nature eyther is God, who hathe no beginning, or is not God, bycause he is the beginner thereof. As for that whiche hath God for the begynner of it, by whome it is, some is not made, and some is made. That whiche is not made, and yet for all that is of him, eyther is begotten of hym, eyther procédeth from hym. That whiche is borne, is the only Sonne: that whiche procédeth, is the Holye Spirite. And this Trinitie is of one and selfesame nature. For these three be one, and each of them is God, and altogither one God, immutable, euerlasting, without any beginning, or end of time. But that nature whiche is made, is called a creature, and God is called the creato, I meane, the Trinitie. This saith Augustine.

Augustine. De ciuitate Dei. Petrum Lombardum lib. 2. c.

The made nature is so sundry and

manifolde, that being deuided moste wisely, and manye wayes, one from an other, according vnto the dyuersitie of the things that be made, it can not be knitte vp to be one selfesame thing againe. For there is a sundrye nature of spirites, and of bodyes: of thinges immortall and mortall: of things heauenly and earthly, of reasonable and vnreasonable, &c. but thereof we intend not to speake. We meante onely to note howe manifolde and dyuers a thing nature is, and to sette a difference betwixte the Godly nature, whiche is neither created, nor made, and the other nature that is of creatures, least wée should séeme to appoynte vnto God suche a nature, as hée hymselfe hathe gyuen vnto his creatures.

IIII. Whereby the nature of God may be knowen.

We speake not of the full and perfect knowledge of Gods nature, for we do knowe that that passeth both our searching & capacitie. And of that knowledge of him Nazianzene meant, when he said, The nature of God can not be perceyued. And yet for all that (as we sayde before) it is in any wise necessarie that wée haue some knowledge therof, sufficiente for mens Godlye desires. We thinke it good for that intent, to admonish the reader, wherby it may be knowen: I meane as muche as is requisite for our saluation and godly disposition. The Godly disposed person, which diligently wayeth the case of oure religion, maye atteyne vnto some small knowledge of Gods nature: small I say, considering the inseartcheable greatenesse thereof: and yet verye large, considering the narrownesse of oure capacitie, if hée doe firste directly follow the lyght of the Holy Scriptures, and secondlye doe diligentlye ponder the workes of God.

This Tertullian vnderstood, whē in his firste booke againste Marcion, he sayde: We doe defyne, that God is fyrste to bée knowen by nature: Secondely to bée recognised by doctrine: by nature through hys workings, by doctrine thorough preachings, he speaketh no doubte of the workings of Gods nature, in whiche he bothe made and gouerneth, and withall conserueth all thinges. It is so prouided, that euerye nature by working dothe declare of what qualitie it is, whyche is verifyed not onlye in the created and made nature, but in that also whiche is not made, but is the maker of al. He who gaue this to the fyre, that it shoulde naturally burne and wast all thinges in burning, dothe hymselfe also those things naturally whiche doe belong vnto his nature, that is to say, which doe naturally perteyne vnto the true God.

But wée must putte a difference betwixt the things that be wrought naturally and that be wrought accidentally or by chaunce. Those which bée naturall, bée done not once or twise, but often and continually: and they whiche be done by chaunce and accidentally, be not so. Whereas the Sunne doth gyue lighte, to the world it is a daylye and a common case, bycause it is his naturall worke: but whereas sometymes it dazeleth weake eyes, it is not naturall, but happe-

happeneth by chaunce. Whereas God doth sometymes strike and destroy, it is not proper and naturall vnto him, but straunge, and vsed to the intente to come to his owne. So we do reade in Esay. For the Lorde shall stande as it were in the mount of Perazim, and shall be angry like as in the vale of Gibaon, that the straunge worke of his, maye make his worke, that hys straunge working may worke his owne naturall working.

We do sée in these wordes of the Prophete, that there is playnely expressed two kyndes of workes of God, that is to say, of his owne, and of others. That is the proper and peculiar worke of God, which pertayneth vnto him according to the nature of hys Godhead: and that is straunge, whiche is contrarie vnto the same. When he destroyeth the wicked and scorgeth his people, hée doth a straunge worke, to the intent, to doe afterwardes that whiche is proper vnto hym, accordyng vnto the saying of the Apostle: When we be iudged by the Lorde, we be chastned, least we should be damned with this worlde. But concerning thys matter, looke in our Commentaries vpon Esay.

Therefore, for as much as he doth often shewe mercy and spare menne, and is slowe to anger, we may easily perceyue that thys is of hys nature to shewe mercy and to spare, so that it is not wythoute cause sayde commonlye in the Collecte: God, whose propertye it is to shewe mercye alwayes, and to spare. Secondly, those things whyche bée naturally done, bée done neyther with an euill will, nor at any motion of others, but easely, and at hys owne voluntary motion, and suche is the condition of those things which be naturally done by God, suche as all the workes of hys prouidence bée, whereby manne may atteyne to the knowledge of his nature.

In déede Tertullian dothe attribute the knowledge of Gods nature vnto his workes. But in case we wil giue eare to the holye scripture, wée shal haue no small help from thence to know what the nature of God is. For the scripture doth teach & almost paint out before mens eyes, not only what and of what qualitie Goddes workes be, but also what his spirite, intente, and purpose is towardes mankynde, wherein no doubte the nature of God is declared. Wherefore it is to no small purpose, that wée ioyne the lessons of the holye Scripture vnto the workes of God, for as much as in them both we bée instructed of the nature of God. The knowledge whiche is of the workes is more generall, for as much as the inuisible poyntes of Gods nature and his euerlasting vertue and Godhead, may be séene in the vnderstandyng of mans reason, by those things whyche haue bin done, and daylye bée donne in that, that God through the bryghtenesse of hys workes, dothe rebounde vppon the mindes of the wyse, and so dothe open himselfe vnto them. Besydes that, wée haue the dayly experience, which the long and continuall order of Gods workes dothe yéelde and sette forth vnto wise menne. But that knowledge which is gotten out of the holy scriptures muste haue faith, whereby to

credite

credite the testimonies of the holye Spirite. Thus by experience and faithe, the electe and faithfull may to their saluation attepne to the knowledge of Gods nature, but the reprobate vnto their iudgement.

V. Of vvhat qualitie the nature of God is.

ALbeit it may sufficiently appere vnto wise men by the experience of Gods wozkes, and to them which be exercised in the reading of holye Scriptures, if they do beléeue them, of what qualitie the nature of God is. Yet foz all that I thinke it méete, so much to serue the turne of the vnlearned, as in fewe wozdes to speake somewhat else hereof to their pzofit.

VVhiche vve make to be the qualitie of Gods nature.

We doe not determine the qualitie of Gods nature to be that, wherin consisteth the habite, disposition, naturall power, oz lacke of power, affection, fozme, fashion. &c. Whiche the Logitians doe consider in qualitie: but the same whiche hathe hys greatest pzopertie to distinct the nature of god which is not made, from all others which be made, accozding to the which God is of that qualitie, as agréeth vnto him, whiche passeth all things, not onely in wozthinesse, and Maiestie, but also that by hys wysedome power and greate goodnesse, he maketh, gouerneth and pzeserueth all thinges. And loke mée of what qualitie the wozkes of God, and the holy Scriptures doe declare him to be, of suche qualitie we may wel say is his nature. Foz he is such in the qualitie of his nature, as he is tried and found to be. And before in the firste place where wée spake of God, we distincted ỳ qualitie of god thzee ways, that is to say, what qualitie god is of in essence, what in person, and what in nature, so that wée nede not to say any moze here, of the qualitie of Gods nature. Neither is it necessarie noz possible, to searche out exactly the qualitie of his wozthinesse and Maiestie, muche lesse of his essence: but it is sufficiente foz the Godlie man, to adoze the wittie of his essence, and the excéding and incompzehensible bygbnesse of hys wozthinesse and Maiestie, in spirite, and to séeke ỳ qualitie of his nature, in his wozkes and in the holy Scriptures, and so to content himself with the testimonies of them both.

Let him learne thereby to knowe, that the nature of God in it selfe is to himselfe sufficient in all poyntes, that it is euerlasting and vnsearchable: and towards those things which he hath made almightie, and that he hathe power, and authozitie ouer all things, and ruleth all things that be in heauen and earth, that he is good and louing towards man, gentle and mercifull, fozeknowing all things, fozeséeing all, present euery where, slowe vnto anger, true, wyse, following of iustice, and iudging rightly of al, and suche lyke, which be repozted of God and of his nature in the Scriptures. All these qualities be in him, not as gotten by any study, by any teaching and instruction, by any custome oft vsed, but naturally, and therfoze it may be mosse assured vnto vs thereby, of what qualitie his nature is: and fozasmuche as these thinges be natural and peculiar vnto him, it followeth that they be not onely accustomable, but perpetuall, voluntary, and very ready in him.

VI. Whether that God do Communicate his nature vnto his workes.

FOzasmuche as the nearer that those things which be made by God, doe dzaw vnto his Nature, the moze happie they be, lyke as the neer any thing is layd vnto the Sun, the clérer it is: it may be demanded, whether that God do communicate of his Nature vnto those wozkes whiche he hathe made. In case he doe communicate, then euery creature is of the same nature that hys Creatoz is of, yea and partaker also of his Godhead. Foz it is not possible that the Godhead and nature of God should be separated. Mozeouer, fozasmuch as they that be of one nature be also of one substance, it shuld follow, that euery creature shoulde be of the lyke substaunce with God. If these thinges be as vnreasonable as if a man shold say, that the house and the carpenter were both of like nature and substáce, then it is a good consequent that God doth not cómunicate his nature and essence vnto his wozkmanship.

You will say: What meaneth it then that the Apostle saith: But we haue one God the father, of whome be all things, and wée in him: If all things be of God, how can they bée of any other nature, than of his nature? Can that which is of man be of other nature, than of the nature of man? that which is of flesh (sayth Christ) is flesche, and that whiche is of the spirite, is spirite. Is it not reason, that any thynge in the wozlde shoulde beare the nature of hys beginning?

I aunswere. It is one thing to be bozne of God, and an other thing to bée made by God. The communicating of nature dothe consiste in bearing, and not in creating and making. Therefoze the Apostle when hée sayth, Of whom all bée: hée meaneth not of the begetting of the creatures, but of the making of them. Neyther did Christ saye: That whiche is made of flesche, but, That whiche is bozne of flesche, is flesche, and that whych is bozne of the spirite, is spirite. Augustine saith thus: Therefoze the creature is sayde to bée of God, in suche sozte, that it is not made of the nature of hym. Foz it is therefoze saide to bée of hym, bycause that he is the occasion, that it is not so that it shoulde be bozne, oz pzocéede from hym: but created, framed, and made by hym. Some of no other matter, but vtterly of nothing: as heauen, and earthe, oz else rather the whole matter of the masse of the vniuersall wozlde created wyth the wozlde: but some of other nature alreadye being and created, as man of claye, woman of the man, and euery man of hys parentes: and yet foz al that, euery creature is of God, but so as creating it of nothing, oz of somewhat, not as begetting it, oz pzocéeding of it selfe. Thys saith hée. In case the creature bée of the same nature wyth God, then is the nature of God, though not of it selfe, yet in some respecte subiecte vnto vanitie and cozruption. In case that creatures voide of reason, shoulde come of the nature of God, and bée partakers therefoze, then it myghte bée

that the nature of God shoulde in some thyng be voyde of reason. But farre is thys from Goddes nature, whiche is alwayes endewed wyth moste hyghe reason and wisedome, and farthest off from all vanitie.

VVhether that man be partaker of the nature of God.

But some man will say, Let it so be, that the creatures without soule or reason, doe not communicate of the nature of God, as the Heauen, Sunne, Mone, Starres, Earthe, Plantes, the Sea, and the brute Beastes, whyche bee voyde of reason, yet howe can it be sayde of man, that hee is not of the nature of God: whereas the Apostle dothe declare concernyng man, that hee is the kynd of God. If man bee the kynde of God, then he is of the same nature also wyth hym, lyke as menne beeyng of one kynde, that is of man, be partakers also of one nature. Is not manne of a myxte nature? For whereas hee is concernyng the fleshe earthly, accordyng to the soule and spirite hee is heauenly. Therefore in the flesh hee is partaker of the earthlye, corruptible, and mortall nature, but in soule he is partaker of an heauenlye, incorruptible, and mortall nature.

And it seemeth that the Apostle dothe reporte of hym accordyng to thys latter parte, that hee is the kynde of God. I aunswere, In case that kynde and kynred myght be ascribed vnto God, as it is vnto thinges created, then the argumente were good, but seeyng that the moste symple nature of God dothe not so admytte kynde and kynred, as creatures doe, wee maye not gather vpon the wordes of the Apostle, that as manne is the kinde of God, so hee is also partaker of his nature.

How a is called the kind of God.

Man is called the kynde of God, in the same sense that Poles wryteth that hee is made to the lykenesse of God. The kynde of a thing is oftentimes taken for the qualitie of the thing, in that it is like vnto those things whose kind it is called. If a mã shuld call such a Tyrãt as Nero was, the kind of a Lyon, shoulde wee thereupon by and by gather, that a Lyon and a Tyrante be both of one nature? In the thyrde Chapiter of Mathewe, the Scribes & Phariseys be called the generation of vipers, you woulde thynke hym a fole that woulde thynke to conclude thereupon, that they be of the same nature that Vipers be. They were called by Christe and John, The kynde of Vipers, bycause of the resemblance they had of Vipers in their poysoned malice. So man is called the kinde of God, that in the difference from brute beastes, he is signifyed to bee somewhat like vnto God. Wherefore there can nothing be gathered, to proue the communicating of nature. When God saide, Lo Adam is made as one of vs, knowing good and euil. He spake not of the communion of nature, but of the likenesse in that he seemed as some God, or hauyng some resemblaunce of God, for that hee was endewed with the knowledge of good and euill. So man is called the kynde of God, bycause of the prerogatiue of reason and spirit, and that countenance of gouernãce, in that he excelleth all other lyuyng things. If the soule of man shoulde come of the nature of God, and bee partaker thereof (as some mens opinion

pinon hath bin, shoulde it not verily followe, that the nature of God in man shoulde be alterable, and subiecte vnto synne, yea and suche as myght be cast away and lost, vnlesse it were deliuered from condemnation through the grace of Christ, and so Christe shoulde be not only the redeemer and sauioure of mankinde, but of the nature of God also, besydes other inconueniences, whiche followeth vpon this opinion?

But wheras man is of compound nature, earthly and heauenly, it can not serue to this purpose, that hee may therefore be thought to be partaker both of the nature of God and of man, whiche prerogatiue is peculiar vnto Christe onely. For euerye thing that is spirituall and heauenly, is not Godly. The Angels be also heauenlye Spirites, and yet no man that hath any witte in his head, will say that they be of Gods nature.

Yet some man will say: Content, Let men as men, and the creatures of GOD, be none of the nature of God. But what shall we say of the electes, which Christe sayth to be of God, and of the faythefull, whyche John sayeth be made the children of God? And that they bee borne, not of bloud, nor of the wyll of the flesh, nor of the wyll of man, but of God. If the electes shoulde bee therefore of GOD, bycause they were created by hym, that is a general matter to them and to all other creatures, and vnto the wycked also, whiche be also made by God: and yet Chrysse in the place before rehersed, dothe denie them to be of God.

Wherefore the Electes must bee altogyther otherwyse of God, than other creatures bee. But if they bee not so partakers of Gods nature, it must needes be graunted at the least waye, that they whiche be borne of God, and be made the Children of God in beleeuing, be of the Communion of the nature of God. I aunswere, To be of God, is meant two wayes. First by byrth, and, Secondly, by the grace of Election and Predestination. By byrthe, Christe is the onely begotten and naturall son of God, yea and of the same nature that he is of. By the grace of Election and Predestination, all they be of God, which were elect, and foreordeyned vnto life before the makyng of the world. To be this way of god is not to be of his nature, but to bee made partaker of the grace of God. As concerning the place of John in the firste chapiter, I doe aunswere, That for the elect and faithfull to be borne of God, is nothyng else, but to bee renewed in spirite and mynd, by the Grace, and operation of the the Holye Spirite, and to be adopted in Chrysse, to bee the chylde of GOD. As this byrth is not of the nature of God, but of the worxking of the Holye Spirite, so it maketh not men partakers of Goddes nature. It is one thyng to bee borne of the substance and essence of god, and an other thyng to bee altered, and regenerate into a newe manne man by the grace and vertue of the holye Spirite. The fyrst byrth is of Nature, and belongeth vnto Christ onely: the latter byrthe is of grace and adoption, and is appoynted vnto the faythfull.

Lastly, some men will laye vnto me also that saying of Peter: Wher-

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by there bée royall promises giuen vs, so that by thē you may be made partakers of Gods nature, if you flée from the corruption which commeth thorough concupiscence in the worlde. Is there not openly promised by these words, the felowship of Gods nature, vnto them which doe beléeue the promises of God, and do flée the corruptions of this worlde? I answere: The Apostle speaketh of the communion of the glorie and immortalitie which is to come, whiche is promysed vnto them that doe beléeue in Christe, if thorough their beléeuing and well liuing, they doe flée from the destruction of this worlde, And forasmuch as the greate dignitie of that glorie is such, that it doth infinitely passe all degrée of mans nature, and shall tourne vs as children and heyres of God, and felowe heyres wyth Christe, vnto the companie and fellowshippe of Christe in his kingdome, the Apostle thoughte good to speake in thys wyse, and to vse the worde of nature, for the glorie whiche is prepared by God for the Electe, to the intente that they maye bée made lyke vnto the Aungels of God, Heauenly, immortall, glorifyed, and happie for euermore. What tyme wée shalbe cōformed to the glorifyed bodye of Christe, and be lyke vnto the Aungels of God, shall wée not then séeme to be turned to the felowshippe of Gods nature? Yes no doubt. And the Apostle perceyuing thys, saithe, that wée shall be made partakers of Gods nature. He doth not meane, that lyke as the onely begotten of God, and the Holye Spirite, bée of one same nature with God the Father, so wée should also bée made partakers thereof, and some parte of vs to become the nature of God. Wée sayde before, that Gods nature is God hymselfe. So that he whiche is receyued into the fellowship of God, in that respect is made partaker of gods nature. God is charitie, and he whiche dwelleth therin, dwelleth in God, and God in him. And in this respect he hath fellowshippe with the nature of God. The nature of God is to bée without affections, to be immortal, incorruptible, and happie for euermore. Thus farrefoorth we shall be partakers of Gods nature, what tyme we become to be suche in the worlde to come. Like as by the gifts of Gods grace in Christ Iesu, we do séeme in this lyfe to represente the Image of Gods nature, what time we be new borne and iustifyed, and doe expresse the disposition of our Father by our vpright liuyng, so wée shall also resemble the likenesse of Gods nature in the worlde to come by the gifts of glorie, when wée be immortall, glorifyed, and truely happie.

Nowe the question remaineth of Chryste béeyng man, whether that the nature of man in hym were not chaunged into the nature of God, by deification, and conioyning of the euersasting worde therevnto. A man may fynde some nowe a dayes that will vpholde it, as thoughe that the Euangeliste didde saye: The fleshe is become the worde. They doe take awaye mans nature from the fleshe of Christe, attributing manifestlye vnto it, those thinges whyche can not agrée to any, but to the nature of God: with whose iudgemēt we can not agrée. Wée doe attribute vnto Christe

VVhe[illegible] that [illegible] nature [illegible] Christ [illegible] not [illegible] into G[illegible] nature

Christe the onely begotten of God, not onely the nature of God, but both natures of God and of man, neyther deuiding hys person, neyther confounding the natures, but leauyng vnto eache of them, that whyche is proper and peculiar vnto it. For the earthly body (sayeth Cyrill) coulde not abyde to bée turned into the nature of the Godhead, for that is impossible. For so we should decay the nature of the Godhead, as though it were made, and tooke somewhat into it, which (as touching the nature of it) was not proper vnto it. Surely it is as greate a fondnesse to saye, that the bodye is turned into the nature of the Godhead, as that the worde is turned into the substance of the fleshe. For as thys is impossible, for that that it is proued, that it can not be conuerted, and altered: So that thys is not possible nother, that any creature maye bée conuerted, and turned into the nature, or essence of the Godhead, But the fleshe is also a creature. And therefore wée doe saye in déede, that the bodye of Chryste is diuine and godly, for asmuche as it is the body of God, and bryghtened with vnspeakeable glory, and incorruptible, yea, and wée doe confesse it to bée nowe holy, and that it doth giue life. But that it shoulde bée chaunged into the nature of the Godhead, that none of the holye Fathers eyther thoughte or taughte, neyther do wée thinke so. Thys sayeth Cyrill. And béeyng of thys iudgemente of the bodye of Chryste, he sayde expresly: And the faythfull must beléeue, that though Chryst be absent from vs in bodye, yet for all that hée dothe gouerne all thynges, and vs also, by his power, and that he is alwayes himselfe present wyth them whyche doe loue hym. Therefore hée sayd: Verely, verely I say vnto you, wheresoeuer be two or thrée gathered togither in my name, there I am in the middes of them. For like as whē he liued vppon the earthe as man, then also he filled Heauen, and forsooke not the companye of Angels: Lykewyse nowe when he is in Heauen with his fleshe, yet notwithstādyng hée filleth the Earthe, and is with them whyche doe loue hym. Augustine hathe also the lyke, who sayeth plainely of the body of Christ. Hée gaue it immortalitie, but hée tooke not away the nature of it.

Cyrill in [illegible] Epistle to [illegible] Bishop.

That the bodye of Christ is not changed into the nature of God. [illegible]

Therefore séeyng that mannes nature passed not so, in Christe, to the Communion of the godlye nature that it was made one therwithall, it followeth that the same moste hygh nature of God whyche is not made, but is the maker of all, can not be communicate vnto any creature, no not to the creature of Aungels substantially: but that the prerogatiue thereof dothe belong vnto the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirite only. To the sonne, I saye, not according vnto the fleshe, but accordyng to the Worde, whiche was at the begynnyng both with God, and God, before that the foundations of the worlde were layde. And so we doe confesse, that one selfe same Chryste hathe the nature of God concerning the Worde, and the nature of man, concerning the fleshe.

Of the Sufficiencie of God.



IF néede it hadde bin more conueniente, to haue had set forthe in the begiming, where we intreated of God, those things whyche we do nowe adde of the name, Nature, sufficiencie, and omnipotencie of God, &c. But it shall not be amisse nother to treate of it heere, if it be so handled, that Godly disposed persons may take profite thereof. And forasmuche as we haue noted somewhat touching the nature of God, I thinke my labour shall be well bestowed, if according to my small habilitie I do touch by the way, and leaue to men to be considered of those things whyche doe properlye belong thereunto, though not all, yet those pointes whyche may serue to edifying, such as is the sufficiencie of God: the omnipotencie, power, right, rule, goodnes, louingnesse, patience and suffering, clemencie and mercie, truth, wisedome, prouidence, foreknowledge, will, and suche other like, the consideration of whiche may helpe to the knowledge of Gods nature. And next after the Essence of the Godhead, and the persons of the holye Trinitie, thys séemeth principally to be considered in Gods nature, which the Grékes do call αὐταρκές, the Latinistes sufficiencie, wherein they doe scarsely expresse the strengthe of the Grécke worde. But yet for asmuche as it is vsed in the holy Scriptures, we will also kéepe it still. And to the opening of this matter whereof we purpose to speake, we will vse these wordes Sufficiencie, Sufficiencie of it selfe, Sufficiencie for others, Sufficiencie in all and for all, whiche are alwayes to be considered in Gods nature as peculiar vnto it. Firste wée do call Sufficiencie, that whiche excludeth all lacke, whiche is so furnished with all abundance of all thinges necessarie, that nothing more can be desired. This the Philosopher termeth Sufficiencie in it selfe, and doth attribute therevnto happinesse, and the most high and perfect goodnesse. But this doth belong vnto the nature of God onely, so that it can agrée to no man liuing. In him there is a continuall and an infinite abundance of all good thinges. If I hunger (sayth he) I will not tell thée: for all the worlde and the fulnesse therof is myne. &c. If there bée wisedome and power to be vsed, howe can anye of them lacke in that nature, whiche is very wisedome it selfe, and is endowed with moste absolute power, in all, and ouer all. And where as I doe attribute this sufficiencie vnto God onely, it is to be meante of the perfecte sufficiencie of all thinges, where nothing can in any wyse bée lacking, and yet godly folke can skill to be contente wyth things présente, gyuen them by the goodnesse of God, and saye, that they haue Gods plentie, though they haue neuer so little. So Paule sayde: For I haue learned to be contente wyth that, that I haue. But the vniuersall sufficiencie is one, and the particular sufficiencie is an other. The fyrste is in God only: thys last is gyuen by Goddes gifte vnto men, which we do also attribute vnto the riche. Againe, it is one thing to haue all thinges requisite vnto our lyuing sufficientlye, in that sorte that there can nothing more bée wished: and an other thing, to be so contented with a little, that a man maye wishe for manye things that hée hathe not, yet he despyeth or lacketh nothyng at all. Vnto thys latter sufficiencie, as to the best and readiest way of sufficiencie and fulnesse, wée be counselled by the Apostle when he sayeth: Hauing foode and clothing, contente youre selues withall. The couetous man whose mynde is vnsatiable, thinketh it not sufficient if he haue neuer so muche riches, yea the wealthe of Cresus. Such manner of men haue wealthe sufficiente, and not sufficiente: sufficient, for as muche as hée lacketh no necessaries: not sufficiente, bycause hée is neuer contented with anye riches: but the more he hathe, the more he coueteth. Wherefore there can come no better sufficiencie in thys life, than when the minde whiche despiseth earthly things, is contente with that which he receyueth of the hand of God, whether it be little or muche. But héereof wée will not speake much at thys présente. The trucksull, and perfect sufficiencie, belongeth peculiarly vnto Goddes nature onely: whyche bothe hathe all, and hathe vtterlye no néede of anye thing. Wée call αὐταρκείαν that, when one man hath all things from no where else, but of himselfe, and when one is sufficiente of hymselfe to all, and in all things. None of both can be attributed vnto anye mortall man, but both be proper vnto the nature of God onely. For firste of all it can not bée sayde vnto God, What hast thou but that whyche thou hast receyued? hée hathe all, and yet for all that, hée hathe receyued nothyng of any person. Who gaue him anye thing first, sayeth the Apostle, and he shall pay him home agayne? Who gaue vnto hym to be, séeyng that hée is the fountaine of all essence and being, and the beginning of all those thinges that bée? Who gaue vnto him to be God, séeyng that there is nothing aboue him, nothyng former and auncienter, nothing of greater power? Who gaue him anye of all those thynges whyche he hathe? Of whome receyued he the matter and stuffe, whereof the wisedome and strength, whereby he made the heauen, Earthe, Sea, and all that is in them? They bée foles, yea verilye wicked, whyche saye that GOD prouided not the matter and stuffe wherof the worlde was made. But thys fondnesse of theyrs, the Fathers haue well rebuked. And wée doe holde, that God is so sufficiente of hymselfe, that of hymselfe he hathe all, and hath receyued nothing of any person.

Secondly, he is in this respect also sufficient of himselfe, that not only he hath all of himselfe, but he doth also so suffice hymselfe, that he hath no néede neyther of any of the things whyche hée hathe, and whyche hée hathe made and created. He is sufficiente to hymselfe through al things, and vnto all thinges. He hadde not néede of any thyng before he created the worlde, either that which is aboue and heauenly, eyther this inferiour and earthly. Hée shoulde not haue bin a payne the richer, albeit hée

The sunne.

had created a thousande worldes. Lyke as the lighte of the sunne is no whitte encreated by all the lightes that be any where, neyther any thing diminished though there bée none else but it. But there is no comparison at all to be made betwirte God and the Sunne, betwirte the creator and the creature: and yet for all that, a man may somewhat sée by the qualitie of the sunne, what we ought to iudge of this sufficiencie of God, for as much as he so created ẏ sunne, that it hath full plentie of light of it selfe, and so farre forthe sufficeth it selfe, that it nédeth no lyght of anye other.

And of all liuing menne, where is one so wealthy, so mighty, and so wise and happie in all pointes, that he hath néde of none, and is sufficient to himselfe alwayes, and in all things: doe not ẏ most mighty Princes, yea euen they whome men call by a proude title αὐτοκράτορας, that is, strong of themselues, for as much as they be not Gods, but men, néde the seruice of others, yea séely weake men, not onely to raigne and rule ouer, but also to lyue by? The Philosopher reasoneth, whether the happy man hath any néde of friendes, yea whether he nédeth them when he is vexed with aduersitie, or when hée flourisheth in felicitie. This question néded not, and yet for all that he cõcludeth ẏ saying, The happie manne shall haue néde of good friendes. Why? Bycause the weakenesse of mans nature is suche, that no liuing man is able to be sufficient vnto himselfe, when he is become strõg and mightie, muche lesse when he is yong and naked, néedy of all things, and new come forth of hys mothers wombe. But the nature of God is so sufficient of it selfe, that it nédeth the helpe and seruice of none other.

But you wyll say. Why doth hée then occupy not onely Aungels for hys ministers, but menne also, yea beastes, and creatures lacking lyfe, ayre, fyre, snowe, frost, windes, sunne mone, starres, &c. in case that he bée sufficiente of hymselfe in all points, not onely to lyue, but also to gouerne?

I aunswere, Whereas hée dothe vse the ministerie of hys creatures, he doth it not of necessitie, as though that without them he coulde not gouerne those things whiche he hathe made and dothe conserue, whereas without them he created thys whole masse of Heauen, Earthe, and Sea, by his worde only: which is of no lesse strength and power than it is to gouerne all that he hathe made. He is able by his becke only to do all what hée wyll. But lyke as he created all thyng for the declaration of his godlye Maiestie, so hée vseth also the ministery of all thyngs, to shewe hymselfe to bée not onely the maker, but the Maister also of all, and that it myghte be knowen to mortall men, for whose sake he made all these things, that all doth depend vpon the becke of hys wyll, and that there is nothing neyther in Heauen, nor in Earth, but (if he list) doth obey and serue hym. We all do knowe by experiencie the vsage of the Sunne, the Mone, the Ayre, Fyre, Lãd, Water &c. But wee doe not likewise all vnderstand, that none of these things hathe his course in vayne, but that all

Why God vseth the ministrie of creatures.

all serueth to the worde of their creator. Therefore it pleased the Holye Spirite to admonishe vs hereof by Dauid in the Psalmes, where hée doth briefely, but yet very playnely, sing vnto vs all this ditty, that God hath not only created all thinges by his worde, but also that all thynges doe obey the same. But yet in the meane season none of the things created could do any thing, vnlesse that God did himselfe through his power worke by them. Wherefore that the Sunne dothe shyne, the fyre brenne, the water moysten, the snowe and Ice make colde, &c. it is not theyr owne worke, but the worke of Gods power, working by them. And by this meanes he doth declare the glorie of his Maiestie much more excellently, than though he did worke all things inuisibly withoute the ministery of his creatures. Who woulde saye that there were anye glorye of Princely Maiestie declared in thys, if that the Prince hymselfe in hys owne person and wyth hys owne hande, withoute the ministerie of others, should do all those things, whiche were to be done in his realme, and not rather in that if he haue all the habilitie, wealth, and strength of all the inhabitantes of his realme to subiecte vnto his worde and becke, that he may at his owne libertie vse the ministerie of whome he list, and wherevnto he list.

Thirdly, that ἐπαρκεία, is when a man is not only sufficiente to hymselfe in all things, but yéldeth vnto others also plentifullye to their vse. Ἀρκέω in Greéke signifyeth to ayde, to help, and to relieue, and ἀρκέομαι, to be contented, and to haue sufficient. Therefore saying that there is not only this kind of sufficiencie peculiar vnto God, that he dothe by all and in all things so sufficiently, that he nédeth nothing, but that hée dothe also liberally and plentifully bestowe vnto others whereby they may liue and be sustayned, we maye well also attribute vnto hym thys ἐπαρκείαν, whereby he doth also of his fulnesse and plentie yelde vnto the necessitie of others, that whyche is sufficient. And he doth this in that sorte, that he séemeth to haue all the sufficiencie of all things to this end, to suffice others thereby, more than himselfe.

The Ebrewes do so vse that word שדי, whiche is in the holye Scriptures applyed vnto God, and hathe a signification of sufficiencie, and is neuer found spoken but of God only. God only say they, doth depend vpon none other, neyther in substance nor in qualities, but he with all his appertinaunces is clére, and quite from all dependence. So that hée is absolutely, and in truth rich and sufficiente to himselfe, which nédeth no other. And this is God only. But of all others this is spoken as receyuing it from some other, and in respecte of some things. Therefore séeyng that God only is sufficiente to himselfe, this name שדי is aright attribute vnto him.

In déede these thinges be true, but yet they doe not well ynough expresse the sufficiencie of Goddes nature, and the strength of thys worde שדי. For as the nature of God dothe not onely suffice it selfe, but dothe also bestowe vppon others as muche as is sufficiente: so this word

dothe not onely signifie him whiche dothe suffise hymselfe in all thynges, but him also whych doth of his sufficiencie giue vnto others sufficiently, to serue their turne.

Fourthly, when we doe consider that vniuersall prouidence of God, whereby he prouideth for the necessities of all creatures, we do well perceyue that the worde of ἐπαρκείας is not ynough to expresse the full sufficiencie of the nature of God, but that we must attribute also thereunto παναρκείαν, that is to say, that sufficiency, whereby there is giuen vnto all things generally that bee in Heauen and in Earth, that whereby they may liue and continue. The one selfesame God is the bottomlesse fountayne of all sufficiencie to all things that be created by him, sufficient to all, and alone. What soeuer is either in Heauen or in Earthe is of him: what soeuer hathe life, and what soeuer thing, al heauenly, and earthly creatures, and liuing in the waters, reasonable & vnreasonable, hauing soule or without soule, haue, it is of him. All matter, substance, essense, nature, life, sustentation of life, fode, powers, and qualities of soule, spirite and body, all vnderstanding, knowledge, wisedome and foresighte, all strength of Imagining, reasoning, iudging, remembring, louing, hating, desiring, and refusing, is of him, yea whatsoeuer thynges also doe outwardly come, eyther by Angels, eyther by men, or by beasts, and anye creatures of hys (sayeth Paule) to the Romaynes. And by hym, and in hym, be all things. Rom. 11.

Suche is therefore the nature of God, that it is in it selfe perfecte, and full of all good thynges. Secondlye, that it doth not keepe the good things whiche it hathe to it selfe only, but that it dothe communicate them also vnto others. Thys hys readinesse to communicate, bredde that common and proper Prouerbe, Euerye good thyng the communer it is, the Godlyer it is. The large dealyng in communicating, the Apostle expressed when hee sayde, Of him bee all thynges. Thirdly, that hee giueth not some fewe things, or many, but all. By all, you must not vnderstande all whyche God hymselfe hathe, but all whyche bee hys creatures, and bee hadde of all them. Agayne, you must not vnderstande it of euill, and sinne, whyche is not of God, but of the Deuill, but of all good thynges. Euery good gyfte, sayeth James, and euerye perfecte gifte is from aboue, comming downe frō the father of lyghtes. Euill doth not belong to the sufficiencie of God, but all kinde of goodnesse. As for naughtinesse, it dothe belong to the sufficiencie of the Deuill. For he is sufficientlye naughte, and the fountayne and beginner of all euill and naughtinesse. Euill is not of God. Iacobi.

Fourthly, the nature of God is, that it giueth not vnto some onely, but vnto all. The Apostle sayeth, Seeyng that hee giueth lyfe and breathe and all things vnto all. And James sayeth: If anye of you lacke wysedome, lette hym aske it of God, who giueth abundantlye vnto all, and casteth no man in the teeth withall, and it shall be giuen him. But it is not to bee vnderstanded of men onely, as though that hee gaue all things vnto them only. The sufficiencie Act. 17. Iacob. 1. The difference of Gods prouidence.

encie of God dothe yelde all thynges that bee necessarie vnto all cattell, and beastes. Therefore the Psalmist song: They doe looke for all thynges of thee, to giue them fode in season. When thou doest giue them, they doe gather it, when thou openest thy hande, all thynges be fylled wyth goodnesse, and when thou turnest away thy face, they bee troubled, &c. And agayne: The eyes of all thynges doe trust in thee O Lord, and thou giuest them meate in due season. Thou openest thy hande, and fillest euerye liuing thyng wyth thy blessyng. And in an other place, Whiche openeth the Heauen to the cloudes, and prouideth rayne for the earthe: whyche bryngeth forthe hay and grasse in the hilles for the seruice of menne, whyche giueth vnto cattell theyr fode, and to the yong rauens whyche doe call vppon hym. For he giueth all things vnto all, wyth care and foresight, whych is meete for God the conseruer of all. God (sayeth Salomon) hathe care of all. The Sunne giueth light vnto all. The fountaine giueth drynke to all, which wil take paines to draw it. This ayre serueth to all, that do breath of it. But this they do without care, it is otherwise with the nature of God, for it hath a very care of all the things which it hathe made. Psal. 104. Psal. 144. Psal. 146. Iacob. 1.

Yet for all that we must consider with what difference the prouidence of God doth giue all things vnto all. The goodnesse of God is of two sortes, as the care of his prouidence is also: of Gods goodnesse, some bee earthly, bodily, and transitory, & some be heauenly, spirituall and eternall. And some care of God is generall, and some speciall. The general care is that, which is peculiar vnto the Creator and conseruer of all, the speciall is that, when as a father hee hath care of his electe and faithful, in the generall care he foreseeth indifferentlye vnto the necessities of all. Therefore Christ said, Which bringeth forthe his sunne vpon the good and the euill, and raineth vppon the thankefull and vnthankefull. So hee bestoweth his bodily and transitorie good things, to the vses not onely of men, but also of beastes, not only of the iust, but of the vniust also: but of his speciall prouidence, by whiche he beareth a fatherly good wil towards them whome he chose into his kingdome, and vnto euerlasting felicitie before the makyng of the worlde, he giueth in deede temporarie, earthly and bodily goodes, according vnto his generall care, but he giueth specially heauenly, spirituall and euerlasting goodes to the sauyng of the faythfull by hys spirite, the spirite of his children, according vnto hys speciall benevolence and good wyll.

He doth both these as creator and sauiour: but freely of hymselfe, as owing nothing to any mā, bestowing them vnequally, but not vniustlye. For if we doe consider the qualitie of mans estate, he giueth to no man lesse than the necessitie of cure nature requireth. And to say the truth, the wealthynesse of the rich menne whiche consisteth in Golde, Siluer, and other lyke gaye geare, is not so muche to bee esteemed of it selfe, that it oughte so to bee preferred before the necessarye prouysion

and substance, which the prouidence of God communelye giueth vnto all, and whyche they whiche be despised for their pouertie, doe vse more happily, than they whiche for their notable wealth and riches are taken to be most happie.

Of God and by God is all.

Of him (sayeth the Apostle) bée all things, and he addeth, and By hym, *Ergo* all things not onely be of God as the fountaine of all good thinges, but also by him: he bestoweth all his good things vnto all, how, as muche, and when he will. In déede he vseth the ministerye of creatures, but the verye worke it selfe of the dispensation and distributiõ, is not the creatures, but his. Therefore Dauid sayth: Thou openest thy hande, and fillest euerye liuing thing with blessing. He meaneth the very same, that the Apostle dothe, that is to witte, that not onely all things be of God, but by God also.

Then if all things be of him, and by him, it followeth that there is nothing of any other, or by any other, but all of, and by God only. So that he may be as well called μοναρκὴς, as πανάρκης, and truly so it is. Unlesse we doe receyue oure things of God, neyther Heauen nor Earthe, nor any other thing that séemeth to be of anye power, can doe any good, no nor the worlde can so fyll one mans hearte, that he shall desire nothing more. This perteyneth vnto God only, sufficiently to fulfill those things whiche he hathe made. Hée whiche hath God himselfe, hath not onely muche, but sufficiente in all things.

All things be in him.

Furthermore the Apostle sayeth also, And al things be in him. Wherefore all things be so of God, that neuertheless all whiche wée haue of him, is in him: we be both of him, and doe also liue, moue, and bée in hym. Those things whiche be of God, can not stande but in God, the essence and life of all things as it is of God, so it is also in God. He loseth nothing that hée gyueth. But the condition of vs is farre other, than that of God is. Those thynges which we doe begette of vs, can both liue and cõtinue without vs: and those things whych wée do gyue vnto others, wée doe so gyue them, that they bée no longer ours but theyrs, vnto whome wée haue gyuen them. But God so gyueth all thinges, that for all that hée loseth none of those things, whiche hée gyueth. It is neuer a whitte the farther from hym, there is no alienation made, for there is nothing taken from hym, although that all bée receyued from hym. The waying of thys, maye bée a great comforte vnto vs, and anayleth muche to the confirmation of the faith of Goddes prouidence. In vayne shoulde all thynges bée of God, vnlesse withall all things were in him, and consisted in hym: For without hym there is neyther lyfe, nor habilitie to stande by, and to continue. Lette our very life and motions that we moue by, declare vnto vs not onely of whome, but also in whome we bée. What a madnesse is it therefore, not to acknowledge hym of whome wée be, and of whome we doe receyue all thynges: and not to haue hym before oure eyes, nor to depende vppon his prouidence, in whome we be and doe lyue, and in whome all thinges be that we haue, and without whom neyther we our selues nor any thing that we haue, can stande and continue? Wherefore it is not possible, that we should without greate iniurie of Gods Maiestie séke ayde and helpe of any other, but of him when we néede any thing, of whome, by whome, and in whome, we be, wée liue, and we be moued? Howe is it possible that he whiche of his owne motion and godnesse made vs to be when we were not. He which dothe kay vs in him after we be made by him, dothe fede vs, mayntayne vs and saue vs, can forsake vs if with sincere fayth and truste we do wholy depende vpon his prouidence? Thus much we haue spoken as briefly passing ouer this treatise of the Sufficiencie of God.

Of the Omnipotencie of God.

Omn the Omnipotencie of God.

Neyther vnto the Sufficiencie of God, wée may well place Omnipotẽcie. For vnlesse that he were Omnipotent and Almightie, he coulde not be sufficient in all things.

The Ebrewes haue no worde to signifie Almightie, and therefore the Scriptures doe call God absolutely Mightie, full of power, & of strength. When Iob woulde giue vnto God the glory of Omnipotencie, he sayd: I know that thou arte able to do all things. And whereas we doe reade in Genesis: I the God Almighty, and, The Almighty God giue you. And in Exodus, I appeared vnto Abrahã, Isaac, and Iacob, in the God Almightie, &c. In the Ebrewe it is sufficient, whereof we spake before, but as we read in Exodus, Almightie is his name, in the Ebrewe it is, ὁ Epikét is his name. And it is turned in the Psalme otherwise: The Lorde is his name. Nowe that God is Almightie, it appeareth by the testimonie of Christe our Sauiour: who sayth: All things be possible vnto God. And, Abba father, al things be possible vnto thée. And the Angel sayde vnto Marie the Lordes mother, There is no worde impossible with God. And this is a clérely confessed case, not onely among Christian men, but with the Turkes also and Iewes, but yet there be but few that do vse the faith of the Omnipotencie of God aright.

Exo. 15.

Matth. 19. Marc. 14.

Luc. 1.

Howe might and powver differeth.

Firste, we doe make a difference betwixte Might, whiche the Grékes doe call δύναμιν, and that whiche they call ἐξουσίαν, whereof we will speake in a place hereafter by it selfe. For might standeth in strength, valiãt force, &c. But power consisteth in iurisdiction and authoritie, wherefore he that is mighty inough to any thing that he is able to doe, hath not alwayes Authoritie so to doe.

Of the difference betvvixte Might and Might.

Tvvoo povver

Secondly, we doe suppose that there be two mightes. One which is receyued from some other,

and the other which is receyued frō none. That which is receyued from others, belongeth vnto creatures, & that whiche is receyued of no other, is peculiare vnto God onely. The first is not proper vnto them, but is an others. The second is no others, but proper vnto hymselfe. The fyrste also is not only an others, as receyued once of an other, but it standeth also by the strength of an other as long as it continueth: but the latter standeth at no time by the strength of anye other, but euermore by hys owne. There is no creature heauenlye, or earthly which hath so receyued any strength from God, that it is able afterwardes to vse the same by his owne strength. The Angels which haue once receyued the might of spiritual nature from God, cannot practise ỹ same by their own strēgth but they haue nede to be furnished in all things by the mighte of God. So that they themselues be not so much mightie from God, as God is mightie in them. At a worde, all the might of all creatures is of GOD, which worketh al in all. Whereas ỹ fire burneth and warmeth, the water moysteneth and coleth, the earth beareth fruite. &c. it is the worke of Gods might, which worketh thys by hys strength. But you can appointe me none by whose mighte God is mightie and worketh those things ỹ he doth: but he worketh mightyly in al things by his owne strength, and declareth hymselfe to be the true Almightie LORD of power onely.

All the mighte of all creatures of God.

The might which is receyued, is particular and limited. I cal it particulare, bycause it is not vniuersall. For there is none of them so mighty that doth receiue strēgth from God, that they be able vniuersally to doe al things. There is to no man giuen ful and perfect strength, (except christ the onelye begotten of God) but to one is giuen to do one thing, and to another an other. But the might of God, not receyued but proper vnto him, is not particular, but altogither vniuersal. Wherupon it is also called Almightynesse, bycause that ther is nothing impossible vnto it. And it can haue no determination, limitation, nor restraint, but it is vtterly frē ful, & absolute. The might of kings and Emperours is not frē and absolute, but restrayned within certain limites and boundes. There be an infinite number of things impossible vnto them, and those things that be possible, be not so possible vnto them that they can do them, but according to the limitation and measure sette them from God. But vnto God ther is nothing impossible, but al possible, and that without al limitation: so ỹ he can do what he wil, when, as far forth, and howsoeuer it pleaseth him to do. The mighty of this worlde be dread, bycause they cā kil the bodies. But that might is so limited, that they can not kil the soules, but after they haue slain the bodyes, they haue no more to do. But ỹ might of God being frē from this limitation, can when he lisse caste both bodies and soules into the pitte of hel. Furthermore this might of tirants be it neuer so greate, it is but for a time, so that it is determined either by death, eyther by some speciall iudgemente of God, yea and for the moste parte they make an ende with shame ỹ nought

Might receyued.

nought. But the almightinesse of God is continual, vnchangeable, and euerlasting: For it is not determinable by any processe of tyme, by anye chaunge of worldes or matters, neyther by any dessenie. As long as god himselfe endureth, who hath neither begynning nor ende, so long his almightinesse also endureth: so that not onely hee is euerlasting, but his Omnipotencye also is Euerlasting.

Lastly, no person was euer so mighty to do what he list, subiecte vnto no passions, impediments, and incommodities, so that his will myght be withstanded by no man. No doubt the displeasure of Princes is great, and dredfull, but it is not so almightie to runne out in rage and furie, to do what it list: but it hath a bryde to be restrayned by, and maye by manye occasions be letted. But the almightinesse of God, hath in it these two points most perfect, that it dispatcheth speedily what it wyl, and can haue no passion, or impediment. Therefore Augustine wryteth, that God is therfore called Almighty, bycause he doeth what he wyll, and suffereth not that which he wylleth not. So the Prophet Dauid also whē he would set forth the glory of gods Omnipotēcie, he sayd: But our God in Heauen, doth what he wil. The other part of his Omnipotencie, whiche standeth in that poynte, that hee suffereth not that whiche he wylleth not. Esaias did set forth, saying: And there is none which shall take them out of my hande, and if I doe anye thyng, who shall lette it? So that in these two partes is comprehended the almightinesse of God, that is in doyng what he wyl, and in not sufferyng anye resistaunce whiche he wylleth not. And thus muche of the difference of the mighte of God, from the myghte of all creatures.

What is the vse of the Omnipotencie of *God.*

The larger tall vvor of Gods omnipo tencie.

WEe doe not take vppon vs to search out the exceding strength of the Almightinesse of God, wherof wee bee not able to comprehende the leaste peece and portion. And yet for all that it may doe menne some good to consider in parte the vse therof. Truly, God is of that nature, that hee dothe perfourme and dispatche all thynges whyche doe properly appertaine vnto the true God, and be impossible to any thinges created as to create of nothyng, to cause to multiplye, and to encrease out of an other, to dispose, gouerne and kēpe, to restore, regenerate, and renewe things that were lost, that they may be saued for euermore, to chastē the offendors, and by effectuall iudgement to punishe the wicked as well spirites as men. These be the generall workes of Gods might, of whiche the specialities bee infinite, and passyng anye mans capacitie.

The of potenc God in creatin

Firste of all, when he woulde create this worlde, the heauen, earth sea, and al that is in them, whereof shold he haue created thē, seeing that there was no matter or stuffe in any place, wherof to frame this engine after the sorte of a maister carpēter, vnlesse that by his Almighty strēgth he had created oute of nothyng fyre,

water,

water, earth and ayre, whiche as it were the beginnings of his woꝛkes that he woulde make, he mighte in creatyng bryng the same to passe. Wherefoꝛe the firste and pꝛoper exercise of his Omnipotencie was, to create matter and stuffe of nothing, and therof to make the woꝛld. This vse & exercise of Gods omnipotency, they did not acknowledge which doe so attribute the woꝛkmãshipe of this woꝛlde vnto God, that they say, hee made it of some matter oꝛ stuffe whiche was layde out ready befoꝛe, and was from euermoꝛe. They that be of this iudgement, doe take away from God the chiefest glozy of his Almightinesse, in that they do denie that he is the creatoꝛ of the matter and stuffe, out of whiche all things doe pꝛocéede by his creation.

The omnipotencie of God in the making of things.

Secondly, it was requisite that of the matter and stuffe once created, he should make ẏ rest of his woꝛke, the light, day, and night, and to diſseuer the Heauen & the Earth from the water, and to decke them with theyꝛ furniture, to make the Sunne, the Mone & Starres, to bryng foꝛth Foule, and Fiſhe out of the waters, and all kindes of liuyng beastes, and man also out of the cley of the earth. Herevnto also serued the vse of Gods Omnipotencie.

The omnipotencie of God in multiplying & increasing. Gen.1.

Thirdly, foꝛ as much as to replenish the lande, it was nédefull that the beasts, which were made, should be multiplied, vsing agayne the vertue of Almightinesse, he gaue them strength to growe and to multiplie, whereof we doe reade in this wise. And God sawe that it was good, and he blessed them, that is to say, the fiſhe of the sea, saying, Growe, and be multiplied, and replenish the waters of the seas. Agayne after he had made man, he blessed him, and sayde: Growe and be multiplied, & replenishe the lande, &c.

Fourthly, it was meante that the creatures should not onely be multiplied, but also should be continued in eache kinde, during the seasons of all this woꝛlde. So that the Omnipotencie of God is nédefull herein also, whereby all kinde of liuyng things, beastes, fiſhe, fowle, plantes, & men, should conserue theyꝛ kindes by vertue thereof, from the beginnyng of the woꝛlde, vntill the ende thereof.

The omnipotencie of God in preseruyng.

Fiftly, there is requiſite a special might, whereby all things as well in heauen, as in earth be gouerned, diſposed, fedde, & pꝛeserued. Foꝛ vnlesse they were gouerned, fedde, and pꝛeserued by the stregth of the Omnipotencie, whereby they be made, they could not continue the space of one minute of an houre. Whereof commeth it but of the Omnipotẽcie of God, that the skie falleth not, that the sea ouerwhelmeth not the land, that it ouerthꝛoweth not all things in ragyng ouer all like a fludde, that the lande sinketh not downeward, whereas it is establiſhed about the waters, that the ayre doth not diſappoynt them of their necessarie breath whiche do breath, that the sunne with his heate doth not burne & marre all the fashiõ of the earth, that the earth loseth not hir stregth of bearyng fruytes, wherevpon both men and cattell do liue, that al kinde of nurrishment kéepeth his strength of fode, that the ozder sette in things of nature, is not confounded, and that an

an vnnumerable suche other like things do continue eche of them in their office and dutie? The self same vertue of God is both the creatoꝛ, and pꝛeseruer of all, he which made vs, the selfe same doth also pꝛeserue vs. I made (sayth he in Esaye) I doe beare and saue.

Sirtly, it is necessarie foꝛ the conseruation of the creatures, that the feble be strengthened, that they whiche fal be set vp again, that the weak & sicke be healed, ẏ they which be out of the way be bꝛought home againe into the righte, that the blinde bee made to sée, the pꝛysoners deliuered, the hungrye and the thirstie relieued wyth meate and dꝛynke, so that the vse of the might of God doth pertayn herevnto also, by whiche all these things are gyuen to them that be in any daunger.

He coulde haue made vs of that sozte that we should be subiect to no infyrmities and daungers, but to the intent he mighte not onely by creatyng and making, but also by caring foꝛ, and reskozying those thyngs that be created, declare in vs the might of Gods woꝛd. He created vs such as mought fall, hunger, thirste, be sicke and sundzy wise in daungers, to the intente that we shoulde depende alwayes vppon the vertue and ayde of hys myght. Thys Dauid dyd acknowledge when he song, My soule blesse thou the Lozde. &c. Which healeth all my infyrmityes, whiche saueth my lyfe from pertshing. Item: the LORD giueth fode to the hungrye: the LORD loseth them that be tyed, the Lozd lyghteneth the blynde: the LORD reyseth vppe them that fall, &c. Item: LORD thou sauest bothe meune and beastes, he maketh a solemne remembꝛaunce, howe God rydeth them out of daungers whiche wander as captiues and slaues in deserte, and them that be daedly sicke, and suche as be in the daungers of the Sea. In deede he doth ascribe thys vnto the mercye and godnesse of God: but the godnesse and mercye of GOD shoulde bée of no effecte at all, vnlesse there grewe vnto them an efficacye from the Vertue of GODS might.

By the might of God we be regenerate

Seuenthlye, foꝛ as muche as he chose vnto him suche as he woulde saue, and make happy foꝛ euermoꝛe, befoꝛe the establishemente of the woꝛlde, there is of necessitie requysite the vertue whereby he should regenerate them from aboue, that they may be partakers of the kyngdome of Heauen. Thus he doeth by that might, whereby the heartes of the electe, be renewed, and of fleshly, made spirituall. This woꝛke of Goddes almightinesse is perfoꝛmed by the Gospell of Christ, with the working wythal of the holye Spirit. Wherefoꝛe the Apostle calleth it the vertue of God, to saue beleuers.

Rom.1. Saps. The might of God is reuenge.

Eightly, that is also the woꝛke of God, to punishe the wicked with iust and effectuall iudgemente. In deede iustice is the moderatoꝛ of iudgmẽt, but the stregth of the Almightinesse, doth arme all creatures to be reuenged vpõ the wicked and rebellious persons. Wherefoꝛe ẏ vse therof doth also necessarily reach herevnto, the Scripture doeth extoll thys might, whereas it doth attribute vnto God a myghtye hande, a stroye

hand

hande of Vertue, and an hyghe arme.

The might of God to rayse the dead.

Nynthly, for as muche as God doth so trauayle ỹ goodly in this life, that they seeme to be nothyng lesse than happy, and suffereth the wicked to passe ouer this life in pleasures, so that very reason would wish for the resurrection of the dead, to the intent that there might be a diuision made, and the Godlye to be assured vnto eternall life, and the wicked caste awaye into euerlastyng fyre: thys execution also of the iuste and laste iudgement doth require an Omnipotencie, that the deade maye both be raysed vp agayne vnto lyfe, and that euery man vppon iudgement wythout all appeale, be rewarded accordyng vnto that which he dyd in hys lyfe, eyther good or euyll.

By the mighte of God this vvorlde is ended, and a new heauen and earth made.

Tenthlye, for as muche as the very estate of the worlde, when the wicked be rydde awaye, and the Godlye putte into euerlastyng lyfe and felicitie, requireth of necessitie, that when the present shape thereof is determined, it muste be turned into a newe forme, that there bee a newe Heauen and Earth: there is requisite also hereunto the vse of Goddes Omnipotencye, wythoute whyche thys chaunge can neyther be wrought, nor after it is once wrought, remayne so settled for euermore. When we doe consider these and suche other lyke matters, wee doe easily vnderstande, though not in all yet in some poyntes, the vse of Goddes Omnipotencie. It is in deede infinite, lyke as the very might of God is also infinite: but to auaũce our endeuor of godly exercise this may suffice whiche we haue by the way alleaged thereof. We could confirme and declare it by holy scriptures, vnlesse we knewe that wee nede not trauayle ouer busily in things manifest.

In vvhat vvorkes the Omnipotencie of God is to *bee considered.*

The vvorkes of God vvorkes.

IT might appeare sufficiently, by that we haue already spoken, in what workes the vertue of Goddes mighte is to be considered: but yet bycause of the simpler sorte, wee haue thought good to say somewhat of this matter also a parte. Of Gods workes some be visible, and some inuisible.

Agayne some were made long since, and that but once, some bee wrought dayly, yea and often iterated: agayne, some be myraculous and vnwonted, and some be naturall and accustomed: agayne, some be without vs, and some within our selues: lastly, some be farre from vs, and some bee euen before our eyes. In deede they be al the workes of Goddes mighte, and they doe testifie thereof, but the Godly person muste haue a regarde, that he doe specially apply his eyes and minde vnto those things, whiche hee findeth firste in himselfe, secondly, vnto those things whiche he seeth done without himselfe, eyther once done from the beginnyng, or euery yeare or dayly done. As for those things whiche bee inuisible and farre off, lette him leaue them to suche curious folkes, whiche are not contented with things visible, acquaynted, and

and common.

When wee doe loke vppon our selues, wee finde a worke not possible to be wrought by any creature, so that wee bee compelled to confesse that wee be the worke of Goddes handes, as he acknowledged whiche sayde: Thy handes Lorde, haue made and fashioned me whole roũd about. Who giueth seede vnto man whereof wee be borne? Who dothe order the womans wombe to conceyue? to retayne, and nurrishe the seede once receyued? Who dothe frame the childe thereof: and fashion it to his shape? Who giueth it lyfe? Who dothe mynister foode vnto it, whereby to lyue? Who giueth it increase to growe? Who keepeth it, saueth it close in the matrix, that it be not chaoked vp? Who dothe dispose and direct it to the birthe, when the season is come that it is rype to bee borne? Who dothe conuey it out aliue, and vnhurt out of the mothers wombe?

In al this the care of the parents dothe auayle nothyng, neyther yet the ableneese or arte of any other men. Therefore let vs acknowledge in them the hand of Almighty God, whiche appeareth also as cleere as the Sunne in the feelde of our life.

The workes without vs, in Heauen, Earth, Water, Fyre, Ayre, Menne, Beastes, Plantes, &c. The nature, makyng, and conseruation of all whiche doe stande in the vertue of Goddes Omnipotencie. Of these some beyng once made at the beginnyng of the worlde, doe not onely continue still in theyr qualitie, but also in the continuance of so many ages, the very self same that they were when they were firste made, without any repayrement: and some doe sette forth the Omnipotencie of God in an yearly, and some in a dayly reuolution. The very earth doth quicken agayne and budde forth by the yearly recourse of Sõmer, which lay all the winter whyle, as it were stroken with a deadly colde, & spoyled of all hyr beautie. The Sunne which is the light of all the worlde, with his dayly departure & returne, dothe order the chaunge of day and night, after a most certayne succession of one after an other, all to our vses: I speake not of his cherishyng warmth, wherwith he doth al the somer whyle meruelously nurrish and relieue all this earth, with the dwellers therein, and all kinde of cornes and graynes. There bee a number of things, whiche doe al the yeare long, bothe winter and somer, monethly, day & nighte, come before our eyes, by all whiche the infinite mighte of God appeareth right well. We see the sunne which seemed at ỹ euening glad to goe quite away, returnyng newe & freshe early in the morning, lyke the bryde grome out of his chãber. Unlesse we did see this sight dayly, who would beleeue ouer nighte, that it were possible ỹ the darkenesse rushing in, and couering therewith all the halfe worlde, coulde be quite ridde away agayne by the returning of the brightnesse of the Sunne vnto vs? But seyng that this is dayly done, why doe wee not consider by whose might it is done: Is it by any others, but his, who created all these things by the worde of his strẽgth, and whiche by the same mighte that he made them, dothe also rule

and

and gouerne them? Job sayth: God doth hymselfe set forth hys myghte to be considered in the foundation of the earth, the shutting vp and boundyng of the Sea, the rysing of the Sunne, the shaking of the Earthe, the deepenesse of the Sea, the lighte and darknesse, the treasures of haile and snowe, the heate of the Sunne, whiche is in the Easte aud Southe partes moste feruent) the vehement course of rayne and showres, in the noyse of thunder, rayne, droppes of dewe, yce, yce ykels, froste, the daye starre, and the euening star, the order, reason, and consent of the heauen, the cloudes, the lightnings, the destruction of the wicked, and ouerthrowe of tyrannes, which Job doth not without cause recite.

Job 38.

There myghte many other thinges, yea and much more vaileable bene alleaged, but it seemed better to the holy Spirite, to sette forth those thynges vnto oure consideratyon whyche be euery yeare, moneth and daye layde beefore oure eyes. And the multitude of them is so greate, that wee may truely saye: when wee saye muche, that wee saye nothyng: we lacke wordes. The Almightie hymselfe dothe passe all hys works: he is dreadfull and exceedyng greate, and his myghte is maruellous. Althoughe wee doe glorifye hym wyth all oure strengthe, yet for all that, hys wonderfull greatenesse doth excede, he is greater thā any praise. Althoughe wee labour neuer so muche, yet we shall not comprehende the excellencie of hys myghte. And there bee manie thinges whiche we know not farre more excellent than those thinges which doe appeare. For we doe see scarcely the leaste part of his workes.

Job 39.

Hitherto wee doe speake of those workes of Gods mighte, whiche be bothe naturall and vsuall. But who is able to waye the vertue of them, whiche bicause theybee wrought after a strange sort, be called miracles and wonders? In deede they bee all whole wonderfull, if they bee compared vnto the weakenesse of oure strengthe. But bycause of the speciall seldomnesse of them, throughe the which also they be worthy twise as muche to be wondered and marueiled at, than thinges accustomed, and so doe more abundantly also auaunce the glorye of Gods Omnipotencie. The wonderfull workes in Egypte bee knowen, those which were wroughte in the redde Sea, in the deserte, in the land of Canaan, in the furnesse of Babylon, and chiefly that whyche was by the dispensation of the worde incarnate, wherein is the moste vndoubted argument of Gods might.

The wonderfull works of God.

Besides this, if a man list to think of many things, which be not done, whereas they be easy to be done, yea so ready to be done, that they muste needs be done, vnlesse that they were stayed by the myghte of God, shall he not fynde the Omnipotencie of God also in thē? I beseeke you, what was moee likely and naturall, than that the fyre shoulde haue burnt the children of the Ebrewes, whiche the Babylonyans dydde caste into it to bee burnte? Were it not an easyer matter for the sea to ouerwhelme al the vpper parte of the lande, and to ouerthrowe that whiche standeth in it, than to bee so holden in, enclosed

The m[illegible] of God to be co[illegible]dered [illegible] those t[illegible]ges also vvhich not do[illegible]

wyth

with bankes? so that it can not ouer-rage the boundes and bankes limited vnto it, without the speciall iudgement of God? Why doth not the earth sinke downe of his owne wayght, whereas it is founded vppon waters? Why doe not the euill vtterly bannishe the good and Godly, seeyng that they doe exceede them bothe in multitude, and also in strength? The myghte of God is to bee considered of the wyse manne, in many suche matters whiche bee not done, as well as in those whiche bee done. For lyke as this is the wisedome of the myghte of God to doe what hee will, so that is hys order also, that the same bee not done whiche hee will not haue done. So that to say briefly, The Omnipotencie of God is to bee considered of vs, firste in those thynges whiche haue bene done by him long paste: secondly in those thynges, whiche bee done each yeares, monethes, or dayes: thirdly, in those thynges whiche bee not done, whereas they mighte easily be done to our great dammage and destruction.

Hovv necessary the beliefe of Gods omnipotencie is.

The articles of our fayth doe require the Omnipotencie of God.

How necessarie fayth is vnto saluation, we declared before in the place of Fayth. The generall necessitie of fayth muste haue this speciall fayth included in it, to beleeue that God is Almighty. For how shal we beleeue that he created Heauen and Earth of nothyng, and that by the worde of his strength, vnlesse we do beleeue that he is Almighty? We be not able to compryse the knowledge of this matter by the iudgement of our reason, (wherevpō some wise men were of the opinion, that the worlde hath bene for euermore) but wee doe reache vnto it onely by fayth. Wherefore the Apostle saith. By Faythe wee doe vnderstande, that the worldes were made by the worde of God. And therefore in our Creede we do sette in the firste parte before all, in the confession of our Faith: I doe beleeue in God the Father almighty, maker of Heauen & Earth. Besides this, vnlesse that we doe beleeue that God is almighty, how shall we be certainely assured, that the worde was incarnate of the Virgine, of the resurrectiō of Christ, of his death vppon the Crosse, of hys ascendyng into heauen, of his sitting at the right hande of the Father, of the common resurrection of all the deade, of the euerlastyng life whiche wee doe truste vpon? If wee consider the qualitie of Gods promises, wee can not be assured of the truth of thē, vnlesse wee doe beleue that he which promised them, is aswel almighty as true. There were things promised vnto Abraham, whiche he coulde neuer haue beleued shoulde haue come to passe, without a firme fayth of Gods omnipotencie. As were the posteritie of his seede, to be equall to the multitude of the starres of the skye, whereas he himself was already olde, and his wife not onely olde, but barren also, & also the possession of the lande of Canaan. These matters seemed to be impossible altogether in the eyes of the fleshe, yet for all that, he did beleeue God whiche

Heb. 11.

The [illegible] Abra[illegible] depe[illegible] vpon [illegible] omni[illegible]cie of

Mmm.j. promised

promised him, for asmuchas he knew ẏ there was nothing impossible vnto him. Of this matter the apostle speaketh in this wise: Whiche besides hope in hope beléeued, ẏ he should be ẏ father of many nations, accordyng vnto that which was said: Thus thy séede shall be. And not weakened in faith he cõsidered not his own body alreadye decayed, whereas he was well néere a hundred yeares olde, nor the decayed wombe of Sara, but hée staggerd not at the promisse of God through vnbeliefe, but became strong in faith, giuing the glory vnto God, conceyuing an assured perswasion, that the very selfe same whiche had promised it, was able also to performe it. This sayth the Apostle. Therfore Abraham did hereupon beleue the promisses of God, albeit to the outward shew they were impossible, bycause he was certainely perswaded, that he was so Almighty, that hée was able to performe his promisses; whereas the fayth of Sara somewhat slacked in this case, so that she laughed at the wordes of the Angels, when he prõmysed hyr a Sonne, and sayde: Now that I am in age, and my Lorde is waxen olde, shall I now fall to pleasure and pastyme? It was replyed vnto hir with a checke, that nothing is harde vnto God. It appeareth that shée woulde not haue doubted of the promyse, if she had thought more vppon the Omnipotencie of God, than vpon the infirmitie of hir flesh. And it was a like matter also that chanced to the blessed Virgin, when she sayde vnto the Angel: How may this be, for as much as I know not a man? Wherfore it was sayde vnto hyr, that no worde is impossible with God. So that the promises of God bée well néere of this nature, that they finde not fayth of theyr truthe without the fayth of Gods Omnipotencie. We shall without it neyther beléeue those things to bée true, whiche be reported in the holy Scriptures of the workes of God that bée paste, nor yet with stedfast and assured hope looke for that whiche is to come. What reason can make the expectation of the cõmyng of our Sauiour Christe stedfaste in vs, when this worlde shall haue an ende, and the electe be conueyed to the glory of the chyldren of God, and the wicked caste out with Satan into euerlastyng fyre, vnlesse that wée be certainely perswaded of the Omnipotencie of God? Therefore when the Apostle spake of this appearyng of the Lorde, saying: That thou kéepe the commaundement sincerely, and without faulte, vntill the appearyng of our Lorde Iesus Christe. He added: Whiche he shall shewe, who is the happie and onely Mightie. It séemeth to be vnpossible, that a man gotten into Heauen so many hundred yeares paste, should returne vnto vs againe. But let vs consider that God is Almighty, whiche shall shewe him vnto vs with heauenly glory, when the tyme commeth.

Rom. 4.

Sara.

Gen. 18.

The blessed virgin.

Our prayers also whiche we muste make when we be in aduersitie & in trouble, would be very colde and slacke, when we perceyue al that is against vs to be strong and stout, that it séemeth vnpossible to escape that whiche is to come, or to be deliuered from the presente, vnlesse wée

séeke

séeke hys helpe, as strengthened by the fayth of Gods Omnipotencie. So Christe beyng in that agonie, when he prayed vnto God his Father, that the houre of hys Crosse might passe away, if it were possible, he did sette that before: Abba father, all things be possible vnto thée. And the Apostles, what time they prayed with the congregation of the faythfull, and besought the helpe of God agaynst the threatnyngs & strength of their aduersaries, Pilate, Herode, and the Priestes, at the very beginnyng of theyr prayer they fell to the argument of Gods Omnipotencie, saying: Thou Lord hast made heauẽ and earth, the Sea, and all that is in them, &c. So by calling vnto their remembrance the fayth of the creatiõ, they cõfirmed in thẽselues ẏ faith of Gods Omnipotẽcie, & did arme thẽ with that agaynst the mighte of the wicked Princes, that they might be the stronger in theyr Prayer.

So that the fayth of Goddes omnipotencie is so necessarie, that those thyngs whiche bée sette forth in the Scriptures of Goddes workes, and whiche doe concerne the mysterie of mans redemption and saluation, can not be settled vppon any sure fayth and hope, or any of our prayers or Gods promisses be safely trusted vpon, vnlesse that we be first assuredly perswaded of his Omnipotencie. Wherefore we muste specially prouide, that we arme our hartes with the firme fayth of Gods mighte, agaynst all feares and doubts, which the imaginations of our fleshe dothe prompte vs withall. In déede we doe easily beléeue generally all the sorte of vs, that God is Almightie, or else we say in déede, that we doe beléeue it: but in those cases whiche do specially touche vs, and séeme sometimes in themselues to be sore, and impossible, we doe not streyght way looke to the Omnipotencie of God, but haue néede to be told of that, saying: There is no worde impossible with God.

Questions of the Omnipotencie of God.

Some menne whiche be more curious than religious, do reason vpon the Omnipotencie of God, whether that GOD may doe all thyngs whiche manne may. If he may, say they, then he may be weary, hungry, a thyrste, sicke, dye, be consumed, yea lye also and sinne, and doe those thyngs that be naught, yea to take greate delite in wickednesse, if he can not doe thys, *Ergo* he is not Omnipotent.

Item, whether that he can make that whiche is done, vndone. Item, whether he cã do any thyng besides that that he hath done, and that eyther better or worse, as to make a better worlde, than he made. Item, Whether he can omitte & leaue vnmade any of those things, whiche he doth make: Whether he can make it any other, or after a better way than he dothe make it. Item, Whether it were possible for him to redéeme this worlde any other way, than by the death of his only begotten. Item, Whether he be able to do that alwayes whiche he did once, as to be incarnate, to dye, rise vp again, and suche other lyke. And Occams question: Whether it be rather conuenient

VVhether that God can doe thing, vvhiche man can

Occam

uenient for GOD, not to be able to doe that whiche is impossible, or for that whiche is vnpossible not to be done by God.

V Whether that God can be vvery.

By my aduise the godly person shall forbeare those curious questiõs of idle braynes, and beleeue this simply, that God is Almightie. It pertayneth not vnto power but vnto weakenesse, to be able to be weary, hungry, a thirste, to be sicke, to die, & to be consumed. For what else is it to be wery, thã not to be able, strõgly to doe and performe any troublesome thing without wearinesse? bycause of the faintnesse of his strẽgth? And what is it else to be hũgry and a thirste, than to haue an appetite to meate and drinke, to refreshe the strẽgth of the body, which we should not néede, if the body could continue lustie & strong without them. Wherfore to be hungry and a thirste, commeth of a weaknesse, and not of any strength. Whereupon it foloweth, that God could not continue the glory of his Omnipotency, if he were found subiect vnto these lackes. It is the like matter also to be sicke, die, & wasted, to decay, commeth not of might, but of weakenesse, and therefore is moste farre from him who is of all most mighty.

Maye.

There is an abuse in this worde Maie, when we doe say that a man may be weary, hũgry, a thirst, sicke, &c. For the nature of the worde, properly dothe appertayne vnto those things whiche doe require mighte. Wherefore we say very improperly, that we may do those things whiche be not of might, but of infirmity. To be able, to be weary, hungry, a thirst, sicke, die, &c. is not properly to be able, but rather vnable. And therfore we say when we be in that case: I can no more: and I am able to go no further. So that whereas they doe inferre, If God can not do this, he is not Omnipotent and Almighty, wée must turne it the other way, and say: If God may suffer this, hée is not Almighty.

V Whether that God can vvalke and talke.

They argue: God can not walke and talke as a man can: *Ergo*, he is not Almyghty. The Maister of the Sentences dothe well answere it: that the might is not straunge vnto God, whiche is of him, albeit hée doe not vse it in himself. To walke and to talke, commeth of no other but of God: so that he dothe walke and talke in manne, and wée say further: That it is not to bée taken for vnablenesse, not to doe the same, whiche is contrary to the propertie of euery mans nature. Lyke as we doe not say, that a manne is vnable, bycause he dothe not flie in the Ayre lyke as byrdes doe, seyng that it dothe not belong to the nature of a man to flie. So wée must not make an vnablenesse in God, bycause hée doth not these things, whiche agreeth not vnto his nature, but dothe belong to the nature eyther of man or beastes.

That God can not lye is not to be taken for vnabilitie.

Wée do answere in lyke maner also vnto theyr question, howe God is Almighty, if hée can not lye, sinne, and doe wickedly, whiche man that is muche féebler than hée, can doe. It is contrary vnto the nature of God, to lye, to sinne, and to doe wickedly. The lyer can lye, the sinner can sin, and the wicked person can doe wickedly, but GOD is neyther lyer, sinner, nor wicked, but truthe, and righteousnesse it selfe, so that he can not lye, sinne, nor do wickedly. It cã not be founde as an vnablenesse in the sunne, that it maketh not a man colde, whereas it is not his nature so to do, but quyte contrary: and howe can it derogate any thing of the mighte of God, that he can not doe those things, whiche if he coulde, hée should goe from his diuine nature, and declare himselfe to be vnable, and nothyng lesse than true God. Not to be able to sinne, is the token of perfection, and not of imperfectiõ, and of an incorrupt nature. What is it to sinne else, but to fall from the rightnesse of Iustice? but to fall, is rather an vnablenesse than an ablenesse. He whiche sinneth is ouercome, and dothe not ouercome: to be ouercome is not of ablenesse, but of vnablenesse; but when one can not be ouercome, it is of might and ablenesse. He that dothe sinne, is the slaue of sinne, to be a slaue, is farre from mighte and ablenesse. Who is so madde to say, that the Adamant stone is weaker than any apple, bycause the Adamant can not putrifie, whiche is the easiest matter in the world, for an apple to do: Sinne is the lyke vnto man that rottenesse is vnto an apple. Wherefore Augustine sayth aright, that it is a great might of God that he can not lye.

To vndoe that vvhich is done.

To theyr question, whether that God can make that the same which is done, be not done: and in case that can not be, how should he be almighty: Wée doe answere: He can not, and yet for all that he is Almighty. That hée can not. Aristotell also knew whereas he sayde. It is not possible that the same should not be done whiche is done. And therefore Agathan sayd aright, that this only lacketh in God, to make that not done whiche is done. But wée muste beare with an Ethnicke. In this matter we say simply in this sorte, to searche into the Almightinesse of God, is of it selfe irreligious and wicked. But it is then most abhominable, whe those things be sought thereof whiche be eyther not necessary, or ought not to be, neyther can be: and as for this question it is one of them, that is neyther necessary, neyther that ought nor can be done.

Not necessarie.

For why were it necessary for God, to make that not done, whiche is done, seyng he is of that mighte, that nothing can be done, neyther in Heauen, nor in Earth without hys knowledge: neyther hath any thing euer bene done, neyther shalbe, neyther is done, but that he coulde haue letted it from doing, if he had would. Therefore this kinde of might were superfluous in God, and is more meter to be attributed to them, without whose knowledge innumerable things be wrought: yea whiche doe many things themselues, whiche afterwardes they doe wishe had neuer bene done: and against whose willes there be many matters done, which they woulde haue hindered if they had bene able. In déede this power mighte by some reason be in them. Whereby things done mighte bée made vndone, but not so in GOD. Wherfore it were altogither superfluous in him.

Vnl

Secondly: whatsoeuer hath bene done or is done, eyther it is good or euill. If it be good, it ought not to be made

made vndone, if it be euill it ought in like case not to be vndone. For the reason of Iustice, whiche ought to punishe the wicked, dothe not beare that the same shoulde be made vndone, whiche is naughtily done, and subiecte vnto iudgement. Nor the glory of Gods mercy whiche pardoneth them that haue done euill could away with this, that the euill which is done shoulde be made vndone. If the adulterie of the adultresse woman, might haue bene made vndone, there shoulde haue no place bene left for the mercy and grace of Christe. If the euill things whiche be done in the worlde, might be made not done, there shoulde be no occasion of the last iudgement. Wherfore this kind of mighte were not conuenient for God. For it were not conuenient for him to doe that whiche ought not to be done. If the sinne of Adam might haue bene made not done, the whole purpose of that redemption of mankinde shoulde haue bene superfluous.

Iohu.8.

Agayne, to make that not done, which is not vndone, but done, what is it else, but to chaunge the truthe into a lie? For if a thing be done, it can not be made not done, without vntruth, but that is moste contrary vnto the true God.

Impossible.

Thirdly it is also impossible, that the same whiche is done, be made not done. For it dothe include contradiction. For done and not done be cōtrary one to another. To be done, and to be no more done, is not contrary. Wherefore it is not impossible that ẏ same which is once done, be nomore so: but it is impossible, that a thyng once done, to be neuer done bycause of the contradiction that the one taketh away the other. Is a thyng done? Then it is not vndone. Is it vndone? *Ergo*, it is not done. Bycause of this contradiction it is absolutely impossible, that the same whiche is done be not done, and those things whiche be absolutely impossible, can not bée: For if they might be, they were not impossible: I do meane of things absolutely impossible. Otherwise there be many thyngs impossible vnto men, whiche bée not impossible vnto God, accordyng vnto that saying of Chryste: That whiche is impossible with menne, is possible with God. Wée conclude therefore, that seyng this kinde of mighte of whiche this question renneth, (whether that he may make a thyng done, not done) is both superfluous in God, vnlawfull, and impossible: wée muste forbeare this question, leaste wée prouoke the wrath of God vpon vs, and be found woorthy to féele the might of the angry Iudge.

VVhether that God can do any thing better, &c.

Unto that where they aske, whether that GOD can make any other thyng besides that whiche hée maketh, whiche may bée eyther better or worse, or any otherwyse than as he dothe it, and omitte any thing of that whiche hée dothe, and whether he can doe that alwayes which hée dyd sometymes? I aunswere: that vnlesse hée coulde doe thys, hée had not a frée strength and power, but restrayned and lymited vnto that whiche he dothe. Our GOD in Heauen, dothe whatsoeuer hée wyll, howe, as, and as often as hée will. There is herein no contradiction, nothyng that is impossible to the

the Omnipotencie of God, nothing vniust.

Occam.

Occams question, Whether it bée rather conuenient vnto God, not to bée able to doe that whiche is impossible, or to that whiche is impossible, not to be able to bée wrought by God, is soone soyled. To be absolutely impossible, and not to bée able to be done by GOD, be correlatiues. For whatsoeuer can not bée done by God, is impossible to bée done: and on the other side whatsoeuer is absolutely impossible to bée done, can not be done by God. But among Correlatiues nothyng goeth before or behynde another. For as soone as the one is, the other of necessitie muste be withall: but it is contrarywyse in Contradictories. But lette vs leaue this geare vnto Logicians.

VVhether he doth all whiche he can do.

This I haue thought good by the way to say of these questions, which I take no greate pleasure in. And for that also, whether that God doe all thyngs whiche hée can doe, and why hée dothe them not, it is easily aunswered. If hée shoulde doe all that hée can do, he should ouerthrow bothe Heauen and Earth, and all that is in them, within one minute, and chaunge them into diuers and sundry formes infinitely. But hée dothe it not bycause he will not. It is one thyng to be Almyghtie, and an other to be all doyng. Lyke as he is not all willyng (as I may terme it) so he is not all doyng. Let it suffise vs to the knowledge and glorifying of his Almightinesse, to say with the Prophete: Our God in heauen doth whatsoeuer he will doe.

Of the VVill of God.

The very order of our matters whereof wée speake, seemeth to requyre, ẏ after the place of Gods Omnipotencie, we muste sette the same whiche is of the Will of God. For we can not to any profite trauayle in the consideration of hys Omnipotencie, vnlesse we doe therewith way and vnderstande his Will.

And our meanyng is not to inquire & searche for the Wil of God, further than the measure and reason conuenient for godly lyfe and our Saluation shall leade vs. To be vtterly ignoraunt, what the Will of God is, is for blynde men, & them whiche be of no religion: and to wade too farre into it, by reasonyng ouer-scrupulously and curiously, is for irreligious and curious Creatures, rather than for Godly disposed persons. As those questions bée of the Schoolemenne, howe there is will in God: And whether it be all one to hym to will, and to bée: that the will of God shoulde be hys substaunce: & whether he be that which he willeth? Lyke as it is not conuenient for a seruaunt to enter into the searchyng of those thynges whiche be moste secrete poyntes of his maisters will, and do not belong vnto his knowledge, but rather to marke withal the diligence he can, to knowe what his will is towardes hym, as of the mayster vnto his seruaunt, and to apply himselfe wholly

therevnto: so it is not our parte to searche the secretes of Gods will, whiche doth not belong vnto vs, but to proue and vnderstande what the wil of God is towards vs. Wherof the apostle speaketh, saying. That you may proue what thing that good and acceptable and perfecte will of God is. Let it suffise vs to knowe, that will is not in suche sorte in God as it is in a man, in whome will is a motion and affection of the minde, to let goe or to take to himselfe any thing without any compulsion, whiche can not be applyed to God, least we shoulde turne the qualitie of mans will vnto God. It is not required of vs to searche of Gods wil, what thing it is. But it is required of vs, that we vnderstande what it is, and that not generally towards all thynges, whiche hee created, and gouerneth, but towardes mankind, and specially towardes the electes, and faythfull in Christe hys sonne.

Rom.12.

VVill is not in god, as it is in man.

That the vvill of God towardes vs, is to be considered twoo wayes.

Hovve the mayster of the sentences speaketh of Gods vvill.

THe Maister of the Sentences sayth, that the will of God in Scriptures is taken twoo wayes. Firste properly of that onely, perfect, immutable, and euerlastyng will, whiche is in hym, and is his essence. Secondly figuratiuely of his preceptes, prohibitions, purposes, permissions, and workes. In the firste way he taketh, that of Dauid. All whatsoeuer the Lorde woulde, he did, and that whiche the Apostle sayth. Who shall withstande hys will? And agayne to proue what the good and acceptable will of God is, To the later hee dothe apply the saying of the Psalme: Greate bee the workes of the Lorde and excellent vnto all his willes: this is his minde.

Rom.9.

Rom.12.

Psalm.110.

But our opinion is, that the wil of God towardes vs ought absolutely so to bee considered, that firste wee may vnderstande, howe, and what hee hath determined from euermore in hymselfe, concernyng our saluation. Secondly what hee would haue vs to doe, or eschew, and what maner of menne hee woulde haue vs to bee, or not to bee. For lyke as there is suche twoo willes in the Father towardes his sonne, so that he dothe firste will and wishe to haue him as well prouided for as is possible, and directeth all things vnto his commoditie: and secondly he loketh to haue from hym a harty minde, and disposition, puttyng all his truste in him, vsing himselfe reuerently, obediently, and honestly in all poyntes towards hym: So wee must also iudge of that will of GOD towardes vs. Firste, that hee willeth vs to be saued: Secondly in that, that he willeth and requireth that to bee done by vs whiche wee ought to doe. For the firste parte our Sauiour sayde in John. This is the will of him which sente mee, my Father, that I lose nothyng of that whiche hee hath geuen mee, but that I shall rayse it vp agayne at the laste day: and this is the will of my Father which sente me, that whosoeuer seeth the sonne, and beleeueth in him, hath euerlasting life, and will rayse him vp at the later day. And the Apostle saith.

Of the vvill of God towardes vs.

Later part.

Reg.4.

Esay.10.

Matth.7.

John.6.

The firste parte of Gods will towardes vs.

Differēce betwixt the vvill of God to be marked

For this is good, and acceptable before God our sauiour, who wil haue al men saued, and come to the knowledge of the truth. Also: Who predestined vs vnto the adoption of sonnes, by Iesus Christe, in hym according vnto the purpose of his will, vnto the glory of his grace. &c. To this will the Apostle dothe attribute that it is good and perfect. And according vnto some mens exposition, we may cal it grace, and good will. The Scholemen do call it the will of good liking, and they doe deuide it into two, the one going before, and the other following, as they do grace into a preuenting grace, and a following grace.

And to the second part of Goddes will towards vs, all those places do appertayne, in which he doth eyther commaund what we shoulde do, or forbidde what he will not haue vs to do, as the Apostle sayeth: This is the will of God, your sanctification, and as seruaunts of Christ doing the will of God. And agayne, That doing the will of God, you may carrie away the promise. And in Mathewe we reade: Not euery one that sayeth to me, Lord, Lord, shal enter into the kingdome of Heauen, but whosoeuer doth the will of my father, which is in Heauen. The Scholemen do call this part of Gods wil towards vs, the will of the token and signe. For that his preceptes and prohibitions be as certayne tokens, whereby he may be knowen.

And there is in this will of God towards vs, a difference, necessarily and diligently to be marked. For he doth not require all things of al men indifferently, but some generally of all, some particularly of euery man, according vnto the difference of mens persons, callings, and conditions. He dothe generallye of all men requyre faith, hope, charitie, godlye life, Obedience, patience in aduersitie, righteousnesse, equitie, and mercy towards our neyghbours. &c. He will haue vs to credite his promises and to depend vpon them in assured hope, and patience. He will haue vs all generally to obey hys commaundementes, and feare him. But particularly he requireth sundry things of sundry men: one thing of the subiects, and another of the Magistrates: one thing of the faithfull people, and another of the Ministers: one thing of Maisters, and an other of seruaunts: one thing of parentes, and an other of the children: one thing of the vnmarried, and an nother of the married: one thing of the poore, and an nother of the riche: Euerye person and degree hathe his order, wherein it ought to obey the will of God, and according vnto the whiche each man is iudged to be obediente, or disobediente vnto him. Therefore euerye man muste haue a regard that he yelde hys due and bounden obedience to the wyll of God. Firste with all godly persons generally, and secondly particularly, in such speciall poyntes, as do belong vnto hym.

II. That the vvill of God is the foundation of Faithe, godly life and of oure Saluation.

WHereas Christe sayth in John. If you dwell in my worde, you shall know the truth, and the truthe shall deliuer you. And the Apostle

sayeth, whiche willeth all men to bée saued, and to come to the knowlege of the truth. It séemeth no doubt the foundation of oure saluation, is in the truth of Gods worde. But if wée looke déeper into this matter, we shal finde that the firste cause thereof ought to be ascribed vnto the will of God, according vnto the purpose whereof he chose vs in Christ for euermore, and predestined vs vnto saluation, as it is plainely set forthe by the Apostle, where he saith. Who predestined vs to adopt vs to bée his children in himselfe by Iesus Christ, according vnto the good lyking of hys wyll. And vpon this good lykyng of hys will, is grounded his election, predestination, adoption, and as manye promises as there bée of his, all which his will goeth before, in some certayne degrée. For he woulde not haue vs to be saued bycause he chose vs, and predestined vs: but he chose vs and predestined vs bycause hée would saue vs. And the truth is referred to the worde of the promises, before which his will goeth. What can be saide more certaine, and sure, than that we ought to ascribe to the mercy of God, that we be saued. So as the Apostle witnesseth saying, he hath mercy vpon whome he will, so that mercy then is of his will.

Ephesa.

Election.

Mercy altogither.

As concerning Faith, in déede the obiecte, and grounde thereof is the worde of the promise, whereunto we do loke in our beléeuing. And like as that eternall will, whiche is willing to saue vs, is the fountayne of all promises, so it is also the foundation of our Faithe. For we doe in this respect, credit the word, for that it doth testifie of ẏ wil of God towards vs.

Faith.

In déede we do ground our selues also vpon the Omnipotency of God, so as we noted in the place before. But yet vnlesse we be assured of his will, we can not thereby be certifyed of our fayth, by that, that God is Almighty. But when we be assured of his will, then there is lefte no cause to doubt of his might. The Papistes do argue in the matter of the Lords supper, of the Omnipotencie of God, to proue that the substance of bread and wine, may be turned into the bodye and bloud of Christ: and some of oure bréethren do holde, that the body of Christ may be corporallye presente not onely in the bread, but also euerye where, bycause of the incomprehensible and infinite Omnipotencie of Gods Maiestie. We do simplye and humbly in this matter also, séeke for the will of God: Let it bée proued that the Lorde willeth so to chaunge the bread into his bodye, or that he includeth his bodye in a corporall presence, within the breade, when there is certificate of thys hys will, then there shall bée no more ado. For we knowe that all whatsoeuer he willeth is possible. But when there is no certainetie of his will, all this arguing vpon his Omnipotency is to no purpose, and too weake for vs to build our faithe vpon. For the will followeth not the Omnipotencie, but the Omnipotencie followeth the will, mighte, and power, is minister to the will, and not the will to the mighte. Whatsoeuer he willeth he may, but not whatsoeuer he may, he wil doe immediately.

Omnipotencie.

They d[illegible] argue vp[illegible] the Om[illegible]potency [illegible] God in [illegible] Lords [illegible]per.

The Om[illegible]nipotenc[illegible] is minist[illegible] to the [illegible] of God.

As concerning godlye life, it leaneth vnto no other foundation neyther, but vpon that of Gods wil. To serue

Godlin[illegible]

serue God is godlinesse. But the true seruice of God, is to be measured by the wyll of God: Whereof we noted before in the place of the true Seruice of GOD. To obey God is godlinesse. But the obedience is to be applyed vnto his Wil, to the end it may be true and sincere, as we shall note God willing, when the place commeth.

III. VVhereby the vvill of God may be knowen.

The Apostle knowing that the minds of men be starke blynde withoute the assured knowledge of Goddes Will, and that it is not possible as long as they be in doubte thereof, to be in anye certaynetie of saluation, and true godlinesse, dothe aduise vs to vnderstande it. And it is not withoute cause that he dothe vse this saying: That you may proue and trie what is the wil of God. To proue and trye what is the will of God, is not to haue a lighte opinion thereof: but to fynde it, and to knowe it without doubt, by certaine experience and proofe. For whereas Sathan also transformed into an Angel of light, as he began to doe immediately at the first beginning of mankind, and his ministers transformed into the Apostles of Christ, and oure verye fleshe also to séeme godlye and deuoute, dothe counterfayte manye things thereof, seruing vnto oure destruction. We had néede specially to beware, that we do not vnaduisedly, beleue euery thing in color and pretence thereof, but that we doe surelye trie the spirites, whether that they be of God, or no. Wherfore we must search wherby it may be tried, what is the will of God towards vs, that we giue no place in vs, to such opinions, as do reigne in the Poperie.

We must [illegible] knowe [illegible] will [illegible] God.

And in déede ther be diuers waies of this triall, if they were particularly viewed. But there maye be noted thrée more generall. For God dothe commonly declare his Wil vnto vs, eyther by worde, signe, or dooyng. Wherefore wée maye trye it in hys Worde, Signes, and Doings.

Gods vv[illegible] is to be knovven [illegible] vvorde, [illegible] signes, a[illegible] doings.

In the Worde, there bée hys preceptes and prohibitions, hys promises, and hys threatnings, his comfortes, and his iudgements. When hée dothe commaunde what hée will haue vs to do, & forbiddeth that whiche he wold not haue vs to do, he doth surely instruct vs of his wil. So that the Prophet singeth aright: The lordes precepto is bright, giuing light to the eies. When he promiseth hys grace, saluation, and euerlasting lyse to the godly & faithful, which do fear him & depend vpon hym with an vpright heart: and threatneth wrath & condemnation to the vngodly, & vnbeleuers, doth he not two wayes declare his will? Firste in vsing vs louingly, & Secondlye requiring vs agayne to behaue our selues vpryghtly in all things. And this is the scope and pricke of the whole Gospell, wherein the onely begotten of God doth certifie & assure vs of the wyll of God towardes mank inde. There be comfortes in the worlde whereby the heartes of synners, of the weake, of ẏ afflicted, & wailing be pluckt vp. They do testifye of the good will of God, when hée offereth hys ayde readye and at hande vnto all the afflicted. There be in the word also set forth

The vv[illegible]

forth the iudgementes of God, wherby he dothe punishe the wicked, the examples of whiche passed before in the fludde, in the fyre of Sodome, in the redde Sea, and the other like. By them a man may perceiue also, what the will of God is towards the wicked and reprobate.

Signes.

The signes which do witnesse of Gods will, be the Scraments instituted and deliuered to vs by our Sauiour Christe: as Baptisme, and the Lords supper. By Baptisme we bée assured that hée will take vs for hys people, consecrate, and consigned vp vnto his name, and that he wil wash away the filth of oure sinnes, and iustify and sanctify vs by the bloude of Christ. By the sacrament of ẏ Lords supper we be assured that we bée of them, that be redéemed, when that he will haue vs to be mindful of ẏ death of his only begotten, by whyche wée be redemed, and for so vncomparable grace and fauor of his, he willeth vs to offer vnto hym a Sacrifice of praise. In that we doe call these two Sacraments, signes of grace, we doe not estéeme, and iudge them to bée voyde and bare Signes, but assured testimonies of Gods grace towards vs, witnessing of the good liking of his will towards vs. What farther is to be obserued of these Sacramentes, we haue noted in a seuerall place where we spake of thē before.

There be other signes also besides these, by whiche we be enformed of Gods will, as the raynebow whiche apeareth in the Cloudes, by the shewing of whiche we bée admonished, that God will no more ouerwhelme all the countenaunce of the earthe with a fludde of waters. And also there bée those terrible sightes of whiche the Lorde did tell vs before, that there shouldée be signes in the Sunne, Moone, and Starres. For what doe they else but warne vs of the will of Gods wrath, and call vs vnto amendmēt of life, by the threatnings of his horrible plages. It is a cléere case also that the doings of God doe declare what his will is towardes vs, either angry, or well lyking and pleased, and it is not possible to recount them, for as much as of them, there is neyther number, measure, nor ende. For who is able to recken vppe particularly the benefites of his creation, multiplication, propagation, gouernance, ordering, deliuering, preseruation and other comfortes, by whych all he hathe declared, doth declare, and will declare his louing kindnesse towardes man, vntill the very ende of the worlde? yea whereas he dothe chasten them that do offende, with the rod of Discipline, what dothe he else but take care of vs that for impenitence, or lacke of repentance, we be not damned with thys worlde. In all these matters, the good pleasure of his wil is declared. But that is the most excellent, and the chiefest lesson, of hys will towardes vs, that he spared not his sonne, but gaue hym for vs all. Whereby we may be moste assured and out of all doubt, that God is on our side.

The do[illegible] of God.

1. Cor. 11. Hebr. 12.

Doth he not declare in the giuing of lawes, of iudgemente, and iustice vnto his people, whereby they bée taughte, howe to behaue themselues towardes him, and towarde theyr neighboures, what care he hathe of them, whose God he doth vouchsafe to be

to be, and also howe he woulde haue them to liue.

In sending his Prophets, his only begotten, his Apostles, Euangelists, Pastors, & Doctors, thoroughout all the worlde, to call all sortes of men vnto repentaunce, faith, and godlye lyfe, surely he sheweth his good will vnto mankynd. In déed these points be generall, but yet of that kind, that they may be lessons not only vnto al men generally, but also vnto euerye one man particularly, what wil God hath towards euery one, whatsoeuer he be, and that so muche the more assuredly bycause his wordes, Signes and Doings, be most farre from all coloure, counterfayting and lying. For he is not a dissembler like men. But in all poyntes, of all most true. A man may wel doubt of the words, signes, and doyngs of men. For there is no certaintie in them for the most parte, whereby men may be assured of their will: For as muche as the hearte of man is wicked, as the Prophet doth testifie, and vnsearcheable, so that it can not be knowen. But the wordes, Signes, and Doings of him be after another sort, who onely deserueth the commendation of incorrupted truth.

We haue [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible]

Yet for al that you must take this withall, that albeit the wordes, Signes, and Doings of God bée so manifest, and true, that it maye bée certaynely tryed and vnderstanded, what hys wyll is towards vs: Yet for all that we be of that corrupte, and blinded disposition, that wée can not vnderstand it thereby vnlesse our minde, and hearte be renued by the vertue of his spirit. Wherefore the Apostle when he should say, that you may proue what is the good, acceptable and perfect will of God, hée set before: And applye not youre selues vnto the fashion of this worlde, but be transformed by the renuing of your minde: and then he added, that you proue. &c. Wherefore it is not so great a wonder that the wil of God, albeit it is set forth by most manifest profes, yet for al that it is not knowē vnto the childrē of this world, whose mindes be blinded, as it is no wonder ẏ the most bright shining Sunne, is not séene of blind eyes. The secret of the Lorde, sayeth the Prophete, is shewed vnto them whiche doe feare him: And Augustine, he that desyreth to know the will of God, let him become Gods friend.

What it is to doe the will of God.

Forasmuch as Christ witnesseth that no man can enter into the kingdome of Heauen, vnlesse that he do not only know, but performe also the will of God. And therefore the Apostle dothe aduise vs, that as the seruantes of Christ we doe the wyll of God. We must sée bycause of the simpler sort, what it is to do the will of God.

Matth. 7.

Ephes. 6.

To vvo[illegible] the vvi[illegible] vnto G[illegible]

First it is one thing to do or work the will in God, and another to performe the will of God. To doe or worke the wyll in God, is to gyue him cause to wil. This is a common matter in the trade of vs men, that we be moued by wordes and déedes, to will that whiche we had no wyll vnto before. It may be demaunded whether that this hath place also in God. It séemeth to haue for as much

as we do reade in Deuteronomy. If you heare the voice of the Lord God to do, and keepe all his commaundementes, whiche I charge thee to doe this day, the Lord thy God shall aduance thee aboue all nations. &c. But if thou wilte not heare the voice of the Lord thy God. &c. All these curses shall come vppon thee. &c. And in Hieremie. If thys people repente from the euill, for the whiche I haue spoken agaynste them, I will also repent for the euill which I thought to doe, and straight way I will speake of the people and kingdome to build, and plante the same: but if they doe euill in myne eyes, so that they heare not my voice, I will repent mee of the good whiche I thought to do thē, this sayeth he. Whereby it appeareth, that vpon our disobedience, ther is bredde in God a wyll to reuenge and by oure obedience, a will to doe good. But if we should graunte this, we shoulde seeme to attribute vnto him alteration of wil, suche as is in men, whereas in deede we ought rather to iudge that his will is stedfast and firme, and not chaungeable. For it is written in Numeri. God is not as man is, that he can lye, nor as the sonne of man, that hee is chaunged. And in Malach. I am the Lorde, and am no chaungeling. But God forbidde, that suche alteration of wyll whiche is changed in men by lying, shuld be applyed vnto God. The wil of God is always one, fast and firme to do good vnto the godlye and obedient, and to punish the wicked and disobedient. But in case there be occasion to doe both in the selfesame parties, the blame of the alteration is not to be layde vnto God, who is not changed nor altered as man, but vnto them, whiche forsaking their holy intente, are changed vnto euill. The Scripture speaketh thus of God, after the custome and manner of men, which for al that he is most far from.

Deut.28.

Hierem.18.

The vvill of God is not chaungeable.

Numer.23.

Malach.3.

To doe the will of God, is to doe those things which God hathe charged vs to do. For in this speach, Wil is taken for that whiche he willeth and requireth of vs. And there is great reason why the Scriptur shuld speake in this sorte. For it dothe declare, that they doe truly kepe & performe the precepts of God, which do them, not slightly according vnto the letter and outward shew: but so that they may satisfye the will of God: of which we must in all his speaking haue a speciall regard. Many do now adayes boast and crake of the worde of God, whereas for all that they do vnderstand neuer a deale of the true sense thereof, in whyche onely the will of God is comprised. The word and will oughte not to be separated one from an other. The worde consisteth not in the dead letter, but in the meaning of Gods will. There the worde of God is true and certayne, where hys will is certaine, and there is a moste poysoned deceipte and seducing, where as a straunge and cōtrary meaning vnto Goddes wyll is brought in, vnder the letter of Gods worde. The Iewes did so sacrifice, that they would rather performe the letter of the lawe, than the wyll of God. They thought that he tooke pleasure in oblations, and burnte offerings of beastes, and therfore they dyd kyll manye sacrifices vnto hym. Whereas his wil was to haue mercie, iudgemente, iustice, and true obedience,

To do vvill of God.

VVho truely forme precepts of God

The vvill and the vvill of God or not to asunde

bedience, and not sacrifice, as appeareth in the Psalme, in Esay, and in Hieremy. The Papistes in theyr Massing, do not the will of the Lord, though they do pretende it in saying, Do this: For they doe not this according vnto the meaning of ẏ lords will. Neyther doe they the Lordes will, whiche doe communicate of the bread and cuppe of the Lordes supper, to the intent by this doing to obteyne forgiuenesse of sinnes, for the Lorde did not saye: Do this for forgiuenesse of sinnes, but do this in remembrance of me. They doe not the will of the Lorde, whyche doe washe mens feete vppon Maundy Thursdaye, not to frame themselues vnto the mind of the Lords example, but to make a certaine shewe of humblenesse to the sighte of the lookers on. There bee a passing number of examples to proue that the most parte of Christian men now a dayes do so performe the preceptes of God, that for all ẏ they do not performe ẏ wyll of God: I speake not of them which doe measure the whole religion of Christe, welneere by the commaundements, and lessons of men.

Secondly, as concerning the word of working or doing, we muste not ascribe the accomplishment of Gods will vnto the outwarde fact, but rather to the purpose, and endeuor of the godly mind. He doth a thing truly in the sighte of God, whyche dothe that, that is to be done with minde, continuall meditation, and purpose, albeit that the outwarde facte doe not ensue. So that to doe the will of God, is so to obey his word, that we giue our selues with all our hearte, wyth continuall endeauor daye and night, to the fulfilling of his will. He that so dothe the will of God, doth it as knowing it. He doth it as making his choyce thereof, and choosing it, for it selfe sake, firmely, and immutably disposed vnto it.

The Priests with Iudas, and Pilat did the wil of God, when they did crucifie Christ, but vnwares and vnwittingly. For they knewe not that it was so determined by God. Secondlye they did it not of purpose to performe Gods will, but vpon a further fetch. There be some also which doe the will of God of purpose and pretence: but not vnto this ende, that the will of God be done, but withall to do their owne affayres. Besydes this, it falleth out ofte times, that though a man doe the will of God wittingly and well, and godly disposed for the present, yet he may doe it vnconstantly, and vnsteddyly, so that within a little while after hee maye be chaunged vpon a lighte occasion, and do cleane contrary. To doe the will of God after this fashion, is not to do it truly and rightly, whatsoeuer a man do in the outward worke:

Hovv Iudas and the priests and Pylate did the vvil of God.

VVhether that the vvill of God be the cause of all.

It is a common saying, there is nothing done without a cause, therefore seeyng that whatsoeuer hath bin done any where in Heauen and in Earthe, and whatsoeuer is now adayes also done, yea and what soeuer shall be done vntil the worlds ende, can not be done nor wroughte withoute some cause, it is necessary that there bee some firste and chiefe cause, whereby all things be done.

VVhiche is the firste cause vvherof all is done.

As for the secondary causes we will not meddle with them at this present, whiche be beyonde all number. The Philosophers trauelled in searching of the causes of all thynges that be done, but they knew not very perfectly that only cause wherevpon all standeth, bycause they lacked the true knowledge of him which made all. We do referre it vnto the wyl of God, according vnto the Scriptures, which do testify, that God doth whatsoeuer hée wyll in Heauen and in earth. If it had saide whatsoeuer hée knew or whatsoeuer he cā, the cause of all things should be referred vnto his wisedome or might. But in saying whatsoeuer he will, it is a cléere case, that his wyll is the firste, and chiefest cause of all thinges. Wherefore if you aske me, wherefore God made all those thinges, I may well aunswere you, bycause he would. If you aske me why he did make this, and not other thinges, why thus, and not otherwise: I maye aunswere a right, bycause he would make thys, and not other, and after this sorte, and not otherwise: If he would haue had made other, and otherwise, without doubt he had made other, and otherwise. Why is it not alwayes day? why not euer night: bycause hée woulde so, why is it not euer Sommer? why not Winter? Bycause he woulde so. Why haue wée now and then sorowe among? Why is not euer mirth and ioy? bycause he would haue it so. Whatsoeuer doinges of God thou searche into, thou muste haue no other but that, so he would, so he did.

The vvill of God is the chiefest cause of all things.

And we doe saye, that the will of God is the cause not onely of those things whiche be immediately done by God, but of all these thinges also which be done, and wrought by those things, which he hath created. So he, is the cause not onely of oure soules, bodyes, and life, but of oure will, vnderstanding, purposes, affections, motions, and doings also. Augustine whereas he sayth: That the cause of all things which he did, is his wyll: speaketh in déede handsomely to the matter, whiche hée handleth in that place. But not so sufficientlye vnto this matter, whereof we do speake, as he dothe in an other place, where he sayth more fully in this wise: The will of God is the firste, and chiefe cause of all bodily figures and motions, for there is nothing visibly and sensibly done, which is not commanded or suffered from the inwards, inuisible, and intelligible courte of the most high Emperoure, according vnto the vnspeakeable iustice, of the rewards, and punishments, thankes, recompences in this most wide and large common wealthe of all creatures. This saith he, which if it shuld be examined after the subtilities of the Scholemen, it should be wonderfully wrested, albeit it is so true, that it can not be denyed.

The v[illegible] of Go[illegible] the cau[illegible] of tho[illegible] things [illegible] vvhich [illegible] done b[illegible] his cre[illegible]tures.

Augus[illegible] In Psalm[illegible] 134.

Libro 3. trinit[illegible] Cap. 4.

Some idle persons which do lesse estéeme those things that bée manifest, and may profitably be obserued, than those things which may contēt their curiositie, are not satisfied with this sentence that we saye, that the will of God is the firste and chiefe cause of all those things whiche haue bin done, be nowe done, and shall bée done: and do demand, Whether that the euill thinges be also done by the will of God. If you say they be: then they

they conclude. Ergo God is the author of euill: if ye say no, they reply: Ergo hée is not Almyghtye, if he will that euill bee not done, and that yet it be done agaynst hys will. For lyke as it perteyneth vnto the Omnipotencye of God, to doe whatsoeuer hée will, so doth that also that he should let & stoppe whatsoeuer he willeth not to bée done, that it may not be done. We woulde haue Godlye myndes to forbeare this question: For wée ought to giue absolutly this lybertie and iustice of will vnto the almighty and most iust God, to will, and to do nothing, yea and that hée can doe nothing that is euill. For how should the inestimable goodnes of gods nature, loue, will, or do any euill? Moreouer that he can not be an occasion of euil neither to any body. For how can he be the occasion to others, either to doe, eyther to wil those things, frō which he for his goodnes and iustice doth alwaies refraine. This I say, it behoueth vs to iudge absolutely of the will of God. And as touching euill thinges we be out of doubt, that none of them coulde be done, if God in all respectes would haue them not done, but why hee will not, that no euill be done by any which if he would not haue done, surely could not be done, for that we may not searche, least we prouoke his will vpon vs, which could by his might destroy from the whole earth, both euill thinges, and euill men in one minute of an houre.

And here I doe not mislike, that some menne doe alleage the place of Augustine, for this question out of his Enchiridiō in this wise. Neither is it to be doubted of, but that god doth well also in suffering of things to be euill done, for he doth not suffer this, but vpon iust iudgement: and of a truth all thng is good that is iust. Therefore albeit that those things which be euyll, in as much as they be euill, they be not good: yet for all that, in that they not onely be, but also be euill, it is good. For vnles that this were good, that they also should be euyll, they should in no wise be suffred to be done by the almighty god, vnto whom no doubt it is as easy, not to suffer that which he willeth not, as it is easy to doe that which hée willeth, vnlesse we doe beléeue this the very beginning of the confession of our fayth is in daunger, whereas we doe confesse that we doe beléeue in God the father almightye: For he is not vpon any other cause truely called Almyghty, but bycause he is able to do what he wil. And that the effect of thys almighty will is not let nor staide by the wyll of any creature, this sayth Augustine.

Augustine Enchiridio ca. 96

¶ Whether that we may seeke the cause of Gods will.

NOt onely the auncient fathers, but the Schole diuines also which folowed them, do worthely thinke it mēete to restrayne our rashe heades, in that wee presume to searche into the wyll of GOD: why hee doth that which hee will doe: For as muche as chey doe all holde, that wee ought

That we may not aske the cause of gods wil.

not to searche the cause of Gods will, whiche is the cause of all things. Of this matter Augustyne wryteth in this wise. They doe searche to know the causes of gods will, Whereas the will of God is it selfe the cause of all thinges. For if the will of God hath any cause, then there is some thing going before the will of God: which is unlawfull to beleue. Therefore when any man sayth, why dyd god make heauen and earth? he must be answered, bicause he would, for ỳ will of God is ỳ cause of heauen & earth, and therfore the will of God is greater than heaue and earth. But he that will say, why woulde God make heauen and earth, he searcheth a greater matter than the will of God is, and there can no greater matter be founde. Therefore let the rashnesse of man stay it selfe, and not search that which is not, least it finde not that which is. This saith he: Wherupon the mayster of the Sentences gathered, that the cause of gods will, ought not to be enquired vppon. Fyrst bicause that there is nothing before it. For as much as it is euerlasting. Secondly bycause there was nothing greater than it. Thirdly, for that, that seing there is no cause thereof, that should in vaine be sought for, which is not.

Degen contra Manicheos. li.

It is one thing to searche the causes of gods wil, and another to saye that there be no causes of his will.

Of this matter I will saye my opinion what I thinke is the right, without the preiudice of others. I lyke very well that they saye, that the cause of gods will oughte not to be searched, and that they doe call it the rashnesse of men, if it be done. But hereupon may ryse some controuersy, in that they say, there is no cause of Gods will: It is one thing to say, ỳ wee ought not to search vpon the will of god, for what cause he willeth that which he willeth, and an other to saye that there is no cause vnto God why he wylleth that whiche he willeth and worketh. We may not search why God wyll doe that which he doth, but reuerently rest vs thereuppon when wee vnderstande that he will so doe that which he doth. But yet in the meane season it foloweth not, that there be no causes of will in God. It is not lawfull for a Seruaunt to search why his Mayster wyll doe many thinges which he doth, the causes whereof he knoweth not: But it is mete for him to thinke that there be causes inough why he willeth and doth them. We must think in like māner of god also, yea more largelier than of man, not to say that god hath no cause why he willeth this, and after that sorte: But rather this: Thus he willeth and this he doth, why he willeth so I beleue it is not without reason. He himselfe knoweth the causes: it is not for vs to enquire vpon them.

The will of God not without reason.

And that the will of GOD is not without reason and some assured causes, it may be proued by manye places of the holy Scripture.

Genes.

1 Fyrst when he would destroy all flesh in the daies of Noah by the floude, wee can not saye, that he would doe it without cause. For we doe reade expressly in Genesis, that the Lorde dyd dysclose hys will, and the cause of his wyl vnto

Noah, saying: The ende of all flesh commeth before mee, bicause the earth is fylled with wickednesse in their owne sight or countenaunce, and I will destroy them with the earth. So that the will of God was to destroye all flesh from the earth, and the cause of thys wyll was, bycause that the earth was filled with the wickednesse of men.

2 When he would destroy the Cities of the Sodomites with fire cast from heauen, did not ỳ Angell declare the cause of his wyll vnto Abraham saying: The crye of Sodome and Gomore is multiplyed in my sight, and their sinne is aggrauate to sore.

3 The Apostle sayth, he did shut vp all vnder sinne: surely bycause he woulde, and he expresseth the cause of thys will when he addeth: that he might haue mercy vppon all. Therefore he had a cause why to doe this, he would ley the children of Leuy, and the scripture doth plainely ynough expresse the cause thereof in that place.

4 He woulde deliuer his sonne into the handes of sinners to bee crucified. Wonde he this without cause? Doth not Christ himselfe say in Iohn: So God loued the worlde, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that euery man that beleeueth in him, shoulde not perish but haue life euerlasting? So that the efficient cause of this will is loue, and the fynall cause, the saluation of the faithfull.

So that I suppose if men list to marke a number of like matters in the Scriptures, it shall appeare

To doe good, goeth before to will good.

well inough that there is no wyll in god without cause. When an euill person willeth that which is euil, is not the first cause of this wil bicause he is euill: so to bee good is the cause of a good will. Euery man willeth those thinges which be agreeable vnto his disposition: such as the party is, such thinges he willeth, such things he delighteth in and careth for. What we say that god is otherwise affected, but that he willeth good things, bicause that he is good, iust thinges bicause he is iust, mercy rather than sacrifice, bicause he is kinde and mercifull. Is it not former in degree to be such, than to will such? But in this our noting we prescribe not, neither giue rules to any man: Peraduenture some finer heades may finde some what to obiect vnto vs, which we will not be miscontented withall, if they can maynteine it with the truth. For I would not derogate any thing from anye truth, specially in that poynt wherof I do now speake. And whereas Augustine sayth. There is nothing former, nothing greater, than the wyll of god, it may seeme likely if we vnderstand it of those thinges, which be without god, but not so, if it be spoken absolutely, and generally. And whereas he sayth that there is no cause of the will of god, we may worthily take it to be a matter doubtfull and disputable.

Whether that the will of God may be hindered or letted.

Gods vvil can not be letted.

WE saye at a worde, that Gods will cannot be letted by any. All my will sayth he, shall be done, and the Prophet: Our GOD in Heauen, what so euer he would he doth. This is requisite vnto hys Omnypotency. For howe coulde his will be Omnipotent, if it could be letted by any.

The maister of the sentences.

Occam maketh a difference, betwixte the will of good likyng, and the will of signe or token. Agayne, hee deuideth the wyll of good lykinge, into the will goinge before, and the will comminge after: He graunteth that the will going before, and the wyll of signe may be letted. And so he reasoneth after the manner of the Schole doctors. But the Maister of the Sentences doth handle this matter out of Augustine playnely. Hee bringeth to the contrary two places of Scripture. One out of the wordes of Christ, where he sayth in Mathewe, Hierusalem, Hierusalem which killest Prophetes, and doest stone them which be sent vnto thee, how oft woulde I gather together thy children, as the Hen clocketh hir chickens vnder hir winges, and thou wouldest not? And an other out of the wordes of the Apostle. Where he sayth. Who will haue all men to be saued, and to come vnto the knoweledge of the truth. Wherevnto wee may adde that of ye Prophet, I will not the death of a sinner, but that he be conuerted, and liue. Upon the wordes of Christ, they do inferre: Lo hee would haue gathered the children of the Jewes together, but he could not, bicause they would not. Ergo, by the refusall of the Jewes, the wil of god was letted. But that which they do inferre is wyde frō Christes wordes, for he doth not say. And I could not, or thou didst let me of my will: But and thou wouldst not, that is to say: & thou didst withstande it, thou speakest against it, thou didst refuse it. Hierusalem, saith Augustine, would not haue hir children gathered by him, and yet whether she would or no, he gathered such of hir children as he would. For both in Heauen and in Earth he did not wil and do some thinges, and will some things and not doe them. But whatsoeuer he would, he did. Wherfore it can not be gathered vppon this place, that the Almighty will of GOD may be letted by mans malyce, and contradiction. He dyd gather, and doth also in these dayes gather his children, which he hath dispersed about the worlde, elected and predestinated vnto saluation, not onely maugre the hartes of the wicked, the children of this world, but of the very hel gates also. Moreouer it is not concluded aright, neither vpon the woordes of the Apostle, that the will of GOD is letted, for that that all men be not saued, wheras for al that he would haue all saued. This proceedeth vpon a false exposition, besides the Apostles meaning.

Math. 25.

1. Tim. 2.

1. Tim. 2. vvho vvil haue all men to be saued.

He doth aduise all the faithfull to pray, not onely for their felowes of fayth, but also for their aduersaries, and for the Magistrates which did stande against the Doctrine. To perswade them to doe this, he added that it was good and

acceptable

acceptable in the sight of GOD, which woulde haue all men to bee saued, and to come vnto the knowledge of the truthe: Which is nothinge els to say, but who excludeth no kinde of men from the entry vnto saluation, so that they refuse not the knowledge of ye truth. So that peece also, And to come vnto the knowledge of the truth, is added for a condition, to the intente we should not thinke ye God would saue all without difference, as them also which do refuse the truth, he sent his gospell the messenger of Saluation into the worlde, to be set forth generally vnto all, but vpon that condition, that they onely bee saued which do beleeue, and the vnbeleeuers to be condemned, according vnto the saying of our Sauiour himselfe. And according vnto this saying of our Lord, ye wordes of the Apostle must be vnderstanded, as spoken vpon this condition, to declare that the Lorde had determined to put off no man from the Saluation gotten by Christ, that would not refuse the knowledge of the truth. So that by this condition, the vnbeleeuers bee shutte off, whom he will not saue, but condemne. Wherefore these wordes of the Apostle ought not to be alleaged in patchemeale, but whole with the condition endorced. If any man will inferre, God will haue all men to be saued, but all be not saued, Ergo, that is not done which God willeth, and so his will is not Almighty. Charge him againe in this sorte: Indeede he willeth all men to be saued, but vnder this condition, if they refuse not the trueth. Els if you take the wordes of the Apostle without this condition, it foloweth that the saying of our Sauiour, where he sayth: He that beleeueth not, shall be condemned, shoulde be false, and contrary vnthe will of GOD. Moreouer to be shorte, it may be better alleaged, that no man shoulde perishe, but that all shoulde bee saued, rather than that GOD is not Almighty. For asmuch as we must for a certentie beleeue that GOD is so Almighty, that he omitteth none of these thinges which in his wyll he hath determined to do, as if he hath determined to saue al men, none except, it must be necessary, ye all shal be saued, as the Originistes dyd sometymes mayntaine, and in our dayes it is sayde one Denkius, dyd teache.

But in case this exposition lyke you not, bycause that the Apostle doth not say. If they come vnto the knowledge of the truth, but And to come vnto the knowledge of the truth, you may folowe the exposition of Augustine: I meane that which he putteth in his Enchiridien, sayinge in this wise. Or els truely it was sayde in thys sorte: Who will all men to be saued, not so that there was no man, whom he woulde not haue saued, which woulde not do his vertues of myracles amonge them, which hee sayth, woulde haue done penaūce if he had, but that we vnderstand by all men, all kinde of men, deuided in differēces of estates and degrees, Kinges and priuate persons noble and base, highe and lowe, learned and vnlearned, weake and whole in bodye, witty, and slowe harted, the folyshe, rich,

Augustius in Enchiridion. cap. 103

and poze, men and women, infantes and shildren, &c. Young and olde, in all thinges, in all behauour, in all Artes, in all professions, being innumerable, in varietie of consciences and wylles, & whatsoeuer other difference there is amongest men. For what is there of them all, out of which GOD woulde not haue some to be saued, throughout all nations, by his onely begotten our Lorde, and doth it because the Almyghty can not in vayne will any thing, that he willeth. For the Apostle hadde commaunded, that there shoulde be prayer for all men, and hee added specially for kinges, and such as were in high estate, which might seeme to mislyke with the baseneese of the Christian faith, for worldly arrogancie and pryde. Therefore hee sayde. For this is good before GOD our Sauiour, that is to say, that there bee prayer made for such: and immediately to take away desperation he added, which will haue all men to be saued and to come vnto the knowledge of the truth. For this the Lorde thought good, that hee would vouchsafe through the prayers of the baser sorte, to performe the saluation of the higher sorte: which now we do se accomplished. This maner of speach the Lorde vsed also in his Gospell, where he sayde vnto the Pharisies, you do tythe Minte and Rewe, and euery pot herbe, for the Pharisies did not tyth all pott herbes, which were not their owne, nor of all straungers which dwell in other landes, therefore as hee doth here call euery pott herbe all kinde of potte herbes, so in the other place also wee do vnderstande all kynde of men, or which way els soeuer it may be vnderstanded, & yet so that we be not driuen to beleue, that the Almighty GOD would haue anye thinge done which was not done, which without any more adoe, both in heauen and in earth, as the truth singeth: Whatsoeuer he woulde y he dyd, & for a truth whatsoeuer he woulde not do, that he did not: Thus saith Augustine. As concerning the place of Ezechiell which we do reade in this wise. Say vnto them I liue, sayth the Lorde of gouernaunce. If I take pleasure in the death of the wicked, and not rather that the wicked returne from his waye, and lyue, Turne, turne, from your euill wayes, and why shall you die you house of Israell: there is nothing in this to derogate any whit from the Almightie wyll of GOD, for hee doth not saye, that hee willeth not that the impenitent wicked shoulde dye, but he affirmeth absolutely, that hee taketh no pleasure in his death, but in hys conuersion. In the meane season he willeth not that y wicked should lyue in case hee do continewe in his wickednesse, but he will destroye him in iust iudgement. And this hee hath done, doth, and will do still, but generally at the daie of iudgement. Wherefore we do conclude that the will of GOD is so firme and fast, that it can in no wise be letted. Whatsoeuer is colorably obiected to the contrary out of the scriptures, not wel vnderstanded.

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Luc. 11.

¶ Of the truth of GOD.

Forasmuch as the truth is the foundation of al thinges that be, and of al things which ought to be beleued, knowen, sayde, and done, without whiche nothing can be, nor remayne. I thincke it not vnmeete after that which we haue spoken of the Nature, Sufficiencie, Omnipotencie & Wyll of God, to speake somwhat also of hys Truth. For in thys the whole certentie and clearnesse of our Fayth doth consist, whereby it is clered from all slaūder of falsehode, and sundered from all other arbitrary, & counterfaite religions.

But our meaning is not absolutely to speake of Truth, whereof men which hath leasure and wit at wyll, may haue a large fielde and scope to speake off. But I entend to stand vpō y tearme of Gods truth: not that it can be perfectly conceiued by the capacitie or vnderstanding of man, whereas it doth infinitely passe and goe beyonde all our vnderstanding: but because the knowledge thereof is very necessary vnto our saluation. Neither is it my mynde to enter into that schole disputations, whereas they do discourse & dispute of the theologicall truthes natural & supernatural, more scrupulously than is meete for the simple searching out of the plaine truth.

What is the difference of the truth of God & that of Creatures.

In case that the truth were all one and a lyke in God and in thinges created, then wee shoulde nede no distinction. But it is not all one. Wherefore before that wee do speake of the truthe of God, it is necessary y we distinct it fro al other truth by a conuenient differēce. And it is no matter, seing that al truths do agree. Neither is there nothing els ment by this sayinge but that the agreementes of truthes is such, which is, that ther is no one truth contrary vnto an other truth. For that agreement doth not take away the difference of truth, but hath the more made of it. Neither can there be anye constaunce or agreement but of sundry thinges as it were of certaine sundry voyces.

All truthes do agree.

How the truthe of God differeth from the truth of creatures.

1 Therefore the truth of God doth differ from the truth of creatures, and in the difference doth farre excell it. First in that, that the truth of creatures is not of it selfe, but from an other and the truth of God is first, and not proceeding of any other, but is in God without beginning.

2 Secondly, in that, that it is not onely first, but highest also, as much exceeding it, as a matter vncreated excelleth these thinges whiche be created of it. It is the highest, and therfore al the truth of all creatures doth depende therupon, from whence it doth hath hir beginning, and in which onely it doth consist.

3 Thirdly, in that also y it is euerlastinge and vnalterable, whereas the truth of creatures is but for

a time, and chaungeable, yea and doth also alter and decaye often times, for it can not be otherwyse but that in a thing mutable & whych is but for a time, the truth should be mutable also and stand but for a time: like as in that which is immutable and euerlasting, the truth cannot be mutable and for a season, for as euery truth is the truth of some true thing, so eyther it abideth in that true thing, or decaieth with the same.

Therfore seeing that the truth of God, is chiefest of all others, highest, euerlasting and immutable, is it not meete that the consideration therof should be recompted of al men to be chiefest also, highest and continual, for as much as also ỳ truth which we haue, commeth of it and by it, and that we abide for euer more in no any truth but in it. Surely it is meete that in all thinges wee seeke and folowe the truth, and flye from all falshood: but we must doe it so, that we doe in all things most esteeme the first highest and euerlasting truthes, without which we cannot attaine vnto the true saluation, as for an example: In true wedlock ther is a truth, wherin maried folke ought to kepe & continue vnto their liues ende, and as long as ỳ lawes of wedlocke doe continue. But in case it so fall out that either the same or the truth of God must bee forsaken, which happeneth often times in persecutions suffred for religion sake, truely it is the parte of a godly person that hath regard of his saluation, rather to forsake that truth which is secondary, baser and transitory, than that first hyghest and euerlasting, and so to forsake the truth of the temporarye wedlocke for the truth of Chryste. Whereof Chryste himselfe sayth thus, And euery one that forsaketh house, or brethrē, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or landes, for my name, shall receyue an hundred folde, and possesse euerlasting lyfe. For loke as in all cases the promise due, and that ought truely to be kept vnto man, is to be forsakē for the promise due vnto God, and which ought in continuall truth to be kepte towardes him: so for the highest, and chiefest truth of God, we must giue vp all inferiour and later truthes.

How many kindes of truth there be in God.

WE doe knowe that there is but one selfe same truth in GOD. Wherby he is true in him selfe, and in all. But for the exposition thereof our question is, howe many kindes there be thereof. For like as there be not in GOD many wills, but one and that euerlasting, yet for all that a man might not amisse say that ther be two, that is one of grace, & the other of wrath: so in my iudgement it shall not be out of the waye to saye, that the one selfe same truth of GOD is of foure kindes, that is to saye, of essense, qualitie, operation, and word.

That the is foure kindes of truth in God.

1 First we doe appoint the truth of essence in god, whereby he is the true existent, and true GOD. No essence is without truth. Take that from God, and hee shall be nothing more God, than the Gods of ỳ Gentiles, which therefore be not

The truth of essence.

gods, because they lacke the truth of godly essence. A falshode maketh not true Gods, but false. But in God there is a truth of godly essence, in respect of which, false gods beeing reiected, all honour of Godhead is dew vnto the one God alone. This truth of God the Dyuell hath so darkened in all the nations of the whole worlde, that the true God was vnknowen, and in stede of hym false gods were serued. It is knowen howe the Athenians did set vp an altar vnto the vnknowen God, in the which doing they declared that they were destitute of the knowledge of the true GOD. Whereupon the Apostle toke an occasion to declare the truth of the one true God.

2 Secondly there is the truth of qualitie in God, whereby all those thinges be true which be reported of him in the holy scriptures. For there be some thyngs reported of his essence, other some of his person, and other some of his nature. Of his essence, that according vnto that, hee is one GOD, and that the same essence is not a compounde thing, but single and pure, without body, wythout place, incomprehensible, inuisible, immutable, indiuisible, vnspeakeable, perfect and euerlasting. These things doe belonge to the qualitie of gods essence.

Of the persons it is spoken, that one selfe same essence is dystincted by three persons, which the Scripture doth expresse by these three wordes, Iehouah, the worde and the Spirite: but Chryst dyd expresse it by the names of the Father, the sonne, and the holy Spirite. Whereuppon our faith doth holde, that God is one in essence, and three in person. The father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirite: the Father, vnbegottē, the Son onely egotten, the holye Spirite proceeding from both. Of the nature of God it is reported, that he is God, and that he is louing of man, that hee is kynde and mercifull, that he is faithfull, iust, patient, and slowe vnto anger, &c. All this qualitie of essence, persons, and nature, standeth stedfast and firme in God, in an euerlasting truth, which we doe call the truth of qualitie.

Truth of operation.

We doe attribute also a truth of operation vnto God And we meane not onely of the worke of creation, but generally also of al other work, of which Chryst made mention, saying, My father worketh yet to. God in al his working is voide of al dissembling, fayninge, and falsheade. His workes as well visible as inuisible be truth: For the truth of Gods workes, doth chiefly consist in that, that none of them is vaine & false. Whatsoeuer he doth, is the same in very deed which it appeareth to be, heauen in deede, cloudes in deede, the very sunne, moone starres, ayre, fyre, water, men, beastes, cattell, trees, &c. all true and in very deede. The workes of the Diuell be false, and haue in them no truth. He is a deceiuer and deludeth the mindes of men wyth vaine sightes.

2 Secondly, the truth of gods workes is found also in that, that like as he is of his owne nature, such be his workes also wythout any counterfayting. Doth he good vnto vs: he doth it truely without

fayning. Hee doth not thewe one thing outwarde, and hide an other after the fashion of our flesh, which doth rather fayne most parte of things outwardly, thã do them truly from their hart.

The truth of the vvord.

+ Fourthly, there is also in God the truth of worde. And we meane by Gods worde all his promises, al lawes and ordinances, all threatninges, all comfortes, all oracles and prophesies, set forth either by Angels, either by menne. In respect hereof the Apostle sayeth, that God is true in his wordes, and every man a lyar. And the Prophet Dauid sayth, that the worde of the Lorde is like Syluer tried by the fyre, purged seuen folde.

Rom. 3.

The truth of the vvord incarnate.

In this matter the chiefe point is the truthe of the worde incarnate, which is the waye, the truthe and life vnto all them which were ordained before vnto life, as well before his incarnation as after, of which matter se our Commentaries vpon John.

Ioan. 14.

The truth of the light.

By this briefe diuisiõ we thought good to admonish the reader wherevnto hee ought to referre the truth in God, so that he may godly and profitably cõsider thereof, and therevnto direct and establyshe his faith. Where might herein bee manye thinges alleaged after the manner of the Schole men: but wee doe take these things to be sufficient vnto godly disposed persons which we haue noted, forasmuch as they be most certaine, simple, and necessarie and without all curiousnesse. And would God we would so assuredly sticke vnto this truth of God, that wee might not iudge in anye thing contrarie vnto the truthe of his essence, qualitie, working and worde. How happy were we if wee were so affected to be so agreable e all of one minde.

That it is very hard and for fewe to come vnto the knowledge of Gods Truth.

The truth of God is a light first most cleere of it self: secondly making ỹ mindes also of thẽ which do behold it, cleere and light: Wherfore seeing that it is a light, it is through our default, and not anye lacke thereof, that it is not seene. Blindnesse hath dimmed the eyes of mortall men, that they can not se ỹ light of Gods truth. For it fareth with them as it doth with such as be borne blinde, which albeit that they do heare a thousand times of the Sunne e of his lyght, yet for all that they can not vnderstande, what or how great the brightnesse therof is, how great a pleasantnesse and profite there is in his light, what his course is e daply returne vnto vs, no nor they wote not how many things of the worlde they be ignorant off, which they shoulde know if they were able to conceiue the light of the Sunne. Euen the verie like matter is the blindnesse of our mindes. For albeit that the truth of God be of it selfe neuer so cleere, and though we heare neuer so much talke of it, yet for all that we can not attaine vnto it, vnlesse that our heartes be first opened to see the light thereof, that wee maye enioye both the profite and pleasure thereof, and to iudge the better thereby not only of heauenly but of earthly things also. It is hard, yea impossible for

ble for any which is borne blinde, to know the light of ỹ Sunne, vnlesse he doe recouer his eye sight by the godnesse of God. And it is no lesse impossible for ỹ carnall mã to know the truth of God, vnlesse he do receiue the heart of vnderstanding by the gift of God. And I suppose that all godly persones be out of doubt: First, that ỹ truth of God is a light of it selfe, and no darkenesse: Secondly, that the heartes of carnall men be starke blinde in matters of religion, so that wee nede not to stande to proue this. Whereupon it followeth of necessitie, ỹ it is harde, yea, impossible for all them, to haue the knowledge of the truth, whose mindes be yet combred with the olde darkenesse.

The truth of Christe he hath retchlessnesse.

And wee doe not speake of that Truth onely, as that there is but one God, and onely true, and as that he is declared to bee almightie, iuste, wise, good, &c. which the Philosophers of the Ethnickes did acknowledge, and the Iewes and Turkes in these dayes doe also acknowledge and confesse: but specially of that truth wherby the faith of vs Christian men, is sequestred from the faith and religiõ of all foren nations, and for which we be accounted for Christiãs. The same conteineth the misterie of the holie Trinitie and the worde incarnate, hidden from the beginning of the worlde, his death, resurrection, and ascention, and the whole dispensation of mans redemption purchased by Christ, which our Sauiour him selfe did expresse, calling himselfe the waye, the truth, and the life. Vnto the knowledge of this truthe, surely no carnall man can come, vnlesse he be ayded by the speciall grace of God. And thereupon came those sayings of our Sauiour, vnlesse that a man be newe borne againe, he can not se the kingdome of God. No man commeth vnto me, vnlesse that the father which sent me, doe drawe him. It is written in the Prophets, And all shalbe taught from God. Euery man which hath heard, and learned of the father, cõmeth vnto me. But these be ỹ elect, and foreordeined vnto life, fewe in number in comparison of the rest.

Ioan. 3.

Ioan. 6.

How they bee fewe which do knowe the truthe of Christ.

Some man will saye. Howe be they fewe, which do vnderstand the truthe of Christian religion, seeing that the confession thereof is Catholike, and vniuersall, common vnto all Christian men, of which apeareth to be so innumerable a multitude of kingdomes and peoples?

I aunswere, It is one thing to rehearse and recite with long e formal talke, a lesson of Christis truth, taught a man from childhode by his parentes: and an other manner of matter with a heart lightened by the speciall grace of God to knowe the truthe of God, and after it is so knowen, truely to keepe it. In deede the first is catholike and generall, and in an infinite numbre, but this is not so, but in the electe and true faithfull onely.

How men may come vnto the knowledge of Gods truth.

Albeit that the electe onely, and such as be before ordeined vnto life doe come to the knowledge of the truthe, and doe attaine vnto it not without the speciall grace of GOD, yet for all that there

be some

be some certaine meanes without which no man may hope to attaine vnto it.

Desire to knowe the truth.

First there is requisite a hart desirefull to knowe the truth: for the wisdome of God doth not admytte such as do despise and loth it, specially them which do crake & boast that they be very perfect in ẏ knowledge of the truth, and that they be not blynde but of good sight. Such were the Scribes and the Pharisies which when the Lorde sayde, I came into this world vnto iudgement to the intent that they which do not see, might see, and that they which do see, should be made blinde, they sayd, be we also blinde? Vnto whome he aunswered, if you were blinde, you shoulde haue no sinne. But nowe you say we do see, therfore your sinne doth remaine. Such were the Philosophers, and wyse men of the gentiles which when they boasted that they were wise, were made fooles, and changed the truth of God in to lyes.

Ioan. 9.

Rom. 1.

Seraphici doctores

Such be for the most part nowe a daies, al the Prelates of the churches, relygious and Seraphicall doctors, with the other great pontificall Priestes, which can therefore haue no desire to knowe the truth, bicause they do earnestly presume vpon the knowledge thereof, and can iu no wyse abyde to bee thought such as can haue any neede to bestowe an howers studye vnto the knowledge of the truth. They which bee of that minde, shall neuer come by any sounde knowledge of the truth. For they can not be made beleeue, that they be ignoraũt thereof, and therefore can not bee trayned vnto the desire to knowe it: but they be rather according vnto the saying of our Sauiour, the more blinded, and prouoked vnto a raging furie agaynst the Disciples and ministers of the Truth.

The study to knowe the truth.

Secondely, it is needefull that the desire to knowe the truth be not Idle, but ioyned with a care and study to seeke and to learne it. If you seeke it, saith Salomon in his Prouerbes, as you would seeke for mony, and digge for it as for treasure, then thou shalt vnderstande the feare of the Lorde, and finde the knowledge of GOD, It is the voice of wisdome: I do loue them which do loue mee. And they whiche doo wake vnto mee earlye shall finde me. Vnto this studye of seeking Gods trueth, not onely those presumpteous Prelates (of whom we spake before) be vnmeet, but all they also, which doo dyspayre that they can not come to the knowledge thereof.

Two letters frõ finding the truth. Lib. 2. contra Academicos. cap. 3.

Wherfore it standeth with good reason that Augustine sayde, that there bee hynderaunces from fynding the truth, that is to say, desperation and presumption. For so he saythe. There remayneth now two faultes and lettes from finding the truth, of which I am not much afraide in thee, but yet for all that I am afraide, leaste thou despise thy selfe, and dispayre that thou canst not finde it, or els rather least thou beleeue that thou hast founde it already. They which haue any of both these faults, do neither pray vnto god for ẏ knowledge of ẏ truth, nor they will not seeke it by hearing, nor reading, but doe refraine from all study for the finding thereof.

Wherefore

Thirdly, it is requisite that wee become his scholers, and beleue his woorde, who is the onely teacher of this truth, and that is he, which sayde vnto them that dyd beleeue in him. If you doe continue in my woorde. You be in deede my Disciples, and you shall know the truth. So that we must first of all heare the woorde of the truth: secondly beleeue it, and thirdly continue in it. Vnto them that do this, the knowledge of the truth is promised.

And Augustine doth saye, that first we must beleeue and then vnderstande. To that purpose was that spoken in the sixte of John. Lorde vnto whom shall we go? Thou hast the woordes of euerlasting life, & we do beleue and know, that thou art Christe the Sonne of the lyuing God. This sayd Peter, in his owne and the rest of the Apostles names. Whereby he manifestly declareth, that they had first heard the woordes of lyfe at the teaching of the Lordes mouth. And secondly, that they beleeued that he was Christe the Sonne of the lyuing God. Thyrdly, that they did also certainly knowe the truth, which they began to beleeue. So he sayth: We beleued, and addeth: And haue knowen. Therefore, to beleeue, is before knowyng.

The Samaritans also, of whom the same Euangelist maketh mention in his fourth chapiter, when they had first beleeued, bycause of the womans woordes, and afterwarde had perceiued the truthe by Christ hymselfe, they sayde: Now we doe not beleue bycause of thy saying, for we haue hearde our selues, and knowe that this man is the sauiour of the worlde. So that it appeareth that fayth goeth before, and that then in case we do stande stedfastly therein, there followeth a sure and sounde knowledge of the truth. So the Apostles dyd firste beleue the woordes of Christe, and then afterwardes when there encreased in them the working of the holy Spirite, it appeareth that thereby they were more perfectly lightened, & brought vnto the assured knowledge of the truth. Vnto this none commeth by the trade and waye of mans reason, but by Faith.

That we must abide in ẏ word of Christ.

But wee muste keepe well in mynde, that this condition was layde vnto it by the Lorde, in the eight chapiter of John: If we abyde in his woorde, which we haue begonne to beleeue. You shall finde some which doe beleeue for the tyme, according vnto the parable of the seede, and do fall awaye in the tyme of temptation, and forsake the woorde of the Truth.

This kynde of Fayth, forasmuch as it lacketh necessarie continuance, doth not atteyne vnto the promysed knowledge of the Truth. And what it is to dwell in the woorde of the Lorde, and to be verely his Disciple, we haue noted in our Commentaries vpon John.

Men need a pure minde.

S. Augustine wryteth that the mynde pestered yet with synne, can not receyue the Truth. This is to be vnderstanded, not of small, but of greeuous offences, and such as doe cutte off the waye vtterly from knowing & louing the Truth, and keepeth the mynde as it were captiue styll in bondage and in prison.

It is

The truth is to bee sought in charitie.

It is written of the Apostle Peter, that among other things hée sayde: What shall a man thinke, that GOD hath digged a trenche, and hidden the truth therein, and caste Mountaines vpon it, so that it maye be founde onely by them, which are able to digge déepe? It is not so, but lyke as he hath compassed the Hilles and Earth with the circuite of Heauen, so he hath also couered the Truth with the vaile of his charitie, so that he only maye bée able to come vnto it, which doth first knocke at the gate of his loue. Whether that Peter sayd so, or no, surely it is altogether necessarie to the knowledge of the truth, that it be loued, and through louing be sought for, and that in the séeking for it, the gate of Gods loue be knocked at. To him that knocketh, there is promised the opening, where as the Lorde sayeth: Hée which asketh, receiueth, & he which séeketh, findeth: and to him which knocketh, it is opened. And yet notwithstanding though that all this be done, yet for all that, no thanke vnto vs, but all is to be attributed vnto the heauenly grace and working. For it is not of the willer, or of the runner, but of him which hath mercy, Christ.

What is the Efficacie of the Truth.

We doe not discusse what the truth generally is able to do, and doth, which is so great a matter, that it passeth all mens reason, as a certaine man sayde: but what the truth of God dothe when it is knowen, vnto the heartes of men, not that we are able to declare all the efficacie and strengthe thereof, but bicause that we thinke it méete some deale as we may, to looke into it. The truth is a light, as we said before. Wherefore by the efficacie of light we may somewhat sée what is the efficacie of Gods truth. And first it is the worke of open & manifest light, that it suffereth not darkenesse, but auoydeth it immediatly at the first shewe. For it can not away with darkenesse, neither is it so weake to giue place thereunto, but it ouercōmeth darkenesse, though it be neuer so grosse and thicke. Likewise the truth of God, when it is reuealed, it dooth firste and principally driue away darkenesse, that is to say, the ignoraunce and blyndnesse of mens myndes, and maketh them of blynde and ignoraunt, séeing and vnderstanding.

In the efficacy of light a man may see the efficacy of the truth.

Light perceiueth away darkenesse.

1 Like as the rising of the Sunne dooth by his brightnesse take away the vniuersall darkenesse of the night, so the truth once reuealed, dooth take away the generall ignorance as nere as it can, which possesseth the heartes of men, and suffreth not that any man may vnder the pretence of ignoraunce be any longer excused.

2 Secondly, the Sunne rysing dooth drawe all mens eyes vnto it, which bée whole and can abyde the brightnesse thereof, and doothe marueylousiye reioyce the myndes of menne. Dooth not the Truth when it is reuealed, doe the same? It dooth styrre vp mennes myndes to knowe it, and it dooth marueylously delight them, as we might well perceiue at ẏ beginning

of the gospel, as also we haue séene in our daies in our owne countrie. In déed there haue ben some ranke enimies againste the opening of the truth, and haue most frowardly forsaken it: euen so there be many which doe likewise with the Sunne, which can not abyde the brightnesse, bycause they haue naughty eyes, and doe loue the darkenesse better than the light. This kinde of men the Lorde toucheth in Iohn, where hee sayth: This is the indgement, that the lyght came into ẏ worlde, and men do loue darkenesse better thā light.

3 Thirdly, those thinges be opened at the rising of the Sunne, which were darkened and lay hidde in the darkenesse of the night. For as darkenesse doth couer all and hyde the true shape and fashion of all thinges: so ẏ lyght of the Sunne dooth discouer and lay open al thinges that were couered and hidde: Moreouer doth deuide and separate all thinges with a true difference, so that we may be able not doubtfully to gesse of euery thing what it is, but to knowe and discerne them truely, and for a certentie. This benefit of ẏ lyght is great which we do enioy day by day, and ẏ very vnthākfully. The truth doth also ẏ very lyke. It doth open thinges hidden and vnknowen, and restoreth vnto euery thing his naturall countenaunce, that we may be able to knowe what to iudge of them. As for example: Before that the Gospell was preached, it was hydden from the knowledge of men who was the true GOD, what was his true Relygion, what his true seruice, what the waye of Saluation, what the will of God, and what was true godlinesse, &c. All these things were hidden, and as it were buried vp in a catholyke or generall ignoraunce, vntyll that they were opened by the lyght of the Truth. Howe many matters there hath bene disclosed in our dayes by restoring of the lyght of the truth of the Gospell, it is so apparant, that for shame it can not be denied.

The light doth report ẏ faults of darkenesse.

Fourthly, this is also the worke of lyght, to finde out and reproue the faultes of darkenesse. In darkenesse there be many foule faultes and errours, and when light commeth, the faultes be founde and reproued. Wherefore it is a common matter, that they which doe euill in darkenesse, doe flee from the light, and can not away therewithall. The truth doth the very lyke. For it reproueth and chargeth the world of many greeuous sinnes and errours committed vnder the night of ignorance. Wherfore they can not away with it as many as doe euill: for they be afrayde, least their doings should be disclosed. Whatsoeuer is reproued sayth the Apostle, is opened by the lyght. And this is the chiefe cause, wherfore all they which doe turne all godlynesse into gaine, by theyr counterfait wordes, and bying and selling in the Church, be so much againste the doctrine of the truth, and doe most cruelly persecute the ministers of the same.

Iohn. 3.

Ephes. 5.

Fiftly, this is also a great efficacie of the lyght, that it doth delyuer vs from the kingdome of darkenesse, and bryngeth vs into a lybertie, to know and do all thinges

The light deliuereth from the kingedome of darkene

the more directly, in that he doth direct both our eyes, handes, feete, and our whole lyfe, to doe those thinges which ought to be done. This the truth doth in hir kinde a great deale more perfectly: for it delyuereth vs frō that bondage of sin, wherein we serued in the kingedome of darkenesse, out of Christ. This the truth it selfe doth testifie, sayinge: If you continue in my wordes, you be in deede my Dysciples, and you shall know the truth, and the truth shall deliuer you. And the same truth also doth direct them wholy, whom it delyuereth from the kingdome of darkenesse, vnto the workes of the lyght, so that they may in all pointes walke and liue godly, honestly, blameles, and with vpright iudgement, lyke children of lyght.

Ioan. 8.

Those thinges which we doe see in the light, we assuredly holde & testifie. Ioan.

Sixtly, those thinges which we do see by light daye with our owne eyes, wee doe beare witnesse off, stedfastly and truely. Neyther can we be perswaded to iudge and say any other wayes, than as we haue perceiued by the certeintie of the lyght. In like manner the knowledge of the truth also doth make the faythfull person so faste & sure in the confession of his faith, that he will not be dryuen from it. So sayth the Sauiour vnto Nicodemus. That which wee do knowe, we speake: and that which we do see, we do testifie. And the Apostle: I knowe, (sayth he) whom I haue beleeued, and I am sure, &c. Upon this assurednes of ẏ truth, the holy Martyres stoode so stedfast in the confession of their faith, that they woulde sooner forgo this lyfe, than deny the same, which they did assuredly knowe and beleeue. This knowledge of the truth doth also comfort ẏ afflicted, what troubles soeuer they be vexed withall. For they do knowe that the afflictions of this present tyme, be not to be compared vnto the glorie to come, which shall be reuealed in vs.

Beside that, from whence commeth that courage and constancie in the Apostles and Ministers of the Gospell of God, to preach those thinges which seeme vnto ẏ wise men of thys world to be most foolyshe, but of the strength of truth once knowen? So sayde Peter and Iohn: Wee can not but speake those thinges which wee haue seene and hearde.

Thys and many other lyke effectes, the truth of GOD beinge knowen bringeth to passe, and needeth not any paynting and trymming, or any manner of assystance or helpe to be set foorth by. It lyketh barenesse and plainnesse, and is very strong of hir owne simplicitie, whereof the Apostles may be witnesses, men vnlearned and simple, and after the Apostles tyme, that olde Byshop more vnlearned than the rest, the history of whom Eusebius doth maketh mention of.

What is the lotte or hap of the Truth of God in this worlde.

WE can in none, more certainly and euidently finde a perfecte president of the truth, than in our Sauiour himselfe, the onely begetten of GOD, who is the way, the Truth, and the lyfe. In heauen no doubte the Truth is moste

accepta-

acceptable and glorious, but in thys worlde there is nothing lesse regarded. Therefore when Christe hadde sayd: That which we do knowe, we doe speake, and that whiche we haue seene, we doe testifye, he added, But you like not our testimony. What is it else not to like the testimonye of Christ, than not to receyue the very truth of God, but to refuse it, and to pretēd it to be false? And yet ẏ world woulde not seeme to be so wicked, as to refuse and withstād the truth, specially being sent into the world from God in Heauen. Therefore it pretendeth it to be a lye and a false tale. So they sayd vnto the Lorde: Thou gyuest witnesse vnto thy selfe. Thy witnesse is not true. And there can be no greater shame and rebuke to the truth of God, than to be accused of falseshode. Man, who is vayne and full of lyes, and drinketh in lyes, like water, thinketh that he receyueth a greate villanye and reproche, if one charge him with a lye, and saye vnto him but thys one worde, Thou lyest. And they thinke that this villanye ought to be straightway reuenged and auoyded with strong hand. I beseech you, how much lesse ought it to be borne withall, that anye manne shoulde accuse the very truth of God with a lye, and condemne it for Heresie? But this is the lotte, happe, and case thereof in this world, and it was neuer better, but always alike: Looke vpon the hystories of the Prophetes. So they persecuted the Prophetes, (sayeth Christ,) whych were before you. Upon what pretence dyd they persecute them? For no other coloure or pretence but that they dyd charge them with lyes. The like chaunced vnto the Apostles afterwardes. In the fourtenth of Iohn. Christ saith: I will desire my father, and he shall giue you an nother comforter, to remayne with you for euermore, the spirite of the truth whiche the worlde can not receyue. So that if anye body shall aske, why the lotte and estate of the truth is suche in thys worlde, that it is refused, as though it were a lye, you haue heere the cause at hande, bycause that the worlde can not receyue the spirite of the truth: and by the world, hee meaneth all the wicked worldlings, who forasmuch as they be worldly, and do applye themselues altogither vnto thys worlde, and doe trauell vnder the Deuill the Prince of this world, they are aright called the world. And why the worlde can not receyue the spirite of the truth, we haue noted in our Commentaries vpon Iohn. But let the reader marke this heere, that like as this world continueth to bee alwayes like it selfe, so this loue of the truth continueth also, not to bee receyued of the world, bycause it can not receyue the spirite of the truthe. For as the nature of thys world continueth, so this happe or lotte of the truth falleth not in the worlde. As long as the Deuill is the Prince of the world, so long the truth is a strāger in the world, and as among strāgers findeth alwayes manye backe friendes. No doubt as this worlde hath in times past and alwayes serued the prince of lyes, so in times past, now and alwayes the truthe is hated, and thereof it procedeth, that the truth is so oppressed, so flaundered, and by so sharp and wicked proclamations condemned, and that the

The truth is charged with the greatest reproche of lyes.

What is the chāce of the truth in this world and howe. Matth. 5.

profel-

professors thereof be so cruelly vsed, and tumbled and turned out of theyr cloutes.

The truth is condemned before it is heard.

This is the happe or lotte of the truth in this world. And besides that it is condemned also before it bée heard, and there be prohibitiōs made, that it can no ways be broughte to light, least if it shuld be heard, it shuld be knowen. For it is of that nature, that the better it is knowen, the lesse worthy it is thoughte to be condemned. Therefore bycause the aduersaries thereof do feare least they shuld not be able by no wise to condemne the truth when it is hearde and knowen. They doe their vttermost endeuor to condemne it before it be knowen. But the truth desireth this only (as Tertullian sayth) that it be not condemned vnknowen and is of nothing so much ashamed, as to be hidden, quite contrarye héerein vnto lying and falshode, for that falshood fleeth nothing more than to be brought to light.

That al things are to be suffered for the truth.

Seyng that the lotte and estate of the truthe in this worlde is suche, that in stéede of loue whiche it deserueth, it carrieth awaye moste spitefull hatred, for faith, all kinde of slanders, for obedience, condemnatiō, for wholsome encrease, tiranous oppression: what can else ensue, but that for hir sake all these things must fall vpon their neckes, which had rather with pure and constant faith depend vpon the truthe, than to perish wyth the worlde in falshode? The wicked can not put in vre their conceyued hatred against the truth it selfe: therfore they doe practise it againste the scholers and folowers therof, whom they do most spitefully persecute for no other cause but for ẏ truths sake. So that eyther we muste suffer and beare all things for hir sake, for as much as hir lotte in this world is no better but to be subiecte vnto hatereds, slaunders, and condemnations, or else we muste forsake hir defence, which if we do, is no harme vnto hir, but it is the most assured destruction of our owne selues. For our saluation doth so depend vpō the truth, that the case of it and of oure saluation is both one. They which do follow the warres in this world, do know that the warres which they determine to séeke, be full of extreame trauayle, payne, and perill, and yet for all that they doe enter into it, and doe yéelde themselues wholly vnto it to abyde all aduentures, vpon what hope? no doubt in hope to atteyue to a better estate of life, that they maye lyue somewhat the better in this worlde, whiche if they happen to come vnto, yet all that they get, is but an vncertaine hope and for a time, yea for a very small time. And for thys they do put their whole life in danger. In case a counterfeite glasse be much estéemed (as a certaine man said) how muche worth ought a right precious stone to be vnto vs? Be we not mad if we stande in doubt to suffer for the truth of God, that whiche others doe suffer, yea most earnestly sue for, vppon a vaine opinion and hope? Who is not contente for his Princes sake to venter all his goodes, and life, as often as the estate of the realme requireth, or as it pleaseth hys Prince?

Shall we then refuse that in Gods cause, which we can suffer, and beare for a mans cause, as often as it pleaseth him?

Whether that the Truthe may be ouercome.

The truthe seemeth to ouercome.

It appeareth that the Truth is ouercome, when through the violence of wicked men, or the deuice of the vngodly it is so oppressed for a time that falsehode séemeth to reigne altogither, and is like to reigne for euer specially in this worlde, where the prince of darkenes raigneth, and the truthe is euerye where banished like a straunger, yea so that oftentimes it séemeth to forsake the land, and to dwell with God only.

What it is to be ouercome.

But in case we looke déeper into ẏ matter, we shall finde that truth can by no meanes be ouercome in déede, which shall be more manifestly knowen, if we consider what it is to bée ouercome in déede. And to be ouercome, is eyther to be driuen from a mans purpose, or to be chaunged, or to take foyle in his matter, or else to bée ouerthrowen and bée in the power of his enimy. A woman is ouercome when shée is enticed by fayre words, and promises, and consenteth vnto an vnlawfull fact. We be ouercome by oure concupiscences, to forsake a holy purpose. We be ouercome by money, to employ oure trauayle in wickednes. He is ouercome in lawe, which catcheth a foile in his matter in iudgemēt. He is ouercome which is eyther by gyle deceyued, or by strength put to the worst, or whiche is ouerthrowen in battell, & subdued vnto his enemie. And in case anye of those thinges can chaunce the truth, we must néedes confesse, that it may be ouercome. It can not bée chaunged frō that, that it is. It may be cloked and darkened, by coloure of falshode, but it can neuer be changed into falshode. If it stand vpon a triall of iudgement against falshode, it may be oppressed, for a season, but it can not be ouercome, bycause it cā not be conuicted of falsehode, neyther proued to be false. If it be assaulted with tyrannous violence, it suffereth violence in them that do folow hir, but it can by no meanes bée ouercome. Forasmuche as it can not come into the power of the enimies. No tyrant, though he raged neuer so sore could euer, bridle the truth to be in subiection vnto him. They bée all dead, and gone, but the truthe shall moste gloriously triumph, as ouercomer of them all.

The prescription of a long time semeth to be able to do much against the truth, but it is not possible, that it shuld carrie away the victory therof. The ancienty of a thousande yeares in an vntruth, can not get the victory of one moment against ẏ truth. Neither doth the truthe yéelde to the authoritie of persons. Albeit ẏ Princes, Prelats, high in respect of this world do decrée and take orders against it, yet for all that it continueth vnouercome, and incorrupt. Be al the Princes of the world by their proclamations able to chāge a truth into an vntruth, whereas they can not bryng to passe that the same which is Gold in déede be no longer gold? Neyther can the eloquence of rethoricians ouercome the symplicitie of the truth: but béeyng striken wyth the

The prescription of tyme not ouercome truth.

very playnenesse and barenesse of the truth, it is driuen to depart with shame ynough. To be shorte, like as that whiche was once true, remayneth true for euer, forasmuche as by no art, by no strength it can be changed into an vntruth: so the truthe of God, yea much more is the truthe of God euerlasting, immutable, and inuincible, so that it is impossible for it to be ouercome by slightes, hatred, watches, prescriptions of times, slaūders, and persecutions. Therefore Esdras saide aright, The truthe remaineth, and waxeth stronger for euermore, and liueth, and hath the vpper hande, world without end. This consideration bringeth an exceedyng comforte vnto the professors of the truth. For the more assuredly that they be perswaded, that the truthe which they haue embraced, is inuincible, with so much the stouter heart they do beare out through Gods aid, whatsoeuer is charged vpon them for it by the wicked.

3. Esdras. 3.

Of the Goodnesse of God.



In the place before of the Nature of God, where we haue spoken of his qualitie, among other thynges which be reported of him in the Scriptures, we accounted his goodnesse also. Therefore I thinke it not vnmete for oure purpose, neither vnprofitable for godlye persons, if we adde to the rest somewhat also thereof, and note those things whiche may be considered to the edifying and comforte also of their consciences. The depth of Gods goodnesse is large and wide, but why shoulde not they whose whole lyfe and saluation is grounded, and established in this onely, vpon whome it specially appeareth, that GOD is good, reuerently consider, adore, and prayse the superficiall parte thereof?

That God is good.

The whole Scripture reporteth of God, that hee is good, and it speaketh of none other, but of the creator and maker of all, not for that that there is any other true God besides him, whome we do call the creatour of heauen and earthe, but for that the superstitious olde time dyd deuise and serue diuers others. And that Hereticke Martion whych was a Bishops sonne, when he was for the deflowring of a Mayden excommunicated from the holy Communion, to the intent to trouble the Churche, he began to reuiue and vpholde the monstrous doctrine of one Cerdon, wherin hee was not afrayde to bereaue the true and onely God, maker of all thinges that be, of the glorye of hys goodnesse: and leaste he should seeme altogither to denye the goodnesse of God, he made two Goddes, one the creatour, and the other the father of Iesus Christ: the first euill, sower, seuere, and cruell: the latter he sayde was good, and merciful. Which wicked & monstrous imagination, some of the fathers, & specially Tertullian did mightily confute: so that the same wycked deuice of the Martionistes

Martion imagined two Gods one good another euill.

was

was so conuinced and ouercome by most euidente argumentes, both of Gods truth and goodnesse, that it is not necessarie now to stand much in the refuting thereof. There be an infinite number of the argumentes of Gods goodnesse.

1 Firste, the workes of the first creation do witnesse thereof, all whyche as they were verye good (albeit the Marcionites do not so take it) so they do proue the goodnesse of the maker, lyke as good fruites do proue a tree to be good. For it can not be, that hee which is euill should do good workes, and that the euill tree shoulde beare good fruites. And in case that any man eyther will not or can not vnderstand the goodnesse of Gods workes, lette him yet at the leaste way graunt, that they could not be done without speciall wisedome. And moreouer lette him thinke whether it may be attributed vnto wisedome or no, that a worke is not good but euill, and therby they muste vnderstande of necessitie, that those things be good whyche be done by speciall wisedome. For like as none can be wise in deede, but he that is good: so no worke is to bee taken to proceede of wisedome, vnlesse it be good also. He muste needes be verye vnthankefull, and a stocke rather than a man, which feeleth not dayly, yea euery moment, and dothe playnely confesse, what commodities and profites he himselfe enioyeth of Gods workes, which can not bee referred vnto any other, but vnto God the creator himselfe.

2 Secondly, who can rehearse the thousand part of those things whych be dayly bestowed by Goddes goodnesse not only vnto the good, but vnto the wicked also: whome he dothe not onely doe good vnto, but whome hee might of right immediatly destroy, and dothe not so, but with all gentlenesse abideth their repentance.

3 Thirdly, if we seeke the Scriptures, doe not they set forth the goodnesse of God? God is good vnto Israell sayeth the Prophete Dauid vnto them which be vpright in heart, and, Prayse the Lorde for he is good, for his mercy endureth for euer. And in an other place, The earthe is filled with the goodnesse of the Lorde. And Jeremy sayth, The Lorde is good vnto them which do truste vpon hym. And in Luke Christ sayeth, None is good but God onely. And the Apostle to the Romaines dothe attribute riches of goodnesse vnto God. He doth sometimes punish the reprobate, but seeyng that he dothe it not withoute iudgement, nor to the harme of anye but of the impenitente, there is no cause why he shoulde therefore lose the glory of his goodnesse. But I nede not to trauayle my selfe much in this article, wherein is neyther difficultie nor doubte, but all things as manifest, and as cleere as the Sunne. As for my selfe I am so perswaded of the goodnesse of God, that I know nothing in the nature of God, which I receyue greater comforte of, and whiche I honor with more admiration, than hys endlesse and infinite goodnesse.

Out of scriptu

Psalme Psalme.

Thren.

Luc. 18 Rom. 2

II. What it is to be good.

Like as to be euil is not the point of an idle qualitie but of a verye effectuall and labourſome qualitie, including in it all mischiefe and con-

In good concurreth profitable, comely, and pleaſaunt.

tinuall purpoſe of euill doing: So to be good commeth not of a vaine qualitie, but allwayes, and without ende, doing thoſe thinges whiche be good, and profitable. The holy Scripture calleth that טוֹב, whiche we doe call good, and that worde ſignifieth ſometimes good, ſometymes profitable, ſometimes comely, and ſometymes pleaſaunte. All theſe goe togither in euerye one thyng in that whiche is good. For good is of ſuche nature, that it is profitable, faire, comely, and alſo pleaſaunt. But we ſpeake not of the outward ſhewe of good things, but of that whiche is conſidered by the eyes of the mind, and that pleaſeth ẏ heart which is deſirous of good. The Philoſopher defineth that to be good, which all men deſireth. And it ſhould not be deſired, vnleſſe it wer liked. The Latiniſtes doe call hym good whiche is gentle, eaſie, friendly, mild, curteous, kind, good to deale withall, ſimple, open, pleaſaunt, and liberall, in whom is found no malice, no vngentleneſſe, hardneſſe, ſowerneſſe, deceyte, and frowardneſſe.

VVhat it is for God to be good.

So that when the Scripture doth tell vs that God is good, we muſte take it no otherwiſe, but that he wold perſwade vs, that God is moſt farre from the diſpoſition of malice, cruelneſſe, vngentleneſſe, hardneſſe, &c. But rather that he is milde, eaſie, kinde, tractable, open, and liberall to prouoke vs to putte our truſt in hym, and to call for his grace.

Whether that God only be good.

Luc. 18.

WHeras in ẏ eighteenth of Luke. A certayne greate eſtate ſaide vnto the Lorde, God Maiſter, by doing of what thall I poſſeſſe euerlaſting life. He anſwered him: Why calleſt thou me good? None is good, but God only. So that by thys teſtimony of our Sauiour, the commendation of goodneſſe is ſo taken away from all menne, that it is giuen vnto God only. There coulde nothyng be more euidentlye, expreſſly, and fullye ſpoken, than that he ſayde abſolutely, There is none good, but God only, ſo that all men be ſo euill, that none of them is good.

None good but God only.

An obiection.

But there may be a queſtion howe this ſaying dothe agree with that difference, which Chriſt hymſelfe vſed, when he ſayde: Whiche maketh hys ſunne to ryſe ouer the good, and the euill. If ſome men be good, and ſome euill, howe then is God ſo good, that none is good but he? It is written in the Actes of the Apoſtles of Barnabas: that he was a good man. Howe then is none good but God only? The Apoſtle ſayeth: Euerye creature of God is good, Is not man alſo a creature of Gods? Howe then is he not good? God ſaw all things that he had made, that they were very good: no doubt he hadde made man alſo, Ergo, man is alſo very good. The Prophete ſaith: Do good Lorde vnto ẏ good and vpright in heart. If none be good but God onley, it ſeemeth to be in vayne, which the Prophet dothe here praye for, in that he beſeecheth God, to doe well to the good, whereas there is none good vnto whome God maye do good.

1. Tim. 4.

Genes. 1.

Pſalme.

In this poynte we muſte make a double compariſon of God, one with all his creatures, an nother with mã particularly. If you compare hym with

God is alone called good.

A compariſon of God with his creatures.

with thoſe things which he hath created, you ſhall finde that there is in him an originall, perfecte, and moſte excellent goodneſſe. Originall, which is not receyued from any where elſe, but proper vnto himſelfe, hauing it ſelfe in God no beginning, but gyuing vnto others the beginning of goodneſſe. Perfecte, that is to ſay, full in all poyntes and reſpectes, ſo that nothing more can be deſired therin, which belongeth vnto true goodnes. Moſt excellent, which no manner of creatures at all, no not the Angels of heauen, can conceyue in mynde, much leſſe expreſſe and folow. But in creatures you ſhall fynde in deede ſome goodneſſe, but naturally put into them by God, and that vnperfect, and farre vnderneath the goodneſſe of God. And the goodnes of all things commeth from God, as meaſured, & particular, ſo that the commoditie of euerye thing is as it were limited and appoynted vnto ſome certayne vſe. And in this reſpect the Scripture dothe teſtifie, that whatſoeuer was made by God, was very good. Yea, Although that the Scripture had not ſo ſaid, yet notwithſtanding the very experience of ſo manye ages doth almoſt ſay it ſelfe, that thoſe things bee verye good whiche God made. But if we conſider the highneſſe of the eſtate, true, abſolute, proper, and vniuerſall goodneſſe, the commendation thereof doth not agree vnto any creature, but vnto ẏ creator only. Wherfore a man maye well ſaye for thys cauſe, that God only is good, as well as he onely in the Scriptures is called the euerlaſting. For although that all thinges whiche be in Heauen and in earthe, in that they be, ſo accordyng to their proporcion they be exiſtente, yet notwithſtanding they are not worthye to beare the title of exiſtencie in deede, but are forced to leaue the ſame vnto God onely, of whome all things be. Therefore like as we doe not call all things created, exiſtents, for as muche as they be not of themſelues, but of God who is onely the exiſtent, ſo they oughte not to bee called in deede good, for aſmuche as they be not good of themſelues, but of him, by whome they be made. Both commeth to them from God the creator to be, and to be good. Wherefore they ſhal of right leaue the commendation of goodneſſe as alſo of exiſtẽce vnto their creator.

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man.

And as for the other compariſon, where God is ſeuerallye compared with man, I do finde foure reſpectes to be conſidered in man. The firſte is of his Nature, the ſecond of his Corruption, the third of grace, the fourth of Inſtitution. If thou loke vnto the Nature of man, ye can not condemne it of naughtineſſe. For whatſoeuer it is accordyng vnto the degree thereof it is of God the creator thereof, of whome there can come no euill. In reſpect therof he is good in his degree, in whych he was placed in his fyrſte eſtate, as well as ẏ reſt of creatures. And in this reſpecte man is to be referred vnto the firſte and generall compariſon of things.

But if you conſider the generall corruption of mans nature, you ſhal finde that all mankinde is degenerate, and that the whole thought of mans hearte is geuen to naughtyneſſe, euen from theyr youthe, and as the Prophete ſayeth, that all haue ſtrayed, and are one wyth an other

made al vnprofitable, and that there is none that doeth good, no not one. Of whiche thing the Apostle reasoneth. And the saying of our Sauiour. There is none good but God only, is chiefly to be referred hereunto, and the prophete sayth, All men be liers, and vanitie of vanities, euery lyuing man is vanitie, and no liuing person shall be iustified in thy sighte. But if you way the grace of God in man, you shall finde a repairement of the corrupte nature, whereby man is repayred to the Image of Gods goodnesse in Christ our sauiour, in respect of the whiche he may be called good, and yet not so, that he may yet glorye of anye perfecte goodnesse, but in respecte, that Christe is his goodnesse. Nowe remayneth the respecte of hys institution, teaching or bringing vp. In this respecte according to the diuersitie of worldlye things, some one is made a good Physition, an nother a good Paynter, an nother a good Goldsmith, some one, and some an nother so excellente in hys arte, that whereas he can not be sayde to bee a good man, yet he may bee a good artificer. So a certaine man found fault that though he could easily find within the Citie where he dwelt good carpenters, good smythes, good painters, and good ymage makers, yet he could not borye easily fynde there a good and an honest man. But we speake not heere of the goodnesse of artificers, howe euerye man is excellente and perfecte in hys arte, but of that goodnesse whereby we maye become good, and bee therefore called absolutely good. Thys goodnesse can not be founde in vs, vnlesse we be regenerate, and yet then it is vnperfecte, as wee sayde before. Thus I suppose it is manifest, howe, and why none is good but God only. What cause is there then, why one manne shoulde despise an other, seeyng that wee bee all togyther condemned of naughtynesse by thys sentence of our sauioure, and bereste of the glorye of goodnesse? Agayne if we be altogither generally naughte, we oughte not to think it any newelty or straūge matter, when one man is hurt of an other that is to say, one naughtyman of an other naughtye man. But it maye rather bee a mcruaple if one man doe take good of an nother. For it is out of the nature of naughtye things, to fall to goodnesse, whereby the man of consideration wil thinke vpon the special prouidence of God, as often as he receyueth a good turne of any man.

It is one thing to be a good artificer and an other to be a good man.

It is no marueil if one man be hurt of another.

That the goodnesse of God is immutable *and euerlasting.*

VVhereby appeareth that the goodnesse of God can not be ouercome.

VVherefore the good wyll of man is vnstable.

WE do oftentimes perceyue, howe vnconstante and chaungeable anye manner of good disposition of mans heart is. If you aske me ỹ reason, it maye be aunswered, that it is therefore vnstable, bycause it is not naturally grafted in vs, but bredde by occasion, and chaungeable causes: so that when the cause ceaseth, the effect also ceaseth. The lyke can not bee thoughte of the goodnesse of God. For God is good, not vpon occasion or vppon causes giuen by anye other thyng, but naturallye of hymselfe, and therfore lyke how vnchaungeable hee and hys nature is, and so vnchangeable is his goodnesse also. Whereas the Father dothe scourge his sonne, he doth it vpon occasion, and for a tyme: but whereas he is well willyng vnto him, it is a naturall affection, and of a continual good meanyng towardes hym. Lette vs thinke the lyke also of God when he is angry, he dothe it not naturally, but vpon occasion to correct the euill. But when he dothe vs good, it is his naturall doyng, procedyng without ende from his natural goodnesse. And that the goodnesse of God can not be ouercome, it appeareth well by that, that he coulde not be ouercome by the frowarde and obstinate malice of the Iewishe people, but that he woulde performe, and gyue them his onely begotten sonne to be our mediator and sauiour out of them, accordyng vnto his euerlastyng determination, and at suche time as he had promised. So God loued the worlde (sayth the Lord) that he gaue his onely begotten. What man is able to cōceyue in his minde how wonderfull the naughtinesse of this worlde was euen from the beginnyng before the incarnation of ỹ word, for which the purpose of God, whiche he had appoynted of for the saluation of the worlde, might most iustly haue bene changed if hys goodnesse were changeable: if the goodnesse of hym coulde haue bene ouercome, we had bene long since all consumed, neyther had this world stand so many hundred yeares. For whom may we thanke for the long continuance of the yeares therof, but the goodnesse and mercy of God? It is of Gods mercy sayth a certaine man, that we be not consumed. Wherfore as oftentymes as wee do feele the experiments, and proofe of Gods goodnesse, eyther in our selues or in others, let vs be admonished hew immutable, inuincible, and euerlastyng it is, and sing with the Prophete. Prayse the Lorde for he is good, for hys mercy endureth for euer.

That there be two Considerations of Gods *goodnesse.*

THe godly doe also perceyue to theyr profite, that the goodnesse of God is two wayes to be considered. For firste he is good generally towards all, declaryng his goodnesse bothe vnto good and euill, as we may see in Matthew. Which maketh his Sunne to shine vpon the good and euill. And in the Psalme, where the Prophete sayth: The Lorde is good vnto all and prouideth for al, not only the elect, but the reprobate also, not onely for man but for beasts also: by this all things be conserued, therfore was ỹ sayde in the Psalme, The earth is full of Gods goodnesse, and in an other place: Lorde thou sauest both man and beast, like as thou hast multiplyed thy goodnesse O God. This goodnesse godly folke doe consider not without wōder, for they can finde neyther middle nor ende thereof.

Secondly, God is specially and peculiarly good towardes the elect, faythfull, godly, and iuste persons. This goodnesse of God the Prophete doth auaunce, saying: Surely God is good vnto Israell, to such as haue a cleane harte, by whiche wordes he bothe not denie the generall goodnesse of God in prouidyng for all,

of whiche hæ speaketh in the. cxlv. Psalme. But hæ dothe prayse this speciall goodnesse whereby he dothe specially embrace the faithful folke. Suche is the nature of true goodnesse, that it dothe generally will well vnto all, and yet withall beare a speciall fauour vnto some. A good householder dothe louyngly imbrace his whole household, and generally prouyde for them all, wyfe, children, seruauntes and catteil also, and is gladde if they all doe well, and yet for all that there is nothyng to the contrary, but that he may beare a speciall affection of good will towardes hys wyfe and chyldren, or to some of his chyldren, lyke as Iacob did aboue the reste more louingly embrace Ioseph. And Christe hymselfe did in a generall goodnesse loue all hys Disciples, and yet for al that, hee had a certayne speciall loue towardes John.

The vse of this consideration is to declare the generall goodnesse of God, to all mennes admiration, and thereby to be stirred the soner and the more assuredly to committe all our thyngs vnto hys prouidence. Whereof Christe dothe admonishe vs in Matthew: Loke vppon the byrdes of the ayre, and the flowers of the fielde, &c. And that wee embrace this speciall goodnesse with a speciall confidence also, not as strangers, but as of the householde of God, and that wee applie our selues in all poynts vnto hym, and loke for the heauenly good thyngs the more assuredly, and endeuour our selues that wee be not founde vnworthy of so exceeding a grace.

Matth. 6.

Hovv many vvayes vve doe offende againit the goodnesse of God.

It is a grieuous offece to sinne against the goodnesse of God.

I Thinke no man will denie, but that our saluation doth depende vpo the goodnesse of God. Wherfore there cā be no greater mischief than outragiously to offende agaynst the same. It is a sore poynt to sinne against the glory & Maiestie of God, as the obstinate & proude persons do, but yet that sinne is more vntollerable, whē the goodnesse of God is misused & angered. Therfore it shall be nedefull to note by the way, howe many wayes mē may offend against it. Neyther will wee scrupulously search out this sinne, but we will note only the generall sortes thereof, and these be, contempt, the mistrust and abusing of Gods goodnesse.

The contempt of God.

1 First, the corruption of mannes harte is ready to set at light, & dispise them whome we do perceyue to be good, yea & gentle, & slow vnto anger, and reuenge, & in the meane season we doe feare & haue alwayes in our eyes and regard them, whom we do finde cruell, seuere, and ready to reuenge. So good Princes be conteined of theyr subiects, gentle Scholemaysters of their scholers, kinde parents of their children, and fauorable husbands of theyr wiues. So peruerse & frowarde a disposition and nature wee haue, that the same which should make the more loue and obedience, maketh contempte, and this frowardnes is most abhominable of al, when it is vsed towardes God himselfe. For the more gentle and fauorable the goodnesse of GOD is towardes vs, in that he doth not immediatly

diatly punish the offenders, but doth patiently abyde vs vntill we doe amende, and doth fauorably receyue vs when we doe amende, and forgiueth our sinnes, so muche the more we ought to be moued vnto amendment, and to estéme and set much by his goodnesse whiche is great. But now we be so farre from beyng moued vnto any amendement, by any regarde of Gods goodnesse, that wee rather take occasiō thereof to despise so good and fauorable a God.

Rom. 2.

This frowardnesse the Apostle dothe attribute vnto the hardnesse of harte that can not repent, & doth earnestly shake vp such cōtemners, saying: Thinkst thou this O mā, which iudgest others which do such things and doest the same thy self, that thou shalt escape the iudgement of God? or doest thou despise the riches of his goodnesse, sufferance and gentlenesse, not knowing ỹ the goodnesse of God doth prouoke thée vnto repentance? but accordyng vnto thy stubbernesse & harte whiche can not repent, thou doest heape vp to thy selfe anger, in the day of anger, &c. So that the Apostle thought this sirste manner of offending agaynst Gods goodnesse, worthy to be rebuked with so sore taunts & threatning, & worthily. For what can be more peruerse and frowarde, than to despise that whiche with all desire we ought to seke for and to embrace? & what can be more grieuouse than to heape vp to our selues the anger of God agaynst the day of displeasure?

Mistrust.

2 Secondly, we do offende agaynst the goodnesse of God, in mistrusting, and herein we bee also very euerywhere. For we do oftentimes credite one an other, and yet doe very hardely credite God, whereas not withstanding all men be liers & also euil, & God onely is both good & true. Euery man is false sayth the Prophet, and none is good but God onely sayth our sauiour, as wee noted before. I beseech you what can be done more frowardly? Malice & falshode findeth credite with vs, but Gods goodnesse and truth can finde none at al, or very hardly & with much adoe. Men beleeue not God, of whom it cā not be sayde, that he is euil and vntrue, & we do beleeue man, of whom is bothe meste truely reported, that he is naught, and vntrue.

And who cā sufficiently way and consider howe great wrong there is in this matter done vnto the goodnesse of God? & how great an offence it is in his sight? If you consider the nature of goodnesse, you shall finde it to be suche, specially in God, that as ready as it is to doe good, so muche it dothe also specially require that men haue a good opinion and confidence in it. So that there can no more spitefull and grieuous thyng come vnto GOD, that when any man doth doubt in any poynt of his goodnesse, wherof he doth so earnestly desire to haue al men fully perswaded. He dothe good vnto all & that a thousande wayes: he dothe promise vnto the which do beleue in him, al maner of good things, & requireth to be called vpō in our necessities: he spareth suche as doe offend him, and calleth them vnto amendment, and promiseth vnto suche as doe amende, forgiuenesse of their sinnes: by al which matters he dothe moste manifestly expresse the nature of true goodnesse,

and

and giueth to vnderstande, that there is nothyng more acceptable vnto him, than if we depende in a sure cõfidence vppon his goodnesse, and on the other side that there is nothyng more grieuous and displeasant vnto hym, than when we refuse to be perswaded to put our truste in him, hauyng so many experiments & proues of his goodnesse. This mistrust is a declaration of a naughty harte, and who so euer haue so, they can by no benefites be brought vnto a god vpright confidence and truste. Wherefore men doe this way also enormiously offende agaynst the goodnesse of God.

The abusing of gods goodnesse.

3 The thirde way, and in a plaine contrary sorte, they doe offende agaynst the goodnesse of God, whiche be in deede voyde of mistrust, but doe so preposterously presume vppon it, that though they liue neuer so euill, yet neuertheles they doe truste to be saued by it, and vpon this confidence & boldnesse, do sinne more carelesly, for that that they thynke it not possible, that so great a goodnesse as is reported of God, should condemne any man vnto euerlasting fire, though he sinne neuer so much. They consider nothyng of him, but that he is moste highly good, yea very goodnesse it self: and this is true, but yet withal God is so good, that he is also a iust iudge. True goodnesse dothe not exclude iustice, and iustice is not contrary vnto goodnesse, but vnto naughtinesse, and so we may right well say, God is good, *Ergo*, he is not euill. It followeth not when we say, God is good, that therefore he will condemne no man. Goodnesse is not without reason in God, such as there is in fruitefull trées, whiche doe yelde their fruites indifferently vnto all, not for their aboundance of goodnesse, but bycause they doe lacke the reason of discretion and difference. The goodnesse in God is not after that sorte. For whereas he doth generally prouide and care for all things, he dothe this not in a lack of reason, but in a certayne exceedyng aboundance of goodnesse, wherevnto for all that, is adioyned a conuenient discretion, wherby he doth dispence and bestow vpõ euery man, asmuch, when, how, and as long as he listeth. He wil not haue his goodnesse despised, hee will not haue it dyrue into doubte, he will not haue it abused in a preposterous and rash confidence. God occupieth bothe his handes alike: with one he bestoweth hys benefites, and in the other he holdeth a rodde to punishe the contemners, mistrustfull, and the abusers of his goodnesse. On the one hande, he is passyng measure good, on the other, he is sterne and terrible. The Apostle dyd set forth both to be considered of vs, the goodnesse and the seuerenesse of God, whē he sayd, See therefore the goodnesse and the seuerenesse of God: his seuerenesse towardes them whiche fell, his goodnesse towardes thée, if thou continue in his goodnesse. Wherefore they bée but halfe sighted in mynde, which do consider in God eyther his seueritie onely with the Marcionites, or else his goodnesse onely with these abusers thereof. But the wise & discrete mynister of Goddes worde, will bée well ware, that he will not set forth the seuerenesse of God, vnto the carefull and ouercaste mindes, whereby they might haue occasion more and more to dispeyre of theyr saluation, neyther will he preache and declare how good God is vnto them whiche be careleste, and such as do perswade themselues, and other when they doe sinne, that all is safe & well through the great goodnesse of God, whereby they may yet sinne the more carelesly and boldely. Like as goodnesse and seuerenesse, be two sundry things in GOD, so mens mindes do differ, of whiche some be desperate and some to bolde. So that the minister muste with cõuenient discretiõ teach some, how seuere God is towardes them, whiche doe not repent, and some hée must perswade as effectually as he can, that God is exceedingly good, kanozable and mercyfull, towardes all them whiche doe amende and desire to be forgyuen. And thus haue wée spoken of ỹ goodnesse of God, so much as may profite them which do desire to apply themselues vnto it.

Of vnlike the generall prouidence of God.

God is of both hãdes.

Rom. 11.

Goodnesse cannot bee without loue.

Matth. 5

The vnlike dome and discretiõ of the faythfull minister of Christe.

Goodnesse in God is not without reason.

Of the Louingnesse of God towards Man.

THe holy Scripture doth not only attribute goodnesse vnto God, but loue also: besides that the nature of goodnesse is such, that lyke as fire can not be without warmth, so the goodnesse can not be without loue. Wherefore the matter it selfe séemeth to require, that after wée haue spoken of the goodnesse of God, we shoulde consequently also speake of his loue. For they be so naturally linked togither, that the one doth immediatly folow the other. Wherefore the Apostle also, when he would cõmende the loue of God declared in Christe Iesu, hée did place his goodnesse before, saying: But whē the goodnesse, and loue of God our sauiour appeared, &c. So he did sette forth the goodnesse and loue of God, to be ioynly considered in the worke of our redemption, and why he did so, we will declare hereafter when the place serueth for it in this treatie.

Whether that Loue do agree vnto God.

FIrst we must consider whereas Loue is attributed vnto God, whether that the same may agrée vnto the Maiestie of God or no. For if wée consider the affection of loue, whereby he whiche loueth, is wholy drawen vnto the seruice of him whō he loueth, so that he dothe séeme to pertayne more vnto him whome hée loueth than to his own self, it should séeme that loue dothe not agrée vnto his Maiestie, who as he is Lorde of all, so for the estate of his Maiestie, he is most frée of all. Besides that, if we do cõsider the goodnesse of God not seuerally, but ioynly with his Maiestie, it séemeth to be rather conuenient that it shoulde be loued and serued, than that it should loue and be bounde vnto him whome it dothe loue. These thinges may be imagined, when we haue respect vnto the most excellent Maiestie of the Godhead, and those affections of loue, bée attributed vnto God when he dothe loue, whiche doe chaunce vnto man when man loueth.

Therefore let vs conſider, what is to be conſidered in this matter, firſt of the Maieſtie of God, ſecõdly, of his goodneſſe ſeuerally, and then ioyntly, and thirdly, how mens affections be attributed vnto God.

No vile thing to be attributed vnto God.

1 Firſte, it is conuenient in any wiſe, that we do attribute vnto gods Maieſtie, no baſe, nor vile thing, no bonde of ſeruice vnto any, but all things moſt principal, high, excellẽt, free and Godly. Now the holy Scripture doth attribute vnto it, loue. For ſo God loueth the worlde (ſayth the onely begotten of God) that he gaue his ſonne, &c. And in ỹ firſt epiſtle of Iohn: Let vs loue God, for almuche as he loued vs firſte, yea God ſayth he, is loue: ſo ỹ loue is no baſe, vile and ſeruile matter, but rather hygh, excellent, free, and not vnmete for the Maieſtie of God. It is altogither more noble & prayſe worthy to loue, than to be loued: like as to doe good alſo, is more godly and noble than to receyue a good turne. And who will ſay, that it is vnfit for God to be loued, whereas he doth requyre it of his people, ſaying: Thou ſhalte loue thy Lorde God with all thy harte, and all thy ſoule, and al thy ſtrength: &c. So that if the ſame whiche is of leſſe commendation be not miſlyked of the Maieſtie of God, how ſhoulde he deſpiſe that, whiche is a more excellent thing, and deſerueth more cõmendation? Should a kyng diſdayne to loue his ſubiectes, becauſe that he is in much higher eſtate than they: whereas this vertue when it is ſoũd in a kyng, doth purchaſe hym more prayſe, than if he be exceedingly beloued of his ſubiects. So that the excellencie of Maieſtie dothe nothyng

1. Ioh. 4.

hinder the nature of God, but that loue may well become it, and well agree withall.

The nature of goodneſſe.

2 Secondly, if wee do conſider the goodneſſe of GOD, there is almoſte nothyng that dothe better agree vnto it, than the loue whiche ſeemeth to ſpryng out of the ſame. For lyke as the nature of naughtineſſe is ſuche, that the proper qualitie thereof is to hate all things, and to be maliciouſly diſpoſed towardes all menne, ſo the nature of goodneſſe is contrarywiſe, ſo that it is the propertie therof to loue, and to be kindely diſpoſed towardes all. Wherefore either we muſt firſte bereaue goodneſſe frõ the nature of God, or elſe therewithall attribute loue vnto him. For the one cãnot be ſequeſtred from the other, becauſe of theyr naturall and vnſeparable coniunction.

The coniunction of goodneſſe & maieſtie in God.

But if you conſider the goodneſſe and Maieſtie of God ioyntly, I beſeech you, what can be more agreeable for the good God and Prince of al, than to loue his ſubiects, whereas malice and Maieſtie be ioyned togither, there no doubt is more place for hatred, thã for the loue of ỹ ſubiects, which we ſee betideth in tiraũts. Let vs therefore learne on the other ſide contrary vnto that what we ought to conſider of the ioyning togither of Gods goodneſſe and his Maieſtie.

3 Thirdly, as touchyng mens affections which doe go with the loue of mã, it is not mete that we ſhould refer them vnto the nature of God in that ſorte as they be founde in menne. In the nature of man, loue dothe beleue all things, doth truſt all things, doth wepe with them which doe wepe, and is weake with them

which

whiche be weake, is it conuenient, that the lyke be referred vnto the loue of God? The Scripture dothe attribute many things vnto God by figure and ſimilitude of mans affections, whiche doe not ſo agree vnto the nature of God, as they doe vnto our nature. And yet for all that, it is not without reaſon, that it dothe ſpeake vnto menne in this wiſe of God, to apply it ſelfe vnto our capacitie. The diſcrete and godly perſon muſt wiſely make hys difference betwixt thoſe things whiche doe agree vnto the nature of God, and thoſe whiche can not agree therewithall, & in the ſpeaches of the holy ſcripture, not to wreſte the wordes, but reuerẽtly to embrace thoſe things, which he ſet forth to be vnderſtanded after the meanyng of the ſpirite.

Whiche be the kyndes of Gods Loue.

AS there is not in God a diuers and ſundry goodneſſe, ſo there is not in him a diuers and ſundry loue: but as there is in him one ſimple and ſelf ſame goodneſſe, ſo there is alſo in him one ſimple and ſelfe ſame loue. And yet that ſelf ſame loue of his, is diſtincted and ordered in his kindes. The ſelf ſame God, as touchyng the perſons of the holy Trinitie, is Father, and ſecõdly maker of all things that be, and thirdly ſauiour of mankinde. As father, he loueth his onely begotten ſonne, as creator, he loueth all things whiche he hath made, as Sauiour of mankynde, hee loueth menne: wherefore he is by the Greeke worde called φιλάνθρωπος, and this loue of hys towardes mankynde is diſtincted. For he loueth his Sonne, & generally he loueth all creatures, & al mankind, and he hath a ſingular fauour vnto them, whome he choſe vnto hym before the makyng of the worlde: and he loueth the good. One ſelfe ſame good man of a houſe, as a good huſband, doth ſpecially loue his wyfe, and as a good father he loueth his chyldren aboue others, and as a good houſeholder he loueth all hys houſehold, as a good neyghbour hee dothe vſe him louingly among hys neighbours, and generally as a good man, he loueth al men, and hateth no man: and yet for all that, as there is in him one ſelfe ſame goodneſſe, ſo there is alſo in him one ſelfe ſame vertue of diſtinction or diuiſion all one in generall, and yet ordered and diſtincted & deuided by diuers ſortes and kindes. So that by this loue we do finde fiue ſortes in ỹ loue of God, as the loue of his ſonne, the loue of his creatures, ỹ loue of mã, the loue of the elects, and the loue of the good.

Fiue ſ of loue

The firſt ſort of Gods loue.

THe Scholemen doe trauayle to determine what manner of loue of God is in the holy Trinitie, much more buſie to ſearche things hidden in the holy Trinitie, than furniſhed to open thoſe thynges whiche bee ſet forth in the holy Scriptures. And herein theyr queſtions be, whether the Father and the Sonne doe loue one an other in the holy Spirite: and whether that loue be eſſentiall, or intellectuall or of propertie: and giuen & recompenſed? The Maſter of the ſentences dothe moue a queſtion of the mutuall loue of the

Father

The loue of the ſon of God.

Father and the Sonne, which for al that he dothe playnely confeſſe, that he is not able to expounde & declare. Therfore let vs leaue the ſcrupuloſitie of the Scholemen, and fall to the ſimplicitie of the holy ſcriptures.

1 Iohn.5. That the Father loueth the Sonne, the Sonne himſelfe dothe teſtifie, where he ſayth: The Father loueth the Sonne. And: Therfore the Father loueth me. And agayne: Like as the Father loueth me, ſo I doe loue you alſo. Thou haſt loued them, as thou haſt loued me, and that the loue wherby thou loueſt me, be in them, and I alſo in them. And the Father hymſelfe dothe teſtifie, that he loueth his Sonne, ſaying from heauē: This is my beloued ſonne, heare him. And whē Iohn Baptiſt heard this voice from heauen, then Chriſte himſelfe teſtified alſo and ſayde: The Father loueth the ſonne, and hath giuen him all things into hys handes. Thus much we haue in the Scriptures of the Goſpell, whereby wē be ſimply taught, and without al ſcrupuloſitie, that the ſonne is loued of the father. And that the Father is alſo beloued agayne of his ſonne, it is chiefly declared by that, that the ſonne became obedient vnto him, vnto the death of the croſſe. So the ſonne himſelf ſaid: But to the intēt that the worlde may knowe that I loue my father, and that as my father hath giuen me cōmaundement ſo I doe: Ariſe, let vs goe hence. And howe muche good it doth to the confirmatiō of our faith, if wē doe abſolutely and without doubte beleeue, that Chriſte the onely begotten of God is loued of the father, wē haue declared in an other place in our Commentaries vpon

1 Iohn.10. Iohn.15.

Iohn.17.

Iohn.14.

John, where wē haue noted ſuche things as do belong vnto this conſideratiō of the loue of God, touching his ſonne, whiche we make the firſt ſorte and kinde of the loue of God.

The ſecond ſorte of the Loue of God.

The loue of creatures in God. Gen.1.

THis is the loue wherin God as creator loueth al his creatures, in as much he created them all very good at the beginnyng, accordyng vnto that: And God ſawe all thyng that he had made, and they were very good. Bothe theſe ſhoulde be farre from the nature of God, if he ſhould eyther make euill things, and loue them after they were made: eyther make good things, and not loue them when they were made: Neyther is it to bee imagined, that he loued hys workes at that tyme when he firſte made them, and that afterwardes this loue decayed by the proceſſe of ſo many hundred yeares, and fell to be a lothſomeneſſe. God forbid. For the loue of God is as immutable, as his very nature and goodneſſe is immutable. Neither doth it hinder this loue at all, that the creature is ſubiect vnto vanitie and bōdage of corruption. For whatſoeuer it is, it is his worke, for he made it ſubiect vnto vanitie, by his moſte wiſe and vnſearchable purpoſe vnto vs. For the Apoſtle dothe not ſay ſimply, Eache creature is vayne, but each creature is ſubiecte vnto vanitie: And he abideth not willingly, bycauſe of him who made it ſubiecte in hope. Of whiche wordes wē haue noted in our Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle vnto the Romaines. Therefore it

The loue of God not changed into lothſomneſſe.

Rom.8.

it is not without reaſon, that the author of the booke of Sapience ſayth in this wiſe: Thou loueſt all things that be, & hateſt none of thoſe things which thou haſt made.

Of this place there is double profite to be taken, for firſt it ſerueth to this intent, that we alſo in reſpect ỹ we be his creatures, may beléeue that wo be eſtéemed & well regarded of him. Secondly, that we conſider vpon the vſing of the creatures, that we vſe thē not after our fleſhly luſte, or handle any of them after an euill demeanour, for that cā not pleaſe the creator of them, of whom they be loued as his workmanſhip. It is incredible to ſée, howe greate an abuſe of the creatures foloweth of that, that there be very fewe whiche conſider them to be the workemanſhippe of God, and to be beloued of him.

The thirde ſorte of the Loue of God.

THis we ſayde is ỹ loue towards man, wherin he loueth ſpecially aboue other creatures all mankinde in generall, which fauour is worthy of al reuerence and admiration. If it were reported of God that he loueth his Angels, it were no great wōder, bycauſe of the heauenly nature, puritie, excellēcie and eſtate of the Angels. And yet for all that it is in no place of Scriptures ſo ſayde, that he loueth his Angels, as he is declared to loue man. Surely he loueth his Angels which he created, and would haue thē to bée his ſpecial miniſters: but hée loueth men aboue them, and therefore hée would rather be called the louer of men, than the louer of Angels, he made mā euen at the beginning like vnto his owne image, & adorned him to the likeneſſe of God, & ſet him aboue all other creatures, which ſpeciall dignitie, and worthyneſſe doth alſo declare his ſpecial loue vnto man. We call him commonly a horſemaiſter, whiche taketh pleaſure in breeding, & bringyng vp of horſes, & taketh ſuche delite in the race, that neglecting all other paſſimes he gyueth himſelfe wholy thereunto. So God is called the man louer, for bycauſe he hath not giuē ſo great worthineſſe vnto Angels, nor to any other of his creatures, as he hath giuen vnto man. This loue of God towards man the Prophet tōſidered in the viij. Pſalme, where with an admiratiō he crieth out, ſaying: What is man that thou arte mindefull of him, and the ſonne of man that thou doeſt viſite him? and thou haſt diminiſhed him a litle from GOD, thou haſte crowned him with glory and honour. Thou haſte made him ruler ouer all the workes of thy handes, & layde all vnder his féete, all ſhéepe and oxen, and the cattell of the fielde the foules of the ayre, and the fiſh of the ſea, whiche do paſſe the trades of the ſeas. O Lord our Lord, how noble is thy name in the whole earth? In which wordes his conſideration is bente wholly vnto thoſe thyngs whiche we reade in Geneſis, of the creation and glorifying of manne. Wherein is declared the firſt argument of Gods lowe towardes man: whereof we haue ſpoken in our Cōmentaries vpon Geneſis and vpon the Pſalmes.

Pſalm.8

Gen.1.

2 The ſecond argument of Gods loue towardes mankinde is, that

The ſecod argument of Gods loue towards mā.

he forſoke vs not after our fall, whē we were worthy to haue had bene forſaken and loſte, but dothe ſo prouide for vs in all poyntes, that wee haue not only wherewithall to liue, but alſo to liue well and orderly, whiche parte of his loue wee may rightly call the prouidence of God toward vs. That ſame the Prophet doth touche in two wordes, when he ſayth. That thou arte mindefull of him, and that thou doeſt viſite hym, and he meaneth nothyng elſe thereby but the ſpeciall prouidence of God, wherein he declareth himſelfe to be carefull of the eſtate and caſe of meane. And the Apoſtle in the Actes, dothe by the way touche this prouidence, for aſmuch as was conuenient for the Gentiles. And how ſpeciall a care he had of the Iſraelites the holy Scriptures doe teſtifie, and Moſes doth knit it vp in few wordes, ſaying, the portion of God is his people, and Iacob the corde of hys inheritaunce, he founde hym in a deſerte lande, in a place of terroure and waſte of wildernelſe, he brought hym aboute and taught hym, and kepte hym as the ball of his eye. Like an Eagle enticeyng his young ones to flie, and as hée flewe ouer them, hée couered them with his wings, and he lifted him vp and caried him vpon his ſhoulders. But this matter of Gods prouidence towardes mankinde is ſo infinite, that we may better expreſſe the ſame in one worde than in many bookes, if we ſay from our harte that GOD hath care of vs.

Act. 14. & 17.

Deut. 32.

3 The third argument of Gods loue towardes man is moſte excellent, and wonderfull paſſyng the capacitie of all mans wiſedome. This was declared in the diſpenſation, and beſt owyng vpon vs of the word incarnate, wherein God was made man, to the ende that man ſhoulde bée annuncied into the felowſhippe of Gods nature. The worde (ſayth he,) was made fleſhe, and dwelte in vs, and wée ſawe his glory, as the glory of the onely begotten from the Father, full of grace, and truthe. The truthe and excellencie of the loue of God towards man, could haue bene declared by no more euident argument, than by the incarnation of the worde, where God taking vpon him not the nature of Angels, but of mā, was made not an Angel but a man. Could there haue betided any greater dignitie vnto our nature by the loue of God towardes man, than to be perſonally and bodily ioyned vnto the nature of God, in the onely begotten ſonne of God? Man could not haue drawen any nérer vnto the Godhead, vnleſſe he had bene altogither chaūged into it. Which had not bene conuenient for the natures neither of God nor of man.

The third argument of the loue of God towardes man.

4 The fourth argument of the loue of God towardes man, is in the death of the onely begotten, whereunto he was deliuered for the redēption of our kynde. For aſmuche as chyldren ſayth the Apoſtle, hath to doe with fleſhe, and bloud, he was alſo likewyſe made partaker of them, to the intent that by his death, hée might abolithe him, who had the rule of death, that is the Diuell, &c. And whereupon came this? In this ſaith Iohn appeared the loue of God towardes vs, that hée ſent his ſonne into the worlde to be the propitiation for our ſinnes. And the Apoſtle: God (ſayth he) doth ſette forth hys loue towardes vs in that, that when we were yet ſinners, Chriſte died for vs. If God be for vs, who is againſt vs, who ſpared not hys owne ſonne, but gaue hym for vs al, and howe is it poſſible but that hée ſhould gyue vs all things alſo with him, &c. Who ſhal diſſeauer vs from the loue of God? And the only begotten of God himſelf ſayth: ſo God loued the worlde (ſayth he) that he gaue his onely begotten ſonne, that euery one whiche beléeueth in him, ſhoulde not periſh, but haue life euerlaſting. So that by the worlde he meaneth all mankynde.

The fourth argument of Gods loue towardes man.

Hebr. 2.

1. Iohn 4.

Rom. 5.

5 The fifte argument of Gods Loue towards man, is in the diſpenſation or diſtributyng of our redēption, wherein is comprehended the generall callyng, in that by the Goſpell of his kyngdome he calleth all the nations of the whole worlde vnto the heauenly grace, and promiſeth euerlaſtyng lyfe vnto all that doe beléeue in hys ſonne. The Prophete when hée woulde ſet forth the grace and fauour of God ſpecially declared vnto the Iſraelites, hée cried out he hath not done the lyke to any nation, and wée may iuſtely crie out hée hath not done the lyke vnto the Iſraelites onely, but vnto all other nations of the worlde alſo. Thus much briefly of the thyrde parte of Gods loue, which we called the loue of mankinde.

The fifte argument of Gods loue.

The fourth kynde of Gods Loue.

WE doe call this that Loue of God, wherein he doth ſpecially loue them, which be choſen to be his flocke, and to the adoption of chyldren, before the eſtablithment of the worlde, as wée may ſée in the firſte and ſecond chapter to the Epheſians, where he ſayth: For his great loue whereby he loued vs, &c. And to the Romaines: I loued Iacob, and hated Eſau. In this loue we doe alſo comprehende al the reſt of things, which by it dothe befall to the elect in the matter of our ſaluation, as predeſtination, calling, the gifte of faith, and of the ſpyrite, iuſtification, regeneration, and renewyng of our mynde and lyfe. In déede the Apoſtle dothe referre all theſe thyngs vnto the goodneſſe and loue of God, where as hée ſayth vnto Titus: But after that the goodneſſe and loue of God our Sauiour appeared, hée ſaued vs not by the workes of righteouſneſſe whiche wée had done, but through hys mercy, by the bathe of regeneration and renewyng of the holye Spirite, whiche hée powred out vpon vs abundantly by Ieſu Chriſte our Sauiour, to the ende, that beyng iuſtified by his grace, we ſhould be made heyres accordyng vnto the hope of euerlaſtyng life, &c. So that in déede thoſe thyngs whiche hée rehearſeth here, doe not belong vnto the generall loue of God towardes manne, but vnto the ſpeciall loue of the elects, as ſaluation, regeneration, and renewyng by the holy ſpirite: iuſtification, and the inheritaunce of euerlaſtyng life. For thoſe matters doe appertayne to the electes onely, whiche onely be alſo partakers of the ſame.

Eph. 1

Tit. 3

The fifte kinde of Gods Loue.

The loue of God to vvards the good. 2.Cor.9.

This we sayde, is the Loue of the good, bycause that they bee good. So he loueth a pleasant giuer. And I doe call good, the iuste, honest, gentle, meeke, milde, and mercifull, &c. all whiche he loueth in that, that they be suche as louing of true goodnesse, beyng himselfe most good. For it is not possible but that he whiche is good, muste loue goodnesse, and exceedingly delite in them that be good, for the goodnesse sake, accordyng vnto our old saying, Like to like.

VVhether that the cause come of vs vvhy vve be loued of god.

But you wil say: Ergo, there is occasion ministred vnto God from vs, wherfore he dothe loue vs, so that it cōmeth more of our deserte, than of his goodnesse & grace, that he loueth vs. How then did he loue vs before we were borne? How when we were yet sinners, and nothyng lesse than good? And he we dothe the Apostle set not our goodnesse, but Gods, before his loue? yea he sayth expresly, Not of the workes which we haue doue, but accordyng vnto his mercy hee hath saued vs, if God doe loue the good, bycause that they be good?

Howv God loueth the good.

I answere, these points be not cōtrary one to an other. The loue of God whereby we be saued, hath no cause of oures, but of his goodnesse. Wherefore the Apostle did of purpose sette his goodnesse before, as the cause of hys loue towardes man, to the intēt that nothing herein might be ascribed vnto our strength. For this principall and originall loue of God, whiche commeth of no other but of his goodnesse, by which we bee made good when wee be euill, dothe not hinder the disposition and nature of goodnesse in God, but that he may also loue the good, which he himselfe maketh good by his spirite. For hee which of his infinite goodnesse dothe loue vs without cause, howe shoulde not he loue vs yet the more, taking a cause to loue vs? He which is so good to loue vs before we be yet good, how should he not loue vs the more when we be made good? He whiche loueth vs whē we be yet vngodly, will surely loue vs ẏ more whē we be godly. He whiche loueth his enimies and backe friēds, who wil not beleue, but that he wil loue his friends & felows in house? Doth not the couetous mā esteeme the siluer before it be fined and tried? & who doubteth but that he wil sette more store by it, if it bee once tried & fined? Wherefore there is no reason that eyther bycause of the incōparable loue of God, the occasion whereof is not in ours, but in his goodnesse, as wee sayde we should deuie the loue of God towardes the good, and thynke it in vayne, to folowe goodnesse, and iustice, eyther bicause of the loue of God towardes the good, to refuse the grace of Gods loue towardes man, by whiche onely wee be saued, and attribute the causes of our saluation not vnto hym, but vnto our owne rightuousnesse.

The loue of God to be considered of vs tvvo vvayes.

Therefore we muste consider the loue of God towardes vs in two respectes. Firste in respecte that he loueth vs of his owne meere goodnesse, vpon no cause receyued of vs, not only as the worke of his hands, but also as menne, whiche hee loueth peculiarly aboue all other hys creatures, and not as men onely, but as elect, whome he chose vnto hym not

not yet borne, before the makyng of the worlde, and whome he redeemed by the death of hys onely begotten sonne, and iustified and saued by his free mercy: in al which thyngs there is none of our owne whereupon wee may glory, but lyke as wee be altogither the worke of his handes, so al our life also, all our conseruation, redemption, iustification, and saluatiō, dothe depende vpon his franke and free loue.

The sayth of Gods loue dothe take vvay all doubte.

1 This first consideration of the loue of God towardes man, if it be earnest and assured, and taken in the liuely and true sense thereof, dothe wipe cleane out of our hartes all doubte of our saluation, so that wee may boldely say with the Apostle, What then? If God be of our side, who is agaynst vs? who did not also spare his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all, how will he not also gyue vs all things with him? Who shall make complaynt agaynst the electes of God? It is God whiche dothe iustifie, who is it that can condemne? It is Iesus christ which is dead, yea which is also risen vp againe, which is at the right hande of God, whiche doth also make meanes for vs.

It maketh vs vnseparable from the loue of God.

2 Secondly, it shal make vs vnseparable from so exceedyng loue of God, so that wee can not be drawen from it by any aduersitie, & that wee may say with the Apostle: Who thē shall seperate vs from the loue of God? trouble or daunger, famine, nakednesse, perill, persecution, or the sworde? as it is written: For thy sake we be mortified all the day, we be esteemed as sheepe to the slaughter, but in all these we haue the vpper hande, bycause of him whiche loued vs. For I am faste and sure, that neyther death, nor lyfe, neyther Angels, principates nor powers, neyther things instant, nor things to come, neither might nor height, nor death, neyther any other creature is able to separate vs from the loue of God, whiche is in Christe Iesu our Lorde.

It make vs to lo God.

3 Thirdly, it shal binde vs also in a coūter-loue vnto our louyng God, to loue him againe with al our hart, whereunto his cōmaundement doth also call vs, and the aduice of the Apostle, which saith: Let vs loue God, for asmuch as he loued vs firste.

VVha faith o loue of to the doth v in vs.

The loue of God is to be considered of vs the seconde way, in respect that he loueth the good, iust, faithfull and obedient persons vnto hym, &c. not that he loueth none but such, but that he loueth suche yet so much the more. This consideratiō shal worke thus in vs, that we shal wel employ the grace of Gods loue once receyued, and become the more studious in all kynde of goodnesse, godlinesse & iustice, knowyng that it is specially required of vs, that the more benefits we do receyue of God, not deseruing any, yea rather deseruing euil, & that we receiue thē by his only loue, we may so much the more studie to be thankefull towardes him, and to make vs the meeter to receyue hys loue towardes the good.

Of that vvhiche the Scholemen doe say, that man knovveth not whether he be worthy of Loue or of Hate.

For asmuch as we be fallen into this matter, we cā wade no further

ther vnleſſe we do firſt conſider that Schole point, where they do vphold, that the Chriſtian manne dothe not know whether that he be worthy of the hatered or loue of God, but that it ſhall appeare at length in the world to come: whiche doctrine they ſuppoſe is grounded vppon the ninth chapiter of the Eccleſiaſtes, where the olde tranſlation is thus: There be iuſte, and there bee wiſe, and their workes be in the hande of God, and yet for all that, manne knoweth not whether that he be worthy of loue or hate, but all things be reſerued vncertayne, vntill the time to come. Vppon this they doe gather, that no man can be aſſured of the grace and loue of God, & of his ſalvation, but by ſome ſpeciall reuelation, whiche happeneth vnto the perfecteſt ſorte, and how farre this doctrine is wide from the truthe: and howe pernicious it is, we will firſte ſée, and then we will way the place of the Eccleſiaſtes.

Eccle.9.

That God requireth of vs a good truſt in him out of the old Teſtament.

1 Firſt, the whole ſcripture doth teſtifie, that God doth chiefly require this of his people, that they haue a clére harte towardes him, and that they boldly truſt for nothing but the beſt at his grace. Thereof commeth that aſſuredneſſe of couenant, wherein he promiſeth that he will be the God of his people and of their ſéede, to teſtifie vnto them moſte aſſuredly, his good wil and ſpeciall loue. And therfore be ſo many promiſes in the holy Scriptures, ſo many ſignes and ſtrange tokés, ſo many benefits and good turnes, whereby hée woulde make them moſte aſſured of his good will. And wherefore was all this done, but bicauſe he loued them. For they whiche do loue, ſtande all vpon this poynt, to make theyr loue many wayes moſte certayne, and out of all doubte vnto them whome they doe loue. And of this loue of God, Moſes dothe admonith the people where he ſayth: God hath not ioyned himſelf vnto you, neyther hath choſen you bycauſe that you doe paſſe all other nations in number, whereas you be the feweſt of all peoples, but bicauſe the Lorde loueth you, and kéepeth his othe, whiche he ſwore vnto your Fathers. And againe: The Lordes people is a péece of him, and Jacob is the lande or corde of his inheritance, &c. Which place we alleaged alſo before, and therevpon came that continuall trauayle and endeuor of the Prophetes, in that they dyd beate ſtill into the heads of the Iſraelites this loue of God, wherevpon they did ſometimes alſo put them in remembrance of the couenant, & ſometimes they made it a bonde of wedlocke betwirt God and them, as we may perceyue in Ezechiel. And Eſay dothe compare the loue of God towardes his people, vnto the loue of a mother whē ſhe doth moſt tenderly embrace the chylde of hir owne bodie. Which loue is commonly the ſtrongeſt of al others, yea and he dothe preferre it before this loue, when he ſayth: Can a woman forgette hyr babe, and not haue pitie vppon the chylde of hyr owne wombe? yea although ſhe doe forget it, yet for all that I will not forget thée. And Dauid compareth it vnto a fatherly loue, ſaying: Like as the father hath pitie vpō his children, ſo God hath pitie vpon them whiche do feare him, for as much as he knoweth our making. And Moſes ſayth:

Deuter.7.

Deut.32.

Ezechiel.

Eſay.49.

Pſalm.103.

ſayth: God himſelf calleth his people Iſraell his onely begotten ſonne. Of whence and to what purpoſe is all this, if the Eccleſiaſtes would haue a man not to be aſſured and certaine of the loue of God? Shall we beleue, that he woulde be contrary vnto ſo many teſtimonies of the loue of God? but theſe be ſufficient prooues out of the old Teſtament.

Next, if we will conſider the qualitie and conditiō of the new Teſtament, we ſhal find that the Chriſtian faith and religion can beare nothing leſſe than this doubtyng of Goddes Loue. For firſte of all, what is the Fayth of Chriſtian folke? Is it not an aſſured grounde of things to bée hoped for, and an euident cōcepuyng of thyngs not apparant, wherby wée doe certainely beléeue, that we be redéemed by the bloud of Chriſte, and that we be made the chyldren and heyres of God by his grace and loue onely, without any of our deſertes? If wée doe beléeue the wordes of Chriſt, we do beléeue alſo, that God ſo loued this world, that he gaue his only begotten ſonne for vs, of which loue we ſpake aſmuch before, as we thought good.

Arguments out of the new teſtament that we be loued of god.

Ephe.

Regeneration.

Rom.8.

2 Secondly, what is a Chriſtian man, but a man regenerate by the ſpirite of Chriſt? For he which hath not the ſpirite of Chriſte, he is not his, ſayth the Apoſtle. Howe can a Chriſtian manne then doubte of the loue of God towardes him, whiche beléeueth that his onely begotten is giuen for him? and whiche hath the ſpirite of grace, by the teſtimony of the whiche he is perſwaded that hée is the ſonne of God, and crieth Abba father. I pray you wherfore ſerueth al this, if we muſt yet doubte of the loue of God? what remayneth now to aſſure vs thereof? Lette it be counted for nothing, that he created vs, & gaue vs lyke, that he peiſeth vs ſofte, and beſtoweth this light vpon vs, that he heapeth vs vp vndeſerueng with ſo many giftes of ſoule & body, and of wealth alſo. I ſay, lette all this be nothyng what matter is that, that he redéemed vs, when wée were loſt? and that by his onely begotten ſonne? what is it, that he doth poure his ſpirite vpon vs? what is that that he dothe adopte vs for hys chilozē, and to be fellow heyres with his onely begotten ſonne? What is it that he hath placed vs in his ſonne at his right hande? Shal we ſay that all this is nothyng alſo?

Cō loue.

3 Thirdly, how can we loue God, if we doe doubt of his loue towards vs? For loue when it is knowen by good triall, it draweth loue againe vnto it. Who can loue him hartily, of whoſe loue againe towards himſelfe he ſtandeth in a doubt? and this is commaunded vs from God, yea and for this very cauſe it is the chief point of true godlineſſe that we loue God with al our harte, al our ſoule, & all our ſtrength. Now to what purpoſe dothe he requyre of vs to loue him, if he loue not vs? what profite, or glory thereof can turne to him, if he be a thouſand wayes loued of vncleane ſinners? What kyng woulde deſire to be loued of men, that be nothing worth? Wherevpon ryſeth it then that the Maieſtie of God will be loued of vs, vnleſſe it be, that hée firſt loueth vs? Firſte, bycauſe there cā be no other cauſe therof, but ý very loue it ſelfe, wherby he loueth vs.

Secondly, for that that we can neuer loue him aright, vnleſſe we be kindled by the feeling of his Loue.

4 Fourthly, what ſhall wée ſay of the Sacraments of our faith and religiõ, what be they elſe yea by the teſtimony of the fathers, but the viſible ſignes of the inuiſible grace? In caſe wée can not bée aſſured of the grace, to what ende did he ordeyne, & giue the vſe of the ſignes? If the Papiſts doe doubte of the grace of God vpõ what faith do they Baptiſe their infants. For how can he beleue that his childe is acceptable vnto God, whiche dothe doubte of his grace towards him? Do we not Baptiſe our children vpon this faith, wherby we doe beléeue that not only we which doe beleeue in Chriſte, but our children alſo be made partakers of the bleſſyng of God whiche is in Chriſt Jeſu? Agayne, with what fayth ſhall we vſe the Sacramente of the body and bloud of the Lord, if we be driuen to doubte of the loue & grace of God? Wherfore is it that Chriſt died for vs? wherefore is it, that he dothe féede vs with his body & bloud vnto euerlaſting life? wherfore is it, that he taketh the bread, & the cup, & offereth it vs, ſaying: Take, and eat, this is my body, which ſhal be giuen for you. Item, Take, & drinke you al of this, this cuppe is the new Teſtamẽt in my bloud, which ſhall be ſhed for you, and for many vnto the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes: except that he determined thereby to make vs faſte & ſure of the grace of God? Wherefore is it, I ſay, that he requireth of vs, that beyng mindefull of him wée ſhould cõmunicate of this bread and cuppe of his, and make report of his death with thankes giuing? Is not this the nature of loue, ỹ he deſireth to be in their remembrance, whome he doth exceedingly loue? How ſhall we giue thanks vnto our redéemer, if we do doubte of his Loue & grace? Therfore whether we do looke vnto the new or olde Teſtament, we ſhal finde nothing elſe in them bothe, but the continuall and moſt euident declaratiõ of the loue of God towards man, wherein his good pleaſure is diuers, and ſundry wayes ſet forth vnto vs, which is alſo to perceyued and taken by true Chriſtian meme, that they be well contented, conſtantly to ſuffer and beare any aduerſitie or trouble layde vpõ them any way for the ſame. Wherefore this doubte of the loue of God, whiche the Schole doctors doe dreame of, can take no place with them.

But they doe ſay, Wée doe not denie, but that the church of Chriſt, whiche is his ſpouſe, his body and fleſhe, and bone of hys bones, is aſſured of the loue of God towardes it, but wée doe ſay, that eache Chriſtian man ſeuerally, is not aſſured thereof, vnleſſe it come by ſpeciall reuelation, as by ſome Aungell, or ſome viſion, &c. I aunſwere. Howe can the Churche bée aſſured of the loue of God, if euery Chriſtian perſon particularly bée driuen to doubt thereof? What is the Churche elſe, but the bodie of the faythfull Chriſtians, wherin euery man is a member, that is a true Chriſtian. If then euery member of this body doe doubte of the loue of God towards it ſelfe, howe ſhall the whole body bée aſſured thereof. How dothe the bodie beléeue, or how is it aſſured, but in the members thereof? Howe ſhall Chriſt loue the Churche his body, if he loue not euerye member thereof? How ſhall we ſay, that a Prince doth loue his Citie, vnleſſe he do loue the Citizens all and ſingular? And how can a Citie be aſſured of the fauor of the Prince, if euery Citizen ſhall bée in doubt thereof? If euery Chriſtian man maye not in aſſured and doubtleſſe faithe applye vnto hymſelfe, the loue of Chriſte, as hée loueth hys Church, howe is it then that Paule ſayeth erpreſſly of himſelfe: I do liue in the faithe of the Sonne of God, whiche loued me, and gaue himſelfe for me? No doubte he was aſſured thereby of ỹ loue of Chriſt towards him. He doth not ſay, Gaue himſelfe for his Church, but which gaue himſelfe for me. He dothe not gather vpon the ſpeciall reuelations and viſions which he had receyued, when he was rapt into the third Heauen, but vpon a common argument, whereby the loue of Chriſte was declared generally to all the faithfull by a generall redemption, made by his deathe vpon the Croſſe, to the intente theſe doubters ſhoulde not ſay, Paule was an Apoſtle, and as an Apoſtle hée might be aſſured by ſome reuelatiõs of the grace and loue of Chriſt, which euery playne Chriſtian man can not be. He ſpeaketh not heére as an Apoſtle, but as a Chriſtian man, and he ſpeaketh not according vnto anye ſpeciall reuelation, but according vnto the Chriſtian faith, as we doe all beléeue, that the onely begotten of God is dead for vs, for ſo he ſayeth: I doe liue in the faithe of the ſonne of God, which loued vs, and gaue himſelfe for me. Wherefore in this ſaying he doth not exceéde that meaſure or proportion of faith which is common vnto all faithfull, ſo that it is but a very trifle which the doctors of doubtes, and not of faith, do teach.

They doe alleage for them the words of the Eccleſiaſtes, which we cyted before. Wherefore we muſte ſée howe it is redde and expounded according vnto the Ebrew terte. For therevnto we muſte haue recourſe, when any place of the old Teſtamẽt doth come into queſtion, as the verye Canons of the Popes do teſtifie, and as it is alleaged in the Decrées out of the words of Auguſtine. And thus it is in the Ebrewe in the end of the eyght Chapter, and in the beginning of the ninth: And I ſaw al the workes of God, that no man is able to ſearch out the reaſon of the workes of God, which be done vnder the ſunne, and that the man trauayleth in ſéeking, and findeth it not, and that albeit the wiſe man do reaſon and argue to knowe it, he can not finde it. And as when I had layd vp all thys in my heart, to ſearch out the whole, (and hére verye diſorderly they ended the eyght Chapter) that the iuſt and wiſe, and their workes be in the hande of God, yea loue alſo and hatred, man knoweth not all things whiche be before them, to euery one as to euery one, one effect, both to the iuſt, and to the wicked, and to the good and to the euil, to the cleane and to the vncleane, vnto hym whyche dothe ſacrifice, and vnto him whych dothe not ſacrifice, &c. Thus it is in the Hebrewe terte, whereby it appeareth, that whereas it is redde in the olde and vulgare Latin translation: And for all that man knoweth

not whether that he be worthye of loue or of hate, but that all thyngs be reserued vncertayne vntill hæreafter, it is contrarye vnto the words and meaning of the Ecclesiastes, for it is not in the Hebrewe, Whether that he be worthy of loue or of hate, but absolutely, Loue also, and hatered also, (he meaneth of the iust and of the wise) be in the hande of God. Neither that in the Ebrew, that is to say, All before them, or in their sight, is not as much to say, as all thinges be kepte vncertayne, vntill the tyme to come. The Gréeke text also is nothing so, for this we doe reade in the beginning of the ninth chapter: For I haue putte this all whole into my heart, and my heart hath knowen all this, that the iust and the wise, and their workes be in the hand of God, yea and their loue and hate also, and man knoweth not all the things before their face, &c. What is there redde héere also to serue the opinion of Scholemen, and the common Latine translation, which the Councell of Trident determined onely to bée kepte? nothing at all, but whosoeuer will looke vpon this whole chapiter, withall shall fynde, that the Ecclesiastes dothe meane to doe or perswade nothyng else, but that wée should beléeue, that all thinges be in the hande of God, and that there is no man though he be neuer so wyse, which is able to find a sure and substantiall reason of those things whiche be done vnder the sunne, and doe happen as well to the iust and wyse, as to the vniust and vncleane, but that all thinges be in the hande of God, both the iust and the wise, as well as their doings also, yea theyr loue and hate, that is to saye, suche things as they doe desire in their louing, and eschew in their hating. For that it hathe so pleased God, that whatsoeuer things doe belong vnto this our life, and to the lotte thereof, that they do happen as well vnto the good, as to the euill, and that for thys cause the heartes of men both of the wise also and iust, should be strengthned in faith, to beléeue that both they and their doyngs do please God, and to take well in worthe whatsoeuer things doe chance vnto them. And therefore it is that he addeth: Goe, and eate thy bread with ioye, and drynke thy wine with a merry heart, for thy workes doe please God, as though hée shoulde saye, Thou néedest not to thynke, that thou doest not therefore please God, bycause that the same thynges doe chaunce vnto thée, whyche doe chaunce vnto sinners, and wicked persons, whereas thou séest, that thys lyfe is so ordered, that the same, and suche lyke things doe befall vnto all the iust, as well as the vniust. Wherefore be of good chéere, beyng assured yet, that thou pleasest God, and that he hathe good regarde of thée, albeit that thou can not searche out, and gyue good reason for those things whyche bée done vnder the sunne, for thys is impossible and labor vtterly loste, whyche I my selfe haue tryed, and am assured that there is no manne whiche can performe anye thyng héere, &c.

Eccle. 9.

This place doth establish the certaintie of the grace and loue of God.

Thys is the true and proper sense of thys place, whyche is so farreoff from decaying any péece of the assurednesse of the grace and loue of God, that it dothe rather establish it also. For the Ecclesiastes dothe applye hymselfe wholly vnto thys, to admonishe men, that the capacitie of manne in these matters is vtterlye vayne, to the intent that we shoulde sticke in assured fayth vnto the grace and loue of God, from which peraduenture those thinges mighte trayne them, that be not circumspect, which doe commonly betyde vnto all men in this life. Then what Diuelish deprauer is he of the holye Scripture, which goeth about to turne it into a contrary sense, and picketh out suche stuffe out of the wordes thereof, as the holye spirite dothe of purpose goe aboute to pull out of the mindes of the faythfull? It is a maruellous matter to sée, howe the false translation of this place crept in, for two respectes, for that the truth of the Hebrew is neglected therein, and that those things be set forth, whych our common sense can not like and well away withall. For albeit this were graunted, that a Christian man doth not knowe, whether that of certaintie he be beloued of God or no, how can that stand, that it is said, that hée knoweth not also, whether that he be worthye of hate? What faythfull man is he whiche knoweth not that he is worthy of hate? if he shoulde bée iudged in iust iudgemente? and that woulde not confesse himselfe to bée vnworthy to be beloued of God? Holy men do knowe this, and graunt it without any dissimulation, so farre is it, that they knowe it not, and they do graunt it for the aduauncemente of the goodnesse, and grace of God, whiche they do féele to be so greate, that it dothe also like and louinglye cherishe them, whiche be most worthy of hatered.

But lette vs consider somewhat more diligentlye thys doctrine of doubte, whyche is in myne opinion most wicked, and doth excédynglye displease God. John in hys Canonicall Epistle sayeth, that GOD is loue, and who knoweth not, that this is the nature of true loue, that he whiche dothe loue, taketh it moste vnkindly, if he whome he loueth doe doubte whether he be loued or not. For he wisheth nothing more than that he should knowe, that he loueth him. Againe the benefytes of God in his loue towards vs be so many, and so greate, that we can haue no excuse for oure mistruste, if we doe not acknowledge hys loue. For what bée his commaundementes, corrections, promises, couenauntes, the incarnation of his onely begotten, and oure redemption by his bloud else, but the moste assured and euidente testimonies of the loue of God towardes man? wherefore it shall not be amisse, to consider somewhat déeper this doubt which we do féele in oure fleshe of the loue and grace of God, and to sée what manner of thing it is, and of whence it procéedeth.

Of the causes of this doubt.

That doubt meth in God.

It maketh much matter vppon what causes and occasions thys doubte of the loue and grace of God towards vs doth rise in our heartes. Therfore let vs consider of whēce ẏ same doubt riseth, whiche we doe at this present reproue. It is most certayne that it cōmeth not of God. In déede it chanceth ofte in the world, ẏ he of whose loue and good will towards vs we do doubt, doth himselfe

graue the occaſion thereof, in ſeeyng and doyng ſuche thinges, as haue no token of good will. But it is farre otherwiſe in God, who may moſt truelye ſay vnto vs: What ſhould I doe vnto you, which I haue not done. So that this doubt muſt needes come of vs, and not of God: but the cauſes thereof be diuers and ſundry.

First of all it riſeth oftentimes of that, that for ignorance of Goddes worde, we do followe the iudgemente of mans reaſon, ſo that we do deeme of the will of God towardes vs, according vnto the qualitie of ſuch ſorowfull things, as doe happen vnto vs in this life. Heere the reaſon of man ſaith: If God did loue me, hee woulde haue foreſeene, and not ſuffered me to fall into theſe troubles: at the leaſt, after I was fallen into thē, he would haue holpen me out of hād, and deliuered me out of my troubles, and herevpon doe riſe the temptations of the fleſhe and of Satan alſo, who ſaid vnto Chriſt: Thou thinkeſt that thou arte the ſonne of God, and yet thou arte forſaken of him, and haſte nothing to eate heere in the Wildernesſe: If thou wert the ſonne of God, thou wouldeſt ſay vnto theſe ſtones, Be you breade for me, and they ſhuld immediately be changed into bread. Thou fonde fole, doeſt thou thinke that God can ſo forſake hys welbeloued ſonne beeyng in Wildernesſe, that he ſhould not haue wherof to liue, vnleſſe that he would lyue of ſtones? So the wicked Iewes prated vnto Chriſt as he hong vpon the croſſe: If he be the ſonne of God, let hi n come downe from the croſſe. He truſted vppon God, let hym ſaue hym, if he haue any mind vnto hym. And Chriſt himſelfe perceyuing ſuch a matter, cryed vpon the Croſſe: My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? and Dauid ſayth: I am caſt out from the countenaunce of the Iewes. Suche thoughtes we do feele oftentimes in our fleſh, when we bee in ſorow and aduerſitie, and bee anye whyles troubled withall. Now conſider well with thy ſelfe, that in caſe theſe things doe happen vnto them, whiche do reade and vnderſtande the holye Scriptures, whiche be the witneſſes of the loue of God towardes man, how ſhall they not much more happen vnto them, which be ignorāt of the ſame, whiche muſt needes determine of the will of God towards them by mans iudgement onely, eyther their owne or others? Chriſte dothe withſtande the temptation of Satan, with the teſtimony of the holy Scripture. And the Apoſtle ſayth: Whatſoeuer things be written, bee written vnto oure doctrine, that we may be in hope through the comfort of them. Then howe be they able to withſtand ſuche temptation, whyche be vtterlye ignorāunte of the holye Scriptures? by what ſpirit then bee theſe doubte Doctors ledde, when they denye, that it is meete for the vnlearned faithfull people to reade the holy Scriptures. Do they not heerein ſerue their owne wicked deuice; in that they do deſire that there may raigne ſtill in Chriſtian mens heartes a doubt of the grace of God, to the intent they may thereby kepe in the matter of their moſte filthy gaine, and make their market of the wauering & doubtful chriſtis people?

Of incredulitie.

Secondlye it happeneth that thys doubte of the loue and grace of God doth

doth not riſe of the ignorance of the holye Scripture, but of incredulitie and lacke of beliefe. For it is not ſufficiente for vs to knowe, what the Scriptures doe tell vs of the will of God towardes vs, vnleſſe there bee faith withal to beleeue them aſſuredly in all points. He that lacketh this, though he be able to recken vppe all the ſillables and letters of al the holy Scriptures, and ſay them by hearte, yet for all that hee can bee neuer the more aſſured of the loue of God towards him, than if he were vtterlye ignorant in them. And they whiche be combered wyth thys vnbeliefe, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to make God a lyer, do deuiſe ſome other cauſes of their doubt. Who can aſſure vs, ſaye they, that theſe things were written by Moſes, by ẏ Prophetes, Apoſtles, and Euangeliſts? Againe, Though it were ſure that they were written by them, what was Moyſes? what were ẏ Prophets, and the Apoſtles? Were they not men as well as we? How can we be aſſured that it is the worde of God which they wrote? Beſydes all this, it is long agone ſynce that Moſes, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles wrote. Their writings may be corrupted by the proceſſe of ſo many hundred yeares, ſo that they may be nothing leſſe than the true copies of them which we haue. Others doe ſay: The holy Scripture is hard, and can not be vnderſtanded: and beſides that, it is ſundrye wiſe erpounded by learned men, ſo that there can be no certaynetie gotten of it. Suche talke ſome of them doe now adayes braſt out withal, whiche do thruſt into the Churches this doctrine of doubtes. Oh what honeſt men they be. They will driue vs to beleeue the traditions and writings of the fathers. For ſinuche as they without all doubt wrote by the inſtinct of the holye Spirite, and yet they do make doubtes of the holye Scriptures, as though that we alſo coulde not ſaye, and that more truelyer? What was Origen, what Chryſoſtome, what Hierome, what Ambroſe, what Auguſtine, what Gregory? I will not ſpeake of Thomas, Scotte, Bonauenture, and the reſt. Were not theſe alſo men? Coulde not they be deceyued? What be the Popes of Rome, be they not ſinfull menne? Whereof haue the Coūcels ben gathered: not of men? Agayne. It is long agone ſince theſe fathers liued, and theyr writings might be corrupted, and chaunged by ſo often writing them out, and among ſo many contentions and hereſies. Beſides this they doe write oftentimes thinges diſagreeing, and doe ſundry wiſe erpound the holye Scriptures. But this they doe not thinke vpon, which do goe about to ouerthrow that maſterſhippe and rule of the holye ſpirite, whiche wee haue in the holye Scriptures, to the intente to ſnarle and entangle vs that be ſubiecte vnto the maſterſhip and rule of menne, in makyng a doubte of them, as though we were not aſſured that they be of the holye ſpirite. And they doe not denie that there is any perſpicuitie and playnenelle in them, to the intente we ſhuld forſake them, and bee driuen as doubtfull, beeyng toſſed and tumbled with the wynde of mens traditions, opinions, and conſtitutions. Wherefore we muſt earneſtlye praye vnto God, to preſerue hys Churches in

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the knowledge of hys truthe, loue, and grace, againste the poysoned tongs of these manner of men.

Thirdlye, this doubt riseth also of ouermuch pondering and waying of oure owne weakenesse and vnableneſſe, where we saye sometymes with our selues: Albeit that I doubt not of the truthe of the promises of God, whiche the holy Scriptures do conteyne, and of the Gospell of the grace of Christ, and of the comfortes of the doctrine of the Apostles, but that I do most firmely beleeue, that Christ the Sauiour of the worlde, dyed for our sinnes, and that they which doe beleeue in him, haue life euerlasting, and be verely beloued of hym, yet for all that, when I consider my selfe what I am, how weake yet and not meete, and disposed sufficiently to enioy this grace, whyche is offered vnto him that dothe repente, beleeue, loue, and giue thankes: I cannot chose but doubte of the loue of God towardes me. For I can not otherwise conceyue of my selfe, but that I haue not yet sufficientlye repented me of my sinnes, and that I doe not yet sufficientlye beleeue, loue, &c. Wherefore as much as the truth of Christes promises doth cal me hereunto, that I should not doubt of hys loue towardes me, so much the consideration of mine owne weakenesse and vnfitnesse, doth on the other side make me doubtfull, and vncertayne, so that I can not perswade my selfe, that he dothe loue me. This doubt of Gods loue, the doubte Doctors doe confirme, within the yeare 1547. the thirteenth of January, in the Synode at Trydente concluded in thys wyse: Like as no godly person ought to doubt of the mercy of God, of the merite of Christe, of the vertue and efficacie of the Sacramentes, so euerye man when he loketh vpon hymselfe his owne weakenesse, and vndisposednesse, may feare and dread of hys grace, whereas no man is able to knowe in certaynetie of Faithe, wherein can be no falsehode, that hee hath obteyned the grace and fauor of God, This say they.

Fyrste, thankes be to God, that they do graunte, that no godly person, ought to doubt of the mearye of God, and merite of Christ. Would God they taught this earnestly and diligentely. Secondely, where as they doe teache, that a manne may feare and dread of the grace of God, if he loke vpon his owne weaknes, and vndisposednesse, goodlye folkes doe also trye thys as often as they doe consider themselues, so that there is no controuersie in thys poynte, vnlesse that they doe mystake the worde May, for to be lawfull, and not for to be possible. We do not denie, but that it is possible to be so, but we do not graunt that it is lawfull. Thirdlye, whereas they doe aode, Seeing that no man is able to know in certainetie of faith, that hee hathe obteyned the grace of God, there is most pestilent poyson, and a most shamefull lye, vnlesse that they doe speake it of themselues, so that none, shoulde be as much to saye, as none of vs. &c.

For if we doe consider what manner of menne these be, which are so compelled by the Bishop of Rome, to determine of the faith of Christians, and what their degree is of, what conditions and behauiour of life lyfe they bee of, we easily beleeue, that they can not in certaynetie of faith know that they haue obteyned the fauour of God. But he which is a faithfull & Christian man in deede, albeit in consideration of himselfe, he doubteth not, but that he is vnworthy to be loued of God, and obteyne his grace and fauor, and can not saye that ever he is stedfast, and sufficiently disposed, yet for all that being confirmed by the firme hope of the promises of Christe, and the testimonye of the holy spirite within his hearte, he doubteth not at all, but that he is loued of God, and standeth in hys grace and fauor. For this certaintie is not grounded vpon our owne worthinesse and disposition, but vpon the vnspeakeable goodnesse, loue, grace, and truth of our Sauioure, whyche consideration of oure owne vnworthinesse, and full confession thereof, doth not extinguish and decaye anye thing at all, but rather encrease and aduance the commendation of Gods grace, which is so great, ỹ it doth also embrace the vnworthye, weake, and vndisposed.

But hitherto we haue spoken of the causes whereof this doubt riseth in some men, the doctrine whereof is more pernicious, than anye man is able to expresse. For firste it feedeth the humor of truste in oure owne selues, which riseth vpon the consideration of oure owne righteousnesse. For in saying, that they whiche doe consider that they be not yet well ynough disposed, can not know in certaintie of faith, that they be loued of God, what do they else but auouche that they whiche with the Pharisees do thinke themselues well disposed, muste be confirmed in the truste of their owne righteousnesse.

Secondlye, it doth make a marueilous tormenting of mens consciences, which do so wauer in the waying of their owne vndisposednesse, that they can not set their foote in anye right and assured path towardes their saluation, but be most miserably tired and wearied with diuers and sundrye deuises one vpon an nother, seruing nothing vnto their saluation, and so they be made men meete for the marting of Malles and pardons, and for all iuglings of the priuie hypocrites.

Thirdly it giueth men occasion also to despaire of their owne saluation, and so to liue dissolutely in all kind of mischiefe.

Fourthly it dothe decay all sincerities of faith, and true loue towardes God. I beseech you tell me, if you make a woman to beleeue, that hyr husbandes loue towardes hir is vncertayne and vnsure, how is it possible (if you bring hir into a doubte of it,) for hyr to beare a sincere fayth, and wifely loue towards him.

Fiftly, howe can a Christian man patientlye beare afflictions for Christes sake, if that he be driuen to doubte of the fauoure and loue of God: and at the poynte of death, with what faithe shall wee recommende oure soules vnto oure faithfull Sauioure, of whose grace and fauoure wee doe stande in doubte? Wherefore we muste aboue al things chiefly beware, and take heede of this most noysome and deathful doctrine, craftyly conueyed into thys intente to serue the most foule buying and sellynge of the Papistes

in the Churche: and so we must constantlye conceyue in our selues, that the consideratiō of our owne weakenesse, and vndisposednesse in the electes and true faithfull, doth not decay the truste and certayntie of the loue and grace of God, and that they be not so contrarye one to an other, but that both of them, be of necessitie found in one selfe same godly person, and do well aduance the case of oure saluation. For in respecte of oure weake, and corruptible nature, howe greately shoulde a Christian manne doubt oftentimes of the resurrection of his body to come, if he should consyder the same alone, whereas for all that, when he is ascertained in the faithe of Goddes omnipotencye and truth, he may saye with Job: I doe knowe that my redeemer lyueth, and that at the last day I shall rise againe out of the earth, and I shall be closed vp againe in my skinne, and see God my Sauioure in my flesh, &c. And in thys case also a manne can not but feare hymselfe, and doubt of the loue and fauoure of God, as often as hee dothe consider hys owne vnfitnesse, but yet withall thorough the fayth of the promises and goodnesse of God, he doubteth nothing at all, but that he standeth in his grace and fauoure. The trust of the grace and loue of God, and the acknowledging of oure owne weakenesse, be always ioyned togither in a good christian man, so that none of them dothe decay the other.

The consideration of our owne weaknesse doth not decaye the certaintie of the loue of God.

Therefore when wee doe assuredly clasp in the trust of Gods grace in consideration of his promises, let vs also become humble reporters of our owne vnworthinesse, and thankfull praysers of Goddes goodnesse. When we be touched with ẏ knowledge and perceyuing of oure owne vntowardnesse, and bee perswaded and prouoked to doubte of the loue of God, let vs hartily lament thereof in the sighte of God, and humblye beseeche him, that he will shape and fashion vs by his spirite. And in the meane season let vs esteeme this Popish doubting, as a moste pestilente poyson.

Of the false persvvasion of the loue and grace of god

which agreeth not to the faithfull of Christe.

Like as the Popishe doubtyng, whereof we haue hitherto spoke, is verye hurtfull, so is also the false perswasion of the loue of God and preposterous securitie & carelesnes, naught and worthy to be reproued. And therefore it is good to consider also the causes whereof it dothe commonly arise and spring.

Of vvhē the false persuasion of the grace of God cometh.

1 The first is worldlye wealth, in respect whereof we thinke our selues to be Gods derlings. For the reason of man doth so conclude, that they be loued of God, vnto whome it is gyuen in this life to haue good dayes with the riche glutton, but the holye Scriptures is againste this opinyon in many places.

VVorldly vvealth.

2 The seconde is an opinion conceyued of the goodnesse of GOD by the Preachyng of the Gospell, without anye true Faithe: and this is a vayne and feeble opinion neyther so fonde, nor fyrme, that it canne withstande temptations.

The opinion of the goodnesse of God conceyued of the preaching of Gospell vvithout fayth.

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We do not meane of this, whē we do defende and mainteine the assured trust of the faithfull, which as it commeth of true faith, by the holy spirite, as the pledge and earnest peny (as we call it) of the heauenly grace, so is it founde also, liuely, effectuall, and adorned with the studie of godlinesse, humblenesse, pacience, and charitie. In case the Doctours of the Counsell of Trident do meane that vayne opinion, when they doe saye, that no mans sinnes bee forgiuen which doeth boast and crake vpon the trust and certaintie of the forgeuenesse of his sinnes, and standeth onelye vpon that Forasmuch, as the same may be in Scismatikes and Heretikes, yea, whereas this vaine trust, voyde of all godlinesse, is preached also in our dayes, we doe also vtterly condemne it, and we doe call it a dead trust and hope, so farre we be off from preaching it. And we doe not denie, but that it is founde to be in more than is conuenient to be for the setting forth of Christes glorie. But if they doe meane it, of this trust, which we doe saye is in the electes, and faythfull, and for which onely we do trauayle, let them looke wretched folke, howe they shalbe able in the daye of iudgement to shifte off so great a wrong, which they doe to the louingnesse of God towardes man, in the sight of him, who is charitie him selfe.

3 The thirde cause is the opinion of our own righteousnesse, and this is founde among the Pharisies, and iusticiaries, whose wordes these be. Lord I do giue thee thāks, that I am not as other men bee, vmust, &c.

This in deede is farre from the consideration of our owne vnworthinesse, and they do lay before their eyes neither the grace, nor mercy of God, but his loue to the good only, wheras they be not good in deede, but naught and wicked. This cause maketh men proud, arrogant, hypocrites, & despisers of ẏ weaker sort.

And we do recite these thinges, to declare that we doe not speake of any vayne perswasion which is founde to be in the Iewes, Turks, Pharisies, Heritikes, & Epicures, ẏ childrē of this world, but of the true and vndoubted certaintie of faithfull mynde which is in the electes onelye, and is grounded vpon the true fayth, and testimonie of the holy Spirite, and which doth onely ouercome this worlde, the fleshe, and the Deuill. Thus much touching the loue of God towards mā.

Of the Mercie of GOD.



Mercie is one of those thigs which be naturally in God

Lyke as in things created, those thigs which be natural in euery one of thē al do cleaue together, in a certaine pitiful knot and aliaunce: So we do see also that the nature of God is such, that those things which be naturally in him, be so knit together, that none of them can be taken awaye without the hurte and decay of his nature. So it cōmeth to passe that mercie whereof we do meane to speake, can not be sequestred frō the goodnesse & louingnesse of God, without great wrong doing vnto

his nature. For like as he is of nature good, and louing towards man, so he is also mercifull, pitifull, and forgiuing. Wherefore like as we do confesse him to be good; so we must needs cõfesse him also to be merciful.

What Mercie is.

The woorde of mercie is better knowen, and more vsed in this dale of miserie and wretchednesse, than is the true and kindly vse thereof, specially in this our time when the affection of loue & mercy wareth wonderfull rare and cold.

The definition of mercie.

Cicero doth define mercie to bee the sorowe of the mynde, and griefe conceyued vpon the miserie of some other ready to ayde the same.

Seneca.

Seneca in his booke De Clementia, sayeth that mercie is the griefe of mynde had vpon the seeinge of the miseries of others, or els the sorowe conceyued for other mens euils which it is thought that they deserue not.

Augustin. de ciuitate dei. lib. 9. cap. 5. De moribus eccle. lib. 1. cap. 27.

And Augustine sayeth: What is mercie, but a certaine compassiõ in heart of some others miserie whereby we be compelled to helpe them if we can? For who knoweth not that mercie is named of that, that it maketh a mans heart miserable and pitifull, sorowing for an other mans euill? So they doe define mercie commonly, to be touched & stroken within in the heart, with the miserie of others. The Hebrewes do cal mercie by this word רחם. Which word doth properly signifie the belly, and they doe applie it vnto the signification of mercie, bycause that the inwarde partes of them, which be touched with ẏ sight of other mens misery, are wont to be moued with some affection of compassion and pitie.

II. That God is Mercifull.

There be an exceadinge greate number of testimonies of gods mercy, not onely of the olde times, but in this present time also of our age wherein is so great abeundãce of wickednesse, that a mã may most truely say, It is the mercy of God that we be not consumed. For how were it possible that this present world should stand one day, vnlesse the outragious enormities and mischiefes rayning euery where were spared by the mercie of God? But let vs leaue this consideration of Gods mercy, vnto those men which haue eyes to see, and heartes to vnderstande, and see for the vnlearned what testimonies be found in the Scriptures of the mercy of God.

First Moses doth testifie that God is mercifull, whereas he saith in Exodus. Lord God the gouernour which art mercifull and forgiuing, patient, and of much pitie &c. and in Deutero. For thy Lord God is a mercifull God, and he wil not forsake thee, neither will hee vtterly destroy thee, nor forget his couenaunt, &c.

Exod. 34. Deut. 4.

Dauid also doth witnesse thereof in the Psalmes. He is mercifull and hath pardoned their sinnes, and hath not destroyed them. And againe: The Lord is a forginer and mercifull, long suffering, and verie pitifull, hee will not be alwayes angrye, &c. Item: like as the father hath pitie vpon his children, so the Lorde hath pitie vpon them

Psalm. 78. Psalm. 103.

which

which do feare hym. And the mercifull and pitifull Lorde, hath made a memoriall of his wonderfull things. And againe: The Lorde is mercifull and juste, and our God sheweth pitie. And in another place. The Lorde is pitifull, and mercifull, patient, and very mercifull, the Lorde is sweete, and pleasaunt vnto all, and his mercies do passe all his workes.

Let the Reader marke howe much Dauid dyd make of the commendation of Gods mercy, which Moyses had opened before, for he vsed it three tymes in the Psalmes, as you shall hardly finde one that did with such boldnesse, and so often, crye vpon the mercy of God, as he dyd.

Thyrdly, the Prophetes also do testifie the same, as in Hierome, where he sayth: There is no word harde vnto thee, which shewest mercy in thousandes. And in Ioel: Turne you vnto the Lorde your God, for he is gentle, and mercifull, patient, and of much mercy, &c. Which woordes Iopas vsed also, saying: For I doe knowe that thou art a pitifull, and a mercyfull God, patient and of much mercy: Thus the woordes of Moyses whereby he besought the mercye of GOD, when he was angry with his people, saying: Lorde GOD, the gouernour, mercyfull, pityfull, patient, and of much mercy, were so rooted in the myndes of the godly, holy men and Prophetes, that they vsed the same for the most parte when they dyd flee to the mercye of God, in which matter there is prescrybed also a rule ouer vnto vs, which haue much more neede than they had of the grace of gods mercye.

Fourthly, the Apostle doth also testifie of the mercie of God, wheras hee calleth hym the father of mercies, and the God of all comforte, and ryche in mercy, and that he saued vs by his mercy.

2 Cor. 1. Ephe. 2. Titus. 3.

Fyftly, doeth not Christe also the onely begotten of GOD testifie of the mercye of GOD, wheras hee sayeth in Luke: Be you mercifull, lyke as your Father also is mercifull.

Luc 6.

Sixtly, as though that these testimonies of holye men dyd not suffyse, God hym selfe doth also reporte that he is mercifull, whereas he sayeth, that he doeth mercye vnto thousandes of generations, and also where he sayeth: If thou take a garmente for a gage of thy neyghbour, thou shalt restore it to hym agayne, before the going downe of the Sunne, for that is the onely garment which he hath to couer his fleshe withall, and he hath no other to sleepe in. If he do crye vnto me, I shall heare hym, bycause I am pytifull. And in Esaie: Then (sayeth he) thou shalt call, and the Lorde shall heare thee, thou shalt crye, and he wyll saye, loe, I am at hande, bycause I thy Lorde GOD am mercyfull. And in Hieremie. For as much as I am the Lord which doe shew mercy, &c.

Exod. 20. Exod 22. Esai. 53. Hierem. 5.

By these, and other like testimonies of the holy scripture, the faithfull man is perfectly well assured of the mercye of God, albeit he is also most certainly perswaded by sure proues and trialles, declared not onely in others, but also in hym selfe, that God of his nature is good,

louing towards man, mercifull, mée̅ke, pityful, and ready to forgeue.

III. How Mercy agreeth vnto God.

Whereas wée do define Mercy to be a compassion of the hart, cōceiued vpon the miserye of an other, there maye bée a question asked. How it can be attributed vnto God that hée is mercifull, séeing that such kinde of affections, as sorowe, heauinesse, and grief of minde, haue no place in him.

The Stoikes do iudge that mercy is no vertue but a faulte.

The Stoickes, of which secte Seneca also is, do not attribute the affection of mercy vnto any man ẏ is wise, much lesse vnto God. For they bée of the opinion, that mercy is not a vertue, but a faulte of the minde.

For like as (say they) that religion doth serue to ẏ honour of God, and superstition to deface him, so al good folke wil vse clemency, gentilnesse and mildenesse, and eschewe mercy and pitye. For it is a fault of a weake heart, quayling at the sighte of other mens euils, so that it is most vsed of euerye naughtye packe. For they be olde wiues and women for the most parte, which be moued with the teares of ẏ wicked men, and would breake vp their prysons, if it were lawefull for them.

Mercy wayeth not the cause, but the case. But clemencye draweth néere vnto reason. Mercy is a griefe of minde, or sorow conceiued of the euils of others, and the griefe of minde falleth not to the wise. For his minde is cleare, & there can no thing chaunce to ouerwhelme it. There is nothing that becommeth a man so much, as a stout minde, and the stout mynde cannot contynue all one, if feare and sorowe do strike it and do ouercome it, and close it vp. Item, The wise man hath foresight and counsell ready. But sorow doth trouble the minde, and therefore it is vnméete to take order in thinges, and to deuise such things as be profitable, and also to eschue things daũgerous. Therfore the wise man is not mercyfull and pityfull, bicause hée doth all other things which they do that bée mercifull without anye miserie or griefe of mynde. Of this opinion Agesilaus was also the King of the Lacedemonians, when he sayde: It is a very harde matter to bée both pitifull and wyse. After this sorte the Stoikes doe reason of theyr wyse man, whom they doe spoyle of all affections, of true and good humanitie. And they thynke hym not worthy beyng a man, to haue the sense of mans myserie, and to abase his stoute mynde to any sorowe or griefe. Nowe in case that mercie bée of that sorte, that it maketh the mynde heauy, troubled, ouercast, yea, and miserable for sorowe and griefe, or at the least way very néere vnto miserie, and that therefore, after the opinion of the Stoikes, it can take no place in any wyse man, the question is, howe it can frame vnto God.

The sayin[illegible] of Agesi[illegible] king of [illegible]cedemon[illegible]

I doe aunswere as touching the definition of Mercie, where they do saye, that it is a griefe and heauinesse of the heart conceyued of an other mans myserie, wherevpon this question doth ryse. In my opinion that definition is not so strong, but that if the worde it selfe be considered somewhat dœper, there may be made an other definition thereof. For I can so define mercie, that it shall not include heauinesse, and griefe conceiued of an others myserie, so that it should be as much to saye, as griefe of hearte or heauinesse of hearte: but to signifie that we haue regarde in our hearte of the verye myserye of the myserable and wretched, not so, that our heartes be made myserable and wretched, but that according vnto the sentence of the Prophete, we maye vnderstande and consyder vpon the néedy, poore, myserable and afflicted, and be styrred vp to succour theyr mysery. If you saye, that the Phisition which applyeth himselfe to cure the sicke, hath a heauye heart, who is so foolyshe to gather therevpon, that his heauye hearte is conceyued of the heauynesse or disease of the sycke, and not rather that it is a care and studye of mynde, earnestlye employed to cure the sycke? so that the grieued or heauy hearted Phisition is hée, which beareth good heart vnto hys patientes, though he be not so troubled in mynde that hée shall loose the clearenesse and vnderstanding thereof to make hym vnable to iudge what is profitable, and what not, to heale the sycke. If you wyll call one that gyueth hys mynde to bryng vp pupils, a pupilhearted man, shall we streight waye desyne, that to bée pupilhearted is an heauinesse and disturbaunce of the mynde, conceiued of the mysery of pupils, and not rather to be a care of the heart, to prouyde for the necessitie of the pupils?

The defini[illegible] of mer[illegible]

So we may truely desyne mercie not to signifie the heauynesse or trouble of the heart, conceiued of an others mans myserie but the regarde of oure hearte towardes the mysery of the myserable, albeit that these affections, or passions which doe trouble the clerenesse, and calmenesse of the hearte, be not ioyned withall. So that the mercifull man may well be manlyke and wyse, and so employe all the poyntes of mercy vnto the miserable, although that hée be voyde of all myserye, and wretchednesse of heart hym selfe. What is the lette then, but that the Scripture maye so call GOD mercifull, so that it doe not therewith attribute vnto hym a myserable heart, and that we shall not be compelled of necessitie to denye that there is mercy in GOD, least wée should séeme to attribute vnto hym a myserable heart.

This wée maye truely, and vprightly consyder in the definition of mercye. But as touchyng the nature and operatiō thereof which it practiseth in the hearte of man, where it styrreth vp sometymes sorowe and compassion, that is not to be applyed vnto God. Lyke as all affections and operations of loue which hath place in the heart of man, doe not streight way frame vnto GOD, and yet for all that, loue is so attributed vnto hym, that he is reported to be very loue it selfe, whereof wée noted somewhat before, which may serue to this place.

There be attributed also vnto God anger, ielousie, and hatred, not so as

No wordes do properly agree to the nature of God.

so as they doe bringe trouble of mynde vnto men, but so as hee hath iustice and power to reuenge. No wordes doe properly and peculiarly agree with Gods nature, and Maiestie. But whatsoeuer is sayde thereof is rather applyable, than proper and peculiar. Wherfore the religious and deuout persone, must not wrest and wrastle with the wordes which the holye scripture doth attribute vnto God, nor wyng them vnto their owne proprietie whiche they haue in worldly matters and affections.

In fewe wordes when we doe reade in the Scriptures, that God is mercifull, wee must thynke not vpon the heauynesse and trouble of the heart, but of the fruytes of of mercye, whereby the miserable be succoured, vnto which the scripture also hath respect, when it doth attribute mercye vnto GOD. And so what tyme anger, ielousie, and hatred is ascribed vnto God, let vs thynke of the reuenge which is conuenient to the iustice of God, and be afrayde of our owne coates which bee sinners. As for that, that the Stoikes doe saye, that mercye is not a vertue, but the fault of a heauy, chyldish, and ouercast mynde, we wyll speake when the place shall serue better, where we shall speake of our mercy, which wee ought to declare towardes the miserable and wretched.

Of whence Mercie is in God.

Vpon what causes the hearetes of

THe mercie and compassion of man towardes the miserable and wretched, ryseth vpon dyuers and sundrie causes. You maye fynde some which of a certaine naturall inclination of fayntе heart, are quyckely touched with the affection of mercye, at the sight of an other mans myserie, and therewith be styred vnto compassion.

Secondly, there be some also which haue pitie vpon the afflicted, bycause they haue bene themselues to:moyled somewhat in troubles and aduersitie. So Dido sayd, that through hir owne trouble, she had learned to aide the like trauaylers. Hee that hath bene once banyshed him selfe out of his countrey, can the soner haue pytie vpon the banyshed man and straunger, and he that hath hym selfe bene tied by the heeles, is the readier to haue compassion of them that be in the lyke case. &c.

Thyrdly, there be some which through the alliaunce of bloude, are moued vnto mercye towardes theyr kynsfolkes that be in trouble, and yet be not inclined alyke to haue compassion vpon all other myserable creatures.

Fourthly, some men be moued vnto mercy, eyther in consyderation of the age, or of the persone or the degree, rather than of the consyderation of the myserie of it selfe. So there be sundrye causes wherupon the heartes of men be moued vnto mercye. Nowe what the causes of Mercye bee in GOD a man may safely ynough searche, so that he consyder the Maiestie of GOD, as it is most excellent, most iust, and most happie. That one man hath compassion vpon an other ỹ is afflicted, it is no straunge

matter,

matter, for there is one selfe same nature in both, one qualitie of nature, the lyke frayletie, baseneſſe, and generall wretchednesse of their whole lyfe, and deprauation, or crokednesse of mynde. But what hath man in common with God? Nothyng at all. Hee is most excellent, wee most base: hee most righteous, and we synfull: hee happye in all respectes, and wee vnhappie, and wretched in manye respectes. So that there is no cause of mercie in GOD, which can come of any communicating of nature, condition, life, and estate with vs, where as we doe in all poyntes beyonde all measure varye from hym. And yet for all that hee is so mercifull, that hee delyghteth also in mercy, more than in sacrifice.

Wherefore it remayneth, that the greater the mercie is in God, than it is in the hearts of men, and the lesse that the causes of mennes compassion doe take place in hym, the more manifest it is, that hee hath no other cause of his mercye, but his incomparable goodnesse of nature, vnto which wee did also referre his louingnesse towardes man in the place before.

Wherefore the Apostle: when he would set forth the mercie of God, whereby wee be saued, he dyd place his goodnesse before the same, saying: But what tyme the goodnesse and louingnesse towardes man of GOD oure Sauiour appeared, not through the workes of ryghteousnesse whiche hee hadde done, but according vnto his mercye hee saued vs, by which wordes hee doth sufficiently declare that whereas God is louing towardes man, and mercyfull, it commeth not of that that he hath anye cause to loue, and haue mercie vpon vs as yelded of vs, but of his onelye goodnesse of diuine nature.

So the Prophete also praying for the forgiuenesse and mercie of God, doth teuch his goodnesse first, saying: For thou Lorde art good and ready to forgiue, and of much mercye. For the Lorde is good: and hys mercy endureth for euer. Psalm. 86. 100.

Therefore, as often as we doe feele the mercy of God, either in our selues, either in others, let vs acknowledge his goodnesse, and confesse that thereby there is declared how good God is, not how iust and good we be.

Secondly, let vs with all admiration commende the wonderfull efficacie of Gods goodnesse, vnto whome onelye we ought to giue the thankes, that the same most excellent maiestie, righteousnesse, felicitie and power, dothe abase it selfe to the compassion and pitie of this corruptible duste. If Princes would fauer of the disposition of this goodnesse, the more mightier they seeme, the more mercifull they should be.

What is the operation of Gods mercie.

By the nature of his mercie it is easie to iudge of the mercies of God.

INasmuch as mercie ascribed vnto God, is like as loue is also by a figure & similitude of the affections of men, it followeth ỹ we must measure the working thereof, according to the nature of the mercie of men, and iudge of the disposition of Gods mercie after the same. In deede the mercye of man can no

wyse be comparable to the aboundaunce of the mercye of GOD, nor reache to the thousandth parte thereof, and yet for all that by the consyderation of it wee maye easelye understande, what wee maye truste vnto of his mercy, and with what confydence wee oughte to haue recourse vnto the same.

So this is the chiefe cause, for which the holye Scripture speaketh of GOD after the manner of men. It is knowen vnto vs what is the disposition of a good louyng and pytifull man, &c. and we doe knowe what can be hoped vpon and desyred of hym which is of that sorte, and howe louingly we ought to embrace, and make of him. So that the holye Spirite dothe applye these wordes of goodnesse, loue, and mercye vnto God, reportyng hym to bee good, louyng, and mercifull, to the intent wee shoulde searche styll more deper in hym those thynges, which wee knowe doe belong vnto the nature of his goodnesse, loue, and mercy. If we see an erreadyng kynde and louyng man, mylde, fauourable, and mercyfull towardes all men, harde to none, gentle towardes all, easye to forgyue, lyberall and aydyng the poore, comfortyng the sorowefull, feeding the hungrye, and clothyng the naked, yea, and friendly also to his enemies: Haue wee not cause thereupon to beleeue as often as the Scripture dothe reporte and declare vnto vs that God is mercyfull, that this mercy is farre much greater in hym? What mercye dothe worke in God, let the efficacie and strengthe thereof teach vs which it sheweth in the heart of man.

And I meane not of that, that it doth oftentymes make a mans heart heauy, and bearing as it were the compassion of other mennes myseries, whereof there commeth no profitte to the myserable and afflicted poore men, but I doe meane of the fruites thereof, when the miserable are succoured in their afflictions, which with effect we expressed before in the definition of Mercy, in that wee finde, it is all one, as to regarde in our heart the myserie of others, and as our abylitie wyll serue vs to succour the same.

If we aske for the workes of Gods mercie, they passe all number, lyke as there is no number neither of our myseries, calamities, afflictions, needes, & necessities. &c. Wherefore there is no searchyng of them, least we shoulde goe about to restrayne that into the compasse of thynges finite and which hath ende, which in deede is infinite and endlesse.

But of what maner this worke king of it is, it may be well asked, and easely vnderstanded. The very worde of Mercie it selfe, doth sufficiently declare it, if it be well defined. It representeth the mysery of an other vnto our heart, and maketh vs yelding and enclined to succour the miserable. This is the strength and operation thereof. And what can there bee in our whole strength, wealth, substance, and affayres, which must not serue vnto mercy, when it hath once grasped our heart, and set vs on to succour the miserable.

When

When Christ sayd: Wheresoeuer thy treasure is, there is also thy heart, what ment he els, but there is all thy thought, thy care, & carke, yea, all thy life, and when God commaunded his people, saying: Thou shalt loue thy Lorde God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy strength: and these wordes which I doe charge thee withall this daye, shall be in thy heart, and thou shalt tell them vnto thy children, and thou shalt muse of them sitting in thy house, and walkyng in thy iourney, beyng in thy bedde, and rysing. &c. Doth he not sufficiently declare, howe much skyll it is, whether we regarded his commaundement in our hearte or not, and that in case wee dyd regarde them in our hearte, they shoulde possesse and restrayne all our strength, thoughtes, meditations, and studies, vnto the keeping of them.

For the seate of all the meditations and studies of our whole life, is in the heart. Wherefore, seeing that this is the vertue of Mercy, that it dothe represent the miserie of the myserable, vnto the hearte of hym which hath mercy and pitie, who seeth not, what, and howe effectuall the operation of it is? In deede it is not perfecte in man, bycause of the lacke of his strength, and power: and therefore it falleth out for the most parte, that it standeth and sticketh onely in affections, and when it can not effectually succour the myserable, it maketh the heart of the mercyfull man beawie and sorowefull, and maketh hym to weepe. But in God there is perfect mercy, and it declareth a perfect effecte, bycause it fyndeth no stoppe nor staye in hym. And thus much of the operation of Gods mercie.

Vpon whom God hath Mercy.

IF wee loke the Scriptures, God hath mercye on whome he wyll, & hardeneth whom he will. He hath mercie vpon his seruauntes. He hath mercy vpon them which doe feare him, like as the father hath mercie vpon his children. He hath mercie vpon his poore. He hathe mercy vpon them which do tourne and amende: So he had mercie vpon the Niniuites. He hath mercie vpon them which doe trust vnto hym, so the Prophete sayeth: And hee wyll enclose them with mercie, which do trust to the Lord: He hath mercy vpon them which do call vpon hym. So Dauid singeth: Thou art of great mercy vnto all them that doe call vpon thee. He hath mercie vpon them which do synne, errying of ignoraunce. So the Apostle sayeth: I obtayned mercye, bycause I dyd it of ignoraunce.

Howe then? Hath he not mercy vpon all? Surely such specialties, where as it is saide, that hee hath mercy vpon whom he will, and namely vpon his seruantes, them that doe feare him, do amend, do trust, and call vpon him, and which doe amisse of ignoraunce, seemeth to shut out and exclude that vniuersal mercy, whereby he doth generally shew mercy vnto all, and to restraine that goodnesse & mercy of Gods nature, so much commended in the holye Scriptures, vnto some fewe.

Testimonies of the scriptures vpō whom God hath mercy. Rom. 9. Deut. 32. Psalm. 103. Esai. 49. Ionas 3. Psalm. 51. Psalm. 86. 1. Timot. 1.

Whether that God hath not mercie vpō all.

What shall we saye then vnto that, which we sayde before, that the cause of merrie is the incomparable goodnesse of the nature of GOD, whereby he is of nature mercyfull? May we call him mercyfull aright, which doth not generally shewe mercy vnto all, according vnto the goodnesse of his nature, but hath mercy vpon some certaynly, vpon some speciall causes and respectes? I thynke not. For lyke as he is not worthy to haue the name of goodnesse, which is not of nature good towardes all, but vpon occasions towarde some onely, so truely he is very vnworthely called mercifull, which hath not mercy vpon all, but vpon them onely which he doth louingly entreate, for some speciall causes in them rather than in him. He which hath mercie vpon the iust man, bycause he is iust, and sheweth not mercy to the vniust, bycause he is not iust, hath for the cause of his mercie shewyng, not his naturall goodnesse, but the loue of the good men, whereunto he is moued by the vertue of others. Wherefore it seemeth to be very vnmete, to attribute this vnto God, that he sheweth mercy not commonly vnto all, but vnto certaine some onely, vnto whome he beareth a singuler fauour, either for their innocencie, righteousnesse, or vertue. Whereas he is in deede altogether and alwayes of nature mercifull, and of much mercy, and not onely louing towardes the good, but louing also towardes mankinde.

Rom. 11. God enclosed all vnder sinne, to haue mercy vpon all.

Besides this the Apostle sayeth: God hath enclosed all vnder sinne, to the intent to haue mercy vpon all. Howe vpon all? If he hath mercy vpon certayne some onely? But God forbyd, that we shoulde deny that God is mercifull and louing vnto man, of the goodnesse of his nature, and say, that the Apostle wrote this vntruely of him. For as much as he is of nature mercifull, and louing of mankinde, it followeth, that he doth in this respect shewe mercie also vnto all, not only to the iust, but also to the vniust: to the vniust (I say) not in respect that they be vniust, but in respecte that they be miserable and wretched. For god forbid, that we should saye this also, that God doth alike, and without differēce in al respects haue mercy vpon all throughout.

We must seeke then for some difference of Gods mercy, not to deuise any that is not already, but to finde that which is in deede. And I thynke it is not farre out of the truth to saye, that the mercy of God is in sundrie respectes generall, speciall, temporary, and euerlasting. So that it maye be sayde aryght, that he hath mercy vpon al, and not vpon all, and that in sundrie wyse.

The generall mercy of God is that, whereby he bothe generally succour the necessities not of men onely, but of beastes also: not of the iuste alone, but of the vniust also, and touchyng this, Christ sayde: Be mercifull like as your Father also is mercifull. And he meaneth of that mercie, whereby he bringeth forth his Sunne, vpon the good and the euill, & raineth vpon the thankefull, and the vnthankefull.

The speciall mercie is that, whe he hath mercie vpon the iust, the innocent, them that do crye vnto him, and beseech his aide, and when he forgeueth the sinnes of them that do amend.

The temporary mercye is that, when he spareth the offenders for a time, that they may amend, and so he is saide not to shewe mercye when he doth not spare, but whip them.

The euerlasting mercy is that, which concerneth the euerlastinge saluation, not only in chosing, but also in regenerating, iustifying and glorifying: of which the Apostle maketh mention to the Ephesians, saying: GOD which is riche in mercy, for his exceding loue that hee loued vs, when we were dead vnto sinne, hath made vs aliue in Christ Iesu, to declare in the world to come, the plentifull riches of his grace. &c. And this euerlasting and principall mercy, doth exclude sometime the temporarye mercye, in correcting the faithful offenders, and scourging them for a time, that they bee not condemned with this worlde.

Therefore seing that wee doe finde in God not onely a speyall, but a generall mercy also, not only temporary, but also euerlastinge, surely there remayneth no cause, why it should bee called into question, whether that he be mercifull of nature, or no, as he is set forth to be in the Scriptures. Neyther is there any creature for the degree thereof, that is destitute of his mercy.

But wee must exceedingly beware leaste in confoundinge thys difference of GODS mercye eyther wee doe make that which is speciall and euerlasting, to be common and generall, and to belonge vnto all, and so fall into the errour of the heriticks called Nerry men. Which by the argument of GODS mercy, did holde that no man coulde for euer be condemned, for that, that the mercy of GOD is so great, that it cannot suffer the euerlastinge destruction of any man, either that wee make the temporarye mercy euerlasting as they do, which vnder pretence of the mercy of GOD, do sinne carelesly, supposing that hee will doe the same for euermore, which hee doth for a time, to prouoke them to repentaunce which he himself denyeth to do in Ezechiell, where he saieth: I will do this in my furye, myne eye shall not spare, neyther will I haue mercy. Ezechiel. 8

That the time of Mercye is one. And the time of Iudgement an other.

This prefixe lyse is for mercie, and that lyse to come for iudgement.

Lyke as (witnesse the Apostle) GOD loueth not confusion, so his workes also bee farre from all confusion: and euen so, wee must also thincke of the bestoweing of his mercy. Hee bestoweth his mercy, and hee giueth also iudgemēt: mercy at one time, and iudgement at a nother, whyles wee be in this lyfe hee bestoweth mercy in calling all men to amendment, teaching them that do erre, forgeuynge synnes vnto them which doe tourne and repent, Iustifying them that doe beleeue, hearing them that do cry vnto him, forsaking no man that is afflicted,

stirring vp the slouthfull, aydinge them that trauaile, & at one word, by innumerable wayes declaring his mercy vnto all men. In this lyke the gappe and waye is open vnto the throne of grace, so that we may finde mercy: but in the world to come then hee will applye his iudgement. In deede hee doeth iudge also in this life, but not in perfect and full forme of iudgement, but after a kinde of chastisement and moderation, vsed not vnto destruction and full reuenge, but vnto saluation and amendment: accordinge vnto that saying of the Apostle: Whē we be iudged of ỳ Lord, we be corrected, least we should be condemned with this world. Such iudgement is the worke of mercie. But that extreme, and not returnable iudgement is reserued vnto the time to come, in which there shalbe no place for mercy, but a shall and full rewardynge accordynge vnto the same which euery man hath done in this life.

That the first place is geuen to mercie & the later vnto iudgemēt.

And this is also the worke of Gods mercy, that he hath appointed all this life for mercy, and that to come for iudgement. He might haue giue the first place vnto iudgement, and the latter vnto mercie. But so no man should haue bene saued: for vnlesse the mercye dyd preuent iudgement, there were no way for any man vnto saluation. Wherefore the Prophet said: Enter not Lord into iudgement with thy seruaunt, for no liuing man shalbe iustified in thy sighte. Iudgement might take place in all, yea in the infantes of one daye olde (for wee bee all borne of nature the chyldren of anger) vnlesse that God of his incomparable goodnesse did set mercy before, by ỳ meane of which, as many as be elect & predestinated vnto lyfe, be quit from the sentence of iust iudgement. What seemed to agree more iustly vnto mākinde beig corrupt & depraued, & therfore deseruing cōdemnation, than iust iudgement? But the same is put of, and suspended, not so that it shall not come (for that were not agreable to the iustice of God) but to the intent, that it should not haue the first place in the case of mankinde, which for all that did agree with our deseruing, yet notwithstāding mercie was set before it. And so it commeth to passe, that we may say aright, that iudgement is stayed by mercy, that it destroy not the by his iudgement, whom mercy by hir meanes doth deliuer from death and destruction. So that by the intercession of mercye, wee bee taken as it were out of the executioners hand, and saued, and therefore the Apostle sayth aright, by his mercy he saued vs.

And let vs marke here with all how greatly this mediation of the mercye of God shall helpe to the aduaunce ment of the iustice of the iudgement to come: hee shall not onely condemne the reprobate and wycked, but hee shall make his iustice also the more noble, the greater that the mercie was set forthe, and offered vnto all men for the whole tyme and course of thys our lyfe. So the wicked shall haue no thyng to excuse them by, at the iudgemente to come, but in theyr owne consciences they shall appeare most worthy of their

iudge-

iudgement or condemnation: neyther they which shall be saued, shal fynde any thing that they may glory off, but shall acknowledge, that the whole cause of their saluation ought to be ascribed not vnto their owne righteousnesse, but vnto the onely mercy of God.

Of the power & Gouernance of God.

We do not this without all reason, ỳ we do ioyne this place immediatelye vnto ỳ before, where we spake of ỳ mercy of god. For it maketh much matter, & it is to great purpose, what power & authoritie he hath both ouer vs, & all other things, whose mercy, goodnesse, and loue towardes man, the scripture doth so greatly commende and aduaunce. In deede it is some comfort, when one man hath pitie and mercy vpon an other, an inferior person of an inferior, lyke of lyke: but there can come little or no profit of such mercy, vnlesse that he doe also shew himselfe merciful, which hath all power ouer vs, and hath the rule of vs in all respects. The mercy or pitie of the common people, doth not deliuer the giltye from death, when he is sent from place of iudgement to dye, but the mercy of the Prince which hath iurisdiction ouer him of lyfe and death, may deliuer him. The mercie or pitie of the felow seruaunts could not haue discharged that seruant, which ought his maister the King. x. thousand talents, but ỳ mercie of ỳ king vnder whose rule, iurisdiction, & power he was, did discharge him. So, neither the mercy of man, no nor of Angels neither, can do vs any good, vnlesse that god haue mercy vpon vs, vnder whose dominion and power we be all the sort of vs. Wherefore we suppose that it shall not be out of the way, if after the consideration of ỳ mercie of God, we doe note somewhat of his Dominion and power.

Of the Dominion of God.

Like as a man must be a King before that he hath the power to gouern his people, and an householder, before that he obteine iurisdiction ouer them of the household: so to be the Lorde, standeth orderly before the hauing authoritie ouer the lyfe and goods of others. So I thinke we ought in God first to cōsider the dominion of God, and afterwards his power & authoritie.

The Lord is before ỳ lordship, & dominion before the authority.

And that god hath not some particular, but the whole vniuersall dominion of all, and so is the Lord of all, and that not for one or two ages, but for all generations, we neede not to proue, seeing that it is confessed of all men. His kingdome doth rule ouer all, and his dominion doth spred it selfe ouer all nations, as the Prophet sayd, and although that he had not sayde so, the very experience it selfe of all ages doth proue it to be so.

The Greekes doe call by the word κύριον him that hath a propertie in any thing, that is to say, the right of his owne proper possession. And why ỳ Hebrew word אדרי is as much to say, as Lorde or maister is with vs, I doe finde no other cause, but bicause that אדר

with

with them is as much to say, as the
counsell or pylor of ỳ house, wher-
vpō it seemeth thei called hym ỳ lord,
which was in the same stede vnto
them that he vnder him, as the
counsell is to the house, that is the
same, whereupon the whole house
standeth. If we cōsider this whole
frame of heauen & earth, as it were
a house, shall we not aright cal him
the Lord and maister thereof, which
is both the best and highest in it, &
the onely counsell of the same, and
possesseth it as of his own right?

But in this worlde men be di-
uers wayes made Lordes & Mai-
sters. Some be borne Lordes, as the
eldest sonnes of kings and Prin-
ces. Some be chosen vnto the degree
by their subiectes, as we se in some
of the kingdomes and cities of the
Empire, some be made by superior
powers, as such which be called
thereunto by kinges and Empe-
rours, some doe by meanes of mo-
ney and good happe become Lordes
and Maisters. Some by swoorde.
There be some also which by in-
dustrie, labour, and trauaile doe at-
teine to the title of Lordship, which
kinde of dominion doth seme vnto
some most iust. For what can bee
more reasonable, thē the workman
should be the Lorde of his worke-
manship? But yet for al this, there
is none of all these become Lord of
him selfe and not by an other. He
which is borne Lord, like as he hath
not his very life, so he hath not the
dignitie of both, neither of himself
but iust of God, & next of his ante-
cessors. They which be chosen by
their subiects, or appointed by any
superior power, are manifestly crea-
ted by others. And they be not Lords
of themselues neither, which do ei-
ther purchase it for money, or in-
uade it by swoorde: forasmuch as they
be made Lordes also by outwarde
meanes. They seme in deede to be
Lords of themselues, which be Lords
through their own industrie, labour
and trauaile, but if a man cōsider of
whēce they receiued that gift of in-
dustrie, labour & trauaile, their helps
and accessarie meanes which they
vsed therein, he must nedes grant,
that they lacke ỳ most part of their
Lordship comming of themselues.
The potmaker hath power ouer his
clay, to make at his libertie one ves-
sell to honour, & another to rebuke.
And yet for all that, he himself ma-
keth not the very stuffe of the clay,
nor many instrumentes which he
occupieth in his arte he prouideth
not himself, neither hath he the art
to worke of himselfe, but all this he
receiueth from els where, and so it
fall th out, that he can not haue the
full glorie of his own Lordship and
Maistership in his own worke.

Let vs now loke to the domi-
nion of God, and se how much that
passeth al other in glorie of perpe-
tie. First we can not say of God,
that he was borne Lord, for as he
is not borne, so he can not be borne
Lorde. But you will say, what pre-
heminence is this, that he can not
be called to be ỳ borne Lord, where-
as that is common vnto many of
his seruants, that be Princes, to be
called Lordes, as so borne? I aun-
swere, Yet for all that he is Lord in
the consciences of all men, and so is
not the seruant. It is one thing not
to be able to be called a Lord borne,
bicause thou art not borne although
thou be a Lord: and an other ỳ thou

art not

art not a Lord, although thou be
borne. God can not be called a born
Lord, bicause he is not borne. A
seruant can not be called so, bicause
he is not a Lord. So that he hath
not his naturall dominion or Lord-
ship from another, and yet for all
that he is the more properly Lord,
for that he taketh hys dompnion
from no other. Christ the only be-
gotte of god is ỳ Lord borne, bicause
he is both borne and the only be-
gotten of God, and heire to his Fa-
ther. So that he as the sonne of
God hath the dominion from the
Father, wherevpon he was not on-
ly called Lord by his Apostles af-
ter his incarnation, but he was
called so before also by ỳ Prophet,
when he said: The Lord said vnto
my Lord, sit at my right hande.

Secōdly, God is not chosen by vs,
nor ordeined Lord by any superior,
nor he hath not purchased his Lord
ship with mony, nor taken it by vi-
olence from any aduersary, but he
is Lord of all from euermore, & of
himself. Besides that, he hath free
right & proper dominion ouer all ỳ
workes of his handes, but not such
as ỳ potmaker hath ouer his clay, &
euery workmā vpon his workmā-
ship, but a ful & perfect dominion.
Forasmuch as he receiued not the
matter of his works of any other,
but he created ỳ same for himselfe,
of nothing, nor he vsed not the arte
or ayd of any other vnto his work,
but he made all these things w̄ his
owne fingers, & his owne strength.
Wherefore he is ỳ only & true Lord
of all those things that be in hea-
uen & earth, and hath full, perfect, &
vndoubted dominion ouer all. How-
farre & wyde the true dominiō ge-

neth, he did acknowledge: which al-
beit he was called Emperor, yet for
all that perceiued that the Empire
whith he administred, was farre
from the height of true dominion,
and therefore refused to be called
the Lord, bicause that the same ty-
tle doth belong onely vnto God.

I am not against the estates &
dominions, of which we haue dy-
uers and sundry in this world. But
I chalenge the true, proper, full, per-
fect, & generall dominion vnto God
onely, who is the onely, true, proper,
full, perfect, and general Lord of all.
There is but one true and chiefe
dominion, all the rest be but substi-
tute, & depending in all things vp-
on the highest and chiefest, and that
not without a speciall purpose and
ordinance of God. The seruāt, subi-
ect, and citizen, hath no occasion to
saye: There is but one Lorde in
Heauen, no man vpon earth ought
to be taken for a lord. Ergo, I nede
not to acknowledge any Lord but
God onely. This is nothing else,
but to despise the dominions & gou-
ernemēts appointed by God, and
to resist ỳ ordinance of God: which
thinge Peter in his latter Epi-
stle doth charge the false Apostles
withall.

But amongst other things, I
can not but vehemently rebuke the
pride of mans heart in thē, which
whereas they ought not onely, in
respect of our common faith, but al-
so of theyr offices to serue one lord,
whose seruants thei be, & for whose
sake they be honored vpon ỳ earth,
yet do so behaue themselues, that it
appeareth openly, howe they doe
practise not a ministery, but a do-
minion. Wherevpon some do also

content-

contentiously crake, that a minister is aboue all. And what this proposition hath wrought in the popery, we haue wonderfully felt, & what it would do hereafter, it may be gathered by the examples which be passed before.

Of them which fai that a minister is a bone all.

But some man will saye: How is God onely the Lorde of all, seinge that he doeth not gouerne all alone, for Satan is called also by Christ himself prince of this worlde, and he hath some of his owne, in which as captiues, and prisoners, he worketh & raigneth at his own will. Againe, the kings of the Gentiles also do rule theyr subiects as they list, & doe vse that tyrannous saying: Thus I will, and thus I charge: My will for reason I doe enlarge. If they be Lordes which do gouerne, then Satan also and tyrants be Lordes, for they do gouerne, and that not in an vndersort of gouernãce, but as quite cõtrary.

Two respectes of dominiõ.

I aunswere. There be two respectes of true dominion and gouernance: the one is of right, and the other of might. By right I meane the property of possession in respect whereof the Ebrewes do cal בעל Lorde, which worde signifieth the possessiõ of a thing as a mans own. By that of might I vnderstand the dominion which is purchased by the Lordes towards theyr subiects: and thereof be two kindes, one iust, and the other vniust. Iust, is that which is ioyned also with right, & vniust is that, which is presumed vpon without right. The first doth surely belong vnto God onely, for all is his: and vnder his dominion which is iust and proper, do serue al ordinary powers, in their degree.

But the latter dominion or gouernance of might, belõgeth vnto Satan, which hath no power of right, no not ouer a fly, much lesse vpon men. Him ỳ tyrants do serue, which do vse wrongfull violence against their subiects. But this kinde of dominiõ which is vniust, & which we dyd atribute vnto Satã, is for two causes contrary vnto ỳ true dominiõ, & therfore it can make no lorde of Satã. For first it lacketh ỳ right of gouernãce, secondly it lacketh also the fulnesse of gouernãce & dominon, wherby he which is a Lorde in deede, doth of his own what he wil. Neither can he gouern ani, but such as will be gouerned by him. But God as the true Lorde & perfect gouernour, doth charge what he will, not onely vpon thẽ which be willing, but whether they wil or no also, & compelleth euery man to serue his wil. The Deuil can gouerne none but the blynde and ignorant. But God doth gouerne, both them that be of vnderstanding, and the ignorant also. Againe the Deuil can gouerne none but the wicked. In deede he tẽpteth ỳ god so much as is permitted him, but in ỳ meane seasõ he can beare no rule ouer thẽ. But God ruleth all, as well the reprobate as good. Yea, & more than ỳ the Deuil can not gouerne the willing, ignorãt & reprobate, otherwise, nor farther thã according to ỳ iudgement of God the true Lorde, vnto whom whether he will or not, not as a Lord, but as a seruant & slaue, he is compelled to obey & serue, like as all the wicked tyrants be also in this worlde. Thus God doth byde his aduersaryes, as true and perfect Lorde of all, and compelleth

pelleth them whatsoeuer they be, and are able to doe, to serue to hys will. Yea the Deuil serueth God, in his lying, tempting, blinding, and afflicting, &c. so farre he is from comming to any title of dominiõ. Wherfore it is not conuenient, that wee shoulde make two Lordes, whereas there is but one Lorde only, and gouernor of all, true, perfecte, and vniuersall, of whome procedeth all gouernance, whersoeuer it be right or wrong.

Serue vncle, but not as.

Of the Povver of God.

HAue I spoken hitherto of the dominion of God, whiche wee thought to make for the first parte of this matter. Nowe we wyll briefly speake of his power and authoritie. For if we consider that aright which is touched before, we shall some perceiue of what maner the authoritie of such a lord as God is, ought to be.

Sam gouern none wyll

Authoritie ioyned with dominion.

1 First, it is knowen to all men, that vnto a lawfull dominion, or gouernance there dothe of necessitie belong, yea, there is tyed vnto it a power, or authoritie such as ỳ Grekes do call it ἐξουσίαν. Euerye Lorde or maister as he hath right in his owne goodes to possesse it, so he hath authoritie also to vse it, at the libertie of his owne will, so that he is not bound to yeld an accoũt to any mã of those things whiche he doth by righte and authoritie in ỳ whiche is his owne.

Seuer not but vsurp

There is no authoritate but vpon subiectes.

2 Secondly, it appeareth also that the authoritie of lawfull dominion, can not haue place in them, which be either free and at their owne libertie, or subiecte to the iurisdiction of an other person. I meane, that no person hathe free authoritie & power, but ouer them whiche be subiect vnto hys owne iurisdiction & dominion. If any Angell or man be free & vnder no iurisdiction but of himselfe, or if Satan hathe any iurisdiction of lawfull dominion vpon any, it may follow, that God hath not authoritie ouer all, but in case there can be no suche founde that is free, no not Satan himself, or subiecte vnto the power of anye other but of God, it muste follow, that the free and lawfull power and authoritie ouer all, dothe belong vnto God only, as the Lord of all.

Lawfull power for two pontes.

3 Thirdly, if we consider the qualitie of lawfull and proper power, it standeth in two poyntes, the firste is to enioy and vse a mans owne right, the other to yelde therein when hee will. The vse of a mans owne right hath three partes. The first is when a man vseth his owne things to hys owne proper commoditie, necessitie, or glory. Like as the good man of the house vseth his house, and his household folkes. The second is to doe of them what he list, to change, to take away, to diminish, to encrease, to sell and turne away, to giue to whome he list, &c. The third is to commaund, and forbid what seemeth him good, as to his subiectes, all this belongeth to the vse of the proper and free authoritie. Vnto this is added also, that euery Lorde or maister may vse his authoritie, eyther by himselfe, or by others: and in that he dothe giue the vse of his authoritie vnto others, hee doth derogate or decay nothing at al of his owne authoritie: For he dothe this also by the right of his owne power and authoritie. And the vsing of anye proper authoritie, is not a de-

saying, but rather a confirmation thereof. The other pointe of the proper power or authoritie, is to yeld and release of his owne right, either some peece, or all, to whome, when, and as much and as long as he list, so as iustice is compelled to yeelde and giue place vnto mercy, and grace. So that King in the Gospell, had authoritie to yeelde of his righte, which hee might haue vsed towards his seruāt, which ought him tenne M. Talents.

he power of God vpon

These things be manifest, and doe properly belong vnto the righte and authoritie of lawful dominion. Now if ye list to compare these thinges to the power and authoritie of God, whiche he hathe vpon all, you maye somewhat perceyue, and knowe the qualitie thereof eyther to vse it, eyther to yeelde therein: he vseth hys things whiche he hathe made to the commoditie, and necessitie of thys most large house whiche he builded, ẏ Heauen, ẏ Sunne, Moone, Starres, fyre, ayre, rayne, cloudes, frost, snow, waters, &c. he vseth all the spirites, men, beastes, &c. to the execution of his will, in most free and iust authoritie and power, either to practise his anger and reuēge towards the wicked, eyther to employ the grace of his good will and mercy, whiche both he did in the redde Sea: for that first he deuided it by the authoritie of hys right, as the true Lord thereof, to deliuer and bring through his people. Secondlye, that he draue it togither againe to ouerwhelme Pharao with all his army, wherewith he pursued the Israelites. Thus of his owne right and authoritie he vsed the selfesame sea, to the execution both of his grace, and of his anger also.

The redde Sea.

The tyrant of Babylon had kindled the ouen of fyre to burne the seruantes of the true God, he supposed that he had the fire at his commaundement, & that it should in al pointes serue his will, but the Lorde of all creatures vsed the fire by his power to the contrarye, so that it saued the iust men which it receyued into it, to cherish & not to consume them by the deuouring flame thereof, and chastned and destroyed the ministers of the king of Babylons crueltie, which stoode abrode. Thus the creature serued the Lord: First vnto the glory of his name. Secondly to the preseruation of his seruants. Thirdlye to the reuenge of the wicked. What way soeuer he do vse his creatures, either to our good, either to our euill, let vs acknowledge his power & authority, which he hath vpon vs, and vpon all things that he hath made, and let vs say: It is the Lorde, let him doe that which seemeth good in his eyes.

The ouen of Babylon

2 Secondlye, he dothe of his owne whatsoeuer it pleaseth him, by hys authoritie & power, he altereth oure strength, estate, condition, minde, body, health, and all, he maketh rich and pore, he aduanceth whome he will, & abaseth whome he wil, he killeth and quickneth, conueyeth to Hell, and cōueyeth backe againe, taketh vtterlye away what he listeth, so that it neuer be seene againe. He decayeth thynges exceedingly growen, and maketh to encrease agayne those thinges that were muche decayed: he bestoweth and giueth of his goodes to whome, as muche, and as long as he lysteth: and when it listeth him, he taketh away that which he gaue, accordyng vnto Job. The Lord gaue it, and the

God doth of his owne vvhat he vvill.

Lord

Lord hath taken it away: The name of the lord be blessed. In dede he doth employ his good things vnto oure vses, but yet withall he doth not gyue vp his power and authoritie, whych he hathe both vppon them, and vs also.

3 Thirdlye, if we doe consider the authoritie of charging and commanding, we shal find that the same doth fully, and withoute gaynesaying belong vnto God, who hath the ryghte and dominion vpon all, vnto whome all be bounde, yea, and are compelled also, when he listeth, to obey. He vnto whose dominion and Lordship I doe not belong, and vnto whome I am not bound to obey, hathe no power ouer me to commaund me. The Idole of Rome doth chalenge that he hathe power and authoritie to commaund, and chargeth all others with the necessitie of obedience. So by hys wicked sacrilege he plucketh vnto hym, that whych apperteyneth vnto God only. Looke sayeth hee, where that the vpper hande is, there is the authoritie to commaunde. There is no vpper hand knowen to be in the Church of Christe, which hath authoritie to commaunde, but the authoritie of Christ onely. But in case it be granted by the Lorde to anye to be greater, it is graunted him not so that he shoulde haue the authoritie to commaunde, but to minister. He that is the greater amongste you, (sayeth Christe,) let him be the Minister of all. It is one thing to be a Lord, and an other to be aboue the rest in faith, knowledge, and ministerie. The power to commaunde requireth a right of lawfull dominion, and runneth to the subiectes, not vnto straungers or equals. He maye commaunde whyche in hys commaunding dothe vse no vnlawfull and straunge, but his lawfull and owne proper power. He may commaunde whych may by his owne right punishe the disobedient as obstinate, and rebellious. Hee may commaunde (I say) whiche can not only in words commaund, what he wyll haue done, but can giue will and strength also to obey the same, so that we may say to him with Augustine: Giue me Lord that which thou doest commaunde, and commaunde what thou wilt.

4 Fourthly, we sayde that euerye Lorde or Maister hath this authoritie to vse his power, eyther by hymselfe, eyther by others. But how man can alwayes doe anye of them both without blame, hauing it graunted hym from the Lord, it is disputable: but it is a most cleere case, that it is alwayes done arighte by God the Lorde of all, whether he doe exercise hys authoritie, eyther by himselfe, either by any creature.

God may vse his authoritie eyther by himselfe or by others.

And yet we must vse this consideration heere, that we be resolued out of all doubt, that there is neuer anye fulnesse of authoritie giuen to anye creature, but that they whose ministery God appoynteth to vse, hathe a limitted and restrayned authoritie. Like as he giueth them the Spirite not in fulnesse, but in measure, so he giueth them also power not in fulnesse, but in measure. Vnto Chryste onely was giuen fulnesse both of spirite and power, not as to a ministeriall creature, but as to the only begotten of God, heyre and Lorde of all. Wherefore it is a shamefull lye, & a thing to seeke his own lucre, by ẏ the

Fulnesse of povver belongeth to no creature.

Iohn. 3. Math. vlt.

Bishoppe of Rome doth chalenge to himselfe a fulnesse of Power, whych appertayneth to none but to ỹ Lord, in that that it was sayde vnto the Apostles, Receyue the Holye spirite, whose sinnes soeuer you do forgiue, they shall be forgiuen: and whose sinnes you do with hold, they shall be with holden in Heauen. Item, Whatsoeuer you do binde vppon the earth, shall be bound in Heauen: and whatsoeuer you do lose vpō ỹ earth, shall be loosed in Heauen. In deede there was graunted vnto them authoritie to binde and lose, but not vniuersall, not full, not frē, not at will, but particular, ministeriall, and limitted. If they shoulde haue bounde him vpon earthe, whome God hathe loosed from his sinnes in Heauen, or if they had loosed him whome GOD had bounde, and they charged hym with sinne whom god did not charge; surely the employing of their power and authoritie graunted them, had bin both false and voide: whereby it appeareth, that they receyued a Ministerie, and not a fulnesse of power. And in case there were not anye full power graunted vnto the Apostles, vnto whome by so euidēt prowfe was giuen the Holye Spirite, what shall we iudge of them, vnto whome it cā not be proued that one crumme of the Spirit of Christ is giuen: I saye nothing touching the Apostolike vocation. But he is assuredly and truely the Lorde of all, and hathe full power of all by his owne right, whiche is able not onely hymselfe to vse hys own power effectually, but to charge it also vppon hys Ministers to be executed with strength, by whome hee will, and as muche, and as effectually as hee wyll, and to ioyne thervnto also the worcking of hys holye Spirite: so that it may appeare by good prowfe, that they receyued not the presumption of the temeritie and rashnesse of menne, but the power of their Ministerie graunted them frō Heauen.

God may vse or not vse his authoritie.

5 Fiftly, it is not lawfull for any ministerie to yelde or remitte anye thing of that power which he hath receyued to vse. Wherfore he is called the baily of wickednesse, whiche forgaue to euerye of his maisters detters, some parcell of the same which euery man oughte, as he listed. It is lawfull and at the Lords libertie, either to vse or not vse his authoritie ouer his subiectes, and to relente or yeld of his right a peece or all, or nothing. Euery mā doth with his owne what he will, but he can not do so of an nother mans. Now all thynges are subiecte vnto the iurisdiction of God the Lorde of all: Wherefore seeing that he onely hathe full and frē power of his owne ryghte, he onely is able also to yelde and forgyue whome he will. Of hys owne righte he forgyueth them on whome hee hath mercy, whome if he woulde, hee coulde of his right destroy: neyther can he be called to the question why he doth it. He doth not forgiue them whome he dothe harden, whiche the Apostle calleth the vessels of anger, appoynted to destruction. Neyther maye wee demaunde here, by what authoritie he doth this, he is ỹ Lord, all things bee his, bothe in heauen, and in earth. He hath frē and absolute powar vpon hys owne thynges. He oweth nothyng to no man. He doth aright of his owne what he wil,

No man can say vnto hym, without an exceedyng wickednesse: Why didst thou make me thus? Why didst thou not order better of me? By this argumente the Apostle doth stoutely vanquishe them, which iudging not aryghte of the power of God, doe of theyr presumptuousnesse impugne the libertie of his mercie, and hardning.

Hytherto we haue briefly, as in the figure and similitude of the power of man, touching the right and dominion of Lords and maisters, described the dominion and power of God, not so, that the fulnesse of Gods power maye be perfectly considered therein, but that we mighte in some parte perceyue, what we oughte to iudge thereof.

To be shorte, whatsoeuer the deuice of mans reason dothe pretende, either the power of God must be restrained and limitted, so that it shuld not be frē and absolute, (whyche I take to be a verye wicked thyng to thinke:) or else we must frelye and playnely confesse, that there is no vnlawfulnesse, no blame, nothyng inconuenient to the power of God, in that which the Scripture sayth of him, that he hath chosen some before the making of the worlde, no doubte such as he woulde, that he loued Iacob and hated Esau, whē they were yet both in their mothers wombe, and had done no good nor euill, that he hath mercie vpon whome he will, and hardneth whome he will, and that he dothe suffer the vessels of anger, appoynted vnto destruction, and that he prouided the vessels of mercy to glory: that he hathe enclosed all vnder vnbeliefe, to haue mercy vpon all, that he giueth vp the reprobate vnto vncleanenesse, vnto shamefull desires, and vnto a reprobate sense, that he hathe wrought all things for himselfe, the wicked also vnto an euill day, that the heartes of Kings be in his handes, and that he bendeth them whiche way he will, that hee doth worke all in all, and many such other like in the holye Scriptures, wherewithall some of our brethren seme to be offended, and they doe therefore deuise merie expositions in their iudgements, to defende the iustice of God, least he might seme vnequall, and taken to be the author of euill. For my part, I am of the opinion, that there is none of all these places, but is sufficiently defended by this only argument of his frē, absolute and full power. Now in the nert place, we must speake of the Iustice of God.

Of the Iustice of God.

For asmuche as the consideration of the Iustice of God, doth muche depende vpon these things whyche we haue spoken before of the goodnesse, truthe, louingnesse, mercie, dominion, and power, it semeth not out of tyme to saye somewhat thereof. I meane not to speake generally of Iustice, neyther of that iustice whiche shoulde bee in menne, but to declare some parte of those things whiche do seme to concerne the Iustice of God. It is ex-

ceding large and greate, and not possible to be comprehended by the full by anye man, no not by the Angels. Therefore it shall be ynough for vs to know as much as the narrownes of the capacitie of oure mind is able to take, and as the consideration of our saluation doth require.

That God is Iust.

IT is not knowen of all, neyther in all things whych God dothe, neyther alwayes, that God is Iust. Yet for all that, this is grafted in all mens cõsciences, that God is so iust, that in respecte of hys iustice, he is to be feared of all them whiche do anye thing vniustly. But the holy Scriptures doe muche more manifestly testifie, that God is iust. In that they do set forthe his Iustice vnto vs, not only by commendation of wordes, but by the examples also thereof, whiche be so many, that they can hardly bee numbred. As touching the reportes of Gods Iustice, there be manye of them in the Psalmes and Prophetes euery where. The Lord is iust (saith the Prophete,) and loueth Iustice. Item, The Lorde is mercifull and iust. Item, Thou art iust, O Lorde. And thy iudgemente is aright: Item, The Lorde is iust in all hys wayes: Item, Thy ryghte hande is full of iustice. Item, I will recorde thy iustice only. Item, Iustice walketh before thee. Item, His iustice remayneth for euer, and thy iustice for euermore. And therefore he dothe so oftentimes call vppon the iustice of God, saying: In thy iustice delyuer me. And Hierome sayeth. In deede Lorde thou arte iust, if I doe argue

Scriptures of the iustice of God.

Hierome.

wyth thee. And Daniel sayeth: Thou art iust in all (sayeth he) whiche thou hast done. And Zophonie sayeth: The Lord is iust in the myddes. And in Samuel: The gouernor of men, the iust Lord.

Daniel.

Zephon.

2. Samuel.

There be manye suche Testimonies of the iustice of God, in the holy Scriptures, whiche the Godlye man ought greatly to regarde, and yet after that sorte, that he proceede diligently by them to the ryghte vnderstanding, to knowe aright, how God is iust, and to what ende he ought to vse the faith of his iustice. Besides this, the very reason of all the whole dothe as it were, crye out, that God must nedes be so iust in al the things he dothe, that in case iustice coulde haue any place in him, all shoulde bee ouerthrowen, and nothing shoulde constantly continue in his order and degree, as shal better appeare by that that followeth.

VVithout the iustice of God the vvorlde could not stande.

What it is to be Iust.

MEn doe sundrye wise define Iustice, but commonly they do say, it is that vertue, which gyueth euery man his owne. Aristides sayde, it is not to coueit any other mans goodes. In the definition of Iustice some man bringeth one thing, and some an other, whiche rather belongeth to some part thereof, than whereby the whole is defyned. In my iudgemente we must first see, what it is to be iust, that thereby we maye come to the knowledge of iustice. For of Iust is deriued Iustice.

The definition of Iustice.

And to saye briefly to be iust, is to be cleere, sounde, and vpright, according vnto the degree, condition, office,

VVhat is to be Iust.

fice, and person, whiche euery manne beareth, and to aunswere the same in all poynts without blame, eache degree, condition, estate, and person, hath his order and iustice.

A iust king is he whiche doth administer his kingdome aright, according vnto the iustice of his realme: and the iustice of a realme is to defend the subiects, and to ouerthrowe the proude. A iust iudge is he whych dothe deuide betwirte the giltye and vngiltie in iust iudgement without accepting of persons. A iust Lorde or owner is he, whiche vseth his goodes according vnto the righte that hee hathe in them, without anye mans wrong. A iust husband is he, whych dothe performe the iustice of wedlocke towardes his wife. So that hee omitteth no poynt of that whych belongeth to the dutie of a good husband. So in the law, he whiche dothe adopt anye to be hys sonne, is asked, whether that he will him whome he adopteth to be his iust sonne, that is to saye, whether that hee will take hym to be to him in steede of a true sonne, and declare all things towardes him which a father declareth vnto hys naturall sonne. Menander dothe call the lande iust, bycause that in yeelding fruite, it dothe the duetie of a good ground. A man of his owne nature is a ciuile thing, and hee that is founde to be suche, is well called a iust man, bycause that he is in all respectes answerable to the nature and condition of a man. Suche be the good and gentle persons, wherefore it is welneere all one, to be a good, and a iust man.

By this consideration it is an easie matter to vnderstande, what it is that we say: God is iust, the Lorde is iust, the Iudge is iust. But specially we must conceyue what it is to bee God, what to be the Lorde, what to be the Iudge, and thereby we maye nowe come to the knowledge of the iust God, Lorde, and Iudge: Vnlesse that we doe knowe what Wyne is, & what the nature of it is, we can not iudge what it is for wine to be iuste and vpryghte wyne. For wee muste consider all the vertues of wyne, and then the wyne is called iust and vpryghte wyne, whyche hath no lacke in any of his vertues. What Theologynes perceyued, when he sayde, that Iustice dothe conteyne all vertues? And forasmuche, as it is not knowen of very many what God is, it falleth out, that fewe men do know what the iustice of God is, and what it is that God is iust. We sayde before in the beginning of this booke, that God is as muche to say, as the creator, and conseruer of all, by whome al thynges be gouerned and conserued, which be in Heauen and in Earth, knowyng all, almightye, euery where presente, and ordering all things at his becke. Therefore for as much as he neuer fayleth in any of those things which doe belong vnto the order of a true God, but doth performe all the parts of a true God in all things, alwayes and euerye where, by infinite meanes, he is aryghte called the iuste God. And thys he dothe reporte of hymselfe saying in Esay: I made, I doe sustayne, I doe beare and keepe all things. And the Apostle calleth him the sauioure of all, specially of the faithfull. So the Iustice of God is that, whereby all those good things be performed whiche do belong vnto

Esay. 46.

1. Tim. 4.

VVhat is the iustice of God.

a true God, and whiche can be done by none beſides him, as whereby hee dothe create, make thoſe thinges whiche be not, & doth feede, encreaſe, gouerne, and preſerue all the thinges that be. Wherefore it is not without reaſon, that he is of ſome called The chiefeſt good, for how is not hee the chiefeſt good, of whome all things commeth, and be preſerued.

It was no fooliſhe opinion of him which ſaide, that the iuſtice of mans minde is wiſedome, the iuſtice of the body, good health, of euery houſe, good rule, and of euery Citie, peace. For then is the minde of man iuſt, when it is diſcouered by the prerogatiue of wiſedome from beaſtes which lacke reaſon, the body is iuſt, when it perfourmeth the office of mans bodye in all his members, the houſe is iuſt, when the inhabitantes of it do agree ons with an other, the Cities iuſte, when the Citizens are knitte togyther in ciuile ſocietie by the bande of peare, like the members in a mans body. This I ſuppoſe, we oughte to make the eſtimation of iuſtice, according vnto the condition, degree, eſtate, perſon, and office of eache part.

Howe manifold the iuſtice of God is.

The iuſtice of God is euer all one. Like as his goodneſſe is all one. And yet for all that like as wee doe in ſome reſpect call him God, in ſome other the Lord, and in an other the Iudge, ſo I ſuppoſe we may conſider his iuſtice not abſolutely, but firſte in reſpect as he is the iuſt God, Secondly the iuſt Lord, and Thirdly the iuſt iudge. The father is alſo called the iuſt father, by Chriſte hys only begotten, whereas he ſayeth in John: O my iuſt Father, the worlde knoweth thee not. Iohn.17.

What the iuſtice of God is, wee haue declared in the article before, it is the iuſtice of the true God the creator and conſeruer of all things, and in this reſpecte it agreeth with the goodneſſe of God, which the ſcripture in many places doth call צדק, which word they do commonly call iuſtice, as where the Prophet ſayeth: Deliuer me from the bloudes my God, the God of my ſalnation, and my tong ſhall prayſe thy iuſtice, by whyche wordes no doubte he hath not meane of the iudiciarie iuſtice whereby ſinners be punished, but of the goodneſſe and vprightneſſe of God, whereby the ſinnes be forgyuen vnto them that doe amende, thys hee dothe call the iuſtice of God. And agayne: Lay vp iniquitie vpon theyr iniquitie, and let them not come vnto thy iuſtice, that is to ſaye, vnto thy goodneſſe and mercye. And in an other place, God is gentle (ſaith he) and iuſt, and oure God sheweth mercy: He putteth iuſtice in, with the commendation of gentleneſſe and mercy, meaning not of that iudiciarye iuſtice, but of that whiche is proper vnto God, whereby ſinnes be forgiuen. And in an other place: They ſhal ſpeake of the remembraunce of thy great goodneſſe, and ſing thy iuſtice, the Lord is gentle & mercifull, ſlowe in anger, and great in mercy. Theſe things doe not agree vnto the reuenging and iudiciarie iuſtice, but to the goodnes which forgiueth the ſinnes of men. Wherefore the .70. interpreters do wel enough in ſundry places tranſlate

Pſalme.9.

Pſalme.6.

Pſalme.

Pſalme.

Pro.1. The iuſtice of God in Chriſte.

Iuſte Lorde.

the Ebrew worde צדק, whiche ſignifieth goodneſſe, callyng it righteouſneſſe. And we may finde many ſuche places in the ſcriptures, where they haue tranſlated goodneſſe for iuſtice, and this kinde of the iuſtice of God I do referre properly vnto the goodneſſe of Gods nature: whereby all things be conſerued, and whereby he willeth not the death of a ſinner, but that he be conuerted and liue, and forgiueth the ſinnes of them that doe amende. And of this iuſtice are thoſe things to be vnderſtanded, whiche the Apoſtle wryteth of the iuſtice of God, offered vnto men in Chriſte. But nowe the iuſtice of God is reuealed without the lawe, whereas it is proued by the teſtimony of the law and Prophetes, that the iuſtice of God is by ỹ fayth of Jeſus Chriſt to al mẽ, & vpõ al mẽ which do beleu, &c. Wherby there is recõmẽded vnto vs the iuſtice of God, as good, louyng, and mercyfull. Wherby he determined to iuſtifie & ſaue all whiche doe beleeue in him by Chriſte, freely without any merites of workes.

Secondly, God is iuſte alſo, as Lorde and maiſter. This kynde of his iuſtice belongeth to the iuſte dominion, and full power, propertie, and poſſeſſion, wherby he gouerneth al whiche be in heauen and earth as Lord of all, and accordyng to his free will hath mercy vpon whom he will, and hardeneth whome he will, doing of his owne whatſoeuer it pleaſeth him. So that he can not be blamed of iniuſtice for any thyng whatſoeuer he doth, whether he kill or quicke, whether he deſtroy or ſaue, whether that he loue or hate, &c. Of this iuſtice of God the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in the ninth to the Romaines, when he ſayth: Is there any iniuſtice with God? God forbidde: loke vpon the reſt that foloweth. And we haue alſo ſufficiently ſpoken of this in the place before, where we ſpake of the dominion and power of God. This Power of proper right and dominiõ is ſo perfect in God, that it excludeth all iuſtice from his will, precepts and doynges. For it is not poſſible, that whatſoeuer he willeth, commaũdeth and doeth, he ſhould vniuſtly will it, commaunde it, and doe it. For all theſe things doe extende, not to that whiche belongeth to any other, but to himſelfe, not to any thyng that is free, or of any others right, but vnto his owne things created of himſelfe, and poſſeſſed by full right, without the wrong of any. Wherſoeuer is no wrong, there is no vniuſtice. And ſurely in thoſe thyngs which be poſſeſſed in full right of God, there can be no wrong. For whatſoeuer hee doth of them, he doth it of his owne. If he deſtroy, hee deſtroyeth that whiche is his owne, and that by moſt iuſte power and authoritie. If he loueth and ſaueth, he loueth & ſaueth that whiche is his owne, ſo that hee declareth therein the ſpeciall goodneſſe and mercy of his godly nature.

Thirdly, he is iuſte, not onely as God and Lorde, but he is iuſt as the Iudge alſo. The Prophete ſayth in the Pſalme, God the iuſt iudge. And agayne, The Heauen ſhall declare his iuſtice, for aſmuche as God is iudge. And the Apoſtle ſayth, The Lorde ſhall requite me in that day, the iuſte iudge. A iudge is iuſte one way, in reſpect that he is a man, and a iudge is iuſte another way, in re-

Rom.9.

Gen.18.

a true God, and whiche can be done by none beſides him, as whereby hee dothe create, make thoſe thinges whiche be not, & doth feede, encreaſe, gouerne, and preſerue all the thinges that be. Wherefore it is not without reaſon, that he is of ſome called The chiefeſt good, for how is not hee the chiefeſt good, of whome all things commeth and be preſerued.

It was no folliſhe opinion of him which ſaide, that the iuſtice of mans minde is wiſedome, the iuſtice of the body good health, of euery houſe, foreſight, and of euery Citie, peace. For then is the minde of man iuſt, when it is diſcouered by the prerogatiue of wiſedome from beaſtes which lacke reaſon, the body is iuſt, when it performeth the office of mans boodye in all his members, the houſe is iuſt, when the inhabitantes of it do agree one with an other, the Citie is iuſte, when the Citizens are knitte togyther in ciuile ſocietie by the bande of peace, like the members in a mans body. This I ſuppoſe, we ought to make the eſtimation of iuſtice, according vnto the condition, degree, eſtate, perſon, and office of eache part.

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Gen.18. Pſalme.5. Pſalme.69. Pſalme.142. Pſalme.144.

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Secondly, God is iuſte alſo, as Lorde and mayſter. This kynde of his iuſtice belongeth to the iuſte dominion, and full power, propertie, and poſſeſſion, wherby he gouerneth al whiche be in heauen and earth as Lord of all, and according to his free will hath mercy vpon whom he wil, and hardeneth whome he will, doing of his owne whatſoeuer it pleaſeth him. So that he can not be blamed of iniuſtice for any thyng whatſoeuer he doth, whether he kill or quicke, whether he deſtroy or ſaue, whether that he loue or hate, &c. Of this iuſtice of God the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in the ninth to the Romaines, when he ſayth: Is there any iniuſtice with God? God forbidde: looke vpon the reſt that foloweth. And we haue alſo ſufficiently ſpoken of this in the place before, where we ſpake of the dominion and power of God. This Power of proper right and dominiō is ſo perfect in God, that it excludeth all iuſtice from his wil, precepts and doynges. For it is not poſſible, that whatſoeuer he willeth, commāndeth and doeth, he ſhould vniuſtly will it, commaunde it, and doe it. For all theſe things doe extende, not to that whiche belongeth to any other, but to himſelfe, not to any thyng that is free, or of any others right, but vnto his owne things created of himſelfe, and poſſeſſed by full right, without the wrong of any. Whereſoeuer is no wrong, there is no vniuſtice. And ſurely in thoſe thyngs which be poſſeſſed in full right of God, there can be no wrong. For whatſoeuer hee doth of them, he doth it of his owne. If he deſtroy, hee deſtroyeth that whiche is his owne, and that by moſt iuſte power and authoritie. If he loueth and ſaueth, he loueth & ſaueth that whiche is his owne, ſo that hee declareth therein the ſpeciall goodneſſe and mercy of his godly nature. Iuſte Lorde.

Thirdly, he is iuſte, not onely as God and Lorde, but he is iuſt as the Iudge alſo. The Prophete ſayth in the Pſalme, God the iuſt iudge. And agayne, The Heauen ſhall declare his iuſtice, for aſmuche as God is iudge. And the Apoſtle ſayth, The Lorde ſhall requite me in that day, the iuſte iudge. A iudge is iuſte one way, in reſpect that he is a man, and a iudge is iuſte another way, in re-

spect that he is a iudge. The iustice of a iudge semeth to consist specially in those thynges whiche wee shall rehearse hereafter. First, if he loue iustice, and doe hate wickednesse. Secondly, if he be not deafe at the crynges of them that be oppressed, as the wicked iudges be, whiche despise them that bee oppressed and troden vnder foote. Thirdly, though the oppressed doe not crie vnto him, yet not withstandyng he must heare the clamour of theyr case and receyue it into his seate of iudgement. Fourthly, if he haue no regarde neyther of persons nor of rewardes in iudgement, but doe iudge indifferently, as well to the poore, as to the rich. Fiftly, if he doe pronounce sentence, accordyng vnto the truth of the cause, that the iudgement may be right, & iuste. Sixtly, if he doe iudge not only by pronouncyng the sentence, but in case he be set in the place and authoritie of a Magistrate, he doe in deede execute the iudgement, so that the giltlesse may be deliuered, and he which hath not done euil, suffer worthy punishment. Seuenthly, if in the very execution of iudgement he forget not clemency, and fauour, that there appeare in him no token of crueltie. In these poynts (I meane) the iustice of a iudge dothe consiste, as iudge, accordyng vnto the whiche he is called aright, A iust iudge.

If we apply these things vnto the heauenly & generall iudge, there shal lacke none in him of them. The Lord is iust sayth Dauid, and loueth iustice, and againe: Thou doest hate all them, whiche doe worke wickednesse. And in Exodus it is written: Thou shalt not hurt the widow, and the fatherlesse, if you do hurte them, they shal crie vnto me, & I shal heare their crie, &c. Yea although that hee whiche is oppressed doe not crie, yet for all that he doth no lesse heare his cause, and vndertake it to be done, than though he did vehemently crie vnto him. The history of Abell and Cain is knowen, ỳ he regardeth neither rewardes, nor persons, but iudgeth indifferently as wel to the poore as to the rich. We may perceyue in Deuteronomie, where we doe reade this: God is great, mightie, & terrible, which accepteth neither person, nor reward, but doth iudge to the fatherlesse, & widowe. And that he iudgeth aright, the prophet doth testifie, saying: Thou arte iust, O Lord, and thy iudgemẽt is iust, and right. And as for the executiõ of his iudgemẽts there is no doubte: For he iudgeth not in wordes onely, but in workes and doyng. Yea, it is sayde, that hee iudgeth then when he dothe in deede defende the innocent, and punishe the wicked. And that he forgetteth not his clemency in his iudgements, the exãples of his iudgemẽts do declare. Deut. 10.

And in case he doth not immediatly iudge, or dothe not straightwayes worthily punish e sinners, or not punish thẽ so sore, as the enormitie of their sins do seeme to require, he doth not therein vniustly. For he is not a iudge only, but God also, pitifull and mercyful of nature, and besides that Lorde also of all, hauing full power, and authoritie as well to spare as to iudge. The intent and purpose of a iust iudge must be not to destroy thẽ strayght way, whome he taketh in hand to iudge: but as nere as he cã, so to iudge, that he saue ỳ, that may

be saued. And therevnto truely our iust iudge doth apply himself, who is therfore slow vnto anger and iudgement, because he would saue such as wil amende. And yet for all that, he will at length condemne the impenitent whiche will not repent, by iuste iudgement, when the day of iudgement shal come. Thus we do finde thee mãners of true iustice in God, the first which is of God the creator and conseruer of al, which is nothing else but the goodnesse of Gods nature: the second, which is of the Lord and mayster, gouernyng by iuste authoritie after his owne will, in all things whiche he hath created and made: the third, which is of the iudge that iudgeth this worlde. The manners of iustice in god

What difference there is betvvixte the iustice of God and of Man.

LIke as there is no comparison of man vnto God, so there can be no comparison, neyther of the iustice of man, and the iustice of God. The iustice of man, if you cõsider the corruption of his nature, is none at all. Therfore it was saide, there is none iust, no not one. Wherfore when we make mention of the iustice of mã, & aske what differẽce there is betwixt it, and the iustice of God, we doe not meane of ỳ same, whiche we haue of nature, but of the same whiche wee ought to haue, & whervnto we be called in the scriptures. Neyther do we cõpare the same neither with the iustice of God in such sort that we can thereby vnderstãd how small, vnperfect, & vnconstant ours is in respecte thereof, but to see how it is in a certaine peculiar cõdition & manner distinct & deuided from the same. And I thinke it good briefly to expounde it, because of them, which when they do dispute of the iustice of god, haue much ado to depart frõ the conditiõ of mans iustice, as though that the knowledge of ỳ iustice of God, were to be taken as out of a paterne of mans iustice, as we see them doe for the most parte in their disputations of Gods predestination. The iustice of man is none. Rom. 3.

The manner of iustice whiche is required of vs, & whervnto we be instructed by the precepts of God is, that depending vpõ the will of God, we be good, & loue him, & our neyghbour, & serue him in pure fayth, and liue harmeleslie towardes al men, do nothyng to any mã which we would not haue done to our selfes, hate no man vnworthily, no nor though hee be worthy, condemne no man vnlesse he be manifestly naught, and worthy for good causes to be cõdemned, that we make no man obstinate in his naughtinesse, nor charge any man with those things which be impossible: these & suche other we must diligently eschew. Ye that is furnished after this manner, seemeth not to be farre from that iustice, whiche the commaundementes of God, and the information of heauenly doctrine dothe require of vs. But he whiche is so wide of it, that hee dependeth not vpon the will of God, but doth hate his neyghbours vndeseruyng, doth ỳ vnto others whiche he would not haue done vnto himself, doth condemne them whiche bee not openly naught, but rather them that haue done no euill, dothe make other some whome hee listeth obstinate in euyll, or layeth thynges impossible

and unportable upon the shoulders of the weake, this man truely no mã will call iuste, but euery man pronounce hym to be vniuste.

Nowe if thou wilt compare the iustice of God vnto those conditions of our iustice, I iudge no otherwise therof, but according vnto these conditions, thou canst not in all respects pronounce of God, that he is iuste.

For firste he dependeth not vpon the wil of any superiour, vnto whose commaundements he should be subiect, and to whome he should directe his deuises and doings, but he standeth wholy vpon hys owne will, and dothe all thinges of his frée power. Secondly he dothe hate and condẽne man before he doth any euill, yea before he be borne as appeareth in Esau. And yet for all that, he willeth not that any manne shall hate hym. Thirdly he doth harden whome hée will, he concludeth all vnder beliefe, he maketh the wicked vnto the euill day, he giueth men vp into vncleannesse, into filthy lustes, and vnto a reprobate sense. If thou consider the iustice which is requyred of vs, thou canst not chose but condemne these matters, and say, that they be moste farre from the moste iuste God, and that it is necessary therefore, that they be expoũded otherwise than the letter leadeth. Truly if these things be done of man they be worthily reproued, but whereas they be done of God, as the Scripture doth testifie, in whome there can be founde no vniustice as we noted before, it must nedes be, that wée must separate the iustice of God from that of man, and graunt that whatsoeuer he doth is iuste, though it be forbidden vnto vs, and yet is vniuste, if we doe the same.

How is it iust (say you) to hate any manne, that is not yet borne, nor faultie in any poynt? How is it iuste to harden a mans harte, that he shall not vnderstande, and amende? How is it iuste, to deliuer a man vp vnto vncleannesse, filthy lustes and reprobate sense? I aunswere. These things be vniuste if they be done by man, for they can not be done by mã without wrong doyng to his neyghbour, and without breakyng of the lawe, which saith, that a man ought not to do that to an other, whiche he woulde not haue done to himselfe. But is it reason (I pray you) to bind the Maiestie of God vnto the same lawes that man is subiecte vnto? The lawe is sette vnto man, whiche if he doe transgresse, he is deemed aright to be vniuste. What God is that, whiche shall prescribe any law vnto our Lorde God, to be bound to the obseruaunce therof? What man is he among all the rest, whom God can do any wrong vnto? Then if we doe confesse, that God is subiect vnto no lawes, no not vnto those which be set vnto vs, and that it is not possible, that he doe any wrong vnto any man whatsoeuer he doe, or doe not. And yet notwithstandyng that these things be attributed vnto hym in the Scriptures, how doe we not perceyue, that we ought not to iudge of his iustice, according vnto the lawes set vnto men, nor according vnto the iustice whiche is required aright of men, but according vnto his frée and ful power, wherby being Lord of al, he may frankly and freely doe of all, whatsoeuer it pleaseth him to doe?

Therfore

Therfore a Christian man must haue this discretion, when he shall iudge of the iustice eyther of God, eyther of Man, that he consider not simply nor alone, what that is of it selfe, whiche he seeth done: but that he haue a respecte withall vnto the person, condition, estate, office, and authoritie of him that doth it, knowyng that al things be not in like case lawfull or vnlawfull vnto all: but that things may lawfully be done by some, whiche if others should doe the same, coulde not be done without offence. And seyng that wée ought to iudge with suche discretion of the iustice of mens doyngs, wée ought to haue a muche greater discretion and difference, betwixte the doings of God and men.

Of the Prouidence of God.



If these things bée considered which we haue hitherto spoke of the nature of god, I suppose that it doth sufficiently appeare, to be such in all respectes, that it will and is able to foresée and dispose all things, for all that euer is wholly throughout all the partes thereof: yea, and doth foresée and dispose, and that of necessitie. For seing that he is sufficient for all and almighty, there can be nothyng so tranesome, so harde, so hidden, so manifolde, and doubtfull, so large & wide, and so long to come after many hundred yeares and ages, whiche he is not able to dispose and order by his diuine pryonidence, whiche is full and absolute. As touchyng things to come, he doth not only foreknow al, so that all things be noted and open vnto his eyes, but he is also very mighty to dispose and order them, so that the fulfillyng of them and foreknowledge, be moste exactly answerable one vnto the other. As touchyng things past and present, it appeareth easily, that they can not bée hidden from him, from whome the things to come can not be hidden. Euery mã knoweth that the knowleage of things present and passe, is more easie than the foreknowledge of thyngs to come. Where the harder taketh place, there no man doubteth, but that the same whiche is easier, may sone take place. The knowledge of thinges passe and present, may be gotten by the industrie of man, though not of all, yet of a great part, but ỳ foreknowledge of things to come, muste nedes be lefte to the power of God onely, and to suche as he vouchsafeth to reueale the same. Therefore seyng that we be enforced to yelde that to the nature of God which is impossible for the nature of man, we be compelled muche the more to yelde vnto it the same whiche may also be in the nature of man. And in consideration hereof wée doe perceyue that God is able to dispose all thyngs by his prouidẽce, as wel things to come, as past, and present when we doe some hys foreknowledge vnto his almightynesse. And that God wil prouide and foresée for all his creatures, as well earthly as heauenly, it appeareth by that whiche we haue sayde before in

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the place of his goodnesse. Seing that he is good of nature, and therefore taketh not the causes of his good doyng of any other but of hymself, and seyng that hée is of himselfe moste gyuen to foresée and prouide for all, there is no reason at all why wée shoulde doubte of his will. And therof wée haue noted also before in a place by it selfe alone. Nowe if wée doe sette all these thinges togither whereby there dothe appeare an vndeniable certentie of the power and will of God, there is nothyng lefte more, whereby we should be moued to doubte of hys doyngs. For the Scripture dothe testifie thus of him: that whatsoeuer thyngs he will, hée dothe. The weakenesse, and vnhabilitie of man is great, and yet for al that, if thou wilt graunt vnto man, that not onely he is able, but willeth also to do good to his neighbors, you shall not haue lightly any occasion to doubte, whether that he will assuredly, & for a certentie do that which he is able and willyng to doe. Howe much lesse must we doubte of God, that he ordereth all things by hys prouidence, seyng that wée can not doubt of his abilitie and will, vnlesse we doubte whether that he be almighty, and the chiefest Good?

Of vnlat necessitie God disposeth all things.

And whereas wée sayde, that he dothe it of necessitie, it is not to bée meant of the necessitie, whereby he hath any néede of the conseruation & disposition of those things which he hath made, but of ẏ necessitie whereby they doe require and néede the same. For they be of ẏ nature, that they be not able to continue of their owne vertue, care, and prouidence, albeit they were not subiect vnto vanitie, wherevnto notwithstandyng they be subiect, witnesse the Apostle. Rom. 8. Wherefore they haue néede to be gouerned and conserued by the prouidēce, care, and order of their creator. For there is no one creature, no not of them in heauen whiche can gyue, or doe that vnto others which it can not gyue or doe to it selfe. So the whole care and order of all creatures is put ouer of necessitie vnto God onely, whether wée consider the might, goodnesse and will of hym, eyther the necessitie and condition of the Creatures. And this reason howe simple soeuer it séeme vnto some, in respecte of those busie deuises, whiche they doe alleage, appeareth to me to be both ready and certayne, wherby the mind of the faithful may bée confirmed in the faith of Gods prouidence, if he doe diligently consider the same.

Sundry Iudgements of the Prouidence of God.

Albeit that the proofes of Gods prouidence be most manifest, so that the Ethnykes also did knowe them, yet for all that, there be founde sundry opinions therof, and no maruell, seyng that there is nothyng else so one, and certayne, whiche is not by ignoraunce and blindenesse sundry wise tossed & torne. The summe of the Truth is moste cléere, but the eyes of mans minde be blinded.

Some doe deny the prouidence of God.

Some be so wicked, that they doe vtterly denie the Prouidēce of God. They doe not acknowledge that he dothe knowe the doyngs of menne. They do say in their hart: God neyther seeth, neyther vnderstandeth, of that minde the sinful men be, the wicked workers, which do abase & weaken the Lordes people, and turmoyle hys inheritaunce, saying in theyr harts: The Lorde seeth not, nor the God of Iacob vnderstandeth not. The wicked oppressors of ẏ faithful doe imagine, that God dwelleth in Heauen, so that he is far off from vs which do inhabite this earth, & that so it cōmeth to passe, that he neyther seeth, nor vnderstādeth theyr doings. They imagine of him as absent, and they suppose that he neyther seeth nor knoweth of any thing, but of ẏ whiche is done before his face. So they make him like a king that is a Man, whiche though he be neuer so mighty, yet for all that he seeth, and knoweth not all that is done in hys Realme. Theyr madnesse the Prophete dothe reproue, saying: Vnderstande you ignorant among the people, and you fooles be once wyser. Shall not he heare whiche made the eare, shall he not sée whiche framed the eye? This kind of ignorant folk, Esaias also doth touche, saying: Wo bée vnto you, whiche be so déepe in heart, that you hyde your counsayle from the Lord, whose workes be in darknesse, and saye, Who séeth vs? and who knoweth vs? This thoght of youres is wicked, euen as if the clay shuld imagin against the workman, and the worke say to the worker: Thou madest mée not, and the creature vnto hys creator: Thou vnderstandest not. And we doe reade of them also in Ezechiel, in this wyse. Thou seest well inough thou Sonne of Man, what things the elders of the house of Israel do in darkenesse, euery man secretely in his bedde, for they say, The Lorde seeth vs not. The Lorde hath forsaken the lande. They whiche be so minded to imagine, that GOD dothe not sée those things which be done vpō the earth, and that though he doe sée, yet for al that hée seeth but the outwarde and manifest things, but hée neyther seeth nor vnderstādeth the secrete and hidden things, when will they beléeue, that he doth know, care, and dispose al things?

Some say that God hath no care of mens maters.

Secondly, there be some, whiche though they doe easily beléeue, that God dothe sée and vnderstande all thyngs, yet for all that they doe imagine, that he is but an idle looker on of our doyngs, and that hée hath no care of mennes matters, lyke as if a Kyng shoulde beholde a stage playe from a highe skaffolde, not to direct and order it, but to take the pleasure of the sighte, and somewhat to recreate his minde therein as weryed wyth earnester matters. Lyke as it is but a fonde matter for the Maiestie of a kyng, not onely to be gasing vppon stage playes: and foolishe sights, but also to care, to direct, and order them, whereas he hath a great number of other more earnest matters to take care of, méeter for the Maiestie of a King: so these men doe suppose it to be a trifling and an vnfit matter for God, not onely to sée & know the things of men, but also to care for and order them by his prouidence. They doe say: The Heauen of heauens vnto the Lord, but the land he gaue to the Sonnes of men, that is asmuch to say in their iudgement, God careth not what the Sonnes of men doe. He gaue them the earth, and lefte them in the hande of theyr owne

owne counsell, for euery man to doe what he will, and is able to doe, and so he hath yet kepte heauen for himselfe, where he raigneth as Lorde of Heauen and earth, and disposeth the matters of Heauen. So there hath bene in these our dayes some flatterers of Princes, whiche hath sayde, The Heauen of Heauens vnto the Lorde, but the lande he hath gyuen vnto the Emperour. And as one said long since: The halfe of all, thou hast (O Emperour) with God. But hée which thrusteth downe the mighty, and anaunceth the base and lowe, & taketh away the spirite of Princes, and hath the hartes of Kings lyke riuers of water in his hande, and directeth them whiche way he will, he doth oftentymes declare, that he careth for and disposeth not onely heauenly things, but earthly also.

If God rule the worlde of whence commeth so many euils?

Thirdly, there be some which do beléeue as these men doe, that mens cases be not cared for and ordered by God: but they be moued thereunto by an other reason than the other be. They say: In case that God dothe care for the doynges of men, of whéce is there founde dayly so many euils in the deuices, imaginations, and doings of men: all which he might preuent, and stay by the care and disposition of his prouidence, if he had any care of men at all. Who can beléeue that he is a good husband in a house, whiche will not kéepe off and staye that, whiche wil do the house harme, if he be able? Is not this an argumót good inough to proue that God careth not, gouerneth not, and ordereth not the deuises and doings of men, but that he hath lefte frée will in all poynts vnto man, to doe what he lusteth, and is able to doe eyther good or euill, and to loke for the recompence and rewarde of his doynges hereafter? And by this argument some be moued to deme this parte of Goddes prouidence for the order of mens matters, & some other whiche be weaker, are moued to doubt, whether that the things concernyng the lyfe, studie and doings of men, be verily in the care of God or no. In déede they be moued by many things to beléeue it, but yet withall there be many things on ỹ other side, in waying of the which, they be stayed from giuyng assured assent vnto this part of Gods prouidence. And so they stande in doubte, as at a crosse way, wauerying whiche parte they may take, fully & assuredly to trust vnto.

Fourthly, there be some whiche doe not doubte of any parte of Gods prouidence, but they do assuredly beléeue and acknowledge, that there is nothyng done neyther in heauen nor in earth, whiche is done without the dispositiõ of his prouidence, and that there is nothyng at all, that is not preserued and susteyned by his care. But some of them doe finde faulte, that nowe and then naughty packes doe fare so well in this worlde, and some doe so muche not misliyke therewith, that they doe therein allo commende the meanyng and iustice of the Prouidence of God. Yea it cõmeth so to passe, that they whiche did finde some faulte with the prouidéce of God, as offéded for the time with the prosperitie of the wicked, when they loke nearer to the purpose of God, they doe beginne to like and to commende the same wherwith they were offéded before. Of this matter we

Psalm. 11.

we may sée in Hieremie, where wée do reade in this wise: In déede thou art iuste O Lorde, if I reason with thée, yet for all that I will talke that vnto thée, which is iuste. Why doth the way of the wicked prosper? It is well with all them which doe amisse and liue wickedly, thou hast planted them, and they haue taken rote, they doe prosper and beare frute. Thou arte nye to their mouthe, and farre from their raynes. Sée here he doth not denie, but that the wicked bée planted by God: but he is offended in that, that they haue so great prosperitie of wealth. We doe reade the like also in the Psalme, where he talketh largely of this matter.

Of the whiche ackeowledge prouidéce of God

So that the opinions of men bée thus variable in this case of Gods prouidence, whereas some do basely and vily iudge of God, and hold that he dothe not sée and vnderstande the matters of men: some contrarywise ouerthwartly anaunceing the Maiestie of God, doe thinke it a mockery to attribute vnto God, that he dothe sée, care, & dispose from heauen these base and earthly things. Others moued by the consideration of hys iustice, doe suppose, that he dothe not dispose the deuises, purposes and doynges of men, but that he dothe leaue them vnto their owne arbitrement & will. Others whiche do stande in no doubt of the prouidence of God, are sometimes offended with the prosperities of the wicked, and when they turne againe to the righte vnderstãdyng thereof, they doe acknowledge and commende the wisedome and iustice of God in the very same wherin they were offéded before. Yet for all that men be at a good poynt, that the prouidéce of God in déede whereby all things be disposed, dothe not swarue and varie, so as the opinions that men haue of it be variable and vnconstant, but that it doth allwaies gouerne, and dispose all things after a constant and continuall order.

What Prouidence is.

They which be skilfull in Scriptures doe knowe that those wordes whereby any thyng is attribute vnto God, be taken out of the vsage of men, and so applyed vnto the nature of God, to the extent that those thyngs whiche can bée by no tongue or language properly expressed, may bée yet at the least way, by the figures of mannes speache in some sorte shadowed. So there is attribute vnto God, foreknowledge, Care, Prouidence and Disposition: like as if we should talke of a moste wise and prudent King, which were ignorant of nothing that is to come, is passe, and present, and which doth take the care, and charge of al things that be within his realme, and dothe dispose them all by his moste exact Prouidence.

The Greékes do cal foreknowlege προγνωσις, whiche is the assured knowledge of things to come before they be done. Hereby God dyd foreknow and predestinate some before the making of the worlde, as we doe reade to the Romaines. Where the Apostle sayth, Whom he foreknew, them he also predestined. As for knowledge, it pertayneth generally vnto all things, as well passe as to come. But when the Scripture doth attribute knowledge vnto God it

Hoyw pr uidence attribute vnto G

Prescie ce for knowy

Rom. 8.

Knowledge

Sect. 1. meaneth

meaneth nothing else, but ỹ nothing is so hidden, nothyng so olde and ancient, nothyng so small, nothyng so doubtfull that can escape his knowledge. He whiche beleueth this hath skill enough, howe knowledge of all things is attribute vnto Gods Maiestie, albeit he can not skill of theyr Sophisticall questiõs, where they do argue how knowledge is in God.

Care. The scripture doth attribute care also vnto God, as we do reade in the Epistle of Peter: Caſtyng all your carefulnesse vpon hym, for asmuche as he hath care of you. And he meaneth nothyng else, but that God doth not neglect the necessitie of hys, and that he would haue no mã to searche ouerscrupulously, howe that solicitude or carefulnesse, whiche goeth with care, dothe agree vnto God. Some doe define care to bee a burnyng & biting of the harte, as though it were a hart sore, and as the Poete sayth, seyng this care doth nippe thy harte: But Care is not attribute vnto God after this sorte, in whome no such thyng can be. 1. Pet. 5.

Prouidence. Prouidence is sometimes asmuch to say as knowledge, and foreknowledge of things to come. Sometimes it signifieth an ableneſſe to foresee for others of things necessary. So it is sayde, that God in heauen dothe foresee and care for all. Care may be applyed vnto the present, and prouidence or foreseing vnto the necessitie to come, so that he may be called prouident, whiche dothe foresee for hys for the tyme to come, and dothe it in season, least when necessitie dothe draw on, he lacke those things which be requisite for hys necessarie vse. Such was the worke of Gods Prouidence, that before he made man, he prouided al things necessary for hym.

Disposition. Disposition doth herein differ frõ care and prouidence, that to dispose dothe not properly signifie, to care, and prouide thyngs necessary, but to order and employ euery thyng by a conuenient discretiõ and difference, accordyng vnto the qualitie of all parties, wherein is commended the incomprehensible wisedome of God, in that hys care and prouidence reachyng from ende to ende, dothe dispose all things in wayght, number and measure. By this disposition all things doe remayne in theyr order, as well heauenly as earthly, as well highe, as lowe and meane, the skie, the sunne, the mone, the starres, the earth, hilles, playnes, soũtaynes, fluddes, sea, beastes both reasonable and voyde of reason, with all things belongyng vnto the conseruation of the same.

What the prouidence of God is. When we do cõsider these things as they were the partes of Goddes Prouidence, we doe easily perceyue, what is to bee iudged of the whole, that is, that the same is foreknowing, prouide, caryng, and disposing of al those things which be, haue bene, and are to come. Whereby al things are moste wisely disposed, according vnto the will of God the creator, gouernour and sauiour, & those things also made whiche yet be not, & those thyngs whiche bee already made directed and preserued: those thyngs whiche are to be abased, bee abased, and such as are to be aduaunced, bee aduaunced, those things which are to be chaſtened, be chaſtened, and those things whiche are to bee taken away, taken away, and those thyngs which

whiche are to bee chaunged, bee chaunged, &c.

Some do define the prouidence of God after this wise, Prouidence is the euerlastyng and vnchaungeable kyngdome, and administration of all things. They do meane by the worde of kingdome, dominion and power, and by the worde of administration, the temperature of the dominion, which they added, bicause of the finding and giuyng of all things vnto vs, with sæmeth in shew to be a condition of myniſterie as wel as of dominion. And thus much of the definition of Prouidence.

Whiche be the kindes of Prouidence.

The kindes of Gods prouidence. The Prouidence of Gods Maiestie is al one and selfe same, but if in case we do way his workes, we do find some certayne kindes therof, of whiche we could make many, but of them all, we will presently touche but three whiche be moſt principall, the first is of the creation, the second of the conſernation, the thirde of gouernance or rule.

1. The Prouidence of Creation.

There did cõcurre, and mẽte together in the worke of the creation the godnesse, mighte, wisedome and prouidence of God. For whereas hee created this whole frame of heauen and earth, to the good and profite of mankynde, it sheweth an argument of Gods godnesse, and whereas hee created all thyngs by the vertue of hys, worde, according vnto the saying of the Prophete, he sayde, and it was done, wee may acknowledge hys Omnipotencie. And whereas he disposed all things in so wonderful, commodious and profitable order, it doth sette forth vnto vs his incomprehensible wisedome. But whereas he did so make al things euen at the first beginning, that they should serue not onely for the present, but for the tyme to come also, and to continue euery one in theyr kinde & first order, and to be able to serue vnto our vses vntill the very ende of the worlde, all this is to be attributed vnto his prouidence. So the Prouidence of God gaue vs the light which we doe vse vntil the end, without the which all thyngs shoulde lye ouerwhelmed with darkeneſſe, and be deuided betwirte the darkeneſſe and the lighte, and appoynted day and night by enterchaunge of one of them after the other, he so tempered the chaunge of worksyng and reſtyng, that neyther the weakeneſſe of mã should be burdened more than his strength coulde away withall by continuall and vnceasing light, nor that if the darkeneſſe should still continue, the neceſſitie of worksyng should be excluded, but hee made that large walke, which wee doe call the firmament, in which the twoo great lightes, the sunne and the Mone shoulde by theyr enterchange and course giue lighte to all this worlde, and that the one also by his warmth should cherish al things, and the other by hys colde shoulde cole the earth, besides the reste of the vses of both the lightes.

The vvorkes of Gods prouidence.

By the same Prouidence God did euen at the beginning parte the waters frõ waters. And he so enclosed

them below into one place, that they
should nothyng anoy the land, which
he woulde gyue vs to dwell in, and
put into the earth a stregth of frute-
fulnesse, whereby bothe menne and
cattell shoulde bée fedde, and he gaue
a séede to the fruytes of trées, where-
by each kynde shoulde bée preserued
in his sorte, to the vse of all ages. He
replenished the waters with plentie
of all kyndes of fishes, the earth
with byrdes, beastes, cattell, and cre-
pyng wormes, vnto whiche all hée
gaue power to multiply, wherby the
sortes of all kindes doe endure vntil
this day. Lykewise he made man
also apte to procreation, hauyng in
him the séede of his owne sorte, loy-
nyng vnto hym a woman whiche
should be also apt to concepue, to de-
liuer, and nurrishe the childe: vnto
whome he gaue strength to encrease
& multiply naturally with his bles-
sing. And by his prouidence he creā-
ted neyther man alone, nor woman
without the man, but the male and
female togither, in which both kinds
ioyned by wedlocke into one flesh,
shoulde be preserued & encreased the
integritie and fulnesse of mankinde:
which coniunction ought to be estée-
med, and obserued moste religiously
and sincerely amongst men. Wher-
fore they doe plainely folowe the ab-
use of the olde Serpent and enimy
of mankynde, as many as do forsake
this ordinaūce of Gods prouidence,
and doe eyther slaunder the coniun-
ction of manne and woman in wed-
locke of vncleannesse, or do forbidde,
or breake, or any other vnlawfull
way defile the same. I doe ouerpasse
those abhominations of the Sodo-
mites, so punished from heauen to
the terrible example of reuenge, that
all mankinde might vntill the worlds
ende be afrayde to thinke thereof,
vnlesse that the mindes of many mē
were nowe adayes so blinded by the
illusion of the Diuell, and gyuen vp
into a reprobate vnderstāding. Thus
much briefly of the prouidence of the
first creation.

II. Of Conseruation.

The conseruation of the things created by God.

WE sayde that the seconde sorte of Gods Prouidence is in con-
seruation. And we do meane of that
conseruation, whereby all thyngs
whiche he created be so conserued,
that they may not only in theselues,
but in theyr order and degrée also so
endure, that they may serue to the
vse wherevnto they were first crea-
ted, not for one or two generations,
but for all ages, and be correspondēt
to the reason and purpose of the cre-
ation. Without this Prouidence so
greate a worke coulde not haue en-
dured, but that it had fallen euen at
the firste, with the wayght of it selfe.
Is it not a moste manifest worke of
Gods Prouidence, that the Sunne
beyng all firy and moste burnyng,
is neyther burnte it selfe, nor by hys
heate burneth not those things that
bée vppon the Earth? What is it
that the Fountaynes doe spryng vp
euery where, that the Riuers doe in
continuall course runne into the sea,
and that they returne agayne from
the Sea into their conduicts, and do
so by the continuance of their course
serue to our vse? that the earth is
rayned on from the skie, and moyste-
ned by the dewe from aboue, and
tempered by the wynter Snowe,
be

The conseruing prouidence of God to mankinde and vnto creatures.

be able to beare the heate the better
of the sommer folowing, that the plē-
tie of the sommer when all kynde of
fode is layde vp, doth goe before the
barennesse of the winter: that to all
kinde of corne & cattell, the nature &
kinde therof remayneth stil vnchaūge-
ded: that the fire doth yet vntill this
day kéepe still the strength to burne,
to warme and to walt: the water to
cole, moyste and cleanse, the ayre to
breath of, that the fruyte is concey-
ued in the mothers wōbe, accordyng
to the nature of euery kind of thing,
nurrished, encreased, deliuered into
the world, and preserued, and a num-
ber such other like: what do they elle
repoze vnto vs, but that the crea-
tures of God doe not lacke his pro-
uidence, whereby all things be kept
togither in theyr order?

Wée may consider this sorte of
Gods prouidence, which conserueth
and sauoth all thyngs, two wayes.
Firste immediately, and secondly by
mediation or meanes. The imme-
diate sorte is that, when it is done
without any meanes. The mediate
is that, when the worke and care of
conseruation is wrought by some
meanes. I do meane of such means,
as may come vnto our knowledge,
not of suche as bée vnknowen and
inuisible. The meanes of Gods pro-
uidence be manifest, by which man-
kynde is continued and encreased
through the coniunction of man and
woman, the children brought vp by
the care and trauaple of their pa-
rents, the earthe bothe yelde fruyte
beyng tilled and dressed by the labor
of menne, our bodyes be fedde by the
visible and earthly fode, the sicke bée
cured by the diligence and arte of
Phisitions, by the authoritie of Ma-
gistrates the publicke peace is pre-
serued, the vnlearned are taught by
the instruction of the learned, &c. By
whiche all, as meanes appoynted by
him, the worke of Gods Prouidence
is performed. Wherefore it behoo-
ueth the wyse and Godly person by
what wayes and meanes so euer hée
be fedde, cured and preserued, to ac-
knowledge the prouidence of God
his creator towardes hym, and with
a thankefull mynde prayse and com-
mende the same.

Of small beasts.

The greate Doctors of our reli-
gion séeme to bée in sundry myndes
concernyng small ware, I meane
small beasts and wormes. Hierome
supposeth that the Prouidence of
God extendeth not to eache of them,
but vnto the multitude onely. For so
he noted vppon Habacuck in these
wordes: Therefore like as the Pro-
uidence of God runneth through all
menne particularly, so wée may vn-
derstande that the disposition, order
and course of thyngs in other liuing
creatures is generall. As for exam-
ple, howe the multitude of fishe doth
bréede in the Sea, and lyue in the
waters, howe the creppyng wormes
and fourefoted beasts doe bréede vp-
on and in the earth, and with what
meates they bée fedde. But it were
a fonde matter to turne the proui-
dence of God vnto this, to know eue-
ry minute while, how many gnattes
are bredde, and howe many deade,
what a multitude of fleas and flyes
there be vpon the earth, what store
of fishe there swimmeth in the Sea,
and whiche of the smaller sorte shall
be swalowed vp of the greater. Let
vs not so foolishly flatter God, in

drawing his power euē to ẏ lowest trifels, that we do our selues wrong, in saying that there is lyke Prouidence in things reasonable and vnreasonable. Therefore that blynde booke is to be condemned for foolishnesse, wherin it is written, that there is a certayne Angell called Tyrus, which hath the rule ouer al creeping beasts, and that there be also after the like manner peculiar Angels appoynted vnto all trees and beasts, to haue the keping of them. Thus saith Hierome. Whiche things diligently examined, are founde to decay much of the perfectiō and fulnesse of Gods Prouidence, whiche dothe not consiste herein, that he dothe generally know, what the multitude of beasts is, howe they breede, and howe they ryse, and with what meates they bee fedde, but that he hath not onely a knowledge, but a care also of each of them, in so muche that there falleth not a Sparowe to the grounde without the knowledge of God, witnesse Christe hymselfe in Matthew. And how dothe this opinion of Hierome agree with the argument of Christe, where he dothe instruct vs of the prouidence of God by one sparow, and not by a multitude, to account therevpon, that we should not feare, least God woulde forsake vs, seyng that we be better than a great sorte of sparowes? Hierome sayth, that God careth not for euery particulare beaste, but for a multitude: but Christe speaketh not of many, but of one sparowe. And in case that God dothe not know, how many gnattes are bredde, and dead euery minute while, how doth he know all things concernyng his workes? If it skilleth not in what number they doe breede and dye, so that as well theyr breeding and dying is out of the knowledge of God, whome shall we make to bee theyr creator, of whence they doe receyue lyfe and thyngs necessary vnto the sustentation of that life? If all beastes do receyue life of God, surely they doe receyue it of him, not as of one that is ignorant therof, but of him ẏ knoweth it wel inough, I am content that the water and lande bee ignoraunt, what kind of creatures be bredde in them euery minute whyles, but it may not be, that God is ignorant thereof, who is the only creator and preseruer as well of them as of Angels, and is as well knowyng all, as Almightie in hys workes: and the payne is al a like vnto him to know the breeding and decay of each of his creatures, as to care for a multitude of them.

The place of Hierome examined.

Math. 10.

Augustine speaketh muche more to the purpose, saying: Let your charitie consider who disposed the members of the flea and flie, to haue their order and proportion, to haue theyr life, to haue theyr mouing? Marke me euen of ẏ little prety short beasts which you liste, and consider the order and proportion of his members, the agilitie & quicknesse of hys life, whereby it is moued, how it wil flie from death, as well as it can, how it loueth lyfe, desireth that whiche it liketh, escheweth trouble, exerciseth sundry senses, stirreth in that sorte of mouyng whiche belongeth vnto it, who gaue the gnatte the styng whereby it sucketh bloudde? Howe thinne a pype or conduyte it is thorowe whiche he doth draw it? Who

Augustin. Psalm 145.

orde-

ordered this, geare? who made thys geare? Doest thou wonder in the smallest thyngs? Prayse the great one. Therefore holde this doctrine faste my bretherne, lette no man remoue you from true beliefe & sounde doctrine. He whiche made the Angell in Heauen, he made the little prety worme in earth: the Angell of heauen to dwell in Heauen, and the worme of the earth, to dwell vpō the earth. Did he make the Aungell to haue him to creepe in the myre, & the worme to be in heauen? He gaue to euery place his inhabitors, to the incorrupte places things incorruptible, & corruptible things to the places which be corruptible. Marke all the whole, & commende al the whole. Thus sayth Augustine. Who is of the opinion, that the Prouidence of God is to be considered, yea in the least of all, and in euery liuyng creature, no lesse than in the Angels of heauē: and he iudged that his whole worke coulde not be fully perceyued without this consideration.

But some man will obiect me the saying of the Apostle, where after that he had alleaged the wordes of the lawe for his purpose, Thou shalt not mussell the mouthe of the Oxe, which treadeth out the corne, he addeth: Hath God any care of Oxen? of this poynt we noted in our Commentaries vpō the first epistle to the Corinthians. The Apostle doth not exclude the Oxen from the Prouidence of God, but he dothe declare that the same lawe, was not made bicause of Oxen, but for laboryng men, to the ende that they should liue vpō theyr labour. The care of Gods Prouidence is one thyng, and the care of the lawe makyng, is an other thyng. Oxen doe not belong to the seconde, but they do belong vnto the firste. The lawe was not wrytten for Oxen, but for vs (sayth hee) by whiche wordes, he dothe sufficiently signifie, that hee dothe speake of the care of God, not whereby he doth care for all his creatures, but wherby hee made that lawe for hys people. Wherefore this place of the Apostle can not maynteyne the opinion of Hierome.

III. The Prouidence of Gouernaunce and rule.

The thirde sorte of Gods Prouidence is that, wherby the whole worlde and al the things whiche bee therein, are gouerned, ruled and ordered. The disposition and order of Gods Prouidence is ouer al things, and God is among vs, in whom we doe lyue and bee moued. And there is a certayne degree of this Prouidence, albeit that the workyng therof be exceedyng large and vnsearchable, whereby wee may consider of it. And for this presente wee doe comprehende it in three parts, so that the gouernaunce and disposition of heauenly things shall bee the firste, the seconde of earthly, and the third of spirituall. The heauenly is that, whereby God dothe firste gouerne his Aungels, whiche hee hath to bee his mynisters of his will. And this parte of Gods prouidence, albeit it is farre from our knowledge and senses, as inuisible, yet for all that, it hath ben reuealed sometimes in certayne and visible examples by the appearings of Angels, of which wee

A diuision into three partes of the gouerning Prouidence of God.

do reade muche in the Scriptures of the olde, and somewhat of the newe Testament. Secondly, whereby hée dothe so order this firmament of the Heauen, with the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Windes, Dewe, Rayne, Frost, Snow, Ice, &c. after such a singular and wonderfull disposition, that it is manifest vnto all men, that those things come not to passe by chaunce, and that it is not possible, that there should be so greate an order in mouing & wandering things, but that all these things doe so procéede in the charge of a perpetuall law, that they be yet for all that, subiect vnto the will of God, by ẏ which the course of them is in some vnwõted manner, eyther changed, or stayed, or restrayned, for our good and profite, or for our euill. This parte Christe doth touche, when he saythe: Which bringeth forth his sunne and his rayne vpon the good and the euil. And the Prophet, when he sayth: Fyre, hayle, snow, yce, and the spirite of the tempests, which do his worde: and that, that the sunne stayde at the request of Iosue, in his place so lõg, till the Israelites were reuenged vpon their enimies. And that it returned tenne lynes by the same degrées whiche it had gone downe, to the intent that king Ezechias being deadly sicke, might be assured of the accomplishment of Gods promyses. Hereunto also the Eclipses of the sunne are to bée referred, not onely those whiche be certaine and naturall, but they also which be straunge and wonderfull: and besides that, the portẽtuous tokens and signes, which bée seene in the Sunne, Moone, and Firmament.

Iosue 10.

Esay. 38.

The earthly disposition of Gods Prouidence, dothe comprehende all those thyngs, whiche be done within the firmament of Heauen, in the sea, or in the Lande, & in all those things whiche be within any of them both. Of these some haue no lyfe, and some haue lyfe, as well reasonable as voyde of reason: those which doe lacke lyfe, be water, fyre, ayre, earth, hearbes, plantes, and suche other lyke, of whiche it can not bée sayde, that they bée ruled of themselues, or that there is no care had of them, or that they be gouerned by any other, than by theyr creator.

By him bée gouerned the waues of the Sea, and bée eyther tossed or dryuen into tempeste or caulmed. From hym commeth the fruytefulnesse or barreynnesse of the Lande, whereof appeareth a moste Godly example in the hystorie of Ioseph. From him commeth the wholesome ayre, and the plaguy infection also of the same.

VVhether that mã be gouerned by the prouidence of God.

Things hauing life, be the birdes of the ayre, the fish of the sea, and the beastes of the lande, bothe small and great, of whiche the number is infinite, and man also made to the likenesse of God. As touchyng byrdes, beasts, and fish, it may be easily perceyued, that they bée gouerned by Gods Prouidence: for as muche as being destitute of the ayde of reason, they can not rule thẽselues, and that the great parte of them be out of the custodie of Man.

But it séemeth that there may bée some doubte made of Man, bycause that hée hath the iudgement of reason, vnderstandyng, and knowledge gyuen hym, so that hée may knowe what

what to do, and what to eschew, and therefore néedeth not the continuall gouernaunce of Gods Prouidence, specially if he haue frée wyll, and did receyue at the very beginning of his nature the power and dominion of earthly things. Wherefore we wyll leaue to talke of the gouernaunce of things vnreasonable, and consider of man, whether that he be also ruled by the Prouidence of God, and subiect vnto his gouernance and order.

Man is a creature of God, in part heauenly, and in part earthly, and in that respecte he is subiecte vnto the same Prouidence, whereunto all creatures as well heauenly & earthly be generally subiect. He is made of a soule which is reasonable, and of the flesh which is taken from the dust of the earth, and is subiect vnto manye infirmities. Touching the reasonable soule, he hath heart and minde, he hath the power to vnderstande, to iudge, and to remember thinges by heart: he willeth, desireth, loueth, hateth, hopeth, and feareth, &c. By the flesh, he eateth, drinketh, slepeth, worketh, walketh, falleth sicke, dyeth, and is consumed. These be welnéere all the poyntes whereof man whollye consisteth. And in case that the gouernaunce of Gods Prouidence doe beare no place in them, surely it beareth no rule in the man at all, but in case that all these things particularly be gouerned by the Prouidence of God, I thinke it a cléere case, that the whole man altogither is gouerned by the Prouidence of God.

Man.

Firste, as concerning the soule, whereby we do liue, is not the same altogither in the power of God, not only to giue it when he will, but also to kéepe and take it away when hée will? The Prophete sayeth in the Psalme: Whiche kéepeth the soules of his sainctes. As for that whyche Christe sayde: I haue power to laye downe my soule, and take it agayne, can not be so truly sayde by vs, as it was by him: bycause there is not gyuen vnto vs the power of our owne soules, which he had as the Lorde of all. Neyther can the sainctes gouerne and kéepe their owne soules, howe much lesse can others do it? Neither can Princes so kéepe their soules, that they shall be safe inough against ẏ conspiracy of their enimies, though that they be neuer so surely watched and warded round aboute. But I suppose, that there is no man wyll stand to striue about this part of the soule by whych we do liue, but that it is vnder the order of Gods Prouidence: but there is more sticking for the rest, for we said more, that the soule consisteth also in the minde and the heart. And for as much as the minde séemeth to haue the preeminence in man, bycause of the habilitie of vnderstanding, iudging, reasoning, and remembraunce, whiche it taketh naturally of the maker, it is supposed to be able by hir owne foresight and wisedome, to gouerne man wholly, and that therefore it is not of necessitie subiecte vnto the Prouidence of God. But although that we may in manye poyntes, concernyng the case of man, vse somewhat the benefite of minde, vnlesse that it be corrupte and decayed by disordered affections: yet for all that, it is not so strong, that it can serue for our well ordering, without the gouernance of God. For albeit that we be neuer so strong

Psalme. 97.

The minde of Man.

The soule of Man.

strong in reasoning, yet is that styll tuft and sure, whiche the Scripture sayeth in the Prouerbes, that the tongue and proceeding of man is gouerned by God, albeit that in oure hearte we doe wisely dispose manye thinges after oure owne iudgemente. How then can there be ascribed vnto our minde a gouernaunce to bee ruled by, when we can not haue the gouernaunce of as muche of oure wordes, mouings or going? Haue not the Aungels also vnderstanding and iudgement? and yet for all that, wee must needes iudge him vnwise, that woulde take them out of the Prouidence of God.

Prouerb 16.

Of the dignitie and free will of man.

You will saye. But there was graunted a speciall prerogatiue and dignitie vnto man, in that he was made after the similitude of God, and endowed with free will, & made the Lord & maister of Gods workes, whiche he could not haue bin, vnlesse that he coulde firste rule himselfe before that he shoulde rule others.

I answere, There is as great a difference betwixt the first creation and dignitie of man, and the corruption that followed, as is betwixt heauen and earth. Man as Augustyne sayth, abusing his free will, lost both himselfe and hys free will. Wherefore we can not chalenge vs the dignitie lost in Adam. Wise menne doe knowe by experience, that man is neuer sonder or more out of ỹ way, than when he is lefte vnto hymselfe, and semeth to intende all thynges most wisely, after hys owne iudgemente and wyll. Wherefore all godlye persons doe committe all heyr purposes, councels, and doings vnto the heauenly prouidence. And therefore be in all mens mouthes these termes: And God before, God willing, By the help of God, and If God will, and such other like, whych tearmes commeth not only of the instinct and motion of Godlinesse, but of the experience also of all ages. All worldly matters, and all the purposes of all men, are comprised in these two endes: that they be done eyther for man, or by man. Those thynges whiche be done, or maye be done, for man, or to man, are beyond all consideration. Things be done vnto hym some immediately from God, and some mediately eyther by good or euill spirites, eyther by creatures hauing no life, as well heauenlye as earthly, eyther by liuing creatures, as beastes and men. I beseeche you howe is the minde of man able in all these thinges, eyther to applye hym selfe vnto good, eyther to withstande them, or to eschewe euill, vnlesse that he be ruled and gouerned by ỹ Prouidence of God? and graunt he were strong ynough for the thinges present, how shoulde he be able to resist thinges to come, of whiche he can not imagine, no not as it were in a dreame? Suche thinges as be done by man, albeit that they be done by neuer so well aduised counsell, yet for all that they haue no certaynetie of successe, so that for the most parte they do fall out farre otherwise than they were meante, whyche muste needes be of necessitie, when man purposeth one thing, and God disposeth an other. To be shorte, man purposeth, and God disposeth, and the imaginations of man he vayne as the Scripture testifyeth. Wherefore wee muste not thynke, that in this

Thinges done for man.

The hart of man.

Thinges done by man.

Note. The heart can loose the spirit of man, it can not fine it.

this parte nother whyche concerneth the mynde and principall parte, whereof some men doe exceedingly glory, but that man is subiect, yea in the respecte also whiche he vseth reason, vnto the gouernaunce of Gods prouidence, and that he is subiecte not by violente but necessary subiection, no lesse than all other ioyning creatures, which be voyde of the benefyte of reason.

Lette vs goe nowe to the hearte of man, in whyche is the seate of affections, wyll, appetite, loue, hate, hope, feare, sorrowe, and ioye, &c. Who can sufficientlye expresse, how great folishnesse, corruption, and depravation there is in it? The hearte of man sayeth ỹ Prophete, is naught and vnsearchable, and who shall knowe it? It is able to lose the lyfe of man: but it is not able to rule it, and yet for all that it followeth not reason, albeit it tell him anye thyng aryghte. It wylleth, coueteth, and loueth, when it ought not to will, couet, and loue. It abhorreth, and hateth those things, which ought to bee embraced. It hopeth, whereas is no hope. It mistrusteth, where it should haue most truste, it is heauie, where it ought to reioyce, it feareth, where is no feare. Therefore seing that it is so depraued and ouerthwarte of it selfe, and followeth not good aduises, what remayneth else, but that of necessitie it muste be ruled by the Prouidence of God, leaste if it be left vnto it selfe, it cast away both the lyfe, and that whyche is looked for of man. He who hathe the hearte of Kynges whyche be not franke and free in his hande, surely he hathe the heartes also of other men, to rule

1. Sam. 10.

The flesshe and bodye of man.

Iob. 13.

they whole lyfe, intentes, purposes, and doings. I knowe O Lord, sayeth Hieremie, that the way of manne is not his owne, neyther that it is in the man to walke, and direcle hys steppes and goings.

As for the flesshe and body of man, there is no doubt but that this bodye framed togither of flesshe, bones, vaynes, and arteries, mayntened with blonde, & inspired with breath, dothe not rule no more than brute beast dothe, but is ruled and is full and whole subiecte vnto Gods Prouidence, in so muche that God keepeth the certayne and perfecte number of his paises, and of the heares also of his head: wherefore wee doe conclude, that man wholly bothe in soule, minde, heart, and body, with all his aduises, purposes, doings, and behestes, &c. be subiecte vnto the Prouidence of God, and in all thinges is gouerned by the same.

Hitherto we haue spoken of the heauenlye and earthly disposition of Gods Prouidence. Now remayneth the third, whyche is spirituall: And I doe meane of that, whereby the heartes of the elect be regenerated by the spirite of Christ, lightened, purged, sanctifyed, iustifyed, and ruled so, that they liue now not of them selfe, but that Christe dothe liue within them. This parte of Gods Prouidence is speciall, and appoynted to the children of God. And it is of that sort also, that it is not only done immediately by the operation of the holy spirite of Christ, but mediately also in many folkes, by the working withall of the ministers, whose help he vouchsaueth to vse therein, as we haue declared before.

That

That vve must not abuse the doctrine of Gods *Prouidence.*

Tvvo kindes of men abusing the Prouidēce of God.

There be two kindes of men, by whome the doctrine of Goddes prouidence is abused. The first is of them, whiche after that they be once perswaded, that all oure things, concerning either our life, intentes, and doings, be in the hand of Gods Prouidence, whereby all is ruled and disposed, streight way of a crooked carelesnesse, they set cocke in the hoope, as we be wonte to saye, and despise all things which they ought to care for, and do lay them to the prouidence of God, and saye: Why should I carke and care in vaine? God will prouide and dispose me thinges to my néede and necessitie. And to this purpose they do vse that saying of Abraham, when he saide vnto his sonne Isaac: God shall prouide him a burnte offering my sonne, of whiche place it followeth not for all that, that we shuld neglecte those things that doe belong vnto our care. Albeit that Isaac dyd heare his father say so, yet notwithstanding he carried wodde with him to make the sacrifice of burnt offering, and sayde not: If God will prouide him for an offering, he will prouide him wodde also, or else he wyll wast the burnte offering with fyre from Heauen, so that there shall bée no néede of wodde. He made none of these aunsweres vnto his father, but did that which he was bidden do, and cōmitted the rest vnto God. Wherefore that saying of the Prophet: Cast thy care vpon the Lorde, and he shall cherishe thee vp, must not be so taken of the husbandman, that he doe neyther till nor sow his land, but so that after he hath ploughed and sowen, he must committe the encrease of hys trauayle with a good hope vnto the care and Prouidence of God. So likewise that saying: Vnlesse the Lorde do build the house, they do laboure in vayne whiche doe buyld it, must not serue to this effect, that wée must neglect our building, and leaue that to be done by the prouidence of God, whiche maye and oughte to bée done by vs. To be short, those things which can not be done by vs, we shal do well to committe them to the prouidence of God, at suche time as we haue done as muche by the faythe of his prouidence, as we be able well and lawfully to do. To do otherwise, is nothing else but to tempte God: he dothe féede vs all, but so that wée eate and drinke. For albeit that man liueth not by breade onely, but by euery worde whiche procéedeth out of the mouth of God, yet for all that, he doth so féede vs commonly, that wée must séeke by our trauaile the meate which he doth giue, and eate it so gotten. So we must ioyne our trauayle vnto the prouidence of God, and yet for all that we muste attribute nothing vnto our trauayle, but all vnto Gods prouidence.

God shall prouide.

Gen. 22.

Cast thy care vpon the Lorde.

Vnlesse God doe build the house.

There is an other sorte of them, whiche doe wickedlye abuse the doctrine of Gods prouidence, saying: If all our purposes, intents and doings be disposed by the prouidēce of God, then not only the good things, but the euill also whiche we do, must néedes be done by the same: wherefore it commeth not of vs that we do sinne, but of the disposition of Gods prouidence. Now the Prouidence of God is

Ergo it commeth of Gods prouidence that vve sinne.

is euerlasting and immutable, and therefore not only those things whiche séeme to betide vnto vs by happe, but those thinges also which we doe as well euill as good, do runne on by a perpetuall & immutable set course of law, and our destinies do so dryue vs, that we be compelled of necessitie, will we, nill we, to suffer and to do those things whiche we doe suffer of others, and those things which we oure selues doe vnto others. And so séeyng they doe laye all the blame of their sinnes not vnto themselues, but vnto God.

What shall we say to thys geare? these be wordes not of godly, but of wicked folke, they whiche be godlye doe saye with the Apostle: The euill whiche I doe hate, I do, and the good which I would wish to do, I do not. And howe commeth this to passe? There dwelleth (sayeth he) sinne in me. I knowe (sayeth he) that there dwelleth not in me, that is to saye, in my flesh, any goodnesse. So he dothe laye the blame of his sinne, not vnto God, but vnto the sinne dwellyng within his flesh. And he loueth not euill, but he hateth it: he dothe not excuse it, but rather accuse it. Neyther he doth lay it vnto the prouidence of God, but he flyeth vnto his mercye, saying, A wretched man I am, who shall deliuer me from the bodye of this deathe? The grace of God thorough Iesus Christ our Lord. Thus I saye, godlye folke be afflicted, both acknowledging the corruption and malice of their fleshe, and do confesse the same wyth sorrowe, chargyng it wyth the blame of theyr sinnes, and that James meante where he sayeth: Lette no man saye when hée is tempted, that he is tempted of God, for God dothe not tempt vnto euill, neyther he tempteth any manne, but each man is tempted as drawen and entised by hys owne concupiscence or lust, and then, when concupiscence hathe conceyued, it bringeth foorthe sinne, &c.

And yet for all this, the Godly do by this opinion derogate nothing at all of the diuine and vnsearcheable Prouidence of God, but they doe knowe that he dothe order and gouerne all oure intentes, purposes, and doynges, accordyng vnto the will eyther of his grace, or of anger, so that there is nothing as much as thoughte by vs, muche lesse done, but that it is subiecte vnto his Prouidence. In hym we be, we liue, and be moued, sayeth the Apostle. *Ergo* it is as much impossible, that it shoulde be vnknowen vnto him, and voyde of hys prouidence, that we be, we liue, and be moued, as the childe that is in the mothers bellie shoulde not bée knowen of, to the mother in whome it is, it liueth, and is moued. Yea the childe is not so knowen to the mother, and so subiecte vnto hir prouidence, as we be, and all oure lyfe, and all our motions as well of heart as of bodye be in the knowledge and Prouidence of God. So that he doth not onely knowe and foreknowe, but he doth rule also all our thyngs, and that after hys frée wyll and libertie.

The godly do decaye nothing of Gods prouidence.

In case that there be in vs anye goodnesse not onely of worke, but of wyll, it is of God himselfe, whyche worketh in vs both to will and to performe. For we be not able inough to thynke anye goodnesse, as of oure selues,

Philip. 1.

selues, but all our abilitie is of God.
a.Cor.3. On the other side in case that we will, and doe any thing that is euil, albeit we will this by the malice of oure owne heart, and through the instinct of Satan, yet for all that wise men may not denie, that the same neyther is not so done, withoute the prouidence of God, who vseth our wickednesse also, according vnto his moste iust and free will, vnto some certayne ende, whiche he purposed from euermore, doyng in his owne, and of his owne what hee wyll, lyke as wee declared before in the place of Goddes iustice. So wee shall saye aryghte that no man doth sinne, but by his owne malice, and againe, that no man dothe sinne without the Prouidence of God.

Our naughtinesse doth not delyuer vs from the dominion of God.

And shuld we be so fond to thinke, that the malice of mans hearte doth decay any thing of the right and authoritie of God, so that after we become once euill, we should be no longer subiect vnto his dominion? The malice of the Deuill though he were neuer so naught, did not make hym free from the authoritie and dominion of God, but that he should be subiect to serue at hys wyll. God dothe vse his malice as often and what time, howe and whereunto hee wyll. And yet for all that neuer to anye euill ende, whereunto Satan hymselfe dothe most diligently seeke, and endeauor: but alwayes to suche an ende, as is conueniente for God the sauior, and iudge also of all.

The historie of Iob.

Loke vpon the Hystorie of Iob, and see whether that Satan also doth not appeare among the seruauntes, that is to say the Ministers of God, and whether that God dyd not delyuer into hys handes, all the wealthe of Iob. Firste the Sabees draue away all his Oxen and thee Asses and stroke his children with the swoorde: secondly there fell fire downe from heauen, and consumed all his Shéepe and seruants: thirdlye, the Chaldees fet away his Camels. Fourthly, a vehemente wynde strooke, and ouerthrew the house, wherein his children were banketting, & they were slaine, squashed with the fall of the house: fiftly, he did also miserably torment the bodye of Iob himselfe, and made it moste lothsome, and pitifull. I beséeche you was there anye iustice in that, that the Sabees and Chaldees draue away the Oxen, Asses and Camels of Iob, being an innocent person, and whiche neuer did them anye harme? and that they slewe his seruauntes with the swoorde? Let there be no accompte made of the Oxen, Asses, and Camels, shall we say, that the bloud of man might be lawfully shedde at al aduentures and without cause, did not GOD himselfe saye streighte after the fludde, whosoeuer doth shed the bloud of man his bloud shall be shedde. I pray you then to whome shall we referre this vniuste dealing? Surely vnto Satan principally, who is a lyer and a manslayer from the beginning, and secondarily vnto the wrongfull dealing of the Sabees and Chaldees. Thus I doe meane of the vniustice of thys facte doyng, but yet for all that who seeth not, that the very facte it selfe proceded wholly of the will and Prouidence of God? without whiche neyther Satan, nor the Sabees, nor Chaldees had bin able, to haue done any of their matters againste Iob?

How the malice of sinners, the prouidence of God doe concurre.

For God himselfe, whereas he sayd. Lo all things whiche he hathe be in thy hands. Gaue the power, and authoritie vnto Satan, whereby thys was done: and we can not referre all those things to the malice of the wicked natiõs of the Sabees and Chaldees, for as much as there came fyre also downe from heauen, and consumed Iobs Shéepe and seruauntes, and that a tempeste of wynde ouerthrewe hys house, and slewe hys children. Shall wée therein attribute anye malice, vnto the fyre, and wynde? dothe not the Prophet saye of them, that the fyre, hayle, snowe, yce, and tempestuous wynde, do fulfill hys worde? Whome shall wée appointe to be Lorde of all these thynges besydes God the creator of the same? Is he then the author of anye euill? hée is not the author of euill, as euill, and yet for all that those thynges whyche betyded vnto Iob chaunced by hys wyll. They were not euill in the respecte of the Prouidence, Wyll, and power of GOD, and yet notwithstandyng they were euill in respecte of Satan, and the wicked Sabees and Chaldees. So they sinned with Satan of theyr owne malice, and notwythstandyng they dyd that whyche they dyd, by the speciall Prouidence of God.

Take an other example. Dauid when he waxed olde, sinned in the numbryng of the Israelites, for whyche sinne the people was stricken with Pestilence, and there dyed thereof thrée score and tenne thousand men, if you aske what moued Dauid to number his people, it is readye to finde in the booke of the Chronicles.

2.Sam.vlt. Satan stoode vp against Israell, and moued Dauid to number Israel: and that in Samuell: The displeasure of the Lord fell against Israel, and moued Dauid touching them, to that he said vnto Ioab, Goe and number me Israell, and Iuda. You see nowe that Satan did procure and entice Dauid, and yet you doe perceyue withall, that not Satan but God was the firste mouer in this matter. He was displeased with the Israelites, and wouldе plague them, and therefore moued Dauid by his oversighte to minister him an occasion to be angry, and to doe that whiche hée had determined. So Dauid did sinne enticed by Satan, and yet for all that, the facte it selfe came firste from the Prouidence of God, who vsed the seruice of Satan, to this ende, to entice Dauid to number the people. Wherefore the Scripture sticketh not to attribute vnto God, that hée being angrye with Israell, moued therevnto Dauid. And doe wée not see in thys case also, that in the culpable facte, there is not only the malice of Satan, and the sinne of the man that offended, but that there cõcurreth withall the Prouidence also of God?

Ioseph. If you ponder the Hystorie of the sonnes of Iacob, whiche wickedlye handled, and solde their brother Ioseph into Egypte, what shall you fynde else, but a manifest and a notable example of the Prouidence of God? God did not onely foreknowe what they shoulde doe, neyther dyd not only direct the same whiche they did to a good ende, but he did also appoint the whole of it before, & did direct their mindes to do so, though they

vnderstode it not, yea he did diligently ordre it so, that they shoulde do no otherwise. And that Joseph knewe, and declared also, when he sayd vnto them in Egypt, you sente me not hyther, but God.

An obiection.

But you will saye, then God dyd moue the heartes of Josephes brethren to cause them to sell him, and to committe so great an offence, not only against hym, but against his father also. If we say so, do we not attribute the euill which they did committe vnto God, as the author therof, and so discharge them of the offence?

Neither God is the author of euill nor he without fault with the sinners.

I aunswere, we doe none of them both, we doe neither make God author of the euill, neither we doe not clere them of the blame. The euil of this facte was not of god, but it was breedde in their heartes, I meane the hate of their brother, whiche is of Satan, and not of God, wherby they were stirred to compasse the thyng whyche was quite contrarye to the purpose and counsell of God, in that they determined to kill their brother to proue what the dreames shoulde doe him good, whiche he had opened vnto them, they conceyued the causes of theyr hatred first of that, that they perceyued Joseph was dearely beloued of his father. Secondly, because he accused them to their father of a most filthy crime. And thirdlye, for the telling of the dreames whych he had seene. Shall we say nowe that this hatered and purpose to kyl their innocent brother came of God? God forbidde. For the malice of this fact was herein contrary vnto the purpose of God, the drifte whereof God neuertheles fulfilled by Ruben, and afterwardes by Judas, so that the purpose of hys Prouidence proceeded without staye to the determined ende and effecte. And whereas Judas dyd aduise them to sell Joseph vnto the Ismaelites, he did it not vpon anye hatred that he bare vnto him, but for an affection of mercye, and of the feare of God, and to bee sure, that the childe shoulde not bee murthered.

And this counsell of his was not euill (vnlesse ỹ it be euill vpō the affection of pitie, and feare of God to hynder the deuices of the hatred of his brethren, and the sheading of innocente bloude.) Neyther was it against the prouidence and purpose of God, but it did rather make the way thervnto, and therfore it was not of Satan, but of God, no more thā that was, that the reste of ỹ brethren, leauing theyr purpose of their murder, followed the aduice of Judas to sell him. So we doe in this example also see, howe the malice of man, yea rather of the Deuil doth so concurre with the Prouidence of God in one selfesame facte, so that God is neyther author of euill, nor yet that any thing is done without his prouidēce. Wherefore it were verye wicked, if anye man should so wreste and wring the doctrine of the Prouidence of God, to lay the blame of the mslice, eyther of man, eyther of the Deuill vnto God, or else to spoyle God of all the prouidence of his frée gouernaunce and power ouer all. Of thys matter in my opinion no man ought to iudge without greate discretion. Lette vs giue that which is of God, vnto God, and that whiche is of the malice of man or of the Deuill, lette vs

Whether the workes of Joseph did please God.

of man or of the Deuill, let vs giue it vnto the Deuill or else to the naughtye and corrupte man.

It was Goddes wyll and order, that Joseph shoulde bee solde into Egypte, and thys hee woulde not for any purpose of euill, but for the profyte of hys people. But whereas hys brethren dyd is wrongfully hate hym, it proceeded not of hys but of the Diuels wil, whyche for all that, he did so temper by his godlye prouidence, that the same came to passe whyche not the Deuill, but he determined vppon. You wyll say againe: The Prouidence of God is immutable, and therefore it is of necessitie, that whatsoeuer hee hathe foresene, and disposed, be performed. Now if they were appoynted by the Prouidence of God, that Joseph shoulde bee solde by hys brethren, it followeth that they dyd the same of necessitie. And in case they were driuen of necessitie to sell hym, did they not that wythout blame, which they dyd of necessitie? and whereas they coulde doe no otherwyse, than they were appoynted of GOD, I aunswere. Loke that you make a difference betwirt the counsell of God, and the counsell of the Deuill. That whyche is determined of by God, is subiecte vnto necessitie, but neyther the Deuill, neyther the naughtye man doe willingly obey this necessitie, but doe followe theyr owne malice. And whereas God vseth the same vnto hys purpose, and stirreth them to doe the same whiche of a wicked intente they take vppon them to doe: or else whereas hee dothe so temper and moderate the naughtie wyll of them, that theyr very facte commeth to an other maner ende than they loked for, is there anye godlye person, whiche accounteth that thys is to bee mysliked in the Maiestie and power of God, and will not thynke it to be most iust of all?

The counsell and purpose of the Deuill was, that Joseph should bee meste spitefully hated and murthered of hys brethren, the counsell of God was, that hee shoulde bee solde into Egypte, to be the procursor of Israell, whyche shoulde come thyther when the tyme serued. Therefore, whereas they solde him, they did it of necessitie, but not therfore, because that it was so appointed by God, but they woulde followe their mischeuous affection. Wherefore they did that whiche they did, neyther without blame, neyther without greate faulte. So that it remayneth, that the whole facte bee referred vnto the prouidence of God: but that the circumstances whyche be worthy of blame, be referred vnto the malice eyther of man, eyther of the Deuill, eyther vnto both. And this sentēce or saying (as I suppose) hath no inconuenience, but doth readily assoyle those obiections, whyche are layde by wicked persons against the prouidence of God. If anye man loke for more superstitious talke herein, let him seeke ỹ trifling tapes of the Sophisters, where hee shall fynde himselfe more abod, than hee shall be able honestly to shifte himselfe of agayne.

Howe the Prouidence of God doth agree with *Happe and Chaunce.*

The prouidence of God dothe exclude chaunce & fortune.

THe prouidēce of God is of that nature, that through the immutable certaintie thereof, whereby al things be ruled, it excludeth al chāce and happe of fortune. I cal it chance and happe of fortune, whatsoeuer appeareth and betideth vnlooked for, vnforeséene at all aduentures, and without any sure cause or reason, so that it appeareth to be done by no foresight at all, neyther of God, neyther of mā, such as without number, doth befall among men in the world. Therefore loke how much any man doth yelde vnto chance and fortune, so muche he doth pull away from the prouidence of God. Vnto good Christian mē it is a cléere case, that there chanceth nothing throughout all this whole world at hazard, or al aduentures without the prouidence of God, which disposeth all. Wherefore my iudgemente is, that chaunce and fortune be vayne wordes, and to no purpose.

Of chance and fortune out of the scriptures.

But some man will obiecte out of the holye Scriptures two Ebreiwe wordes, whiche are wont to bée vsed for chaunce & fortune, and are founde there in sundrye places, as in Samuell, where we do reade, howe that he whiche had slayne Saule, saide vnto Dauid: I came by chaunce into the mount of Gelboe. And in the booke of the Kings: And a felow drewe vp his bowe, and let flée an arrowe at all aduentures, and by chaunce stroke the King of Israell betwixte the lyghtes and the stomacke. And the Ecclesiastes: The runner the race lyeth not in the swift man, neyther the battell in the strong, the wise haue not always bread, nor the man of vnderstanding wealth, neyther the mē of knowledge haue grace, for all these thinges doe happen in time and by chance. *Ergo*, chaunce and fortune bée not vayne wordes and to no purpose, for if they were so, the Scripture would not vse thē. *Ergo*, it followeth, that all things be not ruled by the certayne prouidence of God, but that a number of things do fortune & come by chance: as that the same man came by chāce to the mount of Gelboe, at the verye instante, when Saule would haue slaine himselfe, and that King Achas was stricken with an arrowe at all aduentures.

2. Samuel.

1. Reg. 22.

I aunswere, he which slew Saule was an Amalechite and an Ethnike, so that it was no wonder that hée saith, He came by chance to ỹ mount of Gelboe: but who vnderstandeth not, that the death of that king was tolde of before, and that therefore it came not by chaunce and fortune.

As touching the two other places, where we can not denie but that the Scripture doth vse these wordes, we doe aunswere in fewe words. The Scripture dothe speake in words accustomed, and taken out of the vsage of men, and it is a common matter among men to call the same chaunce and happe, of which we can make no assured reason, nor know frō whence it is betided. And yet for all that it followeth not hereupon, that wé should denye that the world is ruled by the prouidence of God. For these words, chance, happe, and fortune, do not reache further than oure knowledge, in respecte whereof they bée so taken. Those things which do séeme vnto vs to chaunce without any certayne cause, and therefore doe séeme to come of fortune, are nothing lesse before God than chaunce and fortune.

Deinde.

Wherefore as often as wée doe reade or heare anye suche matter in the Scriptures, let vs stande vppon these tearmes of mans knowledge, and thinke that the verye same matter is to vs ward called Chance and fortune, but to Godward, which gouerneth and disposeth all thinges, it is certayne and disposed by the immutable prouidence of God: as for example. It is simplye, and playnelye tolde, howe that Achab kyng of Israell, as we alleaged before, was stricken by chaunce, betwixte the lightes and the stomacke, by an Archer that loosed at all aduentures, so that to the appearance and iudgement of man it was chaunce, and yet notwithstanding it appeareth for a certaynetie, that the same facte was disposed and appoynted vpon, by the certayne prouidence of God, and told before by the Prophete. Wherevpon the Scripture dothe giue a watche worde in the same place, that it was done according vnto the worde of the Lord. *Ergo*, the Lord had so determined, that Achab shoulde be stricken with an arrowe, and dye in the fielde, and this was his destinie, as ỹ word Destinie is deriued of destynyng or appointing, for the worde of the Lord is an immutable destinie, whereby all thynges bé ruled. Wherefore Augustine sayeth aryghte in a place, that it was the destinie of the Starre at the byrthe of Chryste, and not the Destinie of Chryste in the Starre.

And as touching the place of the Ecclesiastes, who seeth not but that it ought to bee redde wyth this discretion: To the worlde, renning, battell, lucklode, wealth, and fauoure of men, séeme not to depende vppon the strength of menne, but to befall as it were of chaunce. Whereas in déede all these things do depend vppon the prouidence of God. For in case that the foresteppes and goings of man be directed by God, what doubte wée of the race, or running. And in case that God be the Lorde of Hostes, surely hee is the Lord of battell also. If when God openeth his hande all thinges are fylled with godnesse, is not oure bread then also ministred vnto vs by hys prouidence. And in case that the Lord doth empouerishe and enrich accordyng vnto the scripture, for a certaynetie wealthe and ryches, bée not happes of fortune, but to the outward shew, and appearaunce: And in case that the heartes of men be in the hande of God, then all the fauoure whyche maye betyde one man from an other, is in the Prouidence of GOD. Wherefore it were requisite wée hadde a discrete iudgemente in such kynde of speaches, that the respectes thereof bée not confounded, but that there be wise difference made betwixte those thinges whyche ought to be referred vnto the Prouidence of GOD, and those whyche ought to bée referred no farther, than to the capacitie of mens vnderstaunce, and bée so muche the more vntrue, the more they bée against the immutable trueth and certaynetie of Gods Prouidence. And thy-

muche of the Prouidence of God, as wee haue thoughte good for this presente.

Of the Presence of God.

That God doeth dwell vnderstand of Gods being in Heauen.

THe Scripture dothe reporte of God that he is in Heauen, and that hee dwelleth there, and hath fixed and prouided hys seate there. He that dwelleth in Heauen sayeth the Prophete, shall mocke them, and the Lorde loked downe from Heauen and the Lorde hathe made ready his seate in Heauen, and God himselfe sayeth, Heauen is my seate, and Christ taught vs to praye so, Oure father whiche arte in Heauen. And when the rude people doe heare this, they doe ymagine, that God is as farre off, & absente frō vs, as Heauen is from the Earthe, and as Heauenlye thinges be from the Earthly, and that therefore he dothe worke mightyly and effectuallye in the Earthe. But yet that he dothe execute all these things by his spirites both good and euill, whiche hee sendeth being absent him selfe. For they do ymagine of God, as of some moste mighty King, whiche dothe gouerne all things by his princely power, throughout all hys Realme, by the meanes of ministers and seruauntes, and that hee sytteth the whyles in hys Princely tower, and exacte, commaundyng what hee will haue done. Thys is a childishe ymagination, and vnfyt for GOD. Wherefore I haue thoughte it good to note somewhat briefely of the presence of God, whereby all thynges doe consiste, and bee ruled. For wee haue not a GOD whyche is absente, but euerye where presente.

That God is presente euery where.

Psalm.138. That God is presente euerye where.

THe Prophet whose delight was to be euer meditating or musyng some thyng of God, when hee was accused vnto Saule by his enimies, that hee hadde conspyred againste hym and hys Kyngdome, referryng the cause of hys innocency vnto the knowledge of God, sayeth fyrste, that all hys thynges, hys sytting, standyng, thynkyng, pathes, and wayes, hys lying downe, and speache was knowen vnto GOD, whereunto hee addeth thys. Whether shall I goe from thy spirite: and whether shall I flye from thy face? If I goe vppe into Heauen, thou arte there, if I laye me downe in Hell, lo thou arte presente: If I take me the wynges of the morning, and dwell at the vttermoste parte of the Sea, thy hande shall leade mee also there, and thy ryght hande shall holde mee vppe: By these wordes hee dothe expresslye attribute vnto God, that hee is presente euery where, and that hee doth not so dwell in Heauen, but that withall hee is vpon the earthe, in Hell, and at the vttermost partes of the Sea. When hee sayeth, whether shal I goe from thy spirit, & whether shall I flye from thy face? Doeth he

Ieremie. I good & nea- rand vnto.

VVyth what vehemence the vvorde of filling is vsed.

he not sufficiently signifye, that there is no place anye where whereunto a man maye flee, not simplye from God, but from the face of God: by whyche specialty hee dothe expresse the presence of God, to fyllyng all things, that no man can auoyde it. God hathe not a face, like a man, but for as much as men doe vse to make it an argument of presence, when the partie is before a mans face, and appearing there, wee doe attribute a face vnto God, to signifie hys presence. And he dothe alleage Heauen, Hell, and the extreame partes of the Sea, to comprehende by the hyghest, lowest, and middle partes, all thys whole, and to lay it all vnder the presence of God.

In Hieremie we do reade in thys wise, I am the God that is at hande sayeth the Lord, and not a God farre off, there is no man hid in corners, but that I doe se hym, sayeth the Lorde. Do not I fyll Heauen, and earth sayeth the Lorde? We doe see here also that the foolishnesse of the is reproued, whiche doe suppose that God is farre off from vs, and that therefore we maye flye hys knowledge and sighte: for that purpose the Prophete speaking of God doth say, that he is not a God farre off, but nere hande, that is to say presente, and that hee seeth all thing, yea that whiche is done in secrete, and least anye man shoulde surmise that hee seeth all thynges from Heauen, and not presently, he addeth, Doe not I fyll both Heauen, and Earthe? as though he did saye, howe can I bee the God farre off, and not knowe the secretes of mens intentes, seeyng that I am so presente euerye where that I doe not onely pearce, but also fulfyll not onely Heauen, but also this whole Earthe. And who seeth not by what figure of vehemente speache the Prophete dothe vse the worde of fyllyng? Wee doe not fyll the places where we bee presente: Wherefore fyllyng can not bee sayd of oure presence: but those places whiche we doe fyll be not without oure presence. Now we muste otherwise iudge of God. Hee is so presente that hee fylleth all where he is presente. And he fylleth Heauen and Earthe. *Ergo* hee is presente as well in Earthe, as in Heauen. Secondlye where thynges bee full, there is nothing lefte voyde or emptie, therefore GOD is so presente euerye where, that there is no place, neyther in Heauen nor in Earth whych is destitute of the presence of God. And the necessitie of all these things whiche hee hathe made dothe so requyre it to be. For none of them is able to abyde and remayne but in their maker, so that of whome, and by whome all thynges be, in hym also all things bee, do liue, and are moued.

The necessitie of the presence of God.

Hovv God is presente euery where.

Augustine. To be present, after the as to be before the senses.

IF we doe credite Augustine, those things be present vnto vs, whiche be before our senses inward or outwarde, because that to be presente is as much to witte, as to bee before the senses, as we doe say, that to be before the eye, is to be presente in the eye. Nowe seeyng that God is in deede euerye where, and doth fyll all things, but yet that hys presence

is not conceyued in all mens senses, and that there be a number of hys creatures whiche haue no senses, howe can he be sayde to be presente euery where, if to be presente bée as muche to saye, as to bée before the senses? What man coulde abyde to synne, if hée had God thys wise presente, that is to saye, before hys senses, eyther inwarde or outwarde? Wherefore wée must consider howe we ought to iudge of the presence of God.

Presence manifolde.

I fynde that there bée many manners of Presence amongst men. One is bodily, and a nother spirituall, and a nother virtuall, a nother contemplatiue, and by imagination: the corporall or bodyly presence is that, when we be presente in bodye anye where, and this is all one wyth that, which we doe call Locall presence: albeit that some men doe make a difference betwixte bodily and Locall.

Bodily presence.

Yet for all that Augustine dothe speake of the bodily presence in thys wise: Take away the space of places from bodyes, and they shall bée no where, and forasmuche as they shall be no where, they shall not be at all: Take the verye bodyes from theyr qualities of the bodyes, and there shall be no place for them to bée in, and therefore of necessitie they must not be. Therefore this presence can not be referred vnto God, partly bycause he hath no body, and partly, bycause he can not be shutte vp into a place, and bycause that the Locall presence can not stande with that presence, wherewith Heauen and Earth, and all things be fylled. Of God it is said arighte, that he is present, and yet not there.

August. ad Dardanus.

Tertullian in hys booke agaynste Praxeas, doth attribute a body vnto God, when he sayeth: Who denyeth but that God is a bodye, although that God be a Spirite? For a Spirite is a body after his kinde in hys shape. But he vseth the word of Bodye for a substaunce or person, and dothe sette it agaynste Phantasie, to serue to the argumente whyche he hath in hande. We doe call that a bodye, whyche dothe consist of matter and forme, or shape, and is visible, able to be felte, and Locall, that is hauing some place. The bodily and Locall presence of suche a bodye can not be attributed vnto God, bycause that he is not made of nature and fourme to be séene and felte, whereas hée is a Spirite and without bodye.

How Tertullian doth say, that God hath a bodye.

The Spirituall presence is that, wherby we be presente in some place in Spirite, albeit that we be absente in body.

The spirituall presence.

Of thys the Apostle speaketh, when he sayeth: I béeyng absente in déede in bodye, but yet presente in Spirite, haue iudged alreadye as presente, &c. And againe: For albeit that I be absente in bodye, yet for all that, I am presente wyth you in Spirite, reioycing, and séeing your order. And Elizeus sayde to Gehezi hys boy: Was not my heart presente, when the mã returned agayne out of his Chariotte to méete wyth thée?

1. Cor. 5.

Colloss. 2.

2. Reg. 5.

Thys kynde of presence dothe not frame to God nother, whiche hathe not a péeced or halfe, but a full and whole presence euerye where, and doth wholly fyll all. The man which is anye where spirituall, is not there whole, but in halfe, whiche we maye not iudge of God.

The vertuall presence.

The vertuall Presence is ẏ same, whereby a Kyng dothe practise hys power and strength in all places of hys Realme, by hys ministers, princes, Dukes, Iudges, and Seruantes, though that he be absent both in bodye and spirite. For so he is royally present, though not corporally: And this kind of presence is more conuenient for the Maiestie of a king, than though hée were presente in euerye place.

Suche a Presence it séemeth that Tertullian dothe attribute vnto God, whereas he sayeth: Wée doe know that God is also in Hell, and that he remayneth euerye where, but in strength and power: but the fulnesse of Goddes Presence whereby wée sayde, that all thinges be filled, is not expressed sufficiently by this kind of presẽce neither.

Contemplatiue and Imaginarie presence.

We doe call the Contemplatyue and Imaginarie presence the same, when wée doe sette before vs, as presente, those thinges whyche we doe consyder and sée within oure mynde in diligente contemplation and ymagination.

By this wée doe represente vnto oure minde thynges both paste, and to come. What thyng séemeth not to be presente, and as it were euen nowe, if we call it vnto oure remembraunce. Thys kynde of presence is much vsed of louers, and hée vsed it also whyche sayde: I haue sette the Lorde before my sighte alwayes.

But it is one thing to be in a place presentlye, and a nother to be as it were presente by ymagination and contemplation. Wherefore it is not thys kynde of Presence nother, that we do séeke for.

We doe séeke for suche a presence, whiche muste bothe agrée vnto the nature of GOD, and also suffyse for altogither. And the same we doe comprehende in the essence and power. Hys essenciall presence is euerye where, for as muche as the essẽce of God is cõteined in no place, and yet it canne not bée sayde, that it is no where. So that it is of necessitie euerye where: lyke as if a man shoulde saye of the soule, that it is conteyned in no certayne place of the bodye, and yet for all that dothe fyll the whole bodye: Vnto the Essentiall presence is ioyned also the Potentiall or Virtuall presence. For the presence of hym whiche is the Maker, preseruer, and gouernour of all, can not be ydle, but it worketh all in all, and withoute the power and workyng of him, all things shoulde lye starke dead, and to no effecte, euen lyke as though oure body were destitute of the operation of the Soule.

What manner of presence God vve do make.

I knowe well that the similitude whyche I doe alleage of the soule, is not in all poyntes aunswerable to the case whereof wée doe talke, and yet for all that, I thynke it good to vse it, to declare that I doe not allowe when men doe holde opinion, that GOD is euerye where by power and operation only: as though that hée dyd sytte out aparte from hys workes, essentially eyther in Heauen, eyther in hymselfe onely.

The Maister of the Sentences doth worthily finde fault with them, whiche saye, that God is therefore euer.

The Maister of the Sentences.

euerye where, bycause that by hym, all nature, and all thynges that be naturally in any place, hath theyr essence, and for bycause he declareth his vertue & power in euery place. For though that this saying be true, yet for all that, it is not sufficiente in this case, and it driueth the essence of God which doth presently fill all. I wote not into what straighte as though that the same abydyng in some certayne place, did speed abrode the vertue of the operation thereof into all things: whiche thing we dayly se is done by the sunne, whiche beeing in the skye, doth by his warmth, and light, worke vpon the earth: but to thinke the lyke of God, it is verye vnseeming to the nature of God and his infinite Maiestie. It is true whiche the Apostle sayth of God, that he worketh all in all. But that is true also, whiche he sayeth in the Actes, that we beleeue, and moue in him. All things not only be of him, and by him, but in him also. Whiche thyng coulde not be, vnlesse that he dyd fyll all with hys presence. He worketh all in all, not absent, but most present: hys essence ought not to be separated from the workings of his power to be one where, and to worke an other where. As though that hee were not as well infinite in his essence, as in hys power. Shall wee thynke that Heauen and Earthe is so large in compasse, that GOD is not able to be euerye where in them, and to fyll all essentially? Hathe not hee measured the waters wyth hys hande, and waued the Heauens also wyth the same? hath not hee wyth thee fingers fastened vp the masse of the Earthe, and peysed by waight the Mountaynes and Hylles? Bee not all nations in hys syghte lyke a droppe of water hanging at a buckette, and lyke a graine waighte in a balaunce, and the Ilandes lyke a small dust, yea as nothyng and voyde? God is greater, than hys whole worke is. The Heauen of Heauens doe not receyue his Essence and Maiestie, muche lesse the narrowe compasse of thys Worlde. Wherefore it oughte not to bee meruayled at, that it is sayde, that hee fylleth all by his essentiall and virtuall presence togyther.

God greater than his whole worke.

We must doe away the thoughts of oure narrowe and slender capacitie, whereby wee doe Imagine when wee doe heare that GOD is not onely virtually, but essencially also present in all, that part of hym in Heauen, parte in Earthe, parte in the Sea, and parte in Hell, yea that there is some peece of hym in euerye thyng, lyke as wee may ymagyne of the Ayre, whyche is spredde abrode euery where, whiche so fylleth all thynges that bee in the worlde, that it is not wholly in all, but in some parte of it. The essence of GOD is not diuided in two partes, but it is full and whole euerye where, and fylleth all things: neyther must wee ymagine, that for as muche as all thynges be in God, and be moued of GOD, that therefore hee is moued also iff those thynges whyche hee dothe moue, so that hee shoulde bee moued from place to place, whereas hee is neyther corporall nor Local, and therefore not moueable wyth things whyche doe moue. These poynctes be not to be searched by vs. Wherefore we must beware, that we yelde not to our owne curiositie and scrupulositie, to search therein: least wee eyther denie those things whiche be true, and agreable vnto the nature of God, or else deuise one man one thyng, and an nother, vntrue, vnseemyng, and vnworthy for the Maiestie of God.

God is not euery where by piecemeale.

Every god ought to be in a place, where one is not.

Iere. 23.

Emanuell.

Psal. 33.

God is moued, but not by things moued by him.

Lib. 4.

Hovv it is sayd, that God is specially any where, and to *be in some men, to be present, to dwell in them, and to be ioyned vnto them.*

IN case ỹ God be euerywhere, and present in all, both generally and specially, and that essentially & virtually, not diuided but whole. What is the matter will some man say, that the Scripture sayeth: Our God is in Heauen, he hath appoynted his seate in heauen, and he dwelleth in Heauen? What great matter is it, that he is in Heauen, seyng that he is euerywhere, and that it may be as well sayde, our God is in the bottome of the Seas, in the depest of the Earth, as our God is in Heauē? Item: What great matter is that, that Moses sayde vnto Israell: Thy Lorde God is in the middest of thee, and that the name Emanuell was giuen vnto Christ, bycause that God is with vs, and that Dauid doth say: If I doe walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I will not feare any euill, bycause thou arte with me: And that whiche John sayth in hys canonicall Epistle: God is charitie, and whosoeuer dwelleth in charitie, dwelleth in God, and God in him. And hee is greater whiche is in you, than he which is in the worlde. And many suche other lyke that be redde in the Scriptures, as that is of the Prophete: Our God shall come and shall saue vs. And call vppon him whiles he is neare: and in Numeri: Go not vp, for God is not with you.

Numer. 14

I answere. Like as the soule is of a certaintie present in the whole body, and in all the parts thereof essencially and virtually, and that not diuided in two partes, but all whole, and yet besides that, it doth generally quicken all, and worke in all. Yet notwithstanding, it worketh after another sorte, & more specially things to be set by, in the head and the hart, than it dothe in the other partes of the body, euen after the very same sorte it fareth also touchyng the presence of God. He is present generally euerywhere, and in all, and so preserueth and directeth all things: but specially and touchyng his speciall Maiestie and glory in Heauen. And by grace he is, dwelleth, and abideth in his people, in the Elects and faithfull, such as doth loue and obey hym, whom he doth specially loue, defend, and kepe: after whiche sorte he is sayde not to be in them, with whom he is angrie, and whome he doth abhorre as reprobate, and caste off. This presence of God, whereby he is in his electes, the Schoolemen doe call the presence of grace, of whiche the sayntes do muche glory, and that not without good cause. For what can be a more sauegarde vnto a mā, subiect vnto so many daungers, than to haue his God presente by a certayne speciall grace and fauour?

A similitude of the soule.

God is generally euery where specially by matche in heauen by grace in the elect and faithfull.

Acts. 17.

Psal. 22.

Was this dothe betyde to the elect

God is present with his Electe two wayes.

two wayes. First by secret meanes, and hydden from the eyes of the worlde, and that vnder the crosse and troubles wherewith they be so afflicted and trauayled by the apoyntment of God, so that outwardly nothyng dothe lesse appeare than any argument or token of the presence of God, yea that they seme not onely vnto the wicked and to theyr aduersaries, but to themselues also forsaken, and cast off from God: wherupō that was sayde: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and God hath forsaken hym, folowe and take hym? and, I am cast out from the presence of thy sight: and: Why turnest thou thy face away frō me?

And yet all this while notwithstanding, God doth abide & dwel in them by his grace, whereby they be cōfirmed in theyr hartes, & be encoraged in inwarde and spiritual comfortes, so that they decay not ouerwhelmed with the waight of the troubles. By this kind of Gods presence, the Prophetes, Apostles, and Martyrs were preserued, whose constancie the worlde wondered at, and yet for all that, did not acknowledge in them the speciall presence of God.

Another wy the presence of Gods grace is declared in hys Electes, in that they be defended, stayed, saued, and delyuered so manyfestly by his right hande and mightie arme, that the wicked be enforced to acknowledge the presence and power of God in them. When they doe see all thyngs fall out happely vnto them, beyond all hope. This way of Gods presence hath bene oftentymes declared, as in the three Ebrewe chyldren, in the deliuery of Israel out of Babylon and Egypt, in Joseph, Abraham, Moses, Samson, Gedeon, Dauid, Josias, Ezechias, &c. Thys kinde of Gods presence dothe serue not onely for the strengthenyng of the fayth of them whiche be trauayled and weake, but for the aduaunce-ment also of Gods glory, when it is blaspheme by the wicked.

Therfore whē the scripture saith: Our God he shall come and saue vs. You must vnderstande it, not of the commyng of him, whiche is absent, but of the declaration of his speciall grace. And whereas the Prophete sayth: Call vppon him whyles he is neare. As though he sayd: he shal not alwayes be so neare as he is nowe, you must vnderstand it of ý presence of grace, wherby he doth yelde himselfe appeased, & fauourable vnto the afflicted, if they do amend & call vpon hym. And whereas it is attributed vnto God, that he is and dwelleth in heauen, we may not imagine that he is shutte vp in heauen, but that it is sayd, that he is & dwelleth in heauen, bicause that place is as it were, the chief seate, castel or tower, frō whēce all the inferiour and lower thyngs bē gouerned, after the similitude of a king, whiche placeth his tower or castell in the most choyse and sightly place, from which he may the better vse his gouernmēt vnto all the inhabitants of his Realme. &c.

How whiche places are to be vnderstanded God shall come.

That whiche pertayneth vnto Gods nature is not able attributed vnto creatures.

God dwelleth in heauen.

The presence of God to bee beleeued euery where in our eyes.

What is the vse of this place.

WE coulde adde here vnto an other question, moued by some men, whether that to be present euerywhere, be so peculiar vnto God, that that it be not possible to any other creature. Some folke doe argue of the spirites of heauen, and go aboute to proue that they may be in many places at once, others do affirme the like of the glorified body of Christe: after his resurrectiō. But forasmuch as these questions be very scrupulous and to small profite, I leaue thē vnto idle heades. In my opinion it is very necessary vnto true godlynesse, that wē be out of all doubte in those poynts whiche I haue noted of the presence of God. For they serue to this purpose, to make vs to attribute vnto God onely and to no creature, that which belōgeth vnto gods nature only. He which beleueth that God onely is euerywhere presente, both essentially and potentially, how can he, beyng in necessitie, call vpon any creature, whiche he doth not beleeue to be so present, that it cā either heare his vowes, or succour his necessities: Unlesse they which do pray vnto dead Saintes, did beleeue that they be present to ayde & succour thē whiche do pray vnto them, and serue them, why woulde they pray vnto them? They doe therein cōmunicate that vnto creatures, whiche belongeth vnto God only: & do also honor the Idols of theyr owne hartes.

Secondly, this place dothe admonish vs to lyue godly and deuoutly in all places, and to haue a reuerēce in all things and at all tymes of the presence of Gods Maiestie, knowing that we can not auoyde his sight, seing that he is euerywhere present. So Susanna would not assent to the fleshly pleasure of the two old men, bycause that she knew that she was euer in the sight of God.

And thirdly, the afflicted folke may gather an incredible comforte herof, when they do beleue that they haue God alwayes presente, in fire, in water, in prysō, in the very poynt of death, so that they may say with Dauid, if I walke in the mids of the shadowe of death, I will not be afrayde of any euill, bycause thou art with me. And herevnto serueth that saying: If thou passe by fire and water, I will be with thee. &c. And thus far we haue spoken of the presence of God.

That wee haue God euery where present in afflictions

Of the Anger of God.

NOw that we haue hitherto noted diuers things touchyng the goodnesse, louingnesse, mercy, prouidēce, and presence of God, whiche may serue to the comforte of weake consciences, if they be conceyued with faith, wee haue thought good to adde somewhat also of the Wrath, and Anger of God, wherby careless and slacke hartes may bee awaked, and feare God, at the least when he is angry: whome they doe not sufficiently regarde and serue, when he is louyng and well pleased.

That God is angry.

THere hath bene Philosophers whiche haue holden and defended by argumente, that there is neyther anger in GOD nor fauour, and therefore that hee dothe not good to them, that doe serue hym, nor euyll to them whyche

The Epicures helde that there is neither anger nor fauor of God

do make light of hym, but that he is there in happy and incorrupte, bycause he careth for nothing, and is quiet inough himselfe, and disquieteth no man else. The same whiche we doe saye accordyng vnto the Scriptures of vayne Goddes, I meane that they be able to doe neyther good nor euyll, that opinion they had of the true GOD, whome they knew not. And this foolishe and wicked opinion bredde in the Schoole of the Epycures, moste agreable vnto theyr sectes.

The Stoikes do holde that there is [illegible] in God, but not anger.

But the Stoykes, for asmuche as they doe consider nothing else in anger, but that it is a faulte, as to be styrred and troubled without reason, to be furious, and runne to reuenge lyke beasts, they suppose that such maner of commotion and trouble of mynde, is not conuenient for a wise manne, as they make hym, and much lesse for God: and therfore albeit that they doe attribute fauour vnto him, whereby he may doe good vnto such as doe serue him, yet for al that, they doe not attribute any anger vnto him, for asmuch as ẏ same dothe styrre vp so greate motions in the minde, that it altereth the estate thereof, it troubleth the quiet and caulme countenaunce, it maketh the teeth to gnashe, the lippes to shake, the tongue to folter, the face to waxe redde as fire, and sometymes pale, the eyes to bruste out in fire, whiche foule disquietyng is moste vnmeete for God. This is the iudgement, & therefore when they doe way and consider what anger worketh in man, when it once catcheth him, they say that god is neuer angry, bycause they will haue it to worke no suche thing in God.

They argue further in this sort: A man which is farre inferiour vnto God, if he haue any gouernaunce, and be angry, he dothe much harme vnto others, he sheddeth bloud, he destroyeth people, he ouerthroweth cities, hee maketh florishyng regions to lie waste, and he woulde disquiet Heauen it self, if he could. And what other opinion say they shall we haue of God, if he be angry, but that hee woulde ouerthrowe all this whole worlde with all the inhabitauntes therein, wherfore it is necessary that he be moste cleere of so sore an euill. This they doe argue of that, whiche an angry man dothe in his rage to others. But they fell into this errour through this, that they considered nothyng else in anger, but that whiche is fautie: and feared, least it doth worke the same in God, whiche it doth in man, that is giuen vnto all naughtinesse in whome they ought not to haue imagined to bee any place for vyce and naughtinesse.

The Stoikes [illegible] that God [illegible] would [illegible] ouerthrow all, if he [illegible] angry.

They be in a much better minde, whiche do cōsider in anger not only those things whiche haue an excesse, and are worthily reproued as faultie, and deemed vnfitte for God, but do consider these things also whiche be ioyned with vertue, and are necessary for the life of man, against al vniustice. In consideration wherof it was well sayde by a certayne mā: He hath no vnderstandyng, whiche hath no anger: But let vs sette the Philosophers one to an other, and suffer the Stoykes to confute the Epicures, and the Heripatetikes to cōfute the Stoikes. It behoueth vs to credite the holy Scriptures, whiche

He hath no vnderstanding whiche hath no anger.

do

do euery where testifie of the anger of God, & beware that wee feele not him angry, whome we might haue our fauourable, & well pleased God.

That God was angry with hys people.

We do reade in the Histories of Moses, that God was oftentymes angry with his disobedient and rebellious people. We do read that he was angry with the Sodomites, & with Pharao and hys armie, with Salomon, with Israel for the sinnes of Ioacham the sonne of Iehu, against Ozam. Wee say nothyng of those things whiche be redde in the wrytings of the Apostles & Euangelists, cōcerning the anger of God, for that I would haue no man to deuise, that there is one God of the old Testament, & an other of the New, as some Heretikes did. The wrytings of both the Testaments do testifie of the true and onely God, of whome is all our life and saluation, that he is angry with the euill, and doth louingly embrace the good.

Hovv anger is attributed vnto God.

Albeit that the affection of anger be suche through our faulte, that it is vncomely and vnfitte for man, muche more for God, notwithstandyng that the holy Scriptures doe testifie, that God is sometymes angrie, yet for all that it seemeth a wonder, howe anger is attribute vnto hym. We dare not agayne say the Scriptures, whiche be assured to be inspyred from God, and withall wee can not denie, but that the same affection ought not to be attribute vnto God, whiche is worthily reproued in man as vicious and faulty, as the affection of anger is, whereof we do reade that it worketh not iustice. Wherefore, very necessitie compelleth vs, that for the comely vsing of Gods Maiestie, and the vpright keepyng of the truthe of the holy Scriptures, wee must searche howe it is to be vnderstanded, that God is sayd to be angry.

God is not angry as man.

Like as God dothe not so repent as men, nor hath mercy in that sorte as menne haue mercy, neyther is zelous as men be, and yet for all that there is attribute vnto him in the Scriptures, mercy, repentaunce, and zeale, so he is not angrie as man is, and yet notwithstanding there is attribute anger vnto him. He is angry as God, he is zelous as God, he is mercyfull as God, and he repenteth so as it is meete for God, his repentance is not with sorowe, nor after any errour, his mercy hath no anger, it maketh not his harte miserable, his zeale is without spirite. So his anger is voyde of trouble of the minde. He is sayde to repente, when he chaungeth vpon some occasions vnknowē vnto vs, some parte of that whiche he hath done: to haue mercy, when of his goodnesse he aydeth the afflicted: to be zelous, when he punisheth his people for theyr whoredome, cōmitted with straunge Gods. So wee do vnderstande him to be angry when hee punisheth sinners. He is not angry after our maner and fashyon when he dothe this, but he seemeth to be angry vnto vs whiche doe suffer for our sinnes. Hee dothe thys with iudgemente, whiche we doe of the rage and trouble of mynde.

God is angry vvithout trouble of minde.

In this wise the fathers thought

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Lactance dothe attribute a cōmotion vnto God. *Libro. de Ira dei. Cap. 17.*

it good to eschewe that wée doe attribute vnto GOD any commotion of mynde when wée doe not attribute anger vnto hym. But Lactance in the booke whiche hée wryteth of the anger of God, dothe not onely attribute this vnto God that hée séemeth to be angry, when hée dothe chasten and punishe sinners: but he dothe expresly gyue vnto him a certayne commotion also whiche wée doe call Anger. And I will not grudge to recite hys wordes. Those thyngs, sayth hée, whiche be naught muste of necessitie displease hym which is good and iuste: and he which is displeased with euill, is moued when he seeth it done. Wée doe rise to reuenge, not bycause we be hurte and anoyed, but that discipline may be kepte, mennes maners corrected, libertie restrayued. This is a iuste anger, whiche as it is necessary in manne for the redresse of naughtynesse, so it is also in GOD from whom the example came vnto man. For lyke as it behoueth vs to chasten them whiche bée subiect vnto our iurisdiction, so it behoueth God to chasten the sinnes of all. And that he may doe that he must néedes be angry. For it is naturall for the good, to bée moued and sturred at the sinne of an other. Therefore they shoulde haue defined it thus: That anger is the motion of the mynde, meanyng to chasten sinne. For the definition of Cicero: Anger is a desire to reuenge, is not muche differente from that wée sayde afore. But the same Anger whych we may call eyther furie or rage, ought not to bée in manne, bycause it is altogither faultie. But that Anger whiche belongeth to the correction of vyce, neyther ought to bée taken from manne, nor can be taken from GOD, bycause it is bothe profitable and necessarie for men. This layeth Lactance. By whiche wordes hée dothe not take from GOD the commotion and sturre of anger, but that onely whiche is ioyned with faulte, and is vnséemely also for man.

VVhat anger is vvith Cicero.

No man knovveth vvhat the cōmotiō of anger is in God but the spirite of God.

And who is able to conceyue what manner this commotion and sturre of Goddes anger is? Of what maner it is in men, wée doe knowe whiche be menne: but what it is in God, who knoweth, but the very spirite of God? The Prouerbe sayeth, that the Ant hath hyr anger, and who canne expresse the anger of it? much lesse of God. Hée whiche hath already a very quiet mynde, is soone sturred and moued to be angry, thorowe the disorder of thyngs whiche he heareth or seeth. Nowe whether that any suche matter be to bée attribute vnto the nature of GOD or no, whereby hée is already like a man, or otherwise than man is, from beyng quiet, to bée moued and sturred, or whether hée doe continue no lesse quyet in hymselfe, when he séemeth to be angry in chastenyng and punishing, than when he is fauourable and forgiuefull, in that he dothe good, is louyng, pardonyng, and sparyng: lette hym iudge whiche can iudge it. Fyre séemeth to rage and be angry when it burneth those things whiche it taketh, but in that it dothe séemely cherishe and comforte those that be handsomely layed vnto it, by his warmth it séemeth to be pleasaunt. Whereas for all that, it

it can receyue of it selfe no commotion nor variaunce. But that is a dumme Element voyde of reason, wherefore of that can be no comparison made vnto God, whose anger nor fauour can not be voyde of reason. Howsoeuer the matter goeth, the godly person must assure himself in this, that God is not moued nor chaunged, after that sorte as man is moued and chaunged. As for the rest, it is not conuenient that we searche ouer-curiously, for as much as it passeth our capacitie.

That the Anger of God is of three sortes.

WE might make many kyndes of the Anger of God, but we will be contented for this presente to diuide it in to thrée, the generall, temporary, and euerlastyng anger.

The generall anger.

Ephes. 2.

VVee were of nature the children of anger.

The generall anger is the same, wherevnto the whole posteritie of Adam is subiecte through the originall sinne. Of thys the Apostle maketh mention, saying: And we were by nature the chyldren of Anger, lyke as the reste also. Here no man is excepted. As many as were partakers of the corrupte and sinfull nature, be subiecte vnto this anger of GOD, from which we be not deliuered, but by our onely mediatour Iesus Christe. Of this commeth all kynde of wretchednesse, whiche dothe equally folow the condition of man, and sticketh both to our minde & our fleshe. And of that there should come the generall condemnation also of all men, vnlesse that God which was so moued vnto wrath in Adam had reconcyled the worlde vnto him in Christe: of whiche reconcilement sée to the Corinthians. And of this the Apostle maketh mention also to the Romaynes, saying: And God recōmendeth his loue vnto vs, in that that whyles wée were yet sinners, Christe died for vs. Therefore much the more being now iustified by hys bloud, we shal be saued through him from the anger.

2. Corinth. 5.

Rom. 5.

Temporarie.

The temporary anger of God is that, whereby he is angry not onely with the sinnes of the wicked, but of the godly also, and dothe punishe the same in this lyfe. Unto this, those examples are specially to bée referred, whiche are redde in the Scriptures of the anger of God, of whiche wée alleaged some before. But yet for all that, he is angry with the godly, elect, and faythfull in one sorte, & with the vngodly, reprobate, and vnbeléeuyng, after another sorte. He is angry with the firste, as a Father with hys deare chyldren, with the other, as a Lorde and Prince wyth hys enemies, and rebelles. Hée is angry as a father to chastice his sons that do offend, visiting their wickednesse in the rodde, and theyr sinnes in strypes: that they may be reformed and saued. Thys kynde of Anger is for the fatherly loue and disciplyne. Hée is angry as a Lorde & a Prince with rebelles and enimies, whiche doe blaspheme hys name, and oppresse his people. And hée is angry with them to take reuenge and punishment of them, to defend the glory of hys name by a mightie Arme, and to delyuer his people: So as hée was angry with the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Gréekes, and Romaynes.

The

The euerlastyng anger is that wherby the reprobate, & vnbeleuers be condemned for euermore. The same the Apostle calleth the anger to come: Saying, for they do declare of you, what an entery wee had vnto you, and how you be turned vnto God, from images to serue the liuely, and true God, and to loke for his sonne from heauen Iesus, whome hee raysed from the dead, who deliuered vs from the anger to come, he calleth it to come, bycause of the declaration thereof, whiche is to come, vnto whiche the day of the last iudgement is appoynted. Whiche day he calleth the day of anger: for this cause, whereas he sayth to the Romaynes, but accordyng vnto thy hardenelle, and harte, whiche cannot repente, thou doest lay vp anger vnto thy selfe in the day of anger, when the iuste iudgement of God shall be opened, whiche shall giue vnto euery man accordyng vnto his workes. But this anger whiche dothe for euermore comber the reprobate, and vnbeleuyng, shall not onely beginne at the latter day of iudgemente to come but is charged stil from the beginnyng vpon the reprobate, accordyng to that saying of John. He that is vnbeleuing towardes the sonne, shal not see life, but the anger of god dwelleth vpon him, & for this cause the Apostle calleth them the vessels of Anger, appoynted vnto destruction.

The euerlasting and to come.

1. Thess. 1.

Rom. 2.

Iohn. 3.

Rom. 9.

That God is slowe vnto Anger.

They whiche bee inclyned vnto Anger, they be sone moued vnto anger, and be angry with them that they ought not to bee angry withall. For suche occasion as they ought not, and more thã they ought, as Aristotle sayth. This inclination vnto anger is not without greate faulte. Wherefore the Scripture dothe so attribute anger vnto God, that withall it dothe beate in to our heads, that he is so disposed of nature, that he is not easily moued vnto anger, and therefore doth call him in many places slacke and slow vnto anger, or if yee will, farre from anger. This reporte of his lenitie and slacknelle in anger, is attributed vnto him. Firste in Exodus, Agayne in Numeri: Thirdly in Nehemi: Fourthly in the. 86. Psalme: Fiftly in the. 103. Psalme. Sixtly in the. 145. Psalme. Seuenthly in Hieremie. Eightly in Joel. Ninthly in Jonas. Tenthly in Nahum.

The inclination to anger is very suore.

Scriptures of that that God is slowe vnto Anger.

Exod. 34. Num. 14. Nehem. 9. Psalm. 86. 103. 145. Hieremi. Ioel. 2. Ionas. 4. Nahum. 1.

1 The beginnyng thereof proceeded from the Lorde hymselfe, which spake those wordes vnto Moses of himselfe whiche be redde there vnto this ende, to encourage hys harte beyng carefull and fearefull ouer the people, bycause of theyr sinne about the Calfe, least they should be euery mothers sonne of the destroyed, by God which was angry with them.

And in the like feare Moses repeated that before the Lorde, Numeri 14. to the intent that he woulde appease his anger, wherevnto he was moued by the rebellion of the murmuryng people. And after that it began to be vsed of godly folke to sette forth the clemency and gentlenesse of the Maiestie of God.

The word אפים which is red there dothe

dothe signifie not euery kynde of anger, but a vehement and hote anger, such as is wont to be in them, which as sone as they be prouoked they growe straught waye into an heate, and raging out to the reuenge. For the worde אף signifieth the nosthzels and the countenance, and so is vsed for that anger which stureth an hasty puffing of the nosthzels, and enflameth the whole countenance: which kynde of anger doth surely trouble the mynde, and doth cast off the gouernance of reason, coueting the reuenge either by right, or by wrong. They be wont to be angrie in such sort which be of the weaker courage, as it is in women for the most part. Therfore seing that the rage and sturre of suche heates, doth not agree vnto a wise man, much lesse they doe agree vnto ỹ Maiestie of God. For asmuch as he is of nature kynde and mercifull, it is right which the Lord doth testifie of himselfe, that he is farre from hasty and raging anger.

3 This kinde of speach of God, Nehemias vsed in his prayer, to enforce the harde harteonelle, incredulitie, and rebellion of the Israelites, and withall to aduaunce the mylonelle of God declared in that, that he forsoke not his people beeing so stubborne, vnbeleeuing, and rebellious, nor dyd not take from them his most fauourable patience, but dyd beare with them, beeing worthy at once to be destroyed for euer.

4 Dauid vsed the. 86. Psalme in this wyse: O God the proude doe ryse vp agayne, and the bande of the boisterous and strong doe seeke my soule, neyther doe they set thee before theyr eyes. But thou God the gouernour, mercifull, and mylde, slowe vnto anger, and of much gentlenesse and truth. It seemed much marueile to Dauid, howe so wicked, and continuall crueltie of Saule, and of other wicked persons, which had caste off the feare of God, and lay in watch for innocent bloud, could be so long time borne and suffered of God, whereas they might by iuste iudgement haue bene punyshed and ridde out of the way, and waying well this matter, hee doth lay the cause of so long patience, vnto the gentlelle of Gods nature, which is such, that it is mercifull, and slowe towardes anger, yea, against them which bee most wicked. What shall we nowe a dayes thinke els, as often as wee do feele that crueltie of Antichrist & Saule, when the bloud of the godly is shed with so great outrage, and fiercenelle, that it is a wonder how the iuste iudge can so long suffer it. But the verye same which Dauid layde before hym of the saying of God, that is to saye: that the Lord is slowe vnto anger, & enclined vnto the sufferaunce of the euill.

5 In the. 103. Psalme he vsed this saying in the verye sense and respect, as Nehemias dyd, wherevpõ he added also, he hath not done vnto vs accordyng vnto our sinnes, nor he hath not repayde vs accordyng vnto our wickednelle.

Psalm. 103.

6 In the. 145. Psalme he doth alleage it, to aduaunce and commende the goodnelle, fauour, and mylonelle of GOD which his workes doe generally declare towardes all men, wherefore he added also: The Lorde is good vnto

Psalm. 145.

all, and his mercies be aboue all his wo:kes.

7 Hieremie vsed it in a special passion of minde in this wyse: The chiefe of the people were exceading angry with him, & sought how they might ridde him out of the way, bicause he threatned them, ỳ it should not be long, but ỳ Hierusalē should be ouerthrowen, & the people caried captius vnto Babilō, which seemed to the Israelites both vntrue & most slaunderously spoken against the citie, the Temple, and people of God, and talking of this matter he saith: Thou knowest O Lord (you must vnderstand that I lie not, but tell them most truely) remēber me, and visite me, and reuenge me of them which do persecute me: not as thou art slowe vnto anger: receiue me. Knowe that I doe susteine for thy sake. When he had sayde, remēber me, and visite me, & be reuēged vpō them which do persecute me, he remēbred that God is slowe vnto anger, and reuenge, & therefore he added immediatly saying: Not to the prolonging, and slowenesse of thy anger, that is to saye: deferre not this reuenge, wherby thou mayst deliuer me from them which do persecute me, but succoure me quickely, and take me vp, and knowe that I do beare rebuke for thy worde. This passion of minde is singuler, & not to be followed of euery mā, but to be left vnto the spirit of the Prophet.

8 Ioel in his second Chapter, vsed this commendation of Gods mercy and fauour, to stirre the people of God (ouer whose heads there hong a sore reuenge at hand) to reformation; and to an earnest remembrance of his, ỳ they might escape the wrath of God. For after that he had prophecied of the daye of reuenge at hand, he added: But yet also sayeth the Lord: Turne to me with al your heart, with fasting, weping, & mourning, and cut your heartes and not your garmentes, and turne vnto the Lord your God, for he is kinde, mercifull, and slow vnto anger, and of much goodnesse, and that is sory for your euill. Thus he did well place this oracle of God, to admonisshe all men, that though the daye of reuenge were at hande, yet for al that God is of that nature, that he is very slow vnto reuenge, and enclined vnto mercy, towardes them that do amende, and that therefore there is some hope, that he may alter his determination of reuenge & waste, if they do retourne vnto him with all their heart. This example the ministers of the worde ought to folowe, not onely when they doe speake generally of Gods reuenge, but in case they doe sometymes threaten any certayne and sure reuenge hanging ouer their heads.

9 Ionas also vsed this oracle with a marueilous affection to his purpose, when hee was sent by God to preache repentaunce vnto the Niniuites, thinking that it would so fall out, that the Lord would repente him of the euill which he had threatened them, and so should come to passe, that they should take no harme, & he be accounted for a false Prophet. Which imaginatiō came of that, that he knew the Lord was pitifull, slowe vnto anger, and mercifull, and therefore he begin to shrinke & refuse his charge of message, and sought to runne awaye. At length when he was brought backe

backe againe by the hand of ỳ lord, and did preache to the Niniuites, saying: Yet fourty dayes, and Niniue shalbe ouerthrowen. When he sawe that the Lord did spare them vpon their repentance, he was offended, saying, I beseeke thee Lord: commeth not this vnto my saying, when I was yet in my countrey? Therfore I would haue preuented the matter, to flee vnto Tharsis, for I knew that thou art a pitifull, and mercifull God, slowe vnto anger, & of much mercie, and which doest repent thee of euill. Thus he abused this saying contrarie vnto that purpose that Ioel vsed it for: wherfore he was also blamed of God.

10 Nahum did allege it to this intent, to shewe the Israelites the cause, why God spared the Assirians so long, of whose ouerthrowe he had prophecied. Euen bicause that he is slowe vnto anger, for thus goeth his wordes in his first chapter, euen at the beginning. The Lorde is ielous, the Lord is a reuenger, a reuenger is the Lord, and mightie in rage, the Lorde is a reuenger against his enemies, and mindfull to paye his enemies home. The Lorde is slowe vnto anger, and mighty in power, and he which semeth innocent, shal not be innocent. The Prophet doth declare here, that there folloeth not of this that euil is not punished, bicause that the reuenge of God commeth out slowly, and that the Lord is slowly angry, but that they should loke for the more grieuous reuenge, the longer that the lenitie of Gods goodnesse palleth on in vayne before he do auenge, and they ware neuer the better. These places I thought good to set forth, to the intent the reader should see, howe the holy Fathers vsed this oracle of God, wherein is set before vs, the lenitie and mercy of God, & is reported, ỳ he is slow vnto anger.

How greuous the anger of God is.

As great as is the grace so greuous is the anger

Loke howe incomprehensible ỳ largenesse of Gods grace is, which he daily & euermore sheweth by infinite meanes vnto them that he loueth, so incomprehensible & intollerable also is ỳ heauinesse of his anger: & like as the first is not to be searched but to be desired of al men, so this latter is not to be searched out but to be shifted & feared, & fled frō, & eschewed of al. No mā knoweth ỳ strength of gods anger, no not they vpō whom it falleth, but so far forth as they do feale it. Who knoweth the strength of thy anger, saith ỳ Prophet? Loke how great ỳ might is in God so great also is his grace whē he is fauorable, & so great is his anger, if he be angry. As grace hath his power for an aide to do good vnto the faithful: so anger turneth the same vnto the punishment of ỳ reprobate. Like as grace doth make al creatures turne to ỳ profit of ỳ elects: so anger also doth arme thē to ỳ reuenge. The anger of a king, sayth Salomon: is the roaring of a Lio: and yet for al that the king is but a man, able to do nothing against mā but as it is permitted him frō god: If ỳ anger of him be esteemed so terrible, how much more is ỳ anger of God to be feared? whom all creatures be compelled to serue. There be horrible examples therof which might be alleaged here & considered, but ỳ they be commonly knowē vnto all men, which doe reade the

Psalm. 90.

Proverb. 19.

Hovv horrible the strengeh of fyre is vvherevnto the anger of God is compared.

holy Scriptures.

We doe oftentimes trye by experience how horrible the strength of fyre is, which cõsumeth al. Whē Tyrants are disposed to vse a cruel and very horrible punishement towards them which they determine to put vnto some straunge kinde of death, they do cast them into fire: as we do reade in the story of the three children of the Ebrewes, and as we se in our daies in so many terrible examples, for the pleasure of Antichrist. They do cõsider the strength of fire, but they cõsider not ẏ strēgth of Goos anger, and yet it is cõpared vnto fire in the scriptures. Whē Moses would put the childrē of Israel in feare and terror of Gods displeasure & anger, bicause he would not haue them subiect vnto the seruice of Idols, he said thus. Beware that at any time thou forget not the couenant of ẏ Lord thy God, which he hath made with thee, and make to thy self a grauen Image of those things which the Lord hath forbidden thee: for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, a ielous God.

Deut. 4.

And God himself doth compare the auengement of his anger vnto fire, saying: Fire shall kindle in my anger, and shall burne to the depth of Hell, & shall waste the lande with the spring thereof, and shall burne the foundations of the hylles. Whē he would make the stubborne people afrayd, he came down in a great fire to the mount of Syna. He declared the strength of his anger by fire, against the Sodomites, against the people of Israel: against the seditious folke, which did take part & held of the side of Chore, Dathan, & Abiron, & the rebellious multitude.

Deut. 32.

Gen. 19. Num. 11.

Num. 16.

Againe, when the fire did consume fourtene thousād of the people. And that fire is called, ẏ anger, which proceded frō the Lord, which was called down vpon ẏ two captaines of Fifties, & their hundred souldiers, which Ahazia sent to apprehend Elias. I passe ouer the exāples which be not in the holy scriptures. So at the end of the world, when he shal at once powre out his whole anger vpon al the world, he shal cast down fire frō heauen to burne altogether. So the Lord himself doth call that euerlasting anger, wherin the reprobate shalbe tormēted after this life, Euerlasting fire. Would God it might please them once to thinke of the heauinesse of this anger of God, which do so outrage by fire against the elect of God.

But let the reprobate go, which shal once, wil thei nil they, fele how sore the anger of God is, and let vs se, how horrible a matter it is vnto godly folke, when they do finde and fele the anger of God. And that cõmeth vnto them two wayes.

1 First, by that they do vnderstād, that they haue offended their God, & displeased his fatherly goodnesse, wherefore they be out of measure, sorrowful & heauy. For ẏ more they loue him, the greater is their grief, when they do finde ẏ he is angry.

2 Secondly, for that, that albeit they be godly, yet for all that, they doe fele exceading sore anguishe conceiued of the feare of death, or of any other punishement: wherof we may se in the Psalmes, specially in the first, and thereof I wil nowe saye no more, bicause I haue largely spoken of it in our Commentaries vpon the Psalmes.

1. Reg. 1.

Iterary.

That the perfect of God ger is rible.

Psa. 106.

Isa. 11.

By what

By what sinnes God is most styrred to Anger.

GOD doth hate al wickednesse, and is offended with all kinde of sinne, but some things be so wicked and enormious, that his patience is sore stirred by them: of which there bee many examples in the Scriptures.

1 The first is the sinne of Idolatry, whereby he is prouoked vnto hate & most greuous displeasure, euen as the Husbād is by the aduultery of his wife, wherof the Lord himself maketh mencion in the first table of his decalogus, saying: Thou shalt not make thy self any grauen Image nor any likenes of ẏ which is in heauen aboue, or in ẏ earth beneth, nor of these things which bee in ẏ waters vnder the earth. Thou shalt not worship nor serue them. I am thy Lorde thy God, strong, ielous, and visiting the wickednes of fathers vnto the children, to the third & fourth generation of them that do hate me, &c. which words & the enormitye also of this sinne, we expounded in the Decalogus. Thus ẏ Israelites did prouoke ẏ Lord in Oreb, setting vp an Image of a calfe, & whoring with Baall Peor, and afterwardes seruing the gods of the Gentils and their images, in the very land of promisse. Moises said vnto them: Thou didst prouoke him in Oreb, & hee would haue destroied thē. And Dauid said: They fell to Baall Peor, and did eat the Sacrifices of the dead, and stirred him in their deuises. And ther was ẏ ruine multiplied in thē. And God himselfe saieth: They prouoked me in ẏ which is not god. And we may perceiue euery wher in ẏ Prophets, how ẏ same people did prouoke ẏ Lord vnto anger by their seruing of Images, & offended him by their deuises, to their great hinderance. And what need we say any thing, how ẏ churches of Christ haue vsed themselues in this, & do stil, seing ẏ the sinne it selfe, & the most greuous punishment therof, be witnesse good inough of ẏ displesure & anger of ẏ Lord against the same.

Temptaciō

Exod. 17.

Psalm. 78. 95.

Murmuring. Num. 11. 14 Psalm 105 1. Cor. 10.

2 Secondly, the patience of God is prouoked & stirred by mistrustful temptation, wherof ther hath passed many examples in ẏ Israelites. We do se in Exodus, how by tempting their Lord God they prouoked him vnto anger, wherof we do read also in the Psalmes.

3 Thirdly, ẏ Lord is prouoked by murmuring wickedly against his prouidēce. The waight & punishmēt of this sinne is expressed in Numery, & is touched in ẏ Psalmes, how they did murmure at the red Sea. The Apostle doth giue warning ẏ these three sinns, of Idolatry, temptation & murmuring are specially to be eschewed. See our cōmētaries vpon that Epistle.

stubborne rebellion. Num. 14. Deut 9.

4 Fourthly, ther is stubborne rebellion, which prouoketh ẏ anger of god. An example hereof you may se in Nume. And Moses doth charge Israel wt this sin of rebelliō, saying: & when he sent thē frō Hades Bernea, saying: go you vp & possesse ẏ lād which he hath giuen you. Yee cōtemned ẏ cōmaūdemēt of your lord and beleued not him, nor would not heare his voice, but you haue ben euer rebellious since ẏ first day that euer I saw you. Of this rebelliō se what we haue noted in our Commētary vpon the 156. Psalme.

The Papists do charge vs with this rebellion, as though that we were rebellious; bicause that we do refuse the yoke of Antichrist, which we must nedes do, vnlesse that we would bear the yoke of Christ & of Beliall both together. In ỳ meane season they do not consider how stubbornly they haue bene rebellious these gret sort of hundred years, against God and his Church, & that for theyr rebellion they do daily fal to decay, more and more.

The shedding of innocēts bloud

5 Fifthly, the effusion also of innocent bloud is such a sinne, as doth prouoke God vnto anger & reuēgement. The history of Abel is knowen, whose bloud cried vp to heauē for reuēge: and Christ doth threate the reuēge of innocent bloud to the citie of Hierusalem.

Mat. 23.

The oppression of vvidovvs. Exod. 22.

6 Sirtly, the oppression also of Widowes & Fatherlesse, doth prouoke God as we may read in Exodus, where we read thus: Thou shalt not hurt ỳ widow & the fatherlesse. If you do hurt them, they shal cry vnto me, and I will heare their cry, & I shalbe offēded, & I wil strike you with the sword, and your owne wiues shall be widowes, and your Children Fatherlesse.

Impenitēce

By these sortes of sinnes ỳ patience of God is specially stirred and prouoked, cheifly if there be ioyned withal an obstinate hart which knoweth not to repent. For the lacke of repentance doth exaggerate & encrese any sinne & heapeth vp the heuinesse of Gods anger, as ỳ Apostle doth testifie to ỳ Romains saying: But according vnto ỳ stifnesse and heart ỳ knoweth not to repent, thou dost gather thy self anger, &c.

And how they can by no meanes escape scotfrē, which do prouoke ỳ anger of God against them, we nēd not stand long to declare, specially if they do throughly anger him. No mā can wel escape which stirreth a Prince against him, much lesse he that angreth Gods Maiestie.

They rovve vnkinge

And the through stirring of Gods is, when it is not done of ignorāce, but of contempt. For in case that a man which is not in deep wicked in hart, do commit those thigs through ignorance, which of themselues be such that they may prouoke the anger of God, yet he hath somewhat left in his heart, whereby the anger of God may be somewhat mitigated, albeit that ỳ outward fact hath some shew of prouocation to: but when ỳ heart is also wicked & despising of God, making all one reckening whether ỳ God be moued or well pleased, and the fact such that it may prouoke gods patience, I am not able to say, whether ỳ this kide of stirring of God, full & whole can euer scape scotfrē or no.

Kicking God.

But that is the greatest point, and worst of all, whē they which be the vtter enemies of the true God, do manifestly & wittingly kicke against ỳ Maiestie of God, and say: Wher is your God? let him helpe you if he be able, after which manner false gods may wout offēce, ye and ought also to bee prouoked, for they be not true gods, neither can they doe good nor euill.

What bee the Tokens of Gods Anger.

Like as they which do liue godly, do most diligētly obserue ỳ tokens & arguments of Gods grace not onely for their owne cause, but also for ỳ cōmon case: so they do also marke the signes & tokens of Gods anger, to ỳ intent that they may cal themselues, and al others to amēdement of life, & beware, least they be either ouerwhelmed with ỳ sodaine plague of God, or least they do run on carelesse vp the wicked wout any perseuerance of gods anger, & perish in the reuenge vp the same. Wherefore we haue thought good to note somewhat also thereof, as it cōmeth to remembrance for this present.

The tokens of gods anger be of two sortes, for some be more manifest, & some more secrete. The manifest tokēs be they, which be declared by manifest plagues, chastenigs, and reuengings: as famine, pestilence, speciall diseases, the waste and spoyling by warres, and such other like, of which you may see a rehearsall in Leuit. & in Deut. Surely it is the manifest testimonie of gods anger, when the men do sow in vaine, either bicause that the enemies doe waste the corne, or that the elemēt is so hard, that it sendeth down no rayne, and the land so tough, that it yeldeth not againe that which was sowen, so that the whole trauayle of the husband man is spent in vaine, bicause that the lande is made barren by the iudgement of God, & that the trees doe beare no fruite at all. Item, whē the sword of the enemy doth destroy all, killing some, & some making bonde & slaues. Item, when by the corruption of the ayre, there raineth a plague of pestilēce, & murdereth & rotteth both man & beast. The perseuerance & vnderstanding of all these, do easely admonishe vs of the anger of God. And yet for al that we be so froward and crooked, that though all these things do fall vpō our heads at once, we may wel be the more miserable, but we be neuer a whit the better: so that of necessitie ỳ anger of god must plague vs the sorer, wherof there be passed in ỳ Israelits most horrible exāples.

The secret tokens.

We do not call them the secreter tokens of Gods anger, which be altogether hidden and secret, and do come to the knowledge of no man, but such as though that they be set forth to our eyes & eares, yet not withstanding they be knowen to fewe, to be tokens of anger.

Signes and vvonders.

Of this sort be those strāge signes and wonders from heauen in the Sunne & Mone, & Starres, which the prouidence of God is wont to sende before his notable plagues. They be scene indifferently of al, but some do not understand what signification they do beare, some care not for the understanding of them, some do also turne them another waye, & iudge that they do concerne others, rather then them. As that is which Iosephus writeth of them of Hierusalem. Finally, the wretched people gaue credit vnto false & slaunderous reportes of God, but they dyd neither harken in their heart, nor beleue ỳ certain signes & tokēs which did forshew their destructiō to come, but they did dissemble the declarations of God, as mē astonied hauing neither eyes nor soules, yea, when there did hāg ouer their citie a star like a sword, & a comete or blasing starre cōtinuing a yere: yea, whē before their falling away, & mouing of the first warres, the people assembling at the feast of swete breades, which was the 8. day of ỳ moneth of April, there shyned so great a light

Iosephus de bello Iudaico. lib. 7. cap. 12.

at nine a clocke at night about the Altar and the Temple, that a man would haue thought it most clere day, & cõtinued so for half an houre. It was taken of the simpler sort to be a good signe, but of them which could skill of holy things, the matter which it signified, was determined straight way before it fel. And a litle after. If a mã list to waye these matters, he shal assuredly finde, that God doth prouide for men, & declare vnto thẽ before by al wais & meanes, what is good & profitable for them, and that they be vndone, & perishe through their own volũtary naughtines and madnesse. Item, But they did miscõstrue some of these tokens to their own liking, and some they dyd set at light, vntill ỳ their wickednesse was published & conuinced by the destruction of their countrey, & the losse of themselues. This saith Iosephus. I beseke you is there not ỳ like blindnesse in al thẽ in our daies? wherof some do contemne ỳ signes, some do miscõstrue them, & few do acknowledge them to be ỳ tokens of very great euils to come, and tokes of the most sore indignation, & displeasure of God. For this cause we do call them the secreter, albeit that they be stil in the eies of all men. Secõdly, I do reckon amõg these tokens also, ỳ for the sinnes of the people we do so often se an hipocrite, & a reprobate person beare rule, as Iob sayeth. Such a one as Saul was, & that childish & effeminate persons rise to be princes. Where is is one ỳ doth acknowledge it to be a token of ỳ wrath of God, whẽ wise mẽ, strõg, aged, honest & graue men be taken away? It is a like token also of ỳ anger of God, when ỳ iust & godly, & such as do feare god, be taken out of this life, so that the plague of God may afterwardes run more at large into the multitude of the wicked, so we do reade in Esay: The iust man perisheth, & there is no mã that setteth it at his heart, & the godly be gathered vp, whiles no man vnderstandeth that the iust is taken away & chosen out from the companie of the euill. Our coũtrey vnderstood not of late yeres, neither yet vnderstandeth, what ỳ taking away of so many notable mẽ did betoken & signifie, which departed out of this life vnto the Lorde, some in peace & quietnesse, some violently killed & murdered, & yet wer do se the course sorte & naughtipackes swarme euery where stil. And of the number of these tokens is the multitude of false Prophets, which be appointed to blinde the hearts of the wicked & rebellious persons, & the höger of Gods word, which the Lord doth threaten vnto disobedient people, saying: I wil sende hũger into ỳ lãd, not ỳ höger of bred, but ỳ hũger of hearing Gods word. 3 Thirdly, we must referre it to the signes also, ỳ God doth deliuer vp ỳ reprobate after al kindes of chastenings & skourges, into a reprobate vnderstanding, & to filthy lustes, to defile their bodies one wt an other, and ỳ leauing ỳ naturall vse of women, they burne in lust one with an other, one man cõmitting filthinesse with a man, & receiuing the reward of this errour; such as belõgeth thervnto, & so they do that which is not cõuenient, but vnnatural to do: Ful of all iniustice, whoredome, craft, couetousnesse, malice, ful of enuie, murder, strife, deceit, euill mẽered,

The reigne of Hypocrites. Iob 34. Esay 3.

The good and wicked chy perish take ar

Esay 57.

Esay. 6.

Psalme 81.

whisperers, backbiters, haters of god, taunters, proude, glorious, deuisers of euill, disobedient vnto their parentes, without vnderstanding, not keping of couenantes, voyde of the affection of loue & charitie, vntrustie, vnmerciful, which knowing the iustice of God, that is, that they which do such things, be worthy of death, not only ỳ do these things, but doe also consent vnto thẽ which do thẽ. These manners, yea, these marrings and corrupting of mãners & behauiours, be open & cõmen now a days, specially among them which do occupie the chiefest places & roumes, & yet for all ỳ they shal finde very few which do vnderstand, ỳ this sort of men is by ỳ most iust iudgement of Gods anger giuen vp vnto ỳ reprobate vnderstandings. But they which do vnderstand it, doe forsake their cõpany, lest ỳ they sal together with them into the pit of perdition. 4 Fourthly, it is one of the tokens also of gods displeasure ỳ such wicked persons, giuen ouer vnto a reprobate vnderstãding, & vnto al mãner of shamefull lustes, & vnto most mischeuous life, to liue in this world in all welth, & hauing no care. For then is the anger of God great vpõ them in deede, when he seemeth not to be angry with them at al. There be very few ỳ do cõsider this. But the wiser sort do easyly vnderstand, that the anger of God is great, whẽ God seemeth not angry with them that doe sinne. For he doth correct him whom he loueth, & chastneth euery sonne which he receiueth. It is a token of desperation, when the phisition doth forsake & giue ouer his patient. God can not be more angry wt vs, thẽ to suffer vs to run

which ways we list, & when we be vnder no bridell, we may proceede without any restraint in our sinnes, as farre as our appetite & wil, doth leade vs. For this is the prosperitie which marreth the foolish & vnwise. This last anger of his, God doth threaten to ỳ people of Iewes saying: I will make my heate to cease in thee, & my zeale shal go frõ thee. I wil be quiet, & be offended no more. The like is read in ỳ Psalme also: And my people hearkened not to my voice, & Israel would none of me, & I haue let them go in the stubbornesse of their hearts, they walke in their own deuises. What cã be nearer vnto destructiõ, than to be forsaken of God, & to be caried in a mãs own deuises? And yet in the meane seasõ, forasmuch as they be not scourged with men, but do reigne in their sinnes, they be proud & arrogãt, they talke loftily, thei do set vp their countenãce towards heauẽ, & their tõgue runneth at large vpon the earth, & (which is the maddest point of all) doe glorie in their own prosperitie, wherin they do encrease euery day more & more, & do ware worse, & in no wise do acknowledge, ỳ the same is the token of the extreme displeasure & anger of God. So the sea of Rome doth crake & boast, ỳ she remaineth in hir estate like a quene, and ỳ it hath had the vpper hande so many hundreth yeres against al mẽs attempts, & hereby gathereth, that she hath the fauour of God. Thus much I thinke sufficiely said for this present, which, & what mãner the tokens of Gods anger be. There may be other more also noted, but I would with with all my heart, ỳ we would diligently marke

Zacharie. 16.

Psalme. 81.

these, and employ the marking of them well.

Whether the anger of God may be appeased, and how it may be appeased.

That God is pleased. Rom. 1. Psalm. 69.

There is no lesse testimony of ẏ holy Scriptures ẏ God is appeased & made forgetfull, then that he is angry with sinners. He is merciful also whiles he is angry. Thou art angry (saith ẏ Prophet Dauid) and hast mercy vpon vs. And in an other place: He wil not be angry for euer, nor he will not threaten for euermore. But ther can no other reason be giuen, why he is not angry for euermore, but bicause that according vnto his goodnesse, as he is slow vnto anger, so he is inclined also to pardon, & to forgiue. They that be of a naughty, hard & fierce nature, can not relent ẏ anger which they haue once conceiued, & so they be past all pleasing: for in them anger is changed into hatred, which they doe not leaue whiles they haue any breath in their body. Such a nature is deuilishe, & proceading out of the very fountaine of malice, & most farre frō the nature of God, which as it is good & slow vnto anger, so it is also gentle & mercifull, & changeth anger not into hatred, but into grace. Ther of cōmeth that so often in ẏ Scriptures: And the Lorde was pleased. They which do iudge of God lyke as they do of a man that is a king, & do measure his disposition by their owne, be hardly persuaded, that his anger may be appeased: and therefore do fall either into the contēpt therof, or els into desperatiō. Wherfore we must firmely beleue, that he is soone pleased, as that he is angry with our sinnes. Now how he may be reconciled & pleased, we must not determine of our selfe, but learne ẏ of his word. As touching the first & generall anger, wherein we be tied all naturally frō Adam, whereof we spake before, the same was & is appeased & pleased by the bloud of Jesu Christ our onely mediatour, & reconcilour. For God was in Christ saith the Apostle, recōciling ẏ world vnto him, not charging them with their sinnes. Of this attonemēt we be made partakers by amēding our life, & beleuing in Christ. Wherfore the Apostle added also, we beseeke you for Christes sake, be reconciled vnto god. For this cause he calleth ẏ ministerie of ẏ preaching of ẏ Gospel, ẏ ministerie of recōcilemēt, saying: And all is of God, who hath reconciled vs vnto him by Christ, and hath giuen vs the ministerie of reconcilement.

It is deuilish to change anger into hate.

Hovv the anger of God is pleased vvhi is gener

As cōcerning the anger of God, which we called before Tēporary, the same is appeased not by the benefite of time, as wee doo see falleth out oftentimes in ẏ cases of men, in which the space of one houre maye helpe much to the mitigating of an angry mans minde, although there be nothing els vsed to appease him: but there be some certaine meanes, wherby ẏ displeasure of God is appeased. The first is in God himself though he be neuer so angry: The second in ẏ sinner: The third in thē which do make intercession for the sinner. In God there is a naturall goodnesse, which can not restrain it self, no not when he is angry. This same goodnesse doth naturally mitigate his anger. And this is ẏ principall cause of appeasing, without the which ẏ rest could do nothing. In ẏ

Hovv the temporal anger is appeased.

sinner

sinner there is requisite, an amendment of life, an humblenesse of contrite heart, and lowly prayer, which must be grounded vpon the hope of gods mercy. Without amendemēt, humblenesse, & lowly prayer the anger of God is not appeased. Hereof there be many exāples in the scriptures. The Jewes were so blinded in this pointe, that they thought ẏ the anger of God could be pleased with Sacrifices and giftes, without amendement of lyfe. They dyd cut their garments, & counterfait an hūblenesse of minde, in sackecloth, and ashes, from which notwithstanding they were farre off. And them doe they followe foote by foote, which woulde seeme to bee very religious in the Popery. And as for Gospell men (as we be called) what shall I say? Wee be not a halfepeny the better to choose. For where is one amongst a hundred, which goeth about earnestly to appease the anger of God? Micheas doth blame the Jewes saying: Can God be pleased in a thousand of Rams, or in many thousand of fat kyddes? Shal I giue my first begotten for my sinne? The fruit of my belly for the sinne of my soule? I will tell thee O man what is good, & what God doth require of thee: Surely to doe iudgement, to loue mercy, and diligently to walke with thy God. And Ioel doth manifestly enough teach the Jewes how they may please God, when he is angry with thē. In our time there be many stirred vp by ẏ Lord, which do teach and erhorte all men howe they shoulde mitigate the anger of God, but they doe tell the tale vnto deafe eares. The same stubbornesse of minde, which marred the Jewes, will marre vs also.

Hovv the anger of God is appeased by the mediation of iust folke.

Wee sayde that the thirde waye to please God, is that whereby the iust & godly folke do through their mediation mitigate the displeasure of God, when he is angry with his people. Examples hereof be in Moises & in Aaron, and in Samuel. We may recken also amōg these the examples of Moises, Phinees & Josue, which turned away the anger of the Lord from the people, in ẏ they punished the reprobate. The anger of ẏ Lord ceased from the people, after that Moises had hāged the captains vpō gibets against ẏ Sunne, & Phinees moued of zeale, thrust through both the harlot of Madian, & the Israelite also which was the adulterer. And we do reade also in Josue, that the anger of the Lorde was turned from the people, as soone as he was stoned vnto death, which did prouoke it.

Exod. 31. 34. Num. 18. 16. 1. Samuel 7. Num. 25. Iosue. 7.

The two latter reasons be effectual before God, bicause of his goodnesse, so that no man may attribute the appeasing of his anger either vnto our vertues or satisfactiō, which riseth of ẏ punishmēt of our sinnes. The euerlasting anger of God can haue no appeasing thereof. So that thereof we neede not to speake. And thus much we haue spoken of the anger of God.

Of the Iudgements OF GOD.

The holy scriptures do testifie, that God is Iudge.

Dayly experience doth declare, and the holye Scriptures doe testifie, that God is not onely most good, most high of might, of most free wil,

and

and power as we haue noted before, but that he is the iudge also of all mens doings, and therefore Salomon in Ecclesiastes towardes the end doth aduise all mē to feare God, and keepe his commandements, bicause that he bringeth into iudgement all things that be done, either good, or euill. And Dauid saieth: I will say to the foolish (sayth he) doe not foolishly, and to the wicked, lift not vp your horne, or strength, auāce not your strength against the high one, talke not with a crooked necke, or proude countenance, for there is no man which can auaunce hym selfe against him, neither out of the East, West, North, nor South, for as much as God is the iudge. It is he which abaseth, it is he which aduaunceth, for in the Lordes hand there is a cup full of troubled wine, he myngled it, and giueth thereof, men doe sucke vp the very dregges thereof, and all the wycked of the earth shall drinke of it. And the Apostle calleth God the iudge of all. And that as a iust iudge, he doeth iudge iustly, wee haue declared in the place before of ẏ iustice of God: Wherefore wee neede to saye no more thereof his iudiciarie iustice.

Psalm.75.

Hebr.12.

What iudgement is.

The Ebrewes do call משפט, ẏ which we do cal iudgemēt, of the verbe שפט which doth cōmonli signifie to iudge. Sometimes it is taken for a decree for ẏ plaine right, for custome, and for reuenge. The Greke word κρίσις of ẏ verbe κρίνω which signifieth sometimes to discerne, sometimes to condemne, and oftentimes to iudge. In the Latin tongue. Iudico is as much to say, as Ius dico, that is, I tel or declare the right or law, and Iudex, that is the Iudge, as one which telleth ẏ right or lawe, & iudgemēt is the very telling or declaring of ẏ right, or law. Yet for al that, it is vsed sometimes for reasoning & vnderstanding, whē we do determine with our selues, what we may iudge of thīgs heard and seene. So the Apostle saith: Let two or three Prophets speake, & the rest iudge therof. It signifieth sometimes also condēnation. So Christ saith: Iudge not, and he which heareth my word, & beleueth him which sent me, hath life euerlasting, & shall not come into iudgement. Where iudgement is taken for condēnatiō. Sometimes it is takē for the paine and punishment of the reprobate. So they which be sore punished, be said to sustaine sore iudgemēt. The lawyers do take iudgement for the triall of the case to be discussed by order of law in the presence of the iudge, where the complainant & the defendāt are brought both together, and the Iudge heareth, vnderstandeth and pronounceth of the case.

Cor.

Math. 10.

Now how iudgemēt may be attributed vnto God, it may easily be vnderstāded, if there be required in a Iudge the vnderstanding of the things which are to be iudged off, the meanig & intent of equitie & iustice, the authoritie & right to iudge, the power and might to deliuer the innocentes, & to punish the naughty, surely thē iudgement doth chiefly belong vnto him in whom none of these things can be founde lacking. And that is the one and only God, which is called of Esay, The God of iudgemēt, and is reported in

Scriptures to be most wyse, most iust, most mightie, and Lorde of all. Therefore whether iudgement be taken for ẏ vnderstāding of things, or for the discretion, the saying and sentence of the lawe, for condemnation or punishing of the reprobate, it doth to none more properly belong, than to God.

That the iudgements of God be of two sortes.

We do not search into the iudgements of God, which ẏ Apostle doth witnesse, be vnsearchable. And yet there is some waye to come, though not to the full and perfecte yet at the least way to some consideration of ẏ sortes & kindes of thē. Besides that, there be some of them secret, and some manifest, & euen as we said before of the tokēs of gods anger, so the iudgemēts may be deuided also alike, that some be particular, and some vniuersal. We doe call all thē particular, which be not vniuersall, and we do cal them vniuersall, which do wrappe in and cōclude all mankinde.

The particular iudgements be of two sortes, the one wherein many be ioyned together, the other which concerneth eche man particularly. Many ioined together, as whē many be punished in one iudgemēt, whole nations, coūtries, & cities: as those iudgemēts were of the Sodomites, Egyptians, and Israelites in the wildernesse, of ẏ Cananites, Amorites, Moabites, Idumites: yea, and of the Israelites also in the verye lande of promis of the Babiloniās, Assirians, Greekes, Persians, Romanes, and other nations, which the iudge of the whole world doth visite, bycause of their sinnes, and according vnto his iust iudgement doth scourge thē, either wt warres, pestilence, or famine, or some other kinde of plague.

And the like be those iudgemēts, when there be chastened and punished not whole peoples, but some picked out of the multitude, more or lesse. There be of these also many examples in Scriptures, as when xxiij. thousand men were slayne, bycause of the calfe: and where the Espials of the land which made all the people, besides Caleb and Iosue, to murmure, are stricken and slaine in the sight of the Lord. And where Chore, Dathan, and Abyron, with their families were swalowed vp by the opening of the ground: and the two hūdred, which offered incense, were consumed by the fire, which came from the Lord, and xiiij. thousand of the people, as we do reade, perished also. Where the captaines of ẏ people were hanged by ẏ Lords commaundement, vpon gibettes against the Sunne. But there be many examples of such iudgements of God found in the Scriptures, which all, it were superfluous to rehearse here, and out of our purpose.

Exod.32. Num.14. Num.16.

Num.21.25. Ryng eaders.

There be many examples also of those iudgementes of God, when some one man alone & apart is punished, bicause he sinned alone. The first I finde is Cain, who for murdering his brother, was subiect vnto the iust iudgement of God. Secondly, Oza also, whom the Lorde strooke, bicause he rashely layd hand vpon the Arke of the Lord, when it was like to fall. Thirdly, Gehezi was striken with the leprosie, for receiuing of money of Naaman the

Gen.4.

2 Samuel.6.

2 Reg.5.

Sirnan. Fourthly, the captaine also, which spake against Elizeus. And you may ioyne vnto the, That man which gathered wood vpō the Sabboth day, & the Prophet which was slaine by the Lyon. In these & such like histories be same ỳ exāples of ỳ particular & priuate iudgement of God. The vniuersall iudgements of god are found to be of 3. sorts. The first is, when for the originall sinne of our first fathers, wherin we be al concerned & borne, Death came into al ỳ world, & possesseth al mankind, yea, thē also, which had not yet sinned to ỳ likenesse of Adams transgression. This iudgement, forasmuch as belongeth vnto ỳ guilt, blame, and euerlasting damnatiō therof, is take away by Christ, so ỳ it doth no longer binde ỳ elect & faithfull: but as touching ỳ death of this body & the troubles tied vnto it, it endureth vntill the end of ỳ worlde, what time death, ỳ last enemy, shal be same & taken away. The second vniuersal iudgement is ỳ, when because of the vniuersall corruption of the flesche, whatsoeuer lyued in all the whole worlde, beast or man, (except Noe, & such as were wt him in ỳ Arke) were all destroyed from ỳ face of ỳ earth. The third is that final iudgement, which we do looke for to come at ỳ ende of the worlde, what time we shal generally all be presented before ỳ iudgement seate of Christ our iudge, & the goates shalbe separated from the sheepe, ỳ reprobate from ỳ elect, & the wicked from the godly. In deede the iudgementes of God might be diuided in two more sorts, if a man were disposed to serue the narrowly out, but we be contented with this easy & ready diuisiō, wherby we be al admonished, ỳ we must not be so mad to thinke, ỳ we may sinne ỳ more safely with many, or with few, with all men or alone, as though it should seeme too great a matter for God to iudge vpon the sinnes of al mākinde: or ỳ he would sooner pardō our sinne, if we do sinne with many, or ỳ for the multitude & cōpany of them ỳ do sinne, the matter may be hidde & escape his knowledge: or ỳ it is a small & vnseemely matter for him to punish ỳ sinnes of a few, or of one priuate persone. But let ỳ godly & such as do feare God, be voyde of these thoughtes. In deede there is to be founde such Magistrates & Iudges in ỳ world, which do thinke it meete, to winke at the sinnes which be done by all generally, or by many, & so do iudge of ỳ sinnes of some fewe only: or els on ỳ other side, do thinke it not meete for them to iudge of fewe & priuate folke, forasmuch as these faultes which be cōmitted by few, do bring lesse daunger in, but do then fall to the sharpenesse of iudgement, if ỳ rest of the multitude do begin to grow to great. But there is none of these respects in God. As for the obiection of that that the Lord sayd of Niniuites vnto Ionas: shoulde not I spare Niniue a great citie, in which be more than 120. thousande men, which know not their right hande from their lefte, and much cattel also? God sayd that he did spare the multitude of sinners, not because they were many, but because there were many innocents, children, and cattell, in respect of whome, GOD would spare the rest. To be short, God is iudge, & that of the whole world, iudgeing of all, many, fewe, and some alone, when their sinnes ware ripe once vnto iudgement. His iudgement is fire consuming that which it catcheth, all, many, fewe or some one alone. As we se done when some houses alone, few, many, or sometimes altogether be on fire, as now and then whole cityes be burned. Wherefore like as we be so wary of fire, that no man will say with himself, My house standeth here alone, and therfore it is safe from fire, or here be but few houses, so that there is no daunger of fire: or here be many houses, and therefore we may care the lesse for any harme of fire, forasmuch as we do knowe, that the nature of fire is such, that if it take & kindle once, it spareth neither many nor few, neither them ỳ do stand alone: so we must beware, ỳ we fall not into the daunger of ỳ iudgement of God, the iudge of all, knowing ỳ the violence of him is much sower, than of any fire, & ỳ no multitude, be it neuer so great doth let him nor that we haue any defence of fewnesse, or of being alone.

Num. 15.

1. Reg. 13.

The vniuersall iudgement of God is of three sorts.

Gen. 6. 7.

The lessons taught by this.

That the causes of Gods iudgemēts ought not to be searched.

MAny of the iudgementes of God be of that sorte, that it were very profitable to know the causes of them. And ỳ holy Scripture doth not hide them, so ỳ men nede not ouer curiously to searche them, as the iudgement of Sodome & Gomor, & other like, the examples wherof were giuen vs to this ende, ỳ we should vnderstand, ỳ we haue all of vs liuinges in heauen, to be feared & obeied: wherof Peter ỳ Apostle doth make mencō wher he saith ỳ such iudgements are set forth for exāples vnto them, which would do wickedly. But wall ther be many of the iudgemēts of god, & causes of which be not so opē, ỳ thei be knowē to al mē. Of thē we ought not to search ouer curiously, lest we should seem to make those thigs to be wōn our cōpaine, which ỳ prouidēce of God would haue vnsearchable, & passing our reach. Thy iudgements (saith Dauid) be an exceding great pit or depth. And we (as our curiousnes ledeth vs) wil rather go groping for ỳ depth of Gods secrets, thā vō his feare to knowe those things, which be before our face set forth for vs to knowe. This crokednesse of mans hearte is great, whereby we do neglect those things that doe belong vnto vs, and desire to know that which is forbidden, which we ought not to search, but to reuerēce, & thinke of them so religiously, that though they seme vnto our reason to be vniust & vnreasonable, yet we should not doubt, but ỳ they be most iust, & say rather with Dauid: The Lord is iust in all his waies. And vō Daniel: Thou art iust (shall that which thou hast done vnto vs: & all thy workes be true, & all thy wayes right, &c. We must se & cōsider the workes of God, but so for all that, that in case there be any causes of thē alleaged, we marke thē wel for our edifying: & in case there be none alleaged, we seeke not further for thē.

1 That ỳ iudgements of God, be wonderful, let vs consider some fewe vnto innumerable sort of them. And first of all, which ỳ Apostle maketh mencō of, for the Romains, saying: God hath concluded all vnder

Daniell. 1.

Examples of the wonderfull iudgements of God.

Rom. 11.

That god hath concluded all vnder sin.

vnbelefe, to haue mercy vpō al. How deepe and vnsearchable this iudgement is, the exclamation which foloweth doth witnesse: O the depth of the riches of the wisdome and kowledge of god, how vnsearchable be the iudgements thereof, and the wayes not able to be founde out? For who euer knew the minde of the Lord, &c. So farre wide herein the Godly man is from searching how it were conuenient for God to conclude al men vnder vnbelefe, that he will rather adnaunce his wisedome, & saye with the Apostle: Glory be vnto him for euer.

That he chose some & refused some.

2 Secondly. Who is able to ymagine, vpon what reasons the iudgemēts of ẏ election, & refusing be grouñded, wherby God chose some vnto him to be vessells of grace, and some he refused, which the Apostle doth cal the vessels of wrath, appointed vnto destruction.

That god loued Iacob, and hated Esau:

3 Thirdly, that is a very wonderfull iudgement also, that God loued Jacob, & hated Esau, whiles they were yet bothe in theyr mothers belly, and that the first neuer had done any good, nor the other any euill: whereof the Apostle maketh mention to the Romaines. For it shold not seeme much strāge to God, to loue him whiche had done neither good nor euill, but to hate such a one, it seemeth to the iudgement of our reason not to be meete for any man, much lesse for God, which is of all most iust and good.

Rom. 9.

That god doth harden whom he vvil. Rom. 9.

4 Fourthly, it is the lyke point that the Apostle writeth of, that God doth harden whom he will, & hath mercy vpon whom hee wyll: and that it standeth not in him which willeth and runneth, but in GOD which hath mercy. If hee had said, he hath mercy vpon them vpon whome he ought to haue mercy, and he hardeneth him whome he ought to harden: and it standeth not in him which willeth and runneth onely, &c. He had spoken not farre wide from the iudgement of our reason, but now when he saith: He hath mercy vpon whom he wil, and hardeneth whome he will, and that absolutely, the matter stādeth not in him which willeth and runneth, but in GOD which hath mercy. This iudgement of GOD is to deepe for the capacitye of our reason.

5 Fifthly, it falleth out oftētimes, that their purpose dothe frame but euillfauouredly, which do earnestly intende some good worke: and on the otherside that they doe prosper, which doe withstand it. Wee may see an example of such a iudgement in the booke of Judges. When the Israelites meaning to reuenge a most mischeuous fact, committed by some of ẏ Beniamits, whē thy had twice sought counsell of the Lord, and were twice sore beaten of the Beniamites, and lost fortye thousande of theyr men, whereas the Beniamites had but. xxv. thousand in all, which would warre against the whole people of God for certeine most wicked and mischeuous persons. This iudgement of God was very sore vpon Israell, and yet for all that we doe not read of any sinne that was punished by that losse and slaughter of men. If a man consider the historye of the sonnes & daughters of Job, which were sodainely slayn by the violent

fall

fall of theyr brothers house, and of his seruants and heardmē, of whiche some were slaine by the Sabées, and some by the Chaldées, and some consumed by fyre from Heauen: was not this a wonderfull iudgement of God, seyng that we doe not reade of any of theyr sinnes that he punished so sodaynly and so sore?

The Infāts punished for the faults of the father.

6 Sixtly, that is also a speciall poynt, that the infante whiche hath yet done no euill, is taken out of this lyfe by vntimely deathe for the Fathers sinne: of which iudgement we may read an history in the booke of Samuel, where the Prophete Nathan sayde vnto Dauid: For asmuch as thou haste caused the enimies to blaspheme the name of the Lord, for this worde, the sonne which is borne to thée, shall dye the death. The child had not sinned, but Dauid his Father. And yet notwithstanding it is sayd vnto the father: Thou shalt not die, but the childe whiche is borne to thée, shal die the death. Why? bicause thou haste made the enimies blaspheme the name of the Lorde. Lo the sinne is charged vpon the father, and the punishment layde vpon the litle chylde. If a man should aske the opinion of our reason, in this iudgement of God, it should séeme to haue little equitie: and yet for all that it can not be vniust, for asmuche as he whiche so iudged of the childe, is not a sinfull man, but God the most iuste iudge of all.

2. Samuel. 12.

That many punished for the sinne of

7 Seuenthly, many do argue of that poynt also, that for the sinne of one manne many be slayne, as that iudgement is, whiche God threateneth vnto king Abimelech, saying: Nowe therefore restore the man his wife, and he shall pray for thee, for he is a Prophete, and thou shalte lyue: but if thou wilte not restore hyr, knowe thou that thou shall dye the death, and all thine. The faulte was the Kyngs, and yet all his household shoulde haue bene subiect vnto the same punishment, (notwithstanding they had not offended in the matter) if he had not restored Sarah vnto Abraham. So for the obstinate stubbornesse and rebellion of Pharao alone, all Egypt was punished with ten plagues. So with Acham which sinned alone, his wyfe, sonnes, and daughters, Shéepe, Oxen, and Asses, were stoned to death, & all his goodes burned. So for the sinne of Dauid alone, whiche he committed in numbryng his people, thréescore and ten thousand men perished.

Iosue. 7.

2. Samu. vl

8 Eyghtly, it séemeth the lyke case also, that the aftercommers bee punished for the sinnes of theyr forefathers. The saying of Christe is knowen. That all the iust bloud fall vpon you, whiche hath bene shedde vpon the earth, since the bloud of iust Abell, vntil the bloudde of Zachary the sonne of Barachie, whome you slewe betwixte the Temple, and the Altare. Verily I say vnto you, all these things shal befall vpon this generatiō. So the whole house of Hieroboā was decayed after his death, bycause of his sinne, wherin he made the Israelites to sinne straight after the beginnyng of his raigne.

That the aftercommers bee punished for the sin of theyr forefathers

Math. 23.

1. Reg. 15.

9 Ninthly, a question may bée made of that also, by what reason, when many had cōmitted al one sin, not all, but some of them only be punished? We doe reade of Aaron and Marie his sister, that bothe of them

That many haue done the lyke sin and yet some of thē and not all be punished.

did murmure against Moses, bicause of his wyfe that was an Ethyopian, and that therefore they were bothe blamed of the Lorde, and yet for all that Marie onely was punished, and casse into a leprosie, and Aaron lefte cleane, whereas consideryng the person of Aaron, it may appeare, that his sinne ought to haue bene sorer punished, than hys sisters. There be many of the iudgements of GOD lyke vnto this, the reasons of which ought not to be sought for by vs, but to be lefte vnto hys infinite wisedome, iustice, and prouidence. A man can not lightly more grieuously and irreligiously offende the Maiestie of God, than when we do examine hys iudgementes to the opinion of our reason.

What is the vse of Gods iudgement in this world.

VVhy god doth iudge in this vvorlde.

For asmuch as at the ende of the worlde wée shall be all iudged, and stand before the iudgement seate of Christe, so that euery man may receyue, according vnto that whiche he hath done in hys body, either good or euil. A man may reasonably aske, why God dothe iudge in this present worlde, and not rather reserue all the doyngs of all creatures vntill that finall iudgemente to come, so that he néede not to iudge twyce of one facte. And to aunswere this question, so that menne may take profite thereof, we muste consider what is the vse of Goddes iudgementes in this worlde. Hierome sayth, There is no ful payment of desertes in this worlde, but in that worlde to come. Wherefore the day of iudgement is promysed also at the ende. For nowe there is no iudgemente. For it is without cause called the laste day of iudgement, if God doe nowe iudge. This saith he. Wée can not denie, but that God doth iudge also in this present worlde, and that all kynde of menne, wicked, and godly: notwithstanding in that sorte, that nothyng be derogate frō the final iudgement, but rather away made to declare his iustice. Wherefore in my opinion it is good to sée in this mater, how God dothe iudge and not iudge in thys present worlde: whiche can not bée better perceyued, than if wée do consider the vse of Gods iudgements, whereby hée dothe iudge of our doings in this present life.

Howe manyfolde the iustice of Gods iudgement is in this vvorlde.

And the vse of them is to be séene in foure respects, for he doth diuersly iudge the wicked in one sorte, and the Godly after an other sorte. First he dothe so iudge the wicked, that he declareth himselfe to be the punisher and reuenger of euill, and that therin bée gyuē an example vnto others, whereof the Apostle Peter doth admonishe vs, where he sayth, that the iudgementes of the wicked be sette forth, for the exāples of them which should doe euill.

2.Pet.2.

Secondly, he dothe in some parte recompence as well the wicked as the Godly, in this life. He doth recōpence I say, in some behalfe. For he doth reserue the ful, perfect, and final recompence, vntill the iudgement to come, at the which he wil finally determine of the whole, aswell of the destructiō of the wicked, as of the saluation of the Godly. In this manner he doth giue vnto them both in this life, to the euil, euil things, and to the good

good, good things, that the euill may perceyue that they haue stirred the Lorde agaynst them, and receyue some taste of theyr destruction to come: and the good also vnderstande the grace of Gods beneuolence towardes them, & be confirmed in true Godlinesse.

Thirdely, he dothe iudge the reprobate in this life to this ende also, in exercising his reuenge towardes them, that the elects may be for the tyme deliuered from theyr malice & violence. So hée taketh away tyraunts, the deuourers of the people, and persecuters of all godly folke, not sufferyng the faithfull, to be tēpted more than they be able to beare and sustayne. The examples of such iudgements may be taken not onely out of the Scriptures, but of the histories of our owne Cities also. For these our times doe manifestly inough set forth before our eyes the iudgements of cruell tyrants, so that a blinde man may sée howe they bée taken away, to the intent that for a time there may be peace and quiet, in the Churches of Christe.

Fourthly, he doth iudge not onely the reprobate, but the Godly also, scorgyng and chastenyng them, yea and sometimes also taking them out of this lyfe by vnseasonable death, not to destroy them, but to prouide that they bée not condemned with this worlde. So the Apostle sayth, When wée be iudged by the Lorde, wée be chastened, least that we bée condemned with this worlde. And he is so enclyned vnto this kynde of iudgement, that beyng appoynted to iudge the reprobate, he dothe iudge them firste whom he doth meane to saue: & therefore the Apostle Peter in his firste Epistle, saythe, That the iudgement of God doth begin at his owne householde. Therefore he doth oftētimes take the godly out of this life, to the intent that eyther they shoulde not sée the euils to come, as we doe reade of Abyah the sonne of Hieroboam, & of Iosias, either least through the malice of this worlde & the company of wicked folke, theyr hartes shoulde be altered from theyr Godly intent and purpose. Whereof looke in the booke of Wisedome. These foure vses of Goddes iudgemēts, haue place only in this present world, & not in the world to come, for then there shall be no cause why to declare by certayne and assured examples, that there is a reuenger of euill in heauen, to the example of thē which should do wickedly: or by way of recompēce, to giue any tast of his anger to the wicked, & of his grace vnto the godly, and to encourage the Godly for a season by the deathe of tyrants: or to prouide, least the godly be damned with this world, or to sée & féele the euils to come with the reprobate, but there shall be a briefe determination of al things for the final & perpetual saluation of the godly, & destructiō of the vngodly. Thus I suppose it dothe appeare howe it may be simply, and readily cōsidered, what is the vse of Gods iudgements in this worlde, and what difference there is betwixt them, and the latter iudgement which we do looke for.

1.Cor.11.

1.Pet.4.

1.Regum.

2.Regum.

Sapien.4

Of the extreme and last Iudgement.

Like as vpon that, that the latter iudgemēt to come, is set forth in ẏ

That there is a latter iudgement to come.

Scriptures vnto vs to be looked for, some doe gather, that God dothe not iudge any mā in this present world, but doth deferre the iudgement vntill the ende of the worlde. So, In Augustines dayes some did gather, that it is vayne to looke for iudgemēt to come, for that that they whiche be vnbeleuyng and reprobate, be already iudged, and that they whiche doe beléeue in Christ come not into iudgement, for that Christ himself saith: God sente not his Sonne into the worlde to iudge the worlde, but that the world should be saued by him, he which doth beleue in him is not iudged, but he which beleueth not is already iudged, bicause ẏ he dothe not beleue in ẏ name of the only begottē sonne of God: And, Verily, verily, I say vnto you. He whiche heareth my worde, and beleueth him which sent me, hath lyfe euerlasting and cōmeth not into iudgement, but shall passe from death into life. They argued vpon this, and sayde: If that they which do beleue, shall not come into iudgement, & they whiche do not beleue, be already iudged. Where, And who be they, whiche the Lorde shall iudge. Secondly the Apostle Peter also did foretel, that there shold come mockers, which denying the seconde cōming of Christe should say, where is the promise of his commyng? For since that the Fathers firste slepte, all things doe continue in the same estate they were from the beginning of creatures. Wherfore the mindes of the faythfull muste bée armed, least they bée seduced by suche imaginations, and doubte of the iudgement to come, bycause that they doe sée the commyng of the Lorde deferred so many ages, and yeares. And whereas the Lorde sayth, that they which do beléeue shal not come into iudgement, it muste be vnderstanded of condemnation, for the whiche the worde of iudgement is vsed, as wée made mention before: so that not to come into iudgement is nothyng else to say, but not to come into condemnation. And whereas he sayth that they whiche doe not beleue in the sonne of God, be already iudged: it is not spoken of the promulgatiō of sentence, whiche is to come at the latter iudgement, but of the secrete, and euerlasting iudgement of God, where it was determined before the beginning of this worlde, that they which do beleue in him, should be saued, and they whiche do not beléeue, be condemned. Wherefore they be much ouerséene, and wicked, whiche doe gather vpon the wordes of the Lorde, that the same shall not be, whiche hée did in many places expresly say, shoulde come to passe: As for the mockers, & scorners of whiche the Apostle Peter spake, he doth answere them himselfe.

Ioan. 3.

Math. 24.

But when the day of the latter iudgement shall come. It is not for vs to knowe, for that is reserued to the foreknowledge and power of God only. So Christe sayth. As for the day and power no man knoweth it: no not the Aungels of Heauen, but the Father onely. And herevpon he gathereth, that wée ought to liue the more wakefully, and warely, the lesse that wée doe knowe what houre the Lord wil come. Of which matter I haue spoken in my commentaries vpon Mathewe. This is a cleare case that the last iudgement shall

VVhē the day of the last iudgement shall be, vvee muste not seeke.

shall be at the comming of the Lord, who shall come at the ende of the worlde: but when the ende of this world shall come, that can not bée an assured case. The Hebrewes doe crake vpon a certayne number of thousandes of yéeres, in whiche thys worlde should be determined: & they doe attribute these wordes vnto the Prophet Elias: There shall be sixe thousand yéeres of this world. Two thousande shall be voyde, (so they doe call the time whiche went before the law) Two thousand for the law, And two thousande for Christe. In déede this saying doth serue well to cōfute the obstinacie of the Iewes, wheras they do yet stubbernly deny ẏ Christ is come, but to proue the determinate space and ende of this world, it can be of no authoritie at all. Lactāce doth also determine this world at the sixte thousand. Augustine doth cōfute them, which do determine the thousands of this worlde, accordyng to the number of the dayes of the wéeke, affirmyng that the eyght day is a figure of the resurrection & ende of the world. As for me, I am well contented to bée ignorant of that whiche God woulde not haue me to know, wherfore I do not alow their coniectures & gessings, which had rather argue in this matter and search the secretes of God, than accordyng vnto the admonition of the Lorde, watche and walke in the studie and séekyng of true godlinesse.

The saying of Elias.

Lactantius Firmianus. Augustine.

If we would knowe the manner, howe the very action and doyng of this iudgement shall bée, I suppose there can bée nothyng taught more certayne, than the same whiche the Lorde himselfe declareth, saying: And straight after ẏ trouble of those dayes, the Sunne shall be darkened, & the Moone shall not giue hir light, and the starres shall fall from heauen, & the power of the heauens shal be moued, & then there shall appeare the signe of the sonne of man in heauen, and all the trybes of the lande shall wayle, & they shall sée the sonne of man commyng in the cloudes of heauen with much Power and Maiestie, and he shall sende his Aungels with a trompe and a greate noyse, & they shall gather togither his electes from the foure windes of heauen, from the toppe of heauen vnto the vttermoste boundes therof, and a littell after: Then there shall be two in the fielde, one shall be taken vp, and the other left behind, there shall two women be grindyng in the mill, one shall be taken vp, and the other lefte, two in a bedde, and one taken away an other left behind: Againe, What time the sonne of Man shall come in his Maiestie, and al his Angels with him, then he shall sitte vpon the seate of hys Maiestie, and all nations shal be gathered before hym, and he will disseuer thē one frō an other, as the Sheparde dothe disseuer the Shéepe from the Goates, and he shall sette the shéepe at the right hande, and the Goates at the lefte. Than shall the kyng say vnto them whiche shall be at his right hande: Come you blessed of my father, and possesse the kyngdome made ready for you frō the beginning of the world. For I was hūgry, & you gaue me to eate, I was a thirste, and you gaue me to drinke, I was a straunger, and you tooke mée in, I was naked, & you couered me. I was weake, and you visited mée.

Math 24.

Math. 25.

I was in prysō, and you came vnto me. Then the iuste shal answer him, saying: Lorde, when did we see thee hungry and fede thee, or thirstie, and gaue thee drinke, whē did we see thee a straunger, & did take thee in? or naked, and couered thee? or when did did we se the sicke, and in prysō, & came to visite thee? And the King shal answere them, saying. Verily I say vnto you, for asmuche as you haue done it vnto one of those my least brethern, you haue done it vnto me. Then the king shal say vnto thē also, which be at his left hande: Depart frō me you cursed, into euerlasting fire, whiche is prepared for the Diuell, and his Angels, for I was hungry, and you gaue me nothing to eate, &c. Then shal they also answere him, saying: Lorde, when did we see thee hungry, or thirstie, or a straunger, or naked, or sicke, or in prysō, & did not minister vnto thee? Then he shall answere them and say: Verily I say vnto you, for asmuche as you haue not done it vnto one of these little ones, you haue not done it vnto me. And they shall goe into euerlasting punishment, & the iuste into euerlastyng lyfe. And in John he saith: Marueil not, for the houre is come, when al they which be in their graues shall heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and they whiche haue done good, shall come forth vnto the resurrection of life, and they whiche haue done euill, vnto the resurrection of iudgement. And the Apostle saith: Thus much do I say my bretherne, that flesshe and bloud, can not possesse the kyngdome of God, neither shall corruption possesse incorruption. Beholde, I tell you a mysterie. In dede we shall not all sleepe, and yet for all that, we shall be all chaunged in a moment, at the twinckling of an eye, by the laste trompe, for it shall sounde, and the dead shall ryse agayne incorruptible, and we shall be chaunged, &c. And agayne: For this we do say vnto you in the word of the Lorde, that we whiche shall lyue, and be lefte at the commyng of the Lorde, shall not come yer them whiche sleepe: for the Lorde himself shal come downe from Heauen with a shoute, and with the voyce of the Archangell, and with the trompe of GOD, and the dead in Christe shall ryse firste, after that, we also whiche shall bee alyue, whiche shall be lefte behynde, shall be taken vp also with them in the cloudes to meete the Lorde in the ayre, and so we shall alwayes be with the Lorde. And agayne: When the Lorde Jesus shall be reuealed from Heauen with the Aungels of hys power, with burnyng flame, which shal reuenge them whiche haue not knowen God, and whiche doe not obey the Gospell of our Lorde Jesus Christe, whiche shall haue for their punishment euerlastyng destruction from the face of the Lorde, and from the glory of hys strength, when he commeth to be glorified in hys Saincte, &c. And the Apostle Peter sayth: The day of the Lorde shall come lyke a thiefe in the nighte, when the skies shall passe lyke waues, and the elements shall be dissolued for heate, and the earth and the workes whiche be in it, shall be burnte vp. Therefore, seyng that all these matters shall be dissolued, what manner of menne dothe it behoue you to bee, lokyng for

1. Thessal. 4.

Who shal be present before the iudgement of God.

2. Thessal. 1.

2. Pet. 3.

for and makyng haste to the commyng of the daye of GOD in holy conuersations and Godly liues, by whome the Heauen shall be burned and dissolued, and the Elements for heate shall melte away? but we doe loke for newe Heauens and newe earth, accordyng vnto hys promisse, in whiche Iustice dothe inhabite. These matters the holy Spyrite thought profitable to be knowen, and therefore didde putte them into the holy Scriptures, to the intent we should haue some vnderstanding what the manner of the laste iudgemente shoulde bee: and if the reste had bene also as profitable to be knowen, he woulde surely haue set it forth also.

If you aske, who shal be present before the iudge Christe, it may bee some aunswered accordyng vnto the Apostle, All: and by the wordes of Christe before alleaged, All nations: and according vnto the confession of our fayth, Bothe the quicke and the deade, whiche all, the Lorde shall iudge. And we doe meane by the deade, those whiche before the Lordes commyng haue slepte from the begynnyng of the world, which al shall be raysed vp agayne to iudgement by the vertue of his power: and by the quicke we meane suche as shall be yet alyue, accordyng vnto the saying of the Apostle, wherupon this article was put into our Crede or belefe. Augustine sayth that this particle maye bee taken two wayes, either in that sense which we declared euen now out of the words of the Apostle, eyther that we may vnderstande by the quicke, the iuste, and by the dead, the vniuste. But the later sense is farre from the simplicitie of the Crede, for the vnderstandyng of the Christian people: but the first is more simple and better agreeyng with the minde of the Apostle. Lactance doth suppose that they only shall be iudged, which were in the religion of God.

Lactan. lib. 7. cap. 20.

Of the tokens goyng before the latter *Iudgement.*

GOD, who is the moderator of al things, dothe so moderate this matter also, that albeit hee will not haue the daye and houre of the laste iudgemente to bee knowen to any manne, yet for all that, hee woulde not haue hys faythfull to be altogither ignorant of that tyme that goeth before it, leaste they shoulde be sodaynely and vnreadily ouertaken with his commyng. Therfore he did set forth certayne signes to be obserued, by which we should be forewarned thereof, and be confirmed in diligence of watchyng and waking, and be incouraged agaynst all assaultes and persecutions of aduersaries, specially of Antichriste.

God vouchsafe vs to knowe the tyme which goeth before the day of iudgement.

And for asmuche as may suffise this treaty, there be sette forth two kindes of tokens & signes. For some do passe long before, and some nie at hand. They whiche doe goe long before, do timely and briefly forshewe, that the Lorde is ready to come to iudge. Those which do goe but as it were at hād or before his face, do cry ỹ he is at hand, like as the marching on to warre of some prince, is denoūced and proclaymed timely inough, whiles he is yet in his prouisiōs and

The tokēs goyng before the last iudgement of two sortes.

preparation. And when his army is at hande, the poſtes and meſſengers do runne and prouoke, and ſturre vp all to mæte with him.

Some of the ſignes goyng long before, be rehearſed by the Lorde hymſelfe, and ſome by the Apoſtle. The Lorde ſayth in Matthew: Like as it was in the dayes of Noe, ſo ſhall be alſo commyng of the Sonne of man: for lyke as in the dayes before the floudde they were eatyng and drinking, maryng, and beſtowyng in mariage, vntill that day when Noe wente into the Arke, and they knew it not vntill ỹ the floudde came, and wiped away al: ſo the comming of the ſonne of manne ſhall be alſo. And in Luke it is added: Lyke as it fared in the dayes of Loth, they dyd eate and drynke, they bought and ſolde, they dyd plante and buylde, what day that Loth went out of Sodome, it rayned fyre and brymſtone from Heauen, and deſtroyed all, and accordyng vnto this, it ſhall betyde at that day when the Sonne of man ſhall be reuealed. Therefore what other thyng elſe is that ſecuritie and careleſneſſe, whiche long agoe is growne ſo greate, that without care and expectation of the iudgement to come, wee doe lyue after that rate; as though that the Lorde would neuer returne vnto vs, and that wee doe ſo ſecurely eate, drynke, marie and beſtowe in marryage, plante, and buylde, but a ſigne paſſyng long before, and foreſhewyng vnto vſe mẽ the commyng of the Lorde? And therewithall agreeth that peece of the parable in Mathew: And whiles the bridegrome taried, they ſlumbred all and ſlepte. Doe wee not ſee, that well nere all menne are ſo heauy aſleepe in theyr hartes, oppreſſed with ſurfette, dronkenneſſe, carke and care of this lyfe, that they cãnot bee awaked by any clamors of the preachyng of the Goſpell, nor ſeeme that euer they will awake, vntil that they bee called out of this vniuerſall and inuincible dead ſleepe, by the trompe of the Aungell, at the very commyng of the Lorde? This the Apoſtle ſawe ſhoulde come, and therfore hee gaue vs warnyng before, ſaying: Therefore lette vs not ſleepe lyke vnto others, but lette vs awake and bee ſober.

Signes going long before. Matth.24. Luke.17. Matth.25. 1.Theſſ.v. 1.Theſſ.4.

Vnto theſe firſte kynde of ſignes, thoſe thyngs doe belong, whiche the Apoſtle wryteth in his firſte Epiſtle to Timothee, where hee ſayth: The ſpyrite dothe alluredly ſpeake that in the later tymes, ſome ſhall fall from the fayth, harkenyng vnto diſceytefull ſpyrites and doctrines of Deuiles, by the counterfaityng of falſe talkers, hauyng their conſcience marked as it were with a brãdyng yron, forbiddyng to marry, and commaundyng to forbeare the meates, whiche God hath created to bee receyued wyth thankes gyuing, of the faythfull, and them whiche knowe the truthe, that what ſo euer GOD hath created is good, and nothyng to bee refuſed, if it bee taken with thanks giuing. When he ſaith, that this fallyng from the ſound doctrine and fayth, ſhall betyde in the latter times, no doubt he doth meane of the times goyng before the Lords commyng, in whiche this fallyng from the fayth is long ſince paſſe, as the thyng it ſelfe dothe declare. And therefore it is reckened a right

among

among thoſe ſignes, whiche doe forewarne vs to wake, and diligently to looke for the day of the Lord. Therefore, albeit we do in this matter not without cauſe reprehende and blame the maſterſhip of errour, whiche the Papiſtes do practiſe in the Churche, yet notwithſtanding we muſt thinke withall, that it is ſignifyed vnto vs by this departure and falling from the faith, that the latter times bee in hand, and that it oughte ſo to be conſidered, that we do acknowledge, not onely the decepte of Satan, but the ſigne alſo of the latter times.

2.Theſſa.

And in the ſeconde Epiſtle to Timothe, we do reade thus: Know that at the latter dayes there ſhall bee daungerous ſeaſons, for men ſhall be louing themſelues, couetous, preſumptuous, proude, banners, diſobedient to their parents, vnthankefull, vngodlye, without pitie, keeping no couenants, ſlaunderous, outragious, fierce, deſpiſing the good, traytors, raſh dealers, arrogante, louing pleaſures more thã God, hauing a ſhewe of godlineſſe, and yet denying the ſtrength thereof. In this ſaying the Apoſtle dothe ſo truly paint out and ſet forthe, as it were with an inſtrumente, the wonderfull corrupt manners of theſe preſente times: and becauſe hee dyd tell before, that there ſhoulde be ſuche menne in the latter dayes, we do eaſily vnderſtand by the conſideration of the behauioure and manners now vſed, that we be fallen into thoſe daungerous ſeaſons of the laſt dayes. And therefore be warned by the caſe it ſelfe, to wake and become like vnto thẽ whiche do wakefully looke for their Lord and maſter, euery man in his watch.

In the latter Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, hee ſpeaketh of the comming of the Lord in this wiſe: The Lorde ſhall not come, vnleſſe there come firſte a decay, and that the ſinfull man be reuealed, the childe of perdition, whiche ſhall be the aduerſarie, and be aduanced aboue all that is called God or Godly. So that hee ſhall ſitte in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe as God, &c. No man doubteth but that he dothe ſpeake of Antichriſte, & that he reporteth that he ſhall be reuealed before the comming of Chriſte. So that the reuealing or opening of Antichriſte is the token of thoſe times, whiche doe goe before the comming of the Lord. And heere we maye ſee what Bernarde ſayeth vpon the Pſalme, *Qui habitat Serm.6.* at the ende. Nowe ſayeth hee, there is peace with Paganes, peace with Heretikes, but wee haue not peace with falſe children. Thou haſt multiplyed people, Lorde Ieſu, but thou haſt not multiplyed gladneſſe: for there be many called, and fewe choſen. All Chriſtian men, and welnere all do ſeeke things of theyr owne, and not of Ieſus Chriſte. Yea the very offices of the dignities of the Church, are chaunged into a filthye gayne, and traffike of darkeneſſe, and there is not ſoughte in them the ſaluation of mennes ſoules, but the waſte of riches: for this they bee ſhorne, for this they do haunt Churches, ſay Maſſes, ſing Pſalmes, they doe ſtryue ſhamefully nowe a dayes for Biſhoprickes, for Abbotſhippes, for Archdeaconries, and other dignities, ſo that the rentes of the Churches be waſted in the vſe of ſuperfluitie and vanitie. There remaineth

Bernard Antichriſt *In Pſalm. Qui habit. Serm.6.*

that the mā of sinne, the child of perdition be reuealed, the Deuil not onlye of the daye, but of the none daye, which is not only transfygured into the Aungell of light, but is aduanced also ouer all that is called God, or that is worshipped. This saith Bernard. Whereby it appeareth well ynough, vnto whome he thought that the wordes of the Apostle shoulde bee referred, so that no man can charge vs that we be the firste that haue referred the same vnto the head of the most corrupte Clergy, I meane the Symon of Rome. He gathered by the Simony, bying and selling, couetousnesse & excesse of the Churchmen in his time, that the reuelation of Antichrist was at hande. For the head of them began to be opened by the qualitie of the members. Where we muste marke by the waye, that Bernard did not only acknowledge, that Antichriste shoulde some be reuealed, but also that he was in the Church, else he could not haue beene reuealed, if that hys comming hadde bin yet behinde, as it is surmised in the Popery.

Hitherto we haue touched somewhat of certayne signes, whiche doe declare long before the time of the laste iudgemente, and we meane not to goe thorough to all. And therefore nowe let vs see some of them, whych doe passe before the verye sighte of Gods comming nye at hand. Fyrste we may call them to remembrance, which the Lord himselfe said should come. Straight way after the affliction of those dayes, the Sunne shall be darkened, and the Mone shall not geue hir lighte, and the Starres shall fall from Heauen, and the powers of the Heauens shall bee moued, and then shall appeare the signe of the sonne of man in Heauen, &c. These things out of doubt shal passe nearest before the comming of the Lord, and of them we haue spoken in our Commentaries vpon Matthew, wherevnto we do adde nothing (bee it spoken without the preiudice of others.) For the signes be suche, that they do not come vnto oure certayne knowledge, but by the experience to come. What the same proofe or experience commeth, then we shal knowe howe the Sunne is darkened, that the Mone shyneth not, that the Starres doe fall from the Skye, that the powers of the Heauens be moued, and what signe of the Sonne of Man doth appeare in Heauen. In the meane whyles wee may gesse at them, but wee can determine nothyng of any certaynetie. Notwythstandyng, if anye man lyke, lette hym loke vpon Lactance.

Signes going before the comming of the Lorde at hande.

Matth. 24.

Lactantius Firmianus. li. 7. cap. 16.

Rom. 11.

And there remayneth behynde that saying of the Apostle: Brethrē, I will not haue you to be ignorannt of thys mysterie, that you bee not hygh mynded in your selues, for that the blindenesse is happened vpon part of the Israelites, vntyll that the fulnesse of the Gentiles come in, and so Israell shall be saued. This conuersion of the Jewes I do differ from those tokens whiche began to bee done a great whyles a gone, and doe passe before the comming of the Lorde: and I doe apply it vnto those signes, whiche shall goe nearest before it. But how that conuersion shal bee fulfilled, and what shall bee the poynte of the fulfilling of the Gentiles, lette hym deryne whyche is

Of the conuersion of the Iewes.

Rom. 11.

able. We can rather wishe it, than for a certayntie define it. Augustyne sayth, that there shall be sometimes a manifest vocation or calling of the Jewes in the saluation of the Gospell, but howe and what time it shall be, he doth not expresse.

Apoll. li. 20. de Ciuit. Dei. cap. 30.

What maner of state the worlde shall be of after the iudgement.

Some men thinke it a question to bee asked, of what manner the state of this worlde, and of the vngodly also, and the godlye shall bee after the iudgement? Lactance sayeth, that Christe shall bee among men, and rule them in most iuste gouernance, a thousand yeres after the iudgemēt: and hee addeth: then they which shal be alyue in their bodies, shal not dye, but shal encrease to an infinite multitude in the space of those thousande yeres. And their offspring shal be holy and acceptable vnto GOD: and they whiche shal bee raised from the deade, shall gouerne them that doe lyue, as theyr Iudges. But the Gentiles shall not bee vtterly decayed, but some shall bee lefte vnto the victorye of God, that they maye bee triumphed vppon by the iuste, and subdued vnto perpetuall bondage. Aboute that tyme, the Pryncе also of Deuills, whiche is the imaginer of al euils, shal bee bounde in chaynes, and shall bee in warde the thousande yeares of the heauenlye Kyngdom, when Iustice shal raigne in the worlde, bycause hee shall doe no mischefe agaynste the people of God. After whose commyng the Iuste shall bee gathered togyther oute of all the Earthe, and after the iudgement is done, there shall bee sette a holye Citie in the middes of the Earthe, wherein God hymselfe, the maker shal dwel wyth the iuste, bearing the rule & gouernance. Then that darkenesse shal bee taken away out of the worlde, wherewith the skye is ouerlayde and blinded, and the Mone shall receyue the clearenesse of the Sunne, and it shall not decraye anye more, and the Sunne shall bee made seuen times clearer than it now is. The earth shall open hir plenteye, and yeld most abundance of corne of it selfe, the rockes of the hilles shall sweate honny, wine shal runne down by streames, and riuers shall flowe with milke. The world it selfe shall be merry, and all ỳ nature of things shall reioyce, as ridde and deliuered from the dominion of euyll and wickednesse of mischiefe, and errours, beastes shall not be fedde in thys time with bloud, nor birdes wyth pray, but all things shal be quiet and peaceable. Lions and Calues shall stand togither at one racke: ỳ Wolfe shall not rayn vpon the sheepe: The Dogge shall not hunt. The Hawkes and Egles shall do no hurte to anye body. The infante shall playe wyth Serpentes: finally then those things shall be done whiche the Poets sayde were done in the golden dayes, when Saturne raigned, and a little after: Men shall liue a most quiet and plētifull life, and they shall reigne togyther wyth God, and the Kynges of the Gentiles shalll come wyth giftes and presents, to do worshippe and honor vnto ỳ great God, whose name shall bee reuerenced and celebrated amongst all nations which shal be vnder the Heauen, and Kynges whiche shall gouerne in the lande. Hereunto he addeth that, When the thousand yeares of the Golde worlde bee paste, the Deuill shall bee loose

again,

agayne, and the Gentiles shall beseige the holy Citie, but that GOD shall ouerthrowe the wicked euen to the vttermost, and deliuer them vnto euerlasting punishmente, and shall turne the electe after the resurrection vnto the glorye of Aungels. Thys Lactance dothe talke of verye largely, but hée was not the fyrste that broughte in thys opinion of the thousande yeares, but hée followed it after Papias, Irenetus, Apollinarius, Tertullian and Victorius of Portiers, whyche notwithstanding, the reste of the fathers did reiecte.

Augustine sayth, that there shall be two Cities after the Resurrection.

Iugustine in hys Enchiridion vnto Laurence sayeth, that there shall bée two Cities after the resurrection and last Iudgemente, one of Chrystes, an other of the Deuils, one of the good, an other of the euil. Which thing how muche to the purpose, and in what sense, hée speaketh it, lette others iudge. There be some that doe make a question of the will, repentance, and paynes of the wicked after the iudgement. Whether that the punishmente whyche they shall suffer, shall neuer be slacked, and whether that there shall be anye testorement agayne of thys worlde. But in my iudgement, it maye be comforte ynough to a Christian man, if hée do assuredlye beléeue that to bée true whyche the Apostle dothe saye, that wée shall bée carried vp in ỳ cloudes to méete Christ in the ayre, and that so wée shall alwayes bée wyth the Lord: as for ỳ rest, let the good Christian man leaue it vnto the Prouidence of God.

Of the knowledge of God.

HItherto wée haue briefly, but yet as I hope not vnprofitably, in seuerall places touched those things, whiche we ought to beléeue, and most stedfastly to holde.

Of the { Nature, Sufficiencie, Omnipotécie, Will, Truth, Godnesse, Louingnesse, Mercy, Power, right and dominion, Iustice, Prouidence, Presence, Anger and Iudgements } Of God.

Now we muste orderlye procéede vnto those thinges, whiche are requisite to be in vs, as true faithfull, concerning godlinesse or godly lyfe, of whiche things we doe giue the fyrste place vnto the knowledge of God, and that not withoute reason, for as much as without the same, the reste can take no place in vs. For howe shall we be able to serue, call vppon, loue, and honor God in perfect faith, whome we knowe not? The ignorance of God, is the blindnesse of the minde, wheresoeuer the same rouleth, it is not possible, but that the whole life should be subiecte vnto all kindes

kindes of errours. And yet there is almost no man, but thinketh that hée dothe knowe God, whereas in déede there be very fewe whiche do truely know hym, and a righte. The Prophet sayde: God is knowen in Iurie, and yet for all that God cryeth by Esay the Prophet, and sayeth: The Ore knew his owner, and the Asse the racke of his maister, but Israell knewe me not, and my people vnderstandeth not. And in Hieremie hée sayeth, My people be foolishe, they know me not: and in Osee: The spirit of fornication is amongst them, and they haue not knowē God. And Christ himselfe in John doth charge the Iewes, that they knew not God.

And in déede he sayeth in an other place: And the worlde knew not thée. But that is almuche lesse wonder, that the worlde being all sette vppon naughtinesse and blinde in all points and respectes, dothe not knowe God, than that the people of God, whyche was trayned vp by their fathers in the truthe, and nourished in the lawe and couenauntes of God, is accused of not knowing GOD, not once or twice, but so often by the Prophetes and Christe himselfe. Can we think that it is not possible, that the same whiche betided vnto the Israelites, maye befall vnto the moste parte of Christians also? And surely there is no smaller number of fleshly folke among vs, than was amongst the Israelites: of whome it may be truely saide, that they do not know God. Wherefore I thinke it expedient to note somewhat as shall séeme necessary, touching the true knowledge of God.

What things be requisite to the true knowledge of God.

THe true knowledge of God is such, that we muste passe many degrées before wé come vnto it: whereof Christ made mention himselfe saying: This is euerlasting life, to knowe thée the onely true God, and hym whome thou haste sente, Iesus Christe.

The first degree to knowe that there is a God.

1 First it is required of vs that we beyng voide of that impietie of them which do saye in their hartes, There is no God, muste know and confesse, that there is a God. The true knowlege of God indéede standeth not vpon this degrée, and yet without it mē can not clime to the higher things, & frō which they muste néedes be moste far off, which do deny ỳ there is any God. But of this pointe wée noted somewhat straight at the beginning, where wée begā to speake of God, in ỳ article, Whether ỳ there be a God.

VVho is the true God.

2 Secondly, we muste knowe also who is the true God, leaste that thoroughe the errour of Ethnickes, wée happen vppon anye that is not God: and how to come to this degrée, wée haue tolde in ỳ place before alleaged.

VVhat it is to be true God.

3 Thirdly, it is requisite, that wée doe knowe also what it is to be the true God: no man will yéelde himselfe vnto a Philistion, thoughe hée knowe the face of the Philistion, vnlesse that he do knowe withall, what it is to be a Philistion, so that he may vse him to his purpose and profyte as a Philistion. And in like case, though that a man doe knowe that there is a God, and knowe also that he is the creatour of heauen & earth,

yet

yet for all that, vnlesse he doe knowe that he is the true God, he can not in all poinctes cleaue vnto hym as hee ought to do, with full hope and truste, as to the true God. But of this matter we haue noted also before in the place of God.

One God in essence, and three in person.

4 Fourthly, we muste knowe also, that he is the onely true God alone, one in essence, and three in person: of this vnitie of Gods essence and trinitie of persons, the misterie whereof was reuealed in Christe, we haue spoken sufficiently before, so that we nede not to repeate it agayne heere.

VVhat God is of nature.

5 Fiftly, it is requisite also that we do know what God is of nature: and we haue expounded this parte of the knowledge of God, in the beginning, and in the article Of the nature of God.

That God is the father of our Lord Iesus Christ.

6 Sixtely, it belongeth also to the true knowledge of God, to knowe that he is the father of oure Lord Iesus Christ, and that he sent him into the worlde, bycause of the salnation of man, to be a mediator, redeemer and sauioure, to saue all them whiche doe beleeue in him, and that he hathe adopted suche to bee hys sonnes and heyres of his kingdome. By thys knowledge of God we be sequestred from all other nations whiche bee straungers vnto Christ.

That he is also our God and father.

7 Seuenthly, though that the true knowledge of God doe rise by the foresaid degrees, yet notwithstanding it is requisite, that we doe not onely know generally that there is a God, and that he is the creator of ỹ worlde, preseruer of all, one and alone in essence, and three in person, good of nature, louing, iuste, &c. Father of oure Lorde Iesus Christe and of all faithfull, but wee muste knowe also, that he is God, and Father particularlye vnto each of vs, louing, merciful, and the moste assured sauioure: for vnlesse that we do acknowledge this in GOD, all the reste is but in vayne.

VVe must not only know god but serue and loue him also.

8 Eightly, this knowledge shall be profitable and effectuall, if wee do serue, obey, and loue him, whome we do acknowledge to be the only & true God, obeying him in all thinges, depending vpon him only in clere hope and truste, and regarding him aboue all things in Heauen and Earth. If a man lacke this, the saying of the Apostle is to be applyed vnto hym: They do confesse that they do know God, and denie him in their doynges.

Liuing, Tit. 1.

He that saith that he knoweth God, and kepeth not hys commaundemets, is a lyar, and there is no truth in him. In these degrees doth consiste the true knowledge of God, which if we loke for in them that doe most of all crake and boaste of the knowledge of God in these our dayes, I suppose you shall finde nothing lesse in them, than the same whiche they doe counterfaite in wordes and outward ceremonies.

Hovv men may come to the Knowledge of *God.*

Vnto any manner of knowledge there bee requisite these two things. One is, that the same thyng which is sought to be knowen, maye be knowen in deede: the other is, that he whiche woulde know, be so furnished, that he be able by capacitie of vnderstandyng to know that, whych he seketh to knowe. Vnlesse that these two poinctes doe concurre, there can be no knowledge of matters. For those matters whiche be so hydden and farre from oure iensles, that ther lieth no way vnto them, neither by thinking, saying, hearing, feeling, tasting, nor reasoning, they in deede can not be knowen. Much lesse those thinges can be knowen, whiche bee not at all, nor euer were in the nature of things, neyther shall be at any season. Agayne, vnlesse there bee capacitie of vnderstanding in hym whiche woulde knowe, whereby hee may be able to knowe what, and of what sort the same is which he doth see, heare, handle, smell, and taste, hee shall vnderstand and know nothing more than the beastes whyche doe lacke reason, no not in those thynges whiche be within the compasse of all oure senses, and be of themselues most manifest. What is of more vnderstanding next after God, than an Aungell? and yet for all that the Angels can not knowe the thoughtes of mans hearte, muche lesse the secretes of God, vnlesse that they be opened vnto them. For the Lord is the searcher of oure heartes, the depth of whiche is otherwise vnsearcheable. Againe: what is more clearer than the Sunne? and yet for all that, those things whiche haue not reason, are not able to knowe what the Sunne is, and what the course and vse of it is.

Two poinctes of ye capacitie of the knowledge of God.

If we do apply these things vnto the case of the knowledge of GOD, whereof we speake, I beseech you, is there anye thyng in Heauen or in Earth, that more truly is, and that is more bright and more present euery where, and fylling all things, than is God? Howe falleth it out then, that there is nothing lesse knowen, than he, whereas there lieth nothing more open to be knowen than hee? Be we not all, liue we not all, and moue we not all in him? doth not he giue man vnderstanding? And yet for all that, there be founde a number, which do lesse knowe God, than do the beastes, voyde of reason. But let vs leaue their blindnesse, and see howe the knowledge of God is bestowed vnto men.

There is generally giuen to a power of reasoning, whyche by God may be knowen of hys wvorkes.

Firste, there is giuen by God generally vnto all men, an ablenesse to reason, to vnderstande and to iudge, whereby they may gather, discerne and knowe thorough those thynges which they doe see and enioy in thys engine and creation of things, that there is a God, that is to saye, a certayne goodye Maieste, whose wysedome is so greate, whose might is so great, & whose godnesse is so greate, as was able at the beginning to make all these things which be sene, and after that they were made, to preserue, directe, and gouerne them: and of whome commeth all our life and necessarye nourishemente. So the Apostle sayeth: The wrathe of GOD is manifest from heauen against all wickednesse and vnrighteousnesse of men, which do cloke the truth in vnrighte, bycause that the same whyche maye bee knowne of God, is manyfeste in them, for God had made it open vnto thē. For these parts of him which be inuisible, are wel perceiued by the creation of the worlde, forasmuche as they be vnderstanded by his workes, and his euerlasting myght and Godheade also,

Rom. 1.

so that

so that they be without excuse: for asmuche as seing they knewe God, they dyd not glorifie hym as God, nor were thankefull, &c. thus sayeth he. *Ergo* God dothe not hide himselfe from menne, but doth open himselfe vnto them, for as muche as he maye be generally knowen of all, by the power of reason that is giuen them. God (sayeth he) did open vnto them, What? that (sayth he) which may be knowen of God. He meaneth, by the naturall vnderstanding giuen naturally vnto all, as though he did saye: As much as is possible to be knowen of God, by the naturall iudgement of all men, so much he hath opened vnto them. What is that? that truly, whiche can not be seene with eyes, but is to be conceyued through the vnderstanding of the minde. Man can not see god and his wisedome, might, and godhead, for all thinges belonging vnto his true godhead, be inuisible: then howe did he open these things vnto them? by the creation of the worlde (he saith) when they be vnderstanded and throughly perceyued by hys workes. So that by the consideration of the workes of God it is opened vnto men generally, that God which made the same, is wyse, mighty, &c.

God dothe not hyde himselfe from men.

That is the lyke matter also, whiche the Apostle saith of God in the Actes. Doubtlesse he left not him selfe without testimonie, doing good from Heauen, giuing raines and fruiteful seasons, filling their hearts with meate and mirth. And againe: God which made the worlde, and all things that be in it, he being the Lord of Heauen and of Earthe, dwelleth not in Temples builded by handes, nor is not serued by the handes of men, as nedyng any thing, whereas he giueth life, inspiratiō, breathing, and all thinges vnto all menne, and made all mankinde of one, to dwell vpon the whole face of the earth, limiting the certayne seasons and boundes of their dwellings, to seke God, so as they may chance to fele and fynde him, though hee be not farre off from eache of vs: for by him we liue, moue, and be, &c. So that the firste degree of the knowledge of God generally set forthe vnto all men, standeth in the consideration of the workes of God, whiche be deuided into three respects, by these three places of the Apostle, so that some be the workes of creation, done at the verye beginning of the worlde, some doe belong to the sowle of oure bodyes, and some doe concerne oure selues and our life.

Actes 14. & 17.

The Apostle did alleage these matters against the Gentiles whiche were Idolaters, and liued in this worlde without God, to shewe them, how that without all cause they despised the true God, they followed and serued false Gods, and how that this blindnesse of theyrs had no excuse at all: for bycause that the Godhead of the true God was declared by most manifest argumentes from the verye beginning of the worlde, whereby it myghte bee knowen that there is a God, and he none else but the same, whiche is the maker of all things, sauioure and gouernour, hauing wysedome, might, godnesse and iustice without all comparison, whiche is specially to bee serued, honored, loued and obeyed of all.

The blindnesse of Idolaters hath no excuse.

And for this cause all Idolaters be

be wont al excuse, bicause ỳ wheras they might knowe the true God by so cleare a light of Gods workes, they had rather honour dumbe and deafe images of flockes and stones, or syluer, in kinde of hym, and fall downe before the workes of mens handes, than to fall downe before hym, which made both man and all the reste, by whome also they were made them selues, and in whome they lyue and be moued.

Men come to the knowledge of god specially by his worde.

The seconde meane to come to the knowledge of God, is by his worde, wherein he doth disclose his will vnto all men. First particularly vnto some onely, and next generally vnto all the nations of the whole worlde: particularly, vnto the Patriarches, and afterwardes to their aftercommers the Israelites, partly by appearing of Angels, partly by Moses, the Prophets, and by Christe hym selfe, whome the Apostle calleth the minister of circumcision, bycause that for his owne persone he was not sent, but onely vnto the lest shepe of the house of Israell. Vnto this kynde of saying doeth appertayne that which the Prophete singeth in the Psalme. Which sheweth out his word vnto Jacob, his iustices and iudgemēts vnto Israel. He hath not done the like vnto all nations, and he hath not opened his iudgementes vnto them. This manner of knowledge by the worde is of more choyce, then the same is by witnesse of his workes, bycause ỳ as by his works his Godhead, wisedome, and might is knowen, so by his worde his wil is also vnderstāded towardes men, and knowen, which knowledge saueth of some familiarnesse and loue. The might and Maiestie of a Prince may easely be knowen vnto all the inhabitantes of his Realme, but his will none doth knowe, but such vnto whom his worde is communicate. Wherefore the Prophete hath good reason to commende and auaunce this speciall fauour of gods worde graunted vnto Israel.

Psal. 147.

Generally.

But generally the will of God towardes mankinde is opened vnto all people and nations, by the worde of the preaching of the Gospell, the dispensation whereof was committed vnto the Apostles by the Lorde himselfe, saying: Go and teache all nations, and go into all the worlde, and preache the Gospell vnto all creatures, &c. This is the generall worde, the worde of saluation and life set forth vnto all, whereby the mysteries which haue bene always hidden of God, of the holy trinitie, of the incarnation of the worde, of ỳ redemption and reconciliation of mākinde, of the adoption into the children of God, which is by Christ, of the iustifying and glorifying of the faythfull, of the Spirit, of the reigne of Christ, and such other like, be expounded. Now let the godly person ponder with him selfe, howe much he ought to esteme the communion of this worde, if the Prophet could make so much of the worde of the lawe whereby no man is saued, as to saye, that he did not the like vnto any nation. May not he more iustly saye, Blessed be God, which doth denounce the worde of his grace vnto all nations, and the Gospell of his kingdome vnto all people? He hath not done so to Israell alone, but vnto al nations, & he hath shewed his onely begotte sonne vn-

to all? The mysteries of the grace of Christ are knowen neither by ỳ woꝛkes of God, neither by any particular woꝛde sent vnto Israel, but by the woꝛd of the Gospel set foꝛth vnto the whole woꝛld. And ỳ God of his speciall purpose gaue ỳ woꝛd of the lawe, wherein is conteined ỳ mysterie of death & anger, not vnto all nations, but vnto Israel only, a stiffe people and stubboꝛne: and the woꝛd of the Gospel wherein is conteined the woꝛd of saluation & life, not vnto the nation of the Iewes only, but generally vnto all the nations of the whole woꝛld, we haue declared in our Commentaries vpon the place befoꝛe rehearsed in the 147. Psalme.

The knowledge of God by the reuelation of the holy spirit.

The third way to attayne vnto the true knowledge of God, is of most choyse, and betideth the electes only. The same is by the special reuelation of the holy Spirit, wherby the heartes of the electes be lightened through the light of the truthe, so that they may knowe God ỳ Father, and Christ his sonne whom he sent foꝛ a Sauiour into this woꝛld. And by this reuelation the Father doth open & disclose his sonne, & the sonne his father. We do not seuer ster the same from the foolishnesse of the preaching of ỳ Gospel, by which it pleased God to saue the beleuers, and of which the Apostle repoꝛteth that it is the ministerie not of the killing letter, but of the quickening spirit. The hearing of the woꝛd is in deede of it selfe vayne & to no pꝛofite, vnlesse that there be ioyned vnto it the woꝛking of ỳ spirit which openeth and lighteth the heartes: but in the electes where the sounde of the woꝛd and the instincte of the Spirite doe meete, there is the vertue of God in the woꝛde to saluation of them which doe beleue, according vnto the example of the woman which solde purple. In lyke manner we must iudge also of the reading of the holy Scriptures, which is also then effectuall, when the same which is read in the letter, is written into the hearts by the Spirit of grace.

Mat.16.
Mat.11.
1.Cor.1.
2.Cor.3.

What the knowledge of God worketh in Man.

The knowledge of things is of that nature, that it woꝛketh ỳ contrary of ỳ which ignoꝛance doth.

What knowledge is.

Ignoꝛance maketh a man to wander and to erre in iudgement, wyll, and woꝛke. It iudgeth that which is true, to be false, and that which is false to be true, and that which is good and profitable, naught and noysome: and on the other syde, that which is naught and noysome, to be good and profytable.

By ignorance what doe erre both in iudgement, will and woꝛke.

Secondly, foꝛ as much as wee be so appoynted and ordeyned, that we will and desyre these things which be true, good and profitable, and contrarywyse, that wee wyll not but doe eschewe all such thyngs which wee iudge to be false, naught and noysome, it followeth, that when our iudgement erreth, than our wil erreth also: and al the appetite and desire which followeth the wil: and and so it falleth out, that in steede of true, good and profitable things, wee doe desyre those thyngs which be quite contrary.

What ignorance is and what on the contrary is knowledge of God.

Thyrdly, foꝛ as much as all our strengthe and powers, as farre as it is possible, doe serue our wyl, and

bryng to effecte the same which it desyreth, howe can it be els, but that such thyngs as wee doe wyll, such wee woꝛke also? So ignoꝛaunce of things maketh mã to erre in all thynges, and so it doeth cause hym vnto many daungers, and at length cause hym vtterly away, vnlesse God saue hym. Knowledge doeth the contrarye, it frameth a right iudgement so that a mã neede not to mislike those thyngs which be good, true and profitable, foꝛ false, naught and noysome, oꝛ those that that be false, naught & noysome, foꝛ good and profitable, but to that a man maye directly, and truely iudge of all thynges.

Secondly, it doth frame the will also by the vpryghtnesse of iudgement to that point, that we wil not those things which be naught, nor mislyke those which be good. Thirdly, it doth consequently this good also, that we may eschewe the euill, and doe ỳ good. This doth the right knowledge of thynges woꝛke.

Now let vs apply these things, which we haue spoken of the knowledge of thynges in generall, vnto the speciall knowledge of God. What it woꝛketh in man, let vs gesse by the contrarie which groweth vpon the ignoꝛaunce of hym. If thou bee ignoꝛaunt that there is a GOD, thou art driuen by this ignoꝛaunce to saye in thy heaꝛte, There is no God, and so neuer to thynke of the seeking, feaꝛyng, oꝛ seruyng of God: yea, to esteeme all those thyngs which bee repoꝛted of God by wyse men, oꝛ all mẽ, to bee but fables and tales. This impietie, doeth the first degree of the ignoꝛaunce of GOD bꝛede. Ergo, in the contrarye, if thou doe know that there is a God, the same knowledge shall bꝛeede in thy heart an imagination to seeke, feare, serue and obey hym.

Secondly, albeit thou knowest that there is a God, and knowest not who he is, and whether there be one oꝛ manye, what shal this ignoꝛaunce make thee doe els, but to serue false Goddes in steede of the true, many in steede of one? So the Apostle sayeth: But than in deede beyng ignoꝛaunt of God, you serued them which be not of nature Goddes, by which woꝛdes it appeareth that this commeth by the ignoꝛaunce of God, that many and false Goddes be serued in steede of one and the true God. So that in the contrary, by the knowledge of God it falleth out, that neyther many, nor false, but one, and that the true God is serued.

Gal.4.

Thirdly, though a man do know the onely and true God, maker, Sauiour, and gouernour of all, and yet knowe not of what nature, disposition, and wyll hee is off towardes mankynde, and what hee doth loke foꝛ of them that do serue him, doth not this ignoꝛaunce make the man which doth seeke, feare, & serue him, to doe it vnoꝛderly and vnfitly, and so to fall into disordered vsage towardes him, into a blynde feare? to feare when it behoueth not, and when it behoueth, than not to feare, yea, and to fall into all kindes of false seruices alle, of which we haue spoken before, and so still see ouer many, and manifest examples in the Poperie? This ignoꝛaunce maketh men superstitious, and to repute thẽ selues iust of their

to all? The mysteries of the grace of Christ are knowen neither by ẏ workes of God, neither by any particular worde sent vnto Israel, but by the word of the Gospel set forth vnto the whole world. And ẏ God of his speciall purpose gaue ẏ word of the lawe, wherein is conteined ẏ mysterie of death & anger, not vnto all nations, but vnto Israel only, a stiffe people and stubborne: and the word of the Gospel wherein is conteined the word of saluation & life, not vnto the nation of the Iewes only, but generally vnto all the nations of the whole world, we haue declared in our Commẽtaries vpon the place before rehearsed in the 147. Psalme.

The knowledge of God by the reuelation of the holy spirit.

The third way to attayne vnto the true knowledge of God, is of most choyse, and betideth the electes only. The same is by the special reuelation of the holy Spirit, wherby the heartes of the electes be lightened through the light of the truthe, so that they may knowe God ẏ Father, and Christ his sonne whom he sent for a Sauiour into this world. And by this reuelation the Father doth open & disclose his sonne, & the sonne his father. We do not sequester the same from the foolishnesse of the preaching of ẏ Gospel, by which it pleased God to saue the beleuers, and of which the Apostle reporteth that it is the ministerie not of the kylling letter, but of the quickening spirit. The hearing of the word is in deede of it selfe vayne & to no profite, vnlesse that there be ioyned vnto it the working of ẏ spirit which openeth and lighteth the heartes: but in the electes where the sounde of the word and the instincte of the Spirite doe meete, there is the vertue of God in the worde to saluation of them which doe beleue, according vnto the example of the woman which solde purple. In lyke manner we must iudge also of the reading of the holy Scriptures, which is also then effectuall, when the same which is read in the letter, is written into the hearts by the Spirit of grace.

Math. 16.
Math. 11.
1. Cor. 1.
2. Cor. 3.

What the knowledge of God worketh in Man.

The knowledge of things is of that nature, that it worketh ẏ contrary of ẏ which ignorãce doth.

Ignorance maketh a man to wãder and to erre in iudgement, wyll, and worke. It iudgeth that which is true, to be false, and that which is false to be true, and that which is good and profitable, naught and noysome: and on the other syde, that which is naught and noysome, to be good and profytable.

Secondly, for as much as wee be so appoynted and ordeyned, that wee will and desyre these things which be true, good and profitable, and contrarywyse, that wee wyll not but doe eschewe all such thyngs which wee iudge to be false, naught and noysome, it followeth, that when our iudgement erreth, than our wil erreth also: and al the appetite and desire which foloweth the wil: and and so it falleth out, that in steede of true, good and profitable things, wee doe desyre those thyngs which bee quite contrary.

Thyrdly, for as much as all our strengthe and powers, as farre as it is possible, doe serue our wyl, and

bryng

bryng to effecte the same which it desyreth, howe can it be els, but that such thyngs as wee doe wyll, such wee worke also? So ignoraunce of things maketh mã to erre in all thynges, and so it doeth caste hym into many daungers, and at length caste hym vtterly away, vnlesse God saue hym. Knowledge doeth the contrarye, it frameth a right iudgement so that a mã neede not to mislike those thyngs which be good, true and profitable, for false, naught and noysome, or those that that be false, naught & noysome, for good and profitable, but so that a man maye directly, and truely iudge of all thyngs.

Secondly, it doth frame the will also by the vprightnesse of iudgement to that point, that we wil not those things which be naught, nor mislyke those which be good. Thirdly, it doth consequently this good also, that we may eschewe the euill, and doe ẏ good. This doth the right knowledge of thyngs worke.

Now let vs apply these things, which we haue spoken of the knowledge of thyngs in generall, vnto the speciall knowledge of God. What it worketh in man, let vs gesse by the contrarie which groweth vpon the ignoraunce of hym. If thou bee ignoraunt that there is a GOD, thou art dryuen by this ignoraunce to saye in thy hearte, There is no God, and so neuer to thynke of the seekyng, fearyng, or seruyng of God: yea, to esteeme all those thyngs which bee reported of God by wyse men, or all mẽ, to bee but fables and tales. This impietie, doeth the first degree of the ignoraunce of GOD brede. Ergo, in the contrarye, if thow doe know that there is a God, the same knowledge shall breede in thy heart an imagination to seeke, feare, serue and obey him.

Secondly, albeit thou knowest that there is a God, and knowest not who he is, and whether there be one or manye, what shal this ignoraunce make thee doe els, but to serue false Goddes in steede of the true, many in steede of one? So the Apostle sayeth: But than in deede beyng ignoraunt of God, you serued them which be not of nature Goddes, by which woordes it appeareth that this commeth by the ignoraunce of God, that many and false Goddes be serued in steede of one and the true God. So that in the countrary, by the knowledge of God it falleth out, that neyther many, nor false, but one, and that the true God is serued.

Gal. 4.

Thirdly, though a man do know the onely and true God, maker, Sauiour, and gouernour of all, and yet knowe not of what nature, disposition, and wyll hee is off towardes mankynde, and what hee doth looke for of them that do serue him, doth not this ignoraunce make the man which doth seeke, feare, & serue him, to doe it vndirectly and vnfitly, and so to fall into disordered vsage towardes him, into a blynde feare? to feare when it behoueth not, and when it behoueth, than not to feare, yea, and to fall into all kindes of false seruices also, of which we haue spoken before, and do still see ouer many, and manifest examples in the Poperie? This ignoraunce maketh men superstitious, and to repute thẽ selues iust of their

Rom.10. workes as the Apostle reporteth of the Iewes, saying: They which be ignoraunt of the iustice of God, and seeke to establish their own righteousnesse, be not subiect vnto the iustice of God. Finally, it maketh them voyde from the lyfe of God, as we may see to the Ephesians, & maketh them persecutours also of the truthe of God and of the true faithfull: which betided also in Paule, as he doth testifie of himself, that he was a persecutour, violent and blasphemous, through ignoraunce. It followeth therefore, that the contrarie hereof is done by the knowledge of God, whereby it is not onely knowen that there is a God, and who he is, but also of what disposition and will he is towards men, and what he would haue of them. He which hath this knowledge will seeke hym, feare hym, & serue him, and obeye him, not disorderly, but as it becommeth. This knowledge of God many had, as Nycodemus, the Centurion, and the Eunuche of the Queene Candace, &c.

Ephesi.4.

An obiectiō

But you will saye, You maye finde many a mā which you can not saye, but that they doe knowe God, yea, in so much that they be not ignoraunt of his will, and yet for all that they do neyther feare nor serue him. Howe then doeth the knoweledge of God bryng a man to this point, ẏ he doth truely seeke, serue, feare and obeye God?

How it cōmeth to passe that man which do knowe God do not serue God.

I aunswere: There be two respectes in the knowledge of God, touching this case. There is one of the nature, and an other of the effect thereof. If you waye the nature of the knowledge of God, in that respect it is such, that it maketh men fearefull, studious, and seruiceable of God, in that that it doth minister & giue occasions to make them suche. But if you haue a respecte to the effecte, according vnto that it worketh not the same in al, which we speake of, and that not by the fault of the thing, but of them which be the vsers of it. The Prophete singeth of the Lordes lawe, that it doth turne mens soules. It doth so, bycause it doth yelde occasions of turning. Yet it doth it not in all, bycause it is hyndered by the hardenesse of heart of them which should receiue it. The Sunne of his nature is such, that it giueth lighte to the eyes, but it giueth not lighte to the eyes of the blynde, through theirs and not his faulte, and yet we may well attribute vnto him the power to giue light. The Apostle doth touche them, which whereas they knewe God, yet they dyd not glorifie him as God, and whereas they knewe the iustice of God, that the wrongdoers, malicious and vniust, be worthy to die, yet they dyd not onely committe all manner of naughtinesse, but did consent also to them that did the same. In this kinde of mē the knowledge of God doth nothing els, but make them without excuse, and aggrauate their naughtinesse, and to witnesse ẏ they be reprobate, and giuen ouer to a reprobate & wicked vnderstanding.

Psalm.19

Rom.1.

Fourthly, there remayneth the ignorance of Christ, which cōmeth not of lacke of hearing, but of vnbeliefe. This ignoraunce, vnlesse a man be lightened by the spirite of Christ, it maketh a man subiect vnto iudgement, albeit he doe otherwise

V What ignorance and knowledge of Christ does vary.

true God and his will, and to the vtter shewe liue religiously: on the contrary parte, the knowledge of Christ which commeth of faith, such as Peter confessed, saying: And we do beleeue and knowe, that thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God, doth acquite men from iudgement, and giueth euerlasting lyfe. This is euerlasting lyfe, that men maye know thee the onely true God, and him whom thou haste sent, Iesus Christ. Of which wordes see our Commentaries vpon John. And thus much touching the efficacie of the knowledge of God.

Iohan.17.

That the knowledge of God is imperfect in this lyfe.

Like as in all other things ther is no perfection of man, so it is also in ẏ knowledge of god & godly matters, which is not perfect in any man, as long as we do liue in this world. Hereof may be giuen a good reason & witnesse also out of ẏ writinges of the Apostles. But what need we any reasons & testimonies of scriptures, in a matter so manifest & out of all doubt? And yet for all ẏ, we will do more herein than needeth, & set forth some reasōs for this matter, and after that the testimonie also of the Apostle.

The first reason is vpon ẏ consideration of this present lyfe, the condition wherof is such, that it is not able to receiue perfection, in so much ẏ you can shew me nothing therin perfect, neither touching the world & mens matters, nor yet godly nor heauenly.

The second may be thus considered: This present life, as cōcerning religion, is grounded vpon ẏ knowledge which consisteth in fayth, by which ẏ Apostle saith, that we doe walke, & not in outward apparaunce. And faith standeth not in expresse & open sight, (for it is of things not apparaunt.) But the life to come is grounded vpon perfect knowledge, which shall betyde vs not by faith, hearing, signes, nor by reuelations of the spirite, but by manifest sight, and most assured experiēce & proofe. Then we shall so perfectly knowe both god ẏ father, and our Lord Iesus Christ, & the promises of ẏ heauenly lyfe, that ther can be nothing required more: which manner of knowledge can not be conceiued by vs in minde, be it neuer so faithful, as long as we be absent frō ẏ lorde in this Pilgrimage. And in worldly mens cases it so falleth out, that we do not so clerly & perfectly know those things which we do know by hearing & beleeuing, as we do them which we do see openly before our eyes, and trye by experyence in very deede.

Hebre 11.

The third reason is this: Whersoeuer is the full knowledge of god there is full felicitie. But this present lyfe is so disposed by the speciall purpose of GOD, that it should be an exercyse and dyscipline of Godly lyfe, and not a full possessing and comprehendyng of felicitie. But it shoulde compryse a full and perfect felicitie, if it did compryse a full and perfect knowledge of God: and we can not comprehende the first in this world, therefore we can not comprehende the second neither. By these reasons it appeareth, that the knowledge of God is vnperfect in this lyfe.

By what reasons the knowledge of God is imperfecte in this life

1. Cor. 13. The testimoni of the Apostle that the knowlege of God is vnperfect in this life.

But let vs se the testimony of the Apostle, which we doe reade in the first Epistle to the Corinthians in thys wyse. We doe know in part and prophecy in part, notwythstandyng when that commeth which is perfect, than that which is in part, shall be vanquished. When I was a child, I talked like a child, I iudged lyke a chylde, & thought like a childe: but when I came to be a man, I wyped away the chyldish toies, for we do see now onely through a glasse in a dark speaking, but then we shall se face to face: now we do know in part, but than I shall know, lyke as I am knowen. Thus saith ỳ Apostle: by which wordes he doth cut of the hautenesse & arrogancy of them, whych were so puffed vp vpon some slender knowlege of God, that they had no regarde of charitie at all. So he sayth of knowledge, that it shall be wyped away, meaning of that knowledge which is gotten by hearing and reuelation in this lyfe, which shall surely cease in the worlde to come, as appointed for this present lyfe onely. Moreouer, to expresse the imperfection therof, he sayth. We doe know in part. It is not full and perfect, which is onely in part. In that which is in part, there be yet lacking those thinges which are requisite to the making vp of the fulnesse of the whole. And he addeth: But when that cõmeth once which is perfect, then the same which is in part, shall be vainquished. Ergo the time of perfectiõ is not yet come, but is looked for to come. What time (saith he) I was a child, I talked, I iudged I thought as a child. but whẽ I was made a man, I put away al childish touches. Ye doth declare his meaning by a most familiar and mete similitude: he compareth our present lyfe vnto childhode, as concerning the knowledge of godly matters: and the life to come, vnto mans age. The knowledge of childhood hath many imperfectiõs, which be reformed by mans yeares. So it fareth also with our knowledge in this present life, which is childish & imperfect, and reformed by the perfection to come. And yet he speaketh more plainely. For now (saith he) we doe se through a glasse in a figure, but then we shall se face to face. Those thinges which be by a glasse & a figure, are seene but dimly, and knowen imperfectly. So it fareth by the knowledge of God in this life, for it is reserued clere and perfect til the world to come, where we shall se God face to face, & vpon sight perfectly know him, and enioy most full felicitie & happines. So ỳ by the consideratiõ hereof it appeareth sufficiently, that no man hath the perfect knowledge of god in this life, but as it were childish and in part, dimme and vnperfect. And thus much for the knowledge of God.

Of Hope.

After the knowledge of god which is by faith, ther followeth Hope, loue, patience, inuocatiõ & feare of god, obedience, & such other like, which doe belong vnto true godlinesse, wherfore like as in the matters before we

we haue noted those things, which a godly person ought to consider in God, and to conceiue by the knowledge of him: so I haue thought it good in these matters hereafter to speake of those things, which do follow in the knowledge of God in vs, & without the which true godlinesse can take no place. For the knowledge of those thinges that be false, naught & noisome, for things which wer haue recited before of God, can doe vs any good, vnlesse that we doe depende vpon him in sincere faith, hope, charitie, patience, inuocation, reuerence, and obedience. Forasmuch, as of true faith we haue said our minde before in a place alone, as we haue thought sufficiently, nowe we will speake what we thinke good to be noted touching Hope.

What Hope is.

We do not seke here for the sence or vnderstanding of the word, which is right well knowen: for who knoweth not what it is to hope, & whether ỳ hope be of things past, present, or to come? So that to speake thereof were as much as to seke a knot in a rush. I know that ỳ latyn men somtimes vse ỳ word of hoping, of a thing present, yea & past also, as if a man should saye I hope thou doest know, howe this matter doth wery me. I hope that I haue sufficiently answered in all pointes the whole of that, which I am accused off. But in such manner of speaches to hope, is take for to beleue, to suppose and thynke, which is not properly in deede to hope. But let vs leaue this geare vnto Grammarians. When we do in this place seke what hope is. We do seke of the hope of christian mẽ, what & of what maner it is. Neyther doe we meane to speake of any other, vnles it be by occasiõ, and that briefly.

VVhat is hope generally.

They doe define hope to be an expectation of things to come, This definitiõ is generall, taking place as well in the children of this world, as also in Christian men: & the same is generall, of which the Apostle speaketh to the Romanes: Hope which is seene, is no hope. For why should any man hope for that which he seth? But if we do hope vpon that which we see not, we doe abyde it through patyence: and yet for all that he doth apply it vnto the specyall hope of Christian men, in that he doth saye before, and not onely they, but we our selues also, hauing the first fruites of the spyrite, do wayle wythin our selues, looking and hoping for the adoptyon of the children of God, the redemption of our body. For by hope we be saued. Whereby we do perceiue, that it doth appertayne to ỳ hope of Christian men, to looke for the delyuery of our bodyes, which is to come by the resurrection and glorifying of the children of God. This expectation and looking for, is a percell therof, and in case you will comprise it whole in a definition, you can not doe it more fully, and certainely, than to saye, that ỳ hope of Christian men is the assured and vnmoueable expectatyon of those thyngs which be promysed vs in Christ, wherof nothing doth appeare in thys lyfe, but all shal be gyuen hereafter in ỳ world to come. At the returne of our Sauyour, to deliuer vs, and to take

Rom. 8.

The hope of Christian men.

vs out of the middes of the euill: ẏ rising againe of our bodies, and glorifying, life, saluation, and felicitie euerlasting, ẏ felowship of Angels, yea, of Christ himselfe, the perfect sight and knowledge of God: besides that which neither eye hath séene, nor eare hath heard, nor the heart of man can conceiue, which is prouided for the electes.

There be many things in this life also to serue the hope of Christian men: as, that God wil nor forsake them which doe hope in him, wherefore he is called in ẏ Psalm, The sauiour of thē which do hope vpō him, for there remaineth a promisse thereof in the saying of God: Call vpon me in the day of trouble and I will deliuer thée. And that he will not suffer vs to be tempted aboue that our strength is able to sustaine, and other such like. But in case a man do consider the qualitie of Christian religion, as it hath the felicitie to come for an ende and respect thereof, so the hope of Christiā men is properly the same, whereby the goodnesse of the life to come, promised in Christ, is hoped vpon: so that without this hope we shoulde be more miserable than any, forasmuch as our religion doth least of all others, set by the commodities of this lyfe, but doth direct it self wholy to the life to come.

Psalm.17.

From whence the Hope of Christian men commeth.

Hope of desertes

MEn doe by iudgemēt of reason, attribute hope vnto merites: & the worlde goeth so with men, that he which deserueth nothing, hopeth but for litle, & he which hath deserued euill, looketh for nothing, but he which hath deserued well, looketh of ryght to be as well rewarded. So is our prouerbe, As I deserue, so I desyre. And it is the common course of the worlde, where a man shall seldome finde a good tourne done without deserte, and so there is no hope but vpon deseruing. But this doth euilfauouredly agrée with Christian religion, notwithstanding that the master of the sentences applying himselfe vnto this maner of opinion, sayeth: That to truste for any thing without desert, it may be called not hope, but presumption. Those kynde of men trauayled in the matter belonging vnto our saluation, more vpon the drift of mans reason than of the holy Scriptures, not regarding ẏ they did so muche decay frō the glorie of Gods grace, as they did attribute vnto our merites. But of merites we haue spoken in a place alone before.

The master of the sentences. Li.3.Dist.

But let vs leaue the worldly hope, & consider the Christian hope, of whence the same is bredde in the heart of a Christian man. Of our merites it can not come: for the good things to come, which we doe hope vpon, be of more waight than that they may be chalenged for our desertes. The Apostle sayth, that euerlasting life is the gift of God: Ergo, it commeth not of merites. If it come not by merites, thē certainly there can be no hope neither in merites. Wherof doth it come then? The Christian hope is bredde of Faith, and the knowledge of God. For bycause we do know that God is true, and doe credite his promises, it falleth out, that ẏ same which

Christian hope commeth of faith and knowledge

we credite and beléeue in faith, that we doe looke for also with a faste and firme hope. There is an example hereof set forth vnto vs in Abraham, where the Apostle sayeth, that he beléeued in hope against hope, bycause he knewe that God is so mighty, that he is able to performe whatsoeuer he promiseth. He ioyneth together faith, knowledge, and hope. Faith commeth not of hope, like as knowledge also doth not come of hope: but hope is bred of the faith of the promises & knowledge of the might of God. Abrahā dyd beleue the promises of god, and knew ẏ god was able to performe whatsoeuer he had promised. And therfore he hoped that it wold come to passe, doubting at it nothing at all, though the course of nature wer against it. But of this matter we haue sayde some thing in the place of Faith. Doeth not the Prophet whereas he sayth, They shall hope vpon thée, O Lord, which haue knowen thy name, for that thou doest not forsake thē, which do séeke thée. Manifestly ynough declare, ẏ hope commeth of the knowledge of God? In case he had sayde: They shall hope vpon thée, which haue deserued well of thée, bicause thou doest not forsake them, which haue well deserued of thée, the Scholemen might haue had some ground of their opinion, in that that they doe say, that hope without desert, is not hope, but presumption.

But against that which we do say, that hope commeth of the faith and knowledge of God, it séemeth thei may obiect ẏ which is read to ẏ Romains in this wise. And not only this, but we doe glorie also in our troubles, knowing that trouble bréedeth patience, & patience proofe, and proofe bringeth hope, & hope cōfoundeth not. By which wordes the Apostle seemeth to deriue the beginning of hope not from Faith & the knowledge of god, but from ẏ proofe which ẏ patiēce & suffring of troubles doth breede, as though that the beginning of hope came therof, and that there were no hope in ẏ heart of the beleuer, before that he came vnto this proofe. But forasmuch as it is not possible, that the heart of him which is afflicted and troubled for Christ, should be faithfull without hope, whyles that he is in the very temptation and sufferance of his troubles the beginning of hope can not come of proofe. Wherefore that which the Apostle sayeth. And proofe bréedeth hope, is to be vnderstāded not of the beginning, but rather of the encrease of hope. And the worde κατεργαζεται, which the Apostle vseth, is not taken in the same sense, to be as much to say as bréedeth, and so to signifie the beginning of the hope, but it is as much to say, as it maketh vp and perfecteth. For the Apostle doth meane, that it is so farre wyde, that troubles layde vpon men for Christes sake, should decay the hope of the glorie of Gods Children, that they do inforce it the more, and make it the more firme, and fast thereby. So that if you doe séeke the beginning of hope, looke vnto faith & the knowledge of God: but if you séeke for the encrease and confirmation thereof, than doth this serue which the Apostle speaketh of in this place.

Whereof Hope is nourished and confirmed.

Forasmuch as hope is of things inuisible & to come, not of visible and present, it falleth out, that oftẽtimes the heartes of thẽ which liue in hope, be sore assaulted, & their hope so trauailed, that they néede aide and strength, whereby it may be cherished & encouraged, least it do vtterly decay, yea, the very tarying in the differring of those things which we do hope vpon, is so troublesome and lothsome, that though there be ioyned no temptation at al vnto it, it is alone sufficient to driue any hope (though it be neuer so great) vnto desperation, vnlesse it be vpholdẽ by God. This Salomon ment when he said, the hope which is deferred and prolonged, doth afflict the soule. And who can worthely way, how great a drift of temptations of the aduersarie doth assaile the naked hope, depending vpõ God only? Doth not ẏ whole course of worldly matters, forasmuch as they do wayte & gape for things present, & not things to come, & do daily represent to ẏ eyes of them which do liue in hope, sundry new deuises & sightes, and doth mocke & repute for foolishnesse, the hope of them which do folow ẏ good things not presẽt, but to come? The saying of the children of this world is: Giue me to day, & take you to morowe. If you cõsider more these things which do betide to the godly in this world, they be of that sorte, that they seeme to be very strange, for the condition of them which be the heires of true saluation & felicitie: so that of this also there may rise much temptation to the tottering and trauailed hope. Take with all the vniuersall contradiction of ẏ wicked wherby the Christian hope is impugned, and made subiect vnto great persecutions, & condemned of vngodlinesse. The Apostle maketh mention of this, saying: For herein we do trauaile and suffer rebukes, that we do hope in the liuing God, which is the Sauiour of all men, & specially of the faithfull. In déede it is a heauy burden to beare the contrary saying of the wicked: but that is more heauy & sore, that the Deuill stirreth yet sharper persecution from the church of the malignants, and the conspiracy of carnall Christians agaynst the faith & hope of ẏ true Christian man, as though that he had plainely denied Christ in the abhorring of the calfes of Dan and Bethel, with all their Idolatours, & in seruing & worshipping the true God, not according to the decrées of Ieroboam of Rome, but according vnto the word of his onely master & sauiour Christ. Here they crie out vpon him, heretick, scismatick, runnagate, wicked enemy & traytour to the church, & not onely his body is condẽned to the fire, but his soule also is cursed and banned to the deuill and the pitte of hel. And this so great sharpenesse of the counterfait Christians is coated with the name and colour of religion of ẏ church, & of the zeale of god. And who perceiueth not, how great aides & staies of gods grace we néede to haue to kepe the hope of the true Christian man whole and sounde, and not to sette a poynte by the iudgement and cõdemnation of the catholike Christians (as they terme themselues) against hym, not to swarue anye thing therefore from the truthe.

VVhich vvayes the Christian hope is assaulted.

1. Tim.

Who doth not sée what gret helps and ratyfiyngs of Gods grace we haue néede off, specially if we doe cõsider the weakenesse of our flesh, ready to mistrust, and dispayre, and the vnderstãding of our own sinns and vnworthinesse, according vnto the which, we do estéeme our selues as worms and the refuse and castawayes of ẏ people, the very shame and filth of all men. To stand steddye in assured hope to all this wee néede to haue not the strength of men, but the vertue & might of god.

Let vs sée therefore wherby the hope of a christian man is norished and strengthened. First it is a cléere case, that both Hope and Fayth be the speciall giftes of God. So that the norishment thereof doth come specially from God, in as much as he which gaue vs the hope, doth nourish also and confirme the same in our hartes. God doth not forsake his gyftes, as we doe reade of the Distryge in Job, whiche departeth and leaueth his egges in the dust of the grounde: and careth not for them, whether that they be saued or do perishe. But hee doth nuryshe, encrease, and preserue also that which he hath once giuen, and this he doth by the operatyon of the holy Spirite, whereby hee doth cherishe, féede, defende, and strengthen both our faith and hope in the hartes of the electes. For he knoweth that this is the shoote anker of our saluatiõ, and ẏ the diuell doth endeauour himselfe to breake the Cable holde thereof, and therefore he doth fasten & make it tough by hys grace and vertue, so that hée doth preserue the same by his ayde and strength, which coulde not bee wrought by al our power & might.

Secondly, the partie which is in hope when he feléeth the strength of temptation, he fléeth immediatly by prayer vnto his Lorde God earnestly requesting to bee preserued, that he be not ouercome by temptations. So the lorde warned hys Disciples in the garden, when the power of darkenesse was at hand, saying: Pray that you enter not into temptation. In déede the Spirite is ready, but the flesh is weake. And in lords prayer we be taught by his owne informatiõ to say: And leade vs not into temptation, but delyuer vs from euil. There be many formes of such praiers in ẏ psalmes of Dauid, in which is séen how ẏ Prophet sought cõfort & strength to his hope, by praying and singing.

Faith.

Rom. 4.

Thirdly, the Fayth of gods promises & the knowledge of the truth, and might of God, do minister much helpe and strength to the trauailing hope. Whereof there is an example set forth by Abraham: of which we made mention before. The hope of thinges to come is nouryshed by the Mylke of the same Faythe which bred it, and the strength of the Fayth is made ẏ strength of ẏ hope. Augustine in his booke of meditations writteth of the confirmation of his hope, in this sorte. Ther be thrée things which do strẽgthen and confirme my hart, that no lacke of desertes, no consideration of my owne basenesse, no regarde of the heauenly blessednesse can thrust me downe from the high expectation of my hope. My soule is fast rooted therein. And wilt thon knowe what the matter is? I do waye & consider thrée points in which my

Augustine lib. Meditationum, cap. 14.

whole hope doth consist. That is to wit, the loue of adoption, the truth of promise, and the powerto performe. Now let my folish imagination murmure as much as it lyst, and say. What art thou? or, how great a glory is this? or, by what desers doest thou hope to obtaine this thing? and I wil boldely aunswere: I know whom I haue beleeued, and I am assured that God hath adopted me in exceeding great loue, and that he is true in his promise, and able in performance, for he is able to doe what he will. This saith Augustine.

Patience of afflictions.

Rom. 5

Fourthly, the very sufferaunce also of afflictions wherewith the Christian man is trauailed and tried, doth make hope lusty & stronge, as appeareth by the place of the Apostle to the Romaines, which we expounded before. And on the contrary, impatience doth decay that hope that is, and maketh it vnprofitable.

The example of godly persons.

Heb. 11.

Fiftly, the examples also of godly persons, which haue holden on their hope faste and sure in all kinde of temptations and troubles, euen till the very ende, and haue receiued the crowne of life, may profit much to the cherishing and establishing of our hope. Such as the Apostle reckeneth vp of the Fathers in his Epistle to ẏ Ebrewes. And addeth straight at the beginning of the twelfth Chapter: Therefore seeing that we haue so great a number of witnesses, let vs shake off all burden of sinne, which sticketh fast vnto vs, & by sufferauuce let vs runne the rate appointed vs. And to this purpose the consideration of our heade and sauiour Jesus Christe shall much helpe vs, the example of whom the Apostle doth also set forth in the place before aleadged saying: Looking to the captayne of our fayth, and performer thereof Jesus, who hauing ioye before him: suffred the death of the Crosse, not passing for the rebuke and shame thereof, and sitteth at the right hande of the throne of God. And ponder with your selues that he suffered sinners to worke this spite, and vilanous wordes against him, to the intent that you should not be wery and faint harted. There be yet many thinges, which according vnto ẏ diuersitie of ẏ parties that be in hope, and of ẏ circumstances, may sundry wise succour and stay the wresteling & wauering hope: but these thinges which we haue rehearsed be such, ẏ they may generally serue for all.

What the vertue of Hope is.

The Hope of the wicked hipocrites and of men, vaine. Prouerb.

There is a hope of the wicked, which Salomon saith shall decay. There is the Hipocrits hope when the craftie conueiour hopeth to deceiue a man by a lye, to worke what he will: and that this can not stand neither, wee doe read in Iob. There is a hope of men also, which either reason, or the appetite of the flesh do breade, which is wont to be most vaine. The same Pindarus and Plato doe call, waking mens dreames. We meane none of these, when we doe speake of the vertue of hope, but of ẏ true hope of Christiã men, which as it is grounded vpõ a most fast foundation, so it can not faile. The efficacie & effect of this, is paineful and wonderfull.

First

Hope breedeth will

First of all, ẏ same which Quintilian speaketh generally of hope, that hope maketh the will, is most truely accomplished in this hope of ours. For how should not my hope make a wil and purpose, seeing that a vayne hope doth make a man to wyll and purpose that, which els he neuer would doe specially, if hee knewe the issue thereof before. The hope of recouery of health, maketh the Phisition to haue a wil to cure, and the pacient to haue a will to take his medicine. Hope of gayne, breedeth a will in some to occupie marchandise, and in some it breedeth a will to goe a warrefare: and shal the hope of true saluation and of euerlasting lyfe, be voyde in a Christian man, and not breede the wil to doe those thinges which doe helpe, and be necessaryly required to attaine to so great good things?

Hope allure to worke.

Secondly, Hope doth not onely frame the will, but doth allure the mynde also of hym which is in hope, to trauaile and attempte the matter that he may compasse his purpose by, for very reason doeth tell vs, that by idle and sluggishe hope, there is no good done. Therefore Socrates sayd in a place: Neyther the wife without the husband, nor good hope without laboure, doth breede any thing that is profitable. So the hope of the fruite causeth the husbandman to till, plowe, sow, and harrowe his lande: and hope of victorie, allureth ẏ souldier to fight manfully. And this is done in things of vncertaintie, where the issue is oftentimes not correspondent to the toyling and careful hope, but rather falleth out quite contrarie. What moued Alfonsus Viues the Spaniarde in the yeare of our Lord. 1548. to approche to Constance by stelch, which was at that time a free citie of the Empyre, but that he hoped to winne it by assault, and vpon that hope he attempted as much as could be wrought by slight and strength? But what became of him? His hope was not onely vayne, but daungerous also to the deuisour. He was the first man himselfe at the firste enterprise that was slaine with a gonne. These chaunces happen among men daily. Then why should not the hope of a Christian man enterprise to do and trauaile in these things which becõmeth a faithfull man for the professiõ of his religiõ, & maketh him to attaine his purpose?

Hope staieth the vvorkeman in his work.

Thirdly, it is the worke of hope also, to keepe and stay the workeman in his worke: and desperation doth the contrarie, which as soene as it doth but slightly assaile the mynde of the man, it putteth into hym a fancie to forsake his worke. But as long as the fast hope doth continue, it suffereth not the workman to forsake the worke which he hath begonne. So the fastnesse of hope maketh vp the worke. For like as the hope to gaine riches & welth, keepeth the marchant man in trafike of marchandise, so the hope of ẏ felicitie to come, keepeth the Christiã man in the study of godlinesse.

Galat. 5.

Hope maketh loue effectuall and confirmeth patience and maketh the mynde toyful and safe from confusion.

Fourthly, like as faith is effectuall by loue, so it is made effectual also by hope, wout which it should be vtterly voyde & dead. For what shall it looke for of those thinges which he beleueth stall come, if it lacke hope of them to come?

Fiftly, it doth no lesse establishe patience in hir holde, & maketh hir

inuincible

muincible, when we be strengthened by hope, to beare all aduersitye constantly for the truth of God, thē it is also strengthened by patience & proofe. So hope and patience do by an entercourse of aide, one helpe the other, & the one doth strengthen and underset the other, in contention of godlinesse & continuall troubles.

Sixtly, it maketh ẏ minde of him which is in hope, quiet in the middest of his troubles, which no counsell of mans wisedome is able to worke, but doth els rather disquiet ẏ trauailed cōscience thā appease it.

Seuenthly, vpon the certentie of Gods promises, it maketh vs safe from cōfusion. So the Apostle witnisseth. Hope maketh not men ashamed. The hope of the world is so fond & vaine ẏ it doth daily shame hir dearlings.

Rom. 5.

Eightly, it shal at length brēd a ioye and reioicemēt, what time we shal atteine in dēd vnto those thigs which we do hope and quietly looke for, so the Prophet said: They went out weeping, and cast their seed, but thei shal returne home againe with reioising, bringing home their trusses and armefulls. For that saying shall surely be fulfilled: They shall al reioice which do hope vpon him. They shall ioy for euermore, &c. Thus much we haue thought good to touch briefly of ẏ efficacy & vse of hope, the vertue & strength whereof no man is able worthelye to expresse.

But some man will say, This efficacie which thou dost attribute vnto ẏ hope of Christiā mē, is neuer foūd at al in most part of thē. I answer. The Christian hope is ẏ hope of the elect and true Christian mē, & the elect & true Christians be ouer few in nūber, to make vp this huge multitude which thei cal Catholike. Moreouer as ẏ is the true Christiā faith, so that is the true Christian hope also, which commeth not of mans ordinaunce & Catholike or vniuersal custome, or of ẏ outward professiō of religion, neither is vain & dead, but which is effectual & liuely, comming of the speciall gift of God. The most part of Christian men do professe, ẏ they do beleue as they haue bene taught from theyr youth, & as thei do hear ẏ they must hope for life euerlasting, so they do conceiue & fashiō themselues a hope which is rather an opinion of hope, thā hope in dēd. But wall they do not compasse by ẏ hope any will, much lesse worke of true Godlinesse. But we meane not of this but of the true hope of true Christian mē, which doth in euery behalfe worke those thinges which wee haue rehearsed, in some more, and in some lesse, according vnto the measure of the giuing of Christ.

What true Hope is able to doe with God in this lyfe.

The hope of Godly persons is so much cōmended by certeine places of the holy Scripture, in that that they do wholy depēd vpō him, ẏ they be for ẏ same reported to be blessed, as in the Psalmes. Blessed is the man which hopeth vpon thee. And in the Prouerbes. Hee is blessed which hoped vpon the Lord. And in the .xl. Psalme. Blessed is the man, whose hope is in the name of the Lord.

Ther-

Therefore it shall not be out of the way, to seeke the cause of this blessednesse, for hope is not such a matter of it selfe, that it maketh hym blessed which is in hope, but seemeth rather to make hym miserable, in that that it doth torment the mynde, whiles it is alwayes in expectation, as Salomon sayth. After the iudgement of reason, it is a happier matter to possesse the present, and enioy things already gotten, then to hope & looke for things to come, specially such things which be in the iurisdictiō of an other mē, so that an other may either giue, or withholde that at his owne will, which thou hopest vpon. Therefore it behoueth, ẏ some reason be sought of some other ground, why ẏ scripture doth cal him blessed, which hopeth vpon the Lord, forasmuch as this blessednesse is not to be attributed neither to the hope, neither vnto him which hopeth, so that of necessitie it must come of God. Hereof the Scriptures doe testifie as often as they do say of God, ẏ he is well pleased with them which do hope vpō his mercy, as the Prophete singeth. And, that he is good vnto them which do trust vpō him. And what fauour, grace, and benefites can they lacke, which do well please him, and feele of his goonesse? Is not that true blessednesse, whē a man pleaseth God, & findeth him in al things fauourable & louing? How can he but haue mercy vpon them, which do hope vpon him, which doe please him, whome he willeth well vnto, yea, whom he doth specially regarde & esteeme? Doth not the Prophet sing: The scourge of the sinner is great, but mercy shall compasse him which trusteth in ẏ Lord? And againe, Lo, the eyes of the Lord be vpon them which do feare him, and vpon them which do hope vpon his mercy. He doth not say simply, He hath mercy vpon thē which do hope vpon him, but that mercy doth compasse him in, which doth hope vpon him, and his eyes be fastened vpō them, which do trust in his mercy. The Prophet coulde not haue had more manifestly expressed the care & good wil of God towards thē which do hope vpon him. Here vpon it followeth of necessitie, that they which do stand in hope, can not be forsakē of God. So Iudith when she returned frō the murder of Holofernus, sayd: Praise our lord God, who forsaketh not them which do hope vpō him. And how can they be confounded, which can not be forsaken of God? So that the Apostle sayth aright: Hope doth not confounde, or put men to shame. And the Prophet sayth: Our fathers hoped vpon thee, and they were not confounded. For looke what they which stande in hope, be not able in their necessitie to bring to passe of thēselues, that ẏ Lord their God, in whom they doe put their hope, bringeth to good effect and end. Hope vpō God, sayth ẏ Prophet, & he shal do it, he doth deliuer & preserue them. They hoped saith the Prophet, & thou diddest deliuer them. Item, Forasmuch as he hopeth in me, I will deliuer him, & he is called ẏ Sauiour of them ẏ do hope. And Salomon saith: He which hopeth vpon the Lord, shalbe saued. Now lay all these places together, and see whether it be without cause that the scripture doth call thē blessed, which do hope vpon the Lorde:

Iud. 16.

Psalm 22.

Psalm. 37.

Psalm. 22.

Psalm. 17.

Pro. 28.

vnlesse

vnlesse ỳ they be not blessed which do well please the Lord, and feele his goodnesse, whom the mercy of God doth compasse and close in, and vpon whom his eies be bent, which can be neither forsaken of God nor confounded, but are deliuered and saued by him.

Whereupon then commeth the blessednesse of them which do hope vpon God, but of the meere goodnes, faith and truth of God, whereby he is so affected, that he cannot forsake them which doe hope vpon him, though that they can pretend no desertes, so that they haue a cleane hart towards him: that they hope hartyly vpon that which they hope for, for no other respect, but in ỳ respect of his goodnesse and truth.

Of Desperation.

I suppose it shal not be amisse, if I doe in few words note and those things of desperation which may admonish and warne vs to beware of it: & what it is to Despaire, it is as wel known, as what it is to Hope. Wherefore we need not stand vpon ỳ defining of ỳ, which is wel knowen of it self, but let vs rather consider these three points: First, how many kinds of Desperation ther be. Secondly, what be the causes therof. Thirdly, how noisome and hurtfull it is.

How many sortes of Desperation there bee?

FOrasmuch as it maketh some matter wherupon men do Despaire, therefore this euil of Desperation hath diuers sortes, and according vnto the number of ỳ kinds thereof, it is diuers and plenteous, like as the nature of all naughtinesse is wont to be. And there is one manner of Desperation, when wee doe despaire of God, an other when we do Despaire of our selues an other when we do dispaire of our neighbours, and when wee doe despaire of the possibility of things which ought to be trusted vpon or to be done, and so there be founde foure sortes of Desperation. The first we do make ỳ same, when men do despaire of God: for this doth exceede the others in heauinesse thereof, and openeth also a gappe vnto the rest, so that it is a most easy matter for him which despaireth in GOD, to Despaire also of his neighbour, of himself, and of the doing and trusting which he ought to haue in his owne thinges. Men doe despaire of God when they doe despaire either of his might or wil, or of both together. Their Desperation is most grosse, which do despaire of his might, who is knowen to be almightie. There is an example thereof in the second booke of the Kinges, where wee doe read thus. And Heliseus saide: Heare the worde of the Lord, Thus saith the Lord: At this tyme to morow, a bushell of fine flower shal be sold for a sickle, and two bushels of barly for a sickle, at the gate of Samaria. This saying of the Prophet seemed a thing impossible: for Samaria was besieged by the Syrians and driuen vnto that necessitie and lacke of thinges, that the famine grewe to be so great, that an Asses head was sold for fortie siluerings, and the fourth parte of a measure

of Pigeons dong, for fiue siluerlings, yea that two women toke counsell for the killing and eating of their owne children, and when they hadde eaten the one of them, they striued before the King about the other. So that one of the chiefe Captaynes about the King, considering the present estate of things, thoughte that whyche the Prophete had tolde them so impossible, that though GOD, meaning to fulfill it, should open the windowes of Heauen to rayne, yet for all that it were not possible, that a bushell of fyne flower shoulde bee solde but for a sickle, and two bushels of barely but at a sickle, at the gates of Samaria, and therfore said vnto the Prophete: If God shoulde make sluses from Heauen, were this possible to be done, whiche thou talkest of? If that greate man had not despayred of the myghte of God, hee would rather haue sayde, There is nothing impossible vnto God. If hee will haue it so, it shall bee as thou sayest.

All they doe despayre of the wyll of God, which doe despaire eyther of hys goodnesse and mercye, eyther of his iustice, or of his truth. And on the other syde, they can not despaire of the will of God, whiche doe not despaire nor of hys goodnesse and mercye, neyther of iustice or of his truth. But thus muche briefly of the first manner of desperation.

2 The second we sayd is that, whē we doe despaire of oure neighbours. It is a common saying: He that is once naughte, is euer presumed and taken to be naught. Where this saying taketh place, there may most easily despaire of the amendment and recouery of their neighbours. Notwithstanding charitie is of a farre other nature, whiche beleeueth all things, and hopeth vpon all thinges, wherefore it is not without reason that Augustine in sundry places doth holde, that we ought not to despaire of the turning of anye man, as long as he is aliue, because that to morrow he is not yet knowen.

3 The third manner of desperation is that, when we doe despayre of our selues, for that we doe measure these things whiche are to be done, not by the grace of God, but by oure weakenes, and according vnto that we do despaire of our selues.

4 The fourth is, when we doe so much enforce the waight of thynges which are to be done, that we doe despaire of the possibilitie thereof: for we be of ỳ nature, that we doe iudge the same to be impossible to be done, which we can not our selues do with ease, specially if we be slouthfull, and out of exercise. And this is ỳ nature of these foure sortes of Desperation.

Whiche be the causes of Desperation.

NOw, there be many and sundry causes of Desperation, al which it were hard for any man to reherse, specially the singulare causes which do particularly chance to some particular men. Wherefore I will note some of the moste generall, whyche would God we could all eschue. For like as the true and setled hope is not in all men, but in the elect and faithfull onely, so is desparation very dangerous to our flesh, whereunto most parte of men be so enclined that they

Desperations of God finall and temporary.

do most easily slippe into it. And yet for all that, there be verye fewe that can quite thēselues out of it againe, yea and very hardly. And we wyll speake of none but of the causes of the first desperation, when we do despaire of God in the case of oure saluation. And these be suche, that some of them do concerne the finall and irrecouerable Desperation, some the temporarie and curable desperation, wherein is requisite the discretion of a wise teacher, that he account it not immediately for a finall and irrecouerable desperation, if he do perceiue that a man doe despaire of the grace of God and of his owne saluation, or otherwise tempted with desperation least he himselfe also maye vnaduisedly fall into desperation of his brothers health.

The finall causes of desperatiō.

First, touching that Desperation whiche we doe call Finall and incurable, there bée some of the causes thereof secret, and some manifest. To searche farre into the secret causes we meane not, nor it is not our parts so to do.

The manifest causes be vnbeliefe and hardnesse of heart, and that not lighte, but stubborne and stiffe to the ende. I doe sequester these causes from them which be of the temporarie desperation, and I doe call them Manifest, not bycause that they be so manifest immediately vnto vs, that we can know which vnbeliefe, impenitence and hardnesse of hart is final and incurable, but bycause it is certayne, that finall vnbeliefe, lacke of repentance, and hardnesse of hearte, be not able to receyue true hope, and that it is not possible, but that they must b[illegible] full and perfecte Desperation. In déede they be some tokens therof, but in my iudgement it were better alwayes to hope for the better, than rashly to despayre of anye mans healthe that is yet aliue. Vnlesse that there be ioyned withall not a single and enforced denying of the truth once knowen and professed, but suche a one as is also ioyned wyth blasphemie. When this taketh place in man, then it is hard to hope vppon any turning. And touching the temporarie and curable desperation, these be the causes thereof.

VVee must euer hope the best in [illegible]

The first, is the ignorance of God and of his word. The same is found sometimes also in the electes, vntyll ẏ time of their calling: in the meane season if there come any occasion to thinke vpon their saluation, there is a manner of desperation felt in their heart, whiche after that the lyghte of the worde and knowledge of God is once come, is chaunged into hope.

The causes of the temporary desperation. The ignorance of God.

The second, is the conscience and remorse of a mans sinnes, whiche is in the heartes of them whiche be not yet sufficiently instructed of ẏ grace of God in Christe Iesu, as it dothe hardlye admitte the hope of saluation, (like as the sicke stomacke can but euill brooke meate,) so it doth also allure desperation. Thus I suppose Chrysostome meaneth when he sayth, that euill workes do bréede desperation, but it is in them which do not knowe anye other hope, but that which is of ẏ deserts of good workes, of which we haue spoken before. For by the same iudgemente of reason, like as they séeme to be worthye to hope, whiche do those things that bée good, so they be taught not to despaire without cause, whiche are reproued with

The conscience of sinnes.

with the conscience and remorse of their naughty workes.

The olde [illegible] in [illegible]

The thirde, is the olde cankered custome to sinne, whiche is in some men so rough and stiffe an euill, that it will sooner bréede desperation, than receyue reformation. For when such a sinner vnderstandeth, that the preaching of amendment and grace doth promise saluation to none but to the repentant, tourned, and beléeuing, although he be not euill affected towardes the truthe, yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as he dothe despaire that he is able to leaue the custome of sinning, he dothe also despaire of his saluation, vntill that he be changed by the power of the heauenlye grace, and so amend his life from the bottom of his heart.

The slugg[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible]

The fourth, is the sluggishnesse misliking the studie of true Godlynesse, and refusing the chastening of the body of sinne. Whē the slouhfull sinner vnderstādeth that he must not onely forbeare the euill, but doe good also, and crucifie the fleshe of sinne with the concupiscences thereof. For he dothe thorough the slouthfulnesse of his heart rather despaire, than hée woulde apply himselfe vnto that doctrine. And this kind of sluggishnesse is fedde by the desperation whych it bréedeth, as it were the mother of the daughter, vntyll the tyme of the true turnyng come, and that the vertue of the grace of God do take awaye thys sluggishnesse and desperation both.

Shame.

The fift, is that shame, whiche in the Popery they doe féele that haue committed anye notable sinne when they doe heare that no sinne can bée forgiuen which is not confessed into the eares of a Prieste, refusing the confessiō of their offences for shame, and so do despaire of the forgiuenesse of it, and also of their saluation. For they do not knowe that the forgyuenesse of sinnes doth depend, not vpon that confession which is made to the Priest, but vpon that which is made vnto God, whereof we haue spoken before in the place of penance.

The doctrine of satisfaction.

The sixt, commeth of the doctrine of satisfaction, which the sinner doth despaire that he is able to fulfil for euery of his sinnes, which desperation the Canons and rules of pennance haue excedingly encreased. It is an incredible matter what gnawing and torment of consciences the doctrine of Satisfaction hath driuen into the Churches.

The enormitie of sinne.

The seuenth, is the enormitie of some speciall and so sore offence, that the sinner doth saye with Caine, My sinne is too greate for me to deserue mercye, when the enormitie of the sinne is déemed to be greater than is the very mercy and grace of GOD, what can ensue else but the desperation of mans saluation.

Too deep a consideration of our ovvne vnvvorthinesse.

The eight, is too déepe a consideration of our owne vnworthinesse, and vnlesse that the knowledge of the goodnesse and louingnesse of God do stay it, it muste néedes fall out into the desperations of oure saluation. Wherefore they be daungerous doctors, which in respect of oure owne vnworthinesse, do vtterly extinguish the hope and confidence of Goddes grace, in the heartes of the weake.

The abiuring of knovvle[illegible]

The ninth, is the constrayned abiuration and denying of the Truth, once knowen by tyrannicall violence, wherby the weakenesse of the

flesshe whether a man will or no, is endaungered, and throwen into desperation of Gods grace, and of hys owne saluation, whereof we maye finde many examples in this realme vpon the chopping and chaunging of matters in Religion.

These be the moste generall causes of desperation, which I thoughte good to rehearse, to admonishe vs all, that we neglecte not the knowledge of God and of his grace, in the matter of our saluation, specially in these latter times, but that we seeke it with earnest desire, and reuerently applye our selues vnto it, forasmuch as wee be by so manye wayes enticed and prouoked to despayre of God, and of our owne saluation: and for bycause it is not possible that we should without it, cõpasse the true hope, without which there is no meane to hale into the porte and hauen of oure saluation.

Howe noysome and pernitious desperation is.

All desperation is not euill.

All kinde of desperation is not euill: For a man may finde some case wherein it were better to despaire, than to hope. When the hope is vayne and naught, then desperation is good and profitable. It was a naughtie hope, that the Scribes and Pharisies trusted that it would bee well with their Kingdome, if Christ were ridde out of the way. They did better in despayring afterwardes, when they saw the vertue of the spirite take rote euerye where vnder the name of Christ. It was a vayne hope that the Disciples trusted that Christ should reigne in flesshe, and redeeme the Israelites from the bondage of the Romaines. They did better in despayring of it afterwarde, what tyme they sawe the Lorde taken away by the death of the crosse, and buried, when they sayde, we hoped that he should redeeme the Israelites. Wherefore when we do say that desperation is noysome & daungerous, we doe speake of that sorte wherein we doe despayre what tyme we ought moste to hope, and trusse, and not absolutely of al desperation. For God, according vnto his wonderfull counsell, dothe so dispose oure thinges, that he suffereth his to feele nowe and then some desperation, as it were a certayne qualme, to the intente that afterwardes when the lighte of his grace is restored vnto them, they maye knowe better than they did before, that there is no stay in all their strengthe, neyther that they can not stande nor hold a fyrme and fast hope: vnlesse they be bolstred vp, and preserued by the heauenlye grace of God.

Desperation in the elect.

And like as hope, so desperation also, is otherwise in the electes, and otherwise in ꝑ reprobates. Though that it doe in the electes make mens mindes troubled and vnquiet, and to say with Dauid, I am cast out from the countenaunce of thine eyes, supposing themselues to feele the sorrowes of Hell, yet for all that, it is not a finall and full desperation, but it is at length shutte vp to a merry hope thorough the lighte of Goddes grace. But in the reprobate it breedeth moste sore & hainous mischiefe.

Firste, if there were any faythe, it shifteth it quite away, & maketh men to denie that which they did a firme before,

before, and to dispraise that whyche they commended. Secondly, it breedeth all impatience in troubles, and that ioyned with blasphemie, wherewithall the Maiestie of God is most wickedly rent and torne. Thirdly, it maketh men euill without remorse, and to giue themselues wittingly and wyllingly vnto all kinde of vngodlinesse, vncleanesse, and vniustice, whereof the Apostle maketh mention, saying: Which, being in despaire, gaue themselues to vncleanesse, to do all filthinesse, to couetousnesse, &c. And we do reade the like in Jeremie. Thus saith the Lord: Lo I do frame and set vp euill against you. And doe thinke thoughtes against you: let euery man returne from his naughty way, and see you doe direct or make right your wayes and studyes, who haue saide, We haue despayred, wee will goe after oure owne thoughtes, and we will eache of vs doe the wickednesse of oure naughtye heartes. Thus thinketh the wicked person, despairing of his owne saluation, and condempned to destruction in hys owne iudgemente. Why shoulde I trouble and trauell my selfe in vaine? and not doe those things whiche doe like my mind, seeyng that I do know I am determined to destruction? I haue heard of an Abbot whych was in despayre of hymselfe, and determined to followe hys lustes, and to take his pleasure in the worlde as neere as he coulde conuey his matters cleanly. And vppon an Easter euen falling to a pastie of Venyson, whyche shoulde haue bin blest vpon the morrowe after the Popishe manner, before it were eaten of, did not conuey so cleanely, but that hee was taken with the manner by his kytchinner: and when he asked him why he did so, seeyng that if he had tarried till the morrowe, hee myghte haue lawfully eaten of it as muche as hee had would, & why he woulde damne hys soule for a little morsell of venison. He aunswered him: I praye thee let me followe mine appetite, and as for my soule, I thinke not vppon it, for I knowe I shall haue nothing to do in the kingdome of God. For if I shoulde come there by some case of impossibilitie, I shoulde be to greate a wonder to all the rest. It shoulde be a deintyer matter for me to come there, than Venison to me at thys time. Such fansies desperation dothe breede in the reprobate, and hereunto the blindnesse of minde dothe helpe muche, and the Popishe doctrine, by the speciall deuice of the Deuil doth also greate seruice. The wretched creature knewe not (he was so blynded with the catholike ignorance,) that the Kyngdome of God is not meate nor drinke, and that it is the doctrine not of Christe but of Antichrist and of Deuils, that meates be forbidden, whych God created to bee receyued with thankesgyuing.

Fourthly, it dothe driue miserable men to the madnesse, to murther theselues with the traytoure Judas, enticed by him whiche is the enimie of mans life, and a murtherer from the beginning. Augustine saith, that this kinde of desperate persons oughte muche to be feared, bycause there is nothing lefte in them, concerning eyther the presente life, or the life to come, which they doe stande in feare of, and whereby they mighte be restrained from putting in a prose

their owne will.

Fiftly, it doth exclude men from true felicitie, and maketh them subiect vnto euerlasting condemnation. This is the last of all euils. In this point I suppose we ought not rashly to iudge. As for the case of Fraunces Spiera, of whome I made mention before, I leaue it so, that I will giue no iudgement of him. The history is written howe he was vsed at Padua, and how he vsed himselfe afterwards, and what his ende was I knowe not, for I neuer heard of it as I remember. His desperatiō was sore, but I can not say that it was full and perfecte. Whereas he did so earnestly pray the Lords prayer once or twice with them that were present, and stode by: and againe in that hee did wish with all his hearte, that hee might haue some small hope of the grace of God: Thirdly in that that he did aduise them whiche stode by, that they would expresse the knowledge of Gods grace by the studie of Godlye life: Fourthly, that he dyd in no worde speake euill of the truth of the doctrine of Christ which hee was compelled to abiure by ministers of Antichriste, through the infirmitie of his flesh: these thinges I say, doe stay me, that I can not repute him to bee a reprobate, and vtterlye condemned person: forasmuch as these tokens do declare, that there was some Godlye motions, though much oppressed, remayning in his hearte. I knowe not his ende. Their case is muche more daungerous, whiche haue knowen and cōfessed the truth of Gods Gospell, and sound doctrine, and whyche compelled by no violence, wherein they might pretende the weakenesse of the flesh, but eyther for desyre of vayne glory & gayne, eyther of spite and hatered, or I can not tell why, haue not onely forsaken and denyed that which they haue before knowen and confessed to be true, but doe also in words, writing and doings, as denouncing open enmitie and warre against the truthe, do rage and raple against it with blasphemous talke: such folke I beseech in the Lorde, to consider with feare the example of the man I spake of, and of manye others, whose names I leaue, and let them loke betimes, what they must account to be afrayde of, vnlesse they do amēd the sooner, and seeke ỹ grace of the Sauioure.

Of the desperation of Frances Spiera.

Of Loue.

NOwe that wee haue somewhat saide of the Hope of a Christian Man, for asmuche as Faithe, Hope, & Loue, bee so linked togither, that they can not well be asunder: the verye order would that we should say somewhat also of Loue, which the Ebrewes do call אהבה, the Grekes ἀγάπην, whiche the Latine interpreter dothe translate Charitie, wheras he might haue simplye called it Loue, and so not haue expressed one Greeke word by an other, but by a Latine worde. For the Latine worde *Charitas*, in Englishe Charitie, commeth of the Greeke worde χάρις, and signifyeth a particulare fauor, & loue, not generally vnto all, but particularly vnto be

Loue. Charitie.

such, as be nerer vnto vs, as oure parents, children, kinsfolke, &c. And wee knowe that the nature of loue is great, and not able to be so expressed, that it is impossible to comprise therin all thynges whiche doe appertayne to the nature, disposition, behauiour, and efficacie thereof. Wherefore oure purpose is not to goe aboute to make a full and absolute declaration thereof, but we will onely consider the same and those thinges for this present, whiche be required of vs in holy Scriptures. For as for the loue whiche God beareth towardes vs, we haue spoken of it in the place of the Loue of God towardes man.

What Loue is.

IT semeth to bee no question what loue is, seeyng that it appeareth to be moste manifestly knowen. And yet notwithstanding in my opinion, it can not be set forth by a sufficient and full definition, but is rather felt by them, which do trulye loue, than vnderstanded by them that doe not loue in deede. Neyther the Philosopher which hadde so good skill in defining thinges, did expresse what it is to loue, when he said, that loue is to will to any man that whiche he supposeth to be good, and for his power to be doing of the same: for this is rather a teaching what loue worketh, than what it is. If a man saye that fire is of that nature, that it consumeth those things which it catcheth, he telleth vs not yet, what fyre is, but what the working and operation of fyre is.

A certayne man sayeth, that loue is the vertue whereby the louer is knitte vnto him, whome hee loueth: And hereby also is not expressed, what loue is, but what it worketh, as though a man should say, Hatered is the vice whereby he which hateth is disseuered from him whome he hateth, in which wordes is tolde not what hatered is, but what it worketh.

Augustine dothe come somewhat nerer vnto it when he sayeth, that loue is the motion of the hearte, delyting it selfe in some thing: And yet there is not sufficientlye expressed what loue is, vnlesse we will say, that loue and that lyking whiche followeth the loue, is all one. But there followeth after loue sorrowe also sometimes, as for example, when friendes be kepte or parted asunder: as ioy dothe, when they embrace and meete. Therefore as a man can not well cal loue the motion of the heart sorrowing in any thing, so I see not why it should be called the motion of the heart delyting it selfe in any.

Loue can not be defyned.

To be short, Loue is such a thing, which can not exactly and perfectlye be defyned, and yet it is felt of al persons both wyse and vnwyse. And the Apostle disputeth muche of loue, and yet for all that he dothe not defyne what it is, but is occupyed wholly in expressing the working of it. And Iohn in his Canonicall Epistle, though he doe earnestly commende loue, yet for all that, he doth not define neither what loue is, but meanyng to giue it the hyghest commendation that he coulde, he sayde: God is loue: By whiche wordes he doth signifie, that there is nothyng goeth nearer vnto the nature of God than loue, but what it is he doth not define

1. Cor. 13.

1. Iohn. 4.

So that we muſt not ſo muche ſéke what,as of what qualitie loue is.

Hovv Loue is giuen vs in charge.

Loue naturally in all things.

IT appeareth that by the Prouidence of God,there is loue in all thinges that be created, not onely in men, but vnreaſonable beaſtes alſo, yea and in creatures whiche haue no ſenſe. There is no Aungell but that loueth, there liueth no man that is voide of loue, there is no creature at all whiche hath not ſome ſtrength of loue in it,whereby it doth gladly embrace things méete and agréeable for it.The fire loueth matter and ſtuffe, and ſpecially ſuch as hath any ſmack of Brimſtone, drie and tempered with ſome fatneſſe,that it moſte deſireth, and leaueth not vntill it hathe turned it and made it like it ſelfe. Trées and plantes in the drie ſeaſon do deſire and loue raine,and the Sun when the wether is colde. And thys loue doth wonderfully preſerue thoſe thinges in that degrée as God hathe created them, through the ſtrength of ioyning and working of one with an other.Things ſhoulde not be preſerued, vnleſſe the like loued the like. And vnleſſe that the ſame loue of God through the operation thereof wer preſent and helping to al things which he created,nothing at al could remaine, ſo that no doubt the vertue of loue is in all creatures. And by this reaſon it is not loue abſolutely, whiche is commaunded vs, for why ſhould that be commaunded whyche is naturallye in all thing withoute commaundemente? But there is commaunded a right and an orderly direction of loue,to loue thoſe things which are truly to be beloued. Loue is good of it ſelfe, it is neceſſarie,it is of God, and a goodlye thing, but thorough the corruption of oure nature it is alſo ſo corrupte,that we do loue thinges not to be beloued, or not as it behoueth and is conuenient. He is good which loueth, ſaith Auguſtine, loue is good, and that is good whiche is loued. For both he whiche loueth is the creature of God,and that whiche is loued, is the creature alſo of God, and loue it ſelfe is of God, but that corruption whereby wée doe loue,not as we ought to doe, is euill, and is not of God. Wherefore when loue is commaunded, it is not loue abſolutely that is commaunded, as though it were not alreadye in vs, but there is commaunded the ryghte direction and ordering of it. The like may be ſaid of faith alſo:when it is required that we muſte beleeue, it is not required ſimply that wée muſt beleue, for that we doe before (for what man is he whiche beleueth nothing?) but that we muſt beléeue aright.

It is not commaunded, that wée ſhuld be loued of others, but that we ſhould loue, notwithſtanding we be ſo affected of nature, that we had rather be loued, than loue, yet it is a more higher & godlier point to loue, than to be loued. Like as to honoure rather than to be honored. For as honor is not in him, which is honored, but in him which doth yeld the honor. So loue alſo is not in him whiche is loued,but in him which loueth.wherefore the ſame whiche is more higher & godlier,& giuen vs by the grace of god, it is of right & reaſon required of vs.

It is not commaunded vs to be loued.

VVhat loue is commaunded.

Whome vvee be commaunded to loue.

IF there were right and orderly loue in vs of nature,we ſhoulde néede no commaundements, for wée ſhould doe it by our owne accordes. We doe not reade that mothers bée commaunded to loue their children, for they do it by the courſe of nature, whiche they doe folowe as receyued from God. But the children be commaunded to honour their parentes, for herein the nature is decayed in them by corruption, and therefore it is neceſſarie that the lacke therof be amended by precepts. And the order of loue dothe requyre,that firſte wée doe loue them whiche ought to be loued. Secondly that we loue, as it becommeth godly perſons,and ſuche as be created like the Image of God. And touchyng the firſte,there be preſcribed vnto vs three ſundry loues. The firſt is to loue our Lorde God, the ſecond to loue our neighbour,the thirde to loue our brethren. In déede it is all one ſelf ſame loue in the godly,but yet becauſe of the three applications thereof, to God, our Neighbour, and to our Brethren, I haue forted it into three loues.

Deut.

That vvhiche is commaunded vnto Iſrael, doth concerne vs alſo.

Of the Loue of God.

THere is a commaundement of the loue of God, where we doe read in this wiſe:Heare Iſrael,The Lorde thy God is one God. Thou ſhalt loue thy Lord God with al thy hart, and with al thy ſoule,and with al thy ſtrength.This is the greateſt, and the firſt commaundement in the law,and it bindeth the people whoſe God the Lorde is,as Iſraell was at that tyme. And therefore he ſayde: Heare Iſrael: and not abſolutely, the Lorde is thy God. Thou ſhalte loue thy Lorde God: but Thy God is one God,Thou ſhalt loue the lord thy God. Wherefore whereas hée ſaith,Heare Iſrael, it is annuche to ſay, as heare my people, ſo that no man can ſay,that this precepte was namely giuen to Iſraell, and therefore doth not binde vs, which be not Iſraelites, but of the Gentiles: It bounde the Iſraelites, becauſe they were the people of God. And in caſe that we be not the people of God, it can not be ſayde of God, that he is our God. If he be not our God, then ſurely we be not bounde by this precepte,to loue him, when we be charged to loue our Lorde God. If we do lyue in this worlde without a God, then we cán not performe that which is here commaunded: But in caſe we doe boaſte of any God to be our God, the thing it ſelfe doth driue vs to loue him. Nowe ſeyng that our God is the ſame which was the God of the Iſraelites, that muſte néeces belong vnto vs alſo,whiche he charged his people withall,ſaying:Thou ſhalt loue the Lorde thy God.

Therefore,ſeing that we boûde by this precepte of our Lorde God, vnto whoſe iuriſdiction and power wée be ſubiecte, wée muſte aboue all things diligétly obſerue that,whiche is commaunded therin, We be commáded not ſimply to loue,but to loue our Lord God,as it is in déede moſt méete & reaſonable. Moreouer, that wée loue him not in a péece or halfe loue,but whole and ful. They which doe ſerue many Gods,doe loue none

of them withal their hart, but partly & in half: like as a woman that were coupled not to one, but to many husbãds, so that it were not possible for hir to loue any of thẽ all, with all hir whole harte. And therefore he dothe reiect this loue of halfes, requiring it to be full and whole, & saith not simply: Thou shalt loue thy Lord God, but he addeth, With al thy hart, and with al thy soule, & all thy strength, & therfore he did set before, The Lord thy God, is one God. And thereby he meaneth that all our whole harte, soule and strẽgth is dewe vnto him, bycause that there is no other besides him, and therefore he willeth not, neither cã he heare that his people shall serue any other Gods besides hym, and so worship him, not in a whole harte, but by péece meale, and in halfes.

Therefore the fulfillyng of this precept and of the loue which is due vnto God, dothe depende vpon that wholenesse of fayth, that we muste serue one true God not ioyntly with others, but heauenly & alone. Wherfore it is not possible, that the worshippers, and callers on of Sainctes should fulfil it, though that in words they do denie that they worshyp many Gods, in the worshipping of their dead Sainctes.

Math. 22. Christ him selfe doth alleage this precept where he maketh answer to the Doctour of the law, which tempted him, & asked what is the greatest commaundement in the law, saying: Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God, with all thy harte, and in all thy soule, and in all thy mynde. This is the firste and greatest commaundement. In that place we noted firste, what is to be obserued of that, that God doth giue vs precepts and commaundements: Secondly that hee doth charge vs with loue: Thirdly howe wee ought to loue him, & what is the meanyng of these wordes: also what is the nature of true & perfecte loue: Fourthly howe it is atchieued: and lastly howe wée may perceyue that God dothe loue vs.

From this loue of God we muste not sequester the Loue of his onely begotten sonne Christe our Sauiour. It is a great mater that the cõmaundement of God runneth to Israell, that they shoulde principally loue their Lorde God, and that with all theyr harte, with all their soule, and all theyr minde. But yet lyke as the perfect knowledge, so the perfect loue also of God was reserued vnto the grace of the newe Testament, wherein God is knowen and loued as the Father, in Christe his sonne. The greater light, ẏ greater grace, and the greater & fuller knowledge, muste néedes requyre and produce a greater and fuller loue of GOD, of the father I meane and the sonne. For that which we do read in John: He which loueth him whiche begat him, loueth also him which is borne of him, is aswell or more to be applied vnto this case than to the law.

The loue of Christe.

Ioan. 5.

Neyther is it agaynst this loue, that it is sayde in the lawe: The Lorde thy God is one God. Thou shalte loue thy Lorde God with all thy harte, &c. For Christian menne doe knowe, that in that, that they do equally loue the father & the sonne, they do not loue two Gods, nor haue a deuided harte in this loue, but that they doe serue and honour one selfe same

same God alone, by full and perfect loue, in them, twoo persons of the father and the sonne.

II. Of the Loue of our Neyghbour.

We sayde, that the second sorte of Loue, which is prescribed vnto vs by Gods commaundement, is to loue our neyghbour, the precepte of this is in Leuiticus, where wée doe reade in this sorte: Thou shalt loue thy friende, or neighbour as thy self: I am thy Lorde. The Lord calleth this the seconde precepte, lyke the firste, and addeth: In these two commaundements, there dothe depende the whole lawe and Prophetes, and who is our neyghbour, we haue sufficiently declared in our Commentaries vppon Matthewe, in the fifte Chapter. Truly he is our neighbor, whiche is in any occasion ioyned vnto vs, or with whom we haue to do. And herein there is not respect to be had, to the aliaunce or coniunction of fleshe and bloud, but vnto any maner of all kindes of coniunctiõ, wherby is occasion yéelded to loue, and to doe good, as that case was when the man which was woũded by theues, was made neyghbour vnto the Samaritan which passed by, as we may perceyue in Luke. Here is no regarde neither of person, estate, nor welth. There is no such base or vile degrée to let, but that the poorest of al may be neyghbour vnto the richest, the simplest to the beste learned, and the foolishe vnto the wisest.

Augustine in his first booke, *De doctrina Christiana*, and in hys booke, *De vera Religione*, dothe proue by many argumentes, that euery manne is to bée vnderstanded in the name of a neighbour: and he hath respect therin vnto the felowshyp and company of our common nature. But yet they whiche doe lyue in places farre off from vs, albeit they be men also, they can not for all that conueniently be called our neyghbours. Wherefore it is a playner way to take them to be our neyghbours, whiche by any occasion are ioyned vnto vs, so that theyr necessitie maye bée presented vnto our senses, and become able to receyue of oure benefites, and well doyngs.

And it is grounded vppon greate reason, that the commaundemente runneth namely, that we should loue our neyghboure: For there is requyred to be in vs an vprightnesse of sincere and good minde, which muste vtter it selfe vnto all men, and vpon euery occasion declare the goodnesse thereof, and that the more euidently, the nearer that menne come vnto it, as vnto the fyre. For lyke as the naughtinesse of an euil nature is the more perceyued, the more that wée haue to do withal, so the goodnesse of a kinde & gentle creature is the better knowen, the nearer a manne doe drawe vnto it. Therfore we be commaunded not simply to loue euery man, but to loue our neyghbour, and so to declare by assured experiment and proofe, how good we be towards al, which be any manner of wise ioyned vnto vs.

And for asmuch as it falleth out oftentimes, that there ryseth stryfe and debate betwixte them that bée outwardly ioyned togither, lette vs not thinke, that therfore also they be

Not onely our friends but our enimies also be our neyghbors.

no longer our neyghbours which be our enimies, and that therefore also they ought not to be loued according vnto the tradition of the Pharisies, whiche gathered in this wyse vpon the precepte of God: It is written, Thou shalt loue thy fclow & friende: *Ergo*, in the contrary say they, we shoulde hate our enimy and backe-friende. But Christe doth so expounde this precepte, that we ought not onely to take our friendes, but our enimies also to be our neyghbours. Thereof we doe reade in Mathew: Mathe. 5. You haue hearde that it was sayde: Thou shalt loue thy neighbour, and hate thy enimy: But I say vnto you, loue your enimies, say well of them whiche doe curse and banne you. Do well vnto them whiche do hate you, pray for them whiche doe hurte and persecute you, that you may be the children of your father, who causeth his sonne to ryse vpon the good and the euyll, &c. Loke vpon the place, and see what we haue noted vpon it. For we entende not to rehearse one thing often. And that is expounded also in the same place that he sayeth, As thy selfe. Of that that the Lorde sayth: The seconde is lyke vnto this, and, In these two dothe stande the whole lawe and Prophetes: see our Commentaries vpon Mathew. The Scholemen doe deuise a double affection of loue in this question of louyng our enimies, one in doyng no hurte: an other to doe good. And so they argue, whether that we be not bounde by the firste affection onely, and not the latter also, to loue our enimies. But the saying it selfe of Christ is so manifest, that it needeth no such arguing, but it is more darkned than opened thereby. But I say vnto you (marke the authoritie of Christ) loue your enimies. And who is he that knoweth not what it is to loue? The commaundement goeth, that we muste as wel loue our enimy as our neyghbour. And to declare that he meaneth of true loue, he addeth of the efficacie and frute therof, saying: Wilshe well, do well, & pray for them. Agayne, to the entent it should appeare that he meant of the whiche were moste hatefully & spitefully affected towardes vs, he sayth not onely: wilshe well, and doe well vnto them, &c. But wilshe well vnto them which do curse you, and banne you. Do good vnto them whiche doe hate you, pray for them whiche doe hate and persecute you. We cursings and bannings, long hatered, hurting and persecuting the tokens of them whiche doe but slightly hate, and not rather of them, whiche be so spitefully affected towardes vs, that they do seeke our whole and vtter vndoyng, and do leaue nothing vndone, that cõserue to our vtter destruction: That we be commaunded not only to loue them which do extremely and spitefully hate vs, but to do the as muche good also as we be able, as well towardes God as men. And this is the doctrine of Christe, what soeuer the Scholemen doe argue thereof.

The scholemen doe make 2 double affection to lone.

The doctrine of the Apostle is like also where we do reade in this wise. Reuenge not your selues my welbeloued, but giue you place vnto anger, for it is written: Leaue the reuenge to me, and I will pay it home, sayth the Lorde. Therefore if thy enimy be hungry, fede him: if he be thirsty, giue him drinke: for if you do thus, Rom. 12.

thus, thou shalt heape togither fyry coales vpon his head. It seemeth a harde matter to some Christian folke, when they be charged to loue their enimies aswell as their neighbour, whereas the very same was cõmaunded to the people of the law, and was performed of all the godly whiche lyued vnder the same: wherof we may finde many notable examples in the Scriptures. Consider the histories of Dauid, and what the Prophete Elizeus did to the army of the king of Siria, what he commaũded the king of Israell himselfe also to do. And of them of the primitiue Churche, you may see in the Ecclesiasticall histories. Iud. 6.

But some manne will obiecte the wordes of Dauid, where he sayth. Do I not hate them, O Lord, which do hate the, and doe I not chafe agaynst them whiche doe rise agaynst the: I do hate them in a ful kinde of hatered, they be made enimies vnto me. Hereby he supposeth may be gathered, that the godly manne may wel hate his enimies, if they be wicked. As in case that a christian man lyuyng among the Turkes, the professed enimies of the name of Christ, or else amongst the wicked and false christians, whiche doe hate the truth of God, and finde them to be his enimies, that it is not vnlawful for him to hate the againe. Moreouer, whereas the nature of loue is this, that he whiche loueth the good, dothe in the contrary hate the euill: as the loue of iustice dothe bringe the hate of iniustice, it is supposed, that in this respecte also the iuste person may hate his enimies as naughty men. The wordes of Dauid obiected. Psal. 139.

I answere. The wordes of Dauid doe not make any thyng for the hate of our enimies. It is one thyng to hate the wicked, as the enimies of God and as naughty men, and an other thyng to hate them as our enimies. O Lorde (saithe he) I hated them whiche hated the. And, I doe chafe agaynst them whiche doe ryse agaynst the. They were no doubte his enimies also, as he sayth: And they were made enimies vnto me, & yet for all that he did not hate them therefore, bycause they were his enimies and did persecute him, but bycause they did hate GOD, and rose agaynst hym. This hate was breddе in hym of the exceeding loue of God, and not of the loue of hymselfe. He that loueth hymselfe earnestly, he dothe surely hate his enimies, but he whiche loueth God and not himself, he may loue hys enimies, but not the enimies of God. Therefore the greatest poynt is, wherevpon the occasion of the hate dothe rise: for therevpon may iudgemẽt be giuen of hate and enimitie. We may easily pretende the malice and wickednesse of our enimies, whome we doe hate, but we doe not very easily loue the good and godly, in respect they be good and godly, whiche we shoulde not chose but loue, if we coulde hate the naughty and wicked, not bycause they be enimies vnto vs, but bicause they be naughty and wicked. But it is God whiche searcheth the harte and the raynes, the very seates of loue and hatered, whom no man can decepue whatsoeuer he doe pretende in wordes. But how the loue of our neyghbour can not stande without the loue of our enimies, we haue noted vpon Mathew. Mat. 5.

It is one thing to hate Gods enimies and our enimies.

The matter is wherevpon the causes of hate com

Of

Of the Loue of our Brethren.

WE sayde that the third kynde of the Loue whiche is commaunded vs, is the loue of our brethren, when we whiche be called Christian men, doe loue one an other, and glory of one GOD our father, whose sonnes we be in Christe, and by him ioyned altogither to one brotherly affinitie, with his loue hée dothe charge vs whiche is the beginner, cause & ground therof, Christ the only begotten of God our cōmon Lord & Sauiour saying in John: My children, I am yet a little while with you: you shall séeke me, & as I sayde to the Iewes, whether I go, you can not come: so I do say now also vnto you, I doe giue you a new cōmaundement, that you loue one an other, that lyke as I haue loued you, so eche of you loue among your selues. Agayne: This is my commaundement, that you loue one an other, as I haue loued you. No manne hath greater loue than this, to gyue hys soule for his friends: & yet the thirde time, hée dothe rehearse it agayne. This I charge you, that you loue one an other. This precept we haue sufficiētly expounded in our Commentaries vppon John, and noted also what wée haue thought good to be considered therein, and therefore we will procéede.

The commaūdement of Christe for brotherly loue. *Iohn.13.*

Iohn.15.

VVhether that the generall loue be taken avvay.

But first there riseth a question, whether that by this newe precept of christian Charitie, the generall loue be taken away, when wée be commaunded by the lawe of God to loue our neyghbours, lyke as the old Testament, in which the cōmaundement of the louing of our neighbour, is taken away by the succession of the newe.

We do answere in few wordes. A Specialler Loue dothe not take away that, whiche is more generall, lyke as the naturall loue is not auoyded by that whiche is commaunded by the lawe, and the speciall loue of friendes, kinsefolkes, parentes, wiues, children, brethren, and sistern, doth not cutte off that knotte, whereby one Citizen and man is ioyned to an other by lawe of nature. Therefore like as there is no let in worldly matters, but that we whiche doe loue our housholde folcke specially, may yet loue our felowe Cytizens also: So in the kingdome of Christ, there is nothyng to the contrarye, but that we may generally loue all menne, yea and our enimies, though that wée beare a nearer loue vnto our Christian brethren, as beyng christian mē our selues. Like as the christianitie dothe make vs in our life amōg men to be neither parents nor brethrē, neither wiues, nor kinsfolke, neyther citezens nor men: so it dothe not take away that loue neyther, whereby wée doe loue them, vnto whome we be any maner of wise or meanes ioyned vnto. So the Apostle, though he do chiefly aduise men to vse Christian liberalitie to them of the family of fayth, yet for all that, he is so farre wide from taking away that generall good doyng vnto all menne, that hée dothe expresly require it, saying: Whyles wée haue time, let vs doe good to all, and then he addeth: But chiefly to thē which are of the family of Fayth. To bée shorte, for asmuch as we be men let

The special loue dothe not take avvay the more generall.

Galath.6.

vs loue all menne as felowes with vs in nature, and as the people of God: let vs loue our Lorde God as friendes and kinsefolkes, lette vs loue such as be a kinne vnto vs, and our neyghbours: and as Christian men, such as be also Christians.

VVhy Christ gaue vs this precepte.

Secondly, lette vs sée why God gaue vs this precepte of brotherly loue. No doubte it giueth a greate light to the kéepyng of Christes precepts, when we doe consider the reasons of them: and there be of thys precept sundry causes.

Christ as being, gaue the commaundemente to loue one an other.

The first is of him, which cōmaūded this loue, I meane Christe himselfe, and of the nature of thē whome he gaue the commaundement vnto. He loued them to whom he gaue the commaundement, that they shoulde loue one an other: Like as (sayth he) I loued you. And in the beginning of the Chapter: Whereas he loued thē, sayth the Euangelist, he loued them vntill the ende. Therefore God the Lorde whiche loued, gaue the commaundement to his beloued Disciples. Therefore what coulde he haue commaunded them more conueniēt than this loue is, whiche he bare to them all, and to euery one of them, and that for two causes. First, that they shoulde doe the same whiche he had done. He loued them, & therefore he would that they shoulde also loue the same whome he loued. Secondly that they shoulde euery one of them be as wel beloued, and liked of their brethren, as they were of him. Both these poyntes were requisite to the likenesse of theyr conditions, bicause of the speciall league and confederacie, that was betwixt them.

The secōd cause is, that this kind of precepte was moste conuenient for him, who came into this worlde for this purpose to reconcile vs vnto God. For loue hath a certayne communiō with the nature of God, whiche John considered in his Canonicall Epistle, where he sayd: God is loue, & he whiche dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God, and God in hym. Christe himselfe came vnto vs, sente by the loue of his father. So God loued the world (sayth he) that he sente his onely begotten sonne. He came to make vs at one with God, which poynt standeth chiefly in the vertue & strength of loue, which may aright be called the spirite of God. In déede we can not without faith please and adioyne our selues vnto God. And yet notwithstandyng, if our fayth that wée haue bée voyde of this loue, let no man flatter himselfe, that hée may be thereby adioyned vnto God. The chiefe strength of the ioynyng togither consisteth in both the parts whiche are to be ioyned, that is to say, in God and in vs, rather than in any thing that is in God onely, or in vs alone. The Omnipotencie is full and whole in God, and hath no place in vs. So that wée be not thereby ioyned vnto God alone, albeit it is not all excluded out from thys matter. Faythe through the gyfte of GOD hath place in vs: but in God it hath no place, vnto whome all things bée open, manifeste, and presente. So that wée bée not ioyned vnto God by this neyther, notwithstandyng that vnlesse that wée do beléeue in him, we be not ioyned vnto him. But loue is such a matter, that it is in God, and by him it is powred into vs, and maketh vs to

Loue maketh attonement.

Iohn.3.

be fashioned lyke vnto him in dispo-
sition of goodnesse and loue. Thys
Math.5. poynt Christe dothe touche in Ma-
thewe, where he disputeth of the pre-
cept of loue. The perfect loue and
coniunction or confederacie in loue,
is (to speake in a similitude) when
there is none in a house, but that lo-
ueth all his felowes, and is likewise
beloued of all. As when the good-
man of the house loueth his wyfe,
children, and familie, and there all
and euery one of them do loue one an
other. So there is perfecte loue and
charitie in the house of God, when
we doe all loue one an other, and be
loued all of God and Christe hys
sonne, and wée all agayne loue them
bothe. Therefore these two causes
do properly and peculiarly concerne
the person of Christe, and the dispen-
sation receyued of the father, so that
there could haue bene nothyng more
conueniently commaunded for the
Disciples to bée reconcyled by vnto
the Father, than that they shoulde
most entierly loue one an other.

Mutuall loue is meete for them that be made one.

The thirde cause is, for that mu-
tuall loue is moste méete for such as
be vnited and made one: and all
Christes flocke be made as one in
the fayth, truthe, and grace of God.
Therfore it is méete that they beare
mutuall loue one to an other, as be-
yng all of one minde in Christe, in
whom they be vnited and knit togi-
ther. They whiche folowe sundry de-
uises, doe disagrée and can not loue &
like one an other. For as to be lyke
one to another coupleth loue, so to be
vnlike one to an other bréedeth hate:
Wherfore loue is not in them which
doe disagrée, but in them whiche be
vnited togither as one. Therefore
seyng that Christian men be as one,
and brethren in God the father, in
our one Lorde Christe his sonne, in
one fayth, in one hope of calling, in
one baptisme, and in one spirit, what
could be more properly and conueni-
ently commaũded thẽ, than intierly &
stedfastly one of thẽ to loue another.

The efficacie of loue.

4 Fourthly, the very efficacy &
workyng of loue is such, that it may
be well commaunded vs by Christe.
For firste it dothe kéepe them in con-
cord, which be once vnited togither.
For it dothe take away those hinde-
raunces, which do diuide vnitie, and
lose brotherly concorde: as impati-
ence, Pharysaical churlishnesse, Hy-
pocritical & counterfaite seuerenesse,
enuy, rashnesse & fauourednesse, hau-
tinesse, dishonest dealyng, desire of
priuate gayne, inclination to anger,
sinistrall suspitions, delyte in euill,
mistrust & desperation. For by these
vices brotherly vnitie is broken, &
therefore the Apostle maketh men-
tion of them to the Corinthians, 1.Corin.13.
where he doth describe the nature of
loue, and to the Ephesians hée dothe Ephes.4.
ioyne togither loue, vnitie, and the
bonde of peace: and to the Collossiãs Colloss.3.
he doth call loue the bande of perfe-
ction. Yea and loue whiche is in the
hartes of the faythfull from the spi-
rite of Christe, taketh away the pu-
blyke hatreds of nations and coun-
treys, suche as were amongst the
Iewes, Samaritans, and Gentiles.
Many do argue nowe a dayes, of the
concorde and vnitie of the Churche,
and they doe séeke it in conformable
kéepyng of the outwarde ceremo-
nies. But howe muche better were
it for vs to come home all vnto this
Christian loue? For the true cõcord

of

of Christian men doth not consist
in rytes and ceremonies, but in the
vnitie of Faythe, and true Loue.
Though we shuld go all disfigured
in one kinde of Cowles, & professe
all one rule of outwarde conuersa-
tion, yet it were not possible that
we should therby be brought to one
true concorde and agréement in the
Lorde, as experience it selfe doth
teache vs. For you shall not light-
ly finde more bitter and spyteful ha-
teredes, thã in monasteries, amõgst
them, in whom all outward things
séemeth to be alyke and one.

And howe necessary the obser-
uation of vnitie which commeth by
loue, is for the encrease of the truth
and the kyngdome of Chryst, there
is no wyse man but vnderstandeth
it. Constantine doth finde fault
with the falling out and discorde of
the Bishops of his time, bycause ẏ
the increase of Christendome was
much hindered thereby: and it is a
cõmon saying: By concorde small
thinges do growe and increase, but
by discorde the greatest do decaye.
Moreouer, the efficacy of loue is de-
clared in that, that it doth yeld and
minister thinges necessarye to the
persecuted and poore: for it is libe-
rall in giuyng and bestowing. And
for this cause also it is very néede-
full for Christian men, specyally in
times of troubles and persecutions,
least the weake shoulde be dryuen
to slyppe from their holy profession,
eyther for disperation, or for lacke
of reliefe. Wheresoeuer this loue
is grounded in the harte, the Chri-
stian man can not say: I am poore,
I haue nothyng to gyue: he wyll
néedes loue hys brother, and wyll
eyther comforte his heauinesse in
wordes, or els if he can do nothing
els, he wyll weepe with him yet for
company. Loue wyll leaue no man:
though he be neuer so poore, neuer
so ryche, as vnméete and vnprofita-
ble for the kyngdome of Christe.
Neither wyll he which loueth in
deed, say, The cõmaundement run-
neth that I must loue. I wyll loue
therefore, and yet I néede not to
gyue any thing. Loue séeketh no
such shyfte, nor neyther wyll I say:
I wyll giue if I knowe how much
I shoulde gyue, and to whome.
All these thinges be tempered and
ordered by loue. When vseryes
began first by lyttell and lyttell to
infect the Chrystian Church, there
was much disputing thereof amon-
gest the learned: but such dysputa-
tyons had not needed at all, one-
lesse that the loue of Chrystyan
menne hadde wared colde, accor-
dyng to the Prophecye of Chryst.
Neyther should there bee so greate
alteration and stryfe nowe a daies
vppon Fayth and Workes if wee
hadde true loue. For by it our
Fayth should be effectuall, & bring
forth all manner of good workes.
Wherefore such manner of dispu-
tations doe declare well ynoughe
that there is but lyttell Fayth and
Loue lefte in ẏ churches of Christ,
yea amongst them which doe most
glorye of the knowledge of the
truth.

Loue hath no ende.

5 Fyftely, this is an other
poynte, that loue hath no ende,
but shall continue in the lyfe to
come also: when neyther Faythe,
nor hope shall remayne. The feli-
citye of the lyfe to come, can not
stande without perfecte and mutu-
all loue of GOD, and of Christ

hys sonne, and vs. But it maye stande without fayth, hope, patience in aduersities, &c. So that for thys respecte also the faythfull of Chryst which be electe vnto euerlasting lyfe and felicitie, be aright charged to loue one an other in thys lyfe, that lyke as ỳ euerlasting lyfe which is obtayned thorowe Fayth by the gyfte of GOD, begynneth whiles that we doe yet lyue in thys worlde, so these things maye also beginne here which shal be ioyned withall for euer in the worlde to come, as is the Loue of God, of Chryst, and our brethren, peace and ioye in the holy Spyrite and glorifiyng of GOD. And therefore it is that the Apostle doth commende Loue for this respecte: bycause it neuer decayeth. There maye be other reasons also alleaged, why the Lorde charged his Dysciples, and the faythfull with thys commaundement of mutuall Loue. But if we waye these fiue well, which wee haue alleaged, I suppose it shall appeare sufficiently ynough, that he gaue thys precept and charge to exceding good purpose, vnto all such as do beleeue in hym.

1. Cor. 13

Howe farre foorth we ought to loue our Brethren.

As I haue loued you.

NOwe we must consider nexte, howe farre forth this precepte of brotherly loue doth extende, and howe farre forth we bee bounde to loue our brethren, and thys appeareth in the very precept of the Lorde, where he sayth: As I haue loued you. Item no mã hath a greater loue, than to gyue hys lyfe for hys fryendes, so that the perfection or perfoarmunce of this precepte, stretcheth vnto the very example of Christ. Than the question is, howe and howe farre forth Christ loued his fryendes. And albeit that hys loue towardes vs be so large, that the greatnesse and excellencye thereof doth passe the capacitie of our mindes, yet for all that wee may consider some of the circumstances thereof and so knowe how wee oughte to loue one an other, accordynge vnto the example of him.

Christ loued vs first.

Fyrst of all he loued vs, before we loued hym. This is much to the commendation of true and sincere loue. In deede it is ryght and reason to loue hym, which loueth, but yet that proceadeth not of so great a goodnesse, as it doth to loue hym, which doth not yet loue, neyther will perdauenture neuer loue hym againe. As it is a more bountyfull vertue when a man doth good vnto them, of whome he neuer receiued any good turne, neither perdauenture neuer shall. Wherefore lyke as Christ loued vs first, and toke the occasions of his loue not of vs but of his father, as he sayth in Ihon: Lyke as my father hath loued me, so I do loue you also.

Iohn. 15.

In lyke manner it doth belonge vnto vs, ỳ one of vs do preuent an other in loue, and loke vnto no other causes of our loue, but thys onely, that we were fyrste loued of Christ. He deserueth greate prayse, whosoeuer beginneth in good, whether it be in louing, well doinge, pardoning of sinnes, or seking our reconsilyation, &c.

Secondly,

Her doeth shew the loue, great, vnspeakable and fre.

Secondly, where as he is of all most great, most holy, most iust, and most mighty, yet for al that he doth not despise, but loue the lowest which be in no point to be compared vnto him, the vile, wicked and sinfull: yea, and yet his enymies, as we may see to the Romaines. So that there is no worthynesse of any person so great, no iustice, excellency, nor Maiestie, neither on the contrary part, there is any vilenes, balenesse, imperfection, vnworthinesse, or rudenesse so great, that can excuse any man for not louing againe in this mutual loue, which he hath commaunded vs to vse. Wher shall neuer be so much difference found betwixt vs which be christiã men, as passeth not assuredly betwixt our louer Christ & vs which be loued of hym. Would to God they would specially marke thys point, which be of a greater estate or degree, than the rest, & learne in the person and worthinesse of our louer Christ, how they ought to shutte out no Christian person, no not the basest from theyr loue.

Her loueth vs not for any thyng in vs but our owne profite.

Thirdly he loued vs not for his owne, but for our commoditie and profit. The wolfe also loueth the sheepe, and the false sheepheard doth so to: but both of them, so dyuoure the sheepe. The true sheepheard doth loue his sheepe not for his owne, but for theyr profite, he loued vs not carnally, or for any carnall commoditie, as parents were wont to loue their children, but spiritually, and to a spirituall and perpetuall commoditie, that is to say to euerlasting lyfe, that wee may be reconciled with GOD the Father, and made happy for euermore. So that we ought in thys respect also to loue one an other, to leade, instruct, and edifie one an other as much as lyeth in vs, vnto true felicitie. And yet withal the bodily and necessary ayde, helpe and relefe, must not be excluded, wherof is mencion made in Mathewe, which Christ himselfe vsed at that time vnto his Dysciples, and doth now a dayes also. For all is his, and of hym, which we doe vse for the necessity of the sustenaunce of our body.

Math. 25.

He loueth vs feruently and continually.

Fourthly, he loueth vs after a stedfast kinde of loue, which is not sone forsaken, not withstanding that we be vnperfect, and doe offend hym dayly. Whereas he loueth his, saith the Euangelist, which were in this worlde, he loued them vntill the ende. So that we be commaunded thereby to loue our brethren stedfastly and constantly to the ende.

Iohn. 15

Fiftly, he loueth vs not lightly as they say, and as luke warme, but feruently and excellently, in so much that he left his lyfe for vs vpon the crosse, so he sayth in Iohn: Greater loue no man hath, than to giue his life for his friendes, wherfore he doth requyre of vs also, to folow this perfect loue of hys, in louing our brethren. And therefore sayth Iohn in his Canonicall Epistle, For as he hath giuen his life for vs, we must also aduenture our lyues for our brethren. And here let vs waye wyth our selues, howe farre wee bee wyde from thys poynte or perfection of loue, when wee wyll not bestowe our Moneye, and

1. Iohn. 3.

Other thinges of small value, to relieue the necessities of our brethren. Thus we haue briefly touched the circumstances of the loue of Christ, though not all, yet such as if wee would expresse them in our brotherly loue, we should not bee farre shorte of this marke of loue, set vp vnto vs, frō which we bee yet both shorte and wyde: notwithstanding we woulde so much seeme to bee Christians, and the very disciples of Christ.

But some man may say. Howe is it possible that we shoulde come vnto this pricke and excellency of the loue of Christ, by louing of our brethren, whereby he loued vs vntyll death? What Christian man is hee, that is able to reache to the perfection of Christ, by loueing? This is my cōmaundement (sayth hee,) that you loue one an other as I haue loued you. What saythfull creature is he, that is able to performe this?

I aunswere, that this saying, As I haue loued you, must not so be vnderstande, that wee may beleeue our selues to be able to beare the like loue in all points, towards our brother, as the incomprehensible excellency of ỹ loue of Christ is, but we must knowe, that there is a certayne meane, wherein our loue is conformed vnto the loue of christ. It is one thing to be conformable vnto the loue of Christ, and an other to declare and expresse the lyke excellency vnto his loue. Neither doth thys worde As, signifie, a full equipalencye, or euennesse, so that we must countervayle and be lyke in all poynctes. Our Sauiour sayth in Matthewe: Be you therefore perfecte as your Father is also perfect: And in Luke: Be you mercyfull, as your Father is also merciful. Who is so very a sole, to think that the very same perfection and mercy, is required of vs: and that we be able to declare and shewe a lyke of that diuine and incomprehensible perfection & mercy which hath neither measure nor ende.

This were such a matter, as to requyre that ỹ Christiā man should be God, or els at the leaste waye worke the lyke that God doth. Lyke as none can be so iuste, so perfect, so mighty, so mercyfull, so good as god is, vnlesse he be hymselfe also God: so none can so perfectly loue, as Christ, oneles he be Christ. But yet for all that, as in the foresaid places of Mathew & Luke, there is a certaine meane of perfection & mercy set forth in God for vs to folow, which is, that lyke as he doth good to the worthy and vnworthy, to the good and the euill, to the thankfull and vnthankeful, so we must loue not our frendes onely, but our enemyes also, to make our loue and mercy whole and perfecte. After thys manner in this case also there be some things in the loue of Christe, which be set forth vnto vs to be folowed, according vnto hys example, as that is, which we haue recited a litteil before.

But you wyl say: I am not able to reache vnto it by anye imytation or folowing. I aunswere: It is well done to acknowledge the imperfection, thou must indeuour notwithstanding and call for the grace of the holy spyrite, and beware also the corruption of our flesshe, & craue forgiuenesse, which is not denied vnto them that doe repent, and be sory.

But withall thou must not surmyse, that we be no otherwise loued of Christ, than we do our selues loue our neighboure. He doth not say: I will loue you so, as you loue one an other: but hee doth commaunde vs to loue one an other, as we be loued of him. The loue of Christe towardes vs, is an example and mirrour set before vs to this entent, that we should trauaile with all our study and endeauoure to folowe it: and the same is of it selfe perfect and passing in tyme, degree, and excellency. Wherfore it is not possible that the same should be framed vnto the measure of that loue, wherin we loue one an other, but is layde before vs to folowe. So scholemaister doth folowe ỹ imperfection of his scholer in preferring vnto him those thinges that he must learne, but he doth set forth the rules, which he doth prescribe, as full and exacte as it is possible for him. So it is meete that the loue of Christ, our Scholemaister and Sauiour, be in it selfe perfecte and ful, for as much as it is laide before our eyes in steede of an example, not that it can be lessened or diminished according vnto our imperfection, which though that we trauaile and endeauoure neuer so muche, yet it muste nedes continew in vs during out this lyfe, that is to say, for the tyme of imperfection, vntyll that come to passe in vs which is perfecte.

For lyke as wee doe in parte know whiles we be yet in the flesh, so we doe in parte also loue, not onely our neighboures and brethren, but GOD himselfe also. But in the worlde to come, then we shall both knowe and loue GOD and one of vs an other fully and perfectly.

In this saying we do not maintayne the carnall and reprobate, but relyeue the weake and feble conseyences, which Christ himselfe also so loued, that he would dye for them. Euery man must trauayle with all his strength and myght, to the marke of that loue which is layde before him, and yet for all that no man can goe so farre, as to glory that he doth so perfectly loue hys brethren, as wee be loued of Christe, but this wrestlyng and endeauoure of the Godly shall bee contynuall, both for the trauayle to the purposed pricke and marke, and also for the continuall faulte finding of our owne imperfection. Thus wee haue spoken of the three sortes of loue, that is to say, of the loue of GOD, of our neighbours, and of our brethren, as much as is sufficient for this present.

Of the Order of Loue.

Some in seking for an order in Loue, do determinat by ỹ auctoryte of Augustine, that first we must loue GOD, secondely our selues, thirdely our neighbours and brethren, and fourthely our owne bodyes, and our neighbours. But there is nothing in Scripture touching any such order. In deede Christ doth saye, that the fyrste commaundement doth stande in the loue of GOD: but he doth

Howe this precepte can be performed.

The vvord As. Matth. 5.

Luke. 6

The loue of Christ is not conformed vnto our loue.

A double error out of Augustin touchinge the order of loue.

not giue the seconde place to the loue of our selues, but vnto the loue of our neighbour, whereas he saith in Mathew: The secõd is like ẏ first. Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. So that there is a double erroꝛ cõmitted here by thẽ, which do vncircumspectly, and vnaduisedly folow Augustine. One in that they doe recken the loue of our selues amongest the kindes of loue commaunded vs: whereas ther is no commaundement touching the same, foꝛ it is naturally giuen to vs all, to loue our selues, so that there is no nede to gyue any commaũdement concerning this mãner of loue. And whereas the same is coꝛrupted by the sin that dwelleth within vs in our flesh, that coꝛruption is not reformed by commaũding vs to loue our selues, but by ẏ loue of God, of our neighbours and our bꝛethꝛen, which is therefoꝛe pꝛescribed vnto vs by expꝛesse pꝛeceptes, to reforme the naturall affections of loue in vs, and to direct them after a good oꝛder. Wherfoꝛe it is not to be feared that he which doth loue God, his neighboure and bꝛethꝛen aright, can neglect & cast away himselfe, albeit that he doe wholy deny and refuse himselfe, and be addicted full and whole to the glory of God, and the saluation of his neighboure. The other erroꝛ standeth in that, that they doe place the loue of our selues nexte vnto the loue of GOD, whereas Chꝛiste doth assigne the seconde place expꝛessly to the loue of our neighboure.

No additiõ of vertue added vvhi vve should loue God,

Befoꝛe I make an ende of this place, I must admenish the reader hereof also, that in the diuision of the thꝛee soꝛtes of loue, of which we haue spoken, there is no condition added of any vertue, foꝛ which we shoulde loue GOD, our neighbour, oꝛ our bꝛother, but the commaundement goeth simply, that we must loue God, with all our heart, our neighboure as our selues, and our bꝛethꝛen, like as Chꝛist loued vs. And in each of them, there is added a rule of louing, to this ende, that as much as lyeth in vs, our loue should be sincere and pure. Wherin we be admonished, that we ought not so much to searche of what qualitye our Neighbours and bꝛethꝛen be, as to loue them all sincearely and vpꝛightly.

And yet withall the speciall and particular loue of the iust, godly and good, is not excluded, but requꝛyed in the strength of the first loue of GOD: foꝛ lyke as GOD loueth the good, godly, and iust, so accoꝛdinge vnto the disposycyon of true loue, they doe loue the good also, which doe truely and verely loue GOD. GOD loueth iustyce, and hateth wickednesse, hee loueth goodnesse, and hateth malice: he loueth humblenesse and hateth pꝛyde. They haue also the lyke and the verye same affection.

They doe loue iustice, goodnesse, and humblenesse, also, whereseoeuer they doe finde it. But yet withall they bee not ouer fine sifters and searchers of their bꝛethꝛen, when necessity requireth that they should shewe the fruytes of theyꝛ loue towards them, but as hauing ẏ Spiryte of loue once, they doe verely loue all folke, so they do also pꝛactise their intent of well doinges towardes all men.

Of the Feare of GOD.



Supple we shall not do amisse after the place of loue, to adde of the feare of God, if we do consider that kinde of loue, wherein we be commaunded to loue our Lorde God. Foꝛ this is the nature of true & sincere loue, wherin the inferiour is bounde to loue his superiour, ẏ he must loue him not slyghtly, but with reuerence, feare, and due subiection, after which manner the wiues also ought to loue and reuerence theyꝛ husbandes, and the children theiꝛ parentes. The husbandes do also loue their wyues, and ẏ parentes theyꝛ children, but it is not conuenient that they shoulde stande in awe of them, neither is it mete that the superiour should feare the inferiour, but it is mete that hee shoulde earnestly loue him. God doth loue vs, and we doe also loue him agayne. But who is so madde to require in him both the loue and feare of man togither as it is conuenient that both the feare and loue of God shoulde be ioyned in vs? The Apostle doth require, that the husbandes do loue their wiues, and he chargeth on the other side, that the young Women loue their husbandes, but we do not reade of any cõmaundement giuen to men, that they should be reuerently subiect vnto their wiues, as the wiues be commaunded to be subiect vnto their husbandes. So ẏ feare ought to be ioyned vnto loue in ẏ subiects towardes their superiours, but not so contrarywise in the superiours towardes the subiectes: and therof be many good reasons. Therefoꝛe whereas we do adde this place of the Feare of God to that befoꝛe of Loue, it muste bee applied vnto that maner of loue, where bywe be cõmaunded to loue God, leaſt it fall out by any meanes, that seeing we be bould to loue & feare him both togither, we should not loue him aright, if we be voide of his feare.

I. What Feare is.

ALL be it our purpose is not to speake absolutely of Feare, as there might be many things said therof generally, but to note those things onely which do concerne the feare of god, yet foꝛ all that I doe suppose that it may seruе somwhat to the purpose, if we do briefly note what, how necessary, wherof, and howe manyfolde feare is.

It is defined to bee an awe of some euil, dꝛawing neere at hand, Thus they do make feare to bee a kynde of awe: wherof be many other kindes also, as slouth, shame, terrour, tremblyng, fallyng out of a mans wit, trouble of minde, and dꝛeadfulnesse. Slouth is the awe oꝛ dꝛeade of laboure to come. Shame is the dꝛeade of some euil passe: Terrour is an abashinge dꝛeade, of which commeth paleneſſe of coloure, trembling, gnashing of teeth like as blushinge doth of shame: Trẽbling is ẏ awe which

astonieth ꝑ minde: the falling out of the minde, is that which foloweth the astonying of ꝑ minde: ꝑ trouble off the minde, is that which putteth of our thoughts and deuises, dreadfulnesse is the awe, & dread which doth long abyde and continewe.

All these sortes bee vnder awe and dread, & one of thē is feare, which is when we doe dreade the euills which draweth on: and all be it they come not on, yet when wee suppose that they doe come vppon vs, wee be afrayde. And the affection of this is quyte contrarye vnto appetite, which is when wee do desire and greedyly loke for such thinges as be, or els are supposed to be good, profitable and pleasaunt, of whence it cōmeth to passe, that our myndes wrestling togither in hope and feare, are tossed in great turmoyle and trouble.

And in my opinion, some do very inconsiderately finde faulte with the affection of feare, as vnprofitable, dishonest, yea and hurtefull also, and not meete for a wise man to deale withall, whereas it is naturally giuen vnto all men, and is not onely profitable for the estate of man, but is also expedyent and necessary to vse in Religion and Godly lyfe. Take awaye the feare of euill, and what waye shall there be to chastice youth by lawes and threatnynges of punishementes, and to restraine the wickednesse of the reprobate: Was it sayde for naught, that the euyll doe feare to offende, for dread of the payne, and that the Apostle sayth: In case they doe amisse. Feare, for the swoorde is not caried in vayne. To what ende be the cramples of them written, read and tolde, which haue bene in daūger for doing euyll, or vnwysely, if there shall be no vse of feare in vs, whereby we maye be restrayned and made weary, least we suffer the same also? The Scripture doth oftentimes charge vs to feare GOD, whych it would not do, oneles that feare were both profitable and necessary for a godly person. Therefore seeing that the affection of feare is giuen vs of God, as well as is the affection of ioye, loue, hope, hate, &c. And that neither ꝑ societie of mans lyfe, neither the godlynesse of true Religion can lacke it. Who seeth not howe great regarde wee ought to haue of it? and that wee ought not to spoile & bereaue our nature of the gyfte which it hath receyued of GOD, and so to make it altogither weake, and without strength? For it is not possible, that wee shoulde retayne hope and loue, if wee bee destitute of feare: For loue is a matter full of carefull feare, and feare is also coupled with hope, I meane of thys present lyfe, otherwise in the lyfe to come wee shall so loue that it shall not be any thing at all myxed with feare.

Feare giuē to all naturally, profitable and necessarie.

Sundry sorts of feare.

AND there bee sundry sortes of feare, according to the varietie of the things which be feared, and yet it may be deuided into foure most generall sortes, so that one may be touching sickenesse and diseases, and an other touchinge powertye and lacke, an other touchinge shame and rebuke, and the other of all those things and offences which may through violence be done to our bodyes.

Foure kyndes of feare.

For like as ther be diuers loues and likynges, for as much as some doe loue wealth, some the health of the body, some glory, some pleasures, and that we doe commonly all of vs loue this life, so there is bredde a variety also of feare in vs. But that feare doth most abash vs, which commeth of the dread of ꝑ might of others, for that commeth with great toyle and trouble, for it carieth withall fire and swoord, prison and fetters, & sundry torments, the gallowes and the axe, and all other deuises of cruelty. Wherefore it is no wonder, if the feare thereof be great, which in varietie is great, & in prouisiō terrible. Tyrauntes doe vnderstande by the knowledge and proofe of mannes weakenesse, how terrible these matters be to the flesh, and therefore they doe vse them to compell & inforce the mindes of their subiectes, and to obtaine thereby what so euer they list to haue of them. But this feare which riseth of the honest and due loue towardes our superiours, is to be discerned from those kindes of feare. For in this feare is nothing feared elle, but the offending of them, whom wee wyth to haue in all thinges well affected towardes vs, and so we do chiefly feare GOD, and nexte the children their parentes, and so the wiues with a reuerence also, doe feare their husbandes.

Precepts of feare of God.

Why the feare of God is commaunded in the Scriptures.

IT is commaūded in Deutero. in this wise Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and serue him onely. And in Iosue, Feare God and serue him in ꝑ sincke. Feare the Lord all ye his holy ones: and Christ saith in Mathew, Feare him who is able to cast both body and soule into the pit of hell, and the Apostle Peter saith. Feare God and honor the king.

Deut. 6. 10. Iosue. 24. Psalm. 34. Matth. 10. 1. Per. 2.

And there may be moued a question. For as much as the feare of them which may destroy vs, is naturally grafted in the hartes of all, to what purpose serueth it to giue commaundement of the loue of god, seeing that he is most mighty, and so by the course of nature may be feared aboue all others?

VVe should not neede the commaundements of Loue, vnles we were corrupted of nature.

I answere. In deede so it is, And we should not haue had nadeed any precept in this matter, in case the affections which we haue of nature grafted in vs, had remained to vs stil vncorrupted. But after ꝑ they became once corrupte, it commeth so to passe, that lyke as we do of a perverse, and disordered loue, loue the worse and hate the better, according vnto the saying of Basile: Men doe vnaduisedly hate the better, and loue the worser, so we doe also in disordered feare, dread those thigs which ought not to be dread, and set light by those matters, which we ought to feare in deede, and which is the fondest part of al, we doe feare men and not feare GOD. So that it is most necessary to haue thys corruption of feare which is in vs to be rectified and reformed. First by precepts, and secondly by the operation of the Spirite. And this is the cause, why there is commaundement gyuen vs to feare GOD, for of

Leuit. 19. Of the feareing of the parentes.

our own nature we be not inclined vnto it, which is not throughe the faulte of the thyng it selfe, but throughe our owne faulte. Upon like reason there is commaundement gyuen for the feare of our parents.

See that euery man (sayeth he) feare hys Father and hys Mother. In case that Chyldren dyd as naturally feare theyr parentes, as theyr parentes doe naturally loue them, this precept were not so necessarie: as it is vnnedefull to cõmaunde the parentes to loue theyr chyldren, bycause by course of nature they doe it without commaundement, yea, and sometymes loue them more, than were conuenient or commodious for them selues. Vnto iust men (sayth the Apostle) there is no law set, but to ỹ vniust. If we were in this respecte so iust, that we woulde feare God, there should no lawe be giuen to charge vs to feare God. And to what purpose were it to charge and to say to him which loueth already, Loue: & to him which feareth, Feare. Therfore in that that we be commaunded to feare God, there is manifestly enough declared our corruption, which maketh vs to haue smal estimation and regarde of him, whome we ought to reuerence and feare principally and aboue all things.

How many kindes there be of the Feare of God.

They be called happie which doe feare God.

IN deede the Scripture doth cõmende and reporte them to be happie, which doe feare God. They that doe feare the Lorde, sayth the Prophete, shalbe glorified. And the Lorde is their greunde, which doe feare hym. And, There is no lacke to them which doe feare hym. Itẽ, He will do the will of them which doe feare him. Item, Blessed be all they, which do feare the Lorde, and many such other places which be read in the Scriptures. But yet there is a matter in this, with what kinde of loue we do feare God. For the loue of God is not all one in all folke, but sundrye and dyuers one from an other: of which poynt I thinke good to note a litle.

Three feares of God.

Commonly men doe make two feares of God, one seruile, and the other friendly, or of the childe: and we wyll note these sortes of feare. The one of them which say in their heartes, There is no God. The second of them which do feare God, bycause of reuenge and punishmẽt, when they do heare that he is a iust iudge, and punisher of the wicked. The third is of thẽ, which do feare him as a father, & so stande in awe to offende him.

The feare of them which do say there is no God.

As concerning the first kinde of feare, it may be sayde that it is not possible that any man should feare God, which doth not beleue in God, and doth saye in his heart, There is no God. Truely like as he doth not feare the Deuill, which taketh all those things to be but fables & tales, which be read of the Deuil in the Scriptures, forasmuch as he doth not beleue that there is anye Deuill at all,) and howe should he be afearde of him, whome he beleeueth not to be? so it semeth not possible ỹ he should feare God, which in beleeuing that there is no God, supposeth all those things which be spoken of God, to be but deuises and imaginations. But in case we doe

consider

consider the strengthe of the conscience, which is somewhat touched now and than in such folke, throughe the brightnesse of the truth of God, we can no wise denie, but that oftentimes it chaunceth thẽ to be carefull, and afrayed, least peraduenture there be some God, though they thinke that there be none: and least that those thinges be to true, which be reported of his iustice and iudgements: and that so it will fall out, that at long running, they shal fele his reuẽge to their vtter destructiõ. Who doubteth but that there riseth such thoughtes sometymes in the heartes of them, which would perswade themselues, that there is no God? And what is it els to haue these, but to be touched with some feling of the feare of God? The like betideth vnto them also, which bycause they haue no hope to obtaine the felicitie to come, they doe stande wholy vpon this point, to perswade themselues that there is no other life to be looked for, after this present life past, and that there shall be no iudgement, but that al things be determined by the death of our bodie. So that there remaineth nothing of vs more. Do we thinke that they haue alwayes carelesse consciences, so that they do neuer fele the feare of hel fire in their heartes, though ỹ they would denie that there shalbe any such matter? Surely like as it passeth our abilitie to beleue a right, and after our beliefe with stedfaste hope for those things, which be beleued and hoped vpon, vnlesse we haue giuen vnto vs the grace and Spirite of Fayth from Heauen. So there is none so full and absolute vnbeliefe, at our owne commaundement, that we can alwayes firmely and for euer iudge these things to be false, which we wyll not beleue. For the wicked will they, nill they, be by the speciall purpose of God touched sometimes with the sence or perseuerance of the truthe, so that though they doe take neuer so much care and paynes to get to the Deuill, and to confirme theyr minde in vnbeliefe, and doe vtterly exclude all feare of the iudgement to come, yet for all that they haue oftentimes stirring, & remorse in thẽ selues, & exceading anguith & care.

The feare of punishment is seruile.

The second kynde of the feare of God we sayde is of them, which being ouercome by the testimony of their conscience, do beleue & knowe that there is a God, and doe not so much loue hym as God, as they do feare hym as a iust iudge, which doeth worthely punish sinners: like as the seruaunt doeth acknowledge his master, but he doth not so much loue, as feare hym, bycause of the knowledge of his owne offences, and dreadyng, least hee wyll be a harde and heauie master vnto him. This is the seruile, and lawfull feare, whereof the Apostle spake: For you haue not receyued the spirite of bondage agayne in feare. The Spirite of bondage is the spirite of them, that be bounde as seruauntes and bondmen, which doe so feare their maisters, that they do serue thẽ not for loue, but for feare of punishment. Such is the spirite of them which doe lyue vnder the lawe, and doe folowe iustice according to the letter and preceptes of the Lawe, and thereby they hope to escape the seueritie & sharpnesse of God, as the iust iudge, which they

Rom. 8.

would

would not doe, vnlesse that they were afrayde of reuenge.

The thirde kinde of the feare of God is that, when the elenes and swch as be godly in deede, doe honour and serue God as a father, depende vpon his wil with reuerence, and haue a speciall feare, least by any meanes they shoulde offende hym because of the loue which they doe beare vnto hym. These men do differ from the other sort before, like as a chaste and faithful wife which loueth hir husbande, doeth differ from an harlot. They doe both of the feare their husbandes, but after a sundrye sorte. The one least shee shoulde offende and turne his mynde from hir, which thing shoulde bee most griefe vnto hir, because of the loue which shee doeth beare vnto hym in the waye of wedlocke. The other, least she shoulde be punished for hir falthede, which she is more afearde of, than to offende hym, because she beareth him no good heart. The first is, sorye for the absence of hir husbande, and hath a great desire and expectation of his returne: but vnto the other, hir husbandes presence is very cumbersome, she is glad when he is gone, and sorye when he returneth again: and she neuer loketh for him but be alwayes afrayde, least that hee come home sooner then shee would haue hym to doe, and before he be welcome. There is the like difference betwixt them, which doe seruily feare God, and not but for feare of punishment, and such as do feare and reuerence hym, as theyr father by the affection and spirite of Children and sonnes. The feare of them in the Scriptures is called, a holy feare, and to it we must applye all those things, which as we sayde before, *are reported in the Scriptures of the felicitie of them which doe feare God.*

This feare of god, charitie, though it be neuer so great, doeth not exclude, but rather bryde & encrease. Wherefore the saying of John, is not to be vnderstanded of this feare: *Feare is not in charitie*, but perfecte charitie shaketh Feare out a dores, bycause ỳ feare is ioyned with punishment, and he which feareth is not perfecte in charitie. For the Apostle speaketh there, of the feare of the latter daye when the Lorde shall come to iudge, which appeareth by that which goeth before, where he sayeth: Herein we haue perfecte charitie, that we haue sure hope vpon the daye to iudgement, for lyke as he is, so we be also in this world. And after he had so said, he addeth: *Feare is not in charitie*, but perfect charitie thrusteth feare out a dores, as though he shoulde saye: bycause they which doe truly loue the Lorde, be so affected, that they doe not stande in feare of the comming of that daye of iudgement, when the Lord shall returne vnto vs, but they doe rather wishe and loke for it with a good hope & truste. Therefore he doeth so attribute truste vnto loue, that he doth exclude and shut out feare, which can not stande with it. Who can saye, that the same people do truely loue their Prince, which be afrayde of his comming vnto them? Doeth not the faythful people rather wish and desire, that their Prince maye quickly come vnto them, specially when his retourne and comming

How feare is not in charitie, and yet perfecte charitie casteth feare out of dores.

shall serue to the ful possession of his kingdome, and the expulsion of *all his enemies and traitours*: In this sense it is most true that John saith, that *feare is not in perfect loue.*

The Apostle doth also continually enforce, that one Christian man must loue an other, and that not only in word, but in worke also. But yet at that tyme it was daungerous, for the Christian men were in the very like case in this worlde, as Christe was him selfe: that is to saye, hated of all folke, which the Lorde hymselfe tolde them of before, saying: This I charge you, that you loue one an other. If the world doth hate you, vnderstande you that it hated me firste. If you were of the world, the world would loue his owne. But forasmuch as you be not of the worlde, but that I haue chosen you out of the world, therefore the worlde doeth hate you, Item: If they haue persecuted me, they shall also persecute you: if they haue kept my sayings, they shall kepe yours also. But they shal doe all this to you for my sake, &c. So it fell out, that many Christian men, more fearing the worlde than louyng Christe, toke the longer aduisement in louing, embracing, receyuing, and cherishing the bretherne, fearing least bycause of them, they shoulde bee in daunger of the hatred and persecutions of the worlde. This kynde of feare is not in loue, for the more that the Christian man doth loue Christe and the brethren, the lesse hee doeth feare the worlde, and them which be able to kyll the bodye. Wherefore it is true in this sense also, which John sayeth, that feare is not in charitie, but that perfecte charitie casteth feare alway. But it shoulde not bee true, if we should vnderstande it of the feare of *the children of God, which true* loue breedeth. For the same doth always remayne in the heartes of the godly, according vnto the saying of the Psalmiste: The feare of the Lorde is chaste, for pure, remaining for euer more, and doth so much please the Maiestie of God, that he doeth accomplishe the will of them which doe so feare him, and doth open his secretes vnto them. Psalm. 9.

Of whence the Feare of God commeth.

That the feare of God commeth of the gift and spirit of God.

The feare of God is one of the affections of the heart, like as loue, hope, and ioye be: and it maketh much to the purpose of what qualitie ỳ heart be to make a man to feare God, whom he seeth not, euen likeas it is to cause him to loue him, wheras he doth harde & scarsly loue his neighbours, whom he seeth euery day before his eyes. We do finde in deede by experience, that the feare of the Lord is not in al men, and therfore that it cõmeth not of the flesh. Wherefore we may wel determine that it commeth of the gifte and Spirit of God: & that the holy scriptures do testifie. For so we do reade in Hieremie: I will giue them one heart, and one waye, that they may feare me all their dayes, and that it may be well with them, and with their children after them. And I wil strike an euerlasting couenant with them, and I will not cease to doe them good, and I will put the feare of me into their hearts, so that they Jeremi. 32

shall not go frō me, & I wil reioyce in them, when I doe them good. Loe, the hearte to feare the Lorde, is gyuen from the Lorde. And in Iosue we reade in this wyse: And there shall go forth a rodde out of the stocke of Iesse, and there shall growe vp a spring out of his roote, and the spirite of the Lorde shall reste vpon hym, the Spirite of wisedome and vnderstanding, the Spirite of counsell and strengthe, the Spirite of knowledge and feare of the Lorde.

Iosue.11.

By these two testimonies of the holy Scripture we do gather, that first the heart to feare the Lorde, is giuen from the Lord, so that it commeth not of the strength of ẏ flesh, but is a speciall gift of God.

Secondly, that they which doe enioye this gift of God, doe feare the Lord, not waueringly and for a small season, but for al the dayes of their lyfe.

Thirdly, that they be parteners of the euerlasting couenant of God.

Fourtly, that they be happy, not them selues onely, but their childrē also. That it may be wel with them, (saith he) & their children after thē. Item: I wil not cease to doe them good. Item: And I will reioyce ouer them, when I do them good.

Fiftly, that the spirite of ẏ Lord, which resteth vpon the rodde and offspring of Iesse, that is to say, vpō Christ the sonne of Dauid, is both the spirite of wisedome, vnderstanding, counsell, strength and knowledge, and of the feare of the Lorde also: not so much bycause it doeth worke these thyngs in the persone of Christe, as bycause it doth poure forth these giftes into the hearts of the faithfull Christians, but of this matter you may see more in our cōmentaries vpon Esay. The same spirite of God which is the spirit of fayth, hope and loue, is the spirite of the feare of God also in the elect, and and faithfull. And we doe meane of that chaste and holy loue, whereof we spake in the article before.

Esai.11.

Now the seruile feare is striken into men by some other meanes, & that carnal, as by sight & hearing, or by tokens and examples, or by some earnest consideration of the might and seueritie, or hardenesse of God.

Of vvh the ser feare pr ceadeth.

By sight and hearing of lightening & thonder, wherby the heartes of the wicked also be put in feare. Such a thing chaunced to the Israelites, what time they heard the thonder and the cracke of the trompet, vpon the mount of Sinai, & saw the lightening and thicke cloude, & the mountaine terribly burning & smoking, and thereby were stricken with great feare. For God mente by these meanes to stryke a feare of hymselfe in this harde hearted people, and therefore he sayde vnto Moses: Gather me the people together, that they may heare my woordes and learne to feare me, as long as they shal liue vpō the earth, and also teach it their children, and it foloweth also: And you came to the foote of the hyll, which was all a fire vp to the skye, and there was darkenesse, cloudes, & dinnesse vpon it. And the Lorde spake vnto you out of the middes of the fire.

Exod.19.

Deut.4.

His wyll was also to vse the tokens of hys mighte towardes that people, to the intent they should feare hym. So Iosue did set vp the twelue stoones, taken out of the bottome of Iordaine, to the ende that they shoulde be tokens of Gods mighte, whereby he had conueyed his people, a drye foote, through the chanell of the riuer of Iordaine, and that by the sight of the same, all the people of that lande, and the Israelites also them selues might learne and acknowledge the strong hande of God, and feare hym. See the place it selfe.

Iosue.4.

The exāples also of Gods might, when the godly be deliuered out of many and great daungers, and the wicked with their offspring be destroyed, be set forth in ẏ holy scriptures, vnto this vse, that as many as do see thē, may learne to feare God, and regarde his might & power. So the Prophet sayth: Many shall see, & be afraide, and trust vpon the Lord, and what shall they see? he declared that before, when he sayd: I did long, and looke for the Lord, and he gaue eare vnto me, and he heard my prayers, and lead me out of ẏ lake of miserie, and out of the myre of filthe, and he grounded my feete vpon the rocke, and directed my steps. And: What doest thou glorie in malice, which art mightie in wickednesse? &c. Therefore God shall destroy thee vtterly, he shall plucke thee vp, and shall make thee to departe from thy dwelling, & thy roote from the land of the liuing: the iust shall see, and be a fearde, &c.

Esai.40.

Psal.51.

And the earnest consideratiō also of the might and sharpenesse of God, doth much helpe to printe in the affection of the feare of God. As in case a man doe consider, how great the might of God is, whereby he can, not onely sleye our bodies, but destroy our soule and body both into the pitte of Hell: hee can not choose but feare him.

Math.10.

Yea, and the diligent reading & meditation of Gods woorde doeth much serue to this effect also, wherupon there is a commaundement also touching the Prince of the people of God in this wyse. And after that he is setled in the seate of his kingdome, he shall wryte out a copie of this lawe, in a booke, taking the paterne therof from the priests of the tribe of Leui, and he shall keepe it with him, and reade it all the dayes of his life, and learne to feare the lord his God, &c. And thus much briefly touching this poynt, wherof the feare of God commeth.

Deut.17.

How the feare of God is addressed from God.

WE sayd that the feare whereof we entreate, is the gift of god. God doth not onely giue his giftes vnto men, but hee doeth bestowe them also after a certaine order, according vnto his special prouidence, whereby he doth most wisely employ all things vnto our saluation. So he doth also bestow the feare of him, after a cōuenient order & rule, whereas he doth attribute vnto it, ẏ first degree of our conuersion and turning vnto hym, and maketh them which were before, vnbeleeuing and despisers of God, to beginne to feare and reuerence hym, whom they despised before, which feare ẏ affection of loue afterwards doth folow and ensue, so that they may by litle and litle loue his goodnesse the better, being well once vnderstanded, and beginne to depende therevpon in good assured hope, and

That the first degree of our turning is in the feare of God.

than yeld vnto him a sacrifice of laude & praise. In this mãner ẏ dore of mans hart is opened by ẏ feare of god, to be turned vnto true Godlines: So ẏ Augustine doth wel cõpare it to ẏ shoe bristel of a shomakers thrid, which bée ing once entred: draweth the thride after it, wherby that is sowen together, which was loose before.

That the feare of God is likened to a shomakers ende.

And this orderly bestowing of ẏ feare of God was so declared in the Israelites, that it tooke the first degree in thẽ. For they receiued in ẏ mount of Sinai, not ẏ spirit of loue, but of feare, meet for the olde and instinctory testament, wherin they should be taught & enformed lyke children, vnder ẏ lesson & discipline of ẏ law, vntill ẏ they should come to ẏ time of liberty, and obteyne the spirite of loue, which belongeth vnto the children: of which the Apostle writeth in this wise: For you haue not receiued the spirit of bondage agayne in feare, but you haue receiued the spirit of adoption of the children of God, in whom we do cry Abba Father. By which words he doth sufficiently declare, that it was so appointed by ẏ counsell of God, that the people of the olde Testament, bée ing appointed and set vnder the lawe, should bée led on by the spirit of feare, but the people of the new testament should be trayned on, by the spyrite of children, which is of true loue & liberty. And therfore was that written to the beléeuing people of the new Testament. For you be not come to the touched hyll, and to the burning fire and rage, to the darknesse and tempest, to the sound of ẏ trũpet, & the noise of ẏ words which ẏ hearers besought that ẏ speach or cõmunication should not be spoken vnto them. For they could not abide that which was cõmaunded. If any beast touch ẏ hill, it shall be stoned or thrust through wẽ a dart. And ẏ sight was so dreadful, which appeared that Moises, sayd: I was abashed & trembled: but you came vnto ẏ mount Sion, and to ẏ citie of the liuing God, to the heauenly Ierusalem. &c. By which wordes there is a difference made betwixt the olde and the new Testament, vnder the figures of Sinai and Sion, and it is expressed with how great feare the first was ordeyned, and how contrary a comming we haue to the communicatyng of the latter.

Hebre. 13.

Notwythstanding ẏ begynnings of the new testament also had their feare, for we do reade ẏ they were in some feare at Hierusalem, what tyme the glory of Christs name begã dayly to grow brighter & brighter in the eyes of all men, by many signes and wonders: for so we doe reade in the Acts: And euery soule was in feare. And there were many wonders also, & tokens shewed by Apostles, so ẏ ther fel great feare vpon all men, & they which had the gyft to beleeue the gospell of God, hearing ẏ preachings of Peter, wer abashed at the begynning of theyr conuersion, wyth the feare whych they cõceued therupõ, sayng. What shal we do my brethren? And vpon the punishment also of Ananias & Saphira, ther arose a great feare in al ẏ congregatiõ, & others also. But ther folowed this feare, ẏ spirite of loue, & of ẏ chyldrẽ of god, so strong that they stoocke not to gyue ouer

Theb... nuys... nerv... ... tone...

Act...

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Act...

themselues

themselues, and to betake thẽ to the crosse, & folow the Lord, and to suffer al maner of things for his sake.

Is the counsell of God that feare shold go before loue.

And the matter is not without cause so directed by the counsell of God, that feare shoulde goe before loue, and not loue before feare (I meane nowe not of that feare which they call the feare of children, which is bredde of loue, but of that whiche they doe call seruile) to make the beginnyng of the cõuersion, or turning. For that kynde of feare whiche is striken into the hartes of men, from the féeling and perseueraunce of the might, iustice, and seueritie of God, is as it were a certen warder of due obseruaunce and reuerence: wherby it is foreséene, that ẏ loue which foloweth dothe not traine in negligẽce & disordered carelesnesse after it: for it is a very ready matter & easie for the minde, whiche hath neuer before bene stryken with any perseuerance of the Maiesty of God: when at the firste turnyng it is perswaded of his goodnesse, and so beginneth to loue hym whome it neuer feared, that it may soone set light by him, whome it ought to loue and honor. Wée doe sée that the mariages bée not all of the beste and happiest, where in the beginning, the wife is voyde of feare and reuerence towardes hyr good man: but when the wife hath some feare of hyr husbande at the firste hande, and doth by good proofe vnderstande what his power and authoritie shal be: of such beginnings may be hoped for some constant loue, and duetie in mariage.

Furthermore, as for the bringyng vp of chyldren, the spirite of feare, whereby they may be restrayned to the precepts of the Scholemaster, & kept as it were by feare of the rodde in discipline and learnyng, is more profitable than the spirite of libertie. So fareth also the feare of God in the yong beginnyng and rude christian men, whiche muste no otherwise be instructed thẽ the a, b, c, children bée, and it is as profitable for them to be kepte vnder the feare of God, vntill suche tyme as they doe receyue the spirite of larger fayth, hope & charitie, by what tyme they shall be no longer méete for the elementary & seruile discipline. Surely it were an euilfauored order in bringyng vp a yong man, if we shoulde graunt the spirite of libertie vnto childehoode, and the spirite of feare & bondage vnto the mans age.

What the efficacie of the feare of God is.

For asmuche as it is a cleare case, that feare is the gifte of God, which is giuen from him only, and employed accordyng onto hys speciall deuise and order, it may easily be thought to be profitable & effectuall, to the study and endeuour of godly life. For albeit that it make no man perfect, yet for al that, it worketh those things, without which no mã clymeth vp to ẏ perfecter things: wherefore we haue thought good to note yet somewhat by the way, of the effect thereof.

In case we doe consider what the feare of the scholemaster worketh in the scholer, we may coniecture vpon that similitude, what the feare of God worketh in the man, that is not all togither reprobate, and forsaken.

A similitude of feare of scholier vvards master.

Firste the feare of the scholemaister doth so restrayne the scholler, that he contemne not his mayster, & that he be not to careles and negligent, nor so rashe as to presume to know that whiche he hath not yet learned. Secondly, it maketh him attent to heare, and diligently to learne. Thirdly, it maketh him to be wary and careful, that he transgresse no peece of the charge which is giuen him, and so be worthy to haue the rodde. Fourthly, it maketh him to be liked of his master. Fiftly, it maketh him in continuaunce to loue learnyng, and hys scholemaister also, and to become a cunnyng and a learned man.

Feare excludeth the contempte of God.

In like manner the feare of God doth firste exclude the cõtẽpt of God, and the frowarde securitie and careslesnesse of our flesshe, & it leaueth no place vnto false persuasion, wherby to presume of our owne rightuousnesse. No man doth commonly contemne him, whome he is afearde of, & whom he knoweth to be most able to be reuenged. No man can be careless of him, whome he feareth, and knoweth to be euerywhere present, and who can not be deceyued in any poynt. No man trusteth to his owne rightuousnesse, which is privy of his owne sinnes, & feareth him, whome he knoweth to be the most iust iudge of all men. These matters can haue no place in that man, whiche beginneth truely to loue God.

It maketh a man meete to learne the wyl of God.

Secondly, the feare of God dothe make a manne attente also to heare Gods worde, and to learne what he shoulde doe to apply himselfe to his will, wherin standeth the beginning of wisedome, accordyng vnto that saying: The beginning of wisedom, is the feare of the Lord. Whē Paule was ouerthrowen from heauen, and stryken with the feare of the Lorde, hee sayde: Lorde, what wilte thou haue me to doe? And the people being abashed and astonied at ỹ preachyng of Peter, asked immediatly what they should doe.

It bringeth desire to flie that whiche is euill.

Thirdely, there commeth of the feare of GOD an endeuour to flie those things whiche be euill, and displeasant vnto God. So we doe reade in the Prouerbs: The wise mã doth feare, and eschew the euill. And, The feare of the Lorde dothe hate the euill. And, By the feare of the Lord, euery man dothe flie from euill. So the Midwiues of the Ebrewes, whiche were charged by Pharao to kyll all the men chyldren at the labour of the Ebrewe women, & to reserue the womenkynde, refused to folowe it, bycause they did feare the Lorde, For so we do reade in Exodus. The Midwyues did feare God, & did not accordyng to the commaundement of the king of Egypte, but they dyd preserue and saue the menchyldren. So Susanna also, bycause she feared God, would not consent to the wantonnesse of the wicked olde iudges: and herof it commeth, that we do see all kynde of mischiefe slowe to effect in them, whiche haue not the feare of GOD in them. This Abraham wiste well, when he should trauayle in Geraris, and therfore imagening in hys harte, peraduenture there is no feare of God in this place, & they will kyll mee, bycause of my wife: he called his wife by the name of Sister. And the Apostle when hee had sayd: There is no man iuste, none of vnderstãdyng, none that seketh God.

All haue gone out of the way, they are all become vnprofitable, there is none that hath done good, no not one. Theyr throte is an open sepulcher, they haue spoken deceptefully with theyr tongues, the poyson of Addors is vnder theyr lippes, whose mouthe is full of curse and bytter wordes, theyr feete be swifte to shedde bloud, there is sorowe and wretchednesse in theyr waies, and they knewe not the waye of peace: and to declare the cause of all these euils hee added: There is no feare of God before theyr eyes.

Fourthly, the feare of God dothe bringe the studie of godly lyfe, and of the seruice of God. So the feare and seruice of God be ioyned togither in Deuteronomie, where wee do reade in this wyse. Thou shalte feare thy Lorde God, and serue him. And in Iosue. Feare GOD (sayth hee) and serue hym. And therefore it is that in the Scripiures the worde יראה whiche doth properly signifie feare, is oftentymes taken for the seruice of God, which commeth of the feare of hym, as in the Psalmes. I will adore in thy Temple, in thy feare, that is to say: In thy seruice. Wherby is meant, that the same is not the true seruice of God, whē men of vnthrifty lyfe, and whiche feareth God nothyng at all, doe boast and crake, that they do serue him.

Fiftly, he that dothe truely feare God, is diligent in his endeuour of rightuousnesse towardes his neighbour. So the Centurion, of whome we do read in the Actes, when he feared God, he vsed to bestow much almesse to the nedie people.

Sixtly, the feare of God maketh the Gospel of Gods grace to be most acceptable, & welcome vnto vs. For what can be better welcome to the conscience which is stryken with the feare of God and percepueraunce of our sinnes, than the gospel of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and of the euerlasting saluatiõ purchased by Christ: Wherfore we do see, that they which without ỹ feare of God do presume vppon their owne iustice, be heauy mayskers to the doctrine of grace, & do hande and fote waskle and striue agaynst it, as the Iusticiaries and Pharisies dyd amongst the Iewes in the tyme of Christe, and the Apostles and Paule, findyng this to bee true in deede, whē he went about to preache Christe in the Synagoge of the Iewes, purposing to sette forth the worde of grace vnto the moste stubborne, and stiffe people. In the beginnyng of his talke he sayde: You men of Israell which do feare God, heare mee: and in the procese of hys talke, he repeted againe, saying: My brethren and children of the stocke of Abraham, you whiche amongst the rest do feare God, vnto you ỹ worde of thys saluation is sente: meanyng that the doctrine of grace taketh no place in them, whose myndes bee not humbled by the feare of God, and the knowledge of their sinnes, and so become grædy & desirous of the grace of God.

Seuenthly, the feare of God doth prepare mens myndes to loue God, after that wee bee once come to the faith of his grace in Christ: but therof we haue spoken before.

Eyghtly, the sincere & pure feare of God hath a marueylous prerogatiue and auauntage in the sight of

God, but we spake hereof before in the beginnyng of the thyrde article. We may here adde also out of Salomon, that he dothe attribute prolonging of our dayes to the feare of God, whereas hee saythe: The feare of the Lorde shall prolong the dayes, and the yeares of the wicked shall be shortened. And he dothe attribute also hope & truste of strength in our offspryng also, saying: In the feare of the Lord there shall be some truste of strength, and theyr chyldren shall haue hope also. And hee dothe attribute vnto it also the fountayne of life, where he addeth immediatly: The feare of the Lorde, is the fountayne of lyfe, to auoyde the destruction of death. Thus muche I haue thought mete to passe ouer, touchyng the profite and efficacie of the feare of the Lord: beestowyng no busie trauayle, nor many wordes aboute it. And would God we might feele it in vs in deede in this latter worlde, wherein we see very small frupte of the feare of the Lorde.

Of the abuse of Feare.

In the seconde article wee made mention of the frowarde and disordered feare, when we doe feare the thyngs whiche ought not to be feared more than those whiche ought to be feared, yea and feare that whiche ought to bee feared, after an vndue and wrong sorte and meanes. I thynke it conuenient to speake some what of thys abuse of feare, before wee leaue this place. And wee will not speake generally of all kyndes of disordered feare, but of those onely whiche doe concerne the religion of GOD. And firste, it is a disordered feare, when the conscience or knowledge of manne is more feared, than the conscience or knowlege of God, whiche dothe oftentimes betyde, when suche as are gyuen to sinne be not afrayde, least God see or knowe the matter, vnto whose eyes all thyngs doe lye open, but they be so afrayde of the knowledge of menne, that if they can possibly, they will hyde theyr doyngs from them, and so sinne the more at liberty, else they will stay themselues frō the doyng of that, whiche otherwise they woulde haue done. He did well that warned vs, that the little babe shoulde cause vs to forbeare oure sinne, and that no filthy sighte or fact shoulde passe into the porche of the house, where chyldren bee: hys meanyng was, that wee shoulde beware, that the tender and yong yeares bee not infected, and corrupted by the euill examples of theyr Elders: But wee doe speake of that warenesse, when men disposed to sinne lacke to spare not others, but themselues, and doe feare, and flie the knowledge of men more carefully than of GOD, whiche is nothyng else, but to feare men more than God.

To feare the knowledge of men, more than the knowledge of God.

Secondly, the feare of them is suche also, which doe feare the might of manne more than the mighte of God, as they doe whiche doe feare tyrannts, whiche can kill the bodies of menne, but doe not feare GOD who is able to destroy bothe the body and the soule in Hell fire: or at the least they doe not feare hym so muche, as they doe feare men. This disorder of feare Christ doth reforme in Matthew.

To feare the might of men, more than the might of God.

Matth.

3 Thirdly,

To esteme the precepts of men more than the precepts of God.

3 Thirdly, when the authoritie of man is more esteemed than the authoritie of God, so that it muste be a high offence to omitte those things vndone, which mē do decree, & charge in the church: but not alike to omitte the preceptes of God. Is not suche a manner of feare, out of order, when we doe feare God lesse than men: & yet we do see it dayly done in the popery so euidently, that they can not excuse theselues of it, where it is reputed for a moste high & irremissible wickednesse, if any man dare transgresse the Popes decrees, and yet the same in the meane season they doe make it light matter to transgresse ỹ precepts of God. In our dayes there hath bene Priests put to the fyre, for entring into mariage, whiche is by Gods law no where forbidden, yea & such also as hath eaten flesh vpon the dayes prohibited by the tyrannie of the Pope, and in no place forbidden by God: and yet in the meane season they do scape scotfree which do sinne not onely agaynst the Seconde, but also against the First table of Gods commaundements, in doyng Idolatry, forswearing, &c.

To keepe the preceptes of God, not bicause God dothe commaund them, but men. Esay. 29. Matth. 15.

4 Fourthly, do not they also disorderly feare God, whiche do obserue his precepts, not bycause that they be commaunded by him, but bycause they be afearde of men, by whome they be compelled to obserue them: This kinde of feare the Lorde himselfe founde faulte withall in Esay. And Christe himselfe doth plainely touche it in Matthew.

To doe those thinges in the feare of God, whiche be agaynst his will.

5 Fiftly, the feare of them is also disordered, which haue Zeale of god without knowlege, & do those things in the feare of God, whiche be quyte agaynst his will. They that doe so feare God, do folow false Prophets, when they say. Thus sayth the lorde, when they bee not sente from the Lorde, and they do serue Antichrist, whiche dothe counterfayte himselfe to be the vicare of Christe and head of the Churche. Wherefore vnlesse that there be knowledge of Goddes will ioyned with the feare & Zeale of God, there is nothyng more able, nor likelyer to seduce the ignorant, than such feare.

To Fe dead more God.

6 Sirtly, what shal we say of the feare of them, which doe feare some Saintes more than God himselfe, bicause that they doe suppose, that they will sone be angry, & that when they bee once angred, they will be sore reuenged vppon them, vnlesse they be the better pleased, as Anthonie, Sebastian, Roch, and the reste. And for this cause some doe seeke to winne theyr fauour by sacrifices, and yearly seruice vpon their dayes, and some by dayly prayers, like as we do reade of some of the Indians, whiche doe of a like feare honor the Deuill, and goe about to please hym by dayly sacrifices, least hee shoulde destroy them: and they can scarsely loke vppon the Images of these Saintes, though they bee neuer so dumbe, deafe, and dead, and able to doe neyther good nor euill, without trembyng and quakyng, specially if by the arte of the caruer, their lokes bee any thyng grimme, cruell, and threatenyng. In whiche case I can call to minde that I was my selfe, when I was a boy. Thus muche briefly of the misusing of the feare of God: whiche it may please the Lorde to chaunge into a sincere and

true feare, specially in this latter tyme, when it seemeth that almoste all feare of God is vtterly decayed and gone.

Of Obedience.



That ornament and accomplishment of the Feare of God, is the ready & lawful obedience. Wherfore Ihaue thought good to speake nowe in order thereof, and to note somewhat that may bee profitable and concernyng the same. Obedience is commended not onely in the Scriptures, but also in the common iudgement of all men, as the most beautiful of all vertues: and disobedience is taken to bee most detestable, bycause it is hurtefull and repugnant, not onely vnto religion, but vnto al estates of the worlde also. And herein wee will first consider of them, whiche woulde seeme to haue so professed obedience aboue all other Christian men, that theyr whole lyfe shoulde appeare to be nothyng else but obedience it selfe. Whereas in deede there is no errour, nor superstition, whiche they goe not aboute to colour and excuse vnder this pretence. And secondly, wee will speake of them whiche doe so vse Christian libertie, that they may well be thought to haue vtterly shaken of all feare of God.

That it is needefull to vse discretion in the matter *of Obedience.*

That wee muste make a difference betwixt true and false obedience.

Without all doubte, the vertue of Obedience is great and inestimable, whiche we clearely confesse and affirme. Wherfore we wil haue those things whiche we entende to speake in this poynt so far from disagreyng with true and lawfull obedience, that it shall be rather confirmed and strengthned thereby, than decayed in any poynt: and there be twoo things necessary for this our purpose. The one is, that true obedience be thoroughly knowen. The second, that we be not ignorant of the other also, which bicause it is counterfayte and false, dothe vnder a likely shewe seduce the vnlearned and vnskilfull, specially suche as be ouer much giuen to Obedience. Lyke as it is not inough for him which desireth to get Golde, to know how good and profitable Golde is, and that in colour it is not whyte but yelowe, but it is requisite also of necessitie for him to know, that there bee other mettals also, eyther by nature or by arte, which being no Golde in deede, yet for all that they be not muche vnlyke Golde in colour: whereby the vnskilfull may some bee deceyued. In this wyse it is profitable in deede for a man to knowe that the vertue of obedience is notable, and yet wee muste knowe withall, that there is an other obedience moste resembling the true, as touchyng the outwarde shewe, and yet is in deede counterfayte. For vnlesse that a man doe knowe this, he is at a poynt, and lieth open to be deceyued, so that vn-

der the pretence of obedience he may offende agaynst the true obedience in deede. Wee haue heard menne called in our dayes conformable and obedient persons, whiche haue obeyed not the worde of God, but Antichrist and his Champions, whereas in the sight of God they were rebellious, rather than obedient. And they bee moste in daunger of this euill of disobedience, whiche haue a deuotion of religion, and desire to obeye, and yet can not put a difference betwixt the true and counterfayte obedience, but doe reste vpon this point onely, that the same can not be euil, whiche is done of a minde to obey their elders: and for this cause I wil say somewhat herein, as

1. What Obedience is.
2. How many sortes of Obedience there be.
3. Howe necessarie, and what the efficacie of it is, & how great a good it is.

What Obedience is.

The definition of obedience.

We may make a definitiō of Obedience by the very worde it selfe, which is called in greke ὑπακοή. And it is nothyng else, but a faithful submission of the mynde, whereby the worde and will of the commaūder is obeyed, when bothe the harte and eares be attent vnto his wordes and will, and those things whiche be commaunded, accordyng to theyr ability, bee accomplished without gayne-saying. For true obedience muste haue not onely an obedient hande, but a folowyng will also. Wherefore they can not bee counted for obedient, in whome the desire of true Obedience taketh not place, suche as they bee, whiche doe obey in face onely, without the ready will of mynde, or else in wordes & eare onely, without doyng it, when they may I say, when they may, for when the thyng can not bee done, the wil to obey is reputed for the doing: and so we say commonly, that God accepteth our good will, in stede of the face.

Hovv many kindes of Obedience there be.

There bee twoo manner of obediences, the one is true, the other false. The same is true, whiche may be reported and auouched to be vpright, sincere and sounde. And that we may well knowe whiche that is, we muste see, whome, wherein, & how a man muste obey.

For firste of all it is not lawfull for hym whiche is a seruaunt, and hath not the free at bytrement of his owne will, to addict and appointe hymselfe to the Obedience of whom hee liste, vnlesse hee will shifte himselfe out of his gouernaunce, who is his onely liege Lorde. For it is not possible, that menne shoulde serue twoo maisters well, as our Sauiour sayde. For as the Apostle sayth: Looke to whome that thou hast yelded thy selfe to bee a seruaunt to obey, his seruaunt thou arte whome thou doest obey.

So that if you couet to knowe, whether that your obedience be true or no, consider firste whome you doe obey. If thou doest beare thy true obedience vnto him, vnto whose iurisdiction and dominion thou doest

of right belong, thou hast in that respect a true obedience, because thou doest not obey him, which is a straūger vnto thée, but thou doest obey thy owne liege Lorde: but in case thou doest obey others and not hym, thou arte not truly obedient, but rather disobedient. And whome can we determine vppon to be he, vnto whome onely all obedience is due, but our onely God and true Lorde, the maker & preseruer of all things? For whose be we, but his, whiche both made vs when we were not, and gaue vs life, and graunted vs al things necessarie for the sustentatiō of the same, in whose lande wé doe dwell, as it were in a house, vnto whome all creatures are compelled to be subiect, whether they wil or no, and doe also most worthily obey? So that we must addresse all our obedience if it be true, vnto God onely, in whose possession onely we be, from whose obedience no creature may withdrawe it selfe. And he is so affected, that he can not abide vs to haue any other Lords beside him to obey, & therefore it is that he calleth himselfe Jelous.

That all obedience is due vnto God.

Exod. 20.

Secondly, it is requisite vnto true obedience, to sée whether that we do obey the will of Gods commaundement or no, and there is no presumption can serue herein, but we muste obey the only wil of God. For without that there can bée no true obedience, what soeuer we doe counterfayte & dissemble. And for this cause the cōterfayte seruice of the Iewes was refused, which they did ordeyne after their owne imagination, according vnto the manner of the Gentiles, vtterly vnlawfull for them to doe by the expresse precepte of God. Where wée doe reade in thys wyse: When the Lorde thy God shal haue destroyed ỹ Gētiles before thy face, which thou shalt go to possesse, & doe possesse them, & dwell in their lande, beware that thou doe not folow thé, after they be destroyed vppon thy entrie, and looke for their ceremonies, saying: Lyke as these Gentiles or people dyd serue their Gods, so I will serue God also. I say thou shalt not doe the like vnto thy Lord God. For they dyd all the abhominations whiche the Lorde dothe abhorre, offering their sonnes and daughters to their Gods, and burnyng them with fyre. Doe that onely vnto the Lorde, whiche I doe commaunde thée to doe. Sée thou neyther adde nor diminishe any thyng thereof. Notwithstanding they brake thys precepte, through the disobedience of their doyng, and beganne to serue their Lorde GOD not according vnto the will of GOD, but according vnto their owne imaginations. And therefore there bée so many complayntes in the Prophetes and Psalmes agaynst the inuentions of the Israelites, whereby they angered God, as wée may sée in the hundreth and sixte Psalme, and in many other places of the holy Scripture. So that it is a disordered obedience, when wé doe leaue the preceptes of God, and take in hande these thyngs, whiche hée neyther commaunded, nor be agreable with his will.

Deut. 20.

Psalm. 106.

That we must obey God, not only in the facte, but with a willyng hart, and at al thinges & euer.

Thirdly, it is appoynt of true obedience also, not onely in facte to doe that simply whiche hée commaunded, but to doe it also with a sincere, faithfull and willing hearte, to obey the verye meaning of God, and that with greate liking. So ỹ you would not but that the same preceptes had bin giuē of God, and that you would not transgresse them, though that there were no daunger to be feared of the transgression of them: like as the faithfull and obedient wife doth obey hir good man, and the good and naturall sonne his father.

The true obedience is the ryght seruice of God.

It is also required vnto true obedience, that we obey not only some certayne preceptes of God, but wé must obey them all, and employ oure selues vnto true obedience, not for a season onely, but for all the space of our whole life.

After this manner the Godly persons muste examine the true Obedience, whether that it be iust, sincere, willing and full, for if it be so, it is able to abide the touch of the truthe: and in case there be anye thing lacking through our imperfection, what so euer it is, it is pardoned and borne withall by the grace of Christ.

This true obedience is the ryght seruice of God. For what is it else to serue God, but hartily to obey hym in all things? And this manner of obedience is farre better than all sacrifices and burnte offerings, according vnto that which Samuell said: Will the Lord haue burnt offerings and sacrifices, and not rather haue his worde obeyed? For obedience is better than sacrifices, and to gyue care better than to offer the fatte of rammes. For it is as the sinne of witchcrafte, to withstande, and like the mischiefe of Idolatrie, to refuse to obey.

The head and perfect patterne of this obedience is Christ, whose saying that is: Thou wouldest haue no offering, but thou didst frame myne eares to heare thée. It is written of me in the beginning of the booke, that I should do thy will. And, My meate is, to do his will which hath sent me. And, I came downe from Heauen, not to doe myne owne will, but hys will who sent me. And to the Philippians, He was made obedient (sayth Paule) vnto deathe.

And we must also be reformed by this paterne of Obedience, in case we will be accounted the true seruers of God, for our sauioure sayeth in Mathew: He which doth the wyll of my Father that is in Heauen, he is my brother. And, Not euery bodye whiche saith vnto me, Lorde, Lorde, shall enter into the kingdome of Heauen, but he whiche doth the will of my father that is in Heauen.

But some man will obiecte, *Ergo* thou doest leaue all obedience vnto the will of God only, so that there is none to be giuen to the worlde: and by this reason no man shall be bound to obey hys betters, yea this waye no man shall be greater than an other, but all equal and a like, as subiect together vnder the onely obedience of God alone.

I aunswere, I suppose that there is no man will denie, but that al men ought to be subiect vnto God onely, and to obey his will, and that it is not lawfull for anye man to shifte himselfe vnto an other. This is a cleere case, and without all contradiction, and gaynesaying. And if God himselfe hathe made vs subiect vnto some others, which be better than we in the earth, eyther in wisedome, an

thoritie, or might, it is well done, and we muste obey them, but no otherwise than as he hath appoynted, nor for any other cause, but bycause that he hath sette them aboue vs: and in this doing we doe not swarue from the obedience of him whiche we can not performe, vnlesse that we doe obey them, whome he hath appoynted vs to obey. Therefore it is so farre wyde, that by the yeelding of oure obedience vnto God only, the degrees of the superioures, and subiection of the inferioures shoulde be taken away, that the necessarye obedience in worldlye matters can by nothing bee more confyrmed, than by the same.

A similitude of a good man of the house.

Let vs imagine that this worlde is as it were some house, wherein the good manne of the house is God, which hath the chiefest authoritie ouer the children, seruauntes, maydens, cattell, and all things. And lyke as in the house whiche is well ordered, all thinges be directed vnto the only will of the good mā of the house, (for vnlesse it shoulde be so, the good order and estate of the house coulde not continue,) so that there is one conformable will in all, and through them all, whiche is deriued from the good man of the house into all the family, as from the head, to the members of the same one bodye, and yet after a certayne degree, some be preferred aboue others, whome the rest of the people inferior eyther in age or in condition, is subiect vnto, and doe obey them, bycause of the wyll and order of the good manne of the house, whereby hee doth giue authoritie vnto them whome hee setteth aboue the rest in his house, which be then well obeyed, if by that obediēce, there bee nothing derogate or diminished from the superior will, and power of the good manne of ye house. In lyke manner it standeth with the case of thys obedience, whereof wee do nowe talke. The chiefe King and householder in this world is GOD, whose onely will is in all, and of all speciallye to bee regarded. And in case hee hathe made vs subiecte vnto none, wee bee not bounde to obeye anye lyuing man: but in case there bee anye to whome wee muste bee subiecte that can not bee anye other wayes but by hys wyll, so that wee must of necessitie obey them, vnlesse we wyll shew our selues to be out of all order.

To whom God hath made vs subiect.

Therefore, wee must consider vnto whome the will of God hathe made vs subiect, least if we doe without respecte & rashly obey whom we list, we be subiecte not vnto God, but vnto our owne rash head. And heereof we cā not be by any other meanes better and more certaynely instructed, than by the holye scriptures, in which the holy spirite doth diligently instruct vs, of the directe yeldyng of true obedience, least we shoulde eyther so obey God, that we shoulde in the meane whiles withstande them whome he hathe set ouer vs, or else so obey them, that we resist the wyll of God, but we must so walke on in the plaine high way, and so yelde our selues obedient in all things, that the marke and pricke of oure whole obedience, be fastened in the onely wil of God.

VVe be aboue subiect to Christ.

And in this case we must first and principally be subiecte vnto Christe Iesus, the common maister & Lorde of all,

of all, the firste begotten in the house of God, vnto wome, as to his naturall and only begotten sonne, the Father hath giuen al power in Heauen and in earth, and subdued all things vnto him. According vnto that saying of Mathew: All things be deliuered vnto me from my father. And, All power is giuen vnto me in heauen and in earth. He is appoynted to be our only Lord, whom we must obey: so God commaunded from heauen, and saide. This is my beloued sonne, in whome I am well pleased, heare him. We be subiecte vnto the iurisdiction and power of him, not only in respect that he is the word of the Father, by whome all thinges be made and preserued, but in respect also, that he hathe redeemed vs by hys bloud, according vnto the saying of the Apostle: Neuer a one of vs dothe liue vnto himselfe, and no man dieth vnto himselfe. Therefore whether that we do die or liue, we be ye Lords. For Christ is dead and risen againe, to this intent, to be the Lord both of the liuing and of dead. And, You bee not your owne men (saith he) you bee bought at a great Price. And, Christ is dead for all, so that they which do liue, do not now liue vnto thēselues, but vnto him, who dyed for them. And therefore it is the commaundement also of the father, that we shuld beleue in the name of his only begotten sonne. And the Apostle dothe attribute obedience vnto the faithe in Christ, whereas he saith: By whome we haue receiued grace, and the office of Apostelship, that men may obey faith amongst all nations in his name, &c. And, Vnto him who is able to strengthen you, accordyng vnto my Gospell, and the commendation of Iesus Christ, through the reuelation of the mysterie, &c. vnto the obedience of the faith, whiche is opened vnto all nations, &c. The reason heereof is, bycause obedience is due vnto Chryste by the will of his father, so that al must honor the sonne, as they doe honor the father. And what is it else that we be baptised in Christ, but that we be consigned not only to beleeue, but also to obey him? Therefore seeyng that the father hath made vs subiect vnto his sonne, he dothe assuredly obey the Father, whiche doth obey the sonne: and on ye ther side, who so euer doth not obey the sonne, is vtterly disobedient vnto the Father, and worthie of damnation.

Mat. 11. Mat. 28. Ioh. 14. Luc. 6. Luc. 4. Iohn. 3. 1. Cor. 16. 1. 16.

VVe m obey th ministe of Chri

Heereupon it foloweth, that seeing the Father hath deliuered vp all the power of his Kingdome into the hands of his sonne, that we be bound to obey those ministers of his, which he hath set in rule ouer his churches: if so be that they doe vprightly serue his will. And some he appointed to be Apostles, some Prophetes, some Pastors, and Doctors, some Euangelistes, to trauell in the preaching of the Gospell, as we maye see to the Ephesians. And that is verifyed in them, to whom it is said in Mathew: He which heareth you, heareth mee: and he which despiseth you, despiseth me. And that to the Ebrewes. Obey your ouersees, and follow them, for asmuch as they do watch and wake for your soules, as to giue accounte for them. So the obedience whiche oughte to bee gyuen to the ministers of Chryste, is conteyned in the fyrste, where wee bee bounde

Ephes. 4. Math. 10. Hebr. 13.

to obey the wil of God in all things, for like as he whiche dothe honor the minister of Christe, dothe honor Christe himselfe, and consequentlye his father also: so he which doth obey the minister, doth obey Christe, and in Christ his Father also.

That obedience is due vnto Magistrates, Kinges, Princes, and Iudges

Secondly, God hathe instituted the power of the sworde vpon the earthe, Kings, Princes, Magistrates, Iudges of the land, to be ministers of iustice to the punishmente of the euill, and to commendation of the good, vnto whome he hath not only made subiect the Gentiles and al Infidels, but all that doe beleeue in him also, vnto them that is spoken. And nowe you Kings vnderstande you, bee you learned whiche doe iudge the lande: serue the Lorde in feare, and reioyce towardes him in trembling, kysse the sonne, &c. Therefore the Apostle dothe teache Christian men to obey the superiour powers, which do carrie the sworde as the ministers of GOD, though that they be not yet Christian but vnfaithfull. The lyke matter is that also: Warne them that they be subiecte vnto Princes & Potestates, and that they obey the Magistrates. And that in Peter. Therefore see you be subiect vnto al creatures of men, because of ỳ Lord, eyther vnto the king as passing all others, eyther vnto the gouernours, as sent by him, to the reuenge of the euil doe harme, and to the commendation of them that do well.

Psalme.2.

Rom.13.

Titus.3.

1.Petri.2.

Thirdly, he did make the woman subiecte vnto hir good man, as to hir head. Wherefore the Apostles doe diligentlye aduise the wiues to bee subiect and obediente vnto their husbands. So we do read to the Ephesians: You wiues, see you be subiecte vnto your owne husbands, as to the Lorde, forasmuche as the man is the head of his wife, like as Christ is also head of the Churche, and the selfesame dothe giue saluation vnto the body. So that like as the Churche is subiect vnto Christ, so let the wyues be subiecte in all poyntes vnto their husbands. Agayne: You wiues bee subiecte vnto your husbandes as it is conuenient to be, in the Lord. And in an other place. And in likewyse you wiues, saith he, be you subiecte vnto your husbandes, &c. like as Sara obeyed Abraham calling hym hyr Lorde, &c. Therefore the obedience whiche is due vnto God, dothe in so much not exclude the same obedience that wiues oughte to beare to theyr husbands, that it doth rather require and commaund the same. For it is not possible that the wife should wel obey God, vnlesse she be subiect vnto hir husband, and obey him accoyding vnto the ordinance of God.

The vvoman must be subiecte vnto hir husbande. *Gen.3. 1.Pet.3.*

Coloss.3. Titus.2. 1.Petri.3.

Ephes.6.

Ibid.

Seruantes must be subiect vnto their maisters. *Ephes.6.*

Fourthly, he made children to bee subiect vnto their parentes, and that by a certayne and expresse lawe. Honor (sayeth he) thy Father and thy Mother, that thou mayst be long lyued vpon the lande which the Lorde thy God shall giue thee. And he dyd set a verie sore punishment vnto the transgressours of this lawe in Deuteronomie, where we do reade: If a man get a stubborn and an obstinate sonne, whiche will not heare the cõmaundement of his father and mother, and when he is restrayned, doth refuse to obey, he shall take him, and bring hym before the Elders of the Citie, vnto the gate of iudgemente, and say: This our son is stubborne and

Children are bound to be subiect and obediente to their parentes. *Exod.20.*

Deut.21.

Coloss.3. Titus.2.

and obstinate, he refuseth to harken vnto our admonitions, and applyeth himselfe to banketting, wantonnesse, and feasting, the people of the Citie shall ouerwhelme him with stones, and he shal dye, so that you may ridde the euill from among you, and that all Israell hearing thereof, maye bee afrayde. And the Apostle doth diligentlye inculcate or beate into the faithfull heads this parte of iust obedience, saying: You children, obeye your parentes in the Lorde, for that is righte, honoure thy father, and thy mother, which is the first precept of promise, that it maye bee well with thee, and that thou may be long liued vpon the land. And: You children, obey your parents in all poyntes, for that doth well please the Lorde.

Fiftly, he dothe appointe the men and women seruauntes also, to bee subiect vnto the commaundement of their maisters. And therefore the Apostle dothe aduertise them to the Ephesians, to performe this obedience in the Lord, Your seruantes (sayth he) obey them whiche be your maisters in the flesshe, with feare, and abashment, with a singlenesse of your heart, as you ought to obey Christ, not seruing them to the eye, as seeking to please men, but as the seruauntes of Christe, doing these thinges whiche God would haue you to do euen frõ your heart, serving the Lord and not men, and that with a good will, knowing this, that euery man shall haue his reward from God, for the good that he doth, whether that he be bond or free. The selfe is rewde also to the Colossians and to Titus. Counsell the seruants to obey their maisters, and to please them in all points, not to be answerers, nor pickers, but shewing all good truste and faithfulnes, that they may be an ornament to the doctrine of our sauiour in all things. Agayne. You seruauntes (sayeth hee) be subiecte with all feare vnto youre maisters; not only vnto them that bee good and gentle, but vnto them that be naught also.

1.Pet.2.

Therefore we be so subiecte vnto these degrees of superiors, set ouer vs by the ordinance of God, Forasmuch as in obeying them, we doe obey the Lord God, and when we be disobedient, we do not so much disobey men, as God himselfe: so farre wide it is, that the same chiefest obedience whiche ought to be borne vnto God, doth exclude these degrees of due reuerence amongst men, depending vpon the obedience of God only: and that there is no other excuse for the disobedience of subiectes, but this only, if those things whiche our superiours would enforce vs to do, be contrarye vnto the will of God: at which tyme that saying of the Apostle must take place. It behoueth vs rather to obey God, than men.

Act.5.

Of false Obedience.

VVhic false ob ence.

Thus much we haue noted of true obedience; now we haue to consider of the false, and counterfait obedience. And we take that to bee false, which hath either not the same, or contrarye markes vnto that true obedience of which we noted before. Wherefore to make the triall, we must compare it with the true obedience to be tried thereby, as by the touchstone.

1 The first marke of true obe-

dience

The obedience of Fliers and Monkes.

dience is, if we do obey God: *Ergo*, it is a false obedience, when we doe not obey God but creatures, contrarye to the order appoynted by him. Lette the Monkes and Fryers looke vppon this marke, and see whome they do obey, whereas some of them doe bind themselues to obey Benedict, some Dominike, some Frauncis, and I wote nere what Abbotes & Priors, &c. which God did neuer set ouer his faithfull. He did set Christe ouer vs, and the ministers of his word, kings and Magistrates, Parents, and Maisters, but we do not reade of Abbots, Priors, Prouincials, wardens, &c.

2 The seconde marke of true obedience is, ẏ we must obey in ẏ things agreeable vnto the will of God, *Ergo*, it is a false obedience, which is borne in things contrary vnto the will and ordinaunce of God. After that sorte mens constitutions and doctrines bee obeyed, of whiche there hathe greate multitude long since ouerwhelmed not only the Cloisters, but the Churches also of Christe, in so muche that Augustine also in his time did finde fault withall.

3 The third marke of false obedience is, if we doe obey God, and that in his preceptes, but not sincerelye, and according to the meaning of the commaunder, and that is when the outwarde worke and doing is not correspondent vnto the intent of the commaunder. As for an example. The Iewes were commanded to celebrate and solemnise the Passouer, to keepe the remembrance of the delinery out of Egipt, and to feede their faith withall, and to giue thankes to the goodnesse of God for it: and they did indeede obserue ẏ outward worke in eating the Lambe, but fewe of thē did satisfye the minde of God. They did the like also in the lawes of their oblations, the firste fruites of theyr corne, and the other obseruaunces of the lawe. They did solemnise theyr sabbath in an outwarde idlenesse, as though that idlenesse of it selfe dyd please God, and that he had not commaunded them rather to leaue off their worke, to haue time to feede their faith and charitie. Let them go, and let vs looke vpon our selues. We do baptise, we do solemnise ẏ Lordes supper, we do runne to sermons, whiche things be recommended vnto vs by Christe, to nourish and feede fayth and godly dispositiō in our heart, but as touching this ende and purpose of the Lorde, very few of vs do truly obey it, but as cōcerning the outward worke, many do follow it. The Lord doth commaund vs to lend and gyue to euery man that doth aske. The outward worke some do endeauor to do, so as it is, but very few do reache to ẏ meaning of the precepte, that is, to ẏ loue of their neighbor. But this maner of obediēce is not sincere and cleane, but false, such as no good husband would beare within hys owne house: or like, though he did beare withall.

And it is a token of false obediēce also, when men do not hartily & with a good will obey the precepts of God, but do make curtesie at it: so that we had rather that we were not bounde of necessitie to obey, neyther woulde doe it vnlesse we did feare the payne of the disobedience, and transgressiō. God commaunded vs, that we shuld harken to hys sonne Christe Iesus our Lord, that is to say, ẏ we should

Deut. 8.

be

be obedient vnto him. Ioining thereunto threatning that ẏ soule of him which did not obey him, should be rooted out of the people of God. Heerein he dothe require of his people to forsake themselues, and to followe hys footesteps. And I beseech you find me one that dothe so with all his hearte, which obeyeth the Commandemēts of the Lorde, not more for feare, than for any loue? There be few or none, which like the good sonne, and according vnto the example of Christ our head, do hartily obey the commaundementes of God, so that this obedience can not be sincere nor pleasing God, whiche no man woulde like in his owne house. Chrysostome dothe find fault, that in his time all thyngs were done in the Church only for an orders sake, for a fashion: and that the Christian folke had no other respecte, but to pay and performe theyr appointed due, it skilde not how, so ẏ they woulde not be blamed for not doing their dutie, but it was for order sake onely, to seeme to doe as apperteyned vnto Christian men, negligently, without intention of mind, for manners sake and for a countenance, least they should be blamed of negligence. And what booteth me to make mention what the godly maye lament of our times, seeing that thys token of false obedience was euen then crept into the Church in Chrysostomes time?

Chrysostom. Epist. ad Heb. 10.

Thirdly, it may be taken also for a token of false obedience, when those things whiche oughte to be done, bee not done to ẏ full, but by peecemeale, as when some one precept is a little obserued, and the rest neglected: as in case a man do not commit adulterye, and yet for all that doe not serue one God arighte, neyther sanctifie hys name, neither keepe his sabbath, nor honour their parents, &c. neyther yet keepe one commaundement to ẏ full. As if a man do so obserue the cōmandemente for louing his neighboure, that he wil loue his friends and kinsfolkes onely, and not loue any other, and speciallye not loue his enimies. This is a patched and peeced obedience, not reaching to the true and appointed marke and pricke of loue. For the commaundemente runneth expresly in Mathewe, that we muste loue not only our friends, but our enimies also, according vnto the example of our father, which bringeth forth his sunne vppon the good and euill both. Saule was charged wyth disobedience, bycause he did not perfectly fulfill the commaundemente of God, in rooting vp the Amalechites, but reserued ẏ king & certain cattell.

Math. 5.

1. Sam. 15.

Fourthly, it is a poynte of false obedience also, when men do obey not to the ende, but for a season only, and do fall straightwayes againe to disobedience. For like as in case the wicked person doe leaue the wickednesse of his disobediēce, and do turne himselfe vnto true obedience, he shall lyue the lyfe, and there shall bee no further remembrance of his wickednesse before God: so on the other side in case the iust person forsaking hys obedience, do fall vnto the wickednesse of stubborne disobedience, hee shall not lyue, and there shall bee no remembraunce of hys iustice before God. Whereof we may see in Ezechiel. For there is requisit vnto obedience a stedfastnes & constancie to obey, so that our obediēce must be like

Ezechiel. 1

vnto

vnto the same, when the sicke folke do obey the Phisition. Where it bo-teth not to obey for a season, vnlesse they doe continue it vntill they haue perfectly recouered theyr health. We do reade of the obedience of Christe, that he was obedient vnto his father vntill death. And the same wée muste follow and continue in, if we will be saued. For he shall be saued, whyche doth continue on to the ende.

Thus muche touching false obedience, the fountayne, and spring wherof commeth partly of the blindnesse of our minde, and partlye of the corruption of oure hearte, gotten of the fault of our first parents. It is blindnesse that men do obey creatures rather than God, and not according to the rule of God, but of the wyll of man. It is the corruptiō of the heart, that we doe not obey sincerely and heartily, not fully and constantlye. Hereof no doubt commeth the hynderance, that we doe not frame oure selues to the wil of God, and become one selfe same spirite with God.

Howe necessary obedience is, and what is the efficacye *thereof, and how great a good it is.*

This is a very profitable place, wherein it is considered how it helpeth to the conseruation of the whole, in case that this vnitie which is by obedience, be constantly kepte with an intent and mind vp to God, who is the only gouernour of all. As if a man consider the whole bodye of Heauen and earth, howe the same is ruled euerye where, in all the members thereof both high and lowe, by the onely minde of the creator, and whereunto all thinges be euermore subiect, and do so continue in theyr estate and order by the vertue of the same obedience, without whiche all shoulde of necessitie be ouerthrowen and perishe: the like whereof we doe sée also in oure owne bodies whyche coulde not continue by anye meanes, vnlesse that there were that pliable obedience of all the members in their proportion, whereby all thinges bée directed and do obey, as subiect vnto the commaundemente of the spirite, and to that naturall instinct whyche is in man. And in like case is the condition of common wealthes, estates, orders, and of the whole lyfe of man. Take away the onely vertue of obedience, and you shall sée all thynges fayle, and fall togyther as it were into on confused chaos, and lyke the monstrous turmoyle of Babylon.

But our present purpose is not to prosecute thys manner of consideration, but wée wyll consyder of that only, howthe vertue of obedience is necessarye and profytable vnto the true and euerlasting saluation, and lyfe whyche is in Christe Iesu. The true obedience is that, whyche maketh the wyll of the commaunder, and the obeyoure all one. And thys vnitie is meanes whereby the elect be made one wyth God, is that alone whyche dothe saue. For the saluation of all is in God onely: so that accordyng vnto the Psalmist, they must vtterly perishe as many as bée farre off and straungers from hym: lyke as they bée blynde of necessitie, whyche bée sequestred from lyghte, and as they be tormēted with thyrst, which

By the vertue of obedience all is saued.

Howe obedience is required vnto our saluation.

which do forsake the fountaine of the liuely waters, so they can not lyue, which do wilfully depart frō the lyfe it self. What can they loke for els, which do forsake the pryncipall goodnesse it selfe whereby all thinges be created and conserued, departing from the very fountaine of lyfe and all felicitie, but to perish, and to be vnhappy for euer more.

And the disobedience of our first father brought in this sequestration frō God, whereby it fell out, that we slonke into death as wel temporarie as euerlasting, and therby it appeareth manifestly, how great the euill of disobedience is, for what can betyde more pernitious, than to be alienated and sequestred from him, who is the onely fountayne and spryngе of all goodnesse, without whom nothing can any where stay and contynue? This doth disobedience which was not onely in our first father, but hath also clasped in it, & destroyed all mankind.

This mysshappe could by no other remedy be holpen, but by reconcilement, restorement, and conuersion. Disobedience destroyed vs, as sequestred from God, therefore there needed, and there is also an obedience, whereby the same is repayred, which was lost. For they which shall be saued must in anye wyse returne to the vnitie of Gods will, for as much as ỳ euerlasting, indiuisible & immutuable vnitie of wil can not abyde any contrarietie, for like ỳ as brightnes of ỳ light can not lyke with darkenesse, so ỳ same can not suffer any repugnaunce of disobedience: for as we doe reade in John: There is no darkenesse in GOD, so that it is necessary for any man that wyll walke with hym, to sée that hee walke not in darkenesse, but in lyght, bycause he shall els be a lyer, & vnable to haue any felosship with god. So we may saye in thys case also, that it is not possible that he should haue felowship with God, whosoeuer through disobedience is disseuered in contrary wyll from God.

Therefore, the second Adam, the onely begotten of God, was sente into our flesh, to repayre the same by his obedience, which the first Adam had lost by his disobedience, & to reconcyle vs vnto God, and saue vs. Of this matter the Apostle disputeth, saying: Lyke as wee bee many of vs made sinners through the disobedience of one man, so we be many made iust by ỳ obedience of one. And howe I beseech you? Lyke as (saith he) by the disobedience of one mā. What was that? No doubt ỳ transgression of Adam, howe bee wee manye made sinners thereby, and therefore subiecte vnto death? First bycause the very rote of our kinde was defiled in Adam & vtterly decayed. Secondly bycause this naughtinesse passed on also to his aftercommers: that is to say, to all them which be borne of Adam according vnto the flesh albeit that they haue not trespassed yet actually, according vnto the example of Adam. And howe be many made iust by the obedience of one? What one is Christ the seconde Adam, whome the Father would haue to be like a vine vnto vs, out of whō as it were into braches, true obedience & iustice might bee conueied into vs, in that lyke as ỳ first Adam did by disobedience

Rom. 5. We be saued by the obedience of Christ. Rom. 5

disseuer his aftercommers frō god and made them subiect vnto his anger, and poured out the poyson of his sinne into his whole posteritie and offspryng, so he shoulde restore vs vnto the vnitye & grace of God, and recōcyle vs vnto him, & by hys spirite spread out and increase true obedience into our hartes. Wherefore the goodnesse of obedyence is in two respectes recommended vnto vs in Christ himselfe our Sauiour. Fyrst in that that the fountain of our redemption standeth in him, forasmuch as to the intent to redeeme mankynde, he was made obedient to his father vnto death. Secondly, in ẏ that we be retained & kept in thys redēption by obediēce wherof the holy Spiryte hath poured a speciall desire and care into our hartes.

Two goodnesses of obediēce recommended to vs by Christ.

And we may herevpon consider also, ẏ like as in heauen all things be kepte in exceeding vnitye and peace by the vertue of obedience, so in ẏ earth also such as be studious thereof, be made agreeable and of one minde. For this is the best way of concorde and vnitie, if we doe obey the will of God, and this it is that Christ sayth: If any man wil knowe the wyll of God, hee shall knowe of my doctryne, that it is of God. For what is the cause els, that we be in these daies deuided in so many sundry sects, but this only that euery man doth rather folowe and obey his owne opinion thā the will of God.

It is the vvaye of concord if vve do all obey God.

Ioan. 7.

And to drawe to an ende of thys consideration, let vs briefly obserue first what is the reason that Gods maiesty doth prescribe his precepts vnto men, & so earnestly require the obedience of them, & condemne the disobedience. He is not affected toward vs like a tirant. Neither doth regard this onely, to haue a lordly rule ouer vs, that we should be in al things obediēt vnto him, as many princes of this world do seeke, whiche vse their domynion & cōmaundemēts to no profit of their subiects but to the intent that they may enioye all things at their owne liberty, yea, take their pleasures & to folowe their lustes in al. But he doth rather seeke thys, ẏ we may bee all brought to an vnity & made one, & so be happy & safe. For if he would do otherwise, what could let him, but that he might make vs subiect vnto all that he would do with vs? For who is able to withstande hys wyll? Therefore he doth require obedience of vs for no other cause, but ẏ he would haue vs recōciled vnto him, & to be ioyned in vnitie of wil, and ẏ ther might be betwyxt him & vs the lyke wyl refusing of one selfe same thing, wherin doth consist not onely true loue, but perpetual felicitie also. And for that very cause the euil of disobedience passed before, & made all mankinde miserable & wretched, to the intent that we should proue by experiēce in deede, that we coulde not be saued & happy, vnlesse that we were reconciled by the obedience of the seconde Adam, & so vnited togither in one wil w̄ our lord god, to stand alwaies stedfast in the same vnitie.

VVhy god doth requi Obedience of vs.

Secondly, let vs consider ẏ also, how that obedience which men wil vndertake besides the prescript and order of Gods will, doth auaile nothing at all vnto our saluation, yea how harmefull it is, & with howe great daunger it bringeth vs from the fruit of true obedience, when it maketh vs to beleeue ẏ we do well obey God, what tyme we be found we do nothing lesse.

Thirdly, let vs obserue also, with what endeuour we ought to apply our selues vnto gods wyll, for that is the matter that we do saye in the lordes prayer: Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen: and howe be they able to say this truely, which haue no desire to learne and accomplyshe the will of God? yea which doe of a set purpose flee from the knowledge of the waies of God, whome that saying of Oseas doth touch: Bicause thou hast put of & refused knowledge, therfore I wil also refuse thee. This studious desire of ẏ obedience of God, is of so great an exercise or practise, that we neede not at all to bestowe our life vpō ẏ decrees of mē. The holy men do sometimes amisse, and erre, but besides, yea agaynste their will, with griefe, with repentaunce. For they haue a continuall care to obey Gods wyll, but the rest which be blinded, hartehardened, froward are caried at all aduentures into all kinde of transgression & dysobedience, without any regarde at all of gods will, some contempning all counsell and warning, some flatteryng themselues, bycause they haue the welth of the world, which both be as perillous poyntes as can be.

Notwithstanding holy men be saued, and reputed for iust, by the vertue of ẏ first & pryncypal obediēce which is of Christ: bicause they bee incorporate into hym by fayth. But the wycked despysers of God doe peryshe by the sinne of dysobedyence, as well in themselues, as in Adam.

Of Prayer.

We haue handeled this place in our cōmentaryes vpō Mathew in the syxte Chapter, largely ynough, in my opinion, for any godly disposed person. And yet for all that, bycause thys being one of the chiefest partes of our Relygion, should not alltogether be missyng in these our common places, we haue thought good briefly to touch and runne ouer those thinges which be handeled there, more at large, and also to ad somewhat therevnto.

For what causes we ought to Praye.

First of all ther be certain causes, for which it is Godly, profitable, and necessarye to praie diligently vnto God, and with which we must arme our mindes against the wickednesse of them, which do fondly ymagyne that the prayer which is made vnto God, is vnprofitable, vneffectuall, yea and to no purpose, bycause that all things which be giuen vs of hym be already predestined before, and woulde be giuen also, though that we aske thē not. Secondly, ẏ it is to no purpose, to goe about to turne God, or to make him to doe that, which he hath not determyned to do.

1 The first reason is, that ẏ onely

VVee must prai bicause that Christ cōmaunded

begotten of God himselfe hath not onely counsailed vs, to pray continually vnto his Father, but also hath commaunded vs to pray, and prescribed vnto vs a manner of praying, and added also his promyse that we shall obtayne, yea and he hymselfe also prayed oftentimes. Therfore, séeing that the study and dilygence of praying vnto God is recommended vnto vs by Chryste himselfe, by hys example, counsell, commaundement, teaching, and promise, truely they be possessed wyth the spirite not of Chryst, but of Sathan, which doe presume to condemnpe it as vaine and to no purpose.

Bicause of our necessities.

2 The second cause commeth of our necessitie, whereby we be compelled to pray. Looke whether you lyst to the spirituall or bodely goods, which we can not well lacke, and sée whether that very necessitie doth not compel vs, to aske those things of God, who is the giuer of all. He doth owe vs nothing, neither can wée gette any thing from hym against his will: hée taketh no exchaunge, nor valewe, though we were able to exchaunge and paye. And what remaineth now, but that we must séeke by prayer to obtaine those things at his handes, which be necessarie for vs? There be passing number of temptations, troubles, perilles, and daungers, which we can not withstande by our owne strength, and what is else required in this case of our owne necessitie, but to séeke our ayde from heauen? So Christ himselfe when his passion began to come on, hée turned himselfe to prayer, which thing we may also sée in the Saincts as well of the olde as the new testament and specially in Dauid.

To exercise fyt Rom. 10

3 The third cause is to exercise our faith. For God can not be called vpon without faith, witnesse the Apostle where he sayth. Howe shall they call vppon him, in whom they haue not beléeued? whereby it doth manifestly appeare, that study, and vse of prayer, is an exercise of our Fayth. And in this respect the prouidence of God doth specially require of vs to aske such thinges of him, as we haue néede off. He could liberally giue vs all things vnasked for, as he doth to the reprobate, and to other liuing beastes, but his wyll is to be called vpon of his children, to the intent they shoulde practise the assured trust of their heart towardes him, and be the more out of doubte of his goodnesse, when they doe obtaine that, which they do desire.

To note the loue God.

4 The fourth cause is the nature of the loue which the Godly dysposed do beare vnto God, for the nature of it is such, that he which loueth, taketh much pleasure to talke whith him, whom he loueth, and wysheth nothing more, then to communicate vnto him such thynges, as he hath in his heart. Besides that, the loue is enkendled and set a fire more and more by hauing talke with him which is loued. Therfore ẏ godly be so affected in this matter, that they be much enclined to praier, and calling vpon the name of god, not onely to enioye the comfortes which commeth thereof, but also to increase more and more in the loue of God.

5 And we may make this a fifte cause also, that we be charged by

Bicause of the cōmaundement and seruice of God. Psalm. 50.

5 And we maye make this a fifte cause also, that wee bee charged by the commaundement of God to call vpon our Lord god, which sayth expressly: Call vppon me in the day of trouble, and I wil delyuer thée. And hée doth withall declare, that this calling vpon him is a poynte of seruice, & doth serue to the glory of his name, where as he addeth: And thou shalt glorifie mée. We bee therefore as necessarily bound to prayer, and calling vpon the name of God, as we bée vnto the studye of his obedience and seruice. And thus much briefly for the causes and reasons, why prayer and calling vpon of ẏ name of God, is not onely profitable, but necessary also vnto godlines, & now let vs consequently sée what true Prayer is.

II. What Prayer is.

Very the scholemen make this word prair

The Scholemē do take ẏ word Prayer thrée wayes, properly, commonly and most cōmonly. Properly, for the lyfting vp of ẏ minde vnto god, either to tast, either to obtaine, either somthing to performe. Commonly, for euery manner of act referred vnto god contemplatiuely. Most cōmonly for euery good work, and therfore they do alleadge that saying of ẏ Gloser: He ceseth not to pray, which ceaseth not to do good. And thus they doe deuersely define Praier, acording vnto ẏ diuers respectes therof, the Ebrewes do call prayer, הפלה from the worde הפתלל which dooth signifie to iudde & thereof commeth ẏ worde תפהלל which to turne to his proper sence, signifieth to iudge himselfe. And bycause ẏ he which doth truly pray vnto god, doth specially and first of al pray, accuse, & estéeme hymsefe vnworthy, & therfore doth submit himselfe to the will of god, beseking his grace & mercy. I suppose therfore the word פלל was vsed for prayer, whereas ẏ worde doth properly signifie iudgemente. There be many wordes vsed in the Psalmes for prayer, expressyng wellnere all manner of affections that be found in the prayers of any afflicted, and vexed mindes. The Holy men when they do poure out the feruentnesse of their hartes before the Lorde, they doe principally with most earnest meditation and wayling, accuse and iudge thēselues, they do beséeke the mercy of God: they do expresse the sorow of their harte w̄ crying, lamētation, & howlynge, and doe also in wordes set forth their petitions and prayers.

The definitiō of praier. August. de spirit. & anima. cap. 5

But generally prayer is defined to be the lyftyng vp of our minde vnto God: Augustine doth define it in this wyse: Prayer is the deuotion of the mynde, that is to say the turning vnto God by Godly and humble affection, but we doe define it thus. That ẏ prayer which maye appeare vnto God, is the affection and bewaylynge of an afflycted hart, whereby the ayde of GOD, is most humbly besought, whether the same bee doone by wordes, or with out words, by wailyng alone, and sighes.

Who is to be prayed and called vnto.

When Sathan said vnto Christ, I will giue thée al this, if thou

wylt all do wne and worshyp me, this aunswere was made him. It is written thou shalt worshyp thy Lorde God and serue him onely. And beside that we be instructed by him to pray, and to say: Our father which arte in heauen, &c. And god himselfe doth commaund vs, saying: Call vpon me in the daye of trouble, and I wyll delyuer the. And all holy men when they were in trouble, cryed vnto the Lorde their God. Therefore it is manifeste that we muste in our troubles call vpon our Lorde God, and heauenly Father.

Math. 4. VVe must vvorship god onely.

This none of our enemyes doe deny. But yet for all that, they do teache withall, that we muste not onely call vpon God, but vpon Angels & saintes also. But in case we wyll loke vnto ẏ matter a ryght, it shall appeare, that there be some thinges so of necessity belonging vnto him, which is to be called vpō, that if there want any of them, he is in vayne called vpon.

For vvhat causes God onely is to be prayed vnto.

As first of all, that hee be able: Secondely, that he knowe: Thirdly, that he will aide thē that do call vpon him, whatsoeuer euill they be vexed withall: Fourthly, that he bee of that sort, that the prayers of the pitifull and wretched may come vnto him. Fiftly, that hee must also better vnderstande, than the miserable themselues do, what their trouble and aduersitie is, and howe, when, and howe farre forth they must be holpen. In case that these thinges can be founde in Angels and Saintes, as well as in our Lorde God, it is well, let them also be called vpon with hym. But who is so madde that seeth not, that these conditions can not be founde in none, but in him, which is almighty, all knowing, all good, hearing all which cryeth vnto hym, in all Corners, & better vnderstanding what thinges we haue nede off, than we our selues be able to expresse? And there is none els to be founde such, but the onely and true God. Wherefore none must be called vpon but he onely, which onely is almightye and perfecte in all thinges, that be requyred hereunto, and therfore he saith: There is no god which saueth, besides me. And: I am he, I am he, and besides me there is no Sauiour. If angels and saintes can saue folke, then is it false that God repeateth here of himselfe: but that can not bee. There is none that saueth but God alone, who is ryche vnto all which do cal vpō him, & therfore there is none to be called vpon besides him, either angell or sayncte. Whersoeuer thou do praye, sayth Augustine, he is within thee which doth heare thee. What Angell is ẏ that can be within in our hartes whersoeuer we become, and heare vs whensoeuer wee praye. This glory doth appertain vnto god only who onely is present euery where, & can hear vs within. Wherfore it is he onely that is to be called vpon.

Esay. 45.

Besids these reasōs ther be others also for which we ought to iudge it vnlawfull, to cal vpon any other than God onely.

Other reasons that none be god or to be called vpon

The first is, bycause that there can be no inuocation, made without Fayth: wherby men must beleeue in him which is called vpon, witnesse ẏ Apostle, wher he saith: How shal they call vpō him, vpon whom

Rom. 10.

they doe not beleeue? And wee do beleeue neither in the Angels, nor in Saintes, but in the holy Trinitie onely, wherevnto we be Baptised by the commaundement of Christ. Therefore we can not call vpon saintes, nor Angels, onelesse that we do first beleeue vpon them: which is no wyse possible to do.

2 The seconde is of the nature of the loue which partly God the Father doth beare vnto vs, & which partly we do also beare vnto hym. For almuch as he loueth vs, hys wyll is, that we shall onely flee vnto him, and beseeke his ayde, and can not abide that wee shoulde call vpon others. On the other side, if we do truely loue him, wee can not be plucked awaye to anye other from our assured truste and calling vpon him. For the affection of true loue is such, that they which do loue one an other, do communicate togither of all their necessities. Wherfore this is a cause also, why that the godly men, which do loue GOD, being in necessities, can not call vpon anye other but vpon the lorde God.

3 The thirde cause commeth of the counsell and purpose of God, when it doth chasten and correcte sinners by the rod of his fatherly discipline, to this intent, ẏ acknowledging our sinnes, we shoulde reforme and humble our selues, and beseech hys grace and ayde, which they much mistake, who beinge chastened & afflicted, do not cal vpō their lord god, by whō they be chastened, but vpō some dead saintes.

4 The fourth cause is, for that it is not possible, but that we must serue them, whom we do call vpō in our troubles, and esteeme meete to be called vpon. So we doe see, that the callers vpon Saintes, be with all the seruers & worshippers of them, contrary vnto the manifest worde of the Lorde, saying. Thou shalt worshyp thy Lorde God, and serue him onely. Yea, the very inuocation it selfe is the chiefe peece of Gods seruice, and is therefore meete for god onely. If these reasōs were earnestly wayed, & with the feare of the lorde, it were not possible that the inuocation of Angels and Saintes should take any place in the harte of a Christian man, for that which ought properly and onely to be attributed vnto God alone, can not without great wickednesse be applyed vnto creatures.

5 But the Scholemen do make a diffinction in this wise. A man may two wayes (say they) yelde his prayer vnto an other: either as to be accomplyshed by himselfe, either as to be fulfilled at his request. The first way we ought to praye to God only, bycause that the same good things which are chiefly to bee asked, are giuen by God onely. The seconde way, we maye (say they) pray vnto saintes, which do purchase the hearing of our prayer at Gods hande: and therefore when we doe praye vnto GOD or vnto Christ, we do say: Haue mercy, or forgiue vs; but when we do pray vnto Saintes we do say. Pray for vs. I aunswere. By this diffinction the Israelits might in their necessities haue had called not vpō god only, but Abrahā also, Isaac & Iacob and other sainctes of holy men, but we do not read, ẏ they did any such thing, neither is there any thing in

The schole-mē do make two kindes of prayer.

ſcripture to ratifie this diſtinction, And the Chriſtian Church hath acknowledged no Sainct, but Chriſt onely, by whoſe interceſſion wee ſhould obtaine that which we doe deſire, and therefore it doth end hir papers, by this clauſe, Through Chriſt our Lord. If this diſtinction were any thing worth in thys point, it ſhould ſurely be ſomewhat worth alſo in the point of adoration, ſo that we might adore & worſhippe not onely God, but Saincts alſo. Yea Sathan might haue anſwered Chriſte, and ſayd: In deede it is written, that the Lord GOD ought to be worſhipped, but yet for all that, thou art not let thereby, but that thou mayſt alſo worſhyppe me: for thou mayſt vſe worſhyp two waies. Firſt to worſhip God, as God, and ſecondly others, as ſuch which haue receiued power frō god, or els which can otherwiſe do much with him as I can, to be a meane and mediator for thee, but Sathan wiſt not of this diſtinctiō at that time, for it was reſerued to ỳ ſeaſon of Antichriſts ſeduction.

In deede the diſtinction may bee well vſed in ſome things, as in the loue and feare of god. As for example, loue may two waies be bozne. Firſt vnto god, and ſecondly vnto our neighbour, like as feare may alſo: For we doe not feare god onely but the ſuperior & higher power alſo. But the inuocation of God is of an other manner of nature. We be taught in ſcriptures of two manners of loue and feare, where it is expreſſly commaunded, that we ſhould before all things loue & feare our Lord God, and ſecondly our neighbour alſo, king and Magiſtrates, according vnto ỳ manner and condition of the honour alſo, which we be bound chiefly and firſt to giue vnto God, and than to the king, our parents and miniſters of the word, yea and to our brethren alſo. And theſe things be of ỳ nature, that not onely they may be done, without any hurt of Gods Maieſtie, but they be profitably & comely alſo, yea & due to be done. But ỳ caſe of inuocatiō is not ſuch, wherein this diſtinction can haue no place, no more thā it can haue in faith, neither in ſeruice. So that it is not without reaſō that we be in no place of Scripture taught to cal vpō Saincts & Angels, but euery where to call vpon God onely.

The heauenly ſpirites and Saincts (ſay they) doe pray for vs: Ergo, they muſt be called vpon. If a man ſhould ſay vnto them. How proue you, that they doe pray for vs, they doe alleadge Scriptures, and reaſons. It is written ſay they in Zacharie: And the Angell of the Lord aunſwered, and ſayd. Lord of hoaſtes, how long is it before thou wilt haue mercy vpon Hieruſalem and the Cities of Iuda. The foure beaſtes and 24. elders fell downe before the lambe, hauing euery of thē their harpes and veſſels of Golde full of ſauours, which be the prayers of the Saincts. And agayne. There came an other Angell, and ſtode before the Altar, hauing a cenſer of Golde, and there was much incenſe gyuen vnto him, that he ſhoulde gyue vp of the prayers of all the Saincts vpon the golden Altar, which is before the throne. And there went vp the ſmoke of incenſe from the prayers

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Apoc.

Apoc.

of

of the Saincts, out of the hande of the Angell in the ſight of God. By theſe places they goe about to proue, that the Angels and deade Saincts doe pray for vs.

Vnto that which they do alleadge out of Zacharie, I doe aunſwere: that it is a viſion, ſuch as commonly commeth to Prophetes, and therefore not ſo to bee taken, as though it were a thing done in deede. But in caſe any man wyll take it as done according to the letter, hee muſt conſequently determyne, that all the reſt was verily and fully done alſo.

Secondly, what if we muſt underſtād by ỳ Angell ſpeaking heere in the Prophet, the inſpiration of the holy ſpirite, which ſpake the good wordes in his hart, and ſtirred him vp vnto this lamentation to ſaye: Lord of hoaſtes howe longe is it ere thou wylt haue mercy vppon Jeruſalem, and the cities of Iudah, and ſo theſe ſhould not be the Angels wordes, but the Prophets as praying vnto God by inſtinct of the holy ſpirite? But let it be ſo, let theſe wordes be ſpoken in deede by the Angell, yet for all ỳ they can not be ſpoken to any other ende, but that the ſpirite of the Prophet ſhould learne what to pray, and to be ſtirred vnto that maner of prayer: for if the wordes doe meane nothing els, but the prayer of the Angell vnto God, what needed they to be vttred in the viſiō which was ſhewed to the Prophet, wheras they might haue bene vttered alone in heauen? Wherefore it is a cleare matter ỳ they were therfore layd before the mynde of the Prophet, to the intent he ſhoulde bee encouraged to pray for the reſtitution of Jeruſalem, and the cities of Iudah, after the ſeuenty years of ỳ captiuitie of Babilon accompliſhed: and to prophecie therof: becauſe it was now at hand? So that theſe wordes ſeme to be rather an inſtructing of the Prophet, thā a prayer of ỳ Angell vnto God. Therfore ther can nothing of certainty be gathered of them, that the Angels doe pray for vs in heauen.

As concerning the places alleadged out of the Apocalips, by which they wil proue that dead ſaincts do pray for vs in heauen, we do aunſwere at one word, that thoſe matters which are read there, are to be vnderſtanded of the prayers not of the dead, but of the holy men, which are yet liuing vpon ỳ earth. For to what purpoſe were it to haue the prayers of theſe Saincts which be in heauen to be offred by the hands of the Angell vpon ỳ Alter, which is before ỳ throne. They doe alleadge that alſo out of Baruch cap. 3. Almighty Lord God of Iſrael, heare nowe the prayer of the dead of Iſraell, & of their children. But let them here at the laſt way M. Lyra which expoundeth it thus, that is to ſay, of the holy Patriarches, and Prophets, which prayed vnto thee when they were alyue for the good eſtate of their after cōmers. And of their children which ſinned before thee, ỳ is to ſay, Heare our voice, which though we haue ſinned againſt thee, yet wee doe for all that repent and crye vnto thee. Thus ſaith he. Whereby it doth ſufficiently appeare, how that ſuch wordes as well in this place, as in ỳ Apocalips do nothing at al

Apoca. 8.

Baruch 3.

Apoca. 8.

further the opinion of our aduersaries, and that it can not be proued thereby, ẏ the dead saincts do pray for vs in heauen, much lesse after what maner they do pray: whether for the whole body of the elect together, or namely and singularly for euery paricular person, and ẏ in all necessities as well common as priuate, as well bodily as spirituall.

But let it be so. Let them praye for vs: doth it folow therof that we must call vpon them, and say vnto them, S. Gabriel & S. Peter, pray for vs? Can they be priuy of al our necessities? Augustine affirmeth that he knoweth not whether that the Saincts which be dead doe knowe what they do héere which be yet aliue, yea though they be their own children: and supposeth ẏ they do no more know what we do here vpon earth, than we vnderstande what they do in heauen. Who shal then for a certainty know how they bée euery where present with thē that be aliue, and heare their praiers & sighes, whereas ẏ matter doth belong onely vnto God? Abrahā béeing here aliue, saw ẏ day of Christ, which was to come after so many hūdred yers, but after he was once dead, he sawe not the estate of hys posteritie, as it appeareth in Esay, where we doe reade in this wyse. Marke from heauen, and looke from thy dwelling place, & from ẏ seate of thy glory. Where is thy zeale & thy strength, the multitude of thy bowels and mercies? They haue cōtinued themselues ouer me. For thou art our Father. And Abraham knoweth vs not, and Israell is not acquainted with vs. But the schole men sawe that in this place, which Augustine could not sée, and which is not set forth by any testimony of scriptures. The Master of ẏ sentences argueth after this sort. If the Angels doe learne our petitions from god by his word, & which of them shall be fulfilled, & which not, why should we not beléeue that ẏ soules of ẏ saincts also which do looke vpō the face of God, do in his truth vnderstand the praiers of mē, and which shall be accomplished, & which not? This saith he wherunto the Duns men & Thomistes doo ad somewhat. And we do answere them in few wordes.

Albeit that the dead sainctes do praie for vs, yet thei ought not to be called vpon August. lib. de cura pro mortuis, ad gen.

Esay. 6. 3.

The Master of the sentences Lib. 4. dist. 45.

That Angels do learne our petitions from God by his word, we doo know by the history of Cornelius, but yet we do not beléeue that we ought to iudge ẏ same of ẏ soules of the saincts, forasmuch as we haue not ẏ word in this matter to leade vs to beléeue it. And it is no sure ground to trust vnto any sophisticall argument, set forth wout gods word, béeing so much the méeter to deceiue vs, ẏ more probable that it appeare to the vnskilful. But if you aske me, why that the soules of the saincts that be in heauen do not as well know our petitions by ẏ word of God, as ẏ Angels do: take this for a manifest reason thereof. The condition and case of ẏ soules, and of the Angels is not all one. Angels be seruisable spirits, the messengers of God, whom he doth send and vse bicause of the elects. Therfore God doth open vnto them not onely our prayers, but all other things also, whereof they néede to haue knowledge to performe the ministery or seruice appointed them. So the Angell which was sent vnto Cornelius, came to the knowledge of his prayers (which he was wont to make not vnto the Angell, but vnto God) bycause that he should be sent vnto him from heauen. There is no such matter written in the Scriptures of the soules of the Sainctes: Wherefore this argumentation of the Scholemen is vtterly to no purpose. The Sainctes do vnderstande, say they, the prayers of men by the reuelation of God. How is that proued? Bicause (say they) the Angels do so vnderstand it: why should we not beleue that the like is done to the soules also of ẏ sainctes? What prayers I beséeke you doe Angels vnderstande by the reuelation of God? Those wherein they be called vpon by superstitious creatures, cōtrarie vnto the will of God? But there is no testimonie of this matter in the holy Scriptures, neither is there any reason why GOD should reueale such praiers vnto his Angels, which he doth neither like nor alowe, and for the execution of which, he vseth no ministerie of any Angels. Therefore they do vnderstande such of our prayers, as be made vnto our Lord God himselfe, in respect that they shall serue the will of God for the execution of thē, and for that cause they be enformed by God of them. And what is this I pray you, to ẏ inuocatiō of Saincts? They saye, Sainct Peter praye for vs. Howe shall Peter vnderstande of this calling vnto hym? By the reuelation of God, say they. What reason is it that God should tel Peter in heauen, My people; namely this man or that man calleth vpon thée, to make intercession for hym vnto me? where as he doth not alowe such maner of praiers, nor that euer he taught his people by his worde so to pray vnto Saincts, neither yet meaneth not to vse the trauaile of Peter to aide them, as he doth of the Angels. He said expresly: Cal vpon me in the day of thy trouble, & I will deliuer thée: and thou shalt glorifie me. Then how can he allowe thy doing my brother that thou callest not vpon him, but vpon dead sainctes? If he doe not alowe it, why art thou so madde to thinke that he doth reueale thy prayers to the sainctes, which thou callest vpon for thy profite? and that the saincts in heauen be so ignoraunt of Gods will, that they can allowe such an inuocation as God doth not alowe, and which was neuer vsed amōgst the godly? If a Prince shoulde say: I will that all my subiects shal in their necessities hartily and with assured hope call for my aide, and I doe promise them my helpe in all pointes, to the intent they shall glorifie me as their Prince: what subiect is he (vnlesse he be to foolishe,) that will runne after the noble mē of the court, to intreate thē to make meanes for him? or can thinke that in so doing he shoulde please his Prince? I beséeke you howe much more doe they dote, which doe call vpon dead Sainctes, vnto whome their crye can not come, vnlesse it be firste presented vnto the sight of God, and by hym (as the Sophisters will haue it) reuealed vnto them? If it be altogether of necessitie ẏ our prayers must come first vnto God, why doe we not direct them streight way vnto him, séeing that he hath commaunded vs so to doe? Is it not much better that our

That Angels doe learne of praiers by the vvor of God.

Heb. 1.

prayers come so into the sight of God, that they may be conformable vnto his will and worde rather thā they should be quite contrarie vnto them both? But this is more than enough, touching the deuise of the Scholemen.

And as for the reasons which they doe bring that doe mainteine the inuocation of sainctes, I sende the reader vnto our notes in our Cōmentaries vpon Mathew, where we haue aunswered vnto their obiections in that they saye.

1 That many be deliuered and cured by the inuocation of Sainctes.

2 That Synners be not heard of God, and that therefore it is nēdefull to flee vnto the intercession of Sainctes.

3 That it is wel perceiued in princes courtes, what the intercession of them can doe, which be nye and fauoured of the Prince.

4 If one do praye for an other in this life without any iniurie of our mediatour Christe, that there is no impediment, but that the Sainctes may also pray for vs in heauen. Itē, If the Sainctes did of their charitie pray for others whē they liued here vpon the earth, they doe so much ẏ more in heauen, where they be now perfect in charitie. How vaine these reasons be, we noted in that place.

IIII. When we must pray.

The true prayer is tyed to no certaine time.

That which is the true prayer, that is to say, which is made not onely by mouth, but by hearte also, so that the heart do agrée with the mouth, can be tied to no certain time, but doth alwayes depende vpō the qualitie of mens affectiō. If you aske me when we must sing, & whē we should wēpe, the aunswere is easie to be made, that we may sing whē the heart is ful of ioye, & wēpe what time heauinesse doth so greue our heart, that whether we will or not, the teares doe brast out of our eyes. If you aske me whē we must eate, and when we must drinke, and when we must sēke the counsell of the Phisition, there is no man but can immediatly make the answere, Eate whē thou art hungry, & drinke when thou art drie, & take counsell of the Phisition when thou beginnest to finde thy selfe euill at ease. Whole men haue no nēde of the Phisition, but the diseased (saith our Sauiour.) And meate is not necessarie for them that be full, & drinke doth no good but for such as be a thyrst. And it is altogether like in the case of prayer, which is then in due season, when it is not voyde of reasonable cause and regarde of mynde, but correspondent & proportionable to the present necessitie and case. And therefore James saith: If any man want wisedome, let hym aske it of God, and in the last chap. Is there any man heauie and sory amongst you, let him praye. Is he of a good chere, let him sing. If you cōsider the partes of prayer which be to aske, to request, and to besēke, to lament & make moane, to demaūde aide, to make intercessiō for others, to prayse and giue thankes, you shal easely vnderstande when the tyme serueth to pray: our lack shall declare vnto vs, what is to be desired and demaunded. The conscience of our sinne doeth enforce vs vnto prayer, to obtaine forgiuenesse for our sinnes, and to turne awaye the

wrath

wrath of God. Slaunders and rebukes offred of the reprobate, doe make the afflicted and miserable to brast out into wailing and lamenting. Trouble and affliction doth instruct men when they ought to demaund ayde from God, charitie & pittie do moue vs to make intercession for our brethren that be fallen into aduersitie or otherwise subiect vnto the temptation and anger of God. The perseueraunce of the benefites of God and the zeale of hys glorie, doe stirre vs vnto prayse and thancks giuing. And whereas none of all these matters be felt in mens myndes, there is prayer vaine and out of season, at what time so euer it be made.

But they doe obiect that saying of ẏ Apostle: Pray without ceasing. And that which Christe taught in Luke, that we must alwaies praye and neuer cease. But thereunto we made answere in our commentaries vpon Mathew. The christian man doth neuer lacke occasion to praye. And yet for all that, forasmuch as it is not possible nor conuenient, that we should leaue all other busines, & do nothing else but continually applie praier (as the sect of ẏ Euchites opinion was). Holy men haue alwaies accustomed to appoint certain houres vnto praiers, at which times they might humbly poure out the heate and comber of their harts to ẏ sight of God. So Dauid did rise at midnight to make his humble praier vnto his Lord God. And Christ himselfe emploied the commodious time of the night seasō vnto praiers. And Daniell bēing in captiuitie & pryson, was wont to pray three tims in the day vnto his Lorde GOD.

Wherefore it is no straunge matter for a Christian man to make hys prayers vnto God, not onely in the Church with the Christian people, but at home in his house, at certaine seasons and houres lyke as the hūgry stomake doth appoint certayne houres for his dinners & suppers, to staye his greedy appetie withall: and cōmonly it is thought that men do go to it with hunger. And the Apostle, though he were of all others most atentiue to the worke of the Lord, to preach the Gospell, yet for all that he went not aboute hys businesse without a conuenient ordering of his times, specially when he was in those places where ẏ Jewes had any Sinagogs, and such tyme as he left, he bestowed it in ẏ labour and trauayle of his handy worke.

The faithfull man may also pray at his labour.

And notwithstanding this, there is nothing to the contrary, but that the Godly man may praye and sing whiles he is at his labour. Which Augustine noteth, and as we doe reade also of some other of the Fathers which were wont to eate, and pray and sing, whiles they were labouring. The Chrystian man is Lord and Master, both of the Sabboth and of all other seasons, so that he may freely vse them at hys lyberty vnto hys owne commoditie and necessitie leueling in al thyngs vnto thys marke, that hee worke & procēde religiously, faythfully, and truely wyth his Lorde God, and haue a regard of his owne necessities & of his neighbours also.

V. Where we must pray.

We doe alwaies occupy some place, whersoeuer we become

in

'n this earth. Wherefore it is not possible, but that we must be in some place when we do pray. And nowe the question is, whether that it doe make any matter, what place it bée we pray in. It séemeth that there is some matter in it, by that, that the Lord sayd of the temple of Jerusalem: It is written, that my house is called the house of prryer, & in Mathew: But thou when thou praiest, go into thy closet, and shutting the dore to thée, pray vnto thy Father which is in secret. &c.

On the contrary part it should séeme that it maketh no matter, by that ẏ the Apostle saith: I wil haue men to pray in euery place, lifting vp cleane handes. And Christ sayth: Womā beléeue me ẏ houre is come, when you shall worship the Father neither vpon this hill, neither at Jerusalem, &c. but the houre commeth, and now it is, when true worshyppers shall worship God in spyrit and truth. For the father also woulde haue such to worship hym. God is a spirite, and they which doe worship hym, must worshyp him in spyrite and truth. Then it maketh some matter, and it maketh also no matter where we praye. I aunswere, There was a matter in it amongest the people vnder the law, which had vpon certaine causes a certayn place appointed them at Jerusalem, to the seruyce of God, as consecrate and halowed vnto hys name. Whych ẏ Lord considered when he sayd of the Temple of Jerusalem. My house shall be called the house of prayer. But now after that the vse of ẏ law once ceased in the new Testament, & that ẏ relygion of God is restrayned to no certayne place, but that accordyng to the prophesy of Malachy, the name of God is great among the Gentiles from the East to the West, and that there is sacryfice and cleane offryng offred vnto hym in euery place, it skylleth not any longer, wher we do pray: but in what place so euer we be, it is lawfull for vs, accordyng vnto the doctrine of the Apostle, to lift vp cleane handes vnto heauen, and to praye vnto our Father in spyrite & truth. And whereas Chryst sayth in Mathew: When thou wylt pray, goe into thy closet, and shut the dore vpō thée, and pray vnto the father in secrete, he spake not to thys intent, to restrayne the prayers of his faithfull vnto chambers and closets, but to admonish them, that they should specially eschew the fault of ostentation and boasting, which the Phariseis vsed in their praier, prayng opēly at the corners of the stretes, and in the Sinagoges, to be séene of men, and to bée taken for deuoute folke, and vnder that pretence to deuoure & spoile the houses of widowes, &c. And besides that the secrecy of closets or chambers be very handsome for thē which are earnestly giuen to praier, & would vtter the feruentnesse of their harts in ẏ sight of ẏ lord. Wherfore they be very superstitious, whych can not pray but in Temples or Churches made by hande, or knéelyng before altars and ymages, whych Ethnicall superstytion, our counterfayte Byshops, haue confirmed by the consecrating of theyr temples and Altars. Why doe they not gyue eare vnto Augustine, who sayth in one place: What doest thou seke an apt & holy place, whē thou wouldest pray vnto

1. Regum. 8.

It skilleth not where vve praie. Malach. 1.

Math. How c[illegible] bad[illegible] in the closets.

Aug[illegible] what [illegible] vve [illegible] to [illegible].

God

God? Clense thy owne inwarde partes, and scowring out al naughtie desires from thence, prepare thy selfe a secret corner in the quietnesse of thy heart: when thou prayest in the Church, pray within thy self, and so do alwayes, that thou mayest be the Temple of God: For there God doth heare, wher he doth dwel. Thus sayth he. By which wordes it appeareth sufficiētly enough, that euen in his dayes many of ẏ Christian men were so fallen back to the superstition of temples & churches, not only in seruices but in prayers also, that they thought the prayers were more effectuall in Churches thā in other places, which they tooke to be as prophane, and not méete for prayer.

Therfore like as in worldly thīgs it maketh no matter, concerning ẏ sustentation of a mans body, where he eate or drinke, so that it be holsome, profitable and conuenient, so in religion it skilleth not where a man pray, so that he pray godly and deuoutly in spirit and in truth. For as touching God whom we do call vpon, there is no regarde to be had of places, forasmuch as he is present euery where: and as concerning ẏ qualities of the places, they doe not sanctifie or make holy our prayers, but they be rather sanctified by the godlinesse of them that do praye.

VI. For what things and for whome we ought to Praye.

HEre we must two wayes consider. First for what things, & secondly for what persons we must praye. For what thing we ought to pray, that is to say, what we ought to aske of our Lord God, it is a matter of no small importance to consider: for euery thing is not to be asked of God, lyke as euery thing is not to be trusted vpon nother. Neither will the childe desire euery thing of his father if he be wise, but he will first haue a regarde of his abilitie & wil, yea, & of his honor & reputation also: & secondly he will haue respect vnto his own person, as what is méete & conuenient for him self, how much more ought he which prayeth vnto God, not rashly & vnaduisedly demaunde what he list?

Therefore let vs séeke and determine for a certaintie, what may be vprightly and so sought of God, that we may be in hope to obtayne it. Wherein I will declare mine opinion, and that in fewe wordes. It were cōueniēt, that in euery prayer were either some necessitie, either some conueniencie and comlinesse: the necessitie I meane which presseth and pricketh forth the partie which maketh the prayer: the conueniencie I meane of God, of whom the thing is demaunded, and of him which maketh the demaunde.

Two things to be considered in prayer.

The necessitie is either spiritual or corporall. The spirituall necessitie is of those things, which do concerne godly mynde, religion or saluation. By this we be compelled to aske of God a good spirite, the gifte of fayth, forgyuenesse of synnes, patience in aduersitie, continuance in true godlynesse, and suche other lyke, without which wée can not bée saued. The corporall necessitie is the same, which concerneth the sustentation of our life, as the nourishment, ayde, and relyefe of

Two kides of necessities.

our bo-

our bodies, and therefore we doe saye in the Lordes prayer: Giue vs this day our daily bread, & when we doe desyre the health of the sicke and diseased, and the preseruatiō of him which is in peril and daunger.

The seemelynesse of God.

The seemelinesse or cōueniencie of God, to whome we make our prayer, is to giue not whatsoeuer is desired, but to giue those thinges which may vprightly and conueniently be giuen of the true God. Like as the comelinesse of a father is to giue vnto his children, such things as becōmeth a father to giue: and the seemelinesse of a Prince is to deale fauourably with his subiectes in those things which are seemely for a good Prince: and the part of a good Scholemaster to set forth those thinges vnto his scholers, which are meete for a good scholemaster to do. For like as it falleth out oftentimes that children do vnaduisedly aske some things of their fathers, the subiects of their prince, the scholers of their master, which can be graunted to saue the countenance & comelinesse of the persone which is represented: so that it betideth a like in this case also, I say not sometimes; but most oftē & commōly that we do aske those things of god, which he can not as God, giue vnto vs, with the countenaūce and comlinesse of God. Therefore we do require to haue in our lawefull praier a certaine respect of ẏ seemelinesse of God: we do exclude al supersticious, wicked, vniust, curious, rashly presumed, & vnprofitable prayers, and much more them that be hurtfull, & we do warne men to demaūde those things of God which be seemely for God to giue. It is the very office of God, to relieue and succour our necessities, as well corporall as spirituall. Wherefore it doth much auaunce his qualitie and countenāce, if he do mercifully graunt such our requestes and desires.

The qualitie or countenance of them that do praie, is that they must first haue a speciall regarde of the glorie and name of God, that is to say, that they must principally wish and pray for those things, which do cōcerne the glorie of God. And there is set forth a manifest example hereof in the Lordes prayer, where we be taught by the Lord himselfe, to saye: Our Father which arte in heauen, halowed be thy name. Thy kingdome come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen. Secondly, that they must so make their requestes, ẏ whatsoeuer they woulde haue, they must committe it vnto the will of God, and that according vnto the exāple of Christ, who making his praier in his extreme agony & trouble, said: Yet notwithstanding, not as I wil, but as thou wilt.

Thus I suppose may be cōmpendiously & briefly cōprehended, what things may be directly, & well desired of God. And yet for all ẏ, there do chaunce sometimes some speciall temptations & afflictions vnto the elect, in which they can not tel what they ought to praye and desire, according to their dutie, as we maye perceiue to the Romaines. In such cases ẏ holy spirit doth succour our weakenesse and ignorance, making vnspeakable lamētatiūs & mournīgs for vs, which he only vnderstādeth, who is the searcher of mēs hearts.

Now for what persons we ought to pray, I suppose we can not be

better

be better informed, than if we do cōsider vppon whome we ought to bestowe the fauors and dutie of loue, according vnto the doctrine of christ, so that it behoueth vs also to pray for all thē whome we be bound to loue. And we be commaunded to loue not only oure friends and kinsfolkes, but our enimies also. Therfore we must pray not onely for oure friends and neyghbours, and such as be of ẏ lyke religion, but for our enimies also, aduersaries and infidels. And like as we be charged by the vowe of charitie, to loue others as well as oure selues, so we must in our prayers desire the verye same of God for them, as we are accustomed and doe iudge mete to be asked as necessary for our selues. And of these things the principall be spirituall matters, and after them the things belongyng vnto ẏ body. Augustine in one place made mētion, how earnestly he prayed for his friends which had swarued from the truth: whereby it appeareth hee was desirous to deliuer them from so great a danger. For what is it else, to swarue from the truth, but to perishe thereby, vnlesse that there bee a gap or path layd open vnto the waye of the truth through ẏ grace of God? This kind of prayer we ought chieflie to make for thē whiche be in high degrees, as Kinges and Princes, according vnto the place of the Apostle to Timothe. For no man is able sufficiently to consider, to howe great a commoditie of the communaltie such kynde of menne be brought vnto the truth of God. Likewise we must also pray principally for the ministers of Gods worde for many respectes and causes, so that it was not for naught that the Apostle requested the Colossians to praye for hym, saying: Bee wakeful, and apply your prayer with thankesgiuing, praying for me also, that God may open vnto me the dore or vtterance of speache, &c. Whyche place Augustine alleageth in a certayne sermon, requesting the people to pray for him. Pray for vs brethrē (saith he) that we maye well see that which we ought to see, & well speake that, which ought to be spoken. The Apostle doth also desire to be prayed for, to the Romaines, where he saith: And I beseech you breethren, by oure Lorde Iesus Christ, and by the loue of the spirit, that you ayde me in my trauell by your prayers, making for me vnto God, to deliuer me from the vnfaithfull in Iewrie, &c. He dothe the same also to the Thessalonians, saying: But pray you for vs brethrē, that the word of God may proceede, and be glorifyed, as it is also amōgst you: ẏ we maye be quite of troublesome and naughty men, for all hathe not faith. And to the Ephesians: Making intercession in al your requests and prayers, at all tymes in spirite, and watching in him by all meanes of earnest prayers and beseechings for all Sainctes and for me, that the word may be giuen vnto me, euen at the opening of my mouth, so that I may boldly declare the mistery of the Gospell, &c. By these places wee doe perceyue, how muche the Apostle esteemed the prayers of the faythfull, and we do vnderstand withall, what we ought to request of God, whē wee do pray for the ministers of ẏ worde, that is to saye, to open them the dore of the word, & to giue them a boldnes to preach and to declare the gospell,

Colos.

Rom. 15.

2. Thess. 3

Ephe. 6.

and

and to deliuer them from the vnfaithfull and naughty sort of people. When such prayers be made by the Church of the faithful, they be exceeding pleasant in the sight of God: for they be of the like nature, as if the children shoulde pray for the safetie of their parents, and the sicke for the health of their Phisition. In whyche case the compassion worketh muche with God, so that it is not without cause, that the Churche prayed for Peter at Hierusalem, and that there was continuall prayer vnto God for Paule, amongst the Gentiles.

And in this case we must not only pray for the ministers of the worde and princes, but for all saintes also, that is to say, for all the faithfull, as the Apostle doth admonishe vs, as is before alleadged, yea for all men, as the Apostle sayeth vnto Timothe: Therefore I beseech you, that aboue all thinges there be made prayers, earnest meanes, intercessions, and thankesgiuing for al men: and herein the persecution and slaunders of the vnfaithfull muste be no impediments or let, but that we muste also pray for them, for so Christ teacheth: Pray for thē which do persecute and slaunder you. And Hieremie writeth vnto ỳ Iewes which were prisoners at Babylon, that they shoulde praye for the peace and good estate of the cittie, wherein they were kept as prisoners and captiues. Like matter as if any mā should write vnto the christian menne whiche be now adayes slaues and captiues vnder ỳ Turke, to pray vnto the Lorde for the peace and quietnes of the Turkes. This is an apparant matter euen by the holy scriptures: but peraduenture some mā may doubt in this point, whether that we ought to pray for sinners or no. Whereunto I will make an answere in few wordes.

Whether we ought to pray for sinners.

1 Firste, it is out of all question, ỳ we ought to praye for such sinners as do amende their life by the admonishment of Gods worde. Surely for them we may boldly pray vnto God, that he will mercifully forgyue them their sinnes vpon their amendemente. For we do well knowe, that forgiuenesse of sinnes is promised vnto such.

2 Secondly, we may do well also to pray for them whiche do sinne not vnto death or deadly, when he sayth: He which knoweth that his brother committeth sinne not vnto death, let him aske, and his life shall be pardoned whiche sinneth not vnto deathe, saith John in his Canonical Epistle.

3 Thirdly, though his sin be so sore that he maye seeme to sin vnto death, yet it shal not be vnlauful to pray for him, for John forbiddeth it not, whē he sayeth: I saye not that thou shalte pray for him: which is another thing to say, than if he had sayd: thou shalt not pray for him: Moyses prayed for the people after they had set vp their Calfe, & sinned most greuously. And so we may pray also for them whom we do perceiue to be outragious sinners, albeit they doe not yet amend, not that they may goe clēre withall, but that they may reforme themselues, and be saued. But some man may lay in my waye, that whiche is red in Hieremie in this wise: Therefore see thou pray not for this people, nor take vpon thee no lamentation, nor praier for thē, nor request me not in their behalfe, for I will not heare thee. And the lyke we do reade in Hieremie

Hierem. 14.

Ezechiell.

Two kyndes of gods visitations, and two studies of the Prophets.

An obiection. See you pray not for this people.

Hierem.

remie also. Notwithstanding the diligent prayer of the Prophete praying cōtinually for the people of God, was not condemned by these wordes, but he was rather admonished therby, that the prayers wer but in vain, forasmuche as the time of the iudgement and wrath of God was at hād, as we maye see in Hieremie, where we reade after this manner. Praye not for this people to anye good purpose, &c. For I will walk them wyth sword, pestilence, and famine. In the meane while the Prophet left not off his diligence in preaching and praying, albeit he heard the Lorde say oftentimes, that he auayled not by hys prayer. There be two manner of visitations, whereby God visiteth the corrupt and croked people. The one is by the word, ỳ other by ỳ scourge. And there be two peculiar studies or endeauors of the Prophetes, one to preache, an other to pray. As long as the firste kinde of visitation continueth, the faithfull Prophete leaueth none of both hys endeauors. As long as hē dothe administer his office of preaching, he doth also continue out hys endeauor in praying. Yea and when the time wyll serue no longer to Preache, but rather to lament and waple, bycause of the scorge of God, yet for all that he can not forbeare hys prayers, nor chuse but make intercession vnto God, yea when he is angry and scorgeth hys people with worthy punishmente. No good man ought to bee blamed, if he doe well to the vnthankefull, though it bee lost vpon them. Lykewyse no man ought to bee blamed, if he praye vnto God for sinners, yea though they be impenitente, and his labor lost. God himselfe doth of his goodnesse shew kindnes to the euill and vnthankefull, and suche as do naughtyly bestowe his benefytes, whereof he can not be ignorant. Then howe can we blame hys doing whiche is moued of charitie to pray for such kinde of folke, although he lose his labour, and that God heareth him not? But we doe not fynde manye in this faulte now adayes, so that it appeareth that we nēde not make much adoe to informe the reader hereof.

So that I suppose it is manifest inough by that whyche we haue spoken, that we ought to exclude no mā from the communion of our prayers, but to pray for al sorts, superiors, inferiors, ministers of the word, faithfull, vnfaithful, friends, foes and sinners. Notwithstanding it is yet a great question, whether that we ought to pray for the dead also. The Papistes, to maintayne their gaine, doe earnestly hold, that prayers do much profite the dead, to deliuer them out of the paines of Purgatory. They do alleage Augustine, of whome we doe reade, that he prayed for his mother when she was dead, and that in sundrye places he maketh mention of such prayers which ỳ Churche vseth vnto God for the soules of them that be departed. And they do ioyne vnto him Damascene, and one Dionise also. And bycause they woulde not seeme to lacke the testimonie of holy Scriptures, they doe principally alleadge the example of Iudas the Machabee. But in Churches that be wel ordered, this custome to pray and sacrifice for the deade, is not allowed.

As touching ỳ exāple of Iudas we

1556.

Of the example of Iudas Machabeus.

do answere in few wordes. First that it is well knowen by the iudgemente of the Fathers and Councels, that the bookes of the Machabees be Apocriphall, that is to saye, cast aside and hidden, and without order ioyned to the rest into the body of the Bible, and without the authority of the Canonicall scriptures. Hierome writeth of them in this wise, in the preface of Salomons Prouerbes: Therefore like as the Churche doth reade the bookes of Judith, Tobias, and the Machabees, but doth not alow them amongst the Canonicall scriptures, so it doth also reade these two bookes (the bookes of Syrach and of Wisedome,) for the edifying of the people, but not for to confirme the authority of the Church doctrine. This sayeth he. And in the Councell of Laodicea, where the Canonicall bookes of the holy scripture be recounted, ỳ bokes of the Machabees be left out, the seconde of Esdras, the booke of Wisedome, and Ecclesiasticus, and the Apocalypse of John. Therefore howe can this example of Judas haue any authoritie in the Church of Chryst, seeing that the same peece of Scripture, can helpe nothing to the confirmation of the authoritie of the doctrine of the Churche? But I will recite the very place worde for worde. The nexte day (sayth Josephus, who was the author of these bookes, as Hierome testifieth) Judas and hys company came to fetch away ỳ corpses of them that were slayne, and to lay them with their parents in theyr fathers graues. And they founde vnder their coates whiche were slaine certaine presentes of Idols (whyche then had taken out of the Temples of Jools which were at a place called Jamnia) which the Iewes were forbidden to doe by their law. So that it was apparant vnto al men, that they hadde the ouerthrowe for that cause. Thus much touching the sin of them which were slain. And he addeth: And they all commended the iuste iudgement of the Lord, who had made manifest, and brought to light theyr secret dealing and doings. Afterwards they turned themselues vnto prayer, and besought God, that they might not be vtterlye destroyed for ỳ sinne which had bin committed. And thus farre forthe they did well and without blame. They were afraide, least for the sinne which was committed, the wrath of God would not be contented with the slaughter of thē whiche were already slaine, but would yet run further vnto them also which were left aliue: And this was ỳ point which they besought to be shifted away. And it foloweth: But the most valiant Judas aduised the people to kepe themselues from sinne, whereas they had sene with their owne eyes what was betided vnto them, which were ouerthrowen bycause of their sin. And herein also Judas dyd well, and it is added: And he made a gathering, and sent asmuch plate for Jewels as amounted vnto xij. M. grotes of siluer, vnto Jerusalē, to be offered as a sacrifice for the sin. This might be applied vnto the former trouble & care, wher the people which was left aliue, prayed vnto God, ỳ they might not be vtterlye destroyed, bycause of the sinnes of them which wer slaine. So that the sacrifice whyche they would haue offered at Hierusalem for the sinne, might haue bin done

Drachmas.

The facte of Iudas Machabeus expounded.

Concilium Laodicenum cap. 59. & vlt.

to the same ende, vnlesse that had bin added whiche followeth: Hauyng a good and religious opinion of the resurrection, for vnlesse he hadde hoped that they should rise agayne whyche were fallen, it should haue semed superfluous and in vayne to prayse for the dead, and bycause he considered that they whiche died in the feare of God, haue a very good grace layde vp for them. This consideration is holy and godly, wherevpō he made an offering or cleansing of the dead, ỳ they might be deliuered frō their sinnes.

In this latter part where the fact of Judas is expounded and commēded, there be two pointes mentioned: of which the former deserueth praise, but the latter can not be confirmed and proued by the holye Scriptures. No doubt his faith was prayse worthy, in that he beleeued that the dead shoulde rise againe, and that suche as departed in the feare of God, had an excēding good grace layd vp in store for them in heauen. So that this was a holy and a godly imagination: but like as it is wont oftentimes to fall out, yea and to godly folke also, that vpon a good assured and holye occasion, confirmed by the testimonies of holye scriptures, some thing is vnaduisedlye gathered and presumed of, not agreeing wyth the holye Scriptures: so it befell also vnto this man Judas, in that whereas he beleeued ỳ his brethren which were slaine, shuld rise agayne, albeit they hadde sinned and were ouerthrowen by the iudgemente of God, he supposed it good to make a sacrifice for ỳ dead, to cleanse them from their sinne, whereas there was nothing at al commaunded nor thought of that poynt in any place of the lawe, nor vsed in the tymes before in the Churche of the Iewes. This is the point whiche can not bee allowed in the fact of Judas, neyther ought not to be take for an example, though that his thoughte and meaning were holy and godly, in that he beleeued the resurrection of the dead, wherevpon this fact was grounded. It followeth not, That bycause the deuise is godly, and the faith holye, to beleeue that the dead shall rise again, that therefore it is a godly and holye worke also to pray, and doe sacrifice for the dead, that they may be losed from their sinnes after they be dead. For if all things be holy and godlye, what soeuer is ventured vppon thorough the occasiō of an holy thought: their doing was also holye and good, which were therefore baptised for ỳ dead, bycause they beleeued that they should rise agayne: of which sorte of men the Apostle maketh mention to the Corinthians, saying: Else what meane they whiche be baptised for the dead, in case that the deade do not rise at all, why be they baptised for them? He doth allow their faithe, in that they beleeued the resurrection of the dead, but he doth not so well lyke the baptisme which riseth therof. For in case that he had liked it, he would surely haue taken some order for it in the churches which he established, but there is not one word left thereof any where. Wherefore Ambrose sayth well, that he dothe not allowe their fact, but that he declareth a fast faith thereby in the resurrection. And who seeth not, that touching the facte of Judas also, which the Papistes do alleage, there is a difference to be made betwixt the facte and the

1 Cor. 15. Of the and bap them y che be baptise for the dead.

Touchi the doin of Juda yve wil make a differen betwyx

sion of the facte. In like manner as betwixt the baptisme of the dead, and the faithe of the resurrection, whereupon it was grounded, and betwixte the wilfedome of the wicked bayly which the Lord commended, and hys doing which was wicked.

Wherefore to what purpose is this example of Judas so fondly set forth vnto the Church of Christ, and therupon grounded not so much the faith of the resurrection, as the sacrificing for the dead to be followed of vs, and that all other matters be omitted, which might be godly set forth thereby. Judas thought it good to make some sacrifice at Hierusalem for the open and manifest sinne of them that were slayne, the reuenge whereof he feared would fall also vpon his people. But the Papistes do establishe hereupon a common and generall lawe to sacrifice for al and singulare dead, or anye wise departed, not for once, but many and sundry times: and therefore they be not contented with the first Dirges, but they do compell the people of God to make the seauen monethes mindes, and twelue moneths minds: therupon dothe rise an inestimable gayn, so that it is not for naught that for two M. pèces of siluer, they do reade twelue thousand to make their game to appeare higher and greater than theirs was at Hierusalem. But peraduenture we haue treated more largely of the example of the Machabees, than is nedefull in so manifest a matter.

As concerning the Fathers which they do alleage: We doe knowe that they haue sundrye wise spoken of the estate of the dead. Augustine speaketh in this wise: Whereas in Luke Abraham sayth vnto ỳ rich mã, that the iust folke albeit they wolde, can not passe vnto those places where the wicked be tormented, what dothe it meane else, but that they which after this life be so cõmitted to the prison, that they cã not depart frõ thence vntil ỳ they haue paide ỳ vttermost farthing, can receiue no relefe of mercy frõ the iust, although that they would and them, bicause of the vnchaungeablenes of the sentence, and determination of God: Whereby it is plainly declared that men must relieue others in this life, as much as they be able, least afterwards though they be in neuer so good case, they be not able to ayde them, whiche they would, &c. By whiche wordes he doth derogate much of their opinion, whiche doe flée vnto the defence of dead saincts. And in his .vi. sermon of saincts. The holy soules (saith he) whiche be eyther cleane in this worlde by innocẽcie of life, or else be cleansed by satisfaction of repentance, be receiued of our sauiour, & muste be beleued to bée wyth him, according vnto the saying of the Apostle: I desire to be losed, and to be with Christ. So that ỳ soules of our brethren & parẽts be not delited at al with these carnall meates, but they maye be rather offended than delited therewith, in case you beleue ỳ they be here vpon the earth, wheras they be in the blessed seates aboue. Thys he saith in ỳ place: ws do know what is the meaning of Augustine there, but yet withal he saith, that ỳ soules of our brethren and parents be in the blessed seates, and not vpõ the earth, much lesse that they be not vnder the earthe, or shutte vp, in I wote neare what corners of purgatory. And it is the like matter which he speaketh vpon John. Each man (saith he) sleepeth with his owne cause, & shal rise again with his own cause. And vnto Hesychius, Loke (saith he) in what point or estate the last day of euery mans life doth find him, in the very same ỳ last day of the world shall representh him. For suche as eache man dieth in this day, such he shall be iudged to be in ỳ day. These be his sayings: & as they be agreable vnto Scriptures, so they may be also more safely maintayned of the faithfull folke, than those lessons or leasings which do teach vs to make sacrifices and prayers for the dead, which they dreame to be in their counterfaite purgatory, without the authorite of scriptures. Yet for all this in ỳ .ix. boke of his cõfessions, he prayeth vnto God to forgiue ỳ sinnes of his mother, whiche was departed: & both withal commẽd hir godly life, & saith that he doth beléue that God hath already done the same, wherefore he maketh his prayer. And in the boke *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, hée saith, That men ought not to omitte and let goe the prayers for ỳ soules of the dead. And how doth this agrée with the same whiche is said before? If any mã aske me the cause of thys contrarietie, I suppose it to be thys. These fathers were in the very same case, as we sée our learned menne hée now adayes, enclining sometimes in their writing vnto the receiued opinion and custome of their times, and sometimes doe examine & handle the selfe same matter more diligentlye, according vnto the rule of the holye scriptures, hauing no respecte to the catholike or general opinion and custome, so it betided vnto them also in this case. For when they doe talke of it according vnto the scriptures, they doe so speake of the prayers & sacrifices to be done for the dead, that they do not maintayne the receiued opinion & custome. But whẽ they do leaue the Scripture and applie thẽselues to custome, they do speake those things whiche our aduersaries doe alleage against vs. And what wise body seeth not howe that there is an other matter of suttletie in argument, as Cicero saith, whẽ ỳ truth it selfe is furnished and tried, and an other when the talke is applyed vnto the common opinion: and how that in those things which do cõcern our faith, godly life, & saluation, we ought to beleue more the doctrine which is agréable vnto the holye Scriptures, than the same which is applied vnto opinions without Scripture? Surely loke howe much the differẽce is betwixt a truth and a common opinion, & how much lesse the truth ought to be vpholden than an opinion, so great is the difference betwixt those things which bée reported of the condition of the dead, according vnto scriptures, and those things which be spoken touching the sacrifices and prayers to be vsed for the dead, according vnto the accustomed opiniõ. And so much more ought the firste to be preferred aboue the latter.

It were a hard matter for a man to teache that there were any sacrifices, and prayers vsed in the Apostles times for the faithfull when they were departed. But afterwardes it fell out by the good Zele of the Bishops, ỳ there was a solemne remembrance kept of the which lyed in the Lord, specially of Martyrs and other

Augustin. in c. 4. Ecce man dith deepe vnder his owne cause and shall rise vp again vnder his owne cause. Augustin. Epist. 80. ad Hesychium. Augustin cõfess. lib. 9. cap. 12. & 13 Cap. 14.

Of the fathers which haue spoken wyse of the estate of the dead. Augustin. lib. 2 Quæst. Euang. cap. 36

Sacrifi and pr er vse not v the A files t

were also sacrifices offered, I meane of thankesgiuing. But they were not done for the deade to auayle vnto their saluation, but for the faithfull that were aliue, that their heartes might be the better confirmed in the faith of Christe. Of these sacrifices, Cyprian maketh mention, how they vsed to offer sacrifices for the Martirs, Laurence, Ignatius, and ỳ rest. Wherefore it appeareth, ỳ they had not the same maner of sacrificing for the dead at that time, as is now vsed in the Poperie. They did sacrifice for the martyrs, but so, that they did not pray for thẽ at all, as Augustine doth also testifie. So that this sacrifice for the dead had no prayer for them ioyned withall, but for the faithful whiche were aliue. At length this maner of sacrificing for the dead wente so farre, that men began to sacrifice not onely for the Martirs, nor onely in praise & thankesgiuing, but also they ordeyned sacrifices expiatorie and cleansing for al dead folke, and made their prayers for ỳ same: which will be no wonder vnto vs, when we way with our selues, how prone and redy we be to degenerate & decay from that which is pure and cleane, alway to the worse. Therfore they be farre wide whiche when they reade in the olde fathers of the memorie and sacrifice for the dead, doe immediately imagine of the custome of our dayes, and doe surmise that our vse of prayeng for the dead, is thereby cõfirmed. There is a great difference betwirte the memorie of the dead, and prayer for the dead. We do not disalow the memorie of the righteous, whiche is conuenient to remayne in blessyng, and continue in the church: wherof there be many testimonies in ỳ scriptures. In the meane season wee can not like the prayer for the dead, suche as it is vsed in the Popery, bycause there dothe not appeare any testimonies thereof out of ỳ holy scriptures. Secõdly, there is also great differẽce betwirte sacrifices & prayers for the dead. In the sacrifices for the deade, there were thankes giuen vnto God for the dead, bycause he had giuẽ thẽ a stedfastnesse to perseuer & cõtinue in the faith of Christ vntill their end, & there was requested that he would vouchsafe to graũt the like vnto thẽ which remained yet in the worlde and in the flesh. In ỳ prayer for the dead, it is requested of God, ỳ he wyll forgiue thẽ their sinnes, as though that they were departed out of this lyfe, without ỳ forgiuenesse of sinnes, and as though that their soules were neither in the seates of the blessed, nor in the place of the damned. Whereas the scripture knoweth not of any degrée, as meane betwirte ỳ refreshing of the blessed, and the pitte of hel fire. Wherefore we do alow the decrée & doctrine of the Church where we doe read in this wise: After the going vp of our Lorde vnto heauen, the soules of all saintes be with Christ, & when they doe depart from the body, they go go vnto Christ, loking for the resurrection of their body, ỳ they maye be changed with him into full and euerlasting blessednesse. Like as the soules of the sinfull being in Hel vnder aiue, do loke for the resurrection of their bodies, to be cõmitted therewith vnto euerlasting payne.

The soules of the dead be either in Heauen or in Hell. *Decret. ca. 79*

And we muste not vnderstãd these wordes: The soules of all saintes be with christ, as the Papistes do, whiche

do acknowledge no other saintes, but such whose names be put into theyr kalender, but rather after the maner of the Apostle, of al faythful and true Christian folke, which the writyng of the Apostles vseth to call Saintes whyles they be yet liuyng vpon the earth. Neyther vnderstand you not by sinners, all suche whiche haue cõmitted any sinne, but according vnto the sense of the Scripture, them whiche haue bene gyuen ouer vnto the endeuour & studie of sinne vntill the very ende, without any amendment, and therefore be worthily appoynted vnto the damned sorte, and to the hell fyre.

But you will say: What shal we then doe for the dead if we shal neyther sacrifice nor pray for them? I answere. Take counsell of the Apostle, and heare what he teacheth thẽ to do. But (sayth he) I will not haue you bretherne to be ignorant, that you mourne not for them whiche be dead, as others which haue no hope. For if we doe beléeue that Iesus is dead and ryssen againe, euen so God shal through Iesus, bring them also with him which haue slept. For this we say vnto you vpon the worde of the Lorde, we shal not preuent them which doe sléepe, for the Lorde himselfe shall come downe from heauẽ, with the warnyng and voyce of the Archangell and the trompe of God, and the dead in Christ shal ryse first, and then we whiche shall be aliue, and whiche shal be lefte, shall be taken together with them into the cloudes to méete the Lorde in the ayre, & so we shall alwayes be with the Lorde. Wherefore comfort one of you an other vpon these wordes. This sayth the Apostle. But I beseech you, if we can obtayne forgiuenesse of sinnes and saluation, by sacrifices, almes déedes, and our prayers, howe chaunced it that the Apostle spake not one word of that matter, when he meant of a set purpose to instruct the faithfull touchyng the dead, saying: But I will not haue you to be ignorant my brethren, touchyng them whiche are fallen a sléepe, or dead, least you be sorowful. Had not the place serued here to say, You haue sacrifices, almes déedes & prayers: do sacrifice, do almes déeds, and pray for the saluation of them: Did he of forgetfulnesse or negligẽce omit to set forth vnto the Churche of God, a mater of so great a waight as we do sée that this is: When his meaning was to discharge ỳ mindes of the faythfull from that heauinesse and sorowe, whiche we doe as men féele in our hartes vpon the death of our friends, and when he opened the way how we should comforte one an other in such cases, what is the matter that he doth set forth the hope of the resurrectiõ and felicitie to come: Doth he not admonish vs, what we ought to trust vnto? and what to assure our selues of, concerning our dead folke? he dothe not tell vs of purgatory, neyther of our penall satisfactions, to pray and sacrifice for the pardon therof, but he speaketh of a resurrection to come, when we shall haue the true felicitie and euerlasting felowshippe togither with Christe. In this hope the Apostle meante to haue vs to repose & quiet our myndes, concerning the saluation of the dead. Therfore when that hope is decayed in our hartes, there

can nothing else ensue but a trouble and carefulnesse about the saluation of our dead folke, and so to worke all those practises to our great charges, which the deceitfulnesse of ẏ Priests hath prescribed vnto vs. And thus farre touchyng our opinion of the prayer for the dead.

With vvhome vve ought to Pray.

This consideration dothe belong to the church prayers, which be not made priuately but cōmonly, by all the faithfull gathered togither to the churche, as the body of the same. Here riseth a question, first, whether that all persons ought indifferently to be admitted vnto this Ecclesiasticall Communion of prayer or no: secondly, whether it be lawfull for a Christian man to pray commonly with euery congregation.

VVhether that al sorts of menne ought to be receyued to the cōmō prayer.

As cōcerning the first question, I do perceyue by the ecclesiastical Histories, that al sortes of mē were not admitted vnto the communion of prayer. Some of the Elders did not vse to pray with straungers whiche came to them without letters of cōmēdatiō or credite. And peraduēture there were some reasons, why they should so doe at ẏ time. In dēde many do pray with the churche, whiche doe not cōmunicate with thē in lyke spirite of fayth & godly life, & yet for all that the Church can not sequester them from the prayer, but whether that they may iustly be excluded or no, which do so liue, that according to the opiniō of the Apostle, they ought not to be admitted to the cōmunion of the table, I leaue it to the iudgements of others. For I sée that many of the old fathers vsed to admitte such vnto the prayer of the churche, as they would not for all that admit vnto the communion of the Lordes table, as we do reade that John the Bishop of Ierusalem did.

1.Cor.15.

VVhether vve may generally pray vv euery churche.

To the other question, whether ẏ it be lawfull for a Christian man to pray a like with euery congregation or Church, the answere is very easie & certayne. For asmuch as prayer is a parcell of Gods seruice, and that we must iudge therof according vnto the qualitie of the fayth and religion whiche is vsed in the churche, it skilleth much what the fayth & what the religiō is, and what the seruices of the Churche be, with whiche wée should cōmunicate in prayer. I may not pray with the Churche of the Turkes, bicause I haue nothyng to do with their religiō, faith & seruice. And I doe not make my prayers to God with the sinagog of the Iewes, bicause of ẏ diuersitie of their faith, religion, & seruice. And the selfe lame cause may informe me that I ought not to make my cōmon prayer with the Ethnikes. What shal I do with the church of the Papists, which the catholicke & generall rage in idolatrie, and the innumerable superstitions and counterfayte seruices hath altered from the sinceritie and purenesse of Christian fayth and religiō? How can I cōmunicate with them in prayer, with whome I can not agrée and ioyne in seruice? But wée haue entreated of this matter in an other place. We doe sequester our selues from the communion of theyr prayer, not bycause that they be sinful and we iust, for we be sinful also, and

and do say, Forgiue vs our dets, aswel as they. But bycause they haue put themselues frō the felowship of true faith and Christian religion by theyr Idolatrie, superstitions, & false seruices, and couetousnesse of theyr Priests. Wherfore they be much to blame, whiche be informed of the truth of God, & yet doe neuerthelesse repayre vnto theyr sacrifices, & put of theyr caps with them to their Images and altares, & fall vpon theyr knées, and pray with them, seyng that they can not communicate with thē in fayth and religion.

Whether that it be lavvfull to Pray against any *Menne.*

Vve may pray vvoo wayes against a mā.

Let vs first sée how it may be said, that wée do pray agaynst a man. We may doe it two wayes. One, when we do pray vnto God against the purpose and endeuor of the man that dothe wickedly, that his purposes may not procéede, but be stayed & cut off: & in our so praying it is sayd, that we do pray against the mā: like as he is sayde to be agaynst a man, whiche is agaynst his endeuour and meaning. And he is sayde to ayde a man, which doth helpe and direct his deuice. There is no question of thys kinde of prayer. For it standeth not against Charitie, yea it is somtimes the very worke it selfe of Charitie, to hinder the naughty deuices and intents of men. When Dauid prayed vnto the Lorde, saying: I beséech thée Lord, make the counsel of Achitophel to bée foolishe: hée dyd pray against his counsell in respecte of hys owne case. But yet he had taken no harme by it, if he had listed. And the Apostles, when they prayed agaynst the purposes & endeuors of Herode, Pylate, the Scrybes, Pharisées and Priests, saying: And now Lord looke vpon theyr threatenings, and gyue thy seruauntes power to speake thy worde with all boldnesse, &c. They did not offend the law of charitie, for asmuch as that whiche they desired, mighte haue serued more vnto theyr saluatiō than destruction. So wée doe nothing that is vnlawful when wée do pray that the purposes and endeuors of wicked persons may bée oppressed & confounded, in that they do go about to ouerthrow vs & the truth of God. For as they doe hurte themselues the more they do procéede in purposieg and doyng wickedly, so they haue the more occasion of amendment: the lesse & seldomer successe that their deuices do take.

When mē pray against the ill purpose of wicked ers.

Ioan.15.

Act.4.

2 An other way a man may pray against one, in praying that he be destroyed by the iuste iudgement of God. If a man pray so against Satan, there is no question in the matter. But in case that we doe pray so agaynst any mā, it is a great doubt, whether we do wel or no. It is gods cōmaundement, that we should pray for thē whiche do persecute vs. It is than muche lesse lawfull to pray against thē. We haue the exāples of Christ & his Martyres, which prayed also for thē by whom they were executed & slaine. On the otherside there be also examples of holy mē in scriptures, whiche did so pray agaynst their enimies & aduersaries, ẏ they besought those things of God, which mighte serue to their destructions. Doth not Dauid say: For asmuch as there

VVhen vvee pray against th very persons of th euill doe

Psa.5.&.

there is no truthe in theyr mouthe, theyr harte is vayne, their throte is an open sepulchre, they haue dealte craftily with theyr tongues, iudge them O God, &c. Dothe it not helpe to the destruction of the wicked, if they be iudged of God? Yea if they be condemned of wickednesse, as it is in the Ebrew. For whereas it is in the common translation, Iudge them O God, as the Greeke interpreter dothe turne it also, yet in the Hebrew it is, condemne and destroy them as wicked. Whiche Hierome translated, Condemne them. And agayne he sayth: Deliuer me my God from my enimies, and defend me frō them that doe rise vp against me, &c. And thou Lorde God of hostes, the God of Israell, ryse vp to visite all nations, be not fauorable to any that workeeh wickedly, &c. Is it not contrary vnto the law of Charitie, that he prayeth God, not to spare them whiche doe amisse? It is a lyke matter that Hieremie also dothe pray agaynst his enimies, saying: Harken vnto me O Lorde, and heare the sayings of mine aduersaries, is there euill payde home for good, that they haue digged a pitte for my soule? Remember that I haue stande in thy sight, to speake good for them, and to turne thy displeasure frō them, therfore put theyr chyldren to famine, & bring thē to the power of the sword: let theyr wiues be without chyldren and be widowes, and let the men be slaine by death. Let the yong men be thruste through with the sworde in warre, and let theyr crie be hearde out of theyr houses, when thou shalt bring the thiefe vpon them at the sodayne, bycause they haue digged a trappe to take me in, and haue hiddē a snare for my feete. But thou Lord knowest all their deuice agaynst me vnto death, spare not theyr wickednesse, and let not theyr sinne be blotted out in thy sight. Thus he dothe pray agaynst thē whiche were ringleaders in the people of God, and it tended vnto theyr destructiō, and not vnto theyr saluation. And dothe not Paule pray agaynst Alexander the copper Smith, when he sayth: Alexander the copper Smith hath shewed me much euill, the Lorde acquite him accordyng vnto his workes, and see thou beware of him? As for that can not be abiden by, that Augustine vpholdeth, that these wordes of the Apostles in this place, were not as detestyng, but as forewarnyng, as if he had not sayde, The Lorde acquite hym, but the Lorde shall acquite him accordyng vnto his doyngs. For in the Greeke it is not ἀποδώσει, which is, shall acquite or pay home, but it is ἀποδώκ, let him acquite or pay him home, if wee shall gyue credite to the Greeke copies which wee haue now adayes. What say you to that that Dauid doth not onely pray agaynst his enimies, calling for vengeaunce vpon them from God, but he dothe beare them a perfect hatred also, saying: If thou God doe kill the wicked, you bloudy men departe frō me, they whiche doe rebell agaynst thee, thy enimies doe in vayne rise agaynst thee. Doe not I Lorde beare hate vnto them, which do hate thee? And am I not kindled against them, whiche doe rise agaynst thee? I haue hated them in a perfecte sorte of hatred, they are become enimies vnto mee. If this was lawfull for Dauid

Psalm.59.

Ieremi.18.

2.Tim.4.

August. De Serm. Dom. in mont. Li.

Psalm.139.

to

to do, why was it not also lawful for him to pray against them whome he did hate after a perfecte sorte of hatred? For what is more cōtrary vnto charitie, than perfect and ful hatred? what do we say vnto this?

The special Zeale of Saincts is not to be folowed of all men.

To be short, such praiers of saincts be the examples of the speciall Zele of God, & therfore not to be folowed of all men. As for their repugnancie with charitie, which belongeth vnto the second table, it maketh them not to be worthy of blame, for they are defended by the lawe of the loue of God. For the holy men do not therefore pray against theyr enimies, bycause they be troublesome vnto thē: but bycause they do trie them to be the enimies of God, and that they be enueagled with a Diuelishe furie to resist the Churche & Gods truth. In this point the loue of thy neyghbour hath no place, when it is repugnant to the loue of God, ẏ is to say, when we can not both loue our neighbour & God, but that of necessitie the loue of the one muste be lefte, specially if the neighbour do shew himself worthy to be hated in gods cause. Therfore wee ought not to pray agaynst them which bee our enimies, bicause that they be troublesome vnto vs, but in this respect it were more meet for vs to pray for them: but we may well pray agaynst them whiche wee perceyue doe resist God, rather than vs, as agaynst the enimies of God, in case wee bee endewed with the Zele of Gods glory.

Hovv vve ought to Pray.

WE do all know howe muche it skilleth in what manner that which is of it selfe good, be done, least if it be not done a right, it may doe more harme than good. If a man shal tell a tale before a Kyng, had he not neede specially to beware that he do not onely speake that which is true, but that he muste also behaue him after a due and comely manner in his tale telling? Howe much more haue they neede to regarde whiche shall speake vnto God, that their speache & prayer be so adorned with all circumstances of good meanes and behauiors, that it may be acceptable to the eyes of Gods Maiestie?

The condition of the prayer.

And some of these conditions or meanes do cōcerne the prayer it self: some the person of him whiche doth pray. The conditions of the prayer be, that it must be necessary & comely, wherof we spake before in the sixt article. Secondly that it be breefe & shorte, without muche talke. This condition Christe himselfe doth prescribe in Matthew, where he sayth: When you praye, vse not many wordes, as the Gentils do. For they suppose that they be the better heard for their muche talke. Therefore be not like vnto them, for your Father knoweth what thinges you haue neede of, before you aske him. This he sayth there. Wherefore the prayers which be full of wordes, trimme tales & studied for, be not liked in the sight of God: for the more the talke is, the lesse there is of the spirite in thē. The Popery is ful of such Ethnical rather than Christian prayers, specially them, which vnder the pretence of long prayer haue gone aboute a great whyles to deuour the houses of widowes. But of this faulte we haue spoken in Mathewe.

Math.6.

The

The condicions of him which prayeth.

The conditions of hym whiche prayeth be these.

1 Fyrste, that the partie be voyde of those speciall sinnes whiche God dothe moste abhorre. For it is not possible that hee whiche maketh a prayer vnto God, can be clere from all sinne, neyther doth God himselfe loke for that. But yet for all that it is possible inough, yea and is requisite of necessitie, that he be no violēt nor cruel person. For without doubt the prayers of such folke are denied.

Esay.1. For so we doe reade in Esay: When you shall thrusse out your handes, I will turne mine eyes from you: and when you shall multiply your prayer, I will not heare it. For your handes be full of bloud.

Proverbs. 2 Secondly, Salomon sayth: He that shutteth vp his eare at the crie of the poore, he shall crie himselfe also, and not be hearde.

1. Tim.2. 3 Thirdly, the Apostle sayth: I wil haue mē to pray in euery place, lifting vp cleane handes, without anger & strife. And Christ sayth: Whē you shal stande vp to pray, forgiue if there be any matter. Item: If you doe not forgiue from your hartes, your Father will not forgiue you. Item: Goe firste and reconcile thée to thy brother, and then come, &c.

Mark.11.

1. Pet.5. 4 Fourthly, Peter sayth: God dothe resiste the proude, and giueth grace vnto the lowly. And Dauid sayth: A contrite and an humble harte, God thou wilt not dispise.

Iacob.1. 5 Fiftly, we do reade: Let hym aske in faith and stagger in nothing, for he that staggereth is like to the waue of the Sea, which is tosse & caried about with the winde. Therfore let not that man suppose that he receyueth any thing from the Lord, &c. Wherefore as many as desire to pray vnto God effectually, must beware, that they bee not violent and cruell, vnmercyfull, proude, and mistrustful, but they must beware, that they be voyde from anger and strife, & that they be not harde to forgiue, when they haue any quarrel against theyr neighbours. For God is so offended by these faults, that in respect of thē he dothe abhorre our prayers. There may be other conditions also touched, but these be the moste generall, and therfore to be eschued with the greatrr circumspection.

The behauiours of praying.

There be also requisite certain behauiours, conuenient to the very demeanor of them y do pray. The firste, is that we must pray humbly & lowly: & there is conteyned the confessiō of our sinnes, & humble calling vpon of the grace of God. They which do so pray, do accuse & humble theselues in the sight of God. The exāple of the Publicane is knowen, whiche prayed, & sayd: God be mercifull vnto me, whiche am a sinner. The Pharisées prayer was quite cōtrary, which prayed in this māner: God (I thāke thée) that I am not as other folke be, thieues, wrongful, and aduouterers, yea such as this Publicane is: I doe fast twyce in the Sabbath, I do giue tithe of all that I haue, &c.

Luke.18.

The outward gestures also do appertayne to this poynt, which do declare a lowlinesse and an hūble submission: and they be of sundry sortes. Some do fall vpō their knées, so Daniel did thrée times a day. And Christ prayed vpō his knées in the garden: and Paule fell vpon his knées, when he prayed for the Churches of the

Daniel.6. Luke.22. Ephes.3.

Gentiles.

Gen.18. Mich.16. Psalm.55. Exod.3. 1. King.18. Dan.9. Iudith.9. Ezech.10. Dan.10. Luke.18. Iudith.4. Ioel.2. Esther.4. Daniel.10. Luke.22. Ephes.3.

Gentiles. Others doe lifte vp theyr handes withall vnto Heauen, as we reade y Salomon prayed vnto God before the Arke. Others doe cast vp theyr face also vnto heauen, and others doe lie groueling vpon theyr face, as Christe also did. Others doe humble theselues vnto God in beare and sackloth, as Dauid sayth of himselfe, and as we do reade of the kyng of Niniuites. You shall finde of some which prayed vnto God sitting. We doe reade of Elia, that he prayed vnto GOD sittyng vnder the Iuniper tree. And Dauid prayed sittyng before the Lorde. We doe reade of the Publicane, whose prayer God heard, that he prayed standyng, and sayde. God be mercyfull vnto mée sinfull creature. And why should not the sicke and diseased pray vnto God lying in their bedde, as we do reade of Ezechias? To be shorte, after what manner and gesture soeuer we doe pray, as touchyng God: it skilleth little or nothyng, whether we do fall vpon our knées, or lie groueling vpō our face, or in ashes, heare, and sacke clothe, eyther sitting, standing, or lying, so that we do pray earnestly and substantially with humble and contrite harte and minde.

The second manner of praying is, that we be not colde in prayer, but feruent & hote, specially in our great aduersities and troubles: wherof we haue an example in the prayer of Christ which he made in the garden, before he was taken. The auncient fathers were wonte to ioyne fasting therunto, to expresse the feruentnesse of theyr mindes, when they woulde with feruēt vowes and prayers beséeche the mercy of Gods Maiestie:

Iudic 20. Psalm.35. The third manner of praying. Luke.18. The fourth manner of praying. Act.10.

as we may sée in the bookes of Iudges in the children of Israell, after they had bin sore beaten of the Beniamites, they sate downe vppon the ground and fasted, wept and prayed vnto God. There be many suche examples in Scriptures. And Dauid sayth: I abased my soule in fastyng, and my prayer turned to me in my bosome. And the prophets, what time they meante to call the people vnto earnest prayer, they called them vnto fastyng and wayling.

The thirde manner is, that wée muste pray without ceasing. This manner Christ himself doth appoint vs in Luke, where we do read in this sort: And he told them a parable that they ought alwayes to pray, and not to slacke, &c. And what it is to pray without ceasing and not to slacke, it appeareth at the conclusion, where he sayth: Shall not God make the reuenge for his elects, which do crie vnto him day & nighte? *Ergo*, to pray, is to crie vnto god, & to pray without ceasing and not to slacke, is to crye daye and night, that is to say, at euenyng and mornyng, bothe goyng to our bedde, and rising from our bed. In this saying he doth declare, that GOD doth not lyke theyr prayers, which doe not pray vnto him with a continuall and vnfayned hope and trusse, but doe leaue off after they haue prayed once or twice, vnlesse that they be immediatly hearde.

Fourthly, it doth cōmende and set forth our prayer well, if it bée done with almesse déede, as we may perceiue by y history of Cornelius, vnto whom the Angell sayd: Thy prayers and almesse déedes are come vp to remembraunce in the sight of God.

For

For that godly disposition is acceptable vnto God, whiche hath mercy and wel doyng ioyned with all.

The fifte maner of praying. The fifte maner of praying is peculiar vnto Christian folke, when we doe offer our prayers vnto God the Father, by our Lord Christ and onely mediator, & desire to be hearde for his sake: Thereunto serueth the promise of Christe, whiche we doe reade in Iohn in this wise: Verily, verily I say vnto you, what so euer you shall aske the Father in my name, he shall giue it you. Hitherto you haue asked nothing in my name, aske, and you shall haue it, that your ioy may be full. And: Whatsoeuer you aske the father in my name, that I will accomplishe, so as the father may be glorified in his sonne. And thus much briefly touchyng the conditions and manners aswell of the prayer, as the partie which prayeth, and the very acte also of praying.

Iohn.6.

Iohn.14.

Of what importaunce our Prayers be before God.

By what argument it appeareth that we bee heard of God.

Howsoeuer we do pray vnto god, vnlesse it doe appeare that our prayers be not voyde, but thankefull & effectuall through grace, all desire & endeuour of praying muste nedes bee in vayne. Wherefore we must see whether that we be hearde, yea well hearde of God when wee doe pray, and whether wee doe obtayne our prayer or no, and what be the causes, why we doe not pray to God in vaine. We be three wayes assured that we be heard, yea & wel heard of God. Firste, by that that he commaundeth vs to cal vpō him, saying: Call vpō me in ỳ day of thy trouble. Secondly, by the promise whiche is ioyned vnto it, whiche is, And I will deliuer thee. And thereunto serueth that saying of Esay: Thē thou shalt call, & the Lorde shal heare thée, thou shalt crie, and he shall say, Loe I am here, bicause I thy Lorde God am mercyful. And God himself sayth by the Prophet: And it shal be so, that I will heare them before they crie, and will heare them whiles they be yet speaking, & herewithall agreeth the promise of Christ, whereas he sayth: Whatsoeuer you shall aske ỳ father in my name, he will giue it you. Thirdly, by the exāples which be to this intent set forth in the holy scriptures, to prouoke vs vnto prayer, & the nūber of them is so great, ỳ they can not be all of thē alleaged in this place. James in the last chapter doth set forth Elias only vnto vs, saying: The continuall prayer of the iuste person, auayleth much. Elias was a man subiect vnto like affections as we bee, and he made his prayer, that it might not rayne vpon the earth, & it rayned not for the space of three yeares and sire moneths: & he prayed agayne, and the skie gaue rayne, and the earth yelded hir frute. He doth therfore touch how the prayer of Elias was heard in so waightie a mater, to admonishe vs, howe much the prayers of the faithful can do before God: and least it shoulde seeme to be ascribed vnto the prerogatiue of the person, & not rather to the fauour & grace of God, wherby he is enclined to heare the requests of thē that doe cal vpō him, he doth preuent the matter, & say: Elias was a mā, as though hée shoulde say, he was not Angell, but

Psal.50.

Esay.58.

Esay.65.

Iohn.16.

Iames.5.

1. King.17. 18.

but a man: and he addeth: Lyke vnto vs, to the intent wee shoulde haue no higher opinion of him, thā as of a man.

Was not the wonderfull effect of prayer declared also by the most manifest example of Iosua when ỳ sunne staied stil in ỳ middes of the skie for ỳ space of one whole day, at the request of Iosua, that ỳ people of God might therewhiles be reuenged vpon their enemies? At the prayer of Abrahā God healed king Abymelech & his wyfe, & hir handwomē, & they were deliuered. Isaac prayed vnto God for his wyfe, bycause she was barren, and God did well heare his prayer, & made hir to conceiue, and to be deliuered. Iacob prayed what time hee was in feare of his brother Esau, & was so well hearde, that he was comforted by the wrestling with the angell before that his brother met with him. As ofte as Moises prayed vnto god, he was wel heard whē he prayed for Pharao, ỳ frogges were taken away, & the flyes, the hayle & thunder ceassed, the Locustes were ridde away. The Amalechites whiche were the enemies of the Israelites, were ouercome. The Lorde was apeased with Israel, with whō he was angry for their grieuous offēce in setting vp a calfe. His sister Mary was healed of hir Leprosie. The wrath of god whē he ment to destroye the Israelites which murmured & desired to returne into Egipt again was quieted. The people was cured from the fiery serpentes. Israell being brought lowe and vnder by the Madianites, crieth vnto the lord & is deliuered. Manue ỳ father of Samsō praieth vnto god, & obtaineth the appearing of an angel. Samson being very drye, prayed vnto the Lord, & gat water out of the greate toth of an asses Iaw, & when he had dronke therof, was refreshed. Afterwarde by his prayer vnto the Lorde, he receyued his olde strength to be reuenged of hys enemies, albeit he was blynd. Anna the wife of Elcana, by praier obtained a childe from god, though she was barre: I meane ỳ Prophet Samuell. Samuel prayed vnto the Lord for Israell, and is wel harde, and Israell is deliuered out of the hande of the Philistians. At the praier of Samuel the Lorde gaue noyses and raynes from heauen. Cap. 12.

Of the effect of Dauyds prayers we may se euery wher in ỳ Psalm, wher we do oftentimes finde these sayinges: I haue cryed with my voice vnto ỳ Lord, & he hath heard me: & what time I cryed, the Lord of my righteousnes heard me. The Lord will heare me when I shall cry vnto him, & in my trouble I called vpon the Lord & cryed vnto my God, & he heard my voyce from his holy temple, and my crye entered into his eares before his face. See ỳ which foloweth. Item, I cryed vnto thée, & thou hast healed me. And they cryed (sayth he) vnto ỳ Lord whē they were troubled, & he heard them, &c. Salomon praied vnto god and is heard. Elias by prayer vnto god, raised vp again ỳ dead child of ỳ widow of Sarepta. At his praier fier falleth from heauen, and consumeth the burnte offering, the wood, stones, duste, and water. And Eliseus, by prayer reyseth vp ỳ dead childe. He prayeth vnto the lord,

Iudicum. 13 Manue.

Iudicum. 15 Samson.

Iudicū. 16.

Anna.

1. Samu. 1.

1. Samu. 7.

1. Samu 13.

Dauid.

Psalm. 18.

Salomon. 1. Reg. 8, 9.

Elias. 1. Reg. 17.

1. Reg. 18.

Eliseus. 2. Reg. 4.

2. Reg. 6.

and his childes eyes be opened to see ayde from heauen. Ezechias by his prayer obtayned at Gods hand both the recouery of his health, and also the prolōging of the day. Jobs fryendes had talked amisse before the Lorde & yet their offence was pardoned at the prayer which Job made for them.

Ezechias. 2. Reg. 20. Iob. vlte.

The Apostles prayed vnto god, and ẏ place wherin they were assēbled togither, was moued, and they were filled with ẏ holy spirite. Peter making his prayer vnto God, raysed vp Tabitha again frō death and restored hir to life. We reade that the praiers of Cornelius were well hearde of God. The Church prayed for Peter when Herode had cast him into pryson, and was well hearde, and recouered the Apostle safe agayne. At the praier of Paule and Sila, the pryson was shaken with an earth quake, and all the dores thereof were opened & their bandes loosed. Paule prayed for Publius father which was sycke, & restored him vnto health. These exāples be layed vnto vs out of the Scriptures, whereby it is declared howe open and attent the eares of gods maiesty be vnto their praiers, by whome hee is hartely called vpon, either for themselues, either for others. Whereby we doe perceyue what the efficacye of prayer is before God.

The Apostles. Actes. 4.

Peter. Actes. 9.

Actes. 10.

Actes. 12.

Paule and Sila. Acte. 16.

Paule. Actes. vlt.

The causes why payer is effectuall.

A question vyhat the exāples of

If we woulde knowe the causes why prayer is of so greate efficacie with God, as the exāples before mencioned do declare, peraduenture some man will impute it vnto the worthynesse, prerogatiue and iustice of them whose examples we alleaged, and that James did not absolutely say, that prayer doth much auayle, but that the coutinuall prayer of ẏ rightuous, doth much auaile, and ẏ Abrahā Isaac. Jacob, Moses, Josua, Anna the mother of Samuell, Samuell, himselfe, Dauid, Salomon, Elyas, Elizeus, Ezechias, Job, the Apostles Peter and Paule, &c. were men in deed, lyke vnto vs, passible, and mortall: but that with al they had a speciall prerogatiue of worthynesse and grace before God and that therfore we must not looke vnto the examples of them for that we be farre inferiour to the worste of all them.

We do answere in fewe words vnto thys Imagination. It is no newe nor strange matter vnto god, to heare fauourablye the prayers of hys fryendes, which hee hath embraced vpon a singuler fauour, and yet for all that it foloweth not therevpon, that he doth heare their prayers onely, and not the prayers also of the inferiour sorte, and the sinful. No doubt the publicane and the theife also vpon the crosse, were sinners, whose prayers notwithstādinge that, we knowe were well heard. Therfore we must not so attribute a regarde of ryghtuousnes vnto God, that wee shall take awaye from him the regarde of our necessytie and pitye of our wretched trouble, as though that sayinge were not true: bycause of the myserye of the needye, and the waylinge of the poore, nowe

the rig[illegible] ous do[illegible] good, [illegible] vve be like to [illegible]

I wyll

I will rise vp: sayth the Lord. And ẏ in Exodus: Thou shalt not greue ẏ straūger nor make him heauy, nor afflicthim, for you were also straungers your selues in ẏ land of Egipt. Thou shalt not hurt the widow and fatherlesse: if you hurt them, they shall crye vnto me, and I shal heare their crye, and my fury shall be bent against you, and I shall stricke you with the sword, & your wiues shall be widowes, and your children Fatherlesse. Yea and that also: Lorde thou dost saue men and cattell, as thou doest multiply thy goodnesse O God. Itē, Which giueth cattel their foode, and to the young crowes calling vpon him. Truely these places doe not attrybute vnto God any regard of worthinesse or of speciall prerogatiue and rightuousnesse, but rather a respect of necessities and miseries, wherevnto we must impute that he doth not loath the poore, miserable and afflicted that do crye vnto him, but that he doth mercifully heare and saue them, though they be sinners. Therefore my brother, albeit thou do abase thy selfe farre vnder the worthinesse of those persons, whych wee haue spoken off, and doe esteeme thy selfe not worthy to be reputed amongest men, but to bee reckened amonge beastes, thou mayst not yet so despayre of the infinite goodnesse and mercy of God, whereby he vouchsafeth to heare and saue not onely men, but cattell, and the chickens of the crowes also, when they doe crye vnto him. Therefore the peculiar and true causes why GOD doth well heare them which doe crye vnto him, be his infinite goodnesse, his loue towardes man, his fauour and mercy, accordyng vnto the which he is of his owne nature moste enclyned herevnto, to heare the miserable and afflicted, when they doe crye vnto him.

Exod. 12.

The true causes why God doth heare them that do praie vnto him.

Whether that God do alwaies heare vs when we crye vnto him.

Forasmuch as the causes why God doth heare vs when we praye vnto him, be partly concerning his goodnesse, partly concernyng our necessitie and saluation: wee may aunswere according vnto the respectes thereof, that he doth alwayes heare vs, and that he doth not euer heare vs. Alwayes and not euer, seemeth to include contrarietie: but yet notwithstanding if you distincte the matter aryght, heere shall bee no contrarietie at all, but such as the diuersitie of respects shall exclude and shut out. If you haue a respect vnto the goodnesse of Gods nature, why it is that we bee well hearde when we pray, according vnto that respect wee bee alwayes well hearde when wee doe earnestly praye, that is to say, our prayers be alwayes acceptable vnto GOD, which he doth so well heare, that he hath a much better regarde and consideration of our necessities, than we be able to vnderstande: albeit that he doe not performe the same at all whych wee doe desire, or not after the same manner, or so soone as we do aske it. Paule besought the Lord three times to haue the Angell of Sathan taken from him, by whome hee was scourged, and yet for al that he

God doth heare vs euer & not euer.

obtayned not that which he desired. And Christ himselfe did very earnestly pray to haue ẏ cup passe which hee shoulde drincke, and yet for all that his prayer was not graunted him: and who will saye, that neyther the prayers of the Apostle, nor of Christ the onely begotten of God, were well heard of GOD the father?

But if you consider those matters which we do demaūd now and then, what manner of thinges they be, and howe they doe profite or hynder our necessitie and saluation, it falleth out often times, that accordyng vnto the respects of them we be not heard, that is to say, that we doe not obtaine those thynges which we doe desire. It was nother necessary nor profitable for Paule, that he shoulde be delyuered from the pricke of Sathan, accordyng vnto hys petition, but the grace of God did suffice to him. Neither it could not stande with the purpose of god, and the consideration of our saluation, that Chryst should not drincke ẏ cup which he had to drincke, and therfore his prayer was not performed. As for our selues, ẏ saying of Iames doth serue to vs: Ye doe demaunde and not receiue, bycause you demaund naughtyly, to bestow vppon your concupiscences & lusts. Sometimes those sinnes do hinder vs, of which we sayd somewhat in the.ix. Article before. Somtimes we doe praye so coldly, so without hart and spirite, that we perceyue not our selues, what it is that wee mumble in our mouth. Therefore when we doe so pray that we here not our selues, how can we hope to be hearde of GOD, yea, which is more, wee doe not pray to the intent to be heard, and howe shoulde God well heare vs, when it is all one to vs, whether we be heard, or not heard.

Iacob. 4.

To be short, we must not put the fault in God, if wee be not well heard when soeuer we doe praye, but in our vices and naughtinesse, whereby we hinder his goodnesse, grace, and mercy from performyng those things which we desire. For he is so good and mercifull vnto vs, that he hath a regarde of our health and saluation, and doth gyue vs such thynges as doe serue for our necessities. Wherefore it falleth out oftentimes, that he dothe not graunt vs our petitions, bicause if we had them, they should be more harmefull than profitable.

And this we must impute to his grace, and not to his anger. For it should be be a manifest argument of hys wrath, if he shoulde graunte the noysome thyngs which we desire, as it appeared in the children of Israell, vnto whom hee gaue the plenty of quayles, not in grace, but in anger, when they raged in theyr lusting for flesh, and murmured. So that Augustine sayde aryght, that GOD doth of fauoure denye some thyngs, which he doth graunt when he is angry. It is a fonde loue, and hurtfull cockering, if the Father shoulde so loue hys children, that he should lauishly yelde in all thinges vnto them, and not be able to deny any of their desires. Such cockering loue is, farrefrom GOD. He loueth vs, but wisely. He heareth vs when we doe praye, but he doth it vppon certayne respectes, and that to our

Cour... Nawe... God d... denie... thing... fauor... maie... doth ... in ang...

profit, and not to our harme, vnles he haue good cause to be angrye with vs. He doth sometymes heare our prayer vpon his speciall grace and fauour, sometymes vpon mercy, yea, and sometymes in anger. Vpon speciall grace & fauour, when he doth well heare his friendes and such as doe feare him: such as Abrahā, Isaac, Iacob, Moses, Dauid, Job, Daniell, and the rest were. Of mercy, when he doth wel heare the afflicted, and succour their necessyties. In anger when he doth graūt those things to ẏ reprobate, which they do desire to their owne hinderaunce, and which he woulde not graunt at all, vnlesse hee were angry with them. But thus much for prayer, is sufficient for this time.

Of Vowes.



The vse of Vowes hath bene alwaies in moste holy estymation amongest Godly folke, tyll that at lengthe it hath waxen so corrupt, and so growen out of kinde, that many men knowe none other vse thereof, but such as religious vowmakers, pilgrimes, and Idolaters are tied and entangled withall. It is euen in lyke case as prayer and inuocation bee, whereof it was wont to be reputed a parcell or member. Wherfore I thinke it good to saye somewhat therof after prayer.

What a Vowe is.

A Vow may be take two waies. For vowing signifieth, to make a deuout or solēne promisse, & also to wishe and desire. So that a vowe signifyeth sometymes a promise made vnto God, and sometimes a desire. Lyke as ẏ Grecke doe vse these two wordes εὐχεσθαι and εὐχή in these two senses. Wee be wont in vowinge to desire and earnestly request some thing of God, & therefore a vowe is often tymes taken for a desire, and prayer. So when those thinges which we haue desired doe fall out accordyng vnto our minde, we say we haue our wishe or vowe: and they haue their wyll which haue their desires.

But the proper meaning of this worde, is to signifie a promise, and that not euery manner of promise, but the same which is deuoutly and holily made vnto God. If you promise any thing to a man, or to any other creature, it may be wel called a promyse, but not a vowe. The Maister of the Sentences doth define it after this manner. A vow is a certaine testifyng or witnessinge of a willing promise, which muste be made properly vnto God, and of those thinges which do belong vnto God. The Scholemen do define it after this sort: A vowe, say they, is a promyse made vnto GOD of some purpose, vppon our large or aboundaunte liberalytie, to some good ende, & confirmed by delyberation. Hee sayth of a purpose vpon our aboundaunt liberalitie: bycause it can not be wel called a vow, whē it is in a thig which is necessary vnto our saluation, and a promyse made vnto GOD: bycause that a promyse made vnto a man, hath not the nature of a vow. What shall wee then iudge of the Vowes

The maister of the Sentences.

The Scholemen.

which not onely the religious, Friers, Monks, &c. do make vnto saints, to Dominike, Benet, Fraunces, &c. but withall the rable of them that be in disease and daunger, do vowe some to one Saint, & some to another, to be healed and deliuered. He sayth, to some good ende, to cut of those vowes which be not or can not serue to any good ende. For such vowes can not please God. He saith also, confirmed by deliberation, to make a difference betwixt those thinges which be done deliberately, and those which be done rashly, and vnaduisedly. Some do adde vnto it also an intention to bynde himselfe to fulfill the promise, bicause they do suppose that the deliberation alone is not sufficient to ratifie the promise. They do set certaine degrees in the vowe, whereby it is absolute and obligatory. The first they make deliberatiō, the second in proceding, the third in the perfecting, ỹ fourth in the solemnization, as they doe terme it. Deliberation is when we do first thinke vpon the making of the vowe, and do deuise with our selues, whether it ought to be done or no. They call that the proceding, when after that we haue deuised vpon it, we doe purpose to make the vowe, and therefore they do call it, the purpose. The confirmation, or perfecting, is when we do promise by expresse wordes and myndes, to bynde our selues to the same which we haue purposed. And they do call it the solēnizatiō, when they do professe & bynde themselues for the kaying of the vow, openly and with certein solemne ceremonies to some prelate, as Monks and Fryers, are wont to do. Thus the Scholemen doe speake of vowes, wherein notwithstāding they? fine arguments they do enclyne more to the commendation and prayse of the corrupt, than of the sincere kindes of vowes.

How many manner of vowes there bee.

The Maister of the Sentences saith, that some vowes be common, and some singular. That is common, which all men do make at they? Baptisme, when they do promise to renounce the deuil, and his pompes. The singular vow is that, when a man dothe of his owne accord promise to keepe virginitie, continencie, or some such like matter. Item, of the singular vowes, some be solemne and some priuate. The priuate is that which is done in secret & in hokermoker. The solemne is that, which is made in the face of the Church.

The Scholemen do ad yet two kindes of vowes more: one which is made without condition, which they call pure & absolute: the other which is made conditionally: with conditions annexed vnto it. This is they? opinion of the kindes of vowes.

But we do sticke vnto the holy Scriptures, and make three kindes of vowes. The first of them, which be made in afflictions, necessities & daungers. So they which be tossed with the tempest of the Sea, which do wander in desert and wylde places, which be kept in irons & shadow of death, which do lye sicke in they? beddes, or be trauayled in like perills,

perills, in daunger of lyfe, doe not simply crye vnto the Lord, & beseeke his ayde, but adding also some vow, doe deuoutely promise some thing which they will offer for a thankefulnesse, after they be once deliuered, to testifie and declare openly, ỹ by his benefite thei be saued from so exceding daunger. So in this kinde of vowes there be ioyned together a moste feruent calling vpon for gods ayde, and a vowe also conteyning a promisse of prayse and sacrifice. Of it there is mention made in the Psalme, where we do reade in this wyse: He hath not despysed & set light the prayer of the poore, nor he hathe not turned his face from mē, and when I cryed vnto him, he heard mē. And there is added for the vowe and fulfilling thereof: Of thē (sayth he) is my prayse, that is to say, I will prayse thē in a great congregation, I will performe my vowes in the sight of them which do feare thē, and I will enter (saith he) into thy house, in burnt offrings, I wil performe my vowes vnto thē which my lyps hath appointed, and my mouth spoken in my trouble. I wyll offer fat burnt offerings vnto thē, with the incense of Goates. I wil offer the Oxen and Kiddes. We do finde such kinde of vows in other Psalmes also. And Esay the Prophet prophesied of the Egiptians, that they should crye vnto the Lord from ỹ presence of him which should trouble thē, & that they should make vowes, and performe them. This kinde of vowe is vsed of all peoples and nations. They which do serue counterfayte and false gods, as sone as they be in any peril or daunger, or els be afrayde of any perill, they doe seeke they? ayde by making of vowes and prayers vnto them, and they do promise them some Sacrifice or rewarde, whereof these vowed presentes doe come, which we see set vp in the temples. Euen so it is a generall matter in the Popery to call vpon Saintes, and to make vowes vnto them. In this manner both the Gentils, Papists, and Iewes also haue giuen that vnto they? counterfaite gods, which doth appertayne vnto the true God onely and alone. Wherein the godly are to be commended, that in they? necessities they haue tourned vnto the Lorde, and beseought his ayde, and haue deuoutly and religiously vowed Sacrifices of prayse, and of thankes giuinge vnto him: which thing doeth so muche please the Maiestie of God, that he doth aduise all them that be Godlye, to make and performe suche vowes, saying: Vowe, and performe vnto your LORD GOD, all you which doe offer rewardes about him.

The seconde sort of vowes is when anye thinge is vowed vnto GOD of purpose to gratifye and please him, the partye being in no necessitie or daunger. So we doe reade that Dauid vowed, & swore vnto the Lorde saying: If I enter into the tabernacle of my house, If I go vp vnto the bedde of my couche: If I doe yelde sleepe vnto my eyes, and slombering vnto myne eye lyddes, and rest my head, vntill I finde a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Iacob, This the moste Godly kinge dyd vowe, after he had obteyned rest & peace by the fauour of god, and sat

The vowes of the Papistes.

Psalm. 76.

VVhen a thinge is vowed of purpose to gratifie.

Psalm. 132.

Psalm. 132. at home in his house quietly, and was no more in perill as he was before time. And hereunto I do ioyne those vowes also, whereby some did consecrate, and gaue vp themselues to the Lord for a season: such as the Scripture doth call the Nazarées, of whom we doe reade thus: The man or woman (saith he) which doth make any vowe to be sanctified, and will consecrate themselues vnto the Lord, shall forbeare from wine, and all thinges that may make a man drunck, &c. They which did thus, did it of purpose to gratifie the Lorde. Such was ẏ vow also of Anna, the Mother of Samuell, when she vowed, that if she could haue a sonne, she would consecrate him vnto the Lord.

2. Samuel. 7

Numeri. 6

1. Samuel. 1

vowing of fasting vnder the lawe.

The third kinde of vowes is that, whereby some béeing vnder ẏ lawe, and meaning to punish & pul down, and to abate their affections, dyd vowe fasting for certaine daies, and abstaine from certaine things: and to that purpose is ẏ we do read in Numery: If there be a vow made, and an othe taken to punishe the soule or minde, by fasting or abstinence from other things, it shall be in the mans arbitrement and lybertie whether hée will doe it or not.

Numeri. 30

Some vowes be temporary, and some continuall.

1. Samuell. 1

Of these vowes some be temporary and for a time, and some for euermore, that vowe was for euermore, when the Prophet Samuell was consecrate for euermore to the ministery of God, before he was cõceiued in hys mothers wombe. Yet for all that such a vowe of consecration mought be for a time, lyke as it appeareth that other matters also were done for a season. Thus much we haue thought good by the waye to note out of the holy Scriptures, touching the kindes of vowes. And in case any man lyke the Scholemens doctryne, he may haue good leaue for all me to folow it.

Of the Circumstaunces of Vowes.

It forceth much what the circumstaunces of vowes bée, to make them that they be not vnlawfull: so that we must consider the circumstaunces of a vowe. First who he is that voweth. Secondly to whom. Thirdly what. Fourthly to what intent and purpose. Fiftly, how farre forth the vowe stretcheth.

It skilleth vvho he bee that vovvet. Numer. 30

First of all it skilleth much who he be that maketh the vow. The holy Scripture doth require a frée auctoritie and power in him which shall vow any thing vnto God, so that he must be his owne man, and not subiect to the iurisdiction of any superior. So he doth giue libertie to the man to vowe, saying: If any of thy men doe make a vowe to the Lorde, or binde himselfe by an othe, he shal not auoid nor frustrate his word, but he shall fulfil all that he hath promised: but it doth not giue power & libertie to ẏ daughter which dwelleth yet in hir Fathers house, and is of a childes age to make a vow, no nor to the wife neither, vnlesse that the Father do consent to the one, and the husband to the other. But such as be widowes and vndiuorced, they shal performe whatsoeuer they do vow: it maketh no mencion of the sonne, nor of the seruaunt that is vnder ẏ iurisdiction

of the good man of the house, but in my iudgement they go not amisse, which do not giue them neither frée libertie to vowe, but do suppose that the cõsent of the father and master is as much requisite in them, as it is in the wife and daughter. For it is not Gods meaning, that the auctoritie of the father shoulde vnder the pretence of a vowe be broken by the sonne, or the authoritie of the master by the seruant, where as it is conuenient, that the iurisdiction of them both be kept whole & soũde toward their familie, not only in the wyues and daughters vnmarried, but in the sonnes & seruaunts also.

Whether be not [illegible] for [illegible] inferiours to serue God vnlesse [illegible] their superiours [illegible] suffer them.

But some body wyll saye. It is not lawfull then for a mans wyfe, daughter, sonne & seruaunt to serue God, without the cõsent of the husband, father & master: as though that the power of the father, husbande, and master, were greater thã Gods, and that the seruice of God were such as should hinder ẏ power of the superiours, if the inferiours would serue God.

I aunswere, we must not make the matter of vowes so necessary vnto saluatiõ, as though we could not be saued without them, as we can not without the seruice of God. The seruice of God is not tied to vowes, we may serue God without any bynding of vowes, by faythe, loue, prayer, feare and obedience, which doe decaye or diminishe nothing at all of the authoritie which the superiours haue ouer the inferiours. So that God will not haue the consciences of the inferiour sort so to be tied and restrayned by the meanes of vowes, that they may at their libertie make what vowe they lyst, against the consent of theyr superiours, and so derogate or decaye theyr iurisdiction. But God doeth better like with the obedience and subiection which he hath charged ẏ inferiours withall, than with any maner of vowe. The Scholemen doe argue here of byshops, beneficed clerkes, as they call them, religious folke, Abbots, and religious Prelates, whether that it be lawfull for them to make a vowe or no, to hinder theyr churches & estates or degrées, as if a Byshop or a Clerke should make a vowe of pylgrimage vnto S. James, or to Hierusalẽ, &c. or to enter into any religion, whether that they be bounde to perfourme their vowe or no. They doe not suffer cloysterers to vowe any thing without the consent of theyr superiors first obtained. Forasmuch as they haue giuen ouer their wylling or nilling, & be altogether boũd to the will of father Abbot, we doe lyke none of these their questions, which they do make of mõkes, fryers, nonnes, abbots, and prelates, to decide what is lawfull for them to do, & what vnlawfull. Forasmuch as it can not be taught by any holye Scriptures, that any of all their degrées, orders, & professions do please God. As for bishops & ministers of the church, we do not like their making of monkish and supersticious vowes, not onely bicause they can not perfourme thẽ without the hinderaũce of the churches and ministerie cõmitted vnto them, but also bicause they ought not onely to refuse them their selues, but to let that there be no suche vowes made by their inferiors. And yet notwithstãding, why may not a bishop being in

any peril so cal for the aide of God, that he may vow sacrifice of praise vnto him, saying with Dauid: My praise shall be of thee in a great assembly. I will yeld my vowes in the sight of them which doe feare thee. I will sacrifice a sacrifice of praise vnto thee.

To whom we ought to vowe

2 Secondly it is a matter also to whō a vow be made. We declared in the first article before, ẏ this is ẏ condition of a vow, ẏ it must be made to God only, which ẏ schole doctors did also cōfesse. Wherfore, what vowe soeuer is made to any creature, it is vnlawful & worthy of blame: such as ẏ papists vse many. Vow, (saith ẏ Prophet) & performe to ẏ lord your god. Then what do the blinde buzzards, which do make vowes to deade saintes, of whom they can not truely say, that they be very Gods.

The reader must marke here, what difference ther is betwirte a vowe and an othe. It is not lawefull to vow, but vnto God onelye. But we may sweare vnto man, & bind our selues vnto him by an oth. Wherfore we mast not iudge the condition of a vow, after the condition of an othe.

What difference is betwixt a vowe and an othe.

3 Thirdly, it is one of the circūstances of a vow, to consider what maner things they be, which we do vowe vnto God. For it is not conuenient that we should vowe such things vnto him, as doe not please him: as those things be, which be vnlawful & naught, or vnprofitable & foolish, or impossible, or tied vnto manifest daunger. They be vnlawfull vowes, which can not be lawfully performed. The vow of Iephthah was not lawfull, because it was not lawfull to kill a man for a sacrifice, much lesse his daughter. If the wife should vow virginitie, so that she should denye hir duetie vnto hir husband, the vowe is vnlawefull, bicause it is contrary vnto Gods ordinaunce. It is an vnprofitable and fond vowe, when we doe promise to abstaine from certeine meates, vpon some certeine daies: for meat doth not commend vs vnto god, nor auaileth any thing vnto true godlinesse. Such maner of vowes be vnprofitable & foolish & can not please God. It is an impossible vowe, if thou shouldest vowe to liue without the fleash, as long as thou art in the fleash, vnlesse it be wrought and made possible by the spectall gift of God, otherwise impossible. Such is ẏ vow of virginitie. To be a virgin is not euill of it selfe. And in case thou haue vowed it, loke wel how to be able to performe thy vowe, & that not only in thy body, but in the spirite also: specially ẏ thou offend not God by the meane of this vow. Els as ẏ Apostle witnesseth. It is better to marrye than to burne. Besides this, in case a man shall vowe to abstayne from these thinges, which nature it selfe can hardely lacke, and without which the life of man can not well be sustained, but fall into daungerous diseases, if hee doe in deede performe the same which he hath vowed, it is a daungerous and vnpleasaunt vow vnto God.

Vnreasonable. Impossible

Daūgerous

4 Fourthly, it maketh some matter also to what intent and purpose the vowe be made, for therevpon the iudgement of it doth mest depend. If a man make a vowe for his belly or gaine sake, to continue for

for a season, or for any seruice, that vowe can not bee well taken, and such be all the vowes of the cloister creepers.

Vpon what purpose man vowe

Lastely, it is of no small importaunce, that the vowe be limmited to some likes or bandes, that it stretch not further than it can doe good, or to make that to continue for euer, which ought to bee but for a season, for they which bee vndertaken for euer, are oftentymes hurtfull. Thus much by the waye, of the circumstaunces of vowes.

That Vowes ought to bee performed.

The very truth it selfe, which we do profesle, doth binde vs to performe whatsoeuer we do vow vnto God, and thereunto the common perseueraunce also of all men doth assent: but besides that there do remaine also most manifest commaundements of the holy Scripture for this matter, plentyfull inough proposed vnto them which doe make vowes. So wee do read in Numeri: If any man doe make a vow vnto the Lord, or bind himselfe by othe, he shall not make his word void, but fulfil all that he hath promised. And when thou makest a vowe vnto the Lorde thy GOD, thou shalt not staye in the performaunce of it, therefore the Lord thy God shall require it of thee. And in case thou do slacke it, it shalbe accoūted an offence vnto thee. If thou list not to promise, thou shalt be without sin: but whatsoeuer doth once passe thy mouth, thou shalt keepe it and performe thy promise vnto ẏ Lord thy God, as thou hast spoken of thine owne will, and with thy mouth. And Dauid saith: Vow (saith he) & performe vnto your Lord God, all you which doe present him with rewards rounde about. And in Eccles. If thou hast vowed any thing vnto God, sticke not to performe it, (for an vnfaithfull and fonde promise doth mislike him) but whatsoeuer thou hast promised performe it. And it is much better not to vow at all, than when thou hast vowed any thing, not to performe it. By these places of Scripture it is manifest inough, why that they which haue made any vowe, bee bound to the performaunce thereof. God doth not chalenge to haue any vowe made vnto him, but in case it be made he chalengeth the performaunce thereof: and whye? Bycause it is an offence or sinne, if the word which is not only thought in the heart, vpon no constraint and cōpulsiō, but of a mans own accord and free will, & is also by expresse speche promised vnto the Lorde, be made voide for no necessitie, but of a lightenesse and inconstancye of minde: which lightenesse is verye worthy to be blamed, if it bee vsed towardes anye man: howe much more then, if it bee vsed towardes God? And againe, bicause this displeasure of breakinge of a vowed promise, sauoreth of a contempt of God, and therefore can not escape vnreuenged, for God shal cal vpō it

Psalm.76.

Eccle.5.

How vowes ought to bee performed.

Like as it importeth or forceth much, what & to whom & vpon

what

It is a matter how a vowe be performed.

what intent a vowe be made, so it is a matter also, howe a man shall perfourme ẏ which he hath vowed. For like as men may offend in making vowes, so they may doe also in perfourming them: so ẏ the maiestie of God may be more displeased thā pleased thereby. He which voweth any thing may offende two wayes. First in not perfourming: Secōdly, in not perfourming as it becommeth. A vowe ought to be perfourmed first of all, not as a thing maimed, by patches and péecemeale, but full and whole: and therefore Moses sayeth: He shall doe according vnto all the whole which hath passed his mouth. The fleshe is of that disposition, that when through the inconstancie thereof, it had rather not performe at all the same which it hath vowed, yet it wyll do somewhat, to séeme to performe ẏ whole. He which doth so perfourme, doth yelde lesse and more displease God, than if he yelded nothing at all. For besides that he doth not perfourme that which he hath promised, he doth playe the craftye marchaunt, as though he could beguyle hym, to whome he made his promyse. Secondly he doth also beguyle himself in surmising that he is not guilty for not perfourming his vowe, and therefore there is lesse amendement in hym, than if he had perfourmed nothing at al. I speake of thē which be not letted by any infirmitie or disease, but that they might fully perfourme any thing that they had promised, and doe fall from theyr purpose vpon some inconstancie and lightnesse of mynde, notwithstanding doe séeke by some shift, as wel as they can, to escape the blame of the breach of their vowe vnto God. In such a case stande they which haue vowed the continencie of the cloyster, and do not fully perfourme it, but in this respecte onely, that they do not marrie: as though that the forbearing of marriage dyd include all continencie therein: and yet in ẏ meane whyles they kéepe harlots, and be defiled ful and whole with all kynde of filthinesse. And in thys doyng they wyll séeme to breake no vowe, but do accuse them therewith, which albeit they dyd once vnaduisedly vowe that cloistered continencie, yet for all that haue thought it better to marrie, than through whoredome to fall into the pitte of euerlasting perdition.

A vowe must be vvholy perfourmed. Num. 20.

Secondly a vowe ought to bée perfourmed not with stayes & staggerings, but without any staye, as neare as is possible. Hereof ẏ scripture doeth admonyshe vs, saying: When thou makest thy vowe vnto the Lorde thy God, thou shalt not deferre ẏ perfourming of it. Wherof the Ecclesiastes doeth warne vs also. It is a fault giuen naturally almost vnto all men, that we be ready to promise faire, specially when we doe séeke vpon any bodies ayde in our necessities: but we be slowe enough in perfourming our promises. And the lingering therein is very euill, and is a manifest token of an vnthankefull and vnconstant mynde. And lyke as he which giueth spedely, giueth twyse, that is to say, is as well liked as he which giueth twyse, so he which giueth lingeringly, is in case as though he gaue nothing at all.

The v must b perfor vvith staye. Deut. Eccle.

Thirdly, it is necessary in any wise, ẏ we perfourme with as good

We must perfourme: vow: with heart and mynde.

a heart & minde, as we promised. It may be that you doe spedely performe your vow, or promise, and yet notwithstanding without any good heart and courage, onely to be discharged of their bonde of duetie, and to eschue the remorse of conscience. He that doth in this sorte spedyly performe his promis, shall confesse in his owne cōscience, whether he wyl or no, that he taketh no pleasure in performing his promis, but that he had rather he had neuer made any vowe at all: like as it betideth in them which doe restore the money that they haue borowed at their daye appoynted, but with an euill wyll, and would with all their heart, that they were not bounde to paye the debte, or at the least that they had neuer borowed it. Suche maner of peformers of vowes can not please GOD, who doth not esteme the things, which we do giue or performe, but requireth a couragious & willing hearte. When vowes be performed, wée ought to adde a sacrifice of prayse. The Prophet sayeth: The vowes be vpon me O God, I wyll yelde prayses vnto thée. I wyll so syng vnto thy name for euermore, that I wyll perfourme my vowes from daye to daye. And howe shall they perfourme their vowes with the prayse of GOD, which doe not perfourme them with hearte and mynde.

4 Fourthly, the vowes which be made by our prayers, in ẏ streights and daungers of afflictions, must be perfourmed after that we haue once receyued ayde and reliefe, not secretly but openly, & in the middes of the churche; and assembly of the faythfull. In déede such vowes may be secretly conceiued and made to the knowledge of God onely, vnto whom onely our prayers & vowes be directed, when our minde is troubled. But the perfourming of the vowes ought to be made not in secret, but openly in the sight and hearing of the whole assembly of the faythfull, so that they may also be edified in the fayth and prayse of God, and offer a sacrifice of commēdation vnto hym with the vowe makers.

There hath some examples passed of this matter amongst the Israelites, as we maye perceyue by Dauid, who perfourmed his vowes at Hierusalem in the house and Churche of God, which he made beyng an outlawe and in wildernesse, not onely in sacrificing & offering those things which he had vowed, but also in reporting abrode and blasing out to commendation, the benefite and ayde which he had receiued of God openly, before the people: So he sayth in the Psalm: Saue me out of the mouthe of the Lion, and make me sure from the hornes of the Vnicornes. These were his prayers, he addeth therunto his vowe: I will blase thy name (ayeth he) vnto my brethren. I will prayse thée in the middes of the Church. How? You shal heare. You that do feare the Lord, (so he would speake vnto the people of the Lord in the middes of the Church, where he woulde perfourme his vowes) Prayse him all the séede of Jacob, glorifie him and be afrayde of him all the séede or offspring of Israell, for he hath not despised nor abhorred the basenesse of the poore, nor

Psalm. 22.

hidden his face frō him, and he heard him well when he cryed vnto him. Of thée is my praise in a greate Church and assembly (that is to say, I will offer this praise vnto them in a great Church where vnto all Israell is wont to assemble) I wil performe my vowes before thē which doe feare thée, the lowly shall eate (vnderstand of the vowed sacrifices which he would offer) and they shal be filled: they shall prayse the Lord which doe seeke him: let your heart lyue for euer. The like is reade also in another place. I will enter (saith he) into thy house with burnt offerings. I will performe my vowes vnto them, which my lippes hath playnely expressed, and my mouth spoken in my trouble. I will offer fatte burnt offringes vnto thée, with the incense of Rammes, I will sacrifice Oxen with Goates. Come & heare all you which doe feare God, and I will tell you what hée hath done vnto my soule. I cryed vnto him with my mouth, and now he is auaunced vnder my tongue, &c. Thus the vowed sacrifices were offred in the assembly of the faythfull, amongest the Israelits, and the benefit of God was commended, and all were stirred to gyue vnto him a sacrifice of praise. The very sacrifices were of beastes according vnto the custome of the olde Testament, but there is appointed vnto vs, which be the people of the new Testament, not a bestly sacrifice, but a reasonable, that is to saye, of prayse. We can not make such vowes as the other were, but this we may doe, and yet it is not vsed at al in the Churches. In deede we do pray when we be sicke, and desire to be praied for in the church by the ministers of the worde, that we may by the grace and helpe of God, be restored vnto our health, but our praiers be not vowed prayers, and therfore when we be recouered we doo not make the performaunce of any vow before the Church of God, neither by our selues, nor by any publike minister. It is to be liked that we doe beseeke the ayde of God in the Church by prayers, but that can not be well lyked that we be restored vnto our health without the knowledge of the Church, and doe hide from it the aide which wée haue receiued from GOD, and doo bereaue it from the sacryfice of praise, which it shoulde yelde vnto GOD with vs. But thus much for vowes, how they ought to bée performed.

Psalm. 66.

The pr[illegible] like pr[illegible]ers for[illegible] folke. should [illegible] publike thancke[illegible] giuing.

Of Cloyster Vowes.

The deuises and desires of the solitary and cloister life, grewe to be wonderfull whot in the time of Chrisostom, and was much commended also in these daies by their great personages, and so maintained against thē which found fault withall, as these things do testifie which Chrisostome wrote against thē, and yet for all that he maketh no mencion of any cloister vowes, so that it may séeme therby that the solitary folke of that time, vsed them not as they were vsed afterwardes, not so much for eligion sake, as to cōpasse in and kepe together the wealth of the wolrd.

And ther be sūdry formes of vowes and professions among thē, for they of S. Benets order do promise & vow an alteration of their life, obedience, and continuaunce in the same.

The Dominicās do promise a kinde of obedience, framed vnto the ordinance of their superiors, which haue the ouersight of their order. Some do make thrée substancial vowes, as they terme them, obedience, chastitie, and pouertie. The alteration of the life may be naught, and it may be good, if mens euill behauiour be therby turned vnto good, so that thei do forsake vnbelief, & procéede vnto true faith, from the hatred of their neighbour, to the loue of him, from pride to humilitie, from fiercenesse, to mildnesse of spirite: & to be short, from the olde creature vnto ẏ new, which is by ẏ renewing of ẏ minde, who will not take such an alteratiō to be good? But if this cloysterish alteration of life and maners be cōtrarie vnto those things which doe belong to a Christiā man, as if they go from the true faith of Christ vnto a counterfait, frō the true religion vnto all maner of superstitions, frō a humblenesse of minde to a Pharisaicall pride, from the cōmon loue and knot of al Christian folke vnto a factious sect, from the libertie of a Christian spirit vnto the slauery of mens traditions, &c. How is it not a cleare case that this kinde of alteration is starke naught.

As for the difference which is to be alowed and which not, we haue declared in a seuerall place before. If we meane of ẏ obedience, which is appointed to the kéeping of Gods cōmaundement according vnto his will, all godly folke do like it. But if they meane of the other, which we said is naught, wherby we be made the seruauntes of men, and not of God, we doe condemne it without any further delay.

We must haue ẏ like opiniō also of our constancie and stedfastnesse, for it is commendable amongst all men, to be stedfast in good life, and in the true obedience of God. But in case that any man be stedfast in euill, it may be obstinacie & hardehartednesse, rather thā stedfastnesse.

But it were a question worthy to be aunswered, why these things be wrested vnto cloyster vowes, and to a speciall profession of singularitie, séeyng that they do belong vnto all Christian men? Doeth not such alteration of lyfe from euyl to good, and the obedience vnto the wyll of GOD, according vnto his woorde, and the stedfastnesse, when we do continue and be kept in true godlynesse and the fayth of Christe vntyll the very ende, belong vnto all faythfull folke? No doubte all these thyngs doe appertayne vnto all Christian men. Why be they then so vowed by the cloyster crepers, as though the professiō of them dyd not belong vnto all Christian men, but vnto the cloysterers only? Why doe they not acknowledge al thē to be religious, which do shake of the lyfe of the olde Adam, and doe kéepe a stedfast constancy, vnder the obedience of God, vntyll the very ende by hys grace? although they haue neyther shauen crownes nor Cowles.

The seconde question is, what they meane to make solēne vowes hereof, as though that men dyd not professe this alteration, obedience, & stedfastnesse at theyr Baptisme? What do they els herein, but ouerthrow as much as lieth in thē, & set at naught ẏ general profession of al christiā mē made at their baptisme?

The solēne vowes of the cloister men.

And for a manifeſt proofe thereof, they do refuſe ỳ names which they entered to Chriſtes boke at Baptiſme,and take them new, to ſignifie that they ſtand no longer to the profeſſion of Chriſt, but to the ſecte of their Cloiſters. I beſeke you, what can we thinke of that ſouldier which doeth falſely chaunge his name,giuen to his generall,and taketh to him ſelfe a new name, and a new captaine withall?

Of the mõſtruous and ſuperſtitious obſeruãces of vowes.

Theſe(I ſay)might be ſome queſtions,in caſe the vowes of the Benedictines were ment of the true obedience of God, of the right alteration of life, and ſuch ſtedfaſtneſſe as is neceſſarie for all godly folke. But if theſe things be vowed after a monkiſh and ſuperſticious ſenſe and meaning, ſo that the alteration of their life is a refuſall of the publare and open lyfe, where men do liue out of cloyſters, in ſuch ſtates and degrees as be appointed by God for the liuing together of mẽ, as to be ſubiect vnto parentes and maſters,to marry,to get children,to gouerne houſes & families, to beare office,&c. And that their obediẽce is ſuch,that they muſt obey, not God, but their Abbots & Priors, not his commaundements, but the conſtitutions of the cloyſter, and that their ſtedfaſtneſſe is ſuch, that they muſt cõtinue vntil death,not in true obedience, but counterfeite ,it is a cleare caſe,that theſe things be not conformable vnto the will of God, and that therefore they ought not to be vowed, much leſſe performed.

Certaine cõmon and ſuperſticious obſeruations of the cloiſter men.

Beſides this,there be certaine cõmon ſuperſtitious rules in cloiſters, whereunto they thinke them ſelues to be bounde by the vowe of their profeſſion: as the forſaking to haue any thing of their owne,to haue al commun,a certain preſcribed faſhiõ and colour of their cowled garmentes,new inuented and ſtraunge behauours and geſtures, peculiar ceremonies to them ſelues,dayes appointed of eating and faſting, the cloſing vp them ſelues in a place, continuall chaſtitie , and forſwearing of wedlocke . Theſe matters haue ſome ſhewe of religion,godlineſſe , and holineſſe : but if they be tried by the rule of Gods worde & true godlineſſe , and the opinions & circumſtances of them conſidered, they ſhall bee founde to be farre wide from that they ſeme to bee. For either they be commaunded by God, eyther they bee indifferent. If they be commaunded of GOD, they doe belong vnto all Chriſtian folke,and ſo they doe not make any ſingular degree of perfections in the Church. But they be not commaunded ſo to be done : Ergo,they be things indifferent and free for all men . So that it can not be alowed to haue them charged in cloyſters vnder a title or pretence of religion, and ſet forth vnder the colour of obediẽce,whereas there is not founde any teſtimonie of gods will for the ſame.

As concerning the cauſes and opiniõs of ỳ cloyſter life,it importeth much,howe and why thoſe things be done which be indifferent, yea, and good of them ſelues . I will ſay nothing here of that groſſe intent of carnal men,in that they do embrace the cloiſter life either for idleneſſe or for their belies ſake, or that ſome be thruſted thyther in their childhod by their parẽtes, to be prouided for

for there, touching the worlde, or ỳ by ỳ chiftyng off of thẽ,ther may premayn ỳ more to the reſte of their children. Let vs rather ſee for others whiche ſeme to haue taken themſelues to this kind of life vpon ſome verye religious purpoſe,& holy intent. Their common opinion is , that they doe ſerue God aboue all other Chriſtian folke in this cloyſterily life, and that they deſerue exceding great rewards bycauſe of the hardneſſe of their order. The hardneſſe of the order (ſaye they)and manye good things whiche thou haſt already , and yet ſhalt doe hereafter before the forgiueneſſe of the ſinnes. Theſe words they do vſe in their abſolution , when one fryer abſolueth another , after theyr ſhryfte.

In conſideration of this opinion, the thynges whyche we rehearſed before, be to be diſproued in two reſpectes. One bycauſe they make a ſeruice of God out of mens conſtitutions,contrary vnto the manifeſt determination of Chriſt,where he ſaid in Matthew : They doe ſerue me in vaine teaching the doctrines and cõmaundements of men. For it cannot be denayed,but that they be no commaundements of God , but decrees preſumed vppon by men without the teſtimony of Gods wil. They ſaye: Whatſoeuer is appointed of a good intente to the glorye of God, doeth pleaſe God , *Ergo*, thoſe things alſo whiche be done in our order , doe pleaſe God . Heare me my brother, why doſt thou not rather ſay: What ſoeuer is wrought according to the order of Gods wil, is ſurely well liked of God.

The ſeconde reſpect is, bycauſe they doe flatter themſelues to haue ſome deſeruing by mens traditions and their owne workes , contrarye to the doctrine of faith , which thing doth muche derogate and decay the deſeruing of the Lordes death , beſides that they doe turne theſe theyr merites,being nothyng worth , yea demerites, vnto theyr gayne,and do barter , and make Marchandiſe of them in the Churche. Therefore the decrees and ſtatutes of the Cloyſter lyfe be moſte worthyly refuſed , if a man conſider the cauſes and opinions of them: ſpecially waying with what guile and Phariſaycall pride, the profeſſors of them doe chalenge themſelues a ful ſtate and degree of perfection.

Of the ioyning of the vovv.

Furthermore, ſuche indifferente things whereunto no manne is bounde, fall out to be euill done, not onely for the reſpect of their owne opinions and cauſes as we ſayde before,but they be alſo by adding therunto to the vow, chaunged into the nature and ſtrength of a lawe , ſo that they be by that occaſion,nothing leſſe than indifferent.

The cloyſter vowe againſt chriſtiã liberty.

And thys is the cauſe why they be exceedingly repugnant and contrarye to the lybertye of all faythful, which Chriſt himſelfe hath purchaſed vnto vs . For theſe things whyche were at lyberty, before, are nowe, by reaſon of the vowe , no longer at liberty but do bind. Therfore this Cloyſter lyfe is damnable, bycauſe that it reſtrayneth and byndeth the conſciences of the vowe makers in the Elementes of

the worlde, by the law of the bowe. And the bowmaker can not say, I doe those things with a good will whiche I haue bowed, and therfore my conscience is not tyed nor entangled. Though hee doe performe his bowes with neuer so good a will, yet for all that hee is not free in this respect, that he can not escape or auoyd this bondage, or let passe such things as he hath bowed, without a conscience of sinne. Besides that the continuance of the bowe is, to endure vntil death, whiche was not knowen at the beginning of the solitarie life, as wee may perceyue in Chrysostomes booke against the blamers of the solytary and cloyster lyfe: which was nothyng else, but a certaine instruction or trayning vp of people for a season, vsed for the information of godly lyfe, so that there was no man letted, but that he might take home againe his chyldren, after they were well instructed, and bestow thē in marriage.

The perpetuitie of the vowe.

Adding of a vowe, for two causes to be reproued.

Therefore this addyng to of the bowe, is for two causes worthie to bee blamed. First, because it is agaynst the Christian lybertie, and bindeth the consciences of the faithfull (whiche in indifferent thyngs ought to bee free) vnto the Elements and matters of this worlde, and that contrary vnto the expresse doctryne of the holy Spyrite. Whereof wee doe reade to the Colossians in thys wise: Therefore if you bee dead with Christe from the Elements of thys worlde, to what entent be you bounde by decrees as liuyng in the worlde? Touche not, taste not, handle not. All whiche thyngs doe perishe in vs, according to the precepts and doctrines of menne, which in worde hath a countenaunce of wysedome, by superstition, and lowlinesse of minde, and hurtyng of the body, not by any honour, to the satisfying of the flesh, &c. And with this cupll there groweth an other, that there is breede a conscience also of hym in those matters, whiche God did neuer requyre of vs, as though that there were not commaundementes ynough of Goddes to offende in trangressyng them, and to haue nede of Goddes mercy to pardon our offences. But it behoued that the Paysters of errours should by thys meanes raygne in the consciences of theyr inferiours, to haue certayne principall sinnes for themselues to punyshe, and so to accomplishe that sayinge of the Apostle, leadyng prye womenne as prysoners and captiues ouerladen with sinnes.

Coloss. 2.

2. Tim. 3.

The other cause why this adding of a bowe is to bee blamed, is because it is agaynst Chrystian charitie, discharging the Christian bowmakers from that commaundement whiche maketh vs the seruauntes of all men, in that it dothe not onely breake that Obedience whiche is ordeyned by GOD towardes magistrates and parentes, &c. but it dothe also keepe them vnder that bondage, that it is not lawfull for them, of theyr free Charitie to relieue the necessities of theyr neyghbours, no nor of theyr parentes according to the Lordes commaundement: yea whiche is yet most wicked, it dothe not only hinder them frō the worke of Christian charitie, but it dothe also make them to haue no cōscience of

of any duety or good worke, supposing that suche matters as be required of other Christian folke, doe not belong vnto them, and so dothe after a peruerse and frowarde manner bind them which be losed, and lose them which be bounde, dischargyng them from Christ and theyr neyghbours, and professing them to some peculiar Prynces, and Prouincials.

Of vvilfull Pouertie.

The Cloyster menne doe crake for a countenaunce of theyr pouertie, as though it were the chiefe poynt of religion to haue litle or nothing, whereas for all that they bee plentifully prouided of all thyngs. The Constitutions of the Dominicans doe take away all propertie, that is, to haue any thing of theyr owne, and it suffereth not the fryer to haue any thyng without ỹ knowledge of his superiour, neyther cuppe nor canne, neyther any thing to bee shutte, whiche may bee opened with a keye, nor to take or gyue any present, and hym whiche dothe the contrary, they do condemne for a theefe. Yea they do some commaunde their beddes to be searched, whether there can be any thing founde, as possessed without the knowledge of theyr superiours. In the rule of Benedictines the propertie of possession is called an offence that ought to be vterly rooted out. There may be neyther booke, nor table, nor pen, nor néedle, nor any thyng else, as such folke which muste not haue (sayth he) neyther theyr bodies, nor willes in their owne power and gouernaunce. The rule is, that they must demaunde all their necessaries of the Father of the monasterie, and to haue nothyng but at the gifte and sufferance of the Abbot: but that they muste haue all things common, as it is writtē: And they had all things common. And in case (sayth the Author of the rule,) that any man be founde to take delite in this most wicked vice, let him bee brought vnder correction, &c.

This is theyr rule, wherevppon growe that Prouerbe: The Fryer that hath a halfepenny, is not worth a farthyng.

The Minorites, bicause they wold haue a speciall superstition to passe the reste, doe pretende also that it is not lawfull for them to touche monie, and yet for all that it is written, that some of them haue payde and tolde out many thousande Ducates to the Simon of Rome, for a Cardinals hatte. But let vs see what is to be thought of this vowed pouerty of these Cloyster crepers.

There be two manner of wilfull pouerties, the one is spiritual, the other is bodily. That is spiritual, whē wee be so disposed, that our harte is free frō earthly things, & in case wee haue plenty, we do not truste vnto it nor gape or hūger after it, if we lack any thyng, and muche lesse dispaire. This kinde of pouertie doth appertayne vnto all Christian men, & that of necessitie, & not by aduice or counsell. Therefore our sauiour Christe sayd, Vnlesse that a man do renoūce all that he doth possesse, hée can not bee my Disciple: and that which the Apostle sayth: Let them whiche doe buy, be as though they did not possesse it. It belongeth not to a Christian man to possesse & be owner of

VVilfull vuerty o tvvo so

Luce. 14

1. Cor. 7.

nothing, but to be disposed towardes those things whych he doth possesse, as though he did not possesse them. I say it is the part of a christian man to be so minded, that he maye with Paule both vse plentye, and sustaine powerty and lacke. And it is quite cõtrary to the nature of vowes to vowe this spiritual powerty vnto God, as though that it were not required of vs of necessitie, but of cõsel.

Philip. 4.

The bodyly or outward powertye is nothing else but the lack of things necessarie, whiche muste be made amends for, and recompensed some other waye. This is either sent from God, or taken vpon men willinglye. The powerty sent from God, was ỳ same which the Prophetes did patiently beare, Elias, Elizeus, and the Apostles, and the Church of Ierusalem, for which Paul and Barnabas did gather euery where and sent the reliefe. The Cloysterers doe not like this powerty, but do hate it worse than a dogge, though it be a moste holsome exercyse of fayth and patience. The wilful presumed powerty, is when men do forsake their owne goods and gape for other mens, and will liue vpon other folkes trauayle and sweat. The same the cloysterers do vow, and is vsed in their religion: and this is our opinion therof.

1. Cor. 6. 11. 2

VVhat maner of thing it is to haue nothing proper.

That to haue nothing of a mans owne, but to lyue of the common, according vnto the order of some superior, is of it selfe neither good nor euill: vnlesse ther be added some other thing wherby it is either good or euill. Else this manner of life might be blamed in children, seruantes and soles which do liue vnder the gouernaunce and disposition of others, and do possesse nothing at their own lust, but do receiue their necessaries at ỳ hand of other folke. Wherfore if this were to be blamed of it selfe, it shuld be blamed also in these men. And on the other side, if it were worthy to be prayed, it should likewise deserue cõmendation also in them. But no mã doth like or much regard this in thẽ, and therefore it is not to be muche estéemed neither in the Cloysterers.

But this kinde of life were not much out of the way if it wer an instruction of youth to be framed therby for a season, and not a perpetuall superstition, and an endlesse bondage as sore as may any lightly be. If Monasteries serued for some orderly scholing, in which the tender youth should be fed as long as they folowed learning, as it was in Chrysostomes time, or where Idiots were kepte ỳ could not helpe themselues, surely this practise of liuing of the cõmõ, and of refusall of property should doe much good, to rote out couetousnesse and plant ỳ spiritual powerty wherof we spake, out of their tender and vntaught harts, so that they might be vsed from childhode to haue no greedy desire to any thing, but to be able to lacke all things and not to mislike the frugall and sparefull life. Suche places of exercise no wise body would mislike. But how far the Monasteries of our time be altogither wide from this order and purpose, euery man knoweth.

But as touching the powertye of the cloysters, it may worthyly be myspyked. First bycause ỳ cloysterers do pretende a countenance of powerty, whereas they do enioy the verye

Powerty the cloysterers.

wealth

wealth of all worldly goodes, wherin they doe mocke bothe with God and man. For it is not true powertie for them, particularly to haue nothyng of theyr owne, and yet for all that, euery manne to recepue of common plentifully whatsoeuer is necessarie. Doe wée not know what it is to be poore? If to be poore, is to haue nothing proper, and yet for all that to haue al things nédefull, how be not the children of the riche folke poore, whiche haue nothyng to possesse at their owne appointment, but haue al things ministred vnto them by the care & order of their fathers? Who will iudge them I pray you to be poore? Wherfore we muste néedes cõdemne this monkish powertie: First bicause there is pretended a face and shew of powertie, where true powertie is not in déede. Secondly bycause it is fallen out also by this speciall title of powerty, that the nédinesse of the poore in déede, is nothing regarded, and the lacke whiche they haue, not so diligently prouided for, as it ought to be, forasmuch as the greatest portion of many mens wealth hath bene so bestowed vpon this pretensed powerty of the cloysterers, that not only the cõmon sorte of mẽ, but the children of the nobilitie and of the riche also, be plentifully mayntayned by them, not only to liue, but also to bestow vpon their pleasures. The Apostle did expressly giue warning, that the churche should not bée burdened with thẽ which were able to liue either of themselues, either of the goodes of their parents, to the intent, there shoulde remaine sufficient to maintayne ỳ poore in déede. What would he say thinke you, if he sawe them which do now adayes take vpõ them the title of powertie, & be gayly fed, which were neuer poore, neyther before they entred into the cloyster, nor whiles they be in the cloyster, but haue al wealth by heapes, & to sée withall what nũbers there be of the true poore, aged, widowes, fatherles, and diseased, whiche doe lacke theyr necessary sustinaunce?

And for that whiche they pretend out of the Actes, that al things were common among the firste that were Christened, that was not a communing of things in sectes and parties, but it was a common partakyng of things for al those Christians which were in powerty, & therein was none excluded: but in this cõmon dealing there do none take parte, but suche as be of the same sect and brethren of the place. And the faithfull might at that tyme haue and kéepe frée and safe possession of theyr owne goodes, which is put off and forbidden in the Monasteries as vnlawful. And thus muche briefly of the powerty of the Cloysterers.

Of the apparell of Religious persons.

WE muste consider what is the right and principall vse of garmẽts. Of this matter wée may sée in Genesis. The vse of garments is, to couer our naked bodies for shame sake, and to defend them against the byting of the colde. Therfore we do call them clothes and couerings. So Paule sayde: Hauing to fède vs and to couer vs, let vs be content with all. And there be foure abuses of clothes or garments.

The v of clot

Gen. 3.

1. Tim. 6

Foure abuses of garmentes.

1 The first, is of fineneſſe & dayntineſſe, to pamper the tenderneſſe and dayntineſſe of the bodie. This is very vncomely for Chriſtian men, but yet it beareth great rule in the Palaces of Princes.

2 The Second, commeth of pryde and deſire to be gay. The ſame is touched in the rich man of the Goſpel, which wore purple and ſilke. By this abuſe menne doe ſerue vayne glory, and bragging. Se what Peter ſayth.

1. Pet. 3.

3 The third, commeth of lightnes of vaine heades, in cutting and laſhing their garments now adayes to wonderfully and fouly. And this is vſed not only amongſt ſouldiers, but of courtiers alſo, and of the common ſort of people.

Math. 23.

4 The fourth, commeth of Hypocriſie, deuiſed to the intent to deceiue the vnskilfull in colour of holyneſſe, therof the lord ſaid: They do enlarge their ſkyrtes, &c.

Monkes coules.

Now let the Cloiſter anſwere, to what purpoſe their Coules do ſerue, and how they can defende them from Hypocriſie and ſuperſtition, for that they haue ſequeſtred themſelues frō the common and cuſtomable garments, by a colour and faſhiō alone. For neyther the coulor, neyther the faſhion alone helpeth anything at al towards the couering of nakedneſſe, nor to the defending of the body from colde. There be ſome that do pretend I wote not what tokens of lowlines and innocencye: but that ſhoulde be rather expreſſed in their behauiour, than in the monſtrouſneſſe of theyr garmentes. Benedictes rule doeth gyue thys precepte for garmentes: Let there be no regarde had of the

Regula Benedict. c. 55.

coulour or courſeneſſe, but let them take ſuche as they can finde in the countrey where they dwel, and whyche can be bought beſte cheape.

Conſtitu. dominic. ca. 10.

The rule of Auguſtine ſayeth: Let not your garments be notable, neyther ſeeke to pleaſe by your garmēts, but by your manners. And the conſtitutions of the Dominicans, doe ſpeake neyther of the coulour, neyther of the faſhion, but they doe ſpeake of the length and number of their coates and furres. And they do charge them alwayes to weare Scapulers.

Therfore ſeeing the garments doe ſerue for no other vſe, but to couer & kepe vs from colde, and that it becōmeth not Chriſtian folke, to vſe any notable ſingularitie, or vſage alone: but that it is requiſit rather that one ſerue another in charitie: it can not be defended that anye man ſhoulde ſtande faſt to any ſingularitie in apparell for religions ſake, as they doe coulour it. There be ſome ſo ſuperſtitious, that if they walke out but a fewe paſſes of their circuit without their cowle, or in caſe they doe lye without it at night, they be tormented with a wonderful conſcience of ſin, and be afraid, leaſt the Deuill wil cary them away.

Of the cloeſneſſe of Monaſteries and Cloiſtets.

The Monkish enclosure is gainſtian charitie.

The rules neither of Benet, neither of Auguſtine do commaūd this cloſing vp. Auguſtines rule is, when you walke out, walke togither or when you come to your iourneys end, ſtand or tary togither. But chriſtian charitie can not awaye with this

De vowe virginitatis damnatur.

this monkiſh encloſure, for it requyreth vs to viſite ỳ ſicke & impriſoned, which ſhal be either requited vs, if it be fulfilled at the laſt day, or elſe it ſhall be puniſhed, if it be neglected. Moreouer, it is alſo againſt chriſtian and eccleſiaſtical charitie, that ſome dwelling in ỳ middeſt of the faithful, ſhould ſequeſter themſelues from the aſſemblies of the Church, and leade their life apart with them that be of their owne ſect, which is taken to be religion. And we do not otherwiſe reade in the rule of Auguſtine: but ỳ the religious folke which are entred into the companie or congregation of the Churche, ſhould behaue themſelues wel and orderly, ſpecially concerning the keping of chaſtitie. But it is the very worke of Antichriſt, ỳ they be forbidden in the conſtitutiōs of the Dominicans vnder paine of excommunication, that they depart not frō the Monaſtery. Who gaue theſe craftie conueyors authoritie to vſe this excommunicating in a matter which is of it ſelfe indifferent?

Of Virginitie.

WE do know, that true Virginity is muche commended of manye men. And we not finde fault withall, nor withdrawe anye man from it, which hath receyued the gift therof. But we warn them which haue profeſſed, and vndertaken it, to haue a regard to themſelues and to loke wel leaſt either by the vnaduiſed vowing therof or thinking that they haue it when they haue it not, they doe deceyue themſelues. For lyke as true Virginitie is in fewe, ſo the vaine profeſſion thereof doth more harme, than good. Wherfore it is a perilous point to admitte ſo greate a number of vnaduiſed yong folke, to the vowe and profeſſion thereof. Specially in theſe orders which doe liue in a peuiſhe idleneſſe, in aboundaunce and fulneſſe of bellyes and paunche: whereof what wickedneſſe doth enſue, we may ſee in Ezechiell: where we do read after this maner: Lo this was the wickedneſſe of Sodoma thy ſiſter: in pryde, fulneſſe of bread, plenty and idleneſſe in hir ſelf and hir daughters, and thei ſtretched not forth their handes to the poore and needy: and they rouſed themſelues, and wrought abhominations before mée, &c. Woulde to GOD thys had neuer beene vſed in ỳ cloyſters.

Exech. 1

And that is not true Virginitie, when the body is reſtrained from ỳ naturall courſe and diſpoſition of wedlocke, but when the pure & maydenlye abſtinence is ſo kept both in body and minde, that by the diſpoſition of God, all our life is conſecrate and halowed to better ſtudies and purpoſes. For as touching the reſtraint or countenaunce therof, is to ſmall purpoſe. For we may find many beaſtes alſo, which doe not goe to fellow, and therfore Auguſtine doth aright cal Virginitie, the vertue not of the body, but of the minde. And the Apoſtle ſayth: That ſhe may be holye both in bodye and in Spirite, neyther will he haue Virginitie to be an idle and ſeuerles matter: but he thinketh it the parte of Virgins, to thinke vpon thoſe things which doe appertain vnto the lord: which is nothing els, but with hart and minde o

V What is true Virginitie.

1. Cor. 7.

folow the Lordes will accordingly, as the necessitie of the Saincts & the conditiō of euery time doth require. The Virginitie whiche is Idle deserueth no commendation. Neyther the Angels bee not therefore praysed in the Scriptures, bycause they bee sole, but bycause they be Angels and the mesengers of God, and the ministers of the elect. And Augustine doth preferre Obedience before virginitie, wherby men do folow and obey the precepts of God. The goodnesse of obedience (saith he) is greater than that of cōtinence. For wedlocke is not any where condemned by the authoritie of our scriptures: but disobedience is in no place pardoned. Item obedience (saith he) may be without Virginitie, for asmuche as Virginitie commeth of counsell, and not of commaundement. Item, Virginitie (saith he) may therfore be without obedience, bicause some woman may vndertake the purpose of Virginitie, and kepe the same, and contemne the commaundements, as wee knowe that many vowed Virgins haue done, tatlers and talkers, curious, dronkerdes, brawlers, couetous, prowde, &c. whiche poynts be al agaynst the commaundements, and do slea them through the offence of disobedience, as they did the mother Eua. Wherefore we must not only more regarde an obedient wyfe, than the obedient Virgine, but also the more obedient in any thyng is, the more worthy of commendation of prayse. This sayth he.

Hebr. 1.

August. de bono coniug. Ca 13.

The goodnesse of obedience is greater than of continence.

And herein we doe not reiect and cast off true Virginitie, in that wee doe blame the same whiche is counterfayte, but we doe admonishe our vowmakers, that they loke well to the matter, and that they deceiue not themselues by the shewe and colour of the Sole lyfe. Secondly, that they flatter not themselues to muche for the kepyng of their Virginitie, as though that their saluation and felicitie did cōsist therin, & that the wedded folke could not attain to ỳ same. For there is no doubt, but ỳ there is a way also open for wedded folke to felicitie & saluation, and that they do farre excede negligēt and vile Virgins, in case they be faythfull, and doe truely and vprightly kepe their wedlocke. Therefore Chrysostome sayth: For the blessings whiche Christe spake of, bee not spoken to Cloyster men onely, for then all the world should perish, and we should haue cause to cōplayne of the cruelty of God. For in case the blessings were spoken vnto Cloysterers only, and that it were not possible for a secular man to fulfil them, *Ergo*, where as he hath commaunded mariage, he hath marde all menne. For in case a man can not with mariage accōplish those things that doe belong vnto Cloister men, al were lost & marde, and vertue shoulde be driuen into a narrow corner. And how should mariage be honorable whē it doth hinder folke? What shall we say to it then? It is possible, yea and very possible for them that haue wyues, to vse vertue, if wee will our selues. How? In case ỳ hauing wyues wee vse the matter as though wee had none. If wee reioyce not in those things whiche we possesse. If we vse ỳ world so, as if we vsed it not. But if that any be hindered by mariage, lette them vnderstande that it is not

marriage that is their lette, but the will, whiche naughtely vseth marriage. For it is not wine that maketh a man dronke, but the naughty will, and the excesse when they take more than ynough. Use marriage moderately, and thou shalt be riche in the kingdome, and enioy all good things. This saith he. Therefore let not the Virgin bragge, and boast of hir Virginitie, wherein the way of blessednesse doth not consist, forasmuche as wedded folke haue also the same, but lette hym, or hir endeauor rather to walke the way of Gods Commaundements, by due obedience.

Why the Apostle did counsell menne to Virginitie, and howe Christ saith that some menne doe geld themselues for the Kingdome of Heauen. Mat. 19.

And whereas the Apostle dothe counsell men to Virginitie, it is not bycause of any speciall prerogatyue, or worthinesse thereof, that Christian menne shoulde desire, and seeke it. But he spake it bycause of the necessitie of those seasons, when ỳ Church of Christe was euerye where vexed with great persecution. And whereas Christ saith, that there be some whiche do geld themselues for the Kyngdome of Heauen, it is not so to be taken, that the same gelding doth anye thing helpe them vnto saluation (for then it shoulde behoue them all that desire to be saued, to be gelded, and wedding shoulde be out of all hope of saluation,) but that it is done bycause of the Gospell, in whiche turne the man that is free from wedlock, may serue more readyly, and at more lybertie. So we do see that both Christ and Paule made this the marke and end of Virginitie, that the kingdome of Heauen might more frankely goe forewarde in the worlde, by the ministerie of the Gospell.

Furthermore, it can not be allowed nother, that Virginitie shoulde be vowed to be kept, not for a season, but for the whole life time. For it is a matter impossible for the flesthe, vnlesse that it be made possible, by the speciall gifte of God: no yong folke, no nor aged can be assured of thys gift. And therefore the Apostle dothe admitte no widowes to the relefe of ỳ Church, vnder threescore yeares of age. Moreouer, whereas Virginitie is sometimes counseled but neuer commanded, by the vow it is brought to passe, that it hathe no longer the nature of a counsell, but of a commaundemente, whiche ouerthwarte dealing can not be excused, but dothe bynde and snarle oure free consciences. Which euill the Apostle meante to eschew, saying expressly: The Virgine, if she marrie, sinneth not. Thys saying of hys is made voyde by the lawe of vowes. It is to be misliked also, that they doe cloake and painte the keping of the vowed Virginitie with the title of obedience, againste the very nature of obedience. For it is not due vnto God by commaundemente, who commaunded it not, nor vnto men, which can giue no precept thereof. And that whiche is not commaunded, can not be performed as by obedience or breaking.

1 Cor. 7

Of the loosing of a Vovve.

FOrasmuche as the terror and feare of Vowes dothe breede much trouble in weake consciences, I haue thought good to speake somewhat thereof also, whether that euerye Vowe be altogither insoluble, such as ought not to be broken off, if anye of them may be broken, when

they may be made voyde.

Whether that all Vovves do binde.

They whiche do defend Cloister Vowes, doe packe vp manye thinges out of Scriptures, to proue that Vowes oughte to bée obserued and kept: as that out of the Psalme. I will pay my vowes in the presence of them whiche do feare thée. And, I will performe my vowes vnto thée, whiche my lips haue cõceyued. And, Vow and performe vnto your Lord God. When thou makest a vow vnto the Lord thy God, thou shalte not tarry for the performing thereof: for the Lorde thy God doth looke for it, &c. If thou hadst vowed anye thing vnto God, stay not in ẏ performing thereof, &c. These places they doe alleadge to ratifie ẏ binding of vowes. But they shoulde haue proued that those vowes ought to be kept, which we be againste, bycause they doe entangle and snarle poore folkes consciences. Our opinion is, that al vowes be not alwayes suche as ought to bée kept, but that it is requisite now and then to breake them, that is to saye, when they be vnlawfull and vnprofitable whereof is muche spoken in the Decrées. Were it not muche more tollerable to reiecte the vowes which be foolishly promised, thã by ẏ kéepyng of vnprofitable promises, to heape vp an horrible measure of offences?

Psalme.22. Psalme.66. Psalme.75. Deut.23. Eccle.5.

Somtimes requisite that vowes be broken.

Dist.22.questi.4.ex Concilio Toletano Cap. Si Publicis.

In the same place of the decrées (he saith) In naughty promises breke off, and in a foule vow, alter thy purpose. Doe not that which thou haste vnaduisedly vowed. The promise is wicked, whiche is accomplished by a mischeuous déede. This we do reade in the Canons. Whereby it dothe well appeare, that nother foolish, nor improfitable, much lesse naughty and foule vowes doe bind their consciences which hath vowed them, but that they oughte immediatelye to be broken, so that it is out of all doubte, that vowes be not alwayes to bée obserued. Therefore they deale very wrongfully, whiche do so charge the foresaide places of the Scripture vppon weake consciences, to aduouche that those thinges whiche they haue once vowed, ought absolutely to bée obserued, whereas they ought rather to haue proued that the same cloister vowes doe please God, and that they ought alwayes to be kept. The scripture speaketh not of them, but of the vowes of the olde Testamente, in whiche the afflicted & troubled folke did vowe Sacrifices vnto GOD in their prayers, as we declared before, which were both lawfull and in euerye behalfe to be performed.

They do obiect the place of the Apostle for the vowe of Virginitie, cõcerning widdowes. The Apostle sayeth (say they) Cast off the yong widdowes, for when they begin to waxe wanton agaynste Christe, they will marrie, hauing their condemnation, bycause they haue forsaken theyr fyrste promise. What shall wée thynke now of Fryers and Nonnes, whych are suffered to marry in some places, although they haue vowed Virginitie? May it not bée better sayde of them than of the widdowes whiche doe marrie agayne, that they haue broken theyr fyrste faithe, or promise, and therfore that they haue their

1.Tim.5.

their condemnation? We doe aunswere. The Apostle speaketh not of vowyng Virgins, but of the Widdowes whyche the Churche susteyned at that tyme, as we maye perceyue in the Actes, where it is written, that the Gréekes dyd murmure againste the Iewes, bycause ẏ theyr widdowes were despised in the ministerie, that is to saye, in the dayly reliefe. He warneth that no yong widdowes should be taken into the communion of that reliefe, vnder thréescore yeares of age. I beséeche you, what and howe dothe this serue for cloyster vowes and against vs? Yea, how is it that they perceiue not how thys place serueth for our purpose? For fyrste in ẏ that he doth appoynt them to be of thréescore yeares of age, it maketh nothing for them, whiche doe admitte girles vnto the Cloyster vowes.

Act.6.

Secondly, he warneth them to eschewe the yonger sorte vpon the example of them whiche followed Satan. Thirdly, he doth not only refuse the yonger sorte, but doth also charge them to marry, least the Deuill get in with them. If these matters hadde bin well obserued in the Church, the Deuill had not had so greate a scope to marre and cast awaye the yong gyrles and wenches of the Christians. Thys euill the Apostle dyd foresée, and therefore doth expreslye commaunde, saying: I wyll haue the yonger sorte to marrie, to get Chyldren, to be wiues in their houses, to giue no occasion vnto the aduersarie the Deuill.

And some sely yong Nonnes wyll obiecte this also. She whiche is once despoused or betrothed, can not marrie anye other. But the Nonne is betrothed a Virgin vnto Christ, *Ergo*, it is not lawfull for the Nonne to marrie.

1 I aunswer, If to vowe bée as much as to marrie, with ẏ Nonnes, then they do marrie with Dominik, Benet, or Francis, rather than with Christ: and in case they do marrie anye one of them, and Christe to, then they haue two husbands at once.

2 Secondlye, if theyr vowe bée a knotte of wedlock with Christ, what was that thẽ, which they did at their baptisme? Dothe not Paule saye: I haue betrothed you vnto one husbãd, to yeld a chast Virgin vnto Christe? Who knoweth not ẏ he spake thys not of the vowe & profession of Mõkery, but of Christendome? He speaketh vnto Christiãs, betrothed vnto Christ, and not vnto Nonnes. Therfore whereas Nonnes bée professed vnto Christ, as Christian folke, how be they professed or betrothed vnto Benet, as Nonnes? And how do they alone crake of Christ their husband?

2.Cor.11.

3 Thirdly, if the spiritual wedlock with Christe doth hinder Friers and Nonnes from wedlocke, why doth it not hinder al Christian men as wel? Or else how is it that the betrothyng of Christians whiche the Apostle toucheth doth not let the matter, but that the cloyster profession must let it? But I wil goe no farther. These vow-men be yong and smal in vnderstanding, but woulde to GOD they were yong and suttle in malice. Let thẽ yet heare what Augustine wrote of this matter. Therefore they that do say, ẏ the marriages of such be no mariages, but rather adultries, seme to me that they doe not thorough

The N... is betro... thed to... Christ, ... thee ma... not ma... any oth...

August. ... viduitas. cap.10.

and diligently consider what they do say. For the likenesse of the truthe doth deceyue them: for whereas they be reported to choose the marriage of Christ, whiche of some christian holinesse doe not marrie, some do argue therevpon, saying. In case that shée be an adulteresse which doth marrie an nother, as long as hir husband lyueth, as the Lord himselfe defined in the Gospell: then if she whiche hathe chosen the marriage of Christe, doe marrie any man whiles Christ lyue, whome deathe shall not ouercome agayne, she is an adulteresse. They which do say this, haue fine deuises, but they little consider howe greate absurditie, or vnséemelines of things dothe follow vppon this arguing, &c. sée the place it selfe. Lette the true godly and deuoute person way now, whether that vowe be able to hynder and hurte the saluation of the vowe maker for which Christ dyed.

Secondlye, whether that it bée againste God, and hurtfull vnto oure saluation, to liue in whoredome and vnlawfull lustes. Thirdly, whether it be not better to liue in matrimony, than in whoredome, yea whether that he which can not kéepe himselfe chast, be not bounde to obeye the Apostle, whose commaundemente is, that he which can not kéepe himselfe chast, should marry. In this case the vowe of continence doth not lette, bicause the vow maker receyued it not from God: and to be short: In case he had made no vowe, were he not boūd to marry? yes no doubte. Howe shall he do then after the vowe, if it be not lawfull for a man to marrie, then the vowe serueth to hurt and hinder the saluation of him which made ẏ vow, forasmuch as he entered into a band not of saluation, but of destruction? This bande of vow commeth not of God, but of the Diuell. Therefore they which do estéeme the marriage of them whiche sometymes made vowes, to be adultery, and do breake them, be the ministers not of Christ, but of Satan, and do worke against their owne Canons, where we doe find written in this wise: Some doe hold that they which do marrie after a vowe, be adulterers, but I say, that they do gréeuously offende, which do part them asunder. And they bée the wordes of Augustine. Thus muche touching vowes. Dist. 27.

Of Afflictions.



FOR as muche as whiles we doe liue in this fleshe, we bée subiect vnto all kind of afflictions, by the speciall purpose of God, both thorough the weakenesse of oure nature, and also thorough the malice of this present world, yea and bycause of the profession of oure Religion, and the open enimie of Satā, I haue thoughte good to note somewhat also of this matter to the commoditie of godlye disposed persons. For it skilleth much howe we do vnderstand, vndertake, beare and ouercome the aduersities which can not be auoyded. For there is nothing so sorowfull and troublesome, whyche the wel disposed christian man is not able to ouercome by the grace of his Sauior. And we wil so treate of this matter, that we will, according to

oure custome and manner, deuide it into certayne Chapiters, as

1 How many manners of Afflictions there be.

2 From whence they come.

3 Of what purpose of God they be sent.

4 Howe sundrye wayes they bée sente.

5 What is the profite of them.

6 Howe they must be taken, suffered and ouercome.

7 Howe wée must deale wyth the afflicted.

8 How God vseth himselfe with the afflicted.

Two kindes of afflictions.

There be a passing number of the sortes of afflictions whereof we can not rehearse the least parte, wherefore we purpose not to wade farre into this wide and wilde sea, but doe content our selues with this diuision, to make two kinds of Afflictions, one of worldly matters, ẏ other of those thinges whiche betide for religions sake. And the Apostle semeth to haue deuided thē so, where he sayth: There hathe no temptation taken you, but worldly, by which words he doth separate worldly afflictions, from those whiche thorough the instigation of Satan be layde vpon Christian mē, in consideration they be Christians, by this most wicked world.

Ruth 10.

Worldly afflictions.

We do call them worldly afflictions, whiche doe betide vnto men, as men in this world, without the cause of religion. And they chaunce thrée manner of wayes vnto vs: First, as béeing weake of nature. Secondlye, as abiecte and vile in condition and degrée. Thirdly, as béeyng naughte, and mischeuous of lyfe. There doe fall vnto vs manye aduersities and troubles as weake of nature, euen from our first birth: thorough out all the trade of our life long, our birthe, oure cradell, infancy and childhoode, mans state and age, do swarme with manye afflictiōs and troubles. Who can account the griefes of the fleshe, which colde, heate and hunger, thirst and diseases, seuerally dangerous to euery age, do inforce? I speake not of them whiche came by some speciall mishappe or chaunce. In déede oure whole nature is generally corrupte, weake and féeble, and the corruption thereof doth customably bréede certayne peculiar griefes to euery age. These be common as wel to the good as to the euill, to the hygh as to the lowe. For they do fall not according to the diuersitie of mens conditions as to the myghtye and weake, to the learned and vnlearned, to hyghe and lowe, to ryche and poore, but as to menne, accordyng vnto the lackes of oure common nature, whych the necessitie of deathe dothe at the laste vtterlye determine and bryng to an ende.

Worldly afflictions seeth the man. ways.

Secondlye, afflictions do chaunce vnto men, as base in condition and degrée, as contempt, oppression, pyllage, pouertie, with all manner of wrongs, whereby the meaner sort be without respect troden downe by the stronger, and be deuoured in thys world, euen as the smaller fishes bée in the sea by the greater and mightier. Whereof Habacuck dothe complayne, saying: How long Lord shall I crye, and thou wilt not heare me? I shall call vnto thée whyles I suffer, and thou wilt not saue me. Why doest thou shewe me wickednesse and trouble, to sée spoyling and violence

Habacuck

before my face, and ther is left strife, and iudgemente is taken awaye: Therefore the Lawe hath no force, and iudgement hathe no execution, bycause the wicked dothe restrayne the iust: therof it is that there commeth out peruerse and crooked iudgement. This manner of afflictions wherewith the poore & the widdowes, the fatherlesse, straungers and innocente bee oppressed in this worlde, do reigne without any loking to, in all nations, so that it is not sayde in vayne: Where the hedge is lowest, it is easiest troden downe. And, The poore lyeth oppressed in euerye corner.

Thirdlye, afflictions do fall to the euill and mischeuous folke oftentimes through their owne deserte, whiche they doe purchase vnto themselues, either by their owne naughty endeauors and doings, as we may se in aduulterers, whoremongers, drunkerds and gluttons, either which are compelled to suffer as layde vppon thē by others, either in abiding some priuate punishment, or when they be executed by the iust iudgement of the Magistrates. Thus much of the first kinde of afflictions, which we doe cal worldly.

Affliction for religions sake.

We sayde that there is an other kinde of those afflictions, whyche bee layde vppon men for godlynesse and religion, vnto whiche we doe ioyne those also, whiche iust men doe suffer for righteousnesse. And in my iudgemente it is not possible to make one hedcrolle of them all. We may superficially rehearse some as most generall, of which some be commonlye layde vppon all, certayne to some certayne, more or lesse to the godlye and iust persons, vnto all generally there dothe betide displeasure, hatered, casting off, abhorring, blasphemie, slander and reprofe, seking to hurte and destroy. For firste as many as bee godly disposed in Christ in deede, and do sticke with sincere faith vnto his worde, they do exceedingly displease the wicked children of this worlde, bycause they can not like their deuises and studyes. And this is the beginning of those afflictions, wherewith ỹ godly be vexed in this world, and it is the more griefe vnto them the more that they desire and seke to please all men in goodnesse.

Secondlye, there followeth thys displeasure a moste detestable and deadly hatered euen at hande, whyche Satan is wonte wonderfully to kyndle and sette a fyre in mennes mindes.

Thirdly, of this hatered are bred all the euils wherewith the godly be afflicted. There riseth immediately a parting of friendes, whereby all friendshippe, aliance and familiarity is broken: so that the children be diseuered from their parentes, the parentes from their children, brother from brother, the wife from the husbande, friend from friend, and neighbour from neighboure. The disposition and nature of man is alwayes suche, that it dothe louingly embrace such as do followe the like trade that it doth, and hateth them that doe seke the truth, and dothe abhorre them whome it doth hate, and doth earnestlye couet to eschue their companye, as some as mens myndes be supered in the case of Religion: lyke as their iudgementes and will be contrarie, so the very societie and felowshippe also of their life, breaketh off. In so muche that they whiche were nearest frendes, fall to be sequestred one from an nother. There followeth this sequestration and abhorring, when the wicked doe detest, curse and banne the Godlye, as moste wicked. Thus they are wonte to be abhorred, whiche be condemned of Heresie, and bycause they wouldе haue John Husse to be taken for suche a one, when he was ledde to death, they put on a garment vpon him wherein they had caused to be painted the Image of the Deuill both before and behinde.

Vnto this abhorrente be ioyned slaunders, tauntes, and rebukes, wherewith the godly be most vilfauoredly reuiled by the wicked, and others also be procured to hate and abhorre them. For they thinke it not ynough to haue them hated priuatelye of some, vnlesse that they be generally abhorred of all people. After this commeth their endelesse endeauor to worke mischiefe and destruction, whereas the wicked do practise the losse of the honoure, wealthe, and life of the godly. These be the common afflictions, whereunto all godly be subiect for religions sake.

Those whiche do particularly betide vnto some, can not all be specially noted. Some of them by persecution, outlawe, nedinesse, hunger, thirst, stripes, emprisonment, yrons, condemnation, swoord, fetters, fyre, &c. The Apostle doth make mention of hunger, nakednesse, perill, persecution, and the swoorde, &c. of necessities, straightes, plagues, prisons, seditiōs, trauayles, watchings and fastings, and he doeth recount his owne afflictions, that is to saye, his trauailes, stripes, prisons and deathes. I receyued (saithe he) of the Iewes fiue times forty stripes lacking one. I was thrée times beaten with roddes, I was once stoned, I was in thrée shipwrackes, I lay a day and a nighte in the déepe Sea, I haue bin oftentimes in daunger by the way side in perill of water, in perill of thieues, perill of kinred, perill of Gentiles, perill within the towne, perill in wildernesse, perill vppon the Sea, perils amongst false brethren, in payne, in griefe, in watchinges, in hunger, in thirst, in fastings oft, in cold and nakednesse, besides those matters which do betide outwardly, &c. It is not to be doubted of, but that the other Apostles also had a crosse of sundry afflictions to sustayne. For like as the wicked be sore, cruell, and extreame against the electes of God, so they be also wittie to deuise diuers and sundry sortes of afflictions.

2. Cor. 11.

What shall I say of those thynges which do vexe ỹ heartes of the faithfull, although there be no enforcemente of trouble vnto their bodyes? Is not the lawe of sinne a very death in their membres, whereby it falleth out that they worke not that good whyche they like and would do, and do the euill whych they do hate, and therefore maye crye out with greate sorrow, and say as the Apostle dothe: A wretched manne that I am, who shall deliuer me from this body subiecte vnto deathe? No manne knoweth howe sore that Godly meane bée vexed herewith, vnlesse they haue proued it. There do chaunce thynges otherwyse also, whereby they bée sore grieued. As the

Rom. 7.

contempt of the name of God, which they perceyue to preuayle euerye where, whereof we spake somewhat in the place before: Of the name of God. For like as they do say with al their heart, Halowed be thy name: so they can not chose, but be very sory as often as they do see it despised, and dishonored. Another is, ỹ Catholike and generall seduction and abuse of the Church, which raigneth through out all the Poperie, and worketh the destruction of so many soules, and so spitefull variaunce and strife, besides the vpper hand, quiet, and prosperitie of the wicked. And who is diseased among the faithfull, but that the Godly is also diseased with him: Who is offended, and he not kindled withall: Who sustayneth any losse or incommoditie, but that he feleth a griefe withall in his heart: Truly the troubles of the iust in this life be not onlye many, but innumerable. So that the Apostle sayde not in vayne: In case that wee haue hope in Christe in thys lyfe onely, wee bee moste miserable of all menne. But thus much of the kinds of afflictions.

Of vvhence Afflictions do come.

ALbeit that there doe Afflictions betide vs, of which we search not from whence they came, bycause it is manifest ynough, yet notwithstanding it belongeth to the Godlye man diligently to knowe, first generally, and then specially as neare as hee can, of whence ỹ euils doe come whiche doe indifferently chaunce eyther vnto all men or to some certaine only, eyther good or euill. For this consideration dothe help muche to make vs the readier to bear all aduersities.

Afflictions bee sente from God. Gen. 9. Exo. 5.

First of all, euerye man must bee fully perswaded, that nothing at all befalleth vnto mankind, either generally or particularlye, whether it bee good or euil, without the disposition and order of God, foreseeyng that there falleth not as much as a little sparow to the grounde without the prouidence of God, how can any aduersitie befall vnto man without the disposition of God? This is confirmed by the testimonye of God hymselfe, saying in Esay: Besides mee there is no God, I am the Lord, and there is no other that fashioneth the light, & maketh darkenesse, making peace, and appointing euill. Esay. 45.

Causes of afflictions.

Secondly, we must consider of the causes of the euils which do oppresse vs, of them some came from our first parents, and some of our selues whiche be afflicted, some outwardlye from others, some immediately from God. From oure first parentes doe come all those euils whiche doe commonly betide all mankinde in all lyuing men, of which we made mention before. For we maye impute all these things vnto their transgressiõ, for which we be al become wretched, miserable, subiect vnto diseases, hunger, thirst, werinesse, colde, heate, all kinds of griefes and sorowes, and al lost to Death and corruption, as many of vs as doe descende from them, and be borne in this flesthe of Sinne. The occasions of these euils, wherewith we be afflicted bycause of our sins, do procede of our selues. Therefore the Prophet saith: I will visite theyr wickednesse with a rodde, and theyr sines with stripes. And ỹ Lord sayd to him

to him that had the paulsie: Be of good cheere my sonne, thy sinnes be forgiuẽ thee. And, Lo, thou art now made whole, see thou sinne no more least some worse matter betyde thee: whereby wee doe perceyue that we be scourged of God for our sinnes, and by them do prouoke the wrath of God vpon vs. And besides that ther be some sins ỹ of nature, that they do afflict both our bodies & soules, albeit ỹ they be not punished by any peculiar punishement of god doth not dronkennes trouble & marre mens bodies, and couetousnes and enuie, the mindes and soules? One, saith, ỹ euery disordered affectiõ, is a punishemẽt to himself.

But the causes of some afflictions be without vs, in them which doe hate and trouble vs without desert. Such be the causes of those euyls wherwith the godly, iust, and innocẽt be oppressed by ỹ wicked in this world, & those be vngodlinesse, malyce, anger, hatered, enemitie, enuie, pride, loue of our selfe, and delyght in strife and variance.

It chanceth sometimes, that the cause of affliction commeth immediately frõ God. And we haue an example therof, in ỹ blind man. Aboute whom when the disceples demaunded who had sinned, either he, or his parentes ỹ he was borne blynde, the Lorde aunswered and said: Neither this man nor hys parentes hath offended, but he was borne blinde, to the intent that the workes of God should be reuealed in him. It is a sore affliction for a man to lack his eiesight frõ his mothers belly, & yet for all that there was no other cause thereof in thys blinde body, but bycause it pleased God to reuele his glory in him. I say ther was no such cause of blindnesse in him, not for that his byrth was not subiect vnto sin, & worthy of greater punishemẽt than blindnesse is: but that God would not for that, plague him with blindnes whom he would rather haue to be an instrument to bee glorified by through his sonne.

As for ỹ final causes of afflictiõs, we will not speak of them here, but we shal haue better occasiõ to touch them in some article folowing.

III. Of what purpose of God afflictions be sent.

LIke as God taketh no delyte in the destruction of the soules of mẽ, so he doth not delite neither in their afflictions, for he is not cruell & hatefull of nature, as some heretikes imagined the god of the old Testament to be inclined to do euil as well to ỹ good as to the euil, but he is good, milde, & louing towards mã so that he deliteth in doing good, according to the saying of Hieremie. I will reioyce in them, when I shall do thẽ good. Therfore wheras he doth send them afflictions, it procedeth not of that that he is enclined to trouble and punish, wheras ỹ is contrary to his nature. But whẽ he doth afflict & scourge vs he doth a straunge worke, to come vnto that which is proper vnto hym, as we may perceiue by Esay, wher we do read in this maner. To do his own worke, his worke is straunge to bryng to passe his working, his working is straunge. It is the proper worke of God not to afflycte, but to deliuer, & saue the afflicted. But it is wrought by the malice of

Ieremie. Esay 28. God vvorketh a straunge vvorke to attayne to his owne vvorke.

our nature, that he is compelled like a most faithfull father, to chasten & instruct vs by the rodde of discipline, to ꝯ intent to come to his own ꝓper worke & to saue thē which should otherwise perish. To this intent he did oftētimes afflict and scourge the people of Israel, because of their stif necke, and vntollerable rebellion, to bowe, and tourne them vnto him.

Ose. 1. So we do reade in Osee: Therfore, Lo, I will hedge vp his waye with thornes, and will pane it vp, and he shall not finde his pathe, and he shal folowe his louers, and shall not ouertake them, and shall seke them, and not finde them, and shall say, I wyll go and returne to my first husband, for it was better with me at that time, than it is nowe. So hee doth punishe sinners, what tyme they do folow their owne trade, to ꝯ intent they may tourne vnto him, & amende their life.

1. Cor. 11. There is a like place, where the Apostle saith: When we be iudged, we be chastened by the Lord, to the intent we should not be dāned with the worlde. The Greke worde παιδεύεσθαι, signifieth to correct, chasten, and reforme folke as children are wont to be, to declare that God doth nothing els when he doth afflict vs, but as ꝯ father doth when he doth take vp & scourge his childe that doth offend. This intent of god is expressed more at large to the Ebrewes in this wise. For you haue not yet withstanded striuing against sinne vnto bloudshed, and you haue forgotten the comfort which speaketh vnto you as vnto children, saying: My sonne, despise not the discipline of the Lord, neither be thou wery ed when thou art reprooued of

Heb. 12. him, for the Lord loueth him whom he chasteneth, & he scourgeth euery childe, which he receiueth, &c.

So that herein is the greatest consideration of all kindes of afflictions wherewith we be afflicted in this lyfe, to be had, least we cast away our selues, when we sinne at lybertie without any chastening.

V Vnyuſt be afflicted, exemple. But for as much as not onely they do sinne, but the iust men also which be much afflicted in this worlde, because of iustice & godly lyfe, it were a question well asked, what is the meaning of God in that poynt. And to answere briefly vnto this question: There be two principall causes, why God doth yelde the iust men to be punished of the vngodly & vniust. The one is for their exercise, the other is for a speciall example. For exercise, ꝯ they may thereby be trained in faith, hope, prayer, and praise of his name. Such a matter Paul expressed, saying: We wil not haue you ignorant brethren of our trouble which betyded vs in Asia, for we were greeued aboue measure, more than we were able to beare, in so much, that we were wery of our lyfe, and we had in our selfe an answere, or contentation of death, so that we should not trust in our selues but in God, which doth rayse vp ꝯ dead, who hath deliuered & take vs out of so great perills, vpon whome we trust, that he shall yet still deliuer vs through your ayde in prayer for vs, so that from many persons and partakers of that gift which is in vs there may be giuen thankes for vs, by many. Thus the godly be exercised in ꝯ faith of gods prouidēce to the intent ꝯ knowing their owne weakenesse, they may learne to put

Exercise of afflictions.

2. Cor. 1.

all

all their trust in their Lorde God. Thus they be practised to hope vpō him, whose ayde they haue felt in their afflictions: Thus they be trayned vp to call vpon him, vpon whom they do depend in stedfast trust and hope, & to sacrifice vnto him a sacrifice of praise, by whome they know that they be deliuered from al their afflictions.

The other cause which we said, is for some speciall exāple, consisteth in two parts, for either it serueth to ꝯ Church of the faithfull, either to the glory of the name of God. The elect & godly persons be made exāples of faith, & patience, when they do with constant faith and sufferance, beare the strugglinges of their afflictions in this world, & so do shine as bright as starres on ꝯ church of ꝯ faithful.

So Christ dyd set forth his Prophets for ꝯ Apostles to folow. They do serue to the glory of God, when his might and goodnesse is declared in thē. Such be ꝯ things which Iob suffred. For these cōsiderations, god layeth his afflictions vpon the iust & Godly, which this world is not worthy to enioy. Ther might be others also alleaged, but these be the chiefe.

Where may be a question asked also, why God doth not onely afflict the sinners, in whome there is yet some place of repentance, & the iust persons, but the wicked & vngodly also, in whome the forsayd reasons can not serue, for they be not reformed with stripes and plagues, but shall abide their punishment at the last iudgement? We haue made answere vnto this question before in ꝯ place of ꝯ Iudgements of God. The vngodly be scourged also in this life to the intent there should be founde

Sinners be scourged by seuery of afflictions.

nothing left for them to colour any excuse by: and besides that it is for the profit of the godly, ꝯ ther should appere certaine arguments of gods iudgemēts, to declare how god doth not alow, but iudge and condemne all them that do wickedly.

How many manner wayes afflictions be sent.

He which doth dispose and order all things in number, wayght and measure, according vnto his incōprehēsible wisedom, doth appoint this matter (whereof we speake) most wysely, not alike, but sundry wise in dēde by vnequal and diuers reasons, meanes and measures, but yet attempered with most high prouidence. It is the parte of a wyse Phisition to vary in giuing his medicins, according vnto the varietie of the diseases: yea sometimes he must not cure them that haue one selfesame disease by one manner of meanes and medicines, but he must chaunge the meanes of his curing, according to the varietie of the persons, which be diseased. It is ꝯ part also of a discrete Scholemaister, to haue a consideration of his scholers capacities and wittes, in vsing his correction, and to apply himselfe vnto the diuersitie of his scholers dyspositions, which causeth, that some one must be oftner chastened than an other. We see by the very lyke reasō, that ꝯ varietie of those afflictions & chastenings is great, wherewith mē be scorged & chastened by ꝯ order of God in this worlde. For they by not alwaies chastened after one kynde and manner of affliction, which bee chastened for one selfe same sinne, some be fauored

and spared as the weaker, & some bee punished more seuerely and strayghtly. There is a generall louingnesse and care of our saluation in God, but his meanes and wayes to saue vs doe vary, lyke as the heauenly gifts of god also be diuers and sundry wayes distributed and bestowed.

Iustice tryed by sundry afflictions.

Fynally, neither be the iust rayned, and tried in one measure of afflictions, but after a sundry sorte. Samuell one way, and Dauid an other way, Isaac one way, and Iacob an other waye, the Prophetes in sundry sorts. And the Apostle Paule other wayes, than the rest of the Apostles. He passed them all in heape of afflictions, like as he did in trauailes. Yea, we do see that iuste men sometimes do lyue in quiet, in a very calme condition of life, wher as some others be vexed with sundry troubles and aduersities. You shal finde some which fal into troubles euen from their cradle, & some very latterly. And onely he knoweth the reasons of all this, which doth only dispose & order al things according vnto his wisdome, which we may not bee ouer curious to search. We do leaue the matter to the tryers of mettalles, to knowe how they do try gold one way, and siluer an other way, leade an other way, copper an other way, and yron an other way, howe much more is it conuenient that we should commit this power and care ouer vs vnto God most wise and louing of mankinde, to determine most freely of the exercise and reformation of our lyfe, and be out of all doubt, that he doth it for our good, and for no euil at all towardes vs.

V. What is the profit of afflictions.

IF we do diligently consider vnto what purpose of God afflictions be laid vpon vs, whereof we haue spoken before, we may easely vnderstand, to what profit of ours it is done. Yet for all that we do meane to entreate therof seuerally.

Rom. 5.

1 First the Apostle whē he would recommend it vnto vs, sayth: Not that onely, but we do glory & reioyce also in our afflictions, knowing ỹ affliction breedeth patience, that patience breedeth proofe, and proofe or tryal bringeth forth hope. Thus farre forth patience, proofe, and hope do come of affliction, for as it is ỹ cause of them without which they coulde not be. For like as hope is but weake wout trial & proofe, and that a tryall can not be had without patience, so there can be no patience, where there is no affliction. Therefore all that profit which commeth of patience, proofe and hope, is attrybute a ryght vnto affliction. The patience and sufferance of afflictions, maketh our faith to be well tryed, whereupon commeth the hope, which doth not confound: and who is able to way well howe great a helpe it is vnto true saluation, when a man hath a tried fayth towardes God, and an assured hope against al tẽptatiõs as armed against ỹ very gattes of Hel.

2 Secondly, the terrour & feare of afflyctions (which Hieromie doth translate and expounde veration, in Esay) giuing vnderstanding to the hearers, wherby wee doe vnder the terrour of the crosse, & after our deliuerance also, much better vnderstande those those things which we did

dyd before negligently heare, and not conceiue out of the word of god.

3 Thirdly, affliction doth also abate mens harts, lyke as welth doth set them vp in pryde and hawtines. And lyke as there be two sortes of hawtinesse by prosperitie, so there is also a double humblenes ỹ commeth by affliction. They which haue the world at will, are both hawtie and high in minde, & reputed high also in the world. Contrariwise they which be vexed with aduersitie, be abased both in their hart or stomack, & in ỹ world also: & how profitable it is to be voide of all hawtinesse, & to be abased before the Lorde, no man can sufficiẽtli cõsider. Whiles we do liue in quiet, we do not know our selues, how weake wee be in minde, faithe, & body also: but when we be in troubles & afflictiõs, than we do fele our weakenesse in deede, & so be abased not onely in the sight of the world, but in our own consciences also: & whē we be once brought low, we be better inclined vnto ỹ kepig of gods cõmaũdemẽts, than we were before. The sayig of Dauid is wel knowē: Before I was abased, I did offend. Itē, Thou didst abase mę, to learne thy commaundements.

Affliction breedeth patience.

4 Fourthly, affliction doth also breede amendement of lyfe, & draw vs vnto God. Whereof we haue a lesson giuen vs by the prodigal and wastful sonne, who was so conuerted vnto a better minde & amendement by afflictions, that he sayd: I wil go to my father, &c. of which mynde he was not before, when he ran at lauish, and folowed his own lusts and delytes.

Affliction giueth vnderstanding.

5 Fiftly, affliction doth restraine the mynde from naughty desires, & plucketh it from worldly matters, & maketh it wary and wakefull in all respects. In this consideration also Dauid was better at ease when he was in exile, than he was in peace, prosperitie and idlenesse: when he was troubled in exile & banishmẽt, he could not abyde to hurt his most spitefull enemye Saul, whereas he might haue done it most easely. But how great wrongs he dyd vnto his most faithfull and truste seruaunt, when he lyued at rest, the histories do testifie.

Naughty concupiscences.

Afflictions breedeth a feruencie of praier.

6 Sirtly, lyke as when we be in quiet, we do pray either nothing at all, or very coldly vnto God. So in aduersitie, and trouble our spirit & courage is styrred vp and enkendled to prayer, wherof we do finde examples euery wher in the Psalmes of Dauid: so that affliction is as it were the sauce of prayer, as hunger is vnto meate. Truely they pray er is vnsauery, which be voyde from afflictions, and do not praye truely, but de rather cõterfayte a prayer, or pray for custome.

By afflictions we be assured of the care of God. 2. Cor. 1.

7 Seuenthly, we be not onely allowed and well tryed by affliction, but the very care of God is thereby commended vnto vs, wherby he doth marueilously comfort ỹ afflicted. Of this ỹ Apostle maketh mention saying: Blessed is God the Father of our Lorde Iesus Christ, the father of mercies, & god of all comfort, which doth cõfort vs in all our trouble. Item, Like as the passiõs of Christe do abounde in vs, so by Christ also our comfort doth abound. And Dauid sayth: According vnto the multitude of my sorowes in my harte, thy comforts do reioyce my soule. So that the comforts of god

haue place in the troubled and the afflicted, not in them which doe liue quietly at theyr ease and without all care.

Of afflictiõs commeth sacrifice of praise.

8 Eightly, there is commoditie also in afflictions, that the mindes of the afflicted be styred vp to the Sacryfice of prayse, to commende and auaunce God, as often as they are touched with ẏ feeling of his cõfortes, as we doe perceaue in the Apostle recyted before.

By affliction we bee taught to comfort others

9 Ninthly, the Church of God taketh this commoditie also of afflictions, that the more that any of the faythfull be afflicted and tryed in trouble than others, the more redy he is to comfort others that be afflicted.

So God doth comfort the weaker, by them that be better tryed and stronger. Here of the Apostle made mention also in the place before alleaged: for when he had said: Who doth comfort vs in all troubles, he dyd adde in this, That we may comfort them, which be in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith God doth comfort vs.

Glory of afflictions

10 Tenthly, it falleth out also oftentymes by the speciall dispositiõ of God, that the more afflicted that a man be in this worlde, the more famous he is made also to the worlde. This chaunced to the Israelites in Egipt, which the more they were vexed by Pharao, the more they encreased, and at length grew to be very famous, euen there in Egypt. The like betided to Ioseph in the same countrey before theyr tyme, who being found by his brethren, and cast also into prison, was at length lyfted vp from the doungell of the prison, almost vnto the very gouernaunce of the Realme. Had not Iob more fame and glory after his afflictions, than euer he hadde before? There be many lyke examples: but thus much briefly of the profit of the afflictions which do happen in this lyfe. And as for that which we do loke for in the world to come, no creature is able worthyly to expresse it.

How afflictions ought to be suffered, borne and ouercome.

Albeit that the profit of all afflictions be great, yet notwithstanding it is a great matter, vpon what manner of man they fall, and how they be borne. First if they fal vpon a reprobate and wicked person, they do not onely doe him no good, but doe yet more decay him, euen as the fier is wont to do which clenseth the siluer, and consumeth the drosse.

Againe, if they fall vpon a man that is not altogether wicked, but either iust, either subiect vnto some faultes, yet they shall there do like good, vnlesse they be well borne. Wherefore it were expedyent to speake somewhat of this matter also, after that which is passed before. Therefore we will see how afflictions ought to be taken or receiued, and secondly how to be borne and abydden, & thyrdly how to be ouercome.

First of all we ought not wylfully to seeke for afflictions, for of such it can not be sayde, that they be sent from God. Like as no wise man doth willigly seeke vnto him ẏ sickenesse

sickenesse of his bodye, no more ought wee wilfully to prouoke afflictions vpon vs. But in case they be laide in our neckes against our will, our chiefe care must bee to consider of the wil of God towards vs, to what purposes he intendeth to trouble vs with aduersitie. Whether that it bee to exercise our faith and patience, either to chasten vs for some of our offences, either to staye that we fall not into occasions of sinne. For this cõsideration shal help vs much to bear the afflictions as it becometh vs. After that the godlye man will tourne him vnto prayer, wherein hee will recommend himself vnto ẏ grace of god, and in case that he perceiue himself worthy to be punished as a sinner, he wil say from the bottome of his heart: Lord be merciful vnto me sinner as I am, and deale not with me according to my sinnes, but according vnto thy great mercy. But if he see that hee be assaulted by the wicked, not for his sinnes, but for his profession of the true religion, or els of some other iust matter, he will pray and say, Lord leade mee not into temptacion, but deliuer me from euill, and staye me that I fall not from the profession of the truth for any affliction.

Some man wil aske me. Whether that affliction ought so to be borne, that a man maye not lawefully flee the comming thereof, and to shifte it off in the sighte of God, that is to say, to auoyd it both with minde and bodye. We aunsweare, that it is not vnlawefull to make meanes before God to shift off the affliction that is to come, the crosse and death. Wee haue a manifeste example thereof in the doing of Christ, who what time hee was in the gardein, and that the houre of night drew on, he did three times intreate to shifte off the cupp of his passion, which he shoulde drincke, saying: Father, if it be possible, lette this cuppe go from mee, that I drincke it not now. What godly person wil say, ẏ the same is not lawfull for a Christian man which we knowe that Christ did himself and wherewith no man is able to finde faulte? There be examples also of other saintes, which besought God to be quitted of the perils that honge ouer their heades. It is knowen what Iacob did whē he was afeard of the comming of his brother Esau. Thou God of my father Abraham (said he) and thou God of my father Isaac, &c. deliuer me out of the hands of my brother Esau. For I am much afraid of him, leaste hee come peradaunture and strike the mother with the children. Gen. 32.

And what nede we any examples, hauing the manifeste precept of God? therefore whereas he saith in the Psalm: Cal vpon me in the daye of trouble, and I will deliuer thee. Psalm. 50.

But albeit that the fathers were of diuers opinions, concerning this question, whether it be lawefull to flee afflictions and persecutions, yet for al that it is a clere case, that it is neuer a whit vnlawfull at all: for els it had not bene wel said of CHRIST. If they persecute you from one citye flee vnto an other. And hee warneth them which shoulde bee in Iurye at the tyme of theyr persecution, Matth. 10 Matth. 24.

to come, that they should flee vnto the mountaynes. And Joseph was wylled by the Angell, to take the chylde and his mother, and to flee with them into Egypt. Jacob fled vnto Laban his vncle, to eschew the anger of his brother Esau. Moses fled from the presence of Pharao vnto the lande of Madian. Moses and Aaron when there began a sedition, and the sturre grewe great amongst the people, fledde vnto the Lordes Tabernacle. Dauid being by the counsel and ayde of his wife, let downe at a wyndow, fled from the presence of Saule. And from the face of Absolom. And the Apostle Paule being let down from a wall, by his brethren, fledde from the presence of the Leuetenaunt of Damasko.

Math.2. Gen.27. Exod.2. Num.16. 1.Samuel.6. 19 21.27. 2 Samuel.15 Actes.19. 2 Cor.11.

It is lawfull to auoide afflictions.

And it is not againste the order of holy persons, not onely to eschue the afflictions to come, but also to auoyde them by anye other meanes possible, so that they be not vnlawefull. So Jacob went about to put of the displeasure of his brother Esau by rewards and presents. So when Dauid vnderstode that there was some daũger hanging ouer his head in King Achas Court, he chaunged his countenaunce before the king, and dyd counterfaite the raging of a madde man, wherevpon the king sayde: You sawe that the man is mad, whi brought you him vnto me, do we lacke any mad folke, &c. Let him depart hence, that he enter not into my house, and by this meanes he escaped the perill which he was afeard off. And Paule when he was bound to haue bene scourged with whippes, to shift himselfe from that affliction, sayde: Is it lawefull for you to scourge one ẏ is a Romaine, and not condemned? And by that pretence of a Romaine, he escaped the present daunger. And when he stode before the councel of the priestes, he cryed out ẏ he was a Pharisée, and was iudged vpon the hope of the resurrection of the deade, bicause that he knew that the councel was moste of Pharisées and Saducées, and that there was amongst them a deadly stryfe aboute the resurrection of the deade, which the Saducées dyd deny, and the Pharesées vpholde, and by this meanes he troubled the whole Councell, so that there coulde be nothing agreed vpon against him.

Gen.32. 1.Samuel.21 Actes.2 Actes.2 Actes.2

He wrought the lyke practise also, when he disclosed the coniuration of the Jewes against him, to the Trybune, by his sisters sonne. And when he appealed vnto Cesar, bicause the Jewes should not deliuer him to the president Festus. By such examples it doeth appeare well ynough, that it is not vnlawfull to auoyde and shift off afflictions and perills, if it may be done by lawfull meanes: so that we offende not, if we doe not immediately yelde vs vnto them. But when there can be nothing wrought by any reason or meanes, but that we must nẽedes vndertake the affliction, than we may conceiue and vnderstand that the Lorde hath so appointed it, that we must nẽedes yelde vs vnto the crosse and affliction, and that being vnderstand, we may giue vs altogether to the wyll of God.

Actes.2

Secondly, whẽ we haue of necessitie and not vnwillingly yelded vnto the troubles which God sendith, it is no small matter, how we go

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away

away with them and beare them. For it must not be sufficient for the godly man, simply to sustein aduersitie, forasmuch as hee can not otherwise choose, but he must beare them, not onely as it becommeth a wise man, but also as it behoueth a godly and perfect Christian man. For these matters be laid vpon vs by God, not only to the intent that we shoulde bee afflicted and troubled, as though that God had rather haue vs miserable thã blessed, but also that we should be exercised, tried and chastened: as we declared before. Wherefore we must so beare our afflictions, that wee maye haue those profites and commodities of them, which we rehersed in ẏ article before. For to that purpose they be sent vs. Therfore let vs se what is requisit thervnto.

1 First the afflicted haue nẽed of faith, to beléeue that they be chastened, exercised, reformed, tried & saued from destruction by the hand of God their heauenly father. Unlesse that they haue this faith, they can not haue the rest of the things which be also requisite. Wherfore wée doe saye, that this is a pointe most necessarie, to acknowledge the hand and intent of GOD, which doth scourge vs.

2 Secõdly, ther is required hope, wherby we doubt not but that the mercy of God shall once deliuer vs from the crosse, which he hath laied vpon vs. This hope is bred of faith in that we do beléeue that God is faithfull, so that he will not suffer vs to be tempted further, then we be able to beare. But that he will once make an ende of our afflictiõs, when hée shall sée his time, and cleare our way. Whereof the Apostle speketh. It is a word of hope that Job did say: Although that he kill me, yet I will hope vpon him: after darkenesse I hope for light. And that this hope is not vaine, it appeareth by that which God saith himselfe. Forasmuch as he hoped vpon me, I will deliuer him.

1.Cor.10 Job.13. Psalm.91.

3 Thirdly, after this faith and hope, ther commeth that vnknowen & exceeding commendable vertue, patience, but thereof we wil speake in a place alone.

4 Fourthly, we nẽed to haue not only patiẽce, but the reioycemẽt also of the spirit. In deed it shoulde séeme that affliction can not well sauour of ioy, but of sorowe, if we consider the nature of the flesh, but if a man haue the spirit of faith, he shal glory rather and reioyce in his afflictiõs than lament thẽ. Therfore the Lords aduise was whẽ he saide. You be blessed when men do curse you & persecute you, & speake all euill aginst you, lying vpon you for my sake: be glad & reioyce, for your reward shall be great in Heauen. And when the Apostles knew this, thei reioyced as they departed from the presence of ẏ counsell, bycause they were accounted worthy to be rebuked for Christs sake. So Paul doth testifie, ẏ he doth reioyce not onely in the hope of the glory of the childrẽ of God, but also in troubles. And James saithe: My brethren, estéeme it to be al ioy when you do fal into sundry temptations, knowing ẏ the triall of your faith worketh patience. Therfore we must so beare our afflictions, ẏ we must abide them not only patiently, but with ioy also through faith & hope.

Math.5 Actes.5 Rom.5. Iacob.1.

here

Vvhether that crow lamentatiō an vvailing vnto God be excluded.

Here some man will say: Then all sorowe, lamenting and wailing, yea the calling for the helpe of god, is shut off in this matter. For how can they haue any place in ẏ mind, which reioice and glorie in afflictions? I aunswere, There is in the godly person both the flesh and the spirite: concerning the fleash, hee doth feele sorow, heauinesse & trouble, in afflictions, and doth sigh, and seketh to be deliuered, humbly beseeching the aide of God. There be manifest exaumples of Sainctes, towching this matter in the scriptures, specially in the Psalmes of Dauid, yea in our very Sauiour Christ himselfe. But concerning the spirite which commeth from God, he doth not onely patientlye suffer al things but he doth reioice also in hys afflictions, and glory of them, knowing the good that they do which the fleshe can not vnderstand: hereof let Christ himselfe be exaumple vnto vs. He did louingly desire in the spirite, to eate the Passouer with his disciples, before hee should suffer, but when he came to the entry of his passiō, he was troubled in his fleshe, and began to be heauy, and so desired to be ridde of the cuppe of his passion: then what wounder is it, if the same do betide vnto a man, though he be full godly disposed, yet without comparison farre vnder Chryste. To bee short, the fleashe is weake, but the spirite is ready, yea and that in the one selfesame man. Wherefore ther is no contrarietie in this point. One selfsame Christian person beeing in afflictions, is heauy, sorowful, lamenteth and is troubled, and besecheth the Lords help, but yet in spirit he doth reioice and glory and is ready to beare all aduersitye for the truth and glorye of GODS name.

Afflictions how to be ouercome.

Now this remaineth also for vs to speake off, how that we must not onely suffer affliction for a season, but also vtterly ouercome it. And you shall vnderstand, that affliction is ouercome two wayes. First if a man so behaue himselfe in it. that it may cease & leaue off. Secondly, albeit he do not cease, yet if it preuaile not so, that the partie be ouercome and take harme thereby. A sickenesse is ouercome, when it is driuen to giue place to the health that is recouered, we meane not of such a manner of victorye heare. You shall find some which do so ouercome the afflictions layde vpon them for the truth of GOD, that they be rather ouercome thēselues than the afflictions. But the Christian man doth so ouercome them, that hee abydeth fast and sure in the truth and faith of GOD. He doth so striue, that he maye truly say with ẏ Apostle: I haue wrestele d a good wrestelinge, I haue accomplished my course, there is laid vp for me a crowne of rightuousnesse which the iuste Judge shall yeeld vnto mee vpon that day. So ẏ the christian man doth ouercome all afflictions, when he doth stand fast and sure to his tackeling, in suffering them patiently, and flyeth not an ynche from the truth and faith of God. So Job ouercame all his troubles, which Sathan laide vpon him by the sufferaunce of God, when he was conformed by patience, and spake nothing against god, ye he did also blesse his name.

But we haue an exceeding faire exaumple of this matter in the Apostle, where he saith: Who shall thē disseauer vs from the loue Christ, trouble, vexation, hunger, nakednesse, peril, persecutiō or the sword? as it is wrytten: For thy sake we be slaine al the day long, we be estemed as sheepe vnto the shambles: but in all these things we haue the vpper hand, by him which hath loued vs.

And how had he the vpper hand in all these matters? Heare what he addeth. For I am fully perswaded saith he, that neither death neither life, neither Aungels neither principates, nor potētats, neither things instāt nor to come, nether ani height nor depth, nether any other creature is able to sequester vs from the loue of GOD, which is in Christ Jesu. Ergo, to beare afflictions in that sorte, that a man can not by them be separate from the loue and truth of GOD, is to ouercome them. So the Christian man doth ouercome all thinges, the worlde, and Sathan himselfe, albeit hee bee a thousand manner of wayes afflicted and slaine.

How men must deale with the afflicted folke.

The course & trade of this present life is so appointed, & not without the special purpose of god, that al men generally be not afflicted, and miserable alike, but that ther be many meetely well at ease both in body and mind, and also for the wealth of this world. Secondlye, that all suche as bee afflicted, haue not all one kind of affliction, whereby not onely they which are well at ease, but they also which be oppessed with some kind of miserie, may yet haue some regard and cōsideratiō of ẏ afflicted. Wherfore the godly persons care, must be not onely to sustaine, beare and ouercome conueniently his owne aduersities, but they must also be wholy bent, as nere as they can, to behaue them aright towardes the miseries and aduersities of others. And here of the faithfull must be often and diligentlye admonished, not onely to abide all aduersities stoutly and strongly for the truth of God, and to suffer the hand of GOD patiently when he chasteneth, but also to declare towardes others that be miserable and afflicted, how vpright and true Christian folke they bee. You shall finde some Preachers which will earnestlye aduise men vnto persecution, but yet notwithstandyng, they wyll not tell them one woorde howe to vse the afflicted and outlawes, whereas the same ought wyth no lesse diligence to be beaten into mens headdes, than how to stand fast in ẏ truth of GOD, and to beare patiently all aduersities.

Vve must not onely suffer the crosse our selues but also haue pitie vpon others.

And it can not bee more certeinlye and compendiously expressed, how wee ought to deale with the miserable and afflicted, than according vnto the sentence of Christe, where he saith: Whatsoeuer you will that men do to you, the same doe you also vnto them. Lette euerye man consider how he would bee dealt withall, in case hee wer himselfe an outelawe, poore, naked, hungrye, sycke and Imprysoned, &c.

Misery not to be added vnto miser.

1 Firſt, he would in no wiſe bee yet more afflicted. Who is hee that is hungry and thirſty, & would bee contented to be fed with gall, and alaye his thirſt with vineger? and yet this betideth vnto them, which being alreadye in affliction, bee yet more afflicted by the reprobate. And how vnkinde a matter that is, and worthy of Gods ſpeciall reuenge, we may ſee in ỳ Pſalm wher we do reade in this wiſe: The ſpitefull taũts haue broken my hart, & I am afflicted: and I loked whether ther were any man that would be heauy with me, & ther was none, and who would cõforte me, & I foũd him not. And they gaue me gal for my meat, and quenched my thirſt with vineger, poure out thy wrath vpon thẽ, and let the furye, or rage of thy anger ouertake them: Let their dwelling become deſert, and let ther be none to dwel within their tabernacles. For the ſame whom thou haſt perſecuted, they haue stricken, and do make report or auaunt of the ſorowe and griefe of thy woundes. Therefore we muſt be wonderfull warie, that we hurt not the afflicted, and increſe their grief and heauineſſe: and we muſt waye with our ſelues, not only how vnkindly and cruell a matter it is, but alſo how euill we would take it, if the like ſhould bee vſed vnto vs, & how horrible a reuenge the Prophet doth call vpon them which vſeth the ſame.

Pſalm.69.

Afflicted not to be deſpiſed.

2 Secondly, no afflicted perſon, can be contented to be contemned, vncauſe he is wretched and miſerable. Therfore it is not conuenient, ỳ we our ſelues ſhould deſpiſe ỳ afflicted, forasmuch as wee would not bee ſo vſed our ſelues: and in caſe wee bee, wee be miſcontented withall. The ſaying of the Pſalm is knowen: As many as ſawe me, mocked mée, they whiſpered with their lippes, they ſhoke their heads. Which thing was vſed alſo vnto Chriſt hanginge vpon the Croſſe. Such contempte commeth of the euill conſtering of afflictions, in that we ſurmiſe them to be a ſpeciall argument of naughtie life, of the afflicted and miſerable folke, whom we ſee ſo ſcourged by God. And therefore we do oftentimes as much abhorre the miſerable creatures, as if they were openly accurſed, and abhominable by Gods owne mouth. And yet no man is ſo miſerable that he would be ſo take, therefore let no man iudge the like of the afflicted.

Pſalm.22.

Reioyce not of the miſeries of others.

3 Thirdly, it is no light offence neither, that we do ſe ſome reioice in the miſery of the afflicted, whereas if they were ſo vſed themſelues, they would much diſdaine at it. Wher is obiected the ſaying of Ezechiell, to the Ammonetes and to Tyre: Forasmuch (ſaith he) as you haue ſaid, wel, wel, vpon my holy place that is defiled, & vpon the land of Iſrael that is deſolate, and vpon ỳ houſe of Iuda that is ledde into captiuitie. Therfore I wil deliuer thée vnto the children of the Eaſt partes for an inheritaunce, &c. And thou ſonne of man, forasmuch as Tyrus hath reported of Hieruſalem, it is wel done that the gates of the people bee broken, &c. Therfore this ſaith the Lord God, Loe I am vpon thée O Tyre. And I will make many nations to go vp againſt thée, as the troubleſome ſtormy

Ezech.26.

ſtormy ſea doth riſe, and they ſhall ſhake the walles of Tyre, &c. Therfore the wiſe man ſayth well: Hée whych reioyceth in the decaye of an other ſhall not eſcape vnpunyſhed.

Fourthly, what is the wretched and afflicted perſons deſire: Fyrſt we bée naturally enclined to deſire aide whẽ we be afflicted, to be deliuered & ſaued, like as ỳ drye & thirſty lande is deſirous of the rayne and deaw of Heauen. Therfore the afflicted muſt be relæued, as farre as euery mans habilitie wil ſtretch, to ſuccoure their neceſſities. The naked muſt be clothed, the hungry fed, the banyſhed receiued in our houſes, priſoners deliuered, the ſicke healed, &c. The ſaying of Chriſt is knowen. I was hungry, and you fed me, &c.

The afflicted be comforted.

Moreouer, where there can be no reliefe had, yet the next deſire of the afflicted folk is, that thoſe things which they doe ſuffer, may at the leaſt way mowe ſome compaſſion in the harts of them that doe ſee them. So Dauid ſayde: I loked for ſome body to be heauy wyth mæ, and I found hym not. Thys the Apoſtle doth requyre of vs, when he ſayth: Wæpe you with thẽ that do wæpe, and hée doth commende it in the faythfull Iewes, ſaying: And you had compaſſyon vpon them whych were bounde. And Iob ſayth, that he dyd ſo. I wept (ſayth he) for hym, whych was afflicted, and my ſoule had cõpaſſion with the poore. Thus much both the poore and rich be able to doe, yea the poore better than the rych, the afflycted ſomer than he which is not afflycted, but chiefly the Godly & faythful perſon, whether that he bée rych or poore. No doubt Iob was rych, when hys ſoule had compaſſion of the poore, but wythall he was Godly diſpoſed.

A queſtiõ. VVhen we ſeeeour the afflicted, we muſt not inquire vpon their life.

After thys compaſſion there foloweth comfort, which is wrought by wordes, yea and there foloweth alſo prayer vnto God for the afflicted. Now where can you finde me one which performeth thys? All compaſſion and pitie is waxed cold, becauſe charitie is become colde, wherefore brotherly comfort is exceeding rare and ſilcome, and prayer vnto GOD as rare and ſtyld alſo. When mens hartes bee hardened, what ſhould the mouth or the hand doe? And whereas there is no compaſſion what can enſue els, but that there ſhould be no comfort alſo, neither in worke nor word.

Some men will ſaye, what and if the afflycted perſon be a ſinner, or of a naughty beliefe, or ſome other ouerthwart felow, which is afflicted through hys owne fault and deſeruyng? I aunſwere. Who ſo euer is wretched and afflicted, is to be pytied for that he is afflicted. The Samarytan which is ſpoken of in the Goſpell, dyd relæue and helpe hym which was fallen into the handes of thæues, hauyng no reſpect of hys contrary religyon. In conſideration ỳ he was a man himſelfe, he had pytie of the myſerable caſe and peryll of the man. It is a good deede, and to be vſed towardes all men to ſuccour the afflicted perſon in that that he is afflycted, but in caſe that any man be troubled for the truth as a faythful creature, and our brother, hym we ought to ſuccoure aboue al others: Let vs work, ſauth

Galath.6. saith the Apostle, that which is good towards all men, and specially towards thē of ẏ household of faith. If a man be chastened for his sins, there must be mercy declared vnto him also. God is not miscontented with it, if wee haue compassion and pitye vpon them which he doth scourge. But hee doth rather require it, as we may perceiue in Esay, wher he chargeth the Moabits louingly to intreat the Israelites, whom he had scourged. Hide them (saith he) when they doe flee, and disclose not ẏ wanderers: let them which runne awaye, dwell with thee. Therefore seeing that it is a worke of true goodnesse to haue pitye and mercie, vpon the afflicted, we ought not to enquire after their religion, lyfe, and occasion of the affliction, what time wee ought to succour them, but for compassion sake, to bestowe our aide and reliefe vpon them, as men afflicted.

Esaye.16.

How God vseth himselfe vvith the afflicted.

If god should absolutely afflict, meaning nothing els but to make vs miserable and afflicted, it were to no purpose, to aske how God vseth himselfe with ẏ afflicted. For the very miserie and affliction it self, should sufficiently declare it. But forasmuch as the meaning & purpose of God is not to make vs miserable, although ẏ he do afflicte vs, we may wel make it a question, how he doth vse himself with them whom he doth exercise or chastē wᵗ afflictions in this life. The fleshe or fleshly man when he is afflicted, surmiseth that god hath cast him of, & forsaken him as angry with him: and that affection Christ him selfe felt vpon ẏ crosse, & cried: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And Dauid feling ẏ very same in his fleshe, did so often double ẏ saying: Why dost thou turne thy face from me? &, I am cast off from the presence of thy sight. And the world also hath no other opinion of God, but that he maketh no accoūt of the miserable & afflicted. Therefore it is verye necessarye for the godly person, to knowe how God doth vse him selfe with the afflicted, to the intent hee maye vnderstand, what to assure himselfe of him in his afflictions: secondly, that he may haue an exacte pattern of true goodnesse to folow.

To tell you at one word: God doth deale with the afflicted, according vnto his owne nature, euen as hee is father of mercyes, and God of all comforte, pityfull, full of mercy and forgiuenesse. Shewe me such a manner of man, of whom these things may be wel reported, and ye shall easyly vnderstand, how he is affected vnto the miserable & afflicted: who is ignorant what the speciall fauoure, pitye, and mercie of God doth worke? What doth his mercy omit, or not willingly worke, which may by any meanes serue to ẏ saluation of them whom he sheweth mercy vnto.

Therfore he is present and doth visite his afflicted, euen as the phisition doth the sicke and diseased: he doth not forsake them whom he doth chasten, cleanse, exercise and try out. For how should he forsake his worke which he fashioneth,

sauеth

saueth and intendeth to make glorious? Therfore is that said in the Psalm: I am with him in his trouble. I will deliuer him and glorifie him: & in Esay. When thou shalt passe by waters, I wil be with thee. Upon this beliefe Dauid doth sing. If I walke in the middest of the shadows of Death, I wil not fear ẏ euils, bycause thou art with mee.

Secondely, he is present not in vaine, but as the workeman with his workemanshippe. The Goldesmith is present in trying and clensing his siluer in ẏ fier, & he is not ther as an idle persō, but he doth alwaies tēper ẏ fier, least if it be to hasty & rashe a fire, it maye sooner destroy, than clense the siluer: and he doth all other things requisite accordinge vnto his arte, to trye and cleanse the siluer. And shall wee thinke that God is absent from his worke, whereas he is absent in no place, but filleth al thigs, or els ẏ he is idelly presēt, not doīg these thigs which he knoweth be necessarie for his workemanshippe. God forbid. He is present also with his siluer, and then specially, when it is in the fire a clensing, he doth temper the fire of our afflictions, that it grow not to be so great, that it can not be suffered, he doth giue vs the gift of patience, that wee may bee able to beare it. He doth heare our lamentations and prayers, he doth make our waye, and bringe vs out, when it seemeth timely vnto him, and at the last he doth furbushe vs and glorifie vs.

And wheras he doth not immediately deliuer the afflicted, but suffereth some one to be longer and sorer afflicted than an other, and withall doeth so conceale his presence, that he semeth to haue cast them awaye, and that he will not heare their prayers, it commeth of his fatherly disposition, and good minde intended to our saluation. The Goldesmith doth not immediately take his siluer out of the fire, as soone as it beginneth to melt, but suffereth it so long to remain in the fire, vntill that it be clensed and ready to be taken out. When the father chasteneth his sonne, he doth not let him go at his first crying, but he doth beate him as much as he beleueth shal do him good. Therfore we must leaue al this vnto the prouidence of God, and be out of doubt, that he doth al things to our profite, whether that he doth chasten vs fauourablye and lightly eithe hardly & long. And thus much for afflictions as we haue thought needfull for the present.

Of Persecutions.

Albeit that those thigs which wee haue spokē generally of afflictiōs in the place before, maye be vnderstaded of persecution also, as a kinde of affliction, yet for all that we wil speake seuerally of persecutions, bycause that this maner of affliction hath alwayes from the beginning vntyll this daye, stoutly afflicted the church of Christ, in that the vngodly and carnal men do still persecute the faithfull and godly.

What

What it is to Persecute.

IT is wel enough knowē what it is to persecute. They which doe folowe vpon any man for to be reuenged, so that they make no end in pursuing of him, nor leaue from that which they haue begone withall, be rightly called persecutours, although that at length they be cōpelled to leaue off, contrary to their determination and purpose, as it betydeth vnto all persecutours which are at the least constrayned whether they will or no, to breake off the race and course of their persecution.

Some doe take the worde of Persecuting or Pursuing, to be a full following or pursuyng in all poyntes, as when a hounde followeth the deere a dyne fote vp hyll and downe, through thicke and thynne, &c. Both senses be applyed vnto this word of Persecuting. The first is touched in Samuel. Saul sought or pursued for Dauid euery daye, but the Lord dyd not deliuer hym into his handes, what is it els to seeke a man euery day to slay him, but to persecute hym continually? Of the seconde we doe reade in the same Chapter, where he sayth: But in case he do hyde him in the earth, I wyll searche for hym amongst, or out of all the thousandes of Iuda. He meaneth that he will search for Dauid diligently in euery corner, and that he wil omitte nothing touching the persecution of hym. And Dauid vsed this worde properly in the Psalme, saying: I wyl persecute myne enemies, and ouertake them, I wyll not returne me, till they shrinke. I wil breake them so that they shal not be able to stād, they shall fall vnder my feete. Whē he sayeth, I will persecute myne enemies, and ouertake them, he doth expresse the purpose of them, which do persecute: which is bent to this ende, to ouertake and catch them, whom they doe persecute.

1. Samuel. 23

Psalm. 18.

And where as he doth adde: I will not returne vntil they shrinke, it declareth the earnest diligence & desire in the persecution nor folowing, and that point: I will breake them, or crushe them together, that they shall not be able to stande, they shall fall vnder my feete, expressyng the reuenge which the persecutour entendeth to take vpon him whom he doth persecute. And these be the partes of full and perfect persecution, continually without ceasing to persecute, to catche, and to reuenge.

How many sortes of persecutions there be.

THere be two maner of persecutions, one is priuate, and the other is publike. That is publike, which is by a commō decree or order set forth, either throughout all the world, either in some one kingdome or cōmon wealth, against the which be taken for the enemies either of the realme, common wealth, or church. The same king Dauid felt, whom Saul the king of the people of God, did most cruely persecute, yea, and the Prophets, Christ, the Apostles, and the true Churche hath felt the same.

It is a priuate persecution, when a priuate persone doth of a priuate hatred persecute some one man, or many whom he beareth displeasure

vnto, and that without anye publike authoritie and power: for when that is ioyned withall, it is rather a publike, than a priuate persecution, as that was, when Saule receyued letters from the hyghest Priest, and persecuted the Churche, notwithstandyng that hee was a priuate person. It was a priuate persecution, when Alexander the copper Smyth dyd persecute the Apostle Paule.

1. Tim. vi.

Secondly, there is one persecution outwarde, and an other inwardlye, and within the walles or compasse of the house. We doe call the same outwarde, whyche is done by them that bee Straungers from the profession of the Christian faithe, notwithstanding they be of the same nation, people, and Realme. So Christian menne were in tymes past persecuted by their owne countreymen and nation. Thereof the Apostle speaketh, saying: For youre brethren are become followers of the Churches of God, which is in Iewry, in Christe Iesu, for asmuch as you haue also suffered the lyke by youre Countreymenne, as we haue done of the Iewes: whyche lyke as they haue slayne the Lord Iesu, and theyr owne Prophetes, so they haue persecuted vs also, and doe not seeke to please God at all. The Thessalonians which were Christened, were of the Gentiles, but Paule and the reste of the Apostles were of the Iewes: and lyke as they suffeyned persecution by theyr owne nation, so dyd the others also. But it was for Christes sake, whome both the Gentiles and the Iewes also dyd reiecte, and therefore they were Straungers and out of hys Churche, and for that purpose wee doe call that kynde of persecution outwarde. The same ceassed, when the Kingdomes of the earthe were brought to the profession of Christendome. And would to God it were vtterlye ceassed, and not chaunged into a worse.

Persecutiō outwarde, and other inwarde.

The inteskine or inwarde Persecution is that, whyche is practised by the chiefe Presidentes and Pastoures for Religion sake, agaynste the followers of one selfe same Churche. I call it inwarde, bycause it dothe disquiete and cutte a sunder the inwarde partes of the bodye of the Churche, albeit that none of both the partes maye well bee accounted amongst the true members of the Churche. That persecution whiche is of one householde, is when the father doth persecute his sonne, daughter, wyfe, man or woman, seruaunte, &c. whyche kinde of persecution wee see muche vsed now adayes for matters of religion.

Thirdly, of inwarde persecutions, some bee iuste, and some be wrongfull, accordyng vnto the diuersitie of the cases, whyche maketh the persecution eyther blameleste, eyther worthye to bee blamed. And the fathers thoughte that thys difference of the ryghte and wrongfull case, taketh place not onely in the common wealthe, but in the estate of the Churche also, that lyke as it is a wrongfull persecution, when the innocente Citizen is driuen out of hys Countrey, spoyled of all his goodes, or soughte by persecution vnto death by the Magistrate and Citizens, and that iuste when these matters bee wrought agaynste a traytoure

Persecutiō inwardly some right and some wrongfull

and rebell, or in some other respecte an outragious and mischeuous person. So that persecution also should bee iuste in the Churche, when the Christian Magistrates doe persecute the Christian person, whiche is thoughte to bee enemie, scismatike, heretike, and forsaker of the Churche, and the same vniuste, when they doe persecute the true faythfull and harmelesse creature. So Augustine sayeth: If that bee the true Churche (sayeth hee) whyche suffereth persecution, not that whiche dothe it (so saythe the Donatistes) let them aske of the Apostle, what Churche Sara signified, when shee dyd persecute hyr handmayden. For hee sayeth, that the free woman oure mother the heauenlye Hierusalem, that is to saye: the true Churche of God, was figured in that woman, whyche afflicted hyr handmayde, and a little after: Agayne I demaunde, in case that the good and holye doe persecute none, but onelye suffer, whose saying suppose they that the same is in the Psalme, where wee reade: I will persecute my enimies, and ouertake them, and I will not turne tyll they shrynke? Therefore if wee will speake and acknowledge the truthe, that is a wrongfull persecution whyche the vngodlye maketh vppon the Churche of Chryste, and that persecution is iuste, which the Churche of Chryste vseth againste the vngodly. Thus sayeth Augustine.

August. epistola. 50. ad Bonifacium comitem.

Augustine.

Whether that the authoritie to persecute, bee meete or *conuenient for the Church.*

I knowe that some of oure brethren be of this opinion, that it is not conuenient for the Church of Christe, to persecute any manne, but that it is their parte to suffer persecution, rather than to vse the same agaynste others. And I will saye my opinion herein, without the preiudice of anye man. There be two respectes in thys kynde of persecutions, wherof we do presently speake, the one is touching hym which doth persecute, and the other concernyng hym whyche dothe sustayne the persecution. If the question bee asked, whether that bee whome the Church dothe persecute, doe ryghtelye or wrongfully suffer hys persecution, an aunswere maye bee shaped thereunto immediatelye, accordyng vnto the causes of the persecution. If it bee subiecte vnto persecution for wrong doyng, it is iuste. If it be for iuste and vpright dealing, it is wrongfull.

Heere is no doubte at all, vnlesse that peraduenture the persecutio do passe measure: But in case the question be, whether that the Churche persecuting anye man, doe the thyng whyche is conuenient to the Church of Christe. In thys paynte I suppose, we muste haue respecte not so muche to the person, whome it dothe persecute, as vnto the order and iustice of the true Churche, that is to say, what becommeth the Church to do, according vnto the spirite of Christ, rather than what the person whyche hath offended, dothe deserue. So that in case it be not vncomely for the Churche to persecute the wicked, no more than it was vnseemely for Dauid the king to persecute the enimies of gods people, bycause of his princely office, then the iudgemente of Augustine and of the other father is fast and sure. But herein maye rise matter of great controuersie, if there bee a definition made betwixt the magistrate and the Churche, whereas the swoord is gyuen vnto the Magistrate, vnto whome persecution dothe belong, and not to the Churche. In my iudgemente that persecution whereby worthy reuenge is sought, perteyneth to the Magistrate in deede, and is not conueniente for the Church of Chryste. I saye, whereby worthye reuenge is sought, for that poynte is expressly attribute vnto the office of the Magistrate. So that if the same doe not agree with the Church, howe maye that order agree wyth the Church, whiche the Bysshops doe vse now adayes, lyke lusty Lords in the Churche, theyr raging, ouerthrowyng what they lyst, and roting out, not to the ende that menne shoulde no more doe amisse, and lose the way of true saluation, but to the end that they shoulde lyue no longer, nor possibly kynde anye waye of returne vnto the true saluation.

The Churche, sayeth Augustyne in the place before alleaged, dothe persecute by louyng to reforme and to call menne backe from erroure, and to make them to prosper in the truthe. And it is lyke the persecution of a louyng mother, and not of a spitefull stepdame. Such I would haue the Churche persecution, when the rulers of the Churche shall in the name of the Churche persecute not the innocente, but the hurtefull persons more politikelye, than Churchlyke.

But whereas the false Shepeheardes, vnder pretence of hereslye and schysme, doe persecute (not the Goates whyche they doe cherishe, but the true Shæpe of Chryste, whyche doe followe the voyce of their onely Shepehearde, and doe abhorre the voyce of Straungers) with banishmente and outlawe, prison, wrongfull iudgementes, snares, swoorde, faggot, and fyer, what shall we call it elsc, but the tyrannie of Antichryste? Whereas Augustine said that is a wrongfull persecution, whiche the vngodly maketh agaynst the Churche of Christe, he myghte well haue added therevnto, and that is tenne tymes more wrongfull, whych the malignante Churche worketh againste the goodly. But in his tyme the Romishe tyrannie hadde not yet so openly sette vppe hir shameleese heade to practise all kinde of persecutions, and publike oppressions of them, that woulde dissente from them.

But some man will saye: Doest thou thus leaue the Churche no authoritie to persecute the reprobate, Heretikes, schismatikes, renagates, and disturbers of the quiet of the Church, in that thou doest blame not onelye theyr tyrannicall persecution, whyche is in deede worthye of blame, but doest also plucke from them that policye, whereby they maye prouide for the quietenesse of the Churche by dispatching and thrustyng oute the euill.

Wherevpon there can nothing else ensue, but that the Church of Christ muste lye open to be troubled with the ouerthwarte careleſſe and raſhe dealing, of all varlettes and naughtypackes.

I aunſwere, the Churche of God, hathe the ſworde, not of Iron or ſteele, but of Goddes worde, whereby hée maye cutte off and perſecute not the bodyes, but the hurtfull errours, hereſyes, and ſchiſmes, vntyll they ſhrynke and decay. If thée lyke to vſe that, as she ought to doe, shée maye haue ynough to occuppe hyr ſelfe therein, to doe good and profyte, and shée maye be able ynough to prouide for hyr owne quietneſſe, and of the conſciences of the faythfull. She hathe alſo the ſpirite of Chriſte, the ſpirite of true loue, by the hauyng of the whyche, shée is patiente, shée is kynde, shée hopeth, she ſuffereth and ſuffeyneth all thinges, and she is greédye not of bloude, but of ſaluatiõ, and ready not to deſtroy, but to ſaue.

The churche hath the ſworde of Gods worde.

But you will ſaye, What and if she chaunce vppon ſuche as be obſtinate, frowarde, and incurable heretikes, or otherwyſe naughty lyuers? I aunſwere: aſke the queſtion of Charity, what shée vſeth to do towardes ſuche. Dothe Charitie lacke hyr inwarde bowels of compaſſion, ſyghes, lamentation, and prayer, to ſolicite, call vpon his mercye, and to beſéeche hys ayde? Beſydes that, euen as the mother dothe to hyr chylde whyche is frantike, the like lette the Churche doe towardes them, whome shée perceyueth to bée incurable. The mother dothe not diſpatche and kyll hir chylde whome shée can not recouer: but she dothe moſte diligentlye prouide, that hée ſhall not ſley hymſelfe, or anye other of hyr children, ſo muche no doubte she dothe abhorre the ſlaughter of hir owne. Lette the Churche do the lyke, or at the leaſte waye ſéeke and endeauoure to doe it though she bée not able to performe it. And in my ſo ſpeakyng of the Churche, I do not tell the Magiſtrate what he hathe to doe, who beyng a Chriſtian man, wyll alwayes ſo refrayne ſuch as bée diſturbers of the Churche, and wicked lyuers, that they ſhall bée lyttle able to doe greate hurte. But the Churche muſte not onely not whette or ſharpe hys ſworde, but ought rather by hir interceſſion and trauaile, to make it duller than the worthye rigor thereof dothe requyre. Suche moderation it appeareth, the Biſhoppes ſoughte in tymes paſte, vntyll that the Cleargye beganne at length to bée corrupte through theyr ſecular power, and beganne themſelues to bée the perſecutours of the true faithfull, whiche were wonte before that tyme to mytygate and relente the worthye perſecution of the reprobate through their meanes and interceſſion.

What ſhe Churche muſte do to the obſtinate heretikes.

In the Decrées of Pope Alexander the fyrſte, the perſecutions of the holye Fathers were kepte oute of the Churche dores, and there is mention made in the Epiſtle of Nycholas the fyrſte, vnto Michaell the Emperoure, what the ende and howe curſſed the infamye of thoſe Emperoures was wonte to bée, whyche perſecuted the Churche, ſpecially of Rome. O Chriſte Sauioure,

we may thanke our ſinnes for thys, that the Churche hathe now adayes fewe fathers, but many luſty Lords, prelates, maiſters and Biſhops, whiche can be ſubiect vnto no perſecution, but do perſecute, not only the lay and common ſorte, but Emperoures alſo, and that vnder the tytle of the Churche of Rome: howe can anye manne of anye inferior degrée bée ſafe from their violence, and moſte ſpitefull perſecution, from which the moſt myghty Emperoures could not be cleare, as the hiſtories do teſtifye? Vnleſſe it may ſo fall out by the ſpeciall iudgement of God, whyche hath ſo wrought in our age, that the huge power and authoritie of the Antechriſt of Rome hathe not bin able by hys continuall perſecution to oppreſſe one little poore Fryer, I meane Martine Luther, and yet were wont in tymes paſt to diſturbe and plucke downe moſte high Emperoures by theyr curſſes and excõmunications, but ſuche bée the reuolutions and turnes, not onelye of worldlye, but of Eccleſiaſticall matters alſo.

It poore Frier Luther.

What kyndes of perſecution is the ſorer.

MAnye kynde of perſecution ſemeth to bée ſore to an honeſt and quiete perſon, and therefore this parte of affliction is worthily eſteemed not the ſmalleſt. You ſhall fynde ſome afflictions, in which the afflicted may ſometyme take theyr reſt and recreation, but it chaunceth ſo verye ſeldome in perſecutions, that a manne maye but a little breath himſelfe. For lyke as the fury and rage of the perſecution ceaſſeth not, ſo the care, and trouble to flée the ſame is endleſſe, vnleſſe that a man wyll fall into the perſecutours handes, notwithſtanding the trouble is aggrauated and encreaſed by the circumſtaunces of perſecution.

Perſecuti vvithin doores.

Whatſoeuer the perſecution bée, which is abſolutely priuate, and yet within dores, it bréedeth an exceédyng and ſpeciall griefe to any heart that is not ſtonye, bycauſe of the breache of the ſpeciall loue and allyaunce whyche oughte to bée there. True godlyneſſe dothe not make menne vnkynde, to whome it is all one, whether that they ſticke ſtyll to theyr parentes, kynſfolkes, familiar friendes, or elſe whether they loſe theyr friendſhippes, and bée hated of them, vnto whome by lawe of nature they oughte to bée moſte nearеſt.

There is fulfylled in the Chriſtian manne the ſaying of Chriſte: I came to diſſeauer the ſonne againſte hys father, and the daughter againſt hyr mother, and the daughter in lawe againſte hyr mother in lawe, and a mans owne houſholde folke ſhall bée hys enimies. In déede the man dothe beare thys ſequeſtration paciently, but yet not withoute ſome ſéelyng of griefe, whyche the breach of ſo ſtraighte an aliaunce, riſen for the Kyngdome of Gods ſake, dothe bring, wherein all menne ought to agrée, though that they were at ſome variance before.

Matth.10.

Publike perſecutiõ.

But that perſecution whyche is ſo purſued vppon anye man in the publike behoofe of the whole realme, people, and common wealthe, as though he were an open enimie of

the countrey, and worthy to be ridde out of the way by the publike curſſe of all menne, is muche ſoyer than the perſecution within doores. In caſe this fall vpon the manne that is not onely innocente, but alſo louing towardes his naturall countrey and people, and honeſt beſides, it maketh hys affliction the more, the more louingly and reuerently he is affected vnto his whole Countrey, than to his houſe and family: and the greater that the rebuke is whiche ryſeth of a publike perſecution, than whiche ryſeth of any priuate perſecution, and the greater the diſquiet of conſcience is whyche commeth of the one more than of the other, beſydes the banyſhmente whyche hée is compelled to abyde out of hys Countrey amongſte ſtraungers, of whyche thyng Dauid alſo lamenteth hym in manye places.

Churche perſecutiõ.

But yet when all theſe kyndes of perſecutors be compared with that of the Church, they bée muche more tolerable, than it is. For this is of all others moſt grieuous, whereby not onely the bodye is in many daungers and perils, but the hope of true ſaluation and euerlaſting life alſo is cutte off, for as much as lyeth in the perſecutions. For the Churche dothe perſecute them whome it doth perſecute, in reſpecte that they bée heretikes, ſciſmatikes, falſe Chriſtians, wicked folke, and abhominable, and curſed enimies of the Churche: and howe ſore a matter it is for a Chriſtian man to beare this rebuke in the Church of God, no man is ware but he which hath tryed it in déede. It is right matter to bée ſo taken by the reſt of all the whole worlde, whoſe Iudgemente of vs, we maye with a ſafe conſcience contemne. But howe can it bée but a moſt grieuous matter for a Chriſtian man, to ſuſteyne ſo horrible an opinion and perſecution of the Churche of Chriſte? It is no wonder, when the Hauke dothe praye vpon a doue, but if a doue ſhuld praye vppon one of the flyghte of the ſame douehouſes that hée is of, it were a ſtraunge matter to ſée, becauſe thoſe kindes of foules haue no galle or bitternelle as menne ſay, ſo that it mighte bée thoughte, that the ſame doue ſhoulde haue miſchieuous matter in it, that the reſt of the Pigeons coulde not abyde it. It is alike in thys caſe alſo. There is in none more ſymplicitie, (Bée you ſimple, ſaith Chriſte, as doues,) in none greater loue, in none greater compaſſion and alyance, and leſſe bitternelle and wrong, than is amongſt true Chriſtian menne, ſo that folke maye iudge, that there muſte bée ſome moſte grieuous cauſes, when the Chriſtians doe caſte out of theyr companye and houſe of GOD, and perſecute anye Chriſtyan manne.

In déede the innocente Chriſtian man hathe a greate comforte of the teſtimonie of hys conſcience, whereby he is aſcertayned before GOD, that he ſuffererthe ſuche perſecution as he deſerueth not, but yet withall how can he but take it moſte heauyly, that the Churche eſteemeth hym for a curſed and abiured perſon, for an heretike, a Schiſmatike, an open enemie of Gods people, and an outcaſt from Chriſte hymſelfe? For albeit that he knewe that thys iudgemente of the Churche towardes hym commeth not of the truth of the matter, but of the malice of the prelates, and erroꝛ of the ſeduced people, yet hée muſte marueilouſly lament this, that the falſe Shepeheards do kéepe the Churche, as it were, in priſon and bondage, and doe practiſe a tyrannie vppon the Lordes flocke, accordyng vnto the prophecie of the Apoſtle, whereof he warned them before in the Actes, that after hys departure there ſhoulde ryſe vppe in the Churche rauening Wolues, not ſparyng the flocke: of whome Chriſt alſo admoniſhed vs before.

Actes 20.

Matth. 7.

It is alſo a greate griefe, that ſuche rauening Wolues doe boaſte themſelues of the ſaying of Chriſte, He that heareth you, heareth me. And that they doe ſcornefully aſke: Is it you Sir alone that dothe not erre: maye the whole Churche erre: Lette poure curates goe, Is it nothyng trowe you to diſſente from the Churche? And that ſaying of Chriſt: If a man heare not the Churche, let hym be as an Ethnike, and publican vnto thée? And manye other ſuche lyke thynges, whereby as by certayne ſleyghtes and engines, the mynde of the Chriſtian manne is aſſaulted, that he hadde néede to be armed with a verye ſtrong conſtancie, to abyde all theſe aſſayes and aſſaults with a ſtedfaſte and vnmoueable minde. Wherefore, I ſuppoſe that it appeareth manifeſtlye, waying all theſe, that it is moſte true whyche I ſaye, that the churche perſecution is moſt grieuous to hym that is a true Chriſtian man in déede.

What kinde of men be ſubiect vnto the perſecutions of the Church.

OUr queſtion is not, who they be which be worthy to be perſecuted of the Churche. For albeit that we thynke it conuenient, that the Churche ſhoulde vſe the ſcourge of perſecution agaynſte ſome, yet notwithſtandyng to ſpeake reſolutely, they bée not the true Chriſtian men whiche doe deſerue it, but the reprobate. But if the queſtion runne, who they be vpon whome this perſecution is wonte to fall, if we cõſider both our owne times, and of the worldes paſt, we can not aunſwere that they be the reprobate. For they do altogyther rule and raigne in the Churche, ſo farre they be off from being ſubiecte vnto perſecutions. Yea it is they which haue the order of the perſecution in theyr owne hands, and be not onely the authors or cauſes, but the moderators alſo thereof. Therefore lette vs heare the opinion of the Apoſtle in this matter, whiche dothe in fewe wordes aunſwere this queſtion, ſaying: But lyke as he which at that tyme borne accordyng vnto the fleſhe, did perſecute him whyche was accordyng vnto the ſpirite, euen ſo it is alſo now. *Ergo* the carnal, and fleſhly folke whiche be Lordes in the Churche, doe perſecute the elect and true Chriſtian perſons. Secõdly, this is no newe matter, but very olde, not only for the times paſt before, but in the new Teſtament alſo. As it was then (ſaith he) ſo it fareth nowe alſo, the carnal doth perſecute the ſpirituall. He which was borne accordyng

Galath. 4.

The ſ
tual be
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vnto the flesh, he meaneth of Ismaell, the carnall sonne of Abraham, whome he gate of Agar his handemayden without the promise, hée persecuted hym (sayeth he) whyche was accordyng vnto the spirite, hée meaneth Isaac, and hée was borne also of the flesh of Abraham, but accordyng vnto the promise and spirite of election, of Sara the frée woman.

In these two persons he did sette forth the figures of them to be considered, whiche be in the Churche of God, some counterfayte, and some true faithfull: and of howe sundrye, yea contrarye disposition they bée one to an other, so that the one sorte dothe procure persecution, and the other suffer and abide it. Ye dothe attribute the violence and wickednesse of persecution vnto carnall men, and the sufferaunce vnto the spirituall. Loke mée nowe, and compare bothe the partes togither, the one that doth suffer and sufferyne persecution, and the other whiche dothe lay it on, and tell me whyche be carnall and which spirituall. Is not hée carnall and fleshlye, in whome the workes of the flesh doe raigne, and he spirituall whych dothe vtter the fruites of the spirite: Of which both sée to the Galathians. The trée is knowen (sayth Chrysse) by hir fruites, wilte thou knowe who be the persecutors of the spirituall? They whyche bée borne accordyng to the flesh, and be voyde of the spirite of election and promise, they bée persecutors of the faithfull in the Churche. Wilte thou knowe who bée subiecte vnto the persecutions of the carnall and fleshly folke? They whiche be borne of God, accordyng vnto the spirite of election and promise, they do suffer the persecutions layde vppon them by the carnall. Wilte thou knowe whyche bée carnall in the Church? and whyche spirituall? Knowe and diskinde the trées by theyr fruites. The workes of the flesh be manifest. They be not harde to be knowen, which be they. The Apostle sayth, they be adulterie, whoredome, vncleannesse, wantonnesse, seruice of Images, witchcraft, enmitie, debate, emulation, anger, strife, seditiõs, heresies, enuies, murthers, dronkennesse, and banketings, and suche other lyke. And loke in whome these thyngs be vsed not for once or twyce, but where they haue the vpper hand and rule, them take to be carnall. On the other side, the fruites of the spirite be not hydden, but are manifest also, as loue, ioye, peace, softnesse, gentlenesse, goodnesse, faithe, mékenesse, temperaunce, &c. For whereas these fruites growe, you maye bée assured, that they be spirituall.

Compare these fruites of the spirite, wyth the fruites of the flesh, and so vnderstande by them bothe, whyche of bothe theyr dispositions bée the more enclined to persecute theyr bréethren, and whyche of them is leaste giuen to persecution, bée not adulterers, whoremongers, the vncleane and wanton, the worshippers of Images, Sorcerers, enemies, wranglers, spitefull, angrye, contentious, seditious, heretikes, enuious, fyghters, dronkerds, and gluttons, more enclyned to make persecution, than to suffer it? Bée not suche as doe loue theyr bréethren, peacemakers, soft, gentle, good, faythfull, méeke, temperate, &c. more enclined

VVho be carnal, and vvho spirituall.

Galath 5.

inclined to suffer, than to séeke or make persecution? Which parte is the more disposed to hurt than to be hurted, and which of them is it, that dothe sooner take, than doe harme? The very diuersitie of mens disposition doth sufficiently declare, not only whiche of them be persecuters of theyr bréethren in the Churche, and whiche be subiect vnto the persecutions, but also how ỹ one parte can not suffer any persecutiõs, nor the other pursue them. Wherefore Augustine might much better haue had sette forth the figures of them that doe persecute, and abyde persecution, as the Apostle did in Ismaell and Isaac: than in Sara and Agar. But he applied himself vnto the matter which he had in hande.

Let this serue the elect, whereby to knowe whiche they be, by whome they be most grieuously persecuted because of the truth of Gods worde. They be the chyldren of the handmayden, and not of the frée woman, borne of the flesh, and not of promise, though they boaste themselues neuer so muche of the auncientie of theyr religion, and lie most shamefully with open mouthe of the Apostolike and Catholike Churche. It is no newe matter that the children of the flesh doe chalenge to them the titles of the Apostles and of the Churche, and doe vnder the pretence of them, practise theyr tyrannye vpon the chyldren of promise. But the end of theyr Tragedie wil be theyr most miserable destruction.

Of Patience.

THe vertue of Patience is so commendable and profitable, yea and also necessarie, that I can not chose, but enlarge and adorne these our Places also with the same. And woulde to God I could as easily place it in my harte, and whole lyfe, as I can giue it a corner in thys booke. Tertullian had good reason in the beginnyng of his booke which he wrote of Patiẽce, to thynke that it is conuenient for them that doe prayse Patience, to procéede therevnto, not onely in wordes, but by the authoritie also of their owne conuersation. To talke of vertue it is the leaste matter, but to vse vertue, that is the worke of as strong a man as Sampson. But what shall I doe? Shall I speake no more of the vertue of Patience, than I am able my selfe to performe? If that wryters shall be restrayned to this lawe, then no doubte the Preachers & teachers oughte specially to be so. And assuredly it were a gay & a godly matter, if our harte and pen, our mouth and lyfe did agrée all in one, so that we should write & speak, conceyue in our harte and performe in worke all one thyng. But thys lawe woulde exceedingly restrayne the profite and cõmoditie of bookes and sermons, if it were not lawfull for vs to sette forth in our bookes or preachyngs, any thing else than that whiche wée doe worke in our lyfe,

Tertullia

euery man accordyng vnto the measure and gifte of God, no more say, thā the measure of our workes doth expresse.

Therfore we wil cōmend Patiēce as it is of it selfe cōmendable, & commended by the testimonies of the holy scriptures, not as it is performed by vs, doyng therein as sicke folke do, which though they lacke ẏ helth of their body, yet for all that they doe often & greatly praise and cōmend it: whiche similitude Tertullian vsed also, to incourage himselfe to pursue the purpose whiche he had taken in hand. And we wil note somewhat of patience, which may profit not only others, but my self also. For when I do write of those things whiche doe concerne our saluation, I do aswell instruct my selfe, as others.

What Patience is.

That which the Latine interpreters of the holy scriptures haue translated Patience, is in the Ebrew as much to say, as far from anger: as we may perceiue in the Prouerbs and in Ecclesiastes. And in Iob it is called Expectation, or abidyng. In Grēeke it is called ὑπομονή whiche signifieth sufferaunce and patience. Cicero in his booke *De inuentione*, maketh a difference betwixt perseuerance & patience: & defineth perseuerance to be a stedfast and continuall abidyng in a matter well considered and wayed, and patience to be a willyng & long sufferaunce of harde and painefull things, for honesties sake, and profite. So that perseueraunce is the generall vertue, whereby wée doe constantly abyde and procéede in all that, which wée haue begon vpon some good reason: and that patience is a kynde of perseuerance, when we doe willingly and constantly suffer things that be harde, painefull, sorowfull, & to our losse. I doe not mislike this definition of Cicero. For euery sufferyng of al aduersitie ought not straightway to be called patience: For there is no manne in the worlde, but that suffereth many thyngs, which he would not doe, if he could any wise withstand it: and yet wée doe not call them al patient, like as wée doe not call them impatient neyther, whiche do suffer no aduersitie, but doe sustayne it with an euill will, and discontented minde. Therefore like as vnto patiēce there is requisite a willing sufferaunce, so it is impatiencie when we do vnwillingly, striuing & with anger suffer that whiche we do suffer. And he did vpō good consideration put in the definition of patience not onely the willyng, but the long sufferance also of euils. For the vertue of patience cōsisteth not onely in this, if the sufferance be willyng, but there is requisite also a cōstancie in suffering. You shal find many that be willing to suffer for a while, but they be sone gon, and become impatient, vnto them cā not be attribute true patiēce, which is of that sorte, that it must be bothe willyng and continuall. Lyke as the fayth of them which doe beléeue for a time, and do shrinke away at tyme of temptation, is no true fayth: nor their loue true, which do loue to day and hate to morrow: So it is no true patience neyther, if thou be pacient for a season, and with in a whyle after, do change thy patience into impatiency.

Prouerb. 14. 15. & 16. Eccle. 7. Iob. 4. Perseueraunce. Patience.

Vpon patience is requisite a willing & long sufferance of aduersities.

patiencie. The truth of vertues can not stande without constancie.

Whiche be the partes of Pacience.

Now if a man make a collection of the Ebrew, Grēeke, & Latine wordes, he shal finde al the partes of patience wherein it is wholly comprysed. For the Ebrewes do cal him whom wée doe call patient, meaning that the first parte of patience is to be voyde and farre from anger, and not easie to bée moued. For it is not possible, that he shoulde vndertake & kéepe patience, whosoeuer is of hys disposition, prone & gyuen to anger. Secondly whereas they do vse this worde, תקרת whiche is asmuch to say, as expectatiō: for patience, it signifieth, that without the expectation or lokyng for of better to come, patience cā haue no place in our harts. The nature of the impatient, is to hasten and run on, and of the patient to abyde & to looke for a better tyme. It was a poynt of expectation, and of great patience, that Dauid, wheras he might haue slayne his enimie Saul, he would in no case do it, saying: The Lord liueth: for vnlesse that the Lorde strike him, or that his day come to dye, or that he perishe goyng to battell, the Lorde haue mercy vppon me, that I laye not my hande vpon the Lordes anoynted. If hée had made haste through impatiency, to deliuer himselfe from so greate daungers, he woulde haue layed hys handes vpon him immediatly. This expectation is praised vnto vs in many places of the holy Scripture, wherby they which were in troubles did looke for the hand of the Lord the deliuerer & sauiour, as the Prophete sayeth: Looke for the Lord, and deale manfully. Looke for the Lorde, and kéepe his way. And, I looked for him which saued me. And in Esay. They shal not be confounded which do liue in expectation. And in Abacuk, If he make any tarrying, looke for him.

The first parte of patience not to be stur-ed.

The secōd is expectatiō.

Psalm. 27. Psalm. 37. Psalm. 55. Esay. 49. Abacuk.

3 Thirdly, whereas the Grekes do cal patience, ὑπομονὴν ẏ is to say, abidyng, it doth wel declare that this is also one peece of patience, that wée must cōstantly abide in the troubles, and in the rightuousnesse, for whiche we be afflicted. For vnlesse that wée do so, all the sufferaunce of the euils is in vaine. For we do not ouercome by suffering, but by abyding by that whiche is right, and in not sufferyng our selues to be wrong from it, to the contrary, by any troubles.

The third parte of patience, the Abiding.

4 Fourthly, where the Latine men called this vertue Patiēce, it is for this reason. For that without the vertue and constancie to suffer and sustayne al aduersitie, it is not possible, that any man can be able to bée voyde from the disposition vnto anger, and to looke for the hande of the Lorde, and to abyde in that which is righte. For by the tendernesse of impatiencie it falleth out, that we be ouerthrowen, though wée bée but sleightly assaulted, & driuen from the purpose of rightuousnesse and truth. So that the partes of patience be, the calmenesse whiche is not styrred to anger, the lookyng for Gods ayde, the abidyng in that whiche is right, true, and good, and the vertue to suffer and sustayne all aduersities, by these parts patience is made vp perfect, and there can not one of them

The fourth vertue of Suffering.

be

be miste without the hinderaunce of the whole.

Hovve many sortes of Patiences there be.

Pacience of God & the patience of mā, diuers.

Firste there is the Patience of God, and the patience of men: for so we thinke it méete to deuide it at the firste, bycause that God is patient after one sorte, and manne after an other sorte. If you liste to enforce the worde Patience, whiche is deriued from passion, there can be none such in God, vpon whom there falleth no kinde of passion. For he is not passionatiue, and yet notwithstādyng the Scripture doth attribute patience vnto him, whereas it dothe call hym fauourable, patient, & mercyfull, in the Psalmes and to the Romaynes, where the Apostle sayth: Doe you despise the richnesse of hys goodnesse, and patience? And Peter sayth, When they looked for (sayth he) the patience of God in the dayes of Noe. &c. But who is able, (as Augustine sayth,) to expresse by wordes, what, and how great the patience of God is? Who we say, hath no passion, and yet is not impatient, but of all moste patient. Therefore his patience is vnspeakeable, not vtterly none at all, as his zeale, his anger, and such other like. And yet if wée cōsider these matters, like our own, they be not in him. For we doe not feele any of these thyngs without discontentation or vnquietnesse. But God forbid, that we shoulde surmise it to be any trouble or vnquietnesse, when we say, that the impassible nature of God is patiente. For like as he is zelous without any ranckor, angry without any vnquietnesse, mercyfull without any sorrowe, repentyng without any remorse of euill doyng, so he is patient also, without any passion. This sayth Augustine. Yet notwithstandyng, it is our parte to consider, in what respect patience is attribute vnto God. In case we do consider the partes of patiēce, whiche we recited in the article before, it is an easie matter to sée, in what respect the Scripture doth cal God patient. The first is to be farre from anger, this poynt is specially attribute vnto GOD. For he is in déede voyde of anger. The second is expectation, or lookyng for, and that is no straunge matter to God, I looked for them (saith he) to bryng forth grapes, and they brought forth brābles. The third, is in gréek ὑπομονή, whiche is the abidyng out of all, and that is more in God, than in manne. The fourth part is diuided from the Latine and called Patience, of passion, and this is not attribute vnto God in this respecte as parte of the vertue, whiche we do commonly call patience. But God is called patient by the Latinistes, not for any passiō: but for ẏ thrée first parts of patiēce.

Rom. 2.

1. Pet. 3.

Augustine.

In what respect patience is attribute vnto God. Esay. 5.

So Tertullian tooke it when hée sayde, that God himselfe is the example of patience, in that that he dothe caste the flower of this light equally vpon the iuste and vniust, and suffereth the seasons of the times, the seruices of the element, and the vse of al creatures to be applied as well to the vnworthy, as to the worthy: sufferyng moste vnthankefull people, when they doe worship and serue the mockery of theyr owne harte, and the workes of theyr owne handes, and persecutyng his name and familie, suffering the wantonnesse, couetousnesse, wickednesse, and naughtinesse, which dayly encreaseth, so that it might séeme that his own patiēce doth hinder him. And in this saying what he calleth patiēce, it appeareth by that whiche he addeth for a reason, saying: For there be many whiche do for this cause not beleue in the Lorde, for that they knowe not that it is so long ere he be angry with the worlde. So that he calleth it patiēce, not to be angry so long time with so wicked a worlde, whiche is nothyng else, but to be farre from anger. And whereas we sayde at the ende of the article before, ẏ patience is so made vp by the foure partes, which we rehearsed, that there can be none of them missed without the hinderance of the rest, it is to be referred not to the patience of God, but to the patience of men. For the fourth parte of it, is not of strength, but of weaknesse, so that it can not take place in God, but in man, as subiect vnto all kindes of passions. And yet notwithstandyng it foloweth not herevpon, that the patience of mā is perfecter, than the patience of God: for it is no derogation nor diminishment of vertue, but an aduauncement thereof, when it can admit no infirmitie or weakenesse.

Hovv Tertullian calleth God pacient.

That the patience of man is not perfecter than the patience of God, though he haue no passions as man hath.

But though that the patience of man doe in one poynt passe the patience of God, touchyng numbre, yet for all that it is much inferiour: first in that, that it may receyue troubles and passions. Secondly, in that, that it can not reache vnto the perfection of Gods patience in the other thrée partes nother, yet notwithstandyng it is not done without the speciall purpose of God, that our weakenesse is so employed to the practise of most goodly vertues (suche as patience is) that euen the very same which hath in vs a weakenesse and corruption of nature, and therefore not agreable vnto God, doth serue to our commoditie and profite.

Hovv many sortes there be of the Patience of man.

Now that we haue deuided the patience of God, from the patience of man, we must sée, how many sortes there be of the patience of men. And we call that of men, not the same onely whiche commeth of man alone, but whiche is performed eyther by the grace, and vertue of God, or by man. And the same appeareth to be of two sortes, one false and the other true, the false or counterfayte is that, whiche is vppon no iuste cause, nor is directed to any iust ende, suche as the Pacience is of naughty and carnall men, which doe sustayne moste sore trauayles and paynes, for earthly, and sometimes vayne things, which they fancie and desire. As some one to scratch togyther a littell wealth: an other for vayne glory: an other to satisfie his luste: an other to be reuenged of him whiche he hateth. What stormes, shoures, sunne burnyngs, perils and turmoyles of the Seas, what tempestes, trauayles, and daungers of warres, what strypes, and woundes are not men contented to sustayne, for such matters, beyng for the most parte also hurtfull, the abyding and bearyng of all whiche things dothe

The patience of man is some true and some coūterfaite.

stande

Catiline an example of counterfayte patience.

stand vpō the strength of the desires.

Augustine doth alleage Catiline for an example, who seking the destruction of his countrie, did sustayne by an incredible patience, hunger, thirste, colde, watchyng, &c. to compasse hys intent and purpose: he declareth also what paynes thieues do take, to practise theyr robberies, and howe that some of them doe try one an other by moste sharpe tortures, makyng suche proofe of theyr Patience, to the entent they may robbe with the more safetie, least if any of them should not be wel able to abide torture, he might bewray his felows when he is put to the racke or other torture. And therfore serued the scurgyng of the Lacedemonians, when their boyes were whipped for a whole day in the Temple of Diana, which they did endure out somtimes pleasantly vntill death, striuing euery one for the victorie, whiche he caried away that could longest & strongliest abyde the stripes. Thus they tried the patience of their bodies.

Lacedemonians scorging.

Such scurgyngs some doe shew and bragge of in the Poperie, whereof I haue spoken before. Suche was the Patiēce also of ỹ prophets of Baal, whiche vsed of custome to cut and mangle themselues with knyues and launces, at the very seruice of Baal, vntill that they ranne all ouer of bloud. Thus and such Patience wee do call counterfayte, for that nother it is iuste, nor commendable to any profitable and necessarie ende.

Patience of the prophets Baal.

True Patience is that, which cōmeth vpon a iuste cause, and to an honest, profitable and necessarie end. For so it appeareth whiche is true patience, that ought not to be measured by the passion, but by the occasion of the passion: and there be two sortes of suche patience, one of the minde, and the other of the body: like as there be two sortes of afflictions, one which troubleth the mind only, the other which vexeth bothe body & minde, wherof we haue spokē before in the place of afflictions. The sorowes & heauinesses which chaūceth to the minde, doe proue the patience therof, how willingly, how lōg, how lowly & humbly it doth suffer them, that is to say, how voyde it is from all hautinesse, liking of himself, from loue of strife and glory, from inclination vnto anger and reuenge, & other disordered affectiōs of the flesh. For if he be subiect vnto them, he can not abide sorow and aduersitie. The afflictions, plagues, tormēts, labors, paines, diseases, fastings, watchings, yrons, imprysonments, death, &c. whiche bee layde vpon the body, doe trie the patience of the body and minde both. Whiche the delicate and tender body is very vnmeete to abide or suffer. Wee doe not loke to haue such stoutnesse of body, as is in some great lubberly souldiers, to true patience, as though that it could not be in a weake, and a womans body, but wee doe say, that delicate, and tender bodyes vsed to pleasures, bee very vnfit therevnto. But in case that the minde be constant, and cōfirmed vnto patience, there is nothing to lette, but that it may patiently beare strōg paynes and griefes in a weake body, albeit that the weakenesse of the body doe not cōtenuayle the passions whiche be charged vppon the same. The examples bee knowen of Christian women & Virgins, which constantly abode most grieuous torments in theyr bodies, for the fayth of Christ. We reade of a virgin called Potamiana, whiche suffered the shedding of hote fierie pitche poured vpon all the members of hyr body, softely by little and little, from the toppe of the head vnto the very soale of the foote: and so did moste patiently abyde a most slow & painefull death. Wee doe reade of other virgins whiche were to the open shame set forth naked, shorne, and cut in peeceмeale, & cast vnto hoggs. The Virgins which the Arrians cōmitted to the fire, bicause they would not imbrace theyr fayth, yelded not a whitte to the sharpe & cruell paine. By suche examples it doth well appeare, how that the minde which is confirmed with patience, bothe constantly endure out, not onely those things whiche be spirituall, but those griefes also whiche doe betide to the body, though it be neuer so weake. Tertullian sayth in this wise: Let vs offer vp the patience of our spirite, let vs offer the patience of our flesh also, whiche do beleue in the resurrection of our flesche and spirite. And it is not for naught that he toucheth two sortes of patiences, of the spirite, and of the flesche. No doubte wee must vse both, that we may be exercised, tried and confirmed not only in our flesh, but in our spirite also, to the hope of things to come.

The difference of the body is not required in patience.

Place of holy Scripture, by vvhich patience is commended vnto vs.

MOst for their helpe whiche be smally exercised in holy Scriptures, I will not sticke to recite some places, wherin true patience is sette forth vnto vs, either by way of commendation, or by aduice & counsell.

Rom. 5. 15.

1 First by commendation, as to the Romaines: Knowing that affliction worketh patience, patience, tryal or proofe, and that proofe worketh hope: and, What soeuer things be forewritten, they be forewritten to our doctrine, that we may haue hope through patience and cōfort of scriptures. And to the Galathians. The fruite of ỹ spirite is loue, ioy, peace, patience, &c. And to the Thessalonians. In so muche that we our selues do glory of you in the Churches of God, for your patience & fayth in all your persecutions and afflictions whiche you doe sustayne. &c. And Christ himselfe cōmendyng patience vnto vs, sayth: And that seede which fell vpon the good lāde, be they which hearing the worde with a good & honest heart, do keepe it, & bring forth fruyte through patience. Agayne: Through your patience (sayeth hee) you shall possesse your soules.

Gal. 5.

2. Thessal.

Luk. 8.

Luk. 21.

2 Secondly, by aduice & counsel: as to the Corinthians. Let vs yeld our selues (sayth Paule) in all things, as the ministers of God, in much patience, in troubles, in necessities, in straightes and daungers, &c. And to the Ephesians: I beseche you therefore, which am in bandes for ỹ Lord, that you walke worthily for the vocatiō whervnto you be called, with al mildnesse & humblenesse, with patience, bearing one with an other in charitie, &c. Put therfore you on (sayth he) as the holy & well beloued chosen of God the bowels of mercy, gentlenesse, humblenesse, sobernesse,

2. Cor. 6.

Ephes. 4.

Colloss. 3.

patience,

patience, bearyng one with an other, and forgiuyng among your selues, in case any one of you haue any quarell agaynst an other: and like as the Lorde pardoned you, so doe you also. Agayne: Folow rightuousnelle, godly lyfe, fayth, charitie, patience and humblenelle, &c. And, Rebuke them (sayth he) with all patience, And to Titus: Aduise the olde men to bée sober, shamefast, wise, sound in faith, in loue, in patience. And to the Ebrewes: Patience is necessary for you, that in doyng the will of God, you may carie away the promisse. And Peter sayth also: But vnto this ende apply al your endeauor, and declare your fayth in your vertue, & in your vertue knowledge, and in your knowledge temperãce, in your tẽperãce patiẽce: agayne, patiẽce in your godly life, in your godly life brotherly loue, in your brotherly loue, a generall loue, &c. Thus we do reade of Patience in the newe Testament. And there be many places also of the olde Testament, wherein the great vertue of Patience is much commẽded, specially in the Psalmes of Dauid, and Prouerbes of Salomon: All which be to this purpose sette forth, that we should be moued to the studie of patience, at the least way by the authoritie of Gods worde, that beyng exercised and tried thereby, we may constantly perseuere & continue in the course of godly lyfe, throughout all kinde of aduersities, & after our long cõtinuance, be saued.

1. Tim. 6.

2. Timoth. 4.

Tit. 2.

Ebr. 6.

2. Petri. 1.

The church is furnished with godly examples of patiẽce.

Examples of Patience.

LIke as the skie aboue is wonderfully decked and garnished with the brightnelle of the Sunne and Moone, and multitude of Starres, so the Churche hath bene furnished alwayes from the beginnyng, with moste manifest examples of fayth & patience, wherin the elect haue farre excelled all other folke in all ages, so that in case that there were no lessons, precepts, nor aduices of Scriptures to informe vs by, yet wée might take lighte inough hereof by the examples of them that are already paste, whiche the Prouidence of God hath layde before our eyes to folowe. And therefore we will call to remembraunce some of them, in whiche the godly person may as it were in a glasse, consider the patiẽce of the holy Saincts, & appoynt himselfe to folow the same.

And the first of all, and farre passing al others in the example of patience, is in God himselfe, as Tertulliã thought, and not without reason. For lyke as Christe sayde, be you mercyfull, lyke as your father is also mercyfull, so we may say aright, Be patient, lyke as your heauenly father is also patient: and how God is patient, wée haue in fewe wordes declared before. Tertullian bothe ascribe it vnto the patience of God, that he doth bryng forth his sunne vpon the good and the euill, that hée suffereth the course of the seasons & tymes, the seruices of the elements, the increase of all things that are bredde, to serue the turnes of the vnworthy as well as of the worthie, bearyng with the wicked and vnworthie, whereas he might of hys iuste iudgement destroy them all at once.

God.

The nexte example of Gods Patience is shewed vnto vs in Christe our Sauiour, whose whole lyfe doth represent a wonderfull patience in all poynts, and therevnto we ought all to frame our selues as many as do glory of his name, and are iudged to be Christians vpon his fayth and religion. So Peter meaneth, where he sayth: If you do abide & continue patiently in well doyng, that is the grace & fauour with God, for therevnto you be called, for asmuche as Christ also hath suffered for vs, leauing to you an example to folow his fotesteps, who cõmitted no sin, nor there was no guyle founde in his mouth, who spake not euil when hée was euill spoken vnto, he threatened not when he suffered, but yelded the reuenge vnto him whiche iudgeth iustly, &c. This example of Christes patience, bothe peculiarly concerne thẽ, which be afflicted for righteousnelle & vprightnelle, & not for euil doyng. Therefore he sayd before, This is a grace or fauour, if a man suffer griefe for Gods sake, vniustly. For what grace or thanks worthy is it, if you suffer stripes hauing offended: And for this cause he reporteth of Christ, that he had not offended, nor that there was any guyle foũd in his mouth: so that we should folow hys example, not only in suffering, but in vpright liuyng also, and in patiently abyding the afflictions layde vpõ vs, for our vprightnelle. And thus we be prouoked vnto true patience by both the exãples of our heauenly Father, and of Christ also his onely begottẽ sonne, by the folowyng of whom we may declare our selues to bée the children of God.

Christe.

Christi.

Secondly, we muste consider also the patience of some holy menne, to learne therby, how men may be able to folow the bryghte shinyng vertue in God, according to the proportion of his heauenly grace. Suche a one we finde ỳ Noe was, who liuyng in the middes of the malice of the moste corrupt worlde, beyng armed with the vertue of Patience, continued til the ende in the trade of godly life and innocencie, and proceeded still in the worke and making of the Arke, wel neare a hundred yéres, notwithstãding that he was mocked to scorne for it, and ouerthwarted of the wicked. Loke in Genesis: And this was also a great proofe of his patiẽce, that whereas he had liued a whole yeare with his children in the Arke amongst all kyndes of beastes, after that the water was ceased, and the lande restored vnto the olde commoditie and vse thereof, yet for all that he did not impatiently departe from thence vpon his wil, but did patiently abide vntill he should be called frõ thence by the commaundement of God, lyke as he had entred into the Arke at his commaundement.

Noe.

Gen. 6.

If we cõsider the history of Abraham, shal we not finde it full of moste goodly examples of patience? What soeuer we do reade that he did vpon the fayth and obedience of God, the same was wrought and lightned, as Tertullian sayth, by this vertue of patience. Vnlesse that he could haue had patiently forsaken the lande where he was borne, his kinred and fathers house, and vndertaken to wander like a straunger in an vnknowen countrie, he could not haue had obeyed the will of God. It was through patience that he cõtinued to

Abraham.

dwell vnder tentes in the Promised lande, like as in a straunge countrie, and patiently abode the accomplishment whiche was to come of the promyses: and so departed out of this lyfe, that he did see and perceyue lōg before the promisses which were not yet receyued, and knew himselfe to be but a straunger or pilgrim vpō the earth. He did patiently circūcide the fleshy of his foreskinne, and of his sonnes, as he was cōmaunded to do, when he was within one of a hundred yeares olde: when he hearde it to be Gods cōmaundement that he should turne his sonne Ismaell out of his doores, as Sara would haue it, he did patiently obey, albeit it seemed very hard vnto him at ỹ first. Who cā sufficiētly expresse, with what patiēce he vsed the matter, when he was commaūded to offer vp his sonne Isaac?

Isaac.

And did not Isaac declare a singular Patience, in that he did patiently yéeld and suffer the frowarde & stubborne stoppyng vp of his water pits, as wee may see in Genesis: and also that he did nothing vpon impatiēcy agaynst his sonne Jacob, when he was so deceyued by him, that whereas he thought to blesse hys eldest sonne Esau, whome he loued, he bestowed his blessyng vpon Jacob?

Gen. 25.

Jacob.

And Jacob declared himself to be patient also in that, that he was so obedient vnto his parentes, that hée was contented to forsake them, and to trauayle lyke a straūger into Mesopotamia: yea & besides that, that he did so oftentimes patiently suffer the wrongfull dealyng of his vncle Laban: and that he did so humble himself to appease the displeasure of his brother: yea and that he did so patiently digest, and yet not without great grieke, ỹ cruelti of his sonnes which they had shewed first agaynst the Sychimites, and secōdly against his most déere sonne Joseph.

Ioseph.

And the Scripture doth set forth the like spirite of patience also in Joseph, in that he did not onely not reuenge the malice of his brethern beyng well able, but also he did excéedyng much good for them: neither did he not disclose the wickednesse of his mystresse, although that hée were clapte into prysō for hyr, but he did constantly conceale it, and patiently abode the helpe of God.

Moses.

What shall I say of Moses? who is able to vtter how great paynes he toke, strengthned by the vertue of Patience, in the deliuering, leadyng out, and gouerning of the Israelites, a most stubborne people: what misliking and contrarying he susteyned of suche, as murmured and rebelled agaynst him, yea and of his owne brother & sister? so that it is not spoken for naught, in Numeri, that hée was a man most afflicted (or as some men do translate) moste meeke of all that euer liued.

Numeri.

Prophets Apostles & Martyres.

After Moses there commeth king Dauid, a notable example of patiēce, in that that he did by the vertue of patiēce, ouercome the rages of king Saul, that is to say, moste sore and continuall persecution. Secondly in that also that when Semei rayled vpon him, he would not haue any reuenge done for the same.

Dauid.

Holy.

2. Sam. 16.

Who can wonder inough at the excéeding Patience of Job, for which he is commonly called the Patient man: whē he was hurled downe frō the highest degrée of earthly felicitie,

Iob.

vnto

vnto the very bottome of misery, he nother did, nor spake any otherwise, than became a godly & patient man: he tare & rented his clothes, he shore his head, he fel to the ground & prayed, saying: I came naked from my mothers wombe: I shal returne thither againe naked. The Lord gaue it, the Lord hath taken it away, as it pleased the Lorde, so it is wrought, The name of ỹ Lord be blessed. And whē he was stroken with most poysoned blaynes & sores, from the sole of his foote to the crowne of his head, & sate vpon the dunghil wiping of the matter with a shel, and that his wife sayd vnto him: Standest thou yet still in thy simplicitie, or slimes? Blesse god, and die: he did not for all that speake any one worde of impaciencie, but sayd: Thou hast spoken like a foolish woman: If wē haue receyued good things at the Lordes hande, why should we not suffer the euill?

And Christ himselfe doth cōmend the patience of the prophets, in that that he sayth, they susteyned slaunders and rebukes, and persecution. And the Apostle to the Thessalonians: They haue slayne (sayth he) the Lorde Jesus and the Prophets. And after the Prophets and Christ, there foloweth the patience of the Apostles and Martires. To be shorte, all the holy Saintes haue wrestled in this fielde of patience, of which some haue susteyned scornes and scrypes, setters and imprisonment, and some haue bene stoned, sawen and put to the death of the swoorde: some haue gone about in beastes & goate skins, needy, vexed, and afflicted, whiche the worlde was not worthy to enioy, wandering in wildernesses, in mountaynes, in dennes and caues, &c.

Therefore, what must we doe else in these latter tymes, setting before our eyes all this company of patient holy men, but caste off the burden of sinne, which we be cumbred withall, and by patience rūne vnto the game and rewarde whiche is sette vp vnto vs, and in spyte of hell gates, doe the wil of God, and endeuour our selues wholy to the felicitie that is promised vs? This many men haue done, and yet doe in our age, whome Antichrist maye a greate deale better for his persecution, condemnation, and deathe put into the Kalendar of Saincts, than some of those whiche he doth charge the Churche of God to worship, by takyng them vp out of the earth, and canonising them as Saincts.

Hovv farre forth Patience ought to be kept.

There is a questiō, whether that patience ought to bée kepte alwayes in all cuils and aduersities which doe betide vnto men, and it is not without reason that the questiō is asked. For lyke as our flesshe is of it selfe frowarde and croked, so it falleth out oftentimes, that we be patient when we ought to withstande euill: and contrarywise that we doe withstande, when we should not doe so, but patiently suffer, whatsoeuer betideth vnto vs.

To this question I thinke it good to make answere by a distinction, and so doe some of the Schoolemen: but I can not like their distinction, for they doe make the difference in ỹ sorte, that they say, that Patience

ought alwayes to be kepte within our harte, & not alwayes outwardly. In my iudgement men are not boũd to kẽpe Patience alwayes, neyther outwardly, neyther within theyr hartes, as shal appeare by the distinction which we wil make. And yet it is sufficiently declared before, that euery mãner of Patience, is not true & to be alowed, but that there chaunceth some times a reprobate Patiẽce, whiche ought not to be kept, neither inwardly, nor outwardly.

Patience not alwayes to be kepte.

Firſt, we do make a difference betwixt euill & euill: some euil is sinne, & some is not. They do call the one, the euil of the offence and faulte, and the other, the euill of the punishment & payne. Secondly, there is one kind of euill whiche is done vnto our selues, or to God, or to our neighbor, or to them that be vnder our subiectiõ and charge. Thirdly, the parties whiche doe the euill, be eyther pryuate persons, eyther bearyng some office in some common wealth or family: For herein there is a greate diuersitie. For it maketh no small matter, what the euill be whiche we doe suffreyne, and to whome an euill be done, and what mãner of persons we be to whome it is done.

Difference betwixt euill & euill.

VVee ought to suffervvrõg but to doe no euill.

Firſt, in case that the euil whiche is done to vs, be any sinne, so that it make vs, if we suffer it, not only miserable, but also worthy of blame, we may not suffer it. As for an exãple. A Tyrant compelleth me to betray my fayth, to denie the truthe of God, to alowe a lye or falshode, and to vse counterfayte seruices of God. I may in this case without blame suffer the violence whiche is done to my body, and kẽpe my patience, but to be dryuen to doe that, whiche hée goeth aboute to haue me do, plainly that can not be done without my blame. He doth persecute, spoyle me of my gwdes, banishe me out of the countrie, & from all good company, he catcheth, & casteth me into prison and yrons, he doth torment, condemne, & kill me, &c. all this geare I may abide without blame. He plucketh from me the bookes of the holy Scripture, and burneth them before my face, I suffer this also, bycause I can not chose, but not without greate griefe, not so much for ỹ harme that I take my selfe, as for ỹ villanie that they doe vnto the truthe of God. He doth condẽne me of Heresie, schisme, vngodlinesse, of forsaking ỹ churche, & of vntolerable obstinacy: herein I do wel also to kẽpe my patiẽce, & do recõmende the iudgemẽt of my cause vnto the iuſt Judge. Besides that, he doth take away the open teachyng of the truth, & the true preachers also out of the churche, and setteth vp false, deceptfull and wicked doctrine in stẽde thereof, and will haue vs to heare, to alow, & to folow the same. I may abyde the firſte, but I may not doe the laste, vnleſſe I will presume to betray ỹ truth: in this poynt I ought not to kẽpe my Patience, neyther inwardly in my harte, neyther outwardly in my worke. In dẽde it is his offence and faulte, that hé dothe so fiercely rage agaynſt innocent persons, in oppugnyng and striuyng agaynſt Gods truthe, but by hys so ragyng, hé can not make me an offender by sufferyng, vnleſſe I do perfoyme that which he would compell me to do.

Furthermore, in case any mã wold enforce mé to walke a myle wyth him, I may without offence go with him, yea thrée myles: but if he requyre me to go with him to some idolatry, to robbe, to steale, to haunt harlots, &c. here I can not without offence be patient, and perfoyme his requeſt. If any man take my coate from me, I may lette him haue my cloke also: but in case he go about to take frõ me my faith, hope, & duty vnto god, I may not abide this euil, for not only he doth offend which goeth about it, but he ſhould make me an offender also if I ſhoulde ſuffer it. And agayne, he ſhall not be able to cõpaſſe, though he be neuer so strõg, to make me let goe that whiche hée would take from me, if I liſte to be conſtant through the grace of God.

Willeth whome euill be done.

Mat. 5. Luc. 6. Matthew.

Secondly, it maketh some matter to the kepyng of patiẽce, vnto whom the euill turne be done. For if a man ſhould ſlaunder or speake villany of the name of God, no Chriſtian man ought patiently to heare and abide it. Chryſoſtomes doctrine is this. In case you chaunce to heare any man blaſpheming God, either by the way ſide, eyther in the market, go to him, rebuke him, & if thou nẽde to ſtryke him, ſticke not at it, and giue him a blowe in the face, breake his mouth, and sanctifie or make holy thy hande with the blowe. And if any body doe complayne vpon thée, and draw thée to pryſon, folowe hym: and if the Judge ſeke to puniſhe thée in the place of iuſtice, say frely and frãckly, that he blaſphemed the kyng of Angels. Thys sayth Chryſoſtome. Furthermore, if any mã ſhould ſlaũder the worde of God and his truth, were it conuenient for a Chriſtian man patiently to heare suche a blaſphemy, and not so speake againſt it: And in case that the wicked ſhoulde damniſie and decay our neyghbours lyfe, wealth or honor, doth not very charitie require vs to ſhew no patience but impatience rather in thys matter, to declare therby in wordes at the leaſt way, if we canne not in dẽde, how much we do miſlike with all? It is no vertue but a vice, to be patiente at an other mans harmes. If a man ſhoulde defile thy wyfe or daughter, or any manner wiſe hurte any of thy houſe, that were committed vnto thy truſte and charge, the Patience of suche a shrewde turne, were not worthy to be commended, but to be blamed, specially if thou were able to let it.

There is an other conſideratiõ to be had, of that wrong whiche is done neyther vnto GOD, nor vnto our neighbour, neyther vnto our people, but vnto our selues. Chriſt when he had sayd: But I say vnto you, reſiſt not euill. To expounde the matter, he added after, But whoſoeuer giue thée a blow in the right cheke, turne him the other also: and to him that will plucke thée to the law, and take away thy coate, lette him haue thy cloke also: and goe two myle wyth him, whiche would haue thée to goe one with him. He sayth not: Who ſo euer giueth thy neighbour a blow in the right cheke, but who ſoeuer giueth thée a blowe: and he sayth not, whoſoeuer will bryng thy neighbor, but thée to the law: & he would haue him to gyue not his neyghbours coate, but his owne. So he saith not, he that would haue thy Neyghbour, but Thée, to goe with him one mile.

So that this kinde of Patience, is playnly expressed to be kepte not in the wrong whiche is done vnto others, but vnto our selues. And therfore serueth the place of the Apostle to the Corinthians: Why doe you not rather suffer wrong? Why doe you not rather take harme? If we had bene commaunded to loue our selues, then no man coulde without offence haue had suffered a wrong done vnto himselfe: but seyng that we be commaunded to loue not our selues, but our brethren, we can not without offence patiently suffer any wrong that is done to our neyghbour and brother. 1.Cor.6.

Thirdly, it is a great matter whether that we be priuate persons, or beare any office. Those wronges whiche be done vnto vs as priuate folke, ought to be patiently taken, but they ought not to doe so whiche beare any office of gouernaunce: they may not suffer one to hurte and to doe wrong to an other. So that whereas Christe sayde: Resiste not euill: it is not to bee applyed to the Magistrates, but to euery priuate person. For the doctrine of Christe doth not condemne the office of the magistrate, whereby euill ought to be repressed, as appeareth in the writings of the Apostle to ỹ Romaines. Wherefore it were a very vnseemely patience for them which ought to vse the swoorde, to restrayne the wicked, to beare patiently with the euill doyngs of the people. Rom.13.

Neither is it meete for parents to suffer patiently, and abyde the euill doyngs of theyr children, if one of them doe the other wrong.

And yet notwithstandyng it appertayneth vnto the wisedome of a magistrate, to beare with the euill, whiche he can not reforme for the present, vntill suche time as he may punish them, to the daunger of lesse euill. Such manner of patience doth not decay the authoritie of the Magistrate, but doth rather helpe that it be not weakened, or brought into greater daũger by the vntimely correction of the euil, or least ỹ the same whiche ought to be reformed, be not reformed, but made worse than it was before, & so to leaue open a gap to other worse euils. Dauid vsed this patience in bearyng with those sore & wicked matters whiche were wrought by Ioab, like as Isboseth the sonne of Saul was constrayned to suffer the pride of Abner. At the beginning, before that things be well setled & staied in a realme, there must many matters be borne withal, whiche else should not be suffered. It is likewise also in most cõmon welths, where it happeneth oftentimes, that the magistrates muste of necessitie, beare with the offences of great personages, or of a multitude, for asmuch as they can not be reformed without sore and daungerous changes. And thys kinde of patience hath place also in the Church, where men haue nede either to beware of sects, either when the godly be fewer in number, than be able to reforme the offences of many, & them of the frouter sorte, to doe it vnto the edifying, as the Apostle doth prescribe.

What is the vse of Patience.

Three maner vses of patience.

IT can not be worthily inough expressed, how large, how notable, & necessary the vse of true patiẽce is. And yet notwithstanding we doe make three sortes thereof, like as all thyngs which doe betide vnto vs bee of three sortes, for all our things cõmeth eyther from God, eyther from creatures, either frõ our selues. And whensoeuer any thing happen vnto vs that is not, or semeth not to bee troublesome, then there is no vse of patience. So that the firste vse of patiẽce doth stãd in those things which do concerne God: the second, in those whiche doe touche our neighbours: the thirde in the reste of the things which do appertaine vnto our selues. And those things doe concerne God, which do belong to faith, godly life, & our saluation: and those do concerne our neighbours, which do hang vpõ the common life of men: and those do touch our selues, which do belong to the mortifying of the olde Adam, to the denial of our selues, & to the holinesse of life: & this we wil briefly consider. Firste the Apostle sayth, that fayth commeth by hearyng, and hearing by the worde of God: for how shall men beleeue him, of whom they haue not hearde? Nowe vnlesse that there be patience in the hart of men, and eares to heare, it can not be that they should heare the doctrine which is folish to the iudgement of reason, and refused by the wisemen of thys worlde. They lacked this patience which sayde: This saying is harde, who canne abyde to heare it? So the moste parte of Christendome dothe now adaies also abhorre the hearing of sounde doctrine, and can not patiently abyde so muche as to heare it. Therefore patience is chiefly necessary herevnto, that the worde of the

Iam.1. Without patience to the hearing of the doctrine of fayth, men come not vnto fayth.

Iam.5.

crosse be hearde, for vnlesse that it be hearde, it can not be beleeued, and it can not be heard, vnlesse ỹ the iudgemẽt of reason be so ouercome by the benefite of patiẽce, that those things which be spoken, may be well heard, and with quiet mindes.

2 Secondly, vnlesse that the resistence of the minde be repressed, faith can take no place, though that the sounde doctrine be hearde. And that is not repressed as long as the impatience of assentyng continueth in the hart, so that men nede to haue this patience of harte, to consente vnto those things which they haue heard. He that lacketh this patience, canne not abyde to credite those thyngs whiche he hath hearde, and so is not yet able to receyue fayth.

3 Thirdly, for asmuche as the good things ỹ be promised, be not presently performed, but bee reserued till the time to come, it is necessary to loke for thẽ by hope. And this hope can not stande, vnlesse it be bolstered vp by patience. So the Apostle sayth to the Romains: And not only they, but wee our selues also, whiche haue the firste fruites of the spirite, wee doe waile to our selues, loking for the adoption the reseption of our body: for by hope we be saued: & if hope should be seene, it were no hope, for howe should a mã hope vpõ ỹ hee seeth: but if we do hope vpon that which wee do not see, we do loke for it by patience. By these words, he doth signifie, that the promised redemption whiche we do hope vpon that do beleue, can not be loked for, but by patience.

4 Fourthly, for asmuch as ỹ course of the godly in this worlde is such, that by many troubles they muste

enter into the kingdome of Heauen, who perceyueth not how necessarie this vse of patience is, to beare al aduersitie constantly for the truthe of God: Who is able stedfastly to confesse his fayth before his aduersaries to the daunger of his lyfe, vnlesse his harte be cõfirmed by patience: The Apostle sayth, that men do beleue in theyr harte vnto rightousnesse, & that the confession is made by the mouth vnto saluation. Take away pacience, and there can be no suche confession, for whiche men will be contented to abide all manner of perils.

Proofe requireth patience.

5 Fiftly, it is requyred of the faithful, that they be sufficiently proued and tried in the faith of Christe. And no manne canne be well tryed by troubles, but through patience: wherefore the Apostle sayth: Trouble bredeth patience, and patience worketh the proofe or triall of men.

Rom.5.

By patience wee doe saue our soules.

6 Sirtly, forasmuche as he that wil saue his life or soule, doth lose it, & he whiche will lose it for Christes sake, dothe saue it, it is not possible, that beyng once vnder the crosse, wee should any otherwise saue our liues or our soules, but by patience. Wherfore our Sauiour saith also: In your patience you shal possesse your soules. We must in this life striue agaynst Sinne, the World, and the Prince of the worlde: if we doe not striue, we shal not ouercome, and in case we ouercome not, we shall not be crowned, & no man can striue or fight wel without patience. Therfore the Apostle doth counsel vs to runne our appointed race by patience & speaking of himselfe: I haue fought sayth he, a good fight, I haue accomplished my course, I haue kept my fayth, for the reste, there is layed vp for mee a crowne of rightousnesse, which the Lorde shal giue me at that day, who is the iuste Iudge.

Luk.21.

Ebre.12.

2. Tim.vlt.

V Without patience vve shall not do the vvil of god, *Luk.8.*

7 Seuenthly, we muste consider also, that no man is able to worke the will of God, and to bryng forth the fruytes of the Gospell without Patience. The saying of our Sauiour is well knowen: The sede that falleth vppon the good lande, be they whiche hearyng the worde, doe with an honest and good harte hold it fast, and bryng forth fruite through Patience. For lyke as the sede which is caste into the lande can not beare frute, vnlesse it be able to suffer and abyde the sunne, rayne and colde, so the faythfull person can not bryng forth the frute of the Gospell, vnlesse that hee doe patiently suffer and abyde all kinde of aduersities falling vnto him for the worde of God. And what is it else to beare the frute of the Gospell, but to doe the will of God, accordyng as it is sette forth by the doctrine of the Gospell: and this no man is able to doe without Patience. And therefore the Apostle sayth: Patience is necessarie for you, that in doyng the will of God, you may beare away the promyse. And thus muche briefly of the firste vse of Patience.

Hebr.10.

The second vse of patience concerning the life of man

2 Touchyng the second vse therof notwithstandyng that charitie beareth the chiefe swinge in the commõ life of manne, for the nurrishment of peace and concorde, yet for all that, vnlesse there bee ioyned Patience withall, there can not continewe any quiet betwixte moste dearest and nearest friends. For vnlesse that all quarels of offence be kept of by

by the vertue of Patience, no loue can long endure: what streighter bande is there than that of man and wife, whereby two are knitte into one flesh? And yet vnlesse that bothe their stomackes bee armed with the vertue of Patience, the one shall not be able to beare the conditions and combers of the other, and so shall the vnitie and concorde betwixt them bee broken. What else shall we iudge also of all other contractes in the fellowship of men? How commeth it to passe that neyther straungers nor kinsfolkes be safe one from an other, yea that brothers agree so euill, but bycause that patience is so rare and seld to finde in the heartes of men? In respecte that we be men, it is not possible, but that they whome we can not charge to be vtterly naught, must speake and do many things not altogither pleasaunte: and in case they chance vpon impatient harted men, they do stirre greate variance, strife and contention, and doe breake the tranquillitie of quiet and peace: in this respecte we maye well call patience the preseruer, yea the repayrer of peace. For as Salomon saith: The Prince is appeased by patience, whiche is not to be vnderstanded of that patience only, when the Prince being somewhat offended, doth himselfe restraine the rage of hys anger, but when he with whome he is displeased, dothe patiently suffer all his sayings and doings, and doth with a cõtented mind abide all suche burthens and charges, whiche he putteth hym vnto. If Patience dothe worke thys in the minde of a Prince, how shall it not better worke the same effecte in them, which be of a muche baser condition and degree?

The thirde vse of patience (as we sayd) is when the mortifying of oure selues, whiche is troublesome to the flesh, the denying of our selfe, and holynesse of life is wrought with a patient & stoute minde. Mortifie (sayth the Apostle) your membres which be vpon the earth. And I do chasten my bodie (sayth he) and bring it vnder. And Therfore most deare brethren, hauing these promises, let vs cleanse our selues from all filthines of flesh and spirit, making vp our sanctification or holinesse in the feare of God. And Christe sayth: If any man will come after me, lette him denie or forsake himselfe. And how can wee doe this, I beseech you, without the patience of the spirit and flesh? Therfore whether we consider oure liage towards God, or towardes our neyghboures, or oure owne selues, surely the vse of true patience is in anye wise necessarie vnto all, and that not only for the affayres of religion, but for the rest of our whole life also.

Colloss.3.

1.Cor.9.

2.Cor.7.

Luke.9.

Of Impatiency.



According vnto the nature of contraries, lowe what good things be attribute vnto patience, the cõtrary therof may aright be ascribed vnto impatience. Patience is a vertue whereby all aduersities be borne for godlinesse, and in honestes sake. Therefore Impatience is the vice, whereby there is no aduersitie suffered for godlinesse and honestes sake.

Impatience vvhat.

The partes of patience be, to bée farre from anger, to loke for the Lordes helpe, to stand in that whych is good and iust, and to be able to suffer all aduersities. Therefore the partes of Impatiécie be, to be enclyned to anger, not to loke for or tarry the hand of the Lorde, to departe immediately from that which is ryght, and to be able to abide no aduersitie. Patience hath God himselfe, and our Lorde Chryste hys onely begotten for the author thereof. Impatiency hathe the Deuill for hir author and beginner, from whome the poyson of it was fyrst poured into our first parent. And loke howe contrarye they be one to an other, I meane God and the Deuill, so contrary is the vice of Impatiencie vnto the vertue of Patience. The fyrste Impatiencie of the Deuill consisted in that that hée coulde not beare with the glorye of man, when he was created to the Image of God, and made ruler of all hys workes. So that the bronde of impatiencie (as Tertullian sayeth) is in the very Deuill, and impatiencie and malice were brought vp both togyther in hys bosome. Patience dothe yéelde to the hearing of sounde doctrine, as we declared in the article before, but Impatiencie worketh the contrary, whereby our eares bée stopped and turned away, leaste they shoulde heare that whyche is good. Patience maketh menne to giue credite vnto Gods word, but the Impatiencie in not consenting to suche things as they do heare, is the minister of vnbeliefe, in hindering them from gruing theyr consente vnto the truth. Patience dothe loke for the good thinges to come, whiche we doe hope vpon that do beléeue, and impatiécie in that it cā not abide to hope, and loke for the same, doth gape only for the présente. Patience doth make vs to confesse that with our mouth, which we do beléeue with our heart. For therby we be ready to suffer the crosse for the truth of God. *Ergo*, the impatiencie of the Crosse, maketh vs eyther to dissemble or to denie also, that which we do surmise we doe beléeue rather than beléeue indéede, by oure patience of troubles we bée made allowable in ỹ faith of Chryst, therefore by impatiencie we be refused as vnworthy. By patience wée doe possesse our soules, *Ergo* by impatiencie we doe lose them. By patience we doe fyghte and ouercome, and shall be crowned after the victorie, *Ergo* by impaciencie we do yelde and flée, and be shamefully ouercome, deseruing euerlasting rebuke and reproche. By patience we do performe the will of God, and bryng forth the fruites of hys Gospell. Therefore by impatiencie we doe straye from the will of God, and worke ỹ fruites of the fleshe, of darkenesse and of destruction. And therefore it is that Tertullian doth ascribe all kindes of sinnes vnto impatiencie, by whiche not only Eua, but Adam also sinned, so that the firste offence of man was impatiencie. Impatiencie bréedeth anger and hatered, Impatiencye of humilitie, bréedeth pride and vayneglory, Impatiencie of chastitie, falleth into wantonnesse, and becommeth seruaunte vnto it. Impatiency of pouertie, bréedeth theste and robberies. Impatiency of labor, is the mother of idlenesse, out of whyche springeth all vices. Impatiencie of wrongs, bréedeth chiding and brauling, strife and contention, and desire of reuenge.

The partes of impatiencye.

The Deuill the author of impatience.

What impatiency worketh.

Tertullian doth ascribe all kindes of sinnes vnto Impatiencye.

Examples of Impatiencye.

And we do finde euery where examples of Impatiencie, not onely in the Scriptures, but also throughout all our whole life. It came of Impatiencie that Caine slewe hys brother Abel: whereas Esau deuised to murther hys brother Iacob, it came of Impatiencie. When Laban persecuted his sonne in lawe Iacob, hée was moued vnto it by Impatiencye. What was it else but Impatiencie, that the brother of Dina, did so cruelly reuenge the offence that was done vnto hir? The hatered of the brethren of Ioseph rose vppon the impatiencye that they couloe not beare, that he shoulde be more loued of his father than they, and for that, that he tolde them his dreames as prophecies of thinges that were to come. Whereas the Egyptians wife caused Ioseph to be put in danger of hys lyfe, it procéeded of hir impatiencie, bycause he refused to lye with hir. Whereas Pharao did so often times withstande the will of God, and whereas the Israelites did so stubbornely murmure against the Lord, it came of nothyng else but of impatiencie. Whereas Saule dyd persecute Dauid, and murther the Lordes Priestes, and presumed to minister the sacrifice, he did it vppon impatiencie. To be shorte, you canne not well name any sinne that is committed, wherein is not some representmente of impatiencie. And thus muche of Patience and Impatience.

Of Heresye.



Or asmuche as the reproche of Heresie is not the leaste of the slanders, wherewith godly folke bée charged: I thinke it expedient to speake somewhat hereof also, in these our Common places, and wée meane not to make anye greate adoe in the treatye of thys matter, but to note those pointes only, whyche maye be good and profitable for the faithfull.

I. What Heresye is.

MAny menne can not so well skyll what Heresie is, and who ought to be called Heretikes, as they can alwayes haue the worde in theyr mouthes. Heresie, as concerning the signification of the worde commeth of ỹ Greeke worde αἱρέω ‡ αἱρέομαι, whyche is as muche to saye, as to chose. And therevpon Chrysostome dothe sometimes tearme the chosing of a Bysshoppe, whyche was done at those dayes by the people of the faithful, by the word αἵρεσις. So that it is a clére case, that he is called an Heretike, whych chooseth himselfe anything. And so Hierome noted vpon the Epistle to Titus, saying: Heresie, the Greeke worde commeth of choyse, I meane when euery man chooseth that to himselfe, whiche séemeth to hym best. This signification of the worde hathe nothing in it worthy blame. For who is so madde, that wyll esteéme that prayer to

Heresie signifyeth choyce.

chose

Heresie signifying choyce condemneth no man.

chose any thing gyuen frælye vnto man, for a fault or vice: In this respect Heresie damneth no mã, vnlesse it come of some other thing, or otherwise it hath no fault in it. Therfore it cõmeth of an abuse, that this word is become slaunderous. Tertullian in his book *de Virginibus*, a little after the beginnyng, defineth Heresie after this manner: Whatsoeuer sauoreth contrarie to the Truth, is Heresie, yea though it be an auncient custome. Thys definition is neyther proper, nor necessarie, but oute of order. For if he had expressed the greke word in Latine, he should haue said, What soeuer sauoreth contrarye to the Truth, is a thing new taken vp, election or choyce, and so hée shoulde not haue declared his meaning neyther. For choyce is not asmuche to saye in the Churche, as that whiche men by abuse haue begon to call Heresie. And yet notwithstanding, I do not condemn the abuse of this word, for the Apostle vsed it also, saying: There must nedes be Heresies, that suche as be tried men, may be manifestlye knowen among you. And to the Galathians, he recounteth Heresies amongst the workes of the flesh. Agayne, he sayeth: Eschue the heretike after one or two warninges, he vsed the worde, because it was common amongest the Gentiles, by reason of the Philosophers, and amongest the Iewes, that vnderstode the Gréke tong, by reason of the sectes of the Pharisays and Saduceis. And the Latine men vsed this word also, as we may perceue by Cicero where he sayeth that Cato was in that Heresie, that hé cared not for no fyne or figured speche.

Abuse in the vvorde Heresie.

1. Cor. 11.

Gal. 5.

Tit. 3.

It séemeth that Augustine vsed this worde Heresie for an opinion, and that therefore he wrote after this manner. He is an Heretike in my opinion, whiche dothe eyther begin or follow any false or new opinions, for any worldlye gaine or commoditie, and specially for glorye and gouernance sake. The Grékes do vse the word αἱρέομαι sometimes for to will, and in this sense he is aright called an Heretike, which choseth to himselfe some opinion to sticke vnto, more vpon his owne will, than anye truth, although that he be not able to confirme it, by anye holye Scriptures truly and directly alleaged. So that Heresie is taken for that disease of the minde, when vayne men, and suche as doe to muche flatter themselues, doe varye from the common determination of others, not vpon any iudgement, but of purpose to dissent, and do chose to themselues opinions, whiche they themselues wyll follow, and appoynte others also to followe the same, and will not suffer themselues to be driuen from them by any reasons or Scriptures. The Grékes do make a shorte definition of an Heretike in this wise, Hé that taketh in hãd, and holdeth any thing besides the truth. The Scholemen do call him an Heretike, which doth beginne or followe any secte contrarie to the grounds of our Religion. And they saide that there be thrée things concurrente in Heresie, whereby it maye be perceyued, that is to saye, cruelnesse and ouerthwart will, and stubbornesse to contende, meanyng that he is not immediately an heretike, whiche dothe erre in mistaking the false for true, vnlesse he haue a

VVhat a Heretike is after the minde of Augustine. *Lib. de vera & falsa credendi cap. 2.*

froward

froward wil & stubbornesse to striue, and therefore one sayd: I maye erre, but I will not be an heretike. Thys is their opinion. But a man may bée called an heretike, as I suppose thrée manner of wayes.

Heretike three vvais

1 First, he may be called an heretike, whosoeuer doth chose any thing vnto him to follow which he taketh to be good, and worthye to be followed: And in case this man doe chose that which is in déede true and profitable, as true and profitable, he is a good heretike and without blame. After this ỳ proper sense of this worde, the very Catholike Church and euerye Christian man is an heretike, bycause they haue chosen them the faith of Christe to follow, forsakyng all others, and for whiche they be sequestred from all the world. What else is the Christian faith to be compared to the whole world, whiche is not in Christ, but a certayne heresie condemned by the wise men of thys world as it was termed to be by the vnbeléeuing Iewes, when they sayd vnto Paule: We knowe of this Heresie, for that it is spoken against, euery where. And Tertullian dothe call the Christian religion a Secte, in the beginning of his booke vnto Scapula.

The churche hath Christ vniuersall.

Acts.

2 Secondlye, hée is an heretike whosoeuer vpon erroz chooseth anye thing to be obserued for a truth, whiche is not true: and therunto seruyeth the definition of the Grékes whych we alleadged before, in that they call hym an heretike, whiche taketh in hand, and holdeth any thing besydes the truth, and he is an heretike whiche so doth, not bycause that through errour he dothe chose that whiche is false in stéede of a truth, but bycause he doth chose to himselfe anye thyng to followe. When Augustine sayth, I may erre, but I will not be an heretike, he is not against our saying here, but vseth the worde after the common meaning. But why maye not I say, I may erre, but yet I will not be one that shall erre, that is to saye: I will not to my knowledge erre, and yet it doth not follow thereupon, that he dothe not erre, whyche doth in déede erre, and so it followeth not that he is not an heretike whych would not be an heretike, albeit that by erroz he doe chose vnto hym that which is false. It is one thing to say he is, and an other that he will not be an heretike.

It is an vnmeke thyng by a mã to be ouercõme that whiche is false for a truth.

VVhat is to be a Heretike with the Grekes and Schoolemen.

3 Thirdly, an heretike is he whiche taketh vpon him, the false for the true, not of erroz, and ignorance, but of a natural disease or malice, in that he dothe ouermuche sèeke for newe, straunge and vnwonted matters, and passing the common vnderstandyng, and dothe with toth and naple vpholde them to be such, and stoutely defende them, notwithstanding that they be false, this disease maketh verye mischeuous and popyshe Heretikes. And of suche are those thynges to be vnderstanded, whiche wé doe reade of in the Ecclesiasticall hystories of the lawes of the Emperours.

He is an heretike vvhich of erroz but of purpose of singularitie standeth a newe false doctrine.

Hovv sundry sortes there be of Heresyes.

LYke as the falsehode is dyuers, manifolde and plentifull, so there be also manye and sundrye heresies euen as there be manye and sundrye meanes, to strape out of a high and

The Iewes the Philosophers the false Christian heresies

beaten

beaten way which men do misse out off, not euer alike, but sundry wayes. First, the Iewes haue some heresies to themselues, the Philosophers of the Gētiles some other, and the false Christians other. The Heretikes amongst the Iewes were as wee may perceyue by Iosephus, and in the Actes of the Apostles, the Pharises, the Saduces, and the Essees, whyche all hadde diuers and sundry heresies one from an other. The heretikes of the gētile philosophers, some wer Stoykes, some Peripatetikes, some Epicures, and some of the secte of Plato, &c. Of whiche we nede not to speake. The heresies of ỳ false Chrystians be innumerable, and passyng diuers, the multitude and varietie of which, no man was able to expresse, no not in the tymes of the olde Fathers: notwythstandyng that there were some whyche wente muche about it. But yet this is the chiefe difference of them, that some of them doe ouerthrowe the very grounds of our faith, and some of them do linger as moze weake, about meaner matters. Of the first sozt be the Marcionites and Manichees, making two beginnings, that is to say: two Gods, one good, and an other euill. The Noetians, saying that the father, sonne and holy Spirit be all one. And the Sabellians, with the Patripassioners, so called, bycause they sayde, that the father suffered foz vs: and the Carpocratians, and Cozinthians, and Hebionites, and Theodocians, and Photinians, and Arrians, whyche all denyed the Godheade of Chryste, and vpholde wickedly, that hee was onely man, and the Valentinians, whyche sayde, that Chryste toke nothing of Mary, and the Appellites, whiche sayde that he toke his flesly of the elementes of ỳ wozld, and gaue it vp agayne vnto ỳ same, and that he rose vpe againe, and ascended into Heauen without it, and the Basilidians, whiche denied that Christe was crucifyed, and all they which withstode the godheade of the holy Spirite: and specially they whiche did eyther so holde the vnitie of Gods essence, that with the Iewes they toke away the holye Trinitie, eyther so confessed the holy Trinitie, that they made three distinct Gods in number, and one vnder an other, denying the vnitie of Gods essence. Ieteth the Pelagians, which weakened the grace of God and forgiuenesse of sinnes. Finally, the Seuerians, and Hierachites, which reiected and cast off the resurrection of the flesshe. All these folke erred about the grounddes of our faith, and were so much worse than others, the more mischeuous that he is, whiche goeth about to vndermine and ouerthrow the foundations of a house, than they whyche are occupyed in pluckyng downe those things that be none of the principals.

We may putte them in the latter sorte, whyche bee heretikes also, but yet haue kept the grounddes and principals of our faith, and haue erred in some other matters, such as the Chiliastes were, whiche held an opinion that Christe shoulde raigne in thys wozld in all felicitie with the elects, foz the space of a thousande yeares, and the Elcesaites, whyche taughte menne that they myghte denye their fayethe in persecution, keeping it only in their heartes. And the Tacians, which

Which heretikes doe ouerthrowe the foundation of our faith

Which Heretikes haue erred in some matters

whiche they called Encratites, whiche condemned Mariage, and the Cataphrigies whyche reputed the seconde marriage foz whozedome, and the Peputians, whyche attributed so much honoz vnto women, that they dyd aduaunce them vnto the dignitie of priesthode. And the Artotirites, whyche offered breade and cheese, and the Quartadecimanes, whyche kepte Easter daye the fourtenth mone, what daye soeuer it fell vpon, and the Adamians, whiche followed the nakednesse of Adam vsed in Paradise before hys sinne, and refusing also marriage. And the Valesians, which gelded themselues and their guestes, as though they dyd therein serue God. And the Apostolykes, whyche receyued none into their communion, but Sole men and suche as possessed nothing of theyr owne. And the Aquaries, which vsed water in the Sacramente, and Anabaptistes whiche doe stand againste the baptising of Childzen, and the taking of any othe, and manye others, whyche do trifle about the lyke matters.

Secondlye, some Heresies bee priuate, and some publike. They be priuate, wherewith some one manne is blinded in the Churche, oz some familye, oz some fewe priuate persons. Such all Heresies are wont to be at the firste inuented by some one man, and infecting some houses by little and little, and getting them here and there some to harken and followe them. Suche be the Heresies of the Cloistermen, whiche although that they crepte out of those corners into the open wozld, yet not withstandyng they be neuer made publike oz common, but did still remayne priuate. They be publike, with which all the people in all degrees are entangled, so that a man may aright call them Catholike and Ecclesiastical. Suche hath bin the heresies of the Papistes, and of the Maometanes, these many hundzed yeares. And suche was a long time the heresie of the Arrians. Wherefoze euerye religion is not straightway true, whiche is publike and catholike, foz asmuch as heresies may grow so great to be publike and catholike.

Thirdly, some be new, some olde, and some renewed. They that bee new, do so winde into the heartes of the vnwary and vnstedfast folke, foz their newelte and some certayne speciall zeale, that whatsoeuer they be of themselues, they doe finde some followers. The olde are wont eyther to decay and differ muche from the beginning and beginners of them, oz else to be the stiffer the elder that they be. Such as haue bin wozne out be sometimes renewed again by the wickednesse of the Deuill, euen as we doe see some rayled vp agayne in our age which haue bin ouerthrowe, and then the vnlearned do take them to be new.

Fourthly, some do make a Schisme and yet they doe gather them no Churche, as the Swinefeldians. In deede they doe plucke many from the bodye of the Churche, but yet they doe not gather them into anye Churche seuerally. Some others do make not onely Schismes but seuerall Churches also, bycause they would not be taken foz Heretikes. Of them Chrysostome speaketh, saying: All those things that doe belong

to

to Christe in the truth, those heresies haue them also in the Schisme, churches alike, Bishops alike, and other degrées of the Clergye, baptisme alike, the Lordes supper alyke, and all the rest, &c. Some doe make nother Schismes nor seuerall Churches, but do continue in the Church where they beganne, bycause they bée not yet strong ynough.

Fiftly, some do not receyue al the scriptures, but do refuse some of thē, whiche they perceyue, contrarye to their opinions. Some do receyue all, notwithstanding they do not receyue the right sense of them in all poynts, but doe weaken and decay them by false exposition, to the intente they woulde not be reproued of falsehode by the authoritie of Scriptures. It were a great trauel and a long matter of it selfe alone to set forth in examples the diuersitie of heresies to make them all to be knowen, and so to refell the opinions of each of them, wherefore I haue thoughte this sufficient to note for this present.

III. Whereof Heresye commeth.

The good heresye is of God.

NO man ought to doubt, but that the good Heresie, wherein we do chose to cleaue vnto God by sincere and true faith, commeth from aboue, neyther may men thinke it any wonder, that we do make God the author of Heresie. For if wée consider the nature of the word, which signifyeth Chosing, he is the firste and chiefe choser or Heretike: for vnlesse that he had bin a choser, howe shoulde hée haue chosen vs of his owne will before the foundations of the worlde, and haue had so spectall a prouidence and care of them whome he hath cōstantly chosen vnto his faith: By his Spirit the heartes of the electes bée moued to become good Heretikes, or chosers, that is to say, to chose them the best part with Parte, which can neuer be taken from them, albeit that they be afflicted with all kindes of aduersitie for the same. So Heresie commeth of heresie, that is to say, chopse of chopse: our chopse of Gods chopse, and therepon is grounded an argumente to proue that we bée chosen by the chopse of God.

The beginning of euill heresie is eyther generall or speciall. I cal that generall, which hath place in euerye naughty heresie: and that speciall, which is in some certayne only. The generall beginning commeth first of Satan, and secondly of oure corrupte flesh. From this all the euill heresies or chosings do proceede, though they do varry neuer so much one from an other. They do come from Satan as from the beginner of lyes, errors, obstinacie, discorde and destructions. He by his flattering falshode, made our first parents heretikes and schismatikes, and sequestred them from God, not onely to their owne hinderance and harme, but vnto ours also. And oure flesshe is so infected by his poysoned breath, that it is enclyned vnto all heresies, and of a certayne inclination readye to fall to all falsehode and lyes. And therefore the Apostle doth recken heresies amongst the other workes of the flesh, saying: The workes of the flesh be manifest, whiche be these, Adulterie, whoredome, vncleanneste, wantonneste, seruice of Images, witchcraft, enemity, strife, emulations, angers, variance, seditions, heresies, &c.

The beginning of euill heresie of the Deuill.

Arrius.

Gal. 5.

Why the Apostle doth recken Heresies amongst the workes of the flesh.

So that heretikes bée no lesse carnall or fleshly than the Adulterours, whoremongers, and other vncleane persons, although that they woulde séeme to bée of all others moste spirituall. Neyther is it anye maruayle, that they doe sometimes fall into moste sore and outragious offences, considering the alliaunce and knot that is betwixte the workes of the flesshe, whereunto they be specially inclined of nature.

Heretikes do sometimes fall into sore offences.

The speciall beginnyng of heresies commeth of suche sortes of men, whose wittes bée fine and sharpe in Sophistrie, or puffed vppe wyth the spirite of pryde, or else bée stayned wyth the disease of enuy, or else bée impatient to suffer those thyngs whiche do mislike them. For the verye ground stocks wherupon heresies do spring, be pryde, sophistrie, enuy, and impatientnesse. Vnlesse ỳ Arrius had of a pryde contemned his Bishop, and woulde haue séemed better learned thā he, he had neuer conueyed so sore an heresie into the church. And thys pryde of hys was armed wyth sophistrie, wherewith he was well furnished to dispute, and moue questions & doubts. So the enuy whiche many haue borne towarde their superiors, hathe made sundry heretikes.

How Heresie came vnto men.

VVhy Tertullian calleth Marcion Nauta side.

It is written of Tertullian, that hée fell to Montanus syde the heretyke, bycause of the pryde of the Clergie of Rome. If he coulde haue borne with that, he had not embraced that heresie. And surely the impatientnesse of euill folke nowe adayes maketh many heretikes, and Schismatikes. So that euery naughtie heretike, is either proude and hastie either a Sophister, enuious, or impatient. I meane chiefly of them which be the authors of heresies.

But the Champions of the Popishe heresies nowe a dayes doe say, that the holy Scripture dothe make heretikes: which foule slaunder the Lorde will not lette goe vnpunished. The naughtie sorte of heresie commeth of the flesh, and not of the holy Scriptures. The flesh, & not the holy scripture is the mother of heretikes. But they do take al them to be heretikes, whyche had rather folowe the holye Scripture, than the fond imaginations of the Papistes. Truely thys kynde of heretikes doe rise indéede from the holye Scriptures, wée doe acknowledge it to bée true, and will stande vnto it: but they doe goe about to defame the holye scripture, and the chosen of God, by the name of heresie, to abuse and deceyue the symple and vnlearned withall.

IIII. What kinde of men are moste seduced by Herettikes.

MEn be wont to maruell howe it falleth out, that there neuer dyd yet rise any heresie in ỳ Church whiche hath not founde a great many of followers, notwithstanding that it were verye vayne, wicked and of no grounde, as it appeareth by an innumerable sorte of the examples of olde heresies. In case it were amōgst such as doe liue in moste blinde and grosse darkeneste, void not only of the light, but also of the name of Christ, there were no cause of the wonder at all.

But nowe when it doth so betyde amongst Christian men, whiche doe crake and boast of their Religion, it were not withoute reason to aske, what manner of Christian men they be, in whome naughty heresies do so easily take holde, that they will suffer themselues to be drawen by them from the most godly and wholesome heresie or choyse.

They that be not of the tryed men, do easily fall into heresies. 1.Cor.11.

When the Apostle sayeth: There muste nedes be heresies, that they which be tried men among you, may be knowen, he dothe sufficiently declare in generalitie what manner of Christian men they be, whiche are enclined to receyue heresies, that is to say, they whiche be not men tried. For the tryed do stād stiffe, and sticke fast to the truth of God, whensoeuer there doe rise any heresies, and so doe shew a manifest argumente of themselues, that they be tried men. Therefore it followeth, that the rest be such as doe easily fall vnto all manner of heresies, forasmuche as they be not tryed men. But let vs see whych bee the peculiar faults or lackes in them, for whiche they doe easily slippe into heresies.

Ignorance the mother of error.

First, there is in most part of them a childishe ignoraunce, which a man may wel cal the mother of seduction. For it is not only destitute of ryghte iudgemente, but it lyeth also in danger of the wickednesse of all craftye dealers. Wherefore it is not without cause that the Apostle warneth vs, to looke that we be children or yong in malice, and not in sense or vnderstanding, and therefore it is, that the crafty mē which do practise their gouernaunce and gaine in the Churche, doe prouide by all meanes that they can possible, that the cloud of ignorance be not taken away frō the mindes of the seduced multitude.

1.Cor.14.

The wauering of the minde.

Secondly, there followeth this ignorance a wauering of mind, whereby it commeth to passe, that they which be childishe in senses and perseuerance, are carried aboute with euery blast of doctrine. The Apostle toucheth this wauering to the Ephesians, saying. And he appoynted some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelistes, some Pastors and Doctours, to the accomplishemente of Sainctes, to the worke of the ministerie, to the edifying of the bodye of Christe, vntill we come all vnto the vnitie of the Faithe, and knowledge of the sonne of God, euerye one to a perfecte man, vnto the measure of the age of the fulnesse of Christe, that we be nowe not wauering children, and carried aboute with euery wind of Doctrine, in the wickednesse of men, through crafte, to be begyled by error. So that thys ignoraunce and wauering of minde, doth set open the gate vnto all kynde of erroures and heresies, in that it doth make the vnlearned multitude subiecte vnto the wickednesse of Heretikes and of craftye deceytefull persons.

Ephes.4.

Thirdly, all hereticall error dothe easily take hold, whersoeuer the vice of curiositie is muche vsed. For as soone as any newe or strange matter is disclosed, immediately suche as bee curious, be desirous to vnderstande what, and what kinde of thing it is: they be greedye to reade and heare it, and bee ouertaken, entangled, and caught withall, euen as mē say, that apes are wont to be with gaselings.

Fourthly,

The slauerie of our desires.

Fourthly, they be in the lyke case also, which be as it were slaues vnto their owne desires, for when they do heare of anye doctrine that is more pliable vnto their desires than the true and sounde doctrine is, whiche they heard before: they doe strayght way lay both minde & eare towardes it, and giue themselues wholly thervnto. The Apostle did prophesie before of this saying: The time shal be, when men shall not abide the sound doctrine: but shall heape them vppe maisters, according to the itching of their eares, and shall turne their hearing from the truthe, and giue themselues to fables and tales. The doctrine of the truthe, whiche he calleth heere the sound doctrine, is the verye same to oure corrupt flesh, lingering vpon our desires, as a medicine is to a sicke person. Like as the faithfull Phisition is combersome and lothsome to the sicke person, when hee forbyddeth hym those things whych hee doth earnestly desire, and prescribeth hym those thynges whyche bee contrarye to his appetite, and is nothyng so well welcome as the false Phisition or leach is, whiche seeketh his owne gaine, and letteth him haue hys owne desire, euen so the Apostle sawe before that the doctrine of the truth shoulde be lothsome to carnall persons, and suche as be slaues to their owne desires, and that therefore they shoulde turne their eares from it vnto false teachers, and greedily embrace theyr fables, whyche shoulde not be so lothsome to theyr fleshe, but sometymes more pleasant and sweete. Therefore wheresoeuer there is any greate number of suche carnall Christians, what wonder is it, if any heresie do take holde among them? For this purpose the Diuel is wont to ioyne some enticement vnto euery heresie, to allure carnall men to receyue them.

2.Tim.4.

Doth not this appeare in the most diuelishe and cursed Heresie of Dauid George, whiche doth teache hys followers the nakednesse of Adam and Eua, common leacherie without anye difference of women, and promiseth vnto them that doe obeye him true felicitie?

Dauid George maste sed heretike.

Fiftely, theyr myndes bee meete also to admitte Heresies, whyche of nature bee vnstable and vnstedfast in euerye thyng. The Apostle Peter dothe make mention of them, where he sayeth: that lying maisters doe entice vnstable soules. This kind of menne doe not onely vppon anye lyghte matter shake off the truthe, but euery opinion also, and embrace euery day one after an other, so that there is no reede lyghter, nor more moued wyth euerye winde, than they bee.

Vnstablnesse. 2.Pet.3.

Sixtly, they be suche also, whyche doe negligently behaue themselues, when they be in the way of true Religion: of them Augustine doth make mention, saying in this wise: But these men do deceyue such as be negligent in the Catholike Faithe, and will not learne their owne faithe, being manifest to knowe in the scriptures, and (which is a sorer matter, and muche to be pitied) wheras they do negligentely vse them selues in Catholiike faith, they doe diligently giue eare vnto heretikes. Thus sayeth Augustine. And so it is no doubt, They which do negligētly come to ye church or congregatiō, do negligētly heare

Negl in rel Augu Agon stiano

heare the woꝛd of saluation, do negligently pray, doe negligently come to the Lords table, do negligẽtly reade oꝛ not reade at all the holye Scriptures, and haue no regard oꝛ care of the knowledge of God, they do altogither lye open, and are easye to bee deceyued by Heretikes. And who seeth not, how great this negligence begunneth to growe in the Churches, whiche be called pꝛofessoꝛs of the Gospell?

And this manner of negligence commeth either vppon the pꝛeposterous and naughty pꝛesumption of the grace of God and saluation, and that we suppose we knowe God well ynough already, either of a wearisomenesse of sanctitie and holye thinges, whiche the plentie and abundaunce thereof is woont to breede. Whereof we maye see the examples in those Churches where Sacramentes bee dayly ministred. It is a wonder to see, how carelesly all things be passed ouer, not onely by the people, but by the verye ministers also themselues of the Sacraments.

Our greate estimation of persons.

Seuenthly, their mindes also bee open to receiue Heresies, whiche doe ouermuche esteeme the persons of them whome they imagine to excell others in learning and holynesse of life. Foꝛ therevpon men are woont to mislike and contemne them: yea, and at length vtterly to foꝛsake suche as doe teache the truthe, and do withall liue naughtyly, and be falsely pꝛesuaded by the counterfaite holinesse of Heretikes and vayne imagination of their godlinesse and holinesse of their life, to embrace heresie in steede of the Truthe. So manye doe wolue adayes fall vnto the heresie of the Anabaptistes, bycause of that lightenesse and vanitie of the Ministers of the woꝛd, which is founde euerye where.

Conscience burdened with sinne.

Eyghtly, it chanceth oftentimes, that they whose consciences be clogged with sinnes, when they fall into the suttle pꝛesuasions of heretikes, be entangled therewithall oute of hand. Hereof the Apostle maketh mention vnto Timothie. Foꝛ they be of those, whiche do enter into houses, and doe entangle the poꝛe women which be burdened with synnes, and be ledde by sundꝛy desires, euer learning, and neuer atteyning vnto the knowledge of the truth. Like as they whiche haue diseased boyes, are contented with no one Phisition, but do committe themselues vnto euerye man that wyll pꝛomise them anye helpe: so it fareth also with them, whiche haue their consciences ouerpꝛessed with the burthen of sinnes. They can be contente to yeelde themselues vnto euerye heretike, that will but pꝛomise them libertie. 2. Tim. 3.

Moreouer like as they be alwayes vnder the hande and cure of some Phisition, and yet foꝛ all that are neuer bꝛoughte vnto perfect healthe, so these folke doe alwayes seeke and euer learne, and yet foꝛ all that, they doe neuer come vnto the assured and certayne knowledge of the Truthe.

The cause oꝛ reason in the fyrste is, foꝛ as muche as they doe not yeelde themselues stylle vnto any one medicine, and therefoꝛe although they shoulde hytte vppon the true waye, yet they doe not abyde vppon it: and euen so it is the second, foꝛ as muche as they doe not sticke continually vnto anye one doctrine, but thꝛough

thꝛough the vnsteadinesse of theyꝛ heartes and vnbeliefe of their mynd that can not be persuaded, whē they haue scarcely talked of one doctrine, they do runne to an other, yea and foꝛ the most part quite contrary.

Therefoꝛe, if youre question bee, what kinde of men be most oꝛ soonest seduced by heretikes, you shal quickly perceyue how it is, in case you do diligently cõsider what we haue said that they be tryed men, ignoꝛaunte, wauering, slaues to their owne desires, the vnstable, the negligente, the lothsome, the esteemers of persons, and the ouercharged with the burthen of sinnes, be most in daunger of this mischiefe. So that it is no wonder, that there neuer rose yet any heresie whiche founde not many followers thereof in the Church. Foꝛ who can doubt, but that the Church hathe alwayes bin pestered wyth a multitude of such kinde of men.

V. Hovv Heresyes be Culpable.

GEnerallye al Heresies be blameworthy. Foꝛasmuch as they bee patched vp with lyes, falshoodes, and vntruthes. Hauing that only heresie oꝛ choyce, which the true Christians do pꝛofesse, in the whiche there is nothing at all woꝛthy of blame. Foꝛ that is all and whole, sound and good, albeit it be condemned by the Chyldren of this woꝛld, which can not like withal, bycause they can not receiue the spirit of Truth, whereof it dothe consist. All others heresies oꝛ choises besides this only, be culpable & blame woꝛthy. And they be culpable in thꝛee respectes: Firste, foꝛ the very matter and substance of them. Secondly foꝛ the authoꝛ oꝛ beginner thereof. And thirdlye in respecte of the heretikes themselues.

In the matter.

That whiche is to be blamed in the matter, is the very lye, and errour it selfe. Foꝛ all doctrines of heresies be either false of themselues, eyther seruing to those thinges that bee false, and they be chiefly false in those pointes, wherein the verye substance as it were of all heresies is comprehended, in respecte whereof it dothe varrie from the true and sounde doctrine. As foꝛ those poyntes which bee not the chiefe and principall in them, there is sometimes mingled some Truth, wherby that whiche is false, may be resembled to the Truth.

And thys generall occasyon oꝛ blame of Heresies is in some verye greate, in others greater, and in some others greatest of all. It is greate when men do of a stubburnesse erre and speake agaynste the truthe, in suche thynges as bee but secundarie, and not of the grounde. It is yet greater, when men doe stande againste any article of our Faithe. But it is greatest of all when the verye groundes and foundations of our saluation be shaken eyther touchyng the Holie Trinitie, eyther the vnitie of Goddes Maiestie, eyther when the one, oꝛ bothe natures in Christ be denied, eyther when Christ hym selfe is displaced, as the moste wycked heade of Heresye, Mahomet, and after hym Dauid George hathe attempted to doe, so that the greater the errour oꝛ offence is, so muche the more wee oughte to abhoꝛre and eschewe the Heresye that maintaineth the same.

The ſecõd ſtame in the Deuill the begin-ner.

In the Heretikes.

Secondlye, if we conſider the begynner of the hereſies, they be in reſpect of hym alſo culpable and abhominable. And we declared before, that the verye beginner of them, is Satan, by whose motion and inſtinct they be firſt enkindled, to the intente to bring a cloude and darkeneſſe ouer the truth of God. And therefore it is, that ſome whē they burne heretikes, do putte vpon them a linnen or paper garment, wherein be painted the Images of Deuils, to admoniſhe all men, that their hereſies came of the inſtincte of the Deuill. And the ſame is abuſed by others that do cõdemne and burne true Chriſtian mē in ſtede of heretikes, as they dyd ſometimes in the burning of John Huſſe, at the Councell of Conſtãce.

Thirdlye, there be many matters concurrente vnto the Hereſie in the very heretikes themſelues, which be worthy of great blame. For Hereſie is neyther firſt deuiſed, nor after that it is once deuiſed by others, it is not receyued without great offence and blame. For it is deuiſed either by the drift of pride, eyther of enuie, eyther by the infectuous deſire of newfangles, eyther vpon a luſt to ſtriue and contend, whiche miſchiefes who ſeeth not how damnable they be? And it is receyued not only into the ignorante and wauering minde, but alſo into the negligent, vnſtable, ſenſuall, contemptuous, and curious heart, the offences whereof, when they be compared vnto the former, be in degree ſomewhat lighter, but yet in this caſe they muſt not be iudged to be lyghte. There may alſo many other thynges be ioyned to theſe vices in the perſons of heretikes, whiche bee better knowē by the ſpeciall experience and trial therof, than by our annotatiõs.

VI. Hovv hurtefull Hereſyes be.

Hereſies do leade men out of the hygh vvay.

It may be ſufficiente to make a Chriſtian to eſchewe Hereſies, when he vnderſtandeth howe greate offence there is in them. But we wil beſides that partly put you in minde alſo, howe pernicious and noyſome they be. Firſt, to ỹ Heretikes themſelues, and next vnto others. For the Heretikes themſelues doe receyue theſe exceding great harmes therby. Firſte, that they be ledde out of the waye of the Truthe vnto the wilde thicket of lyes. Wherevnto they doe ſo ſtubbornely bend themſelues, that they will neuer, or verye hardlye, abide to be brought backe againe into ỹ plaine high way of ſound doctrine.

It maketh them enimies of the truth.

Secondly, the Hereſies do make them to become aduerſaries and blaſphemours of ỹ Truth, as though it were not pernicious ynough for them to forſake the way of ỹ Truth, vnleſſe they did blaſphemouſly alſo rayle againſt the ſame. Thus hereſies do not only withdraw Chriſtian men from the truth of God, but they doe alſo make them moſt ſpitefull enimies thereof. For like as, ſaith the Apoſtle, Jannes and Mambres, dyd withſtand Moſes, ſo doe they reſiſte the Truth.

Titum.3.

It dothe exclude them out of the Kingdome of God.

Thirdly, Hereſies doe ſhutte men out of the Kingdome of God, as the Apoſtle doth teſtifye, ſaying: When after he hadde reckened hereſies alſo amongſt the workes of the fleſhe, hee dothe conclude in thys wiſe, Of whome I doe warne you before, as

They decay Scrip

I haue tolde you already, that they that do ſuch thynges, ſhall not obteyne the Kingdome of God.

Galathe. It maketh them corrupte in minde.

They do ſhew vnto the Deuill.

Fourthly, they do make them corrupte in mynde. Therefore the Apoſtle dothe call them men of a corrupte iudgemente and minde and reprobate in faithe. And what healthe can there be in that bodye, where the bloud is infected and corrupte? And what ſincere and vpright iudgement in the man that hath a corrupt heart or minde?

Fiftly, hereſies do ioyne them vnto the Deuill, and do make them cõpanions with all the reprobate and wicked, and ſhall at length make thē ſubiect vnto euerlaſting confuſion, what tyme their foliſhe dealing ſhal be diſcloſed vnto al the worlde, as the Apoſtle ſayd it ſhal be. This I haue briefly touched not al, but ſome of ỹ euils only which do betide to the heretikes themſelfe by reaſon of their hereſyes. And woulde to God that they did therein hurte themſelues alone, but it is not ſo. They doe as muche as they can, hurt others alſo. They do exceedingly diſquiet ỹ churches in ſtirring vp quarels, bartace, contention, and moſt poyſoned hartburnyng in them, wherby the tranquillitie and quiet of the Churche, is muche diſturbed.

They do trouble the Church.

Secondly, they doe ſeduce the ſimple. Naughtye perſons ſaith the Apoſtle, and ſeducers, doe growe worſe and worſe, they erring themſelues, and ſeducing others alſo in to erroꝛ. And what can betide moꝛe daungerous vnto anye man, than to chance vpon a ſeducer, by whome he may be ſeduced out of the way of ſaluation, into the bottomleſſe pitte of deſtruction.

Thirdly, they doe decay the authoritie, and commoditie of the holye Scriptures, in peruerting ſomtimes the meaning, and ſomtymes the letter therof. Yea, now and then vtterly reiecting and refuſing ſome part of it: What is this elſe to doe, than to corrupte and ſtop vp the Fountaine of lyfe?

Fourthlye, they doe defame and ſlaunder the Chriſtian Religion amongſt ſtraungers, making them to be ſuſpected of an vncertaincie and vntruth in their Religion by newfangleneſſe and variance. For they do take Heretikes alſo to be Chriſtian men, like as we do them that do liue amongſt the Turkes. And therefore whatſoeuer new doctrines or opinions be ymagined amongſt them, it is imputed not to their vanitie, but vnto the Chriſtian Religion. So ſay they, ſee the Faith of the Chriſtian men, there be therein as many opinions as there be heades, ſo that it appeareth to be nothing elſe, but a verye lincke of all kyndes of erroꝛs. Theſe hurtes be done to the Church of Chriſt by Hereſies, wherefore we had neede to be exceedingly ware of them. A diligente reader may yet gather moꝛe matter out of ỹ writings of the Fathers, but this is as muche as came preſently to my minde.

VII. What is to be done with Heretikes.

In caſe that Heretikes were altogither ſtraungers and forerunners to the Churche and Religion of Chriſt, than the faithful ſhulde

haue nothing to doe with them for Heresies, but seeing that they be accounted also to be in the Christian faith, and doe liue in the lappe of the Church, it is not possible, that we can so shift vs, as to haue nothing to doe with them.

Heretike must be reformed.

Therefore we muste see, wherein and who ought to haue to doe with them. Firste, men muste endeauor to reforme them and bring them to a better mind. Here vnto serueth that place of James the laste Chapiter: My brethren. If any of you do stray from the Truth, so that any man doe conuerte him, he muste knowe that whosoeuer do cause a synner to turne from the erroure of his waye shall saue his soule from death. But nowe a dayes you maye fynde menne that wyll trauell rather to ouerthrowe, than to turne Heretikes. The Lord, saith Augustine, dothe ouerthrowe the kyngdomes of error through hys seruauntes, but he giueth charge that the menne, forasmuche as they be menne, shoulde bee rather reformed than lost. Neyther ought we to despayre of the turning of oure brother whyche is fallen into Heresye. For vnleste that suche a one mighte bee conuerted by the Grace of the Lorde, the aduice of James had ben vttterlye to no purpose. This Augustine knewe well, and therefore hee employed hymselfe wholy vnto the conuertyng of Heretikes, and that with greate lenitie and myldenesse of Spirytе, accordyng vnto the monition of the Apostle. And he dydde it not withoute some fruite of hys labye trauayle. For so hee wryteth: For wee doe reioyce of the reformation of many, which do so true lye holde and mainteyne the Catholike vnitie, that they themselues bee gladde, that they be ridde out of their errour, in somuch that we doe wyth greate thankesgiuing, wonder at them.

Against the Epistle to Fundamentus.

August. ad Faustin. 48.

And it is a greate pointe by what manner of reformation, by whome and howe Heretikes be reclaymed. The Papists do suppose that an heretike is reformed, if he forsake his heresye, and become a Papiste, but wee seeke not for such a kind of reformation. There be two partes of reformation: The one is, that whereby he which erreth, is brought out of hys error, and the other whereby hee is ledde to embrace the rightenesse of the Truth. The firste without the laste is not sufficient vnto saluation: and the latter without the firste can take no place nother. He that bryngeth a Iewe from his Iewes obstinacie, so that he be no longer a Iewe as he was before, he hath wrought the firste parte of reformation, but in vayne, vnleste that he bring him also vnto the true Faith of Christe. For in case that he doe make hym of a Iewe an Idolater and a slaue of Antichrist, he hath not reformed ỹ powre man, but chaunged hys naughtinesse into an other sorte of naughtinesse. Therefore let my Maisters the Papistes loke well what manner of Christian man they doe make of a Iewe. The true reformation is altogyther of this nature, that it muste nedes haue both these partes. One wrong is not corrected by an nother wrong, but by the right, one error is not reformed by an other error, but by a truthe, darkenesse is not made brighte with darkenesse, but wyth light.

How and by whom heretikes ought to be reformed. Two partes of reformation.

One Heretike can not be reformed by another.

It belongeth vnto Christian men, to reforme heretikes.

light. So that it is no reformation of an Heretike absolutely to bryng hym from his olde errour, to make him to be otherwise minded than he was before, whiche may be done, in case he be trayned from one errour vnto an nother, but the very way is to bryng him from falsehode vnto the knowledge of the Truth.

By this description of true reformation it doth well inough appeare, by whome it ought to be done, one Heretike can not be well reformed by an other. The Manichee shal not be able to reforme the Arrian. The Papist may burne the Anabaptiste, but he can not reforme him, vnleste that burnyng be reformyng. Wherfore reformation is not the feate of any, but of true Christian folke, by whome the Heretike may be taught not only of his errour, but also of the truthe of God, and so be holesomely reconciled. It appertayneth vnto Christian men, and not vnto Heretikes that the Apostle sayth, you are the light in the Lorde. It belongeth vnto the light to disclose the errours of darkenesse, and to open the truth. Thus no darkenesse though it be neuer so gay is able to doe. Wherefore it is out of the dutie of true Christian men, to ouerthrowe and destroy them that doe erre, but it is peculiar and conuenient for them, to bryng them vnto light and saluation.

Peraduenture no man doubteth of that that we say that it belongeth vnto true Christian men to reforme Heretikes. And in deede there is neuer an Heretike but will boast that he is of the number of true Christiã men. Therefore let vs consider the way whereby Heretikes not onely ought, but bee also reformed of true Christian men, which way they can not folowe whiche be Christians rather in name, than in deede.

The Christian

2. Tim.

Firste, the Christian man dothe reforme the Heretike after the certain and infallible rule or square of the Truth, as Seneca sayde: You shall not amende the crooked, but by the square or rule. And he doth take this rule not out of any olde custome, or decrees of Popes, but out of the writings of Gods worde, whiche the Apostle sayth be profitable vnto doctrine, to reprouyng, to reformation and instructiõ. Therfore the fathers did moste wisely appeale vnto them, as often as they shoulde haue to doe with Heretikes. The writings of the fathers can be no rule or square, bycause they be in many thyngs so wry and crooked, that they nede to be mẽded themselues. And if it were not for that they might as well bee reputed for Canonicall, as they whiche be called Canonicall, vppon this consideration, that they ought to bee in stede of a square or rule, whereunto all things shoulde be leueled & reformed in the Churche of Christe.

The Christian

Secondly, the Christian manne doth endeuour to reforme the Heretike vpon no other motiõ, but of the Spirite of Christe, whiche is the spirite of Loue, mildenesse, humblenesse, and well doyng. It skilleth muche vpon what minde a man endeauour to reforme the Heretike. They whiche doe not seeke his saluation, but theyr owne glory or reuenge, be farre wyde from the spirite of Christ, and they can not to any profite performe the worke of reformation, and strine with bitternesse and wordes inough,

A mans hart is gentle, mãlike, it is rather ledde than dryuen.

but they can not so trayne the minde of him that is out of ẏ way, to bring him to the Truth. It is an olde saying, a mans minde is gentle, manlyke and valiant, it is easlyer ledde, than dryuen or drawen. His harte must first be moued, which thyng is sooner and better wrought by good turnes, & by the spirite of mildnesse, than by violence, or much talke and reasonyng. When the harte is once quieted & softened, the eares be lightly moued to heare, and so is the strength of iudgement also to conceyue and vnderstande those things that be spoken, and not to striue, but to consent vnto them, when they bée vnderstanded. Wherfore they do oftentimes trauayle in vaine, whiche goe the contrary way to worke and care not for the harte, but go about to ouercome the minde by disputation, or talke. The hartes of them that be out of the way, be better bowed by the spirite of mildnesse, hũblenesse & well doyng, than by any Logical syllogismes, and arguments.

Augustine in the place before.

That Augustine vnderstoode, and therefore wrote in this manner. It was our dutie to choose and to wishe the beste, that we mighte make our way to your reformation, not in cõtention, brawlyng and persecution, but by comfortyng of you gently, by aduising you fauourably, by reasonyng mildely, as it is wrytten: It behoueth not the seruaunt of the Lorde to stryue, but to be lowly towardes al men, fauourable to teach, patient, reformyng them that be of a contrary minde, in modestie. Thus sayth Augustine.

Thirdly, a Christian man dothe vse suche an indifferencie, that what things soeuer he doth finde eyther in the doctrine, eyther in the lyfe of the Heretike, whiche be good and without blame, he doth not onely not reprehend them, but he doth also alow and commende them. Wherfore the holy Fathers, as Augustine doth testifie, kepte this holsome custome, to alow rather than to deny any godly, and lawfull thing, that they founde vprightly vsed in any Heresie or schisme, and yet they did truely reproue and reforme all matters that were out of the way, & peculiar vnto the errour & dissention. Thus I say the true Christian man whiche hath the spirite of God, dealeth with the Heretike. As for others whiche bée more sturred with hatred, than moued with any affection of loue, they doe séeke the confusion & destruction of Heretikes, and do impugne, or at the least way déepely dissemble, not only the errours, but their good qualities also: whiche euill dealyng doth more hinder than helpe the reformation of him which is out of the way. For assone as he vnderstandeth that they séeke not to saue, but to vndoe him, and that vpon hatered all those things be condemned in him, whiche be vndoubtedly true, he doth not only not looke to the reformation of his errours, but beginneth rather to embrace them as true, and that more whotely, than he did before.

The Christian man commẽded the good things that be in an heretike.

But thus muche we haue briefly spoken touchyng of reformation of Heretikes, what, by whom, and how it ought to be wrought. Now let sée nexte, what is then to be wrought with Heretikes, and by whome and how, when they doe refuse to bée reformed by ẏ doctrine of Gods worde and

VVhether that hereticks ought to be compelled.

and Christian gentle dealyng. And now the question is, whether it bée lawfull or no to compell them to forsake theyr Heresie, and to embrace the Christiã truth. Some be against it, and some be with it. They that be agaynst it, doe bryng reasons, and Scriptures, whereby they thinke to confirme theyr opinion.

Arguments of them which deny that Heretickes ought to be compelled.

1 First, they doe alleage for thẽselues mans frée wil, which is giuen of God hymselfe, and thereof they do gather, that it is not conuenient, that any man should be compelled to good, agaynst hys will. GOD (say they,) coulde haue constrayned our firste parentes to continue in theyr obedience, and kéepyng of hys precept whiche he gaue them, whether they would or not, but he lefte them vnto the libertie of theyr owne frée will, to doe of their accorde, whatsoeuer they listed, eyther to kéepe it, either to transgresse it.

2 Secondly, God (say they) is of that nature, that hée doth not alowe them whiche do good enforced and agaynst theyr will, but requyreth of vs to doe those things that be vpright, gladly and willingly. And so the Apostle sayth: God loueth the gladde giuer. *Ergo* (say they,) it is not Gods will that any man shoulde bée compelled to do good.

3 Furthermore, they do alleage Scriptures. What time (say they) that many of the Disciples went frõ the Lorde, he sayde vnto the twelue. Will you be gone also? by whiche wordes he signified, that he cõpelled no man to folowe him agaynst his will. And ẏ Apostle doth in this wise gine order, what a man shoulde doe with an Heretike, if he will not take warning: Refuse or flie the Heretike after one or two warnings. He saith not: in case he wil not be ruled, compel him. And vnto Timothe he saith not: Compell them to vnitie, but eschew and auoyde them.

2. Tim. 3. Titum. 3.

4 They do alleage also the saying of Tertullian vnto Scapula. It appertayneth vnto the authoritie of the lawe of man and nature, that euery man may worship as hée thinketh good: and one mans religion dothe not hurte or profite an other. Neyther is it any péece of religion, to inforce religion, whiche muste be vndertaken by a mannes owne accorde, & not through violence. These things they doe obiect for the mayntenaunce of theyr opinion: whereunto what is to be answeared, and what to bée iudged of the contrary parte, it may be séene in Augustine, in his laste Epistle vnto Donate the Priest of the Donatistes. And in my opinion we muste first make a differẽce betwixt the states of ẏ churche, and secondly, betwixt the two kindes of reformation.

Differen betvvix the tvv kings of pulsion tvvo it of the church.

The primitiue Church of Christ did lacke the authoritie to compell menne to good, as long as the Magistrates were straungers and voyde of Christes religion, vnto whom the office of exercising of all authoritie ouer the disobediente is committed by God. In those dayes when there was no Christian Magistrates, there was no power in the Churche to compell Heretickes vnto reformation. Wherefore the Apostle could not say: Compell the Heretike if hée will not bée ordered after once or twise warnyng. For as muche as the Mynisters of the worde

coulde

coulde not, no nor ought not to compell any man to the obedience of the worde, but it was sufficient for thē, if they did eschewe and flie the disobedient. And it belongeth neyther to the people, nother to the ministers of Chriſte, to compell any man to obey whether he wil or not, forasmuch as they haue not this powre giuē them from God, yea they haue no order or meanes how to compell any man agaynſt the will of the Magistrates. How can or ought the Chriſtian mē whiche doe liue vnder the dominion of the Turke, compell any Chriſtian man whiche is fallen into an hereſie, or elſe is otherwiſe diſobediente, to do that agaynſt his will, whiche they would haue him to doe: hauing no iuriſdiction ouer his body, nother ouer his goodes?

The condition of the ministers of the vvorde.

So that the example of Chriſte dothe ſerue for the miniſters of the worde to admoniſhe them, how they ought not to enforce menne agaynſt their will. Chriſte came into thys worlde to compel men vnto him. In dēde he coulde haue compelled all men, but he did apply himſelfe vnto the charge that he had taken in hād, and to the cōdition of a teacher. And he that is the miniſter of Chriſte, muſt folow him. This Chryſoſtome did acknowledge, wryting after this manner: In caſe that they which doe allure men from vs vnto the company and ſect of moſt filthy folke, think that they be able to get away ſome great and notable perſon, then they tremble and quake excēdingly, and be much afrayde, leaſt he ſhall turne backe agayne, he will be of their ſide, (ſay they) and in dēde ſuch a fellow will turne a thouſande times. I

Chryſoſt. in epiſt. Pauli ad Ephe. hoc mihi.

meane not of them that be ſinners, but in caſe that there be any whiche is without any ſpotte of ſinne, and will be turned and altered, lette hym goe and turne. Surely I am ſory for it, and doe waple and lament, and am ſtryken to the very harte withall, no leſſe then if it chaunced mee to haue one of my owne members cut off. But yet for all that, I doe not ſo lament that, that I ſhal be dryuen vpō this feare, to doe any thyng that is vncomely. Wee doe not lordly rule or gouerne your fayth, my moſte deere brethren, neyther doe we commaunde you theſe things vpon any title of Imperie or Lordlyneſſe. It is the doctrine of the worde which is committed vnto vs, not the authoritie of principalitie or power. Wee ſtande in the degree of counſellers & aduiſors, hee whiche gyueth aduiſe, and ſheweth hys opinion, bothe not compel the hearer: but doth leaue a free choyſe to his power what to doe: and he is to be blamed only for this, if he ſay not thoſe thyngs whiche becommeth him, and which he is bound to doe. This ſayth Chryſoſtome. Nowe compare mee the Prelates of the Churche in our time herevnto, & ſee howe they doe frame themſelues vnto this order of the Byſhops and Miniſters of Chriſte, when they doe with fyre, faggot and ſworde purſue as many as doe diſſent from them. After the iudgemēt of Chryſoſtome (which is in euery behalfe true,) the churche doctours and miniſters of the worde, ought not to compell any man to come vnto them, nor to withholde him when he will depart. The degrees of Byſhops and of Magiſtrates be not all one in the churche.

Note.

It

The order of Magiſtrates and Byſhops in the church of Christ.

It is not the parte of the Biſhop to compell any man againſt their will: and it belongeth to the Magiſtrates to ſuffer no man to ſtirre any thing in the Churche at his owne liberty, eyther in doctrine, eyther in ceremonies, but rather to compel them whether they will or not, vnto the rule of ſounde doctrine, and to the vnitie of the Churche. And, Take me a ſimilitude to vnderſtande thereby, what belongeth vnto a Byſhop, It is not the office of the Phiſition to compel any man to be healed, and yet for all that it chaunceth oftentymes that the patient is compelled, eyther by his parents, or his friendes, and not by the Phiſition, to folowe Phiſicke. So it is not the office of a Byſhop to cōpell folke agaynſt their willes, but it belongeth vnto the Magiſtrates ſo to do, bicauſe of the power whiche they haue receyued frō God. Therefore let the Miniſter of Chriſt haue a regarde vnto his office, and be ready to counſell all men, but let hym compell no man, let him ſuffer ſuch as will departe, to departe, and ſuch as will come, to come, and ſuch as will tarry, to tarry, and withall let him leaue the power of compulſion vnto the Magiſtrates, vnto whō the ſame belongeth & not vnto him.

The argument of free will.

As for that whiche they doe alleage touchyng free will, it is eaſie to bee anſwered. There was gyuen frēdome of will vnto our firſte parents at the begimyng before that they were yet tranſgreſſours, ſlaues vnto ſinne, & corrupted, ſo that they mighte then haue done well if they would. But it is but fondly gathered herevpon, that we muſt giue frēdome of will vnto the corrupte and depraued man, whoſe wil is naught, and harte croked and inſearchable, to doe frankly what he liſte without lawe and interruption. Secondly, this frēdom of wil was ſo gyuen vnto thē, that there was a threatening alſo of death annexed vnto the lawe that was giuen. And I pray you what a libertie was that, which was lifted in with a law, and threatening of death? In caſe that our firſte parents were thus dealt withal before ſinne and corruption of our nature, how much more muſt we be ſo hādled after the ſinne and corruption of mens hartes: that we muſt be compelled vnto good, and from euill, by lawes and penalties? Wherefore it is but a trifle which they argue here of frē wyll. In caſe that the naughty will ſhal not be bridled nor compelled vnto good, then let the whole vſe of lawe and Magiſtrates goe, let ſubiects doe frankly as euil as they liſte, let children runne out at libertie vnto all manner of miſchief without any rodde of diſcipline, or chaſtiſement of their parents, & let no maiſter compell his ſeruaunts vnto obedience, no huſbande reſtrayne hys wife vnto the keping of the promiſſe of mariage and honeſtie, and what can be imagined more vnlawful and noyſome, than this libertie? or ſhall wee thynke that the ſame libertie ought to be gyuen vnto Heretikes, whiche is to be gyuen to no lyuing men elſe? And vnto that point where they ſay, that God doth not alowe it when any good thyng is done with a forced and vnwillyng minde, wee to aunſwere, that there be two kyndes of compulſion, one, when there is nothing elſe ſought, but that the pun-

ished

ed worke be absolutely done whether it be willingly or vnwillingly. This vse of compulsion hath place in worldly matters. The other is, when a mã is so long holden & compelled to the doyng of those things that be good, til at length he do them well of his owne accorde. In case ỳ a man may by no meanes be made willing when he is vnwilling, than Jonas was in vayne compelled to preache vnto the Niniuites, & Paule to leaue off frõ the persecution of the church and to become the Apostle of Christe. True it is, that God doth not like a compelled or vnwillyng rightuousnesse, & yet withal he dothe not mislike, if they whiche be subiect vnto powers, be restrayned from euill, and compelled to the good. And who doubteth but that the constrayned rightuousnesse whiche may become willyng with time, is more acceptable vnto hym, than the wilfull vnrightuousnesse, whiche groweth euery day to be greater and greater, till at the laste, it bee paste amendement? When the Magistrate dothe cõpell the heretike to abiure his herefie, leaste he shoulde afterwardes seduce others & cast away himselfe too, he doth that whiche belongeth to the power of his office: and in case the heretike whiche is compelled at the first, do the same afterwarde with a good will, it is wel done and to a good ende. But in case he doe continually remayne vnwillyng, the Magistrate shall not awnswere for it, notwithstanding that the obstinate mynde of the heretike, and his enforced abiuryng of Herefie in it selfe, dothe not displease God. For the Magistrate is excused by the charge of hys office, and is not guilty therein, if the herefike doe not correctly frame himselfe vnto a perfect amendment. For the alteration of the mynde is the worke of God, and not of the Magistrate. But of the Magistrate wee meane to speake in a place alone by Gods leaue.

Here may be a question, whether that it lie in the power of a husband to compell hys wife, a father to compell the sonne or daughter, or of the mayster to compell the man or woman seruaunt to the abiuryng of herefie, and to the confession of sounde doctrine. In my iudgement, in case that suche folke can not be brought vnto a good vnderstandyng by the doctrine of the worde, and gentle correction, it shall not be vnlawfull for the husbande to vse his authoritie vpon his wife being an heretike, and the father towardes his sonne or daughter, and the mayster to his mã or woman seruant, as farre forth as may agree to their condition and estate. But in case that there can be no good done this way, then it remaineth, that they muste be lefte to be restrayned by the power of the Magistrate, as the higher and superiour authoritie. And yet they must exceedingly beware, least of some rage or impatiencie they dispaire not of the conuersion of them, sooner than reason shoulde requyre, and so forgette the duetie of their office, and yelde vnto harder and sharper remedies without any necessitie. That saying of Cato is well knowen, if you giue counsell to any man whiche setteth lighte by it, yet in case he be your friende, doe not so leaue hym. And whereas the Apostle sayth: Eschew the

VVhether the husbãd may cõpell his wyfe, the father the childe &c. to the confession of the faith.

Eschew a heretike after once, or twyce vvarnyng, vnde. ffended.

the Hereticke after once or twice warnyng, it is not to bee wyshed vnto all suche as be seduced, specially if they be of our family and household, but it is meante of suche seducers, of whome it can hardly be hoped, that when they haue bene once or twice admonished, they can bee content to be reformed, albeit that they bee oftentymes chastened and corrected.

When and howe, and to what ende, Heretikes might *be compelled to amendment by the Magistrate.*

The Magistrate muste see, before that hee vse hys power to compell and restrayne heretikes, that the ministers of the worde, Pastors, and Doctors doe theyr duetie vprightly and faythfully, that is to say, that they teache sincerely, that they lyue without blame, and through the spirite of lowlinesse seeke the saluation of suche as bee out of the way, by as muche patience as is possible for thẽ to vse. And there bee twoo reasons why they ought so to doe. The firste is, bycause it falleth out oftentymes, that there ryseth vp Hereses in the church through the faulte of the ministers, yea & do increase also therby after they haue ben bred in some other place. The seconde is, that the Magistrate is somtimes hindered by the faulte of the ministers, and not able to bryng that vnto a good passe, whiche he entendeth to doe in that poynt, by puttyng his authoritie in bre. When the doctrine of the church is eyther vncleane, or negligently and not loked vnto, or sophisticall, and by contentious and cunnyng disputations framed more vnto ostentation of mens witte than to edifying, what can it breede else, but all kindes of errours and hereses? Did not Alexander the Bysshop of Alexandria mynister the occasion to the hereste of Arrian, in that that he negligently vsed the matter in the churche, what time he did rashly and vnaduisedly dispute of the holy Trinitie? as wee may see in the first of ỳ church historyes of Socrates. Wherupon Constantine also the Emperour amongst other matters dothe write in this wise, in the epistle vnto Alexãder, & Arius. I knew ỳ the first occasion of this question was ministred of ỳ, when thou Alexãder didst demaund of the priests, what euery of them thought of a certaine place writte in ỳ law, yea rather of a vaine patche of a certaine question. And thou Arius didst vnadvisedly speake ỳ which either ought not to haue bin thought vpõ at the firste, either after ỳ it was cõceiued in thought, it shold haue bin handsomly couered with silẽce. Wherupõ it is now fallen out, that by this variaunce risen betwixt you, both the whole Synode was disquieted, and the deuoute people is also cut from the consent and harmony of the common body, vnto the parties of you both. Thus sayde hee.

Secondly, the Magistrate muste not bee moued immediatly with the clamors & cries of those ministers, whiche do of spite and not of spirite, prouoke the power of ỳ Magistrate, more to oppresse and destroy them that doe erre, than to reforme them. I haue bothe heard, and knowen of some Anabaptistes, whiche haue

Before the worde to be puttie doctrine of ỳ lyfe, & reuerẽce of ỳ sacra-ments.

Howe he reseis da rise throug the faule e the mi-sters of th vvolde.

Cap. 5.

They shoulde no be heard vvhiche d seeke ra-ther the d struction than refor mation o the here tike.

than

many yeares be kepte in prysone, and cried vpon by the cruell mynisters to be dispatched out of their way, which when they might by the mercy of God with more fauourable ministers, haue bene so talked withall, and perswaded by the grace of God vnto the reformation of their errour, that they haue bene wel called home, yea & some of them haue done good seruice afterwardes in ỹ church of Christe, to conuerte others. Such examples may moue the Magistrate that he doe not so some yelde to the clamors and cries of such ministers, but see rather that the minister doe their dutie faythfully in the feare of the Lorde. But when the minister can doe no good with his diligence, or if there be any daũger, least the scabbed shepe may infect the rest of the flocke, or if they beginne to spread abrode theyr hereſie by teaching, then it is time for the Magistrate to vse his authoritie, whereby to dryue the stubburne & vnquiet persons to kepe silence and better order.

VVhat is to be done with him which kepeth his Hereſie in his harte.

But here riseth a question, what is to be done if a man kepe his hereſie close in his harte, so that it can not come to the knowledge of any man, but of the minister alone: whether that such a one ought to be complayned of vnto the Magistrate or no, when he will not obey the admonition of the minister. In my iudgement it is not mete for the minister of Christe to drawe out the secrete person into the open sighte of the world, for the hidden errour is more easily reformed, than the open. For there is no man that can well abyde to be knowen openly to haue erred. All men doe commonly eschew open shame and rebuke. And he is drawen into the face of the open world, whosoeuer is yelded vnto ỹ Magistrate to be punished. Wherefore the minister had nede to haue a great patience and wisedome herein, least hee do kindle suche an offender agaynst him, by the opening of his errour, & so make him to be more stubborne. For in so doyng, he shall lose all the fruytes of his labours for euer afterwardes. But when it appeareth to be requisite, that the obstinate heretike should be deliuered to the Magistrate to be compelled vnto reformatiõ by other meanes, than by admonitions, it may be better done by some others, than by the very minister of the worde himselfe.

A secrete errour is soner reformed, than an open.

So that it can not be determined in any certaine prescribed rule, what meanes the Magistrate shall vse in compelling of Heretikes. For lyke as men be of sundry dispositions, so they muste bee also bee by sundry meanes compelled, he shall find some whiche canne not be moued by any kynde of death to abiure theyr hereſie, on the other side there be some whiche will not yelde, vnlesse they be hardly handled. Wherefore it appertayneth to the wise Magistrate, so to temper his authoritie in thys case, that he may fruytfully & wholsomely compell them, whiche he entendeth to compell vnto good.

No certayne vvay of punishment to be set.

And this moderation doth chiefly become the Christiã Magistrate, that hee forbeare from fiercenesse and cruelnesse. I will not dissemble, but confesse that I am one of them whiche doe muche misliyke that men be slayne, when the errours shoulde be slayne. This poynt pleaseth no

The ouerthrowe of heretikes be slaine, the more loued.

August. Contra Cresco. gram. Lib. 3. cap. 50.

August. Lib. Quæst. Euangel. Quæst. 40. Super Epist. Galatarum.

men (sayth Augustine) in the Catholyke churche, when there is cruelnesse vsed vnto death agaynst any person, though he be an heretike. Ioan other place he sayth: Loue the men, & kill the errours. Striue for the truthe without extremitie. And agayne he sayth: Let thé rage against vs, which know not howe rare & harde a matter it is to ouercome carnall phantasies with the purenesse of a godly minde. Let them vse crueltie against vs, which know not with how great difficultie the eye of our inwarde mã is healed, to be able to loke vpon his sunne, not this whiche you doe see bright & shining in the beauely body, with the fleshly eyes of beasts & mẽ, but that same whiche the Prophete writeth of, saying: The sunne of righteousnesse is risen vnto me. And of which it is sayd in the Gospel: He was the true light, whiche lightneth euery mã ỹ cõmeth into this worlde. Let thé vse crueltie against you, whiche know not by what sighes & waylings it is wrought, that God may be euery way vnderstãded. Finally, lette them vse crueltie against you, which be themselues deceyued by no such errour, as they do see you deceyued withall, &c. *Ergo*, it behoueth not wise men to vse extremitie & cruelnesse, no not to the moste detestable heretiks, such as ỹ Manichées were, vnto whom Augustine writeth these things. For asmuch as men of iudgement doe vnderstande with howe great labour the truth is found, and how hardely errours be ensued, and by what sighes and waylyngs it chmeth to passe, that God may in some parte be vnderstanded.

The first of the Emperours that embraced the fayth of Christe, had great care and diligence to dryue the heretikes of that tyme vnto some order, and yet for al that they went not so farre as to seeke their bloud, I meane of them which did maintayne the true faith. For they which defended the hereſie of the Arians, did rage cruelly inough agaynst the Catholikes, whereby we may perceyue in very deede, that the spirite of cruelty doth not belong vnto the true Christians, but vnto heretikes. The christian Magistrate doth punishe heretikes, but so moderately, that they may amend. He suffereth them not to teach of the faith, he doth not permit them to make assemblies, to appoint Bishops & other Ministers, he doth deprive some from their honors and degrees, he doth take from some the cõmunion of the citie, he doth banish, he doth punish some by a fine of monie, as we reade it was done in the time of Augustine, he doth restrayne and kepe the seducers and deceyuers themselues, and shutte them vp in prysone, vntill that they come to themselues agayne, and amende, to the intent that when they appeare once to be past recouerie, they should not seduce any mo. And so they ought to be restrained, which will not yelde to be compelled vnto good.

The first christiã Emperours sought not the bloud of heretiks.

How the Christian magistrates do punish heretikes.

By this moderation of punishments mẽ may attayne vnto the end whervnto the Christian Magistrate ought to shoote and leuell, and that is that heretikes may be conuerted from theyr errours, & be saued after theyr conuersion. He whiche sayeth him that erreth in his errour, either doth not beleeue that he doth pernitiously & dãnably erre in the sight of

God, or elſe if he do beleue it, he hath ſmall care of his ſaluation. I ſpeake of thoſe heretikes, whiche notwithſtandyng that they doe grieuously erre, yet for all that they be not blaſphemous againſt God. The lawe of God doth not ſuffer ỹ blaſphemous perſon to liue. The Canonikes and Lawyers doe after many penalties make the laſt to be fyre, & ſay that it is ſo of cuſtome. It may be aſked them, when that cuſtome began, for aſmuche as it was not vſed in the times of the fathers: notwithſtãding they had much ado in ouerthrowing of moſt foule hereſies. It was wont to be ſayd of Antichriſt, that he wold burne them with fire which will not obey him. So that this cuſtome to burne the heretikes, whiche he & his do condemne of hereſie, may be well aſcribed vnto him. For he is ỹ childe of deſtructiõ, ſeruing his father herein, to deſtroy as many as hée can, whom mẽ may thanke of this poynt alſo, that they whiche do recant, can not be ſpared, but muſt be murdered with ſome other kinde of death. If this cuſtome had bene in the church in the fathers dayes, what had become of Auguſtine, ſo notable an inſtrument of Gods, was not he infected a many of yéres with the hereſie of the Manichées, and a ranke heretike? In caſe that the magiſtrate had burned this hereticke, what a loſſe had it bene to the church? Therfore this is my iudgement: Lette the heretikes be compel'ed vnto good, & when they will not be ordered by counſell, let them be reſtrayned and punished by the magiſtrates: but without extremitie and cruelties, and to this ende, that they may be ſuche as may amende, & be ſaued with the faithfull, and ſometimes doe good to the Churche of Chriſte whiche they began to hurt in their errour.

The lawe of God doth not ſuffer the blaſphemous perſon to liue.

When the punishment of fyre began.

But ſome man will ſay: What & if the heretikes can by no reſtraincte be brought into frame and ſet in order when the multitude is infected with hereſie, & the magiſtrates thẽſelues, and higher powers be heretikes? I anſwer, that the ſame which may bée profitably wrought vnto good purpoſe ought not to be ſo preſumed vpon, that it ſal vnto a worſe. For all things ought to be done vnto edifying, and nothyng vnto deſtruction: and the compulſion can not bée profitable, but when hée whiche is compelled, is of an other minde than the multitude is of: but when there is one like diſeaſe in many, or in the mighty, yea and in the Magiſtrate himſelf, there is nothing elſe lefte (ſayth Auguſtine) to good folke, but ſorow and wayling. And for a truth the very caſe it ſelf declareth, that when the faythfull be ſo fewe and feeble, that they be not able to reforme the multitude and the Magiſtrate when they be out of the way, they muſte nédes ſuffer the heretikes, and yet for al that loke wel to themſelues, that they eſchew their hereſie, notwithſtandyng that they can not auoyde their outwarde communication and company. Euen as Chriſte our Sauiour ſayth, that the huſbandman anſwered his ſeruants that would pluckе vp the cockle, or darnell: Plucke not vp the cockle, or darnell, leaſt you plucke vp ỹ wheate withall: that may well be applied vnto this purpoſe, when bothe the might and multitude of the euil that doe

VVhat is to be done if the multitude and magiſtrate be in hereſie.

Matth. 13.

doe erre is ſo great, that they can not be rooted out without the loſſe of the wheate, that is to ſay, of the faythfull: but it is otherwiſe when there be not many, or pallyng one or two to be called vnto reformation, and hauyng not many fauouryng their parte, that they may without daunger be ſo eſchued, that no man ſhall eate or drynke with them: and to be ſhorte, I will before I goe any further, ſette before you the place of Auguſtine. For almuch (ſayth he) as he ſpeaketh vnto his ſeruaunts, hée ſayth not: At harueſt tyme I will ſay vnto my ſeruauntes, Gather vp firſt the cockle, but I will ſay (ſayth he) vnto the reapers, whereby it is vnderſtand, that there be others doe ſerue for the gathering togither of cockle to be burnt, and that no childe of the churche ought to thinke, that this office dothe belong vnto him. Therfore when any man beginneth to be ſpirituall, he knoweth the errours of the heretikes, & doth altogither diſcerne and iudge whatſoeuer he heareth or readeth, ſwarueng frõ the rule of the truthe. And vntill the time that he be made perfect in thoſe ſpiritual maters, and become almoſt through rype to the fruyte, whiche the graſſe yéloed, he may be moued in his owne minde, conſidering, how vnder the name of Chriſtendome, there hath ryſen ſo many falſhoodes of hereſies, and in that reſpecte the ſeruaunts doe ſay, Didſt thou not ſowe good ſéede in thy field, and how commeth it, to be ſo muche darnell in it? Afterwardes when he vnderſtandeth that the Diuell hath deuiſed thys deceyte, to couer his knauery and falſhode vnder the name of Chriſtendome, whereas he perceyued that he was of himſelfe able to doe nothing againſt the power of ſo great a name, he may haue ſome will to ridde ſuche kinde of men out of the worlde if he were able, but hée dothe aſke counſell of the righteouſneſſe of God, whether that hée ought ſo to doe or no, and whether he doe eyther commaunde or permitte him to doe it or no, and whether he would haue this to be the office of men or no, and in this reſpect the ſeruaunts doe ſay: If you will, we will goe & gather them, vnto whome the truthe it ſelfe doth make aunſwere, that a man is not at that poynt in this life, that he can bée aſſured what euery man ſhall be hereafter, whoſe errour, he ſeeth preſently: or what his errour alſo auayleth to the profite and furtherance of the good, & that ſuche folke ought not to be put from this lyfe, leaſt when they ſhal goe about to kill the euill, they may kil the good withall, as peraduenture they might become afterwardes, or leaſte they hurte the good, vnto whom they tarrying peraduenture might bée profitable, whether they will or no. But he ſayde, that it may bée well done then, when at the laſt end there remayneth no tyme, eyther for the chaunge of lyfe, eyther to do good to the truth, vpõ the occaſion and compariſon of an other mans errour, and that then this ſhall be wrought not by menne, but by Aungels. And therefore it is that the huſband man aunſwereth, No, leaſt peraduenture in gatherynge the darnell, they may plucke vp the Wheate withall by the rote. But at the harueſt ſeaſon, I will ſay vnto the reapers, &c.

Legatines sentence wrote but two of the 4 states, to wit, in latin.

And by these meanes he made them most patient and quiet. These be the wordes of Augustine, whereby hée doth expound the parable of the cockles, most aptly in my iudgement, agaynst the killers of Heretikes.

What difference there is betwixt the Heretikes which *doe seduce, and them which be Seduced.*

Two things to be disalowed in the heretike seducer.

THere be two things worthy to be reproued in the Heretike whiche is a seducer, that is to say, his falshode, and the spreadyng abrode of hys falshode, whereby hée goeth aboute to seduce euery body else. And he can not be excused by pretence of errour and ignorance. For albeit that ignorance may deserue some pardon in him whiche is seduced by errour, yet notwithstanding it is the more aggrauate in the seducer, the greater that the death & destruction is, wherein he decayeth the saluation of the simple persons. Now if that ignorance dothe not so much excuse the seducer, as the poyson of his seduction doth accuse him, who seeth not how damnable and accursed the deceyte of the seducer is, whiche doth not onely erre himselfe, but doth knowing and wittyng perswade that to the vnlearned, whiche he perceyueth to be false, standyng vpon this onely, either to get himself a name, either to serue his gayne and belly. The primitiue or first example of these seducers was in the Diuell, the olde Serpent. He did so seduce Eue our first mother: for he knewe that it was false whiche hée bare hyr in hande. So hée dothe also transfigure and turne hymselfe into an Angell of light, and his Apostles into the Apostles of Christe, whereas hée dothe well knowe, that hée is not the Angell of light, but of darknesse. And that the Apostles whiche he sendeth, be not Christes, but hys owne. Notwithstandyng the slie marchauntes doe deepely dissemble this spectall malice of theyrs, in wittingly and willingly seducyng the simple, when they teache them those things which they know to be false, in stede of true. Therefore the Magistrate muste not haue regard therof, but he hath sufficient occasion to punishe the seducers more sharply than the seduced, bycause that they doe not only miscary themselues, but they doe drawe others also with thé into that bottomlesse pitte of perdition, whether they doe it warely or ignorantly. This kinde of menne ought eyther to be shutte vp in prysons, eyther banished farre off, so that the multitude may be saued frō theyr seductiō, and to the entent they might be brought to amende at somtyme, or other.

Offedacers vvhich doe not seduce but of errour of knovvlege.

In them whiche be seduced, wée must disalow the ouer-hasty credite, which they giue to the wordes of the deceyuers, whereas they ought to kéepe it whole and sounde to the doctrine of the truth onely. For vnlesse they did so some credite, they shoulde not be so some deceyued. And this the ouerhastie beliefe of theirs is either aggrauate, eyther made lesse by the qualitie of the circumstances.

1 Firste, it is a great matter, whether that a mā be seduced wittingly or ignorātly. For it is possible to be bothe wayes: once it is possible for a maried womā to be enticed eyther wittingly, eyther ignorantly. Wittyngly, when she doth knowyng and forseeyng, yéelde vnto the adulterer allured by hys wordes: Ignorantly, when she supposeth that he is hir husbande to whome shé yéeldeth hir selfe, whiche may chaunce sometymes by night. Euen so a manne may forsake the hygh waye, not onely ignorantly, as when he knoweth not that he is strayde out of the right way and gone wrong: but wittingly also, as whē he knoweth wel inough that the same is the right way from whiche he is ledde at, but yet suffereth himselfe to be perswaded of an other as shorter and playner, and so is deceyued by this perswasion, and ledde out of the way. It is a like also in this case. He is wittingly seduced, which is not ignorant that the strade of religion, wherein he hath liued together with other faythfull, is the true way, and leadyng to the kingdome of heauen: but yet for al that he is also perswaded by some sectaries, that there is an other shorter & safer way, whereby he may be saued, and be made partaker of many mo merites, and so he is deceyued and trayned into some secte and Heresie.

If them vvhiche be seduced vvittingly ignorātly.

Their fault greater vvhich begin a vvil offe- vvithin the Churche then suffer to be deceyued.

2 Secondly, they whiche beyng in the Churche where the worde of God is purely taught, and where the light of the truth, whiche is sette vp vpō the candelsticke, doth giue light vnto al thē that be within the house, and doe yet not withstandyng gyue eare vnto the seducyng heretikes, & so bée seduced themselues, deserue more blame than they whiche doe liue in the Churches that doe lacke the light of Gods worde, and there be seduced by suche craftie conueyers as there be. Who seeth not that the wyfe whiche neuer lacketh the presence and company of hyr husbande, and yet will harken and bée allured by the inticements of the adulterour, deserueth lesse pardon, than she whiche is seduced as forsaken by the falshode and euill handelyng of hir husbande?

They do sorer offā vvhich do folovv an herefie a the first b ginnyng thereof.

3 Thirdly, they doe more grieuously offende, whiche be seduced at the firste beginnyng of the heresie, when there be fewe folowers thereof, than they whiche do at length departe from the true religiō, by what tyme they haue the multitude & the Princes themselues to lead them. For like as ỹ Apostles whiche were the firste folowers of Christe, ought to haue more commendation than others, which began at the later hand to sticke vnto hym, when they sawe that the Magistrates and whole nations dyd beléeue on him. So on the contrary parte, there is more faulte in them, whiche doe euen at the very firste pulse embrace a newe sprong heresie, than they whiche doe latewardly come vnto it.

4 Fourthly, they be in lesse fault, whiche doe therefore credite Heretikes the sooner, bycause they doe not openly slaunder the truthe of God, and the receyued doctrine, than if they shoulde heare that they do seeke to deface the same.

He hath lesse excu vvhiche deceyu by bare vvorde

5 Fiftly, they which doe vpon a head, strayght way beléeue the only bare wordes of heretikes, without any testimony of prowe and of miracles, do more offend, than they which be seduced as deceyued by miracles. For so it faareth with them which be

now a dayes called Dauidias. They gaue credite vnto the moste wicked and shameleſſe naughtypacke Dauid George, which did openly slaunder Christe, and auaunced himselfe farre aboue him, and that in fonde talke and wordes alone.

6 Sixtly, this point is aggrauated also by those causes, of which we made mention before in the fourth article. For they whiche be moued eyther of some curiositie, eyther of some lothsomneſſe of sound doctrine, eyther vpon some other like occasiō, to beleue false seducing Heretikes, they haue leſſe to lay for themselues, than they whiche doe beleue a false tale, as moued vpō some good Zele, thinking that they do folow ỹ truth. This we may find to be great differēce not only betwirt them that be seduced, & such as do seduce them, but betwirt the very seducers also, yea & also betwirte them that be seduced, whereof I thought good to speake, to minister vnto thē some occasiō to vse a cōuenient discretiō with heretikes, whose office & suite it is to sustayne the care of the reformation of them.

Howe Heretikes ought to be receyued.

Three kindes of heretikes.

THere bee three sortes of Heretikes. The first is of thē which doe institute no Churche, nor haue receyued themselues, nor ministred vnto others any other Baptisme thā the same whiche is giuen in the true Churche of Christe. The seconde is of them, which beyng once baptised in the true Churche, be baptised againe by heretikes. The thirde is of them, whiche be consigned firste in baptisme, not in the true, but heretical churche: of these, the two laſte, some of the Fathers woulde not receyue, vnleſſe that they were baptised a newe. And Augustine, and some other of the old fathers were against them. And we reade, that this question was treated of in many Councels. The later men decreed, that it suffised for the receyuing of an heretike, if the Bysshoppes handes were layde vpon him. So that the fathers were not alwaies neither of one opinion, albeit that the Papists do take the mayntenaunce of their errours from them. We doe agrée in iudgement with Augustine, that the Heretike must be after an other sorte receyued into the church, than he whiche was before a straunger vnto Christ. The latter not without Baptisme, to be consigned thereby vnto Christe, as by the Sacrament of cōmission: the other without iteration or renewyng of Baptisme, so that he were baptised before in the name of the holy Trinitie, none of them both without amendment and penaunce, bothe for theyr errours, and also for theyr former lyfe.

Augustine.

Howe the burnyng of heretikes bokes.

Howe it is conuenient to receyue heretikes which do amende.

Notwithstanding, for the receyuing of Heretikes, I think we ought to haue a great consideration of the church, and of him also whose saluation is sought vpon, so that in case it be the ringleader or archheretike, that doth amend, he is otherwise receyued than he which was deceyued and seduced by an other. Yea and the secrete Heretike after one sorte, and the open heretike after an other sort, and one alone, one way, and many, an other way. The case may require to haue an open and solemne recantation

tion of his errours: and the confession of the founde doctrine of Christ: and sometimes there is no necessitie thereof, whiche matter the faythfull and wise minister of the worde may conueniently and profitably order, accordyng vnto the consideration and qualitie of the case. And shall specially forsee, that he whiche is receyued, vnderstande & perceyue that he is louingly receyued, as of his brethern not disdaynfully, as of his enimies.

What is to be done vvith the bookes of Heretikes.

THe fire knights doe pronounce, that the Heretikes bookes muſt be burnt with their mayſters. And it is a very ready way surely to burne and consume altogither, not only those workes which be naught, but those also which be good and profitable. But that way is not so ready to cleare and discerne the case (for that the eyze regardeth not) and it is to troublesome a matter for suche greate Lordes and Prelates to vndertake. One of them is better able and willyng to sette a eyze in a thousande bookes, than to reade a lyne of one of them. They doe alleage the place out of the Acts of the Apostles, where we doe reade: how that they whiche had folowed curious matters, brought theyr bokes togither, and burnt them before them all: accomptyng the value of them, founde that they were worth fiftie thousand pence. And vpon this authoritie they suppose that they doe make a maruelous strong argument in this wyse: In case that the bookes of the curious folkes were burned in the Apostles times, howe muche more ought the bookes of heretikes be burned? Those curious bokes were full of witcherafies, inchantmentes and diuinations, and they serued for the worship of Deuils, so that it was not without great cause, that they were burnt. No man doth denie, but such ought to be burned also now adaies. But there is an other manner consideratiō to be had of heretikes bokes. In them there bee many good matters mingled with the euill, whiche ought not to be contemned. Yea although that there be many euil matters and fewe good, yet for all that men ought not to set light by the cōmoditie of the few. And it chanceth oftentymes, that the false may be refuted by the true, whiche bee founde scatered in the heretikes bokes, as Augustine vsed, & was wonte for to doe. For it is not possible, that hee whiche goeth aboute lies in steede of true tales, shoulde alwayes remember what he had sayde before. And thereof came the Prouerbe, that the liar had nede to remember himselfe wel. Therfore it is not without reason, that Augustine admonisheth me to reade the bokes of heretikes, but warely. They doe teache profitable things in many of their bokes, and meddleth not with the maintenance of their heresies, & there euery man may reade them to their profite. For they be not all lies that be in those bokes, nother where they do intreat of their doctrines, but there be many true thinges mingled withall, whi he learned men vse to reade to the confutation of the false.

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Secondly, the Apostles did not burne those curious bookes, of which mention is made in the Actes, nor any others, at the commaundement of the Apostles, but they which were the owners of them. They brought forth their bookes vpon their owne accorde, and burnt them in the sight of them all. But we doe see the matter handeled farre otherwise now a dayes. They doe by violence pull bookes from men, not of heresie, but such as be good and godly, after they haue once condemned them, and doe deliuer them to their executioner to be burned, wherin they do so outrage sometimes, that they hurle the holy bibles, and specially the bookes of the new Testament into the fire, which we haue seene done in Vniuersities, to the great shame & slaunder of learning. So that this example whiche they do alleage so far from the purpose, doth nothing serue the turne of the booke burners.

Whether they reade heretiks bokes.

And yet withall, I will not so maynteyne heretike bookes, that I would haue them read at liberty, and without discretion, of euery man that liste. The vnskilfull and vnlearned sorte, whose senses be not yet so practised to iudge vprightly, that they can accordyng vnto the opinion of the Apostle proue all things, and sticke to that whiche is good: muste haue things layde vnto them out of the Scriptures, meete for their vnderstandyng: but as for the rest whiche be able to iudge, it may be borne with them, to proue al things frankly and profitably, to hold such things as be good, & vtterly to auoyde those things that be euill.

I will here alleage what Hierome wrote of this matter, vnto Trãquillus in this wise. For asmuch as thou doest aske my poore Iudgement, whether that accordyng vnto the opinion of our brother Faustinus, Origine ought to be vtterly abandoned, or else after the opinion of some men, redde in some parte: I am of the opinió, that Origen should be reade sometimes, as Tertullian is, Nouatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and certayne other church writers, as well Greeke as Latine, so that we may picke out that whiche is good of them, and refuse the contrary, as the Apostle sayth: Proue al things, and sticke to that whiche is good. But they whiche of a naughty stomache and minde be drawen either into ouer-great loue, eyther into sore hate of him, they seeme to me to be in daunger of the Prophets curse, whiche pronounceth Wo vnto them that doe reporte good to be euill, and euill to be good, whiche do make that which is sowre, sweete, & that whiche is sweete, sower. For no man ought to receyue hys euil opinions, because of his good doctrine, nor wee ought not vtterly to refuse those good and profitable commentaries whiche hee wrote vpon the holy Scriptures, by cause of the naughtinesse of his opinions. But in case that his fauorers and slaunderers will stil stryue & cõtende, and be content to keepe no meane, but will eyther onely alowe hym or disalowe him, I had rather chose the godly rudenesse, than the learned slaũder. This saith he: which saying is so written for an answere touchyng the bookes of Origen, that it may be well applied also vnto the bookes of other Heretikes.

Hierome the reader of Origens bookes.

Whether that the appeachment of Heresie ought to *be patiently suffered or no.*

The saying of Hierom not suffering the iudgment of Austin.

Hierome writing vnto Pammachius against Iohn the Bishop of Hierusalem, sayth, that he would haue no man to be patient in the suspition of heresie. And he giueth the reason why: least the dissembling or saying nothing, be iudged for a conscience, if he holde his peace amongst them whiche knowe not his innocencie. And I will briefly declare my minde, by other mens leaue, what I thinke of this saying of his.

1 First, there is no kinde of slaunder wherewith our innocency is touched so outragious, but the godly and most innocent person ought patiently to sustayne it. Wherefore whereas he saith: I will not haue any man to be patient in the suspition of heresie, in my iudgemente it is not verye well aduisedly spoken, if you enforce the words. For what followeth thervpon else, if a Christian man shal not be patiente, no not in the suspition, much lesse at the open slaunder of heresie, but that it is required of vs, that we muste be impatiente in thys poynt, which no peece of holy Scripture doth teache vs: But as it appeareth, he meant by the worde, to be patiẽt, to dissemble, and to say nothing. For as much as he saide after, Least his dissembling, or saying nothing, be taken for a confession or conscience, If he holde his peace amongst them, whiche do not know his innocency. And yet for all that it is not al one for a man to suffer patiently to himselfe the wrong whiche is done vnto him, and to dissemble and holde a mans peace. Nor it is no impatiencie, if a man do not holde his tong when he is charged with heresie, but do with gentle words maynteyne his innocẽcie. Christ our sauiour which was most patient of al others, when he was stricken, sayd: In case I haue spoken euil, giue witnesse of the euil, and if I spake well, why doest thou strike me? These wordes did not breake his patience, and yet he dyd thereby sufficiently vphold his innocencie. Wherefore I suppose that the meaning of Hierome in these words was this: I will not haue any man to be so patient in the suspition of heresie, that he shall dissemble hys innocencie, and say nothing vnto it, least he be iudged to doe it so, that his owne conscience accuse him of the heresie.

2 Secondly, we muste thinke thys also. The Papistes doe call me heretike, by what proofe therefore shall I testifie and declare my innocencie, by impatiencie, and not suffering the slaunder? But it is no proofe of innocencie, when a man doth not patiently suffer a wrong. For they whyche be rankest Heretikes, can abide nothing worse, than to be charged with heresie, and do make a marueilous adoe thereat: and yet for all that they can not trie themselues to haue that innocencie, whiche they haue not, with all their loude and lewde clamors and out cries. If you cal a harlot, harlot, she can not hold hir peace, but sheweth hir selfe to be moste impatient therof. So that for the proofe or triall of a mans innocencie, there is not requisite any impatiencie, but a sober vpholding of the truth, which

That ought to be perceiued in Hierom.

may be vsed by the most patient person that is.

3 Thirdly, it is a great matter also what they be whiche call vs Heretikes, and in comparison of whome we be reputed for Heretikes. Hierome writeth in this wise: If I bee called Heretike of the Arrians, it is worthely. Why doth he say, that hee is worthely called Heretike by the Arians, whereas they were the Heretikes and not he? Bycause that in respecte of them he was an Heretike. For he did so differ from their heresie, that he could not be otherwise taken of them, than for an Heretike. In case that the Arrians faith had bin vpright and good, then no doubt Hieroms faith hadde bin heresie. So they take it to be, and therefore he sayth, that he is worthily called heretike of them. To say the truth, to be an Heretike to the Arians, is to be no Heretike to Christian folke. There is no true Christian man, but he is an Heretike to the rankest heretikes in the world. But it is one thing to be an Heretike vnto Christiā men, and an other matter to be reputed for an heretike of heretikes.

Therefore let vs saye also: If the Papists do cal vs Heretikes, yea and well worthy. For we be and will bee any thing rather than Papistes, as long as we intende to kepe oure promise safe and sound, whiche we haue made vnto Christ our sauioure. But they take euery man to be an Heretike, that is not a Popish Christian, for they do account vs for heretikes for no other cause, but for that we do not in all poynctes agree with them in opinion. Surely I had rather be an heretike vnto them, than a catholike vnto whome the very Apostles, if they were alyue, shoulde be reckte ranke Heretikes, vnlesse that they woulde subscribe vnto them in all things. We doe stedfastly holde the beliefe of the Apostles with ỳ Crede also of Athanasius. And we do embrace all the holy scriptures of bothe Testaments, for Canonicall and allowable: and yet the Papistes do not take vs to be Catholikes, bycause that we do differ from them in anye of their opinions, whiche they be not able to teach and proue to be true by anye authoritie of the holye Scriptures. So that I do not only take it patiently, but doe reioyce also that it is my chaunce, by the grace of the Lord to be one of that number, which be now adayes accounted heretikes, with the Papistes, bycause they will no longer be Papistes. And as I say of Papistes, so I iudge the like also of all Heretikes, what soeuer secte they be of. I can be contented to bee accounted for an heretike vnto al heretikes, so that I may be knowē still for a Christian man vnto such as bee Christians.

I am not moued when the Papists doe call me heretike.

But in case that they call me Heretike, whom I do embrace for christians and my moste deere brethren in the Lord, I will impute it not vnto their malice, but to their errour and zeale, as not sufficiently instructed of the truth. And God forbydde, that I shoulde lacke that modestie whiche is méete for Christian folke, and call them eyther Heretikes agayne, eyther by some other slaunderous name. But I must rather praye vnto God, to deliuer their hearts frō the tentation whiche they be burthened withall, by the light of his truth, and

VVhat is to be done when our brethern call vs heretikes.

and I muste withall willingly declare the grounde and nature of my faith.

And this we haue spoken peraduenture more than ynough of heresie, what it is, howe sundrye heresies ther be, wherof heresie cōmeth, what kind of mē are soneste seduced by heretikes, how heresies be blame-worthy, how hurtfull they be, what is to be done with Heretikes, howe Heretikes ought to be receyued againe: what is to be done with Heretike bookes, and lastly, howe the charge of heresie ought to be borne and abidde.

Of Schisme.



The greatest sores that the Churche of God is subiect vnto, be heresie & schisme, of which the former doth corrupt the sincerite and pureneste of our faith, and the latter doth depart and breake the vnitie of the Church and the band of peace, that is to saye, Christian loue and Charitte. Wherefore now that we haue spoken almuch as we haue thought good of Heresie, we thinke it not amisse to saye somewhat also of Schisme, and that not so muche for them, which be offenders therein, as for the true Christians whiche are wont to be wrongfully charged with the wickednesse of Schisme.

What Schisme is.

Schisme is a Greeke word, lyke as Heresie is, and signifyeth a cutting of a diuision or a breach, deriued from the Greeke worde σχίσα, which is as much to say, as to cutte, to diuide and to breake asunder. Augustine dothe allow their definition, whiche doe defyne Schisme to be a new dissention of some congregatiō vpon a diuersitie of opinions: and heresie an old worne Schisme. But seeing that the signification of thys worde is manifest, and knowen, I thinke it a playner way to defyne a Schisme to be a cutting asunder of the Ecclesiasticall vnitie and peace, whereby the felowshyp of the faithfull is deuided into partes and opinions: and that it skilleth not whether that it be new or olde, or else frō whence it procéede. It was surely a Schisme, when the Corinthians were diuided into parties, and sayde one: I am of Paule, and an other: I am of Cephas, and an other: I am of Apollo. Lyke as ỳ Schisme of the kyngdome of the Israelites was when the tenne trybes were separated from Juda and Beniamin, vnder Roboam, was as well a schisme when it came to be olde vnder ỳ lasse kings of that people, as when it was yet but now begun vnder Roboam. So the Schismes also of the Church be as wel schismes after al their ancientie of times & cōtinuance, as they were at the firste beginning, though they cōuey ỳ neuer so great a colour of ỳ catholike Church, bycause they haue bin so lōg vsed and accustomed.

What difference is betvvixt Heresie and Schisme.

Men doe make this difference betwixte Heresie & Schisme, ỳ it is

Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei. Crisostom. Gal. 5. Lib. 2. cap.

heresie,

hereſie, when anye falſe doctrine is obſtinatelye vpholden in the matter of faith, contrarye vnto the common meaning of the Churche: and that it is a Schiſme, when the Churche is diuided vpon any opinion in doctrine or for anye other cauſe. And ſo it is poſſible that there may be a ſchiſme in the Churche without hereſie, and as ayne an hereſie without a ſchiſme. When the Phariſes ſaid: This man is not of God, whiche kepeth not hys Sabbath. And whereas on the other ſide ſome ſaid: How can a ſinner doe theſe ſignes? no doubte there was a Schiſme amongſt them, as the Euãgeliſt alſo dothe touche. But in that Schiſme there was no hereſie, as there was not in that matter neyther whereof we doe reade in the tenth Chapiter. Agayne, when an hereſie is ſo growen in a Churche, that it is nowe become Catholike or vniuerſall, and that there is no bodye to ſpeake againſte it, is not there an hereſie without a ſchiſme? whiche for all ỳ could not be without a ſchiſme when it firſte beganne. It is a cléere caſe, that the Popery is full fraught ted with al kindes of erroures, ſeductions, and with the firſte hereſie that euer was ſo called, Symony, and yet notwithſtanding the Papiſtes doe ſo agrée all in one, aboute the matter, ỳ they ſéeme to be voyd of Schiſme, and therefore doe crake and boaſte themſelues to be very catholike.

Ioan. 9.

Hereſie may be without ſcisme, and ſcisme without hereſie.

Hovv many kindes of Schiſmes there be.

Schiſme good and euill.

There be of Schiſmes ſome good and ſome euill. That is an euill ſchiſme, whereby the good vnitie and concord is cutte and put aſunder: and that is the good ſchiſme, when the naughtye knotte and neſt is broken. The vnitie of ỳ Iewes was naught before they hearde the doctrine of Chriſt, and that concord was broken by ſchiſme after ỳ hearing of Chriſt. So we doe reade in John: And there was a ſchiſme a newe amongſt the Iewes, bycauſe of theſe wordes and talke. For manye of them ſaide: Hée hath a Deuill, and is madde. Why doe you harken vnto him? Others ſayde: Theſe be not the wordes of one that hathe a Deuill. Can a Deuill open the eyes of the blinde? Thys ſchiſme the doctrine of Chriſt ſtirred vp amongſt the Iewes. And what godly perſon will ſay, that the vnitie and concord which went before, was better than it? By the lyke ſchiſme the whole worlde was diuided afterwards through the preaching of the Goſpell, whiche diuiſion Chryſte doth expreſſly chalenge vnto himſelfe, ſaying: I came not to ſend peace, but a ſworde. For I came to ſeparate, &c. This ſchiſme came vppon good, that is to ſaye, vppon the Goſpell of ſaluation, and it tended vnto a good ende, that is to ſay, vnto the ſaluation of mankynde: and it dyd breake vppe the naughtye vnitie whyche reſted in the Catholike or vniuerſall blyndneſſe of mennes mindes, and it called all menne vnto the true vnitie.

Ioan. 10.

The ſchiſme whiche the Corinthians were in, was naughte, and it is reprehended and corrected by Paule. For it came firſt of ỳ naughtye meanyng of the falſe Apoſtles, and ſecondly it did breake aſunder ỳ good vnitie of the church in ỳ faith of Chriſt.

1. Cor. 11.

Chriſt. The faithfull were well knit togither in Chriſte, Therefore they were naughtily deuided. He whyche dothe ſeparate them that doe well cleaue togyther, dothe bryng in a naughtie ſchiſme. They doe cleaue well togither, whome God hath knit togither: And they naughtily, whom the Deuill hath linked togither. So that the one ſorte be ſeparated by a naughty ſchiſme, and the other by a good ſchiſme. But we haue noted muche touching this matter in oure Commentaries vppon John, and before in the place Of the Church.

Secondlye, ſome ſchiſme dothe breake the Chriſtian integritie or ſoundneſſe, whiche conſiſteth in the puritie of faith and charitie: ſome other dothe not breake it, but rather preſerue it, if there be any alreadye, and brééde ſome, if there be none before. And that is a good ſchiſme, whiche dothe not breake it when it findeth any there, but preſerueth it, and bréédeth ſome if there be none. That is naught which doth ſcatter and deſtroy the Chriſtian ſoundnes where it is. Suche diuiſions alſo when the body of the Churche is diuided, as it were into hys members, doth not annoy the Chriſtian vnitie and cõcord. There be degrées of miniſters of hearers, and there be diuiſions alſo of graces or gyftes: And the one Churche of Chriſte whiche is diſperſed through the compaſſe of the whole worlde, is diſtincted into manye particularities: and the notable Churches haue theyr difference to themſelues, and all doe not vſe one kynde of rites and ceremonies. Such manner of ſchiſmes or diuiſions doe not hynder, but help the vnitie of the Churche.

Thirdlye, there is one kynde of ſchiſme whych conſiſteth in ſentence and opinion, an other in the eccleſiaſticall communion, and an other in names and diſciplines. It was a ſchiſme in ſentence or opinion, when ſome ſaid of Chriſt, He is good: ſome others reported the contrary of him, and ſaide: He is not good, but he ſeduceth the people. Others ſaide: This man is not of God, which kepeth not the Sabboth: Others ſayde agayne. Howe is it poſſible for a ſinner to worke theſe ſignes? It was a ſchiſme alſo of ſentence or opinion, when the Church was diuided (in tymes paſt) about the kéeping of the feaſt of Eaſter, and about the bread of ỳ Lordes ſupper.

Some ſchiſme of ſentence, ſome of eccleſiaſticall communion, & ſome of diſcipline. Iohn. 7.

The ſchiſme of communion is, when Churches be deuided not only in opinions, but in the very communion of the Sacraments alſo of the Church, ſo that the one doth eſchewe the communion of the other as damnable. It is a ſchiſme of names and diſciplines, whiche maketh ſo manye ſortes of Monkes and Friers, as profeſſed vnto ſundry maiſters, whoſe diſciplines and rulers they do vndertake to followe. The ſchiſme of Heretikes, which doth riſe vpon the doctrine of faith, muſt be referred vnto the ſchiſmes of ſentences and opinions: and thoſe alſo which do riſe vpon the Preſidents or Paſtors of Churches, as allowed by ſome, and refuſed by other ſome. We could yet recken vppe other kindes of Schiſmes, but this is ſufficient for this place.

Whether

Whether that vve be rightly called Schismatikes by *the Papistes.*

WE touched this matter before in the place Of the Church, where we spake somewhat of the vnitie of the church, and whether that a Christian man maye without offence depart from the Church or no. Wherfore I will be the shorter in it heere. If anye man aske me, whether that the Papistes doe arighte charge and condemne me of schisme, I can not confesse the charge as it is ioyned with any offence. And yet I must acknowledge that it is not withoute reason, that he calleth me schismatike. For it is one thing to be called absolutely Schismatike, and an other to be in fault of schisme. Chryst our only sauior and Prince of peace, was a schismatike vnto the Iewes, yea and to all the world. The Apostles were schismatikes. And they were all schismatikes both Iewes and Gentiles, as many as beléeued in Christe, and brake the vnitie of that religion, wherein they were borne and bredde. But suche manner of schismatikes doe deserue no condemnation, but commendation. And suche like is the condition of oure schisme, whereby we haue diuided the Churche of euill doers, and broken the vnitie of their erroures and seductions. In this respect we doe acknowledge our selues to be, and to be also called aright Schismatikes. Let them kéepe to themselues the vnitie of erroures and of their Popish Catholike Apostasie, and lette vs bée schismatikes, fallers away, and forsakers of theyr Church, and the daye of the Lord shall iudge and trye thys cause of our difference and dissension.

Schisme is one thing, and the fault another.

But whereas this Schisme of oures is condemned as faultye and worthye blame, that is the poynte whiche we doe not confesse, nor they able to proue that we ought to confesse it, vnlesse that they can first declare, that we haue broken the vnitie of the true Church, whiche consisteth in the true doctrine, faithe and religion of Christ. Firste, the very manifest declaration of Gods truth, hathe compelled vs to dissente from the superstitious iusticiaries, Pharisies, hypocrites, and idolaters, in manye counterfaite and false doctrines, and so to enter into the schisme of opinion. Secondly, there followed after thys the schisme of the Ecclesiasticall communion, for asmuch as the Prelates of the Church woulde not abide to haue any of those thynges, whiche oughte to haue bin either reformed, either vtterly taken awaye, to be found fault withall, much lesse to be either reformed, either quite taken away. Thirdly, whereas we doe forbeare from theyr communion, they were not contented therewith, but did condemne vs of heresie, and most fiercely persecute vs, as they do still. The manifest shewing and looking vnto the truthe of their parte, might haue kept the Christiã vnitie, and stayed that ther should haue bin no schisme in the Church of God, if they could haue loued the light thereof, more than the darkenesse of errors. So that there is not onely no blame of Schisme in vs, from whych we be cléered by the necessitie of oure charge to kéepe the truth: but it is also most clearely conuinced and proued, that the whole occasion of these dissentions and schismes, lyeth vpon the neckes of the Prelates of the churches themselues. And in case that they pretende that it is not true that we saye, they be at libertie to auouche and proue the truth of theyr matter, and the falshode of oures, by the testimonies of holy Scriptures: whiche if they were able to doe, they shoulde handle the matter more honestlye and vprightely, than as they do, séeking to haue the vpper hand, by sword, halter, and fyre.

How the schisme of our time is.

Wherof Schismes do come.

There can be no schisme or diuision, where there is no knot or coniunction. Therefore God is indiuisible, bicause that he is not made of partes, but is of nature most simple. So there can rise no Schisme betwixte vs, which be Christians, and the Iewes or Turkes, bycause we be not ioyned togither in any knotte of religion. But when there is a coniunction of many knitte togyther as it were into one body, then ther may be some schisme. So the church whiche is compacted and framed into one body of a multitude of faithfull, may be touched with schismes. And nowe if you aske me the matter and occasiõ of these schismes in ẏ church, surely the chiefe and generall cause of them is, the diuersitie of the members which be there compacted togyther. For like as our bodyes be therfore apte and easie to be parted asunder and diuided, bycause that they be made of partes, diuers in nature, that is to say, made of flesh and spirit, and of drie, hote, colde, and moyst qualitie, so it fareth also with the church. In case that they whiche be assembled into the Churche were fullye of one minde in all poyntes, agréeyng all in faith, hope and loue, and all electe, then there should no schisme in religion take place with them: but for as much as ther be mingled some euill with the good, in the congregation of the Church, ioyned somewhat togither by the outward felowshippe only, which is of names and ceremonies, and not by the inward communion of true godlynesse and of one spirite, it is not possible but that there must sometymes ryse some schisme amongst them, vppon some occasion, to cause them to fall asunder one from the other. In case that they were all euill, they myghte stiffely sticke togither in euill, and all alyke abhorre that which is good and true: Againe, if all were electe and good alike, they might all with one hearte and minde persist and continue out in the true faithe and Religion of Christ. But now, séeyng that we bée nother all good, nother all euil in this lyfe, but that we be ioyntly good and euill in the Church, euen as wheate and darnell be in the field, it can not bée chosen, but that there must néeds happe some occasion of Schisme, whereby that outwarde felowshippe must fall asunder. The occasion of the euill Schisme riseth of euil, and by reason of the euill which the electe and good can not subscribe and consente vnto. But the begynnyng and occasion of the good Schisme, procéedeth of the good, and bycause of good thynges wherevnto the euill can not assente. So that the blame of the euill Schisme muste not bée attribute

There can be no schisme, but [illegible] be [illegible] together.

[illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] diuersi- [illegible] the [illegible] be iol- [illegible] togy- [illegible]

attribute vnto the good, but vnto the euill: as for the occasion of the good Schisme, the good do not refuse, but are glad to acknowledge it. Thus I suppose it appeareth, whereuppon Schismes do rise in the Churche. In ỳ naughty Schisme we must charge not only the cause, but the blame also vpon the euill and reprobate, and not vpon the good, whiche be neyther the begynners or occasioners of it, nor do not offend at all, in that that they can not followe euill folke in an euill matter.

V Which of the euill be specially occasions of schismes. Osee. 9.

And whiche of the euill persons chiefly be ỳ occasioners of Schismes in the Churche, the case is so playne, that Hierome vpon Oseas dothe expressly say: When I do search old hystories, I can not fynde that anye haue diuided the Churche and seduced the people, out of the house of the Lord, but such as haue bin placed by God for Priests and Prophets. And therefore it was appoynted, that they be wont to chose one out of the mids of the Priestes, to be aboue the rest, to the intente to cutte off the occasion of schisme, least when each one shall goe about to drawe the Church vnto hym, it may be rēt and torne by the meanes. And the same Hierome touched the same pointe also in other places: But they do lay the place of the Psalme vnto vs: They diuided my garmentes amongst them, and caste lotte vppon my coate: and they doe make the garment or coate of Christ diuided, whiche notwithstanding the Souldiers would not part nor cutte, because it hadde no seame, but was wroughte whole ouer. And they doe construe this to be the vnitie of the Churche, whyche ought not to be parted asunder: But I beseech you, let all wise folke iudge, what kynde of souldiers these be, whiche do saye: Let vs not cutte this coate: and why they do say so. Is it for Christes and his Churches sake? or else for desire of gayne, and of preferremente in the Churche? Loke vpon the hystories of the councels, and see, whether that the Bysshops of Hierusalem, of Alexandria, of Constantinople, and of Rome, as it were for stoute souldyers, haue not sayde, that they wouldo not haue the Churche parted, but added withall, Yet let vs cast lotte, whose it shall be, in that they haue sought eache of them to be taken for the vniuersall Bysshop and Lorde of the whole Churche? What was thys else, but that they wouldo not haue Christes coate, that is to saye, the vnitie of the Church parted, and yet notwithstandyng that eache of them sought withall to bryng it into hys owne iurisdiction? Herevppon came so greate Schismes amongst those principall and head Churches, that euerye of them wouldo rather haue the vnitie of thys garment not deuided asunder, than to haue no peece of it at all. Notwithstandyng these Schismatikes doe reproue vs with the Schismes of oure tyme, as though that the vnitie of Chrystes Churche hadde continued whole and sounde vntill oure dayes, and that they themselues were voyde of all blame of Schismes.

Epist. ad Evagrium. Et in Comment. in Tit. cap. 1. Psalme. 22. Of the cutting of Christes coate.

Hovv greeuous the sinne of Schisme is.

There be some which do make the offence of Schisme equall with the

The Schismatike doth departhim-self.

offence of Heresie, and there be some whiche doe enforce Heresie aboue it. Surely any man may easily vnderstande, that it ought to be accounted no trifle, whosoeuer wayeth howe noysome a matter it is, and contrarye vnto brotherly Charitie, whiche is the badge or cognisaunce of all Christian men.

Firste, the Schismatike dothe endaunger hys saluation, when he departeth awaye from the communion of the Lordes flocke. For by that departure hee is sequestred and turned out not onely from that Ecclesiasticall and outwarde fellowshyppe of the faithfull, but from the communion of the bloude and spirite of Chryste also, in whyche our life and saluation dothe consiste: euen in lyke sorte as if a bough departyng from the companye of the reste of the boughes, doth not leaue the boughes onely, vnto whyche hee was ioyned before, but forsaketh the very vyne also, of whence commeth the lyke, nourishmente and power to beare fruite vnto all the boughes thereof: or lyke as when anye member parteth it selfe from the rest of the members of the bodye, and so dothe not only forsake the olde felowshyppe of the members, but dothe lose the very lyfe and continuaunce also whyche came of the incorporation, and so decayeth it selfe vtterly. Wherefore the Schismatike doth deceyue hymselfe, when hee departeth wythoute cause from the Communion of the Churche, surmysyng that hee goeth not from Chryste, and from hys grace, but that hee is sequestred onelye from the companye of men, whiche God dothe but slenderlye and smallye regarde. Suche departure from the bodye of the faithfull of Chryste canne not bee so wroughte, that Christe canne bee kept with all, no more than a man maye keepe on hys head, wyth the societie and companye of other of the members. But as the Apostle witnesseth, Christ is the heade of hys bodye, that is to saye, of the Churche, and so can not be asunder from it. Therefore hee can not communicate with Chryste, whiche doth not communicate with hys Churche. For he can not be so diuided to be head bothe of his owne bodye and also of the members whiche be sequestred and cutte off from it: and there is no hope to bee hadde, that hee wyll leaue hys owne bodye, and become a head of schismatikes. So that when a man shal withdraw hymselfe from the grace and incorporation of Christe, whereunto wee be frankely and freely receyued, besydes that it is hys vndoyng, whych so dothe, it doth also declare a greate contempt of Christ himselfe.

Christ cannot be diuided.

Secondly, the Schismatike doth as muche as in hym lyeth, rente asunder the whole bodye of Chryste, when he dothe breake the vnitie and integritie thereof. And what is it else to rente asunder a lyuelye and quicke bodye, but eyther vtterlye to destroye it, eyther to putte it vnto moste greeuous tormentes and paynes?

The Schismatike doth cut the vnitie of Christes bodye.

Thirdly, he doth thys to the moste proude contempte, not of one or two Chrystian men, but of all the whole of them whose communion he refuseth, and declareth himselfe to refuse the same by his departure. And how haynous an offence it is, to cōtemne

the Church of God, the Apostle doth teache vs whereas hée dothe presse the Corinthians therewyth whyche were Schismatikes, saying: Doe yée contemne the Church of God?

1.Cor.11.

Fourthly, hée dothe not onely contemne, but also condemne the church of God, as though it were not true and righte, but false and counterfeyte: and when hée hathe once condemned it, he doth also speake naughtyly of it, and wrongfully slaunder it.

The Schismatike doth condemne the Church of God.

Fiftly, he dothe also breake off the bande of peace. I meane the Charitie, wherewyth Christ himselfe doth lincke hys Churche togyther. For that the schismatike dothe not onely forsake it himselfe, but doth also set togyther by the eares as many as he canne, and maketh them singulare from the reste, and troubleth all the worlde with contention, hatered, and strife.

The Schismatike doth breke the linke of peace.

These and such other lyke, be the naughtye fruites of schismes. And I meane not of al kindes of Schismes, but of suche onely, whereby they be deuided asunder, whome God ioyned togyther. As for those things whiche wée spake of before of the good schisme, they serue nothyng to thys purpose. Augustine sayeth, that the waighte of the offence whyche the Schismatikes doe committe, is declared in the punishmente of Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, whereof wée do reade in Numerus. And oure aduersaries doe feare the sympler sort from dissenting or departyng from them by thys hystorie, wherein they doe muche lyke, as if the Wolues gettyng them on Shephards clokes, shoulde goe aboute to perswade the Shéepe, that they should forsake the true Shephardes, and runne into daunger of losing, in case they wente from them. It is true that they dyd lyke Schismatikes ryse against the true and faithfull seruauntes of God, and dyd forceably enter into the priesthode, whych dyd not apperteyne vnto them. If they would haue the world to beléeue that we doe the like, in forsaking the Romish tyrannie and seduction, lette them make proofe, that they bée not counterfeite, but true shephardes, not Lordes of the Churches, but the seruauntes of Chryste, not seducing, but teachyng vprightelye: and when they haue so done, we wil returne vnto their communion. Else let them leaue the example, which cannot be aptly applyed nother vnto them, nother vnto vs: for as muche as they be not in the same degrée, in the Churche of God, as Moses and Aaron were at that tyme: nor we be not suche schismatikes nother, as those seditious persons were, whome the Lorde by the swalowyng of them vppe into the earthe, lefte for an example of reprobate and rebellious persons: but such as Tobias was, who alone fledde the companye of all menne, and gate hym vnto Hierusalem, vnto the temple of the Lorde, what tymes all Israell went out vnto the golden Calues.

Of the Schismatikes Chore Dathan, and Abirō. Num. 10.

Tob.1.

Of

Of Magistrates, And vvhat a Magistrate is.

I Meane not to make muche adoe in discussing how many kyndes of Magistrates there be, but I doe thinke it méetest for our purpose, to speake so muche only of Magistrates, as maye serue for the instruction of the consciences of the faithfull, and set them on to the studyes and endeauour of true and vpright dealing. The word Magistrate is deriued from Master, and signifyeth the Authoritie and office of them whiche doe eyther by ryghte of inheritaunce, gouerne subiectes, peoples, or Citizens, eyther haue the rule appoynted them by frée election and choyse. Some do deriue the worde Maister, from the lattine Aduerbe *Magis*, whyche is to saye: more, for that Maister can doe more than others, as excelling them in dignitie and authoritie. Some doe draw the worde Maister from the Gréeke worde μέγιστος, whiche signifyeth greatest. But whether that Maister come of the Aduerbe *Magis*, eyther of the Gréeke word μέγιστος, euerye way Magistrates doe represente the authoritie & office of Maisters. And we be also thereby informed, that it were méete for them whiche do rule others, to aduaunce and passe them, whome they doe rule in the prerogatiue of Wisedome and Authoritie.

Magistrate is Maister.

Master of Magis.

We maye haue the lyke Judgemente of Ministers, that as the word Maister, commeth of *Magis*, whyche is more, so the worde Minister is deriued of *Minus*, whiche is to saye, lesse. For that hée whych doth serue, is of a lesse and lower estate and degrée, than they be, whome hée dothe serue. For to minister and serue, doth not belong nother vnto superiors nor equals, but vnto them whiche be lower and of lesse power, whose dutie it is, to be readye and at hande, at the will and commaundemente of the greater. For so the prouidence of God hathe ordered the matter, that for as much as no Maister, though he excell neuer so much in wisedome, degrée and power, yet is not able to serue sufficientlye for the gouernaunce of himselfe in all poyntes, muche lesse of others. Hée muste néedes haue some men of a lower degrée, readye alwayes at hys hande, whome he maye vse as Ministers for the execution of hys office. And allowe it, that he be in degrée and power greater than others, yet for all that he is still a man, and clothed wyth the infirmitie or féeblenes of man, and perceyueth not al things alone, nor vnderstandeth not all, nor is not able to doe all hymselfe alone, whyche he oughte by the reason of hys offyce to perceyue, vnderstande, and bée able to compasse. Wherefore hée muste be so holpen by the reliefe of Ministers or seruauntes, that hée maye be able to doe that, whiche hée can not performe of himselfe.

Mini

VVh Mag vseth nister

And these degrées of Maisters and Ministers bée not auoyded by the Lordes wordes, where hée sayde: He whiche is the greater amongst you,

let him be the Minister of all: for he declareth by his owne example, how he spake it. In verye deede hée is the maister of all, as he dothe witnesse, saying: And you call me Maister, and you saye well, for I am so: For I haue but one Maister Christe: and yet notwithstanding, bycause he wouldе leaue a patrone of humilitie vnto his Churche, hée dyd those thynges amongst hys Disciples, whych do not belong vnto a maister, but vnto a Minister. And in so doyng, he did nother vndoe, nother confounde the degrées of superiours and inferiours, but wente to teache them, how much the superioures of the Church ought to eschewe pryde, and to embrace humblenesse of mynde. These degrées of magistrates and ministers doe remayne in oure doings from the beginning vntill this day. Paule dothe call the magistrate a Minister, but not absolutely Minister, but the minister of God. And who is not ware, that there is no Magistrate vppon the earth, nor Emperoure, nor Monarche, but is a thousand fold inferioure vnto God? Wherefore it is no vnsémely poynte at all to the degrée of superiorítie, or inferiorítie, but rather most or altogither conueniente, that he whiche is the magistrate and a maister amongst men, be the minister of God, as of hys superioure.

Rom. 13.

And albeit that Magistrate come of the worde Maister, and that there be many sortes of maisters, yet men haue vsed to call that power onely Magistrate, whiche beareth the swoorde. Nor we will not otherwise vse it, but accordyng as it is customably receyued, comprising thereby all those degrées of superioures and gouernoures, whyche haue the power of the swoorde committed vnto them, as Emperoures, Kynges, Prynces, Dukes, Earles, Iudges, Officers in Cities and Countries. &c.

Of vvhence the Magistrate is.

NO godlye person doubteth, but that the worlde is gouerned by God, by whome it was also made, Wherefore all the powers and gouernaunces whyche be in the worlde, and whereby mankynde is ruled, muste néedes come of hym whome they do serue in the gouernaunce of the worlde, that is to saye, of God the creator, comforter, and gouernor of them al togyther.

Theimagistrate is of God.

In deede Satã is called the prince of the worlde, but not of righte, but of falsehode and malice, and that onlye by Goddes sufferance. He sayeth, that all the Kyngdomes of thys worlde be in hys dominion, and that he gyueth them vnto whome he lysteth, but he lyeth lyke a lying spirit as he is, and fyrste forger of al lyes. So that powers and Magistrates be not of Satan, but of hym who is the Lorde of all, and vnto whose iurisdiction and authoritie, all thynges be subiecte. They whyche doe consyder nothyng else therein, but eyther the ambition of them that doe aspyre and séeke by all meanes to raigne and rule, either by wrongfull violence and tyrannie, by haughtinesse, pride and wreasted iudgementes, and suche other lyke matters, whych be manifestly perceyued

in most magistrates: they do charge the faultes of the superioures vppon the degrée it selfe of the magistrate, as though that it were nothing else, but a wicked violence, and a wrongfull gouernaunce, and therefore they cã not acknowledge it to be of God. And truly suche men we be through the corruption of oure nature, that we be more enclined to commaunde, than to obey and to be commaunded. We doe climbe and aspire vnto soueraignetie and Godhead, whiche affection is conueyed into vs through the poyson of the olde serpent, which oure firste mother tasted of immediately in paradyse, when she hearde and beléeued that saying: You shall be as Goddes, &c. So that whereas this affection of soueraignetie is of Satan, and that nature dothe make vs all lyke or equall, the vnlearned do surmise, that the Magistrates and rulers bée not grounded vppon the ordinaunce of God, nor lawe of nature, but that it beganne of the instincte of Satan, and of the presumption of wrongfull persons. But oure myndes muste bée armed agaynste thys imagination by the authoritie of Goddes worde, whych is so expressly sette forth by the Apostle, where he sayeth: Let euery soule be subiecte vnto the superioure powers. For there is no power but from God. And these powers which be appointed, bée appointed by GOD. These wordes muste be diligently wayed. For fyrste hée doth not say, There is no princelinesse, nor rule, but there is no power but from God. For hée dothe not say, that euery gouernance and abuse of authoritie, when Princes doe sometimes vse tyrannie ouer their subiects, but that throughout euerye lawfull power is of God, to the intent that the euill may be punished, and the good be had in honoure. All power is of God, but the abuse of power is not of God: like as the marriage of mã and wife is of God, but the abuse of wedlocke is not of God, but of the Deuil. Their princelye gouernaunce was not of God, of whome he dothe synde faulte by hys Prophete, saying: They raigned, but not by me: they became Princes, and I wist it not. Yet for all that, lette no man thinke that suche tyrauntes doe raygne ouer theyr subiectes without the iugemente of God. For he causeth not onely the good, but the euill Princes also to raigne, bicause of the sinnes of the people. For so he sayth: I will giue thée a King in my furye, and take hym awaye in my displeasure. So that the Tyrannie commeth also by GOD, but the Tyrannie it selfe is not ordeyned from God, in that sorte as the lawfull power is appoynted by hym.

Secondly, it is not without cause, that hée dothe not absolutelye saye, The power is of god: but there is no power but of God. But the powers that be, be ordeyned by God. No doubte that seditious spirit of rebellion of the Iewes, hadde somewhat infected the Christian men.

There were some of the opinion, that the raigne of Ethnike Princes was verye vnlawfull, for that it could not be so of God, as the raigne of the Kynges of Israell was: and that therefore it was not conuenient, that Christian menne shoulde bée obediente vnto Ethnike Magistrates. So that to ouerthrowe them,

he sayd expresly: There is no power, but of God. As if hée shoulde haue sayde, The power not onely of the Kynges of Israell commeth of God, but generallye all power commeth from him. For the Lorde is not only the God of Israell, but of the Gentiles also, and dothe not onely iudge Israell, but the people of the whole worlde also.

Thirdly, it is not withoute some vehemencye, that hée dothe not saye, all power is of God: but, there is no power, but of God: by whych wordes hée dothe not onely declare thys, that all power is of God, but that there can no where be any power amongst menne, whiche maye come from any other, but from God. For the power whyche is armed wyth the sworde to the reuenge of the euill, and prayse of the good, and hath iudgemeute of lyfe and deathe, is wholly a godlye matter, and suche as canne gette no authoritie nor strength from menne, but hath néede to bée established vppon the authoritie and vertue of God, as it dothe chieflye appeare in that that so manye thousandes of menne doe not of compulsion and feare, but of theyr owne voluntarye mynde obeye the commaundemente of one man, to the losse of theyr lyfe, whereas one or two were able alone ynough to kyll hym. Whereof came thys wonderfull subiection, and howe hath it cōtinued so long, but of that that Dauid sayeth: Whyche subduest people vnder mée? Who dothe not dayly fynde by them whiche bée vnder hys charge, howe hard a matter it is, to bryde the affection of one manne towardes hym selfe, and to be able to kéepe him always in frame? Wherby wée maye easily conceyue, that it is impossible that whole nations, yea and a multitude of manye nations, shoulde suffer the dominion of one man, vnlesse that God hymselfe dyd subdue the lyfe and liuelyhode of mē vnto that power whiche hée hath ordeyned.

The Magistrates, by God be not fully his permission, but by his ordinance.

Fourthly, least anye body shoulde surmyse, that the powers whyche be in the worlde, bée no otherwise of God, but a certayne permissyon and sufferance, in that hée suffereth the mightyer to practise the masterie ouer the multitude of inferioures, in respecte that hée hathe subdued thys earthe to the children of menne: hée dothe immediately discharge thys ymagination, and sayeth: But those powers that bée, bée ordeyned of God. Hée dothe not say absolutelye, They be of God, but they bée ordeyned by God. The condition or degrée of those thyngs whyche bée permitted, and of those whyche bée ordeyned and appoynted, is not alyke. It can not be sayde, or at the leaste waye not very properly, of him whiche doth ordyne and appoynt a thing, that hée did permytte it to bée. Those thynges whyche bée ordeyned by the iust Prouidence of GOD, are sufficientlye tryed to bée iuste and profitable, by the very ordinance of them, whyche can not bée the case of those thynges that bée permytted. So the Apostle thoughte it not sufficiente, to applye all power vnto God, vnlesse hée shoulde wythall admonish them, that all powers do procéede from the verye wysedome and prouidence of God, whereby all thynges be ordeyned and appoynted vnto our commoditie

ditie and profytte.

Three kindes of Gods ordinances, of whence the Magistrate commeth.

Some man wyll aske me the question, when and howe God did ordeyne the powes, whyche wée do sée amongst men. Therefore wée muste vnderstand, that there be thrée sortes of the ordinaunces of GOD. The first is of those, whyche be ordeyned by the establishmente of nature, the seconde by worde, the thyrde by the secrete instincte of the spirite. By the order of nature, they bée sette to rule the multitude, and to haue dominion ouer them, whiche bée wyser and stronger than the rest: as wée maye perceiue also in beastes, where the stronger dothe leade the waye to the weaker, as in heardes of Oxen and Horses, and in Bées & Cranes, and suche lyke of thys naturall order, speciallye at the begynning of the worlde, and when the tymes were somewhat rough and harde, there beganne powers and regimēts amongst menne, whereby the multitude myghte be gouerned, stayed, and trayned in order, to the lyke resemblaunce as it was in the heardes and flockes of cattell. Therefore like as we doe sée it so fall out by nature in the gouernaunce amongst other liuing thinges, and in the father and hys children, the husbande and hys wyfe, that the better dothe rule and ouerlooke the weaker, and that no man doubteth but that this authoritie commeth of the speciall prouidēce of God. So we may easily vnderstande also in this case, that they be borne to the authoritie of gouernāce, and that by the ordinance of GOD, whome we doe fynde to be more excellente than the rest. It is méete for wisedome and mighte, to ouersée and gouerne: and for foolishnesse and impotencie or féeblenesse, to be vnder and to be gouerned. So the gouernance in oure body is giuen vnto the head, and seruice vnto the rest of the members. And in case that it fall out otherwise than so amongst vs, as that the foolishe and weake be set to ouersée the wyse and strong, it is a discorde and plague sente from God, for the sinnes of the people. The power of regimente is established vppon the grounde of Goddes worde, for as muche as there were lawes gyuen and iudgementes appoynted from GOD, whereby the gyltye shoulde bée punished. And vnto that purpose the same was spoken: Who so euer sheddeth the bloud of manne, hys bloude shall bée shedde. And those matters whiche bée charged in the lawe, concernyng the people of Israell of indgementes, iudges, and Kynges: doe comprehende the ordinaunce of thys authoritie and power. Gen.

God dothe order and appoynt powers to rule hys people with all, when he dothe so furnishe them with hys spirite whome he hathe chosen vnto that office, and so styrreth them vp, vnloked for, and vppon the suddayne, to succour the people, whyche standeth in some greater perill and dannger. This kinde of Gods ordinaunce is sette forthe by sundrye examples, in the booke of Iudges. For so we do reade: And when the Lorde was angry againste Israell, he delyuered them into the handes of Chusan Rasathaim King of Mesopotamia, and they serued hym eyghte yeares, and they cried vnto the Lord, who reysed them vppe a Sauioure, Iud.

and deliuered them, meaning Othoniel the sonne of Chenen, the yonger brother of Caleb, and the spirit of the Lord was in him, and he iudged Israell. In like manner he appointed also the gouernaunce of certaine other Iudges which folowed. As of Aiot, Sangar, Delboza, Barach, Gedeon, Samson, and Samuell. He stirred vp these men by his spirite, to deliuer Israell, and to vse the power of regimente. And he dyd also ordeyne Moses, Iosue, Gedeon, Samson, Saul, Dauid, &c. both by his worde and spirite. But when a man commeth to bee a Magistrate, and to beare office, whiche is addressed therevnto, neyther by the benefyte of nature, nor by the worde nor spirite of God, lyke as he is conueyed vnto it by the meere deuise of man, so must hee needes very euill fauoredly exercise the office. And yet the same aduise of power doth not derogate anye thyng of the saying of the Apostle, in that he sayeth: There is no power, but of God.

What manner of men they ought to be, which doe *beare office, and be Magistrates.*

I Can hardlye beleeue, that anye of them wyll reade this symple worke, whiche be in high authoritie and office, so that it may seeme smal reason to speake any thyng of them, what manner of men they ought to be. Nor the case is not alike for the condition of these kindes of subiects, as it is of the Church of Christe, for whome it is both profitable and necessarye to vnderstande for a certaynetie what manner of men theyr ministers and Superintendentes or Ouerseers ought to be: and for that purpose they be diligentlye instructed thereof in the writings of the Apostles, bycause that as Cyprian testifyeth, if they haue no Christian Magistrate, it is in their power to remoue the vnprofytable and naughtye pastors, and to putte others that bee good and profytable, into theyr places: whyche libertie is not permitted vnto all sortes of subiectes euerye where, that be vnder the gouernaunce of kynges and princes, or vnder the estate of a publike gouernance of many or few, but they must of necessitie abide their gouernaunce and obey them, such as they chaunce to haue, either of the grace, eyther of the displeasure of God, whether they bee good or euill, and take them as they come. And therefore it seemeth also to little purpose, to admonisthe what manner of menne Magistrates ought to be, seeyng that it is not lawfull for them to refuse the euill, and to chose the good. But for asmuch as those thinges whyche wee doe putte in writing, maye peraduenture serue theyr turne, whyche haue the charge to teache in the Churche of GOD, and bee bounde by theyr office which they beare, to teache not onely the Subiectes, but the Magistrates also, howe they oughte to behaue themselues, and howe to punishe offenders, I haue thoughte good to saye somewhat of thys matter also vnto the Commodytie of the simpler sorte. For the condition of the Churche is not lyke nowe adayes as it was in tymes paste, when

when they were subiect vnto Magistrates whiche professed not Christe, at which time there was small occasion to instructe the faythfull, what maner of men they ought to shewe themselues towardes Magistrates when they were not christened: nor it was not then lawfull for the ministers of the worde, to tell them of theyr duetie. But now that Kings and Princes and other Magistrates also haue submitted themselues vnto the yoke of Christe, it is not onely lawfull, but necessary also for the ministers of the worde, by reason of theyr duetie and office, to beate into their heads, with how greate trusse, fayth, care, and diligence, they ought to serue Christ their Lord, and king of kings, according vnto that saying of Dauid: And now you Kings vnderstand, be you instructed whiche do iudge the lande: serue the Lorde in feare, &c. At that tyme when the Apostle wrote vnto the Romaynes, touchyng the Magistrate, he did not meddle with this parte, bicause there were no Christian magistrates any where, to warne them of their dutie: and therefore he did employ his doctrine to the vse of the faythfull subiectes, warnyng them of theyr obedience, due vnto the Magistrates, as powers appoynted from God. And in case that he had founde any Christian Magistrate anywhere, he wold haue admonished him also of his dutie. Wherefore the Minister of the worde must not say, that he will informe the subiectes, how they ought to obey theyr Magistrates, and that he will leaue the Magistrates to bee reformed by the iudgement of the Lorde, and therein do as the Apostle did, whiche gaue no lessons to the powers or Magistrates. He that is of this minde, dothe abuse the example of the Apostle, and hath the lyke opinion of Christian Magistrates. He sayth as of the Ethnickes, which be not of the Church of Christe.

Furthermore, in case you consider of those common wealths, whiche haue that libertie giuen them from God, that they chose theyr Magistrates by the comon voices of their owne citezens, to commit the authoritie of their publike estate vnto, doth not the very matter it selfe requyre, that when they chose, they be informed, what maner of persons they ought to chose? least they abuse the benefit of theyr libertie, if they chose such as be vnfit, as it must needes be many tymes, when men haue not so greatly regard what they be that be chosen to beare rule, as to haue their frendes aduaunced vnto the place of honour. Therefore it is not without the iuste iudgement of God, that some commō wealths haue not this libertie to chose theyr Magistrate. In case there belonged nothyng else to the Magistrate but to be taken & reputed for a Magistrate, then it were no matter whatsoeuer they were that should be chosen to beare rules: but forasmuche as it is requisite, that the powers doe serue God also aright, whiche be thereby appoynted by him, and that they muste exercise theyr office to the profite & commoditie of the subiects, who perceyueth not howe waighty the regarde ought to be, what maner of persōnes be preferred to beare any office of charge? And here we speake not of an Ethnike, but of a Christiā

magistrate, that is to say, whiche is not of an Ethnical, but of Christian religion, and hath rule ouer the people of Christe. The Ethnike is also the minister of God to punish the reprobate, and to defend the harmeles, and to serue to the cõmon peace and quiet, whiche worke asketh not euery raskall, but iuyly spyted persons, and well qualified with vertues, as wisedome, foresight, iustice, louingnesse, or mãlynesse & strength, &c. But lyke as there is a great difference betwixte a Stewarde of a house to take the rule of seruãts, and a schoolemayster whiche taketh the charge of his maysters chyldren, so the difference is also great betwixte the prophane or Ethnicke Magistrate, whiche ruleth prophane and Ethnicke people, and the Christian, which is the ouerseer of the elect and holy people and children of God. For as it is absolutely loked for of euery magistrate, that hee passe hys subiectes not onely in dignitie, but also in excellencie of vertues, so it is worthily requyred of hym, whiche doth professe the Religion of Christ, that hee must excell the faythfull whiche bee vnder hym, in true godly lyfe and zeale of Religion.

V What difference betwixte the Ethnike & Christian Magistrate.

And suche Magistrates be giuen vnto the faythfull by the speciall gifte of God. And there hath passed exãples of such in Moses, Iosue, Samuell, Dauid, Iosaphat, Ezechias, &c. vnto whome it behoueth all Christian Magistrates to haue a respecte, to the intente to folowe theyr fayth, godlynesse, iustice, and zeale of Goddes glory. In flockes of sheepe, menne vse to haue one bell weather or ryng leader, whiche goeth before the reste: and it is no lesse mete, that amongst Christian menne hee shoulde be a very excellent chosen person, that shall gouerne the multitude: but he whiche shoulde beare rule amongst Christian men, ought to be not onely some excellent person, but some excellent & godly Christian also. And I do not call him the godly Christian, whiche is more excelliente than other Christians in mighte, stoutenesse, and wealth, but whiche exceedeth the reste in fayth towardes Christe, in loue towardes his brethren, in zeale of God, in studie of Iustice, & holinesse of life. And lette them whiche haue free libertie to chose magistrates, picke out and make theyr choyce of suche, out of al the whole multitude of their people. And whereas the Princes doe succede by inheritaunce and not by choyce, the men must haue this principall care, that he which shal be the Prince of Goddes people, may be brought vp of a child, by most choyce and godly persons, first in the fayth, Religion, and loue of Christe, and secondly in wisedome, iustice, and other heroicall noble vertues: & they muste specially beware, that he bee not to much nuselled in courtly wantonnesse, pleasures, and packpynes, whereby it may happen that the old vessell may sauer of the same, which it began withall at the first.

V What the Christian magistrate ought to be.

Those things whiche bee written in the bookes of Moses, touchyng magistrates, what they ought to be, are of two sortes: for some of them doe concerne policie, and some of the religion and godly life. It concerneth policie that they must be wyse, true, haters of auarice, and louers of Iustice:

Iustice: and it belongeth vnto religion, that they must feare God, and haue a speciall regarde of the religiõ whiche is instituted accordyng vnto Gods worde. But of this poynt wee will speake more hereafter.

What is the office of the Magistrate.

THere is nothyng wrought by God in vayne. Al things be so ordayned by hym, euen those things whiche any manne woulde thynke were wrought to no purpose at all, be created to some certayne offices and purposes. All Magistrates bee ordayned by God, as ỹ Apostle doth testifie. So that the meanyng of GOD is not, that the Magistrate shoulde bee idle and serue to no purpose, but that euery of them shoulde haue hys office lymited vnto hym. Wherefore lawfull Magistrates ought to bee vtterly voyde of vaile and wretchelesse presumption, whereby many of them doe measure al the preeminence of theyr power and authoritie, as though that the maiestie whiche is mete for a Magistrate, did consiste in a lyfe gyuen ouer vnto wantonnesse and pleasures. But lette vs see what is the office or dutie of the Magistrate that is appointed by God. Firste wee muste consider it generally, and afterwardes in particularities. The office of the Magistrate in generall is to be the minister and seruaunt of God. So the Apostle doth call the magistrate, Gods minister. And he speaketh not this vnto theyr abasement, as though ỹ he would plucke downe the maiestie of kings and Princes, vnto any vilenesse of ministerie, or to bring it into contempt, but he doth rather entend the contrary: For hee doth wholly trauell to bring it vnto estimation and honour: I meane in the faithful, which do so entierly and hartily loue God, that they do exceedingly esteeme and regarde al things of his, specially those persons which doe particularly minister towarde and vnder his maiestie. And for this purpose he doth the thirde tyme tell them, that the powers be Goos ministers, to the entẽt that men should not onely way the power of man in them, nor suppose that they doe not obey God when they obey them, nor withstande hym when they do withstande them, and so haue a wicked opinio of the magistrate. For asmuch as to minister vnto any man, is not to do his owne worke, or to serue his owne appetite, but to folow his wil, and to bee rather hys than his owne man. And this may bee done two wayes. Firste by seruyng menues turnes in ministring them worldly things, &c. Secõdly, in ministring the office of an other, when we do minister to any, and serue in those things whiche do belong vnto his office. In the first sorte no man is able to minister vnto God, no he is not a whitte holyen by the ministerie of menne, no nor of Angels neyther. But we may minister vnto hym in the later sorte, when wee doe those things whiche hee vouchsafeth as GOD, to worke by vs vnto the salvation and preseruation of mankynde. Notwithstandyng wee may minister and serue kyngs and Princes bothe wayes. And who doubteth, but that it is a more noble ministery to serue a king

The office of the magistrate in generalite.

as a king, in those things whiche doe concerne hys pryncely office, than to serue him in the consideration onely of an other man in things necessary vnto him as a man? And so it is a greater dignitie to minister vnto God as God, the keper and gouernour of all things, than to mynister vnto him, as in respect he were poze and needy to be ayded by vs: whiche kinde of ministery can haue no place in hym. Therefoze when the Apostle doth recommende the Magistrate vnto vs, in this poynt, that he saith, hee is the minister of God, what doth he else, but admonishe al men, how that hys office is not of the ordinaunce of man, but of God: and that the power which he practiseth, is not mans, but Gods power.

VVhich be the kyndes of that ministery wherein the Magistrate doth seeke God.

Secondly, forasmuch as there bee sundry sortes of Gods ministers, we must see which be the kindes of that ministery, wherein the Magistrate is made Gods minister. The Apostle is also the minister of God, the Euangelist the shepeheard of Christes flocke, &c. But both theyr ministeries be distincted by the diuersities of the kingdomes. The one of them is a minister of grace, and a beslower of the misteries of God. The other is a minister of Iustice, of gouernance, of displeasure, of reuenge, and defence, bicause that the Apostle woulde strike a feare of the Magistrate to the euill after that hee had sayde: If you do that whiche is euil, feare, for hee carieth not the swoorde in vayne: for he is Gods minister: he added, A reuenger vnto anger of him whiche dothe that that is euill. He did not set out in these woordes al the kindes of this ministerie, but the same only, whereby reuenge is take of the reprobate, for which cause the Magistrate also doth carie ỹ swoord. For ther be others also besides this, namely the order of the people, whiche is done by lawes, iurisdictions, wherby iudgements be vsed, and the keppyng of the publicke peace. But yet the same which the Apostle doth expresse, doth more properly pertaine vnto the Magistrate than any of the reste. You may happly finde some wise men whiche be able to conceyue and make good lawes, and to iudge thereby, but vnlesse that they be Magistrates withal, they can not punish the euil doers, bycause they haue not the power of the swoorde committed vnto them. And wheras that is not, the vse of lawes and iudgements is but vayne. For the malice of the reprobate cãnot be repressed, but therby. These sortes of ministery do not appertayne vnto the Pastors and Doctors of the Churche. For it is not for them to gouerne the people by lawes and iudgements, nor to punishe the reprobate with the swoorde, but to informe the ignorant by the woorde of Grace, to correct the sinful, to comforte the afflicted consciences, and to preach euerlastyng lyfe in the name of Christ, and so to bestowe the mysteries of God.

Augustin.

Rom. 13.

And there be two swoordes of reuengemẽt. The one is, by which the subiects be punished, whiche by their naughtinesse do eyther hurte others, or worke wickedly agaynst God. The other is, whereby their enimies be repressed. And both of thẽ be very necessary for the conseruatiõ of peace and quietnesse. The first may be called, the swoorde of iudgement, ment, and the seconde the swoorde of warre. The office therefore of the magistrat, is to serue God in gouernyng theyr subiectes by lawes and iudgements, to the mayntenaunce & preseruation of mans lyfe, and also in restrayning the reprobate by the swoorde of reuenge: so that the publyke peace and vprightnesse of iustice may be alwayes preserued and kept, that is to say, that menne may not onely liue, but also liue cõmodiously and well. In deede peculiarly it is ỹ worke of God to preserue, & gouerne mankinde, whiche he of hys spectall purpose first created: but like as he doth instruct men, deliuer them from theyr sinnes, make them partakers of his grace, and saue them by the ministery of man, albeit that in very deede these be not the workes of man but of God, euen so he doth gouerne and mayntayne the lyfe of man, defending the innocent, and punishyng the wicked by the ministery of mẽ, such as he hath chosen to this purpose to bee mynisters of his power, iudgement, mayntenaunce, and reuengement.

Tvvo svvoords of reuenge.

The Magistrate is the minister of God to our good.

And that we may the more orderly and largely discourse of the office, vse, and ende of the Magistrate, it may be wel done to open the meanyng of that that we sayde, that the ministery of the Magistrate is, that such as the prouidence of God hath chosen to the execution of his power, must be the ouerseers, gouernours, and preseruers of the lyfe of man. The Apostle doth in one woord touch this point, when he saieth: For he is the minister of GOD, for the good. Thus good goeth large: and he speaketh more openly of it to Timothie, where he sayeth: Therefore I counsell you, that before all things there be prayers, intercessions, and means made, and also thankes giuyng for all men, for Kings, and all suche as be in preeminence, that we may liue a quiet and a peaceable lyfe with all godlinesse, and honestie. So that the vse of the Magistrate is, that wee may liue in this woorld cõmodiously, honestly, and godly, vnder his gouernaunce. He whiche created vs to bee when we were not, and gaue vs life to liue, is so louyng vnto vs, that hee would not haue vs onely to liue, but also as neare as wee may for this flesche of sinne, to liue in quiet, comely, peaceably and orderly, yea & honestly, refusing al filthinesse, whiche is for beastes and not for men, that be made to the image of God: yea & lastly, deuoutly and godly, that is to say, in the religion, honour and seruice of God, of whom we bee, & haue altogether. And the Apostle doth aduise thẽ to pray for the Magistrates, to the intent that they may enioy these three good things in this lyfe, meanyng that this is their office & vse thereof, that they may so defend and gouerne the lyfe of men, that they may liue commodiously, honestly, and godly. But let vs consider euery of these poynts in order.

1.Tim.

Commodiously.

WE do meane by a commodious life, that whiche is quiet and peaceable, without any sore trouble and toyle. And our meaning is of the publyke quietnesse. For otherwyse the lyfe of man is subiect vnto many trauayles, miseries, & misfortunes,

whiche the Magistrate can not lette or helpe. And firste wee be neyther borne, neyther brought vp without discommodities, whiche the Magistrate can not restrayne. Secondly, we muste labour for our liuyng and clothing, according vnto the saying of God to our first parent: Thou shalte eate thy breade in the sweate of thy face. For this can not be done without many and greate troubles. And God did not ordayne the office of the Magistrate to this ende, that wee should idelly feede, and so make the determination of Gods purpose voyde. Thirdly, our bodyes be subiecte vnto innumerable diseases and dammages, yea and to death at the laste, that the Magistrate can not do withall: nor remedie, nor deliuer vs from the same as to shifte off our sicknesses and plagues, and to make vs that we shall not feele the pangs of death. Fourthly, there doe ryse many troubles of mennes liuing together in house, as when men muste beare with the conditions of theyr wyues, chyldren, and seruauntes: the reformation of the whiche doth not appertayne vnto the Magistrate, but vnto the good man of the house, whiche for all that canne seldome or neuer reforme them so as he woulde. Fiftly, a Magistrate can not lette, but that Cytizens and neyghbours muste bee sometymes troublesome and combersome one to an other. There muste needes bee hate and hartburnyng betwirte Citizens and neyghbours, and muche adoe when one of them can not loue the other, wherein it passeth the power of the Magistrate to lette enemities and hatereds. Lyke as it lieth not in hym to worke with all men, so that euery Citizen shall loue and doe good one to an other. There be many other troubles also to bee borne withall, whiche doe priuately happen to euery one of vs, which the Magistrate canne not relieue vs of. Therefore let vs see what commoditie & quietnesse of our lyfe the same is, whiche the Magistrate is ordeyned to preserue and keepe. Surely, It is no other, but the publyke or common safetie and quiet of our life and goodes. This the Magistrate dothe keepe and mayntayne when he doth breake off strife by his Iudgements and verdites, he repressleth wrongful violence, when hee reuengeth the wrongs of them whiche do hurt the innocent, whe he punisheth the wicked, as theeues, robbers, and murderers. &c. when he doth auoyde, or by strength of defence put off ẏ assaults of enimies. To this ende he maketh iudges to iudge wisely and vprightly, according vnto lawes. And thereto they haue theyr mynisters alwayes ready, prison, swoorde, executions, gardes, Captaynes, and souldiers. By these meanes he bringeth the matter to passe, that they whiche be good and innocent, may safely and commodiously liue in the middes of the euil, whiche coulde not be otherwyse wrought. For hee may be wel able to suppresse ẏ outward wrongs of naughty men, and the comberers of vniuste violence, notwithstanding he is not able to compasse that there be none euill folke at all, or that they whiche be euill, may become iuste and good. No doubte there riseth hereby greate commoditie vnto all good folke, whose chaunce it is to leade theyr

they? life amongst the euill, and to be subiecte vnto sundry wrongs and combers in this worlde: so that the Apostle sayde not in vayne. For he is the mynister of God for good to them. Lyke as the shepheard goeth not without his shepehooke and hys dogges, to defende his flocke from al daungers, and to leade them safely to and from theyr feedings: In like maner the Magistrate hath also hys weapons and defence, and therefore in the olde times the Kings were called Pastors or Shepardes, wherin the magistrate muste specially beware, that he rage not to far against any man, vpon his furie of anger or hatred, least hee fall into tyrannie. The iuste and lawfull Magistrate will doe iudgement and iustice, and wil punishe the reprobate by iudgement, according vnto the lawes and qualities of the offences. He will defend good folke, not bicause that they be riche, but bicause they? quarell is good, whether they be riche or poore: he will punishe the euill not bycause they be poore, and may be easily ouertrodden, but bicause they be naughty and mischieuous liuers, hauing no respecte whether they bee poore or riche, least of a good & lawful prince, he may otherwise become an accepter of persons: whiche God doth alwaies abhorre, & the common course of reason condemne of wickednesse.

Honestie.

Secondly, it belongeth vnto the office of ẏ Magistrate, to keepe and mayntaine publike and common honestie. He will not abyde, but banish farre from the sighte of the people all euil, that may hurte or hinder honestie, least they may be corrupte by the filthy exaples of vncleannesse, or vnshamefastnesse of others. And this is the poynt specially loked for of al Christian mē, that they lyue honestly. So the Apostle sayth: The night is paste, and the day is come on, let vs therfore cast off the workes of darknesse, and put on the armour of light, and let vs walke honestly: as in the day time, not in banketting & drunkennesse, in chambring and wātonnesse. &c. We muste auoyd naughty occasions whereby good maners doe decay such as is wanton leaping and dauncyng, bawdy songs, vncomly garments: surfettes and dronkennesse, whoredome and aduiterie: yea and filthie sole lyfe, and the licēcious leachery of the Clergy, wherby they doe runne at libertie into all kindes of vncleannesse, and doe defile the whole multitude of the faythfull. If a litle leauen doth corrupt the whole masse or lompe of dowe, what shall not so much filthinesse be able to do, wherewith we see all Churches full replenished and pestered?

Rom. 13.

Therefore, the order of those magistrates is worthy to be commended, which haue by lawes restrayned all kind of vncleannesse & filthinesse, to restore againe the honestly & purenesse of lyfe amongst theyr subiects, meete for Christian people: and haue not crempted the Church menne in that point, but haue driue thē chiefly from licentiousnesse of whoredome, either to become maried, either so to liue in their sole life, that they haue no fault found with them. And well worthy, for they specialy haue corrupted ẏ whole cōpasse of christendome,

by the open examples of their foule vncleane lyfe.

The magistrate ought to represse the vncleanenesse of churchemē.

So that the Magistrate had nēede by his authoritie to breake that bande of forced sole lyfe, through whiche the degrée of the Church fell into their wanton lustes at large, & he muste make it franke and frée for all Churche men to marie, that the saying of the Apostle may take effect: He whiche dothe not contayne himselfe, lette him marry. And, It is better to mary, than to burne, elles he shall make answere vnto God, for all those offences that be so enormiously committed amongst his subiectes, by the Popishe sole life. For he hath not so receyued the authoritie of his office from God, that he may vse it if hée liste, and omitte it if he liste not, but he is bounde to the administration thereof in his cōscience through the duetie of his office, from whiche he shal not be discharged by any priuiledge of the Clergie.

The magistrate muste see that euery state keepe a comlinesse.

Furthermore, it belongeth also vnto publycke honestie, that euery estate or degrée, kéepe a certen séemlinesse or comelinesse conuenient for them, that is to say, that menne vse themselues manly, women womanly, children and seruaunts obediently, that no man ware to be sluggyshe through idlenesse, that no man lyue vpon vsurie, or otherwise vppon the sweate of other folkes browes. It is an vnhoneste kinde of lyfe, to lyue at an other mans table, vnlesse that that man be compelled therevnto by extréme necessitie and nēede. Wherfore the Apostle doth counsell Christian men after this wise: But wée beséeche you brethren, that you abounde your selfe more, and apply herevnto that you may be quiet, and doe your owne things, & worke with your owne handes as we haue commaunded you, that you may deale honestly, with straungers, and haue nēede of nothing. Let the cloisterers, whiche they doe rightly call not labourers, but beggers, consider how farre they be from this honestie of lyfe, which the Apostle requyreth of Christian men. They ought to bée brought into frame by the authoritie of the magistrate, so as they must be compelled whether they will or not, to doe that whiche is agreeable vnto publyke honestie, and to the doctrine of the Apostles. For the Christian Magistrate should not suffer any such like restraynt, as that is of Iewes in some cómon wealths, that they can not gette and earne their lyuing honestly by their handy labour amongst Christian people, and yet they be suffered to lyue and growe riche by vsurie, and that very dishonestly. Surely their dishonest dealyng can not be so well charged vpon themselues, as vpon the Magistrate where it is vsed, and by whō they be driuen from honest labour and worke, to the vntolerable taking of vsuries.

1. Thessal. 4.

Godly.

IT dothe belong also vnto the Magistrate, so to order the lyfe of his subiectes, that they may lyue not onely commodiously and honestly, but godly also and religiously in the true seruice of GOD. It is in Gréeke ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ, that is to say, in all godlinesse, for so signifieth εὐσεβεία the seruice of God. And this

this may be done two wayes.

If he suffer no man to swarue frō the receyued religiō.

1 Firste, in case that the Magistrate trouble no man for religion, but leaueth it at liberty to all his subiectes, to followe and chose himselfe what God he lik, and to serue as he lik without any maner of restraint, so that they be like subiects and obedient in other things, which may be done vpō sundry causes, as if the magistrate himself hold him to no God, but say in hys harte: there is no GOD, or thinketh to no purpose to serue any God. Truly it is all one to such a one, whether that his subiects do serue any God or none, nor he careth not whome they serue or how. Againe, in case that the Magistrate be not altogither vngodly, but perceyue in his conscience in déede that there is a God, and that he ought to be worshipped of all mē, and yet notwithstandyng thynke that it is not méete for him to make any restraint, but that it shal be lawful for euery man to serue what God, & after what sorte soeuer he lik, mē may vnder suche a Magistrate also serue God both truly & vprightly. Tertullian writeth somewhat like in his boke *Ad Scapulam*, a litle after the beginning, where as he saith: It is a péece of the law of mā & of the power of nature, for euery man to worship that whiche he thinketh god, nor no mans religiō doth hurte or profit an other. For it is not any part of religion to compel and enforce religion, whiche ought to bée vndertaken of mens owne accord, & not by violéce. Thus he doth abiect vnto the Ethnikes, which did cōpel christian men vnto the seruices of their false Gods. But of what strēgth this is, & when it may reasonably be spoken, we wil touche hereafter. This lawe of man they may be suffered to vse, whiche were neuer called vnto the cōmō religion of the realme wherin they do liue. And so christian men do liue vnder the Turkes, & the Iewes amōgst them both. And none of them enforced to forsake their countrie religiō.

If he suffer it not to be lawfull for any to swarue from the true and lawfull religion of God, nor dothe not folow any false doctrine himselfe, nor set it forth to be folowed by others.

Another way the magistrate doth stay with men to lyue godly and religiously vnder hys iurisdiction, if he suffer it not to be lawfull for any to swarue from the true and lawfull religion of God, nor dothe not folow any false doctrine himselfe, nor set it forth to be folowed by others. And thus is the order vsed amongst Christian magistrates, as well Papistes as professors of the Gospell. And yet this is done vppon sundry pretences: for you shall finde some, whiche for some filthy grēdinesse of gayne, will so punishe them that doe swarue frō the accustomed religion, that they will be contented to haue them murdered, to haue a good occasion to confiscate their goodes, and therfore doth make a straight inquisition of the riche: and therein be so furious, that they will at the firste complaynt caste them away bothe life and goodes, when they haue once with their couetous clawes seysed vpō them, so that many be more hindered by their owne wealth & riches, than for their diuersitie in religion. Some Magistrates be moued of a vayne glory, to make some restraint in Religion, for they thynke it to be a shame and dishonour vnto them, if they suffer any of their subiectes to vse any other order in Religion, than such as they kéepe themselues,

and the people of theyr realme also. For they suppose that suche a one should contemne and cōdemne their religion, whiche they can not away withall. Others haue regarde vnto their forefathers, supposing that they coulde in no case erre in the religion and seruice of God, & thinking that it should be a shame vnto thē to make any alteration therein.

Some vppon the consideration of theyr office and dutie, knowyng thereby, that they be bounde to looke strayghtly vnto suche matters as may hurte theyr subiectes, doe forbidde all alterations from the receyued religion, supposing that it can not be otherwise than false and hurtfull, whatsoeuer is taken in strange and newe. Under all these sortes of Magistrates the true religiō may stande in daunger, and possible ynough that the godly may bee scourged, and the superstitious and idolatrous persons rule the roste. Nowe there remayneth suche as doe themselues folow the rule of Gods word, and doe forbid all suche seruices as they do find be agaynst the holy scriptures, whether that they be newe or old. Under their regiment the obseruaunce and keeping of true godlinesse is not onely at libertie, but also necessary. And there can be no daunger at all, for the compulsion of any man vnto false seruices. In deede it is a greate matter, when men may at libertie embrace true godlinesse, we must esteeme it a greater matter, when it is not onely at liberty to serue the true God, & in true, and thankeful kindes of seruice, but when withall no man is suffered to swarue from that true godly religiō, which is ruled ouer vnto all men in the worde of God. Who is of such a dul head that he vnderstandeth not, how muche safer it is, if it be prouided that no wayfaryng man cā goe out of the high way if he would, thā if it be left onely to mens liberty to take whiche way they will?

Whether that the Magistrate haue aucthoritie *to take order in Religion or no.*

The controuersie of the power of the Magistrate in religion.

And forasmuch as we be now fallen into this matter, I thinke it meete to examine, whether that it do belong vnto the office of the Magistrate to take vpon him the charge of religion or no. For there hath bene muche a doe aboute this poynt. And first of all they doe stande against it, whiche vnder the pretence of theyr annoynted clergie and priuiledge of priesthood, cā not abide to haue their abuses reformed: & they also secondarily which be eyther thēselues infected with heresies, or else doe dally with heretikes. And they doe deny this after diuers & sundry sortes: for the first sort do require of the Magistrate to defend and maintayne that which they do decree to be good, & not to suffer any man to goe from the receyued forme of religion. And the latter sorte do holde, that this poynt neyther doth belong vnto the office of ẏ Magistrate, but that his charge is onely, that the publike peace bee kept, and not to regard what others doe beleeue, or not beleue. So the Churchmenne haue discharged the Magistrate from the care of Religion, and appointed it vnto Bishops

whereby wee may bothe see and lament, how great a sea of mischiefes hath ouerflowē the church of Christ. But in case that the same which the latter sort do seeke, should take place in the Churche, I beseeche you, what peece of all Christian religion could stande fast and sure? It is the whole trauayle of Satan, to hinder all appoyntments for the reformation of the decayed religion, and to stay that it bee not agreed vpon, & in case that it be once agreed vpon, to ouerthrow it agayne. But wee be of theyr opinion, which do teach that the charge of publyke religiō doth not absolutely and in some parte, but chiefly and moste belong vnto the Magistrate. This the wyse men also of the Ethnikes did acknowledge, which gaue the firste place vnto religion, in the order of euery common wealth. In deede those Ethnike mē were ignorant of the way of God, and were strangers to his church, but yet they did not amisse in that point, that they thought that no policy of any common wealth could be well instituted & ruled, without the obseruaunce of godlynesse and religion. And some lawyers reckened this to be a parcel of the lawe of al natiōs, for that that we doe perceyue by the very dryfte of nature that there is a God, and do finde, that he ought to be serued and reuerenced in all feare and worship. And who knoweth it not, that not onely the moderation and order of positiue lawes, but of those matters also which do concerne the national law, doth appertaine vnto the magistrate, vnto whō euery soule is subiect, & power of lyfe and death giuen from God? Therfore, seing that the truth of this case is so manifest that Ethnikes could not but vnderstand it, ought it not to bee the more acknowleged & embraced, whiche doth far passe, not only the gentils, but the people of God also in the knowledge of God? And there is none of them can say, that we Christiā men ought not to regarde in religion what the light of nature doth tell vs, but what the holy scriptures do prescribe vnto vs, as giuen vs to that intent, to instruct vs vnto all good workes: For albeit that we ought not to seeke vnto the law of nature, but rather vnto the holy Scripture, in those matters which do concerne the mysteries of our fayth, yet withall wee muste not make light of those things which be naturally writtē in our harts by the order of God, as ẏ law is whiche we do cal, the law of nature: the directiō wherof not only the Prophetes, but Christ and his Apostles also doe recommend vnto vs, as we haue declared before in the place Of lawes.

Is not that power whiche the father hath ouer his chyldren, groūded vpon the lawe of nature, whiche the holy Scripture dothe also confirme? And who can deny, but that it dothe chiefly belong vnto him, to bryng vp his children with all diligence and care in the true religiō of God, in whiche standeth their whole saluation and felicitie? The Angell cōmended this in Abraham, that hee should giue charge to his children, to keepe the way of the Lorde. And is it not a parcell of Religion, to gyue charge for the keeping of the way of the Lord? And God gaue the charge vnto euery of the Israelites, not only that they thēselues should keepe those

It belōgeth vnto the charge and powver of the father to bring vp his children in true religion. Gen. 18.

wordes in theyr harts, namely: heare Israel, your Lorde God is one God: Thou shalt loue thy Lorde God with all thy harte, and with all thy soule, and with all thy strength, but that they shuld tell them, that is to say, expounde, and beate them into the heades of their children, in whiche wordes there is plainly comprehended the whole ꝛ summe of ỹ doctrine of Faith, of loue, and of the obedience vnto God, so that we may thereby see what the care and power of fathers ought to do in religion. Nowe if we consider the Magistrate, what shall we accompt of him else in this case, but to be the supreme father of all his subiects, whose authoritie is far greater than the father is ouer hys children: ꝛ therfore it is more conuenient for him thã for the father, so sustaine the speciall charge of religion, ꝛ to ordayne the same amongst hys subiects. The fatherly care ꝛ forsight authoritie ꝛ power, whiche is in the person of the father ought in deede to be acknowledged ꝛ reuerenced of all his family: but all these things doe excell in the Magistrate. There is a care and charge, which foreseeth for al his subiects, a power or iurisdiciõ to commaunde and punish al disobedient, which is the greatest that can be vpon the earth, as hauing a right to determine of euery mans life and death: and therefore he careth the swarde as the minister of Gods reuenge. Shal not the same be lawfull than for so greate an authoritie and power, whiche is lawfull for euery husband to do in his house, yea seyng that this is required of him: shal not the greater doe that whiche the lesse may do? may not euery publike father doe that whiche belongeth vnto the father or husband of the house?

But let vs see whether that the holy Scriptures also doe not beare with this poynt. Moses the firste generall Magistrate of the Israelites, who did represent not the person of a Priest, whiche was put vnto Aaron, but of the superiour power, lyke vnto the authoritie of a King, whiche did gyue the order of all religion in the people of God, ꝛ did appoint vnto Aaron ꝛ to the order of the Leuites what they should do, ꝛ what eschew. Whereby wee doe manifestly perceyue, that the care for the order of religion, doth rather belong vnto the superiour magistrate, than to the degree of priesthod.

That the charge of religion more vnto the Magistrates than vnto the priestes. Moses.

But some man will say, that Moses did dispose all things whiche appertayned vnto the order of religiõ, at the commaundement of God. I aunswere that it is true: but lette him tell mée the reason why GOD gaue not the cõmaundement for the order of religion vnto Aaron, whom he had consecrated to be a priest, but gaue it vnto Moses, whiche was no Priest, but the chiefe Magistrate of Israell: So that forasmuch as Moses did not of himself, but of the commaundement of GOD, sustaine the care of religion, it is nothing against vs, but it doth rather confirme this our iudgement. For it is declared by him, that the charge of the institution and gouernaunce in religion, doth belong vnto the Magistrate, ꝛ that the institution, charge ꝛ ministratiõ therof doth appertaine to the priest, so that he which doth serue in the priesthod, is the minister therof, ꝛ not ỹ institutor or gouernor of it.

God gaue the charge of religion to Moses and not to Aaron.

Exod. 3.

Leuit. 24.

The charge of religion descended not vnto Eleazar but vnto Iosue the Magistrate. Iosue 5.

And after the death of Moses, the charge of religion and the office of magistrate withal, descended not vnto Eleazar the Priest, but vnto Iosue the sonne of Nun, of the tribe not of Leui, but of Ephraim. And the Lord gaue cõmaundement vnto him, to circumcide the children of Israel the second time, whereas Circumcision was the signe of the couenant of God, pertaining wholy vnto religiõ. Likewyse the Arke of God was at his commaundement caried by the Priests, and the reste of the things done which do belong vnto religion, the altares builded, the people sanctified, ꝛ those commaundements fulfilled which Moses hath prescribed, and he left none of those matters vntouched, which Moses had willed to be done, but he did require and rehearse thẽ all againe before the whole multitude of the Israelites. And gaue them charge also to feare the Lord, ꝛ to serue him with an vpright and faithful harte, and to ridde out of the way al strange Gods from amongst them. Finally he did renew the couenant betwixt God ꝛ his people, and compiled the wordes of the couenãt into the booke of Gods law, and sette vp a title for witnesse of the couenãt which was stricken betwene them. In all these things there is no mention made of Eleazar the high priest, whose priesthod for all that, was no idle nor vayne matter: whereby it dothe well appeare, that the chiefest charge for the disposition ꝛ order of Religion consisted in the authoritee of Iosua, as the magistrate: and that the ministration thereof, stode in the office of the priests, who were bound to obey the cõmaundment of Iosua.

In deede the office of a magistrate ꝛ priesthod both, were ioyned togither in the person of Samuell. Notwithstanding he had the charge of the order of religion not as priest, but as magistrate, beyng (as he was) the chief mã at that season in Israel. He iudged Israell as a magistrate, and disposed and ordered al publike matters, aswel holy as worldly: and as priest he did make sacrifice, he prayed for the people and taught them. King David, vnto whome all Christian magistrates ought to haue an eye for his godlinesse, did earnestly ꝛ deuoutly vse this authoritie of disposing and settyng forth of religion. He recouered the Arke of God from the contempt whiche it had receyued in the time of the iudges, and of Saul, and placed it more comely than it was before. He appoynted Priestes, Leuites, Singers and Dorekepers, to minister in the tabernacle of the Lorde. He caused the temple to be builded vnto the Lorde, ꝛ appoynted all the ministeries and offices of the same. And forasmuche as he knewe that this is the principall charge whiche belongeth vnto Kings ꝛ magistrates, that the religion of God be well ordered, therfore he admised them to loke vnto ỹ dutie of theirs, saying: And now ye kings vnderstande, be learned whiche iudge the land: serue the Lorde in feare, &c. A King, saith Augustine, serueth God one way, in asmuche as he is a man, and an other way, for asmuche as he is also a King. For asmuch as he is a mã, he serueth him in liuing faithfully, but in asmuche as he is also a King, he doth serue him in making of straight lawes, to commaunde

vprightnesse in dealyng, and to forbid the contrary. Salomon also dyd sustayne the highest charge of religion, not only in buylding the Lords temple, but in consecratyng and halowing also the same. And Asa king of Juda, hauuing the charge of religion, did rid away the idols out of al the lande of Juda & Beniamin, & out of the cities whiche he had taken in the mount of Ephraim, and did dedicate the Aulter vnto the Lord, which was before the gate of the Lorde. Iosaphat also the king of Juda, did the lyke, of whome wee reade, that when hys harte had taken courage in the wayes of the Lorde, he toke away the hil altares and groues out of Juda, and in the thirde yeare of his raygne, he sente certaine of hys Princes Benail and Abdias & Zacharias, and Nathanael, and Micheas, to preache in ỹ cities of Juda, and he sent with them Leuites, Semeias, and Nathanias, and Sabadias, and Asael, &c. And with them Helisamas, and Joras Priestes, and they taught the people in Juda, hauyng the boke of the Lordes lawe with them, & went aboute al the Cities of Juda, & instructed the people. Item. Iosephat did set Leuites and priests also in Hierusalem, & gouerners of families out of Israell, to iudge iudgement, & the Lordes cause vnto the dwellers thereof, and he cõmaunded them, saying: Thus you shall deale faithfully in the feare of the Lorde, and with an vpright hart: Open vnto them euery cause of your brethrẽ, which is brought vnto you, of suche as doe dwell in theyr cities, betwirte kindred and kindred: how soeuer the question rise of the lawe, of the commaundement, of ceremonies, and of iustificatiõs, so that they sinne not against the Lorde, and that the anger of God come not vpõ you, and vpon your brethren. And Amarias your Priestе and Bythop, shall haue the ouersight in all those things whiche doe belong vnto God, &c. He geueth the priest the higher place in that assembly of Iudges, which shall iudge of the Lordes cause, but yet withall hee doth not giue him authoritie to appoynt iudges of Priestes and Leuites, but hee dothe appoynt them himself, by his princely power and authoritie, and chargeth them to iudge with the feare of God, and with a sounde harte, and to declare vnto the people out of the lawes of God, what they ought to doe, & what to eschewe.

Ezechias also that mooste godly King, folowyng the forestepps of his father Dauid, employed hys chiefe and speciall care to the reformation of religion, as we may see in the second booke of Paralipomenon. For strayght after the beginnyng of hys raigne, the first yeare, and the firste moneth of all, he opened and refurnished the gates of Gods house, and commaunded the Priestes & Leuites to heare hym, and to become holy: and after they shoulde be once holy, to cleanse the Lordes house, and to rid away all vncleannesse out of hys sanctuary: whiche done, he charged them to offer vpon the Lordes aulter, and to make a burnt offering for al Israel, for sinne. He appointed also Leuites in the Lordes house, with Cimbals, Psalters and Harpes, according vnto the ordinaunce of king Dauid. He caused the multitude also to

Disciples of evil kings cannot degenerate the lawfull power which the good haue had.

Ezechias did with a special care order religion as Josias did.

2. Par. 29. 30. 31.

2. Par. 43.

to offer prayse, & burnte offerings in the Lords house. He did also suspend the solemnization of the Passouer, vntil the second moneth, because that the number of the Priestes was not sufficient for the ministery thereof, & that the people was not yet gathered togither vnto Hierusalem: besides that he sent letters into all Juda and Israell, to call men vnto the lawfull seruice of the true God.

And Josias the kyng of Juda vsed the lyke power also, in the order of religiõ, as we may see in the xxiiij. chapter of the same boke. And whereas the Kings of Israell abused their princely authoritie to the Ethnicke prophanation of the true seruice of GOD, and to all kinde of Idolatry, contrary vnto Gods lawe, it dothe not derogate nor decay any iote of that rightfull and holy authoritie, whiche the godly Kings vsed. You may finde some whiche doe naughtily abuse the authoritie of fathers, and yet for all that no man muste diminishe any parte of theyr power, whiche meaneth to gouerne his children a right. So the examples of the vngodly Kings ought not to bee alleaged, because they did wickedly and damnably take vpon them the power to order religion, aswell amongst the Israelites as amongst the Gentiles, not so that absolutely they shold not haue vsed it as kings, but for that they should not haue had abused it as wicked kings. In deede they toke it wel, in that they thought that the charge of Religion did principally belong vnto them, notwithstãding they be to be blamed in that, that fleeyng from the prescripte of Gods word vnto Ethnical seruices, they did set vp Idolatrie, and appointed it to be folowed of the people, in stede of the true religion and seruice of one God. The Israelites had a religion gyuen vnto them by Moses from God hymselfe, to be steadily obserued, and the Magistrates whiche dwelt amongst them, ought to haue had the care, that this should haue bene tolde them. When King Joas was cõsecrated vnto his kingdome, there was deliuered him into his hands a booke of the law of God, according vnto the lawe whiche is in Deuteronomie.

2. Par. 23.

Deut. 17.

Some man wil say: What if the faythful people haue no faythful magistrate, but bee subiect vnto an vngodly Prince and enimie of true religion, in whom shal then the power be for the charge of religion? When the Israelites were in slauery in Assyria and Babylon, and subiecte vnto the power of those wicked kings, vnto whose iurisdictiõ did the charge of the true Religion appertayne at that tyme? I aunswere. It dyd appertayne vnto the very Kings of the Assyrians and Babylonians vnto whome they were subiect. It was theyr duety both to vnderstande and to serue the Lord, by whom they did raigne, and also to haue the care and order of his true religiõ. And whereas they did the contrary, it was an vngodly abuse of theyr god authoritie, whereunto the people of God was not bounde at all to obey. So when Nabuchodonozer did sette vp an image of golde, and commaunded it to be worshipped, he was not to be harkened vnto: but then men were bounde to harken vnto hym, when hee forbadde by open proclamation,

VVho hath the charge of religion when the Magistrate is vngodly and enimy vnto it.

Dan. 3.

that no man shoulde blaspheme the name of the true God, the God of Israell. When the Kings be wicked and aduersaries to godlynesse, the charge of religion commeth to the Priests & Elders of the people: suche as at that tyme, Esdras, Nehemias, Zorobabel, &c. were the Judges, Priestes and Elders of that people, after the captiuitie vntill the time of our sauiour Christe. And when they became also corrupte, the power of the charge and order of religiō was put ouer by Christe himself vnto the Apostles, and to the ministers of the worde, vntill the tyme that Kings & Princes beganne to vnderstande the truth of God, to belēeue in the Lord, and to serue him. And how they vsed this power, wēe may perceyue by theyr lawes. But in case that neyther Kings nor Princes, nor the Priests nor Elders, nor the people it self, should take vpon them the care of well orderyng of religion, but should go out a contrary way from the worde of God, so that the saying of Hierom should be fulfilled. There be wonders and meruayles done in the earth, the Prophets do prophecy falsly, the Priestes doe clappe theyr handes at it, and lyke it well, and the people doe loue suche geare: then there is no shifte else, but that euery husband man & mayster of his family, must practise the power of religiō in his own house, & dispose and order the same, accordyng vnto ẏ prescript of Gods word. So the matters were vsed in the times of the fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. And what can they doe else, which do still kēepe & stand to theyr Christiā faith stil vnder the dominion of ẏ Turks.

Hovve farre forth the authoritie of the Magistrate serueth in Religion.

Hitherto we haue declared, that true Religion dothe principally appertaine vnto the charge & power of the Magistrate: nowe wē muste consequently consider this also, how farre this power of his doth extend. The Churchmen, as some men call them, or as we may much better call them, the Popes menne, do stande to this that they will suffer the Magistrate to haue no more to do in Religion, but to be as it were the warder and champion, bothe of it and of such Ecclesiasticall lawes whereby the policie of the Churche may alwayes be stayed & vpholden. Wherfore they doe denie that it dothe belong vnto any man, in aprouch as hēe is a Magistrate, to make and sette forth any Ecclesiasticall lawes, bycause that poynt (say they) dothe belong vnto them whiche doe represent the Churche, whose degrees and orders ought to be mayntained and defended safe and sound, by the authoritie of the Magistrate. And to proue this, they do alleage the examples of Achab Kyngs of Israel, whom God punished, bycause they brought in new orders & rytes into the churche of God, at theyr owne arbitrement. But I can not lyke theyr opinion. Surely it is not the charge of the Magistrate, to attempte that whiche Hieroboam and Achab went about: and I doe clēerely confesse, that in case any Magistrate doe attempte the same as they dyd, that he dothe grieuously offende therein, and is worthy

Hovv farre the power of religion in the Magistrate doth extēd.

VVhat Hieroboam & Achab vvēt about in religion.

worthy to be plaged by the Lorde. And what went they about? dyd they make vowes to the vse of the church, whereby the subiectes mighte be instructed to godlynesse, and be restreyned from wickednesse? did they bring in any new orders, which might profite ẏ faithfull to vse? They did none of these things: and if they had, they had not fallen frō the charge of their authoritie. Therefore let vs heare the scripture it selfe, and learne of it what they did, wherefore they became subiect vnto the plague of God. Of Hieroboam we doe reade in thys maner. Hieroboam said in his heart: Now I perceyue that the Kingdome will returne vnto the house of Dauid, if this people goe vp to do sacrifice in the house of the Lorde at Hierusalem, and the heart of this people will be turned away vnto their Lord Roboam King of Juda, and they wil kill me and get them vnto him. Here we doe heare what he was afraid of, and what he would beware of: let vs heare consequētly what he did, what lawes & ceremonies he made, whether that they were absolutely new, and not rather vngodlye and contrarie vnto the word of the Lord. And diuising vppon the matter (saith he) hēe made two golden calues, and said vnto hym: Goe no more vp to Jerusalem, lo where thy Gods be Israell, whiche brought thēe out of the lande of Egypt. And he placed one in Bethell, and an other in Dan. And thys worde became sinne, for the people went as farre as Dan, to worshippe the calfe. And he made hill aulters, and priestes of the basest and worst of the people, whiche were not of the sonnes of Leui: and he appoynted a solemne day to be kepte in the eighte moneth, the fiftenth daye of the moneth, for a resemblance of the solemnitie which was kepte in Juda. And he did the like at Bethel, to offer vnto the Calues which he hadde made: and he ordeined Priestes for the high aulters which he hadde made at Bethel, and he wente vp vnto the aulter which he had builded at Bethell, the fiftenth day of the eight moneth, whiche he deuised vpon in his hearte, and he made a solemne feaste vnto the children of Israell, and went vp vnto the aulter to burne incense. Thus the scriptur telleth of Hieroboam, wherby we maye perceyue that he susteyned the anger, not bycause he did ordeyne ecclesiasticall lawes and newe rites, but bycause that he did vpon a malitious purpose forsake the true seruice of God, and deuised a wicked, reprobate and idolatrous religion, and charged the Israelites withall.

We do reade of Achab in the first booke of the Kings. And Achab did euill in the sighte of the Lorde, more than all that were before him. Nor it was not sufficient for him to walke in the sinnes of Hieroboam the sonne of Nabath, but he did besides that, take to wife Jesabell, the daughter of Methaal the King of the Sidonians. And he wente awaye and serued Baal, and honored him, and made an aultare vnto Ball in the Temple of Ball, which he had builded in Samaria, and planted a groue. And Achab aduanced in his worke, and styrred the Lord God more than all ẏ kings of Israell whiche were before hym. Thus much of Achab. Now who sieth not, that hēe is not blamed for that he did ordeyne anye thing tou

Achab. 1. Reg. 16.

ching the religion of God, and sette forth the lawes cõcerning the same, but bycause that he did followe Idolatrie agaynste the lawe of God, not onely suche as Hieroboam had deuised, but that same also of the seruice of Baall, Dauid, Salomon, and Ezechias, did all make orders in Religion, not onely without offence, but also to greate commendation, bycause they ordeyned nothing that was agaynste the lawe of God, but suche things rather whych were agreeable therevnto, and serued to the glory of Gods honor. Wherefore it is nothing to the purpose that the Papistes do say, that it is no charge of the magistrate to sette oute ecclesiasticall lawes, least he fall into the sinne and destruction of Hieroboam and Achab: whiche were well sayd of them, if the question were of wicked doers and ceremonies, such as were ordeyned by Ieroboam and Achab, who did most wickedly abuse their princelye power and authoritie therein.

But to be playne, this is our opinion: Like as the superior power and charge of religion is in the Magistrate, so it is in him also to ordeyne ecclesiasticall lawes, and also to reforme such as be decayed in religion. For ẏ very nature of making lawes doth not beare, that they shuld charge and establishe lawes, which haue not the authoritie and power to maynteyne and defende lawes, and to take reuenge of the reprobate: or that the same magistrate should maynteyne lawes and punish, in whose power it standeth not to make nor to establish the lawes whyche he woulde maineteyne. Loke whose power and authoritie it is alwayes to commaunde men, and to him also it belongeth to punish the transgressors of the commaundementes. I know that it doth appertayne to the Magistrate to punish the transgressors, not only of his owne, but of Gods commaundemẽts also. Notwithstanding it is an other matter if the question be asked of the ecclesiasticall lawes, whiche bee sette forth nother immediately from God, nother by hys Apostles, but by men that be appointed to the ministerie of the Churche. There is no reason in that, that they which be in a lower authoritie, should make lawes in the Churche, for the superior powers to maynteyne and defende. Men of inferior degree maye mainteyne lawes, but none can appoynte them but superiors, by whose authoritie the inferiors be bound to obey, and who haue power gyuen them from God to punish the disobediente. Therefore in that that they do attribute the authoritie to make and set forth ecclesiasticall lawes vnto them whyche they say do represent the Church, and doe leaue vnto the magistrate the kéeping and punishmente of them only. What doe they else, but alotte the chiefest office of ẏ superior powers, vnto the inferior and subiectes, and put it from the superiors, vnto whom euery soule is bound to obey, turning vp and downe the ordinance of God, and making lawgiuers of subiectes, and subiectes of lawgiuers?

But if a man goe nére and aske them, how the Churchmen came by this power to make lawes, what can they alleadge for theselues, to proue their founde assertion withall? They saye, Wheresoeuer is the maioritie or vpper hand, there is the authoritie to commaunde, and the reste muste standе to the necessitie to obey. Well sayde, you see withall that the maioritie or vpper hande was giuen by God to the Magistrate, and not to the Churchmen. They doe coloure the matter by the Church, whose power they saye they do vse. But there was neuer anye power giuen to the Churche to make lawes, onely there is appoynted vnto them an humblenesse to heare and obey. They will obiect vnto vs the saying of Christe: Tell the Churche: and in case he herken not to the Churche, let hym bée vnto thée as an Ethnike and a publican. I aunswere. The Churches of God were at that time destitute of a godly and faithfull Magistrate: and therefore the iudgementes and quarrels betwirte the brethren in the congregation of the Churche, were taken by the elders, like as it fell out also in the Christian Churches planted by the Apostles. But it fareth farre otherwise with those Churches, whiche by the gwdnesse of the Lorde haue gotten Christian Princes and Magistrates, in whome standeth the maioritie, the power the lawgyuing and gouernaunce, not onlye in prophane and worldly, but in holy and Religious matters also. In déede it is a poysonsome erroure, when men doe make no more of the Christian Magistrate than of a prophane, and worldlye ruler, as if the power shoulde be acknowledged onlye in prophane and worldlye matters.

It is nother lawe, righte nor reason, saye they, nor God hathe not so instituted and ordeyned, that the whole Churche vniuersallye togyther, shoulde bée withoute anye authoritie at all. And that there shoulde bée lesse credite gyuen to the whole body thereof, than to some particulare or speciall members, and yet it is not possible, that the whole church togither shoulde ouersée thys whole charge and office. Wherefore it is necessarye, that there should be some certayne chosen out of the Churche, as it is in ciuill causes, besides thys whole body of the Churche, to be appointed and authorised by ẏ church, and to take vppon them the office wherevnto the whole Churche hath once appoynted.

I aunswere, that it is the lawe, right, and reason of the Churche to obey them which be set ouer them by God, and to be contented to be instructed, ledde, and gouerned by them as the body is by the head, whome it is vnder and subiect vnto. The multitude is of that nature, that it hathe néede of a guyde and gouernor, and not that it shoulde aduaunce it selfe in power of gouernance. For God hathe not so instituted his Churche, that it should rule it selfe, but that it shoulde be ruled, as it were a flocke, by certayne shepharde and herdmẽ. They thinke it a foule matter, if there be lesse authoritie giuen to the whole bodye, than to euery member seuerally. And yet God attributeth more vnto the head, as touching the habilitie of gouernance, than to all the reste of the body. Moses alone hadde more power and authoritie, than the whole Churche of Israell: wherefore it standeth vppon no sure grounde that they saye, that they haue power to make ecclesiasticall lawes from the authoritie of

VVhether that the councell of the Church be well appointed by the authoritie of the church.

the Church, whome the Church doth chose and authorise thereunto. All power is ordeyned from God, sayeth the Apostle: the Church can not gette or giue that vnto any, which it hathe not it selfe, for as muche as it neuer receyued it.

Of that that Paule vvrote of making iudges betvvixt brother and brother.

Some man will saye, Yet for all this, the Apostle giueth the church power to appoint iudges, to iudge betwirte brother and brother. I aunswere: We must make a difference betwirte the estate of the Churches whiche then were, and that whiche nowe is, as I tolde you before. And agayne, he speaketh expressly of those iudgementes, which doe belong vnto the vse of thys presente life, and liuing. Which iudgementes be called prophane, or worldly, and be exempted from ecclesiasticall persons. If they will absolutely herevppon vpholde the Churche to haue power of iudgementes, *Ergo* they shoulde haue not onely the ecclesiasticall authoritie, but the prophane and worldly authoritie also, whiche they be yet content to attribut vnto the Magistrate alone. In case that the Corinthians Churche had had any Christian Magistrates at that time, there had bin no cause for the Apostle to haue said: Appoynte them whyche be despised in the Churche, they might haue left Ethnike and prophane men, and taken the Christian persons to debate their causes, suche as Christian men might conuenyently haue bin iudged by. But for as much as at that tyme Christian men lined vnder an Ethnike and vnfaithfull Magistrate, to the intente that one brother shoulde not striue with an other vnder hym, to the reproche of the name of Christiandome, hee admonished them, that they shoulde knytte vppe suche controuersies, by appoynting some dayes men or iudges, to that end and purpose. Of which place there can be picked out no autenticall rule for the iurisdiction and power of the church, nowe subiecte vnto Christian Princes and Iudges. Therefore we be of a contrary opinion vnto them, whych doe holde that the Christian Magistrate hathe no authoritie to make ecclesiasticall lawes. For we do earnestly stande to this, that all that power, whereby any authentical lawes be made, binding the consciences of the subiectes, whether that they be ciuill or ecclesiasticall, doe belong nother to the Churche, that is to saye, the multitude of the faithful and subiectes, nother vnto the Ministers thereof in Gods worde, but peculiarlye vnto the Magistrate only, whiche hath the mere and clere gouernance giuen him ouer the subiectes: and therefore they bee called in Scriptures, Gods, whiche do beare the office of the Magistrate, whiche name of honoure we do neuer reade gyuen vnto Priestes. And the verye reason, kind and nature of gouernaunce, can not beare, that there shoulde be two contrarye authenticall authorities and powers in one people, two byuers and sundry lawgiuings and gouernaunces, vnlesse they be one vnder the other, no more than there may be two heads to one body. Let Ethnikes, and infidels, which do not liue in the bnitie of truth, but in confusion of falsehode and lyes, haue sundry lawgiuers and magistrates, some prophane, and some holy, whose whole life is nothing but prophane and worldly, and religion nothing else, but a templish and churlish superstition. The Christian people is holye in all poyntes, and consecrated vnto the name and glorye of Chryste, not only in temples and ecclesiasticall ceremonies, but in all their life also in all places, at all tymes, and in all things, so that according vnto the aduice of Paule: whether he eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer he doe, he doth it vnto the glorye of God. Agayne: whatsoeuer he doth eyther in worde eyther in deede, he doth it in the name of our Lord Iesu Christ, and gyueth thankes vnto God the father by him. Wherefore this distinction of ecclesiastical and prophane lawes, cannot take no place amongst Christians. For as much, as ther is no prophane thing in them, but their endeauoure alwayes is to be a holye people vnto their Lord God. And the Magistrate hymselfe is holye also and not prophane, and his power holy, his lawes holy, his sword holy, whiche is the reuenger of the reprobate and wicked, in seruing the moste high Lorde and lawgiuer, iudge and reuenger of all euill: oure verye bodyes be the members of Christ, and our members also be the temple of the holy Spirite, and we be commaunded to glorifye God, not only in spirit, but in our bodye also. Therefore God did forbidde that this Church of Christ should be in part holye, and in parte prophane: holy to the shew and in the face, and prophane behinde, like an ydole, whiche seemeth beautifull in the face, and in the backe is fylthy to loke vpon, and full of copwebs.

VVhether that by cause of the prophane ther ought any prophane lawes to be suffered amongst Christians.

If anye man shall obiecte, that the life of all Christian men is not holye, but that there be very many whyche do liue most prophanely in respect of whome there maye be suffered some prophane lawes amongst Christian people. I aunswere. That like as in the multitude of Christian people, there be more naughte than good, so there be more prophane also than holye, more vncleane than cleane: whiche are to be chastened and restreyned by the seueritie and sharpnesse of the lawes. And yet for all that it followeth not therupon, that the lawes of the Magistrates, whereby they be punished, be therfore prophane and not holye and ecclesiasticall, bycause that the body of the Church is by the cleansed from the prophane life and disposition of vncleane persons. For like as oure winde whereby we doe blow out, and auoyde the filth of our head out of oure nosthrilles, is not therfore filthy, bycause it doth purge out the impuritie from vs, so lykewise the lawes be not prophane nother, whereby the filth of the Church is cleansed out by the authoritie, and power of Magistrates. How is that prophane, which suffereth not Chrystian menne to be prophane, but dryueth them, yea and that against their will, vnto holynesse of lyfe? Was not that a prophane fact and offence, whē the Corinthian did by incest abuse hys stepmother? It was no doubt of it. Shall we then saye, that the sentence of the Apostle was prophane, and not ecclesiastical, in that he commaunded him to be excommunicate? Wil they whiche would haue lawes made by the Churche, whereby wicked and prophane persons shoulde be restreyned from the communion of holye thinges, saye that they be pro-

phane,

What it is to be ecclesiastical.

phane, and not rather holy and ecclesiastical? And how be they prophane then, if they be made and placed by the Magistrate? In deede (saye they,) they be holy, although that they bee placed by the Magistrate, but they be not ecclesiastical. And why not ecclesiastical? bycause (say they) they be not appoynted by the Church, nor by the Councel of the Church, which vseth and enioyeth the authoritie of the Church, *Ergo* is that only ecclesiastical, which is done by ỳ Church, or else by certayne chosen men vnder the authoritie of the Churche? I beseeche you, what is the lette that the same also may not be ecclesiastical, which is taken in hande, commaunded and established in Gods Church, nether by the Church it selfe, nother in the name and power of ỳ Church, but by the Magistrate in the name and power of God, to procure the profyte of the Churche, and to suppresse the euill? Shall not they bee schole lawes, whyche be established not by the schole it selfe, nor by the Scholemaister, but by the Magistrate, for the profyte of the schole? Shall there be no ciuill lawes, but suche as be established by the Citizens, or by their authoritie? God forbidde. Like as they be aright called Ciuill lawes, whiche bee established by Emperors & other Magistrates, to the vse and commoditie of Citizens, so they be aright called Ecclesiastical, which be set forthe by Emperoures and Magistrates, to the vse of the Church. I know the maner of the Lawyers, whiche do call that the peculiar and ciuil lawe, of euery Citie, whatsoeuer euery people embraceth and taketh to themselues for lawe. But yet they do generally in their destinction call euerye Magistrate ciuile, which is furnished with the sword to punish the euill: and hys lawes also ciuill, whereas it is right well knowē, that al Princes, Kings, and Magistrates be not chosen by the people and Citie. Thus wee haue somewhat with the largest aunswered them, which do denye that the establishment of ecclesiastical lawes doth belong to the Magistrate. Lette them at the least way loke vpon the constitutions of Christian Emperors, and see whether that manye of them be not commaundements touching the holy Trinitie, and the Catholike faith, and restraintes that no man striue or contend openly thereypon: they do also determine, for not iterating of Baptisme, for pyctratures & Images, for holy dayes, for the number of clerkes, both of the greater and of other churches, for the riches and goodes of the Church, for holy ministers, for prayying places, and suche other like matters perteining altegyther vnto Religion and to ỳ Church.

The Ecclesiastical decrees of Emperors.

Now let vs consider next of what matters of oure religion the Magistrate ought to take order. For as much as the charge of the institutiō, gouernaunce and maintenaunce of Christian Religion doth principally belong vnto the Magistrate, hys power and authoritie doth reache vnto these poyntes, whereof we shall tell you hereafter.

Of what matter of religion the Magistrate ought to take order.

1 First, it belongeth vnto hym to appoint the ministers of the Church where they be lacking, whether hee chose them him selfe, or whether hee confirme them after they be chosen by others, at hys commaundemente. For it is not conueniente that anye man practise any publike office in the Churche, withoute the authoritie of the publike power. But you wil say, that it was otherwise handled in the primitiue Churches, when the Byshoppes or Presidents of Churches were chosen by the ministers and cōmon people. I aunswere. The estate of the Church was such at that time, ỳ the ministers could be no otherwise chosen bycause they had no Christiā Magistrate. If you lik to loke backe to cal to remēbrāce ỳ doings of those dayes, you must loke backe withal to the condition & estate of those dayes.

It belongeth to the magistrate to make the ministers of the Church.

The Magistrate had nēde also to be circumspecte and warie what order he vse in the choyse of Ministers, seeking vpon nothing else, but to profite the Lords flocke. He must chose menne not only Godly, but also well furnished and apt to teache. He must eschew Simony worse than a dogge and an adder. He must vse that manner of choyse which is mēteth for the churches. And for bycause he can not alone do all that belongeth thereynto, he must vse the aide and helpe of such persons as be faithfull, and doe feare God, whether they be in the ministerie of the worde, or in any other degree, that suche maye helpe to beare part of this burthē vpon their shoulders also, but so for al that, that he knowe them himselfe whiche bee chosen, and confirme and allow them by his authoritie & power, in case ỳ be iudge them to bee mēte therynto.

Furthermore, it appertayneth to the Magistrate to appoint degrees of ministers, according vnto the necessities of the Churches, so that euery

The Magistrate ought to appoynte the orders of ministers to exclude the reprobate, and to put the contentious to silence.

manne maye profitably serue in the Lordes flocke, according vnto that which he hath receyued of the Lorde. He must shutte out the vnprofitable humblebees from their feedings, and chasten and reforme the ministers that liue out of order. and he must remoue all such from their office, whyche do offende the Church by the wickednesse of their life, or seduce it by their madde doctrine. He must attone them whiche doe dissent, and putte the contentious persons vnto silence: and he muste haue an earnest care that there bee kept all quiet and concord amongst the ministers, to the edifying of the Church.

2 Secondlye, he must be alwayes watchfull and warie, that the worde of life and saluation be preyghtelye, conueniently, and faithfully set forth vnto the Churches, according vnto the order of Chrystes Gospel, wherin the ground of our life and saluation resteth, and without whiche the nature of all gouernaunce decayeth. Wherefore like as it was commanded to the King of Israell, that hee should continually haue in his hand, reade ouer, and reade agayne the booke of the lawe: it behoueth so the Christian Magistrate to trauel continually in the booke of the new Testament, and to be alwayes readyng of him, that he maye the more assuredly susteyne the charge of settyng forth sound doctrine vnto the church. In case that Christian Magistrates had done this in times past, ther had not ouerflowen so greate a sea of error and seductions into the Church of Christ, through ỳ breache of corrupt doctrine. And would to God ỳ Princes would yet in these dayes loke vnto

the necessitie of this matter, specially such as doe glory of the reformation of religion.

3 Thirdly, after doctrine the nexte care that he muste haue, muste be employed about the sacraments, instituted by our sauioure Christ, and to see that they be ministred aright, comely, and religiously, as we reade that Christian Emperors did in tymes past. The Emperor Iustinian made a law that suche Gentiles or Iewes as do turne vnto the faith of Chryst, should be baptised after two yeares spent, in which space they shoulde bee instructed and tryed in the faythe of Chryste.

In Nouellis const. 144.

4 Fourthly, he muste haue a regard also vnto the ceremonies of the Church, and take away all such as be hurtfull or vnprofitable: he muste reforme suche as be corrupte, and cutte them off that be superfluous, purge them that be vncleane, and restore them that be decayed: and he shall banish out of the way such as be nerer vnto Gentilitie than to Christianitie, specially when they be agaynste Gods worde.

He must looke to the ceremonies of the church.

5 Fiftly, he muste kaye the ministers and people also in good order by some seueritie of lawes, so that the ministers maye doe their dutie faithfully, and the people come willingly and deuoutely to the assemblies of the Church, to the hearing of ỹ word, to the communion of prayer, to the sacrifice of prayse, and to the celebration of the Sacramentes, and to send their children diligently to be instructed in the Catechisme.

He muste keepe both the ministers and people in order.

6 Sixtlye, he muste haue no small care nother of scholes, for thereby may growe great commoditie to the Churche, specially in this oure time, when all things that may serue vnto godlinesse, and to the lighte of vnderstanding, be euery where expounded: therefore it is a thing to be loked vnto with diligence, that the youth bee not in anye wise too negligentlye taughte.

He must see that the scholes bee well ordered.

7 Seuenthly, he muste punishe the disorders of all hys subiects, specially of ministers, ouerseers, elders, and officers, by the sharpnesse of his law and rodde of discipline: and hee muste restraine not only adulteries, whoredomes, dronkennesse, theft, stealing, and all wrongfull dealing, whych the Ethnike Magistrates also do, but he must punish all other wickednesse also, as blasphemy, heresies, sacrileges, the contempte and forsaking of the Churche, &c.

He must punish the disorders of his subiects.

8 Eightly, he muste haue a diligent care also to loke vnto the goodes of the Churche: he shall suffer no parcel of it to be imbecilled away: and then he muste see that they be duly & faythfullye bestowed to the vse that they oughte to be, so that the ministers of the Churche, the poore fatherlesse and widdowes, may be conueniently susteyned thereby, and that they maye serue also to the other vses and necessities of the Churche. But some man will saye. Howe is it possible for the magistrate to susteyne the care of all those things, with the gouernance of the common wealth also? I answere. Lette hym follow the counsell of Ietro, which was Moses father in law, of whome we do reade: Let him appoynt wise men, and fearing God, in whome there is truth, and whiche do hate and abhorre couetousnesse, and embrace and loue godlynesse and righte-

He must looke to the Churches goodes.

How the Magistrate may take charge of the Church and policie both. Exod. 18.

righteousnesse. He may part his burthen vpon their shoulders, so that hee may reserue the greatest pointes vnto himselfe, and let others order the smaller matters. To this effect some Magistrates haue appoynted iudges to determine of lighter matters, betwirt brother and brother. Besydes that, there be consistories (as menne call them) whiche be like a Clergie counsell, and therein be hearde and aunswered matters of Religion, of marriage, and touching good life. Besides this, in some common wealthes the Magistrate doth appoynt honest persons to haue the oversyghte of schooles, and to see that they be generally well ordered. So that by thys manner of parting of the matter, the Magistrate may susteyne the superiour and chiefest charge of all things, whilest the ministeries, or executios thereof be done by vnderministers, iudges, and ouerseers. But the power and authoritie of all, is reserued vnto the Magistrate himselfe. What is there then (saye you) lefte vnto the Ministers of the Churches, Bishops and Priestes, in case that it do belong to the Magistrate to beare the care of Churches, ministers, doctrine, sacramentes, rites, and ceremonies, consistorie, scholes, and church goods? I aunswere. There is left vnto them the ministerie, to which seruice they be chosen and appoynted. The magistrate doth nother teach, nother administer sacramentes, but the ministers doe these thinges. The magistrate dothe not teache in the schole, but the scholemaister. The Magistrate doth not iudge in the consistorie, but they that bee appoynted by him to the office. And yet notwythstanding, the superior power and authoritie in all these matters doe not belong to the ministers, but vnto the Magistrate. Like as in a well ordered house, the authoritie and power of all things that are to be done, doth belong vnto the good manne of the house, and yet the trauaile and ministerie vnto the steward and others of the family. By this difference or distinction, there is ynough lefte vnto the ministers of the Church. Would God they woulde do that faithfullye, wisely, and profitably. If they so doe, they be worthy to haue double honor, and to be rather holpen then hindered in their worke, by the superiour power. The doctrine of the worde is committed vnto them (saith Chrysostome) not any Princelinesse and authoritie of power. They be in the degree of teachers, counsellers, and aduisers, and not of gouernors and cõmaunders by lawes and statutes.

Chrysostom.

Ergo (saye you) all these matters apperteyning vnto oure Religion, bee done in the Church by the authoritie of man, and not of God: and the ministers of Sacramentes themselues be the seruauntes of Magistrates and not of God, for so thou doest submitte all the charge and gouernance of religion to the power of the Magistrates. And yet the Scripture dothe witnesse, that the ministerie of the Church is not of menne, but of God, which did place in his Churche some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euãgelistes, some Pastors, and Doctors, to the worke of the ministerie, &c. I aunswere. It is not against our saying, that the word of the Gospel and sacraments, and ecclesiasticall ministeries be of God. For this followeth

The Ministeries of the Church be of God, though the Magistrate do appoynte them.

not: The Christian religion commeth not from men, but from God, *Ergo* the Magistrate oughte to haue no care of it. The very power it selfe of the Magistrate is of God, and yet those things which do pertayne thervnto, be ministred by men: and the Priests and ministers also of the old testamente were of God, and all the holy things thereof, and yet notwithstanding the godly Kinges were not stayed thereby frō taking the charge of those things, and to appoynte the ministers thereof. Yea the magistrate maye be the moze confirmed thereby, to dispose and take ozder in religion, bycause he vnderstandeth, that God would so haue it, that there should be chosen out godly and learned persons, to preach the doctrine of true godlinesse and life to the church of Christ, and to dispense the misteries of God. Moz that followeth not: This is ozdeined by the Magistrate, *Ergo* it is not of God. Forasmuch as the Magistrate is the minister of God, and hys power the power of God, how is not that of God, which is vprightely and lawfully ozdeyned by the strength of hys power? The doctrine of Christe is of God, his sacraments be of God, the ministeries whereby they be dispenced, bee of God: The power of the Magistrate is of God, whereby these things bee lawfully ozdered in the Churche of Christe, and those things repressed, whiche be contrarye therevnto, and shall any man doubte whether that the ecclesiasticall ministeries bee of God, if they be placed by the magistrate, and be in no doubt thereof, if they be appoynted by annoynted Bishoppes, not freely, but for money: not syncere and pure accozding vnto the prescripte of Gods wozde, but counterfaite and discrepante from the wozde of GOD: done not to any edifying, but vnto the decaye of true Godlinesse, and for most filthy gayne?

Of the Magistrates of the Romane Empire, sworne *to the Emperoure.*

SOme doe moue a question touching those powers oz Magistrates whiche be subiect vnto some other superiоz power, as to the Emperoz, in the Romane Empire, whether that they haue frée power of themselues in the ozder of religion, oz no, whereof I thought good to say somewhat: some doe argue in thys maner: That forasmuche as the estates of the Romane Empire, being Princes, Counties, Barons, and other cōmunalties, doe acknowleage the Maiestie of the Emperoz to bée aboue them, and that they be subiect vnto him, and doe receyue all the power they haue from him, is it méete (say they) that they should take vpon them to procéede in any matter contrary to his wil and ozder, chiefly in Religion? Besides that ther be found decrées of Emperozs, forbidding any man to attempte to alter any thyng in Religion. Wherefoze there is left no righte oz authozitie to the Magistrates of the Empire for them, to pretēd for their ozdering of Religiō.

My iudgemēt is this, that the authozitie & power touching ỳ charge of Religion, dothe belong vnto those Magistrates whiche haue the méere and peculiar dominion vpon the subiects, hauing the power of the swozd, the gouernaunce of mans life, and authozitie to make lawes, and that they néede not to require the consent of anye superioure therevnto. And herein the Maiestie of the Emperoure oughte not to weaken, but to strengthen, not decay, but to encrease their power. And I will briefly shew my reasons, why I thinke thys so.

The Apostle dothe witnesse, that there is no power but of God. And that those powers that be, be ozdeyned of God. *Ergo*, if all powers be ozdeined of God, surely not only the power of ỳ Emperour, but of all other magistrats also is appointed by him.

Secondly, euery power that beareth a swozde, is the minister of God, as the same Apostle testifyeth: *Ergo* the power not only of the Emperoz, but of other Magistrates also is the minister of God, by whome it is set vp and appoynted. Thirdlye, in case that euery Magistrate be the minister of God, then all that be placed in office, are bounde by Gods lawe, whether they be higher oz lower, to serue God, whose ministers they bée in ỳ power whiche they haue receyued. Fourthly, in case ỳ not only the superioz, but the inferiozs also bée bound therevnto by Gods law, *Ergo* they haue power also so to doe. For no man is bound vnto any thyng by Gods law, which he hath not receyued power to do. Fiftly, the ministerie of Magistrates, wherein they bée bound to serue God, must be directed vnto this ende, that their subiectes maye liue commodiously, honestlye, and godly, as we declared before.

Sixtly, we doe gather hereuppon, that all power of Magistrates appointed by God, is authenticall & ordinarie in causes of Religion, as well to the inferiozs as to the superiozs. I meane of them, which haue the méere and clére gouernāce vpon their subiects. For the power of the Emperoz cōmeth also of God, & is the minister of God, & his ministerie is employed about the selfe same matters, as the inferioz Magistrates be: that is to say, to procure the commoditie, quietnes and godlinesse of his subiects. Wherefoze he can by no right forbid that whiche is good, oz depriue any of the inferioz Magistrates from the power whiche he hathe to serue God by. No noz the Emperoz nother hath anye power, but such as he receyued of God. And suche powers as he receiued from God, albeit that they bée in degrées one vnder an other, yet for all that they do not extinguish oz decay, but rather confirme one an nother. So that the Emperoz is not therefoze superioz to hinder anye inferioz magistrates from lawfully vsing their authozitie to the prozpte of the subiectes and glozye of God, but rather to ayde them, and to stay with them. Yea and in case they doe negligentlye loke to their dutie, oz doe otherwise than they ought to do, then to bring them into ozder, and help to vpholde true Religion & iustice, that it shrinke noz quaple not. This is the verye consideration why the Emperoz dothe passe other Magistrates in authozitie and Maiestie. Wherefoze it is least of all others conuenient for him, to diminishe oz take away the authozitie concerning the charge of Religion and godlynesse from suche Magistrates, as bée placed by God.

The power of the Emperour doth not derogate the power of the vnder Magistrates.

Whether that Christian mē neede to haue a Magistrate.

IF a man consider what the condition and case of a Christian man is or ought to be, and then compare it vnto the vse of Magistrates, he may thinke that Christian menne shoulde in nothing haue any nēde of any Magistrate: and that therefore they should not be Christian Cōgregations or common wealthes, wherin Magistrates be placed: or if they be, that it is to no reason or purpose for them, to haue anye Magistrate. For the vse of a Magistrate amōgst the people is (as I sayd before) to bee the Minister of iustice, gouernance, defence of the anger and reuenge of God, so that the subiectes maye lyue commodiously, honestly, iustly, and Godly. But Christiā men, as endued with the spirit of Christ, do of themselues willingly applye iustice, they be ruled and gouerned by the spirit of God, that like as there is no lawe set vnto iust menne (as the Apostle testifyeth) so they nēde no lawes nor gouernance directed by lawe.

Secondly, they doe liue vnder the cure and defence of God, knowyng that not so much as a little Sparow doth fall to the earth without ỳ prouidence of our heauenly father.

Thirdlye, for asmuche as they doe liue iustly, they be not endaungered to the wrath and reuenge of God.

Fourthlye, it is not lawfull for them to withstand euil, for ỳ Christ saith: Resist not euill, but so dothe the Magistrate, *Ergo*, &c.

Matt. 5.

Fiftly, Their portion or choice in this worlde, is not to liue commodiously, but to be tossed in many troubles, and so to enter into the kingdome of God.

Sixtlye, as touching Godlinesse and Religion, they doe honor God and the Father in spirite and truthe, and they do serue him of theyr owne accorde, and depende vpon him in sincere and pure trust of hearte, so that they nēde no constitutions or ordinances to inforce them vnto Godlynesse, or to drawe them from vngodlynesse. To what purpose then (saye you) is there any Magistrate amōgst Christian men?

That the magistrate is necessary for Christian folke.

I aunswer: No doubt the Apostle wrote vnto Christian men when he spake of the Magistrate, and sayde: For he is the minister of God, to the good or profite. In case that the Magistrate be the minister of God for good vnto Christian men also, how is not the vse of the Magistrate to some purpose amongst Christian people? Besides that, the Magistrate in those dayes when the Apostle wrote, was not of the Faithe of Christe, and in case that he could profite Christian men, why should not he do good, whiche doth profesle the faith of Christ, as well as the subiectes?

And that Christian men be endewed with the spirit of Christ, and be so gouerned thereby, that they doe of their owne accorde apply themselues to righteousnesse, it is nother to bee referred vnto all them which do profesle the name of Christ, either to bee vnderstande of anye perfection, as though that they were not subiecte anye lōger vnto lackes or faults. Vnles that it were possible ynough, that the Christian man might do euill, it had bin to no purpose for the Apostle to haue said as he did: If thou doest amisse,

amisse, feare, for he carieth not the sworde in vaine. But whereas there be still mingled with the good, and the very good be also so vnperfectlye good, that they maye yet fall to sinne, there the Magistrate muste in anye wise take place, as the minister of the rodde and reuenge of God.

As for that that Christian men do liue vnder the charge and protection of God, it is not againste the vse of the magistrate, whiche is therefore the minister of God, to defende the good and godlye from the malice of naughtypackes, and in so doing to serue in the charge and protection of God.

And that saying: Resist not euill, dothe not take awaye the vse of the Magistrate, but forbiddeth that the Christian man shoulde not reuenge wrong done vnto himselfe, but rather abide it patientlye, and to ouercome it by sufferance. But the power of the sworde remayneth safe and sound withall, wherewith the Magistrate may punish them whyche doe wrong to others, and may so muche the more defend the innocent, the lesse that they doe defende themselues againste the wrongings of the euil. But of this matter we haue noted in the fifth of Mathew.

Furthermore, it dothe not hynder the vse of the lawfull Magistrate, that Christian men muste abide now and then many tribulations, whyche the wicked children of this worlde do worke vnto them. God dothe dispose this happe of theirs vpon some spectall meaning, and doth not make anye certayne and generall rule or lawe therein, to comprehende all menne alike. He doth graunt to many to liue in quiet and commodiously vnder a iust and lawfull Magistrate, as the thing it selfe declareth: and therevpon the Apostle doth aduise Christian men to pray diligently for the magistrates, to the intente that they maye lyue peaceablye, honestlye, and godly in this worlde. And the more wayes that Christian menne be subiecte vnto the malice of the wicked, the more nēde they haue of a Magistrate amongst them, to bee kepte from the malice of the vngodlye: as Shēpe haue so much the more nēde of a Shepherde, the greater daunger that they be in of naughty wylde beastes.

Lastly, it is true in deede, that the Christian faith and godly life, dothe depend vpon the drift of the spirit, in the heartes of the elect: and yet it followeth not therevpon, that the Christian magistrate can to no purpose serue to the gouernance and order of religion: like as it followeth not, that it is to no purpose to haue ministers of the word, or of the ceremonies and Sacramentes that bee vsed in the Church, bycause that faith commeth of the gift of the holy spirit, and that it is necessary that we must bee new borne frō aboue. But these matters be so manifest, that they nēde no declaration.

Whether that a Christian man may be a Magistrate.

THey whych doe consider the office of a Magistrate with a prophane and irreligious minde, when they be conuinced and ouercome of the necessitie thereof, doe fall to denie that it may be administred of a chri-

Resist not the euill.

stian man. And for this purpose they doe alleadge that agayne: Resist not euill, for that those words were spoken vnto all Christian men, and that the office of the Magistrate is to resiste euill. But they be deceyued in that, that they do not take the words of Christe in that sense, whiche they were meant of. The Magistrate in respect that he is a Christian man, doth not refuse priuate wrongs, but doth pardon and forgiue them, but in respect that he is the Magistrate and minister of God he dothe his outie, in that he doth not suffer his subiects to do wrongs at libertie one to another. And to this ende he doth carrie the swoorde. The good man of the house doth resist euill, when hée dothe foresée that none of his householde do any thing amisse, and in so doing may neuertheless be a good Christiã mã. It is euill if anye manne doe sinne: Shall not therefore the Christian man kéepe an other from sinning, least in resisting of euill, he shall not be taken for a Christian? Then let the doctrine of godly life and iustice, whereby sinne is resisted, be thrusste out of the Churche: let no wise man correct him that sinneth, but lette all things ruane at libertie to the Deuill, least Christian men shoulde resist euill. God forbidde. If anye one manne ought to resiste euill, it is the Christian man, which ought chiefly to do it. Therefore Christe dothe not speake of this kind of euill, when hée sayth: Resist not euil, but he doth forbidde that we shoulde not our selues turne off oure wrongs that be done vs, by violent resistance and reuẽge. And the Magistrate dothe not so in defendyng not hys owne, but hys subiectes innocencie agaynste the wickednesse of naughtye dealers. Wherefore as he dothe not contrarye vnto Chrystes doctrine in faithfully fulfylling his office, so he is not letted thereby that he may be both a good Christian mã and a magistrate also.

It is an easie matter to aunswere those poyntes, whych be obiected out of other places of holye Scriptures: as, Be you merciful. Item: Forgiue, and you shall be forgiuen, and, Leaue the reuenge to me. And, Iudge not, least you be iudged. These thinges (say they) be spoken vnto all Chrystian men, and yet be of that nature, that they can not be obserued of Magistrates. For he whiche is placed in the office of a Magistrate, can not haue pitie of the poore wretched person in iudgement, but is enforced by his office, to punish the guilty without mercy: and so he doth not forgiue the offence, but vseth the reuenge, contrarye vnto that saying: Leaue the reuenge vnto me, and I will paye it home. And in case he will deale vprightelye, he must sometimes iudge and condemne his owne brother. And all this he dothe by the office that hée beareth, which he should not do, if he were a Christian man.

The Christian man maye be merciful and yet vse his office against the reprobate.

Rom. 13.

I aunswere. The Christian Magistrate bearing office, is merciful for his owne person, as a Christian man pardoning and forgiuing pitifully his own cases, if any man hurt hym: but he doth iudge and reuenge as a Magistrate, in the causes of the subiectes: and in so doyng, he doth represente a Minister of iudgemente and of Gods reuenge, so farre he is from sinnyng. Yea in case the Christian man for his owne person, neyther iudging nor reuẽging, but mercifully pardoning: and the magistrat in the causes of his subiectes, not sparing the giltie, but iudging the cause of him which is wronged, be compared togyther, he which doth so punish the giltie to maintayne and defende the innocent, ought to be deemed to vse no lesse vertue, than he whiche in his owne person dothe pardon hym that doth offend him, which he might by good righte prosecute, if he were not a Christian man. And lyke as both these thinges maye be done by one selfe same person, so there is nothing to the contrarye, but that the one selfe same man may be in fayth a Christian man, and in office a Magistrate. He maye without all nay sustayne both the persons, and truely serue in them both if one selfe same Christian can not bée mercifull in his owne case, as a Christiã mã, and a punisher of sinne in an other mans case, as a Magistrate, bycause that to be mercifull and to punishe, do séeme to include contradiction, one agaynst an other, let them that thinke so, answere me, howe one selfe same man as a Chrystian man, dothe pardon hys neyghboure offendyng hym, and dothe not spare hys sonne doyng a faulte, as a father, but dothe chasten hym, when he offendeth, with the rodde of discipline: yea howe one selfe same God is mercifull in pardoning oure synnes, and contrarywise is not merciful, but a iust iudge in punishing the malice and wickednesse of some others? The selfesame God is a father and a iudge: as a Father he dothe spare vs, and as a Iudge he doth punish vs. Where is hérein no contradiction. So it may bée well enough, that one selfesame man as a Christian, may accomplish the woordes of Christe: and as a Magistrate, minister in the iudgemente, wrath, and reuenge of God, whereunto the doctrine of Christe is nothyng at all repugnant. When wée doe way thys, it is made thoroughly manifest and playne, that they be in a fonde opinion, whiche doe so iudge of the Magistrate, and of Christianitie, that they surmise that both of them can not stande togither in one man. If they would searche the scriptures more diligẽtly, they should bée of an other minde. After that Paule had conuerted Paulus Sergius vnto the faith of Christ, he dyd not forbidde him, that he shoulde no longer exercise the office whyche hée bore, whiche he oughte to haue done for all that, in case that he coulde not haue bin a Christian man, kéepyng styll hys office. In like manner wée do not reade, that Peter dyd forbidde, but that the Centurion shoulde bée both a Christian man, and continue also still in hys office. Nor Philippe did not so conuerte the Eunuche of Quéene Candaces, being a greate personage, vnto Christianitie, that he should forgoe his office whiche he had about his Quéene and Mistres. Nor John Baptist did not require of the souldiers, that if they woulde be baptised, they shoulde giue ouer their warres, but charged them thys onely, that they shoulde violentlye hurt or hynder no manne, but contente themselues with their wages and stipende.

Of Paulus Sergius the Centurion, the Eunuch and of the Souldyers baptised of Iohn.

Acts. 8.

Luke. 3.

In case that they way this matter aright, they would rather wishe

To bee wyshed that all Kingdoms had Christian Magistrates. *Psalme.2.*

there were no Kingdome, no gouernaunce, no common wealthe in the worlde, but that hadde true Christian men to their Magistrates. It is required of Kinges and iudges of the lande, that they serue the Lorde in feare, and kisse or embrace the sonne of God. Where can they fynde anye one of all sortes of men, that is better able to doe this, than the true Christian man, which is more abundantlye than others, endowed wyth the knowledge, faith, and feare of God? The Apostle sayeth, that the Magistrate is the minister of God, to this intent and purpose, that he muste vse his office to the good of the subiectes, and to the commendation of the good. Who canne doe this better than the Christian man? Moses requireth the Iudges to be wise, fearing of God, louing the truthe, and hating courtousnesse. And Iosaphat the godlye Prince sayde so vnto them: Loke what you doe, for you do exercise the iudgemente not of manne, but of the Lorde, and what so euer you shall iudge, shall returne to youre owne heads. Lette the feare of the Lorde be with you, and doe altogither with diligence. If this may better be handled by an Ethnike than by a Christian man, I see not howe it shoulde not be to the great shame and rebuke of Christianitie. But in case that the verye office of the Magistrate doth require the best sort of men, and that there can no better be founde than the Christian, who perceyueth it not, how vnreasonable a matter it is to enbarre him from the office of a magistrate, whiche is more fytte than others to exercise the same?

2. Paral.19.

No man can better vse the office of Magistrate, than a Christian.

What is due to the Magistrate from his Subiects.

All this whole matter may bee deuided into two partes: the one concerning the Magistrate, and the other the subiects. Of the firste wee haue spoken already, that is to saye, what a Magistrate is, of whence hee is, and of what sorte and behauior hee ought to be, what his office is, whether that the charge of religion dothe belong vnto him or no, how farre his power reacheth in religion, what is the condition in this case of the Magistrates of the Empire, whiche bee sworne vnto the Emperour, whether that Christian men nede any magistrate, and whether that a Christian man may beare the office of a Magistrate or no. Of the latter parte wee haue now to entreate hereafter, that is to saye, what is due to the Magistrate of the subiects. Secondly, whether that ecclesiasticall persons ought to be accounted amongst subiectes. Thirdly, how farre forth men oughte to obey the Magistrate.

There be some things mentioned touching this matter in the Epistle written to the Romaynes, whereby may be argued, what dutie the subiects do owe vnto the magistrat. And there be two maner of poyntes reckned there, wherein is comprehended the dutie of the subiect, which he standeth bound to his Magistrates. The one point belongeth to the affections of the heart, and the other to the outward conuersation of life. Those that perteyne vnto the heart, be honor and feare. The second, which is of things outwardly, consisteth in tribute and subiection, or obedience.

Rom.13.

So

Honour is due to the Magistrate from his subiects.

So that the firste is that wee bee bounde al and singular of vs to yeld honour vnto our Magistrate, and to haue an honorable and reuerēt estimation of him, as of Gods minister, appointed by God, to vse and exercise the power of gouernaunce in his place and steede vpon the earth, and to represent the very image & countenaunce of God, in gouerning, preseruyng, and defendyng vs: and in case we are vnthriftie, in the punishyng of vs accordingly. And therefore in some places of Scriptures they be called Gods, as we sayd before. But the corruption of our flesh is the cause that there be few found, whiche do in this respect honorably esteeme the Magistrate.

Feare due to the Magistrate.

Secondly, our dutie is to haue a feare and a reuerence towardes the Magistrate. And there be two kinde of feares for the subiects to feare the magistrate: the one is the feare of punishmēt, so the magistrate is feared of them, which either haue done or entende to doe any vnhappinesse. Of this the Apostle maketh mentiō, saying: If thou haue done euil, feare: for he carrieth not ỹ sword in vaine. The other feare riseth vpon the respect, wherevpon we sayde, that the honor of the magistrate ryseth: and that is nothyng else, but a certayne reuerence, whiche we do first feele in our hartes, as often as we do thynke or speake of the Magistrate, and afterwards we do declare and expresse the same also in our wordes and doings. The negligent Magistrate, whiche is ouermuch fauning and fauorable, light & vayne, doth decrease, decay, and sometimes vtterly lose both this feare and honour, yea and

Rom.13.

turneth them vnto a contempte, as we see it fal out with fathers and gouernours of houses, when they kepe not the comelinesse of their person and estate, and specially if they bee wicked against God, to fulfil the saying of the Psalmist: I will poure out contempt vpon Princes.

Psalm.17.

Tributes & customes to be payed to the Magistrate.

Thirdly, men muste pay tributes, customes, subsidies, & exactions vnto the Magistrate, whiche he needeth to the execution of his gouernaunce and power. For there must be cōtributions and taxes leuied out of mēs priuate possessions, for the publyke and common vse of the magistrate, without the whiche neyther our life neyther our priuate wealth can bee kept in peace and quiet. No man goeth a warfare vpon his owne charges, and no man dothe exercise an office at his owne proper coste and expence: wherefore it is conuenient that it be leuied vpon the subiectes. The Apostle, to giue the reason why tributes ought to be payed to ỹ Magistrates, wryteth in this wyse: For you doe for this cause pay subsidies and customes: for they be the ministers of God, applying their very dutie and office. This reason consisteth in two poynts: the firste is in that that he sayth: For they be the ministers of God. Wherin we muste not haue this opinion of God, as though we had nothing to doe with hym, and that his trauayle and care stoode vs in no steede: but we muste herein cōsider that it is he who doth rule, gouerne, and alwayes preserue this worlde, and that to this effect he appointed the higher and superiour powers. Wherefore when wee doe pay subsidies to the Prince, we muste

do it first vpon this respect, that it is our dutie to pay it, as to the minister of God, by whose trauaile & authoritie, we be ruled & gouerned. The other poynt consisteth in that wtiche he addeth, saying: Applying the very same office and charge. Wherby he meaneth, that the Magistrates be so occupied in the ministerie of God, ỳ they be not able to sustayne theyr owne priuate necessities, & publicke charges both, and that therefore the subiects ought to cõtribute towards it, that they may haue alwayes sufficient at hand for themselues & theyr frendes, to lyue vpon, and to execute also the cõmon and publike affayres of their iurisdictions and businesse. He dothe vse a trim wordes when hee sayeth: Earnestly, constantly, and continually abyding and dwelling vpon that poynt and purpose. Chrysostome sayth: For asmuch as they be careleese of theyr owne things, and care for the commõ and publike cases and matters, and do employ all their tyme therevpon, wherby that which we haue is preserued.

VVe muste obey the Magistrate.

Fourthly, we be bounde also to yeelde our subiection and obedience to the Magistrate. Hereof the Apostle writeth in this wise: Wherefore it behoueth vs to be subiect, not only for feare of anger, but also for conscience sake. In that he sayth, It behoueth vs to be subiect, he dothe declare the necessitie of this obedience and subiection of ours: and when he addeth, Not only for displeasure, but also for conscience sake, he doth sette forth the causes, of which the first is, the feare of anger, that is to say, of reuenge, when the magistrate dothe punish the disobedient & obstinate: & that is for carnal and reprobate persons. The second is conscience, when we be priuie of Gods ordinaunce, whereby the magistrate is placed, & do know that we ought to obey him by the will and constitution of God. This causeth doth stirre godly persons to obey the lawes & decrees of magistrates, though that they coulde escape theyr knowledge and go quite, whẽ they haue done naughtily. So ỳ carnall man hath reuenge for his cause, to obey the magistrate, but the godly mans cause is his owne conscience. And besides that, the wise man is moued otherwise also thereunto, considering that this obedience doth not so much profite the Magistrates, as the subiects also and them that do obey, & that disobediẽce doth much harme. For he whish is disobedient to the magistrate, doth vse the matter as fondly, & to asmuch hurt of himself, as the marryners do, whiche traueling the seas, be disobedient to their master and sterne man, & therin be the occasion to cast themselues away, & to lose their own liues. Thus much briefly for the dutie of the subiectes towardes the Magistrate.

Who, and vvhether that eccleſiaſticall perſons *ought to be reputed for* *ſubiectes.*

Of them vvhich clayme to be vnder.

THere be many to be found of thẽ, which do disdayne to be recognied and reputed in this case of subiection and obedience with other subiects, that is to say, with the commõ sorte of people: as they that be exceeding riche and passing others in reputatiõ of birth & wisedome, specially when they perceyue ỳ they whiche be the magistrates, be neither better, neyther equall vnto them in wealth byrth nor iudgement. And this chaunceth in those common welths, where men be chosen to be counsellers out of the common sort of people, honest men, but yet meane and artificers, whiche the greater sorte of citizens cã hardly acknowlege for their magistrate, and therefore they do sometimes make meanes if they can not thẽselues attayne to be magistrates, to be exẽpted by the Emperours priuiledge out of the condition of subiectes, and so be as it were, in a middle degree, betwixt the Magistrate & the people that be subiect.

But we do determine absolutely, that al they which beare not office of Magistrates, ought to bee reputed subiects: and we do mislike with the hautinesse of these kind of mẽ, wherin for that they doe not so much contẽne their Magistrate, as God himself, in not suffering him to raygne ouer them after that order which he hath appoynted, so that it may be applied vnto them, which God spake of the Israelites vnto Samuel: They haue refused not thee, but me, & will not haue me raygne ouer them. For in case that whosoeuer dothe resiste Gods ordinaunce, doth resist power: by the selfe same reason whosoeuer doth contẽne the ordinaunce of God, doth contemne the power. And that no lyuyng man ought to be exempted from this subiection, it is confirmed by the testimony of the Apostle, where he sayth: See that euery soule be subiect vnto the superior powers. He spake this after the Ebrewes manner and phrase, euery soule, for euery man and woman. He might haue sayde absolutely, Men muste obey powers, vnlesse ỳ he had meant to except, that no lyuyng person is excepted from this subiection. Therfore he sayde: See that euery soule be subiect vnto the superiour powers. So that as long as there is soule or lyfe lefte in our flesh, so long we bee bounde by the ordinaunce of God, to yelde subiectiõ and obedience vnto the Magistrate. The dead be discharged from this dutie, with which the Magistrate can no longer deale, witnesse Christe, whiche sayth: Bee not afrayde of them, whiche doe slay the body, & after that, haue nothing more to doe.

Dead folke be free frõ the obedience of the Magistrate. *Luke.12.*

We see that the order of the Clergie, which men cal spiritual persons, be exẽpted frõ this subiection in the Poperie, & be subiect vnto the bysshop of Rome only, as their only master & head. They suppose that carnal, lay, & common men, (as they call secular persons) ought to be subiecte vnto magistrates, and not spirituall men. And they goe about to mayntayne this opinion of theirs, by the exposition of Origene, whiche sayth, that the worde Soule, in the saying of the Apostle, is set for a fleashly and carnal man, and that so he maketh a difference betwixte the carnall and the spirituall man, in exemptyng the spirituall person from this subiection, and byndyng the carnall man therevnto. But who perceyueth not, that this expositiõ is quite cõtrary to the meanyng of the Apostle, and to the manner of speach of the holy Scriptures? The Apostle and the scripture doth take Euery soule, to be asmuch to say, as euery manne, whatsoeuer

Of the clergy vvhether they be discharged frõ the obedience of the Magistrate.

Origenes.

Euery soule as much as euery man.

he bo, inste, or vniust, worldly or spiritual. When Abraham sayde, gyue me the soules, take the rest vnto thy selfe. I beseeche you, did he desire to haue the carnall men only deliuered vnto him? And whereas the Scripture sayth: All the soules of the house of Iacob whiche entred into Egypt, were seuentie: shall we take it to be vnderstand of carnall menne onely? so that all the soules shall bee all one as to say, al the carnal men? And shall we thinke, whereas God sayth by Ezechiel: All soules be mine, that the fleshly men onely doe not belong vnto God? We do read in the Actes: There were increased vpō that day, aboute three thousande soules. Thus Lucas wrote of them whiche did beleue in Christe, and were baptised. And how can the exposition of Origene agree herewithall, to vnderstande by soules, carnall soules? Agayne: We were (sayth he) all the soules that were in the shippe, two hundreth, three score and fiftene, doth he meane it of carnall menne onely, whereas he and Paule bothe beyng spirituall persons, were in that shippe? And we do reade in Peter, that there were eyght soules saued by the water, and how folish a poynt were it, to expounde it of eyght fleshly men? So that the matter is cleere by these and other places of Scriptures, that euery soule, is nothyng else to say, but euery man. Wherefore this exposition of Origen is to no purpose.

Gen. 4. Gen. 46.

Ezech. 18.

Act. 2.

Act. 27.

1. Pet. 3.

Fourthly, Chrysostome did expound this place more aright, whose wordes be these: And to declare that this commaundement stretched not onely vnto secular menne, but vnto Priestes also and religious persons, he opened the matter euē at the first, saying: Lette euery soule be subiecte vnto the higher & superiour powers, whether thou be an Apostle, or an Euangelist, or whatsoeuer thou bee, for this commaundement bothe not ouerthrowe any Godlynesse. Thus sayth hee.

If soule taken for the carnal man, vvhat folovveth there, ypo

But let vs graunt them this, to expounde the worde Soule, for a carnall man, that not all those things be excluded withall, whiche be necessary to the sustentation of the carnall mā, which we haue al of vs neede of, as long as we liue here in the world, and be therfore subiect vnto the magistrate, by the ordinaunce of God: Then reason would, that the church mē, the Popes, Bysshops, Cardinals, Priestes, Clerkes, Monkes, Friers, & Nonnes, shoulde proue themselues to be so meare spirits, or silie soules, that they haue no more to doe with this carnall lyfe: and those things which be of necessitie requisite to the sustinaunce thereof, to proue withal, that this saying of the Apostle bothe not pertayne vnto them. Peter and John (saith Origen) had nothyng to giue vnto Cesar: for Peter sayde, I haue neyther Golde nor Siluer, and he that hath not so, hath nothyng to pay to Cesar, nor whereby to be subiect vnto the superiour powers. But who soeuer hath mony or possessiōs, or any thing in this worlde, let hym harken to that saying: Lette euery soule bee subiecte vnto the hyghe powers. Thus sayth Origene. Now I pray you, tel me my brethern, hath the Pope of Rome, the Bishops, Prelates and Abbotes any money or no: haue they no possessions: haue they nothyng at all in this world: where as

as they haue caught into their hāds well neare all the treasures of this worlde, and be so drowned in worldly wealth, that if they should be tried by the truth, no Christian man could be of right more compelled to the obedience of the Magistrate, than they, whiche surmise that the saying of the Apostle bothe of all least touche them. But now seyng that they be not spirituall neyther, but of all others most carnall, yea & though that they were so, yet notwithstanding be not for that cause exempted and shut of from this subiectiō, who seeth not, that they had no reason at all, to withdraw theyr neckes out of the coller? What spiritualtie haue they, which was not in the Apostles, Euangelists, and Prophetes: & if it were both a like, why did it not quite them from theyr dewe obedience to the Magistrate, aswell as these idle folke? Shall wee determine that the Bysshops of Rome, Cardinals, Bysshops, Prieste, Monkes, and Friers haue a greater dignitie and prerogatiue, thā the Apostles and Prophetes had, whiche did obey their Magistrates, and withall forsoke not their office & vocation allotted vnto them? Then let men of iudgement cōsider, how great a mysterie of wickednes this is, that the Clergie haue not only withdrawen, but preferred themselues also aboue the Magistrates, which haue the very gouernaunce in deede, and that not onely in dignitie and excellencie of office, but in authoritie also of gouernaunce: as though it were not sufficient for the secte of Antichrist, to denie theyr obedience vnto the Magistrate, and to contemne gouernaunces: accordyng vnto the saying of the Apostle Peter, vnlesse they dyd also auaunce themselues aboue the Maiestie of princes, and presume to be Lordes, whereas they ought to be subiectes. It was a Bysshop whiche sayde, that the Bysshop of Rome hath the gouernaunce ouer heauen it selfe, as that the law grew from shepehards vnto the Maiestie of kings: and that the Gospell is growen from fishermen vnto the Maiestie of Emperours, to rule ouer earth and Hell, to haue power ouer Angels, men and Deuils, vpon the quicke and the dead, yea ouer kings also and the Maiestie of Emperours, ouer all things as wel secular as spirituall, ouer all mens possessions, bodies, and soules. They doe place him in all fulnesse of power, due vnto Christe: who sayde, that all power was gyuen to him in heauen and in earth. That saying is knowen in theyr owne lawe: He gaue to Peter the iurisdictions both of the heauenly and of the earthly Empire also. We may se the same in the Clemētines where we do reade in this sort: Bothe the swordes be in the power of the Church, that is to say, the spirituall & the Materiall. But in deede the one of them is to be vsed for the Church, and the other by the church: the one is in the hande of the Priest, and the other in the hande of kynges and Souldiers, but at the cōmaundemēt and becke of the Priestes. So one sworde muste bee vnder an other sworde, and the temporall authority subiect vnto the spirituall power. For when the Apostle sayth, There is no power but of God, and those that be, be appoynted by God. They should not haue bene orderly appoynted,

Transmitted of interim in the story of Clergie.

VVhat they do attribute vnto the Pope

Dist. 22. Cap. Omnes. In Clement. Rom. de Iure iurād. in Extra. Bon. 8. Vnā Sanctā.

vnlesse

vnlesse the one sworde were vnder the other, & brought as it were by an other to the highest, &c. And a litle afterwardes: Now we must so much the plainlier confesse, ẏ the spirituall power doth passe al earthly power in worthynesse and nobilitie, the more that spirituall things do excell & goe beyonde temporall matters. Which things we haue moste playnly layde before our eyes, by the giuyng of tēths, & blessing, by their sanctifying, by the receyuing of their power, and by the very gouernaunce of things. For as the truthe dothe testifie, the spirituall power ought to institute & iudge the earthly power, &c. so that earthly power is iudged by the spiritual power: but if the spiritual person goe awrye, the lesse of thē is iudged by the greater, but in case that the high spirituall power do swarue out of the way, he can not be iudged of man, but of God only, as the Apostle witnesseth: The spirituall man iudgeth all things, but he himselfe is iudged by no man, &c. This stuffe yée shal find in that place, scarce worthy to loose any tyme therein. For who perceyueth not how vaine an imagination that is of the two swordes? They giue bothe of thē vnto Peter, both the temporal and the spirituall sworde, whereas he had but one, and not two. Nor we doe not reade, that any one of the disciples had an other. Wherefore it is a very stale & stinckyng deuise, that they doe gather vpō this place: that the two swords: the spirituall and the temporall, doe appertayne vnto the Pope, as successour vnto Peter. And whereas they doe alleage out of Paule, that the powers bée orderly appoynted of God, so that one sworde is vnder the other sworde, the temporall sworde vnder the spirituall sworde, it is not Paules minde nor meanyng. For he dyd not vse the worde of Ordayning to the sense, but absolutely to the sense of appoyntyng. Those powers that be, be appoynted by God. So was the power of the Romayne Emperour also, vnder which Paule lyued, ordeyned and appoynted by God, albeit it was not agreing with the Churche of Christe, nor subiect vnto any spirituall person, nor receyued or approued by any Christian Apostle or Byshop. I besæche you, how cōmeth it to passe, that Chrysostome vnderstoode not this expositiō, but dyd absolutely acknowledge, that all men, yea Apostles, Euangelistes, and Prophetes be subiect vnto the power of the Magistrate? Peraduenture he was not inspyred with the spirite of Poperie. As for theyr tenthes, blessings, & sanctifications, what shall I say? In dæde they doe take not only tenthes, but almost all manner of ware. And they do blesse to the shewe and sanctifie, whereas in very dæde they doe rather curse and prophane, or distayne all things they goe aboute. But lette it be so: Can they therevpon gather aright, that Magistrates bée subiect vnto Byshops? and that it appeareth by that, that they doe gyue them tenths, and agayne be blessed, and sanctified of them? Dyd not the Kings of Israell giue firste fruytes and many other thyngs also to the Priestes, and were sanctified of them? What wyse body can argue therevpon, that the Kings were subiect vnto the priests, whereas the contrary appeareth to be

be true by the holy Scripture, as we declared before? And that saying: The spirituall person iudgeth all things, and hée is iudged of no other man, is not asmuche to say, as the Pope iudgeth all thyngs, and hée is iudged of none other. For the Apostle entreateth not of the order and power of Popes, but hée maketh a difference betwixt carnall and spirituall men, and doth lay to the firste that they be not able to knowe those things that be of God: and he dothe graunt to the latter, whiche be lightned with the spirite of God, whiche do lyue by the leadyng or guyding of the holy spirite, and not by carnal affections, that they doe vnderstand al things through the spirite of God, meanyng those thyngs, whiche bée touchyng the Spirite of God, and be set forth in the Gospell: and that they be iudged, that is to say, knowē or discerned by no man that is carnall, though he be neuer so wel learned and wise. For the worlde (sayth John) knoweth you not, bycause it knoweth not God. Now I besæche you, howe dothe this frame to their purpose? How is that wrested to the Byshop of Rome, which concerneth the Christian faithfull onely? If to iudge in this place, be asmuch to say, as to haue authoritie to sitte, and to determine ciuile cases: & to be iudged of no man, asmuche to say, as to be subiect vnto the iudgement of no superiour power, then the Christian man hath power ouer all matters, & is subiect vnto the iurisdiction of no Magistrate: and that should be to no purpose at all, whiche the Apostle doth prescribe vnto Christian mē to the Romanes. O how grosse & great was the blindnesse of the times passed, wherewith our forefathers were so abused, that they could not vnderstand the sleightes and guyles of the Byshops of Rome. They haue sundry sortes of malice, wickednesse and crafte, but of all others this is moste detestable to the godly, when they do falsely wrye and wreste holy Scriptures, to cloke and couer their crafty conueyaunce withall.

The blindnesse of the times passed very great.

They doe allege also for the maintenaunce of theyr imagination, the saying of Cōstantine the Great, out of the Ecclesiastical histories, which he spake vnto the Byshoppes when they brought theyr contentious causes vnto him. God (sayth he) hath appoynted you to be Priests, and hath giuen you power to iudge also of vs, & therefore we be orderly iudged by you, but you cā not be iudged of mē: Wherefore looke for the iudgement of God onely amongst you, and lette al your quarels and brawles be reserued vnto the trial & examinatiō of God. For you be appoynted vnto vs of God, in lewe & stéede of Gods, and it is not méete that mā should iudge Gods, but he onely of whome it is written: God, stoode in the congregation of Gods, & iudgeth Gods in the middes of them. And therefore leaue these matters, & set an order in those things which doe belong to the faith of God, without any contention of minde or harte burnyng. This is there: wherby they suppose, that they haue a most strong testimony of the Christian Emperour, to proue that the Byshop of Rome hath authoritie to iudge ouer al Emperours, & withall that he ought to be iudged by no man, but by God alone.

Of the vvordes of Constātine the Great out of Ruffinus. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

But lette vs see what helpe they haue of this Hystory. Firste of all there is not one worde mentioned of the Bysshop of Rome, but it is generally spoken of all the contentious Bysshops, whiche accused and complayned one vppon an other before the Emperours Maiestie. And as for that whiche the Christian and wise Emperour answered them, hee spake it onely to bryng them at one, and neuer so much as once thinking of the preeminence of the Bishop of Rome.

Secondly, he did not sende backe those Bishops to the see and iurisdiction of the Bysshop of Rome: he said not, You haue the Bysshop of Rome the vicare of Christe, and the successor of Peter, put ouer the cases of your dissentions to be determined by hym: but he sayd: Let your dissentions be reserued vnto the examinatiō of God. Abyde the iudgemēt of God onely. Let him only iudge vpon you, of whome it is written: God stode in the Synagoge of Gods, &c. So that his opinion was, that the Bysshop of Rome neyther had the iurisdiction ouer the Bysshops, but God onely.

Thirdly, the Bysshops themselues did not thinke nother that the iudgement of their matter did belong to the hearing and determination of the Bysshop of Rome, but they iudged that the Emperour had the ordinary power and iurisdiction also ouer the Bysshops. And therefore did cōmitte their matters vnto him. And whatsoeuer ỳ Emperours meaning was in his answere, this is alway a cleere case, that the Bysshops of Christes Churche whiche were at that time, were of the same opinion, touchyng the power of the magistrate, as wee doe now vpholde and stande vnto.

Fourthly, it appéereth by the Hystory, that the same Emperour dyd put hys authoritie and power in vre and practise towardes the Bysshops like as others did also, which succeeded him. He did not onely iudge of euery one of them particularly when they offended, but hée practised his authoritie also vpon all them which were subiect vnto his dominion, cōpellyng them to the Councell by his commission, whiche libertie the Simon of Rome thinketh not conuenient to be graūted to the Emperours maiestie in these dayes.

Likewise his successours also did by theyr authoritie cal Bysshops vnto Councels. Pope Leo with all hys Synode assembled at Rome, humbly besought Theodosius ỳ Emperour, that he woulde commaunde a generall Synode or councell to be kept in Italy: in which matter he trauayled also by an other letter vnto Pulcheria Augusta, and yet the Emperour beyng a wise man, did not appoynt his councell in Italy, as the Popes requeſt was, where the contention rose: but in Greece, in a citie called Chalcedon. And we may perceyue in the Epistle vnto Martianus Augustus, that neyther the place, neyther the time of the Councel was yéelded vnto the requeſt of the Bysshop of Rome. We do read also in this sorte of the Cōcell of Chalcedon, in ỳ beginning of ỳ firſt Synode: The holy, great, & Oecumenicall Synode, which is gathered togyther in the chiefe citie of Chalcedon, of the prouince of Bythinia, by the grace of God, and the

Cōstantine vsed his authoritie towardes the Bysshops.

Emperours called by Bysshops to councels.

the holy commaūdement of our most godly and deerely beloued vnto God, the noble Emperours Valentinian and Martian. And a little after that. Our Lorde Christe hauyng regarde of mankinde, hath styred our moste godly and Christian Emperour to a zeale, and hée hath called vnto hym from euery where the chiefe of the priesthode. And in the Epistle of Leo the successor of Agathone, wee reade in this manner. The holy vniuersall and great firſt Synode, which your clemency assembled togither at the appoyntment of GOD, and which he gouerned according to the mynistery of God, &c. Item, we doe read also in his Actes, cōcerning the fifte Synode of Constantinople, after this manner, This preſent holy Synode is now assembled togyther, which was of late dayes summoned by the godly commaundement of our Emperour, whome God loueth and preſerueth. And Hierome in the Epitaphe vnto Eustachium of the mother of Paula, wryteth in thys sorte. And when the Emperours letters had brought togyther the Bysshops of the East, and of the Weſte Churches, vnto Rome, for certayne dissentions of the Churche. And in the Acte of the firſte Synode there is sette before the godly and sacred letter of Flauius Constantinus the Emperoure, vnto Agathon the Bysshop of Rome, wherin he doth aduise him to come, or sende his Bysshops in his stéede to the councell at Constantinople. We charge (sayth he) your fatherly blessednesse, in any wise to be no let to the will of God, but to set them forwarde. For so we hope vpō his goodnesse, that he which would haue the motion made of such a chapter or assēbly at this preſent, will graunt by his holy spirite, that the truth shall appeare, and all men be instructed, &c. Item, In the beginning of the firſt meeting we do reade this. And when the holy and vniuerſall Synode was assembled togither in this princely Cittie (God saue it) at the cōmaundement of the Emperour, &c. And in the fourth acte, We do read in the epistle of Agathon the Bishop of Rome vnto ỳ Emperour, at whose commaundement the firſte Councell was called in this wise. And therfore O my moſt Christian Lordes & sonnes, at the motie godly commaundement of your fauor and goodneſſe, we haue sente you our seruants or deputies here preſent, according vnto the obedience that wee ought, &c. Let the reader marke well that point, According to the obediēce which we ought. Did not this Pope acknowledge, that he did owe his obedience vnto the power of the Emperour? Thus it doth manifeſtly appeare, that the christian Emperours vsed theyr iurisdiction & power vpon the Bysshops: so that where as wee see the contrary vſed now adayes, it riseth altogither of the falshode and ouerthwartneſſe of the Popes that came after. For as long as the Empyre stode whole & safe, this mistery of wickednesse and of the kingdome of Antichrist could not crépe vp, as it hath done since that tyme.

They do obiect also the liberties & priuileges, whereby they be so erēcted by the ordinaūce of Emperours from the subiection of secular magistrates, that they ought nother to be iudged by them, if they offend in any

Iustinian.

matter, nor be subiect vnto any publike exactions. In dede Iustinian would, ỹ if clerkes do offende in any thing contrary to the Canons, they should be corrected by the measure & punishmẽt of their Bishops. Secõdly, he did ordeine also, ỹ in ciuile causes men of the clergy should be conuented first before their bishops, but in criminall causes, which cã not be reformed by the arbitrement of Bishops: he did not exẽpt thẽ frõ the publike iudgements of the Empyre, as we may se in his Cõstitutions. Let his Constitutions be sought, & se in the Nouelles. Notwithstãding there were certayne reasons to leade him so to doe, least they should be withdrawen frõ their duties, in case they should be entangled with litigious & brabling matters & actions, & therby be enforced to be absent from theyr Churches. And besides that also, lest they shoulde not be punished according vnto the qualitie of their cases and deserts. The Emperour neuer thought vpõ this, that the priuileges whiche be graunted to the Clergie, should serue to the licẽtious libertie of al kinde of mischiefe, wickednesse, & vngodlinesse, which the church mẽ chalenge to haue, & for that do striue to be exempted from the iudgements of Magistrates. If you liste to consider to whome, and why priuileges & franchises were giuen, you shall manifestly finde, that this order of the Church, as it is now in the Popery, is so turned, corrupted, decayed, and become quyte contrary vnto that that it was before time, when the priuileges of the clergy were giuen, that there can be left no reason, why they should enioy that any longer.

In Nouellis. 5. 16. 17. 67. 73. 82 86. & 123.

A priuilege is lost, bycause of ỹ abuses therof. They haue abused theyr priuileges, & do dayly abuse them to farre beyond ỹ nocke. *Ergo* they haue lost the priuileges, of which they do so much boast & crake. A priuilege is lost by reason of an offence. And the faultes of the churche, yea their mischieuous liues & outragious crimes, be most manifestly knowen. A priuilege is losse by doyng of a contrary facte. For they ought to do the greater good to the churches, the more cõmodious priuileges they gatte. But they do thereby more hurte & hinder the churches, so that the cõtrary falleth out of ỹ whiche the moste goodly Emperours appointed vpon. A priuiledge is losse for an enormious harme done, & how great detrymẽt & dãmage redoundeth to the Emperour & to the Church also, of the immunities & frædomes of the churche men the wiser sort do know ful wel. In times past, when the nũber of ecclesiasticall persons was small, they were to the lesse detrimẽt or dãmage of mẽ, exempted frõ publike charges & burdens. But now who is able to recounte to how great a hinderance & discõmoditie of the publike Magistrates and people, so huge a multitude of idle bellies, born only to waste corne & cattel, are so priuileged, that what soeuer commõ charge or burden commeth to be borne, they go away clere and scotfre. A priuilege is losse and decayed, when the occasion and cause therof doth cease. Generally the care and keping of religion was the cause of priuileges. For it was not conuenient that these priuileges should be giuen without an apparant cause, which can not be

A priuilege is losse bycause of abuse. Quæst. 11. cap. 3. Priuilegium.

graunted,

The priuileges of the Church men to proue that they ought to be subiect to Magistrates.

graunted, but casually, and vpon certaine reasons. Therefore, seyng that this cause of priuileges hath bene long since voyde in the churchmen, who perceyueth not, how reasonable it is, that seyng religion it selfe ceaseth, the priuilege should cease also?

Yet notwithstãding, whatsoeuer become of the priuileges and franchises, it can not be well gathered therupon, that the Church men be out of the number of thẽ, that be subiect vnto Magistrates. But it is rather gathered therupon, that they do appertaine vnto the iurisdictiõ of thẽ of whome they haue receyued priuileges. For vnlesse that this power of the swoorde & mere Empire had all ecclesiasticall persons subiectes vnto thẽ by Gods law, and bound also to their iudgements and exactions, how coulde the priuileges whiche they graunted, be ratified and assured? Wherfore the Christiã Emperours in times passed did not altogither refuse their power, whiche they had ouer ecclesiastical persons & Bishops, as we may perceyue in the Emperours law, but they did practise, & put the same in vre, as often as they nẽded. Yea and the Bishops also of old time did acknowlege the same, and did gladly yelde thẽselues therunto, as we may perceyue by their writtings & other ecclesiastical histories. Whiche of all the bishops of Rome did with more carefulnesse gouerne the Apostolicall church, as they call it, than Gregory the Great? And yet not withstanding he wrote vnto one Theodorus a philitiõ touching ỹ emperour Mauritius, in this manner: He thinketh it to be a harde matter, that hee should forbid his Souldiers frõ the seruice of him, who hath not onely gyuen him all that he hath, but hath graunted him also to gouerne not onely ouer Souldiers, but ouer Priestes also. And in the ende of the epistle vnto the Emperour Maurice himselfe, he sayth, I haue done my dutie, and haue performed my obedience to the Emperour, and I haue concealed no pece of my minde, that I ought to say for God. This sayth he. How cã it be then, that the lower sorte of the clergie should not be subiecte to the Magistrates by Gods law, seyng that this Bishop did not onely obey the Emperour, but did cõfesse also that he ought to obey him, & did openly testifie, that God graunted him to gouerne not onely the Souldiers, but Priests also?

Therfore we do cõclude according vnto the saying of the Apostle, the scriptures, ỹ Ecclesiastical histories, & the old fathers, yea and some Bishops of Rome, & by emperial lawes also, that euery soule ought to be subiect vnto the superiour power, which hath receyued the swoorde of the Lorde, meanyng by euery soule, all sortes of men, of what estate or degrée so euer they be, spirituall or temporal, & that of conscience, bycause of Gods ordinãce. So that they must al obey his statutes & ordinances: and that whosoeuer they be, that doe refuse to do the same, do endaũger thẽselues to the wrath and reuenge of God, as resisting his ordinance. And the Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other Magistrates may thẽ lawfully exẽpt any man clerely out of this obedience, when they thẽselues be so exempted and frely discharged, that they be no loger ỹ ministers of God,

nor bounde to obey & to serue hym: which thing shall neuer be. For like as it is not lawfull for any liuyng man to resist the ordinaunce of God, so it is not lawfull neyther for any Magistrate at al, no nor for the Emperour, to decay or neglect, or gyue ouer, or forsweare the same ordinaunce, as long as hée carieth the swoorde, and beareth the office of the magistrate. And thus much we haue sayde touchyng subiectes, and whether that Ecclesiastical persõs ought also to be taken for subiects.

Hovve farre forth men ought to obey the *Magistrate.*

FOr almuche as they be menne which do beare the office of magistrates in this woorld, and therfore as men may erre, and offende aswell as others subiect vnto infirmitie, ignorance and affections of the flesshe, and that so it falleth out oftentimes, that they do naughtily, vniustly, perniciously, and mischieuously vse the good, iuste, profitable, and holy power whiche they haue receyued of God, it is no vayne question to be asked, howe farre forth men ought to obey them. When wée talke of the obedience which ought to be yéelded immediatly to God, then this question serueth not: for no godly person will thinke it méete to be called into question, how farforth men ought to obey God, when he chargeth or commaundeth vs any thing: knowyng þ we must absolutely by all meanes, and in al things obey him, what, and of what sorte so euer it be that hée wil haue vs eyther to beleue in hart, or to doe in déede. Surely that man doth obey God, which in obeyng the Magistrate, dothe obey Gods ordinãce. But for asmuch as this kind of obedience is wrought by þ means of mãs ministery, whereby things may be cõmaunded, which can not be performed to stande with God it is algates necessary to demand how farforth men must obey the cõmaundements of Magistrates.

It is one thing to bey God immediatly and by meanes.

The Apostle Peter séemeth to cõmaunde vs to obey all constitutions of the Magistrates, when he sayth: Be subiecte vnto euery creature of man, as though he should say, be subiect vnto euery constitution of man. But these woordes are not to be vnderstand of the constitutions & commaũdements of men, but of the sorts of Magistrates, of whiche some bée chiefe and principall, some secõdarie, and vnder officers as it appeereth by that, which he addeth after: Eyther vnto the king as principal, either to the presidents and rulers as sente by hym: elfe hée should haue sayde, whether they be kings or theyr presidents. Wherfore this place doth not so much enforme vs howe farforth as what Magistrates we ought to obey and wherefore, therefore he added: bycause of the Lorde.

Hovve p ter sayth, subiect v to euery creature man. 1. Per. 2.

But yet vpon that, that he sayth, Bicause of the Lord: and, To the punishment of them that do harme, and to the prayse of them that doe well. And that Paule sayth: that Princes be a terrour, not vnto them, whiche doe well, but euill. Item: That he is the minister of God vnto good, and that hée is the mynister of God vnto anger, for hym whiche doeth that, that is wicked. Upon this (I say) may

Rom. 13.

may bée easily gathered, that wée muste so farre forth obey the Magistrate, as hée commaundeth those thynges, which may be commanded by the minister of God, and be conuenient and fitte for him, which doth beare the swoorde, the reuenger of the euyll, and the defender of the good. But in case that hée doe commaunde wicked things, contrary vnto Gods will and woorde, wrongfull, and vniuste, and against the office of a Magistrate, it is not méete that we shuld obey hym in such cõmaundements, but then we must say, that we ought to obey GOD, rather than menne. But of this poynt wée haue oftentymes spoken, & I suppose that there is no man that doth openly and absolutely say agaynst it. For who seeth not, but that nothyng ought to be commaunded which maketh against God, and is euill, and that it ought not to be performed, if it shoulde be commaunded: For it is not possible that the obedience whiche is gyuen vnto the Magistrate agaynst God, can excuse the offence of the faulte. Lyke as the houshold seruaunts be not excused of theyr obedience, when the stewarde of the house commaundeth them any thing that is contrary to the good mans minde, but what and if the magistrate do vse violence towardes them, whiche doe not in al poynts obey him?

A violence wrongfully done by the Magistrate.

In this respecte it behoueth the Christian mã to suffer patiently any wrong or trouble done vnto him, rather than to abide to be driuen to offend agaynst God. And yet for all that, it shall not be vnlawful for any man, to shifte himselfe away, flée, or somewhat séeke to mitigate an vn

wrongfull violence, so that it be not wrought by any vnlawfull meanes & wayes, as it appeareth for a certeine holy mẽ haue done, as Dauid, Christ himself, the Prophetes also & Apostles. But if that can not be, the Christian man must beware, that he go not about to put of a wrong done hym by an other contrary wrong, but he muste rather beare with all thyngs, & not thinke vpon his owne reuenge, but committe the reuenge vnto the iuste iudge, whiche sayth: Leaue the reuenge vnto mée, and I wil pay it home. Yea, he shall rather pray for them that do afflict him, according vnto the doctrine of our Sauiour. Notwithstandyng we muste make some differẽce of those things, whiche bée violently wrought agaynst Christian men by the wicked Magistrate. For some of them doe cõcerne temporall and worldly matters, as our bodyes, goodes, and honour, &c. Some be wrought agaynst the euerlastyng goodes, as the truth of Gods woorde, fayth in Christe our Lorde and onely Sauiour blessed for euermore, agaynst the knowledge of GOD, the true seruice, inuocation and adoration of God, the sacrifice of prayse, the communion of the faythfull, and such other like. As touching temporal goodes the Christian man may with good conscience suffer all hurtes and hinderances whiche be done therein, yea and death also, muche more the spoyle of his temporall good, bannishment, outlawe and imprysonment. In all those things he may kéepe his fayth and hope of euerlastyng lyfe, safe and sounde, but as concernyng the euerlastyng goodes, he muste not suffer them to be

Rom. 12. Matth. 5.

A differẽce betwixt things wrongfully done.

wrongfully wrested from him. Nor there is no mā so mighty, that is able to plucke away any of them agaynst a mās wil. For the losing of the standeth not in the might of the Magistrate, but in the wil & consent of the beleuer. Though the Prince shoulde enforce vs neuer so muche to vse a coūterfayte & false seruice of God, & seeke to turne the true religion of Christ into superstitions & idolatrie, we be not boūd to obey his cōmandements, nor he can not wreste out his purpose of vs agaynst our willes.

There is very muche difference betwixt them which doe patiently abide a wrōg, and them whiche yeelde to worke vniustice. A christian man can not with a good conscience abide those things, whiche bee wrought through vniustice. Nor can not with a safe conscience doe vniuste things when they be commaunded, he must haue a regarde of Gods wil in those thyngs which ought to be done: and he must haue a will to doe that, whiche he ought to do, and to omit that, whiche he ought not to doe. But in case that a man can not be suffered to do that which he is bounde to doe, accordyng vnto the will of God, and is hartily desirous to doe it if hee could, in such a case the will is reputed in steede of the facte, before God: but in case that he be commaunded to do those things which ought to be eschued, he can not excuse himselfe before God if that he doe thē, though hee say, that hee was compelled to abide it by force and wrong, and that he coulde not doe withal, nor auoyde the doyng of it, but alleage that hee did agaynst his will: this will not serue. For no man is in this case excused if he say: I did this vnwillingly. For it is not onely requisite, that we will not do that which is vniust, but it is requisite also, that we doe not the same whiche we know is vniust. Who is able (say they) to withstande the superiour power, who? Mary the Christian man whiche by the strength of his faith is able to ouercome any Monarche, not only of one or two realmes, but al the whole worlde taken togither. This is the victory (sayth John) which ouercommeth the worlde, your fayth. How shall we withstand Satā the Prince of this worlde, in case we be so feeble in faith, that we cā not asmuch as resist the worlde? How shall wee ouercome the world, in case we shal yeeld vnto the power of one Prince alone in the defence of Gods truth? He ẏ feareth god more thā ẏ might of any mā, be he neuer so great, may easily ouercome the world, much sooner a Prince or two. It is not harde at al for hym, whiche is crucified vnto the worlde, and the worlde agayne vnto him, to withstād the whole power of this worlde in Gods cause. Who soeuer is newe borne by the spirite of God, may truely say: It is not I, that lyue now, but it is Christ which liueth in mee. And I desire to be dissolued, and to be with Christe. And, Who shall separate mee from the charitie of God, whiche is in Christ Iesu? whether is it trouble or anguishe, or famine, or persecution, or the swoorde, or lyfe, or death, &c. Hee will neuer say: Who is able to withstande the power? The three chyldren of the Hebrewes were so strengthened in fayth, that they woulde rather abyde to bee hurled into

Hell gate can not, pell the christian to euill, much less the Magistrate.

Three children in burnyng ouen.

into the burning ouen, than to yeelde to the wicked decree of the most puissante King, and to be compelled to worshippe the golden Image. They coulde abide the wrongfull enforcement, and horrible to the fleshe, but they could not be ouercomed by him, but escaped away with glorye, and had the vpper hand. And seeyng these Hebrewes being vnder the olde Testamente could do this, by the grace of God, why should not the faithfull Christian man be able, by the same grace, to do the lyke, considering the passyng excellency of the newe Testament?

When the doctrine of the Interim was firste opened to the estates of the Empire, and receyued also at Augsburg at the assemble of ẏ Empire, to the corruption of the truth of the Gospell, Anno 1548. what time many mens consciences did wrestle withall, some sayde, to make a colorable excuse in a matter vnexcusable, that the Princes and estates of the Empire were subiect vnto the Emperoures Maiestie, whom they were bound to obey and might not resiste, and that they should yet heape a further euill vppon them, in case they should withstand hym, whiche were nothing else, but to tempt God. And these excuses in sinne were vttered by some folke, that were not all vnlearned, yeelding themselues more to the time than to the truthe that they knew, whiche is rather to be lamented, than excused and coloured, we haue declared before howe, and how farre forth the Magistrates of the Empire be subiect vnto the Emperors maiestie. And who seeth not this, that there is no excuse for hym, whiche dothe obey his superiors in this worlde more than God? For asmuche as there is offence done not only by them, whiche do commaunde their subiectes things contrary vnto Gods word, but by the subiects also in obeying the vnlawfull commaundement more than God. Doth that saying, It behoueth vs to obey God more than men, not touche the Emperor also, so ẏ in case he commaund things contrary vnto God, mē should rather obey him than GOD? God forbid: nor I thinke not that the Emperour himselfe woulde haue it so, if he might by any meanes be instructed of the truth of God. No doubte subiects oughte to obey theyr superioures: but they be so bounde and in suche case of obedience, if the commaundemente runne of those things that be iust. Secondly, notwithstandyng they lay vppon vs sore and vnreasonable burdens in worldly matters, we must beare withall, but not so in case that they commaunde thinges contrarye vnto God, and hurtfull vnto godlye mens consciences. Nor the example is not good of the vnder Magistrate, whiche they alleadged. For no Christian Magistrat is so bound to obey his Prince, that he must yeelde vnto hym, and serue him in things whiche be cleane contrarye vnto the keeping of Chrystian religion. For in case he so doe, he can not be excused before God. Now how vayne a thing it is which they did bidde them beware of, leaste the states of the Empire shuld heape vppon them and theyr subiectes some greater euill, if they shoulde not followe the Emperours minde, euerye man of vnderstanding dothe easily perceyue.

percepue. It is not so clére a matter, that he whiche refuseth to obey the vnlawfull commaundements of hys superiours, dothe purchase hymselfe an euill turne. For it is possible that God may alter their heartes or stay them, and cause that the refusal of such obedience may be blameles, yea and be commended also of them, when they be better informed. Secondly, notwithstanding that he purchase himselfe a shrewde turne, that is to saye, fall into the displeasure of his superiours, be spoyled of hys goodes, yea and be slayne also, what euill turne can this be to a Christian man, whiche sticketh not to weare out all stormes in this worlde, to eschew the wrathe of God and euerlasting damnatiō: Let iustice be done, saye they, and let the worlde sinke or swimme, but the Christian mā doth rather say, Let that be done, whyche is acceptable vnto God, and let heauen and earthe fall. Let the truthe of Gods word remayne, and let Heauen and Earth passe. Herein Christian Princes be not exempted, whome that saying toucheth: Be you learned whiche iudge the lande, serue the Lord in feare, and kisse the sonne, &c. They be the seruauntes of Chryste, the hyghest Emperoure and kyng, and for his sake it is méete for them, as well as for other Christian mē, to sustaine all daungers and perils, and not to haue a greater loue & affection vnto their kingdom, thā to God their Lord, vnlesse they wil heare said vnto them: Whosoeuer loueth father or mother, his substaunce or his gouernment, yea & his soule also, more thā me, is not worthy or mete for me.

Wherefore men must earnestlye beware, that the fault of the estates and Princes of the Empire, whyche receyued & did set forthe to their subiectes false doctrine, contrarie vnto the teaching of the Gospell, at the instance and force of the Emperoure, be not excused by such imaginatiōs. I knowe it was not wrought of malice, but of weakenesse of faithe: but yet it is not méete so to excuse it, least in seking of excuses in sinnes against our consciences, we prouoke the patience of the Lorde against vs and our Princes, and shut out our selues from the way of amendemente. For when shall men beginne to reforme ẏ fact, wherof the offence is not only not acknowledged, but also maintayned and excused by coulored and fained reasōs: The weake mās part is not to denie his weakenesse, but to acknowledge it rather, and to lament it with the Apostle Peter, and to pray that he may receyue forgiuenes of his fault of God, and be afterward better stayed and confirmed in faith. The hope of Gods grace is not to be denyed to anye weake person. And yet withall no man can be excused to maynetayne hys synne by such vayne excuses, as to saye, that it was done by the weakenes of faith, and to bereaue himselfe of that heauenly grace, whiche is offered vnto them that do truly repente. For oure nature is suche, that as long as wée goe about to excuse our faultes, wée doe not lamente and séeke pardon of them, and so consequentlye wée doe not thynke at all of the amendemente of them: and séeke to beware of them afterwardes. And loke, whereas that there is no repentance of sinnes, nor séking of pardon, nor

The Princes of the Empire not excused for suffering the Interim.

amen

amendment, there is no forgiuenesse to be trusted vpon, without which no liuing man can be saued. And this we haue briefly spoken, not so muche to note the slipper fall of times past, as to giue warning of that which is to come, for them whiche haue yet anye eares to heare.

And forasmuche as we declared, that it belongeth to the Magistrates to haue the special and chiefe care of religion, least that the ignorannte shulde take it, to thinke that whatsoeuer they do determine in matters of religion, ought to be followed: we haue thoughte good to speake somewhat largelyer of this pointe, before we knit vp this place. Like as no mā is made of hymselfe but of God, as the rest of the creatures be, and none of vs nor any man else can haue anye minde, vnderstanding or strength of himselfe, but whatsoeuer we haue therof, we haue receiued it al of God our creator, and that there is no mā that is able to rule, gouerne, and preserue himselfe in al poyntes, but that al haue nede to be gouerned and preserued by God. So it doth belōg vnto euery man, to directe his whole lyfe, vnderstanding, wil, and strength that he hath, vnto the order and appoyntment of Gods wil, and to apply himselfe in al things vnto him, of whom he hath receyued both life, and altogither, and must know, that he hathe no power further than is appoynted and bestowed vpon him from God.

And all things ẏ may be wrought by man, be distincted into three membersFor eyther they doe concerne the man himselfe by whome they be wrought, eyther some others, eyther God himselfe. If we cōsider the first sort, I suppose we shall finde no man, that can iudge, that our factes or doings whiche do concerne our selues, may be by god reason exempted frō this rule. And in case that anye man shal obiect the place of Ecclesiasticus where we reade in this wise, God from the beginning made man, and left him in the hand, or power of his owne counsel, he gaue him precepts, and commaundements: If thou wilt kéepe the commaundementes, they shall kéepe and preserue thée. And thou shalt for euermore kéepe a pleasant faith. He hathe set before thée water and fyre, lay thy hande to whiche thou wilte, &c. I answere, that this is not spoken of euery man, but of Adam, how he receyued frée wyll of God, when he was firste made to the likenesse of him. After which sort Augustine doth expound it also.

Ecclesiast. God made man at the firste, &c.

Lib. de Cāti. cap. 8.

Secondly, there is herein mentiō made of the commaundements and preceptes of God, whiche doth vtterlye take away the libertie of mā. So that this place dothe nothing derogate the truth of this sentence, wherof we speake. And hereby it may easily be gathered, that man hath much lesse libertie in those matters which doe concerne others: as wiues, chyldren, seruauntes or other that be vnder him. And thirdlye, least of all in those things which doe concerne the glory and seruice of God, as those be which do touch religiō, we shal make an accompt vnto God of euerye ydle word, as Christ doth testifye. And what libertie can man haue in matters of religion, to appoint what séemeth him good without the worde of God? For ye can not saye, that in déede this libertie can not be giuen

man see more ferther thā ẏ duhe of ẏ.

to a priuate person, and notwithstãding that they be in an nother case which do beare the office of a Magistrate, and be set in high power, and withall be Christian menne: for in deede this libertie dothe so much the lesse belong vnto them, the more they be restreyned both of their ministerie and of the Christian faithe togyther. For as concerning Christianitie, they haue Christe to their Lorde, ẏ only begotten of God, vnto whome the father hathe giuen all power in Heauen and in earth: whose wordes they ought to beleue and sticke vnto, in as much as they be Christians, and to serue him in that power whiche they haue receiued in that respect that they be Magistrates. Wherefore it is for none lesse mete than for them, to ordeyne any thing in the religion of Christ at their will, wythout the word of God. So muche lacketh it of that, that they be exempted from this rule, whiche as we sayde, byndeth all sortes of menne, beyodes that willworshippings whiche be appoynted at the arbitrement and commaundement of men, doe exceedingly displease God. And therefore hee charged hys people also, saying: Do this only to the Lorde God, and nother adde nor diminishe any poynte. And Christe himselfe doth in expresse wordes alleadge that saying of Esay: They doe worshippe me in vayne, teaching the doctrines and commandementes of menne. And other of the prophetes also are wont to reproue and condemne suche arbitrarie and willworshipping for abhomination and ydolatrie. Saule did sacrifice to no forren God, but vnto the very true God of Israell. And yet notwythstanding he is blamed of Samuell, that he did a thing not mete for him to doe, and vppon that occasion made himselfe vnworthy to continue king.

1. Sam. 15

In consideratiõ hereof it is made manifeste, that albeit that the care and charge of religion doe belong vnto Christian Magistrates, yet for all that it dothe not apperteyne vnto them, to order any thing in religion without the worde of God. For it is possible that willworshippings should please God, forasmuch as they be not conformable vnto his will, nor they can not assure mens cõsciences that they doe truly serue God, that is to say, do that which is acceptable vnto him. Wherefore God gaue not that power vnto Moses, nother to order religion as he listed, but he prescribed all things by his expresse worde, which he would haue him set forthe vnto his people. Nay he did not informe and giue charge secretely of this matter, but toke him vp vnto him the second time to the hil, for the space of fortie dayes, and instructed him, and made his seruice to be authentike and allowable by great portentes and wonders shewed in the sighte of all the people, to the intente there shoulde be lefte no occasion of mistrust, but that the religion whych he dyd sette forthe, was delinered vnto him from God, and no wayes presumed vpon at mans arbitremẽt and pleasure. Nor our Sauiour dyd not leaue it to the arbitremente of his Apostles, to sette forth what doctrine and religion they listed, vnto the worlo, but he dyd hymselfe firste enforme them of the doctrine of life, and then he did ordeyne also the Sacraments of religion, and confirmed the

It belongeth not to the Magistrate to order any thing in religion vvithout Goddes vvorde.

the same by signes and wonders: and then, lastlye hee gaue them in commaundemente to teache and preache those things, whiche they had receyued by information from him, as the Apostle doth testifye of himselfe, saying: For I haue receyued that of the Lorde, whiche I haue also delyuered vnto you. So that it is a clere case, that the religion of both the Testamentes, was delyuered and confyrmed by the tradition and power not of man but of God, and that with the testimonie of myracles ioyned withall. God will not haue his ministers to be in doubt and vncertayned of hys wyll, to the intente they maye serue hym with a clere faythe and conscience, wheych can not bee, if the Magistrate do presume to order things apperteyning vnto Religion vppon his owne head. They vnderstode this also, whyche did institute the orders of Religion amongst the Romaines. So Numa Pompilius when he did sette order for the seruice of their Gods, did persuade the people of Rome, that ẏ Goddesse called Ageria, did appeare vnto him by night, and informe him of all thynges that were to be ordered amõgst thẽ. For he wist well, that what religion so euer he should sette vnto them, shoulde be but vayne, withoute the feare of God. And therefore his purpose was, to make the people beleeue that he ordeyned nothing vpon his owne head, but accordyng vnto the will of the Gods. So that wee should be very vnwise, if we shoulde haue an opinion, that all things whiche the Magistrate dothe institute, touching religion, were authenticall, and worthy to be obserued vpon the

Numa Pompilius.

only colour and pretence of his office, which were nothing else, but to make an exchaunge in so serious a matter, in taking away the arbitrarie power in the order of Religion, from our maisters the Bishops, and to rõuey ouer vnto the Magistrates. Therefore when we teache that the charge of Religion doth belong vnto the Magistrate, we do not meane of such a charge as the churchmen doe abuse, but of the same whiche is conformable vnto the word and doctrine of Christ. So that they may sustaine the care and charge of the making of ministers, and of wholesome & sound doctrine, and ecclesiasticall ceremonies, according to the example of the faithfull Kings, whiche ordered the seruices and ceremonies of the law, not after their owne willfull presumption, but by the prescripte of Gods lawe, as we sayde before, speaking of this their office and dutie. This we meante to adde vnto that we spake before, least wee shoulde seeme to allowe the dammable ouersight of those Magistrates, which do sette forth vnto their subiectes what forme of religion they list, withoute the word of God, & will haue it to be allowed & obserued through the authority which they haue receiued frõ God: and in case that any man refuse to follow it, they doe condemne hym straightway of obstinacy & rebellio, as though that Christian religiõ depẽded vpon ẏ power of Magistrats, and not rather vpon the infallible sincerie and authority of Gods word.

I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ, the onely mediator, redeemer, and teacher of all men, ẏ he will delyuer his Churche frõ the Popes tyranny,

and

and giue so much vnderstãding vnto Christiã magistrates, that they may perceiue the office and dutie of their authoritie, and suche zeale of godlye truth, that they maye vndertake and beare the care of our Religiõ faythfully & religiously, according to ỳ prescript and order of Gods word. And that they may so serue to the profyte of their subiects, with feare and trẽbling. Some men do argue of the lawes of Magistrates, whether that they doe binde the consciences of the faithfull or not. And we may easilye answere to their question out of the Apostle, which commaundeth Christian mẽ to be subiect vnto their Magistrates, not only for feare of anger and displeasure, but for conscience sake also. Whereby it appeareth, ỳ our consciences be bound to obey the lawes of oure Magistrates, though we might be without them well ynough touching our selues. We bee so tyed vnto the lawes of hygher powers by dutie of obedience whereunto we be subiect by gods ordinãce, that we be bound in conscience to the keeping of them: for whereby is oure conscience more tyed, than by the wil and ordinance of God? But wee doe meane of suche lawes as may be obeyed with a good and vpryghte conscience. For if it maye not so be, no Christian man is bound to obey thẽ.

VVhether that the lavves of magistrates bind the consciẽces of the faithfull.

Besides ỳ, there is arguing what the subiects haue to do, if the Magistrate fall vnto Tyrannie, and whether that it be lawfull to kill a Tyrant. Item in case that the Magistrate do not defẽd his subiects, whether that they may defende thẽselues by their owne strengthes: but these kindes of questions can not be debated to any edifying or good doing, nor there canne bee no aunswere made thereof to grounde vpon. For these pointes do depend vpon some certaine speciall order, without whiche they can not be well enterprised. Besydes this, there is an other question touching those punishmentes of the offenders, which we do reade as determined vppon in Gods law, whether that the malefactors ought to be punished and vsed according as it is ordered by those lawes: and my opinion is that no Magistrate is bounde vnto them anye further, than so farforth as they do appoint what offences ought to be punished by deathe, and whiche ought to be chastned, sauing the parties liues. I maruell, if any mã of vnderstanding can thinke it to be liked, that pety thæues be hãged vppe, and the filthye adulterers chastned with some slighte punishment, without danger or losse of life.

Of punishment of offenders.

And as touching warres, whether that it be lawfull for a Christian man to goe a warfare, and to yelde the obedience of a souldyer vnto the Magistrate, and what kind of warre is lawfull, and what not, And what is to be thought of forren warres: I thinke it good to set forth in a speciall treatise alone. And we do speake nothing of this matter at this present, bycause it hathe bin already treated of by others, and that we coulde bee contented nowe to make an ende of this trauell about our common places, which I wish of God, may serue more to the edifying of Godlye mindes, than to any vayne and scrupulous reasoning, and arguyng.

FINIS.

WE HAVE ANNEXED HERE-vnto, gentle reader, two other places, one of Othes, and an other of Vsurye, taken out of the sayd Wolfgangus Musculus Commentaries vpon the Psalmes: Very necessary to be considered in these our tymes.

¶ Of Othes.

FOrasmuch as ỳ Prophet in the fiftenth Psalme, in ỳ two last verses, doth amongst other things require to haue this integritie, & soũdnes in the Citizen of the kingdome of God, that he must neither alter ỳ which he hath sworn to his neighbour, nor giue his money out to Vsurie, I haue thought it good, to giue ỳ reader some notes touching Othes, & Vsurie: specially bicause that in our times all the worlde is ful of swearing, & vsurie is growẽ to be very excessiue & great. I know right well, that some kinde of men haue no eares to heare of this doctrine, but be so farre wide frõ the soundnes of all Christian godlines, that they haue no reuerence at all to the name of God, much lesse are any thing gouerned with the spirit and affection of brotherly loue and charitie, yet notwithstanding, lest I should neglect my dutie of trusty & faithfull denice also herein, I will simply and plainly tell you what ỳ godly persone ought to thinke, and endeuour to doe in these pointes. And first, what an othe is, we nede not to define. For it is so wel knowẽ and vsed, that it needeth no declaration: when God is taken to witnes by the vse of his name, to testifie of some truthe, or to promise solemnly to keepe any thing ỳ we be charged withal. Here we speake not now of a vaine, but of a lawfull oth.

The reason or consideration of othes is grounded vpon this point, ỳ forasmuch as it is presumed yõ al men, that they do beleue that there is a God, vnto whom al secrets be open, & of whom faith & truthe is well liked, & that on the contrarie side he is much offended w falshode, deceit & lies, & hath so great regarde of iustice, that he will sende worthy punishmẽt to such as do forsweare themselues, it was receiued by a cõmen consent & custome of al mẽ, to vse & take the name of God, the God of all for witnesse, whan we would haue men to credite these things which we can no otherwise confirme & assert to be true, & appoint him to be ỳ reuenger therof, in case we do sweare any thing ỳ is not true, or do not performe our pretence, of whom all men be perswaded that he will not suffer the abuse of his name to goe vnpunished. And our forefathers haue euer from the beginning had a great reuerence & religion in this manner of swearing, not only amongst the Iewes, but amongst the Ethnikes and Gentiles also. So that these things that be doubtful & vncertain, are wont to bee confirmed by an othe taking: and in case any controuersie do rise, it is cleared by the

meanes of an Othe. So sayeth the Apostle, men do sweare by one that is greater than them selues: and the ende of all their controuersie to grounde them vpon, is an Othe. This goeth clére awaye without any staye or doubt, wherefore it néedeth no larger declaration. Therefore we must proceede vnto those pointes, wherin is more matter. As whether that an Othe be lawfull for Christian men to vse. Secondly, what is the abuse of an Othe. Thirdly, of the discharge of Othes.

Hebr. 6.

Whether it be lawfull for Christian men to vse Othes.

Anabaptistes.

THis question should not néede, vnlesse hat the Anabaptistes had so troubled many mens consciences with this erronious opinió also in our age, traueling to take vterly away al Othes, as vnlawful, and that by the colour of Christes wordes, where he speaketh after this manner: You haue heard agayne, that it hath bene said to the fathers. Thou shalt not forsweare, but persourm those things which thou hast sworne to the Lord: but I say vnto you, sweare not at all, neither by heauen, bicause it is ỳ seate of God, neither by the earth, bicause it is his fotestole, &c. but your talke shal be yea, yea, nay, nay: whatsoeuer is put more to this, commeth of euyll. By these wordes they doe gather, that there is no kynde of Othe at all, lawfull for a Christian man, vicause of the generall word vtterly or altogether. Wherby they surmise that it is forbidden, that no man in any wyse shoulde sweare: but we wil declare hereafter how naughtily they doe vnderstand Christes wordes, to inferre this doctrine therupon, and for this presét I thinke it méetest to declare whether ỳ an Othe made in truth without guile, & with the reuerence of Gods name, be of it self a thing euill & vnlawfull or not. If it be euill of it self to vse an Othe, surely it must then be vnlawful. If it be not of it self euil, it is not vnlawful, vnlesse it be made euill & vnlawful by circumstances. But in case a mã wil hold it to be euil, it must nédes be euill, bicause men doe sinne in sweareing, either against the glorie of Gods name, either against ỳ loue of our neighbour, & in case it be no sinne any of both these wayes to sweare, so that neither the loue of God, nor of our neighbour be hindered thereby, I sée it not, how it can be said by any direct & groũded reason, ỳ an Othe is euill & vnlawful.

That an Othe is not against the glorie of Gods Name.

FIrst, if we consider the reason why the vse of sweareing was taken vp of all nations throughout all the world (as I sayd before) I suppose it shal appeare, ỳ it doth nothing blemish the glorie of God, ỳ the truth is confirmed by the vsing of his name, & that the man findeth credit thereby, which can by no other meanes, witnesse or signes, make ỳ worthy to be beleued, which he doth els know to be true, but only by the vsing of the name of God. For séeing ỳ God is truth it selfe, it is not possible ỳ he should be miscontented with this custome & manner, when the truth is confirmed by the testimony of his name. And this reuerence & religiõ is no rebuke vnto his name, that there is credit giuen to him that is sworne in a darke & doubtfull case, not bicause of ỳ persone of him that sweareth, but bicause of the reuerence of Gods name, which is vsed in the Othe, in that it is perceiued both by them ỳ do sweare, and by them also that do offer the Othe, that God only is ỳ knower of priuities and secretes, & the hater & punisher of all falshood. No man of vnderstãding is so mad to thinke that it were a decay of his estimation, if he were sought of all men of the testimonie of the truth, and had such authoritie with all men, that euery one would giue credit vnto his name wout any gainesaying, when others did but name him. Wherefore he must be a verie vniust man, that will not acknowledge that the vse of an Othe, so that lying and lightnesse be away, doth not only not derogat any point of Gods glorie, but rather auaunce it. So we do reade in Jeremie: And thou shalt sweare, the Lorde liueth in truth, iudgement and iustice, and the nations shall blesse and prayse him. Howe doe the nations prayse the Lord, by that that his people do sweare by his name? they do praise him, that is to say, they doe make his name glorious and renoumed, when they doe giue credite vnto them that doe sweare by it, and do finde so great an obseruance and reuerence therof in the swearer, that he doth always in déede persourme the same which he hath sworne. Wherfore ỳ Prophet sayd not simply: Thou shalt sweare, The Lord liueth, but he added In truth, iudgement & iustice. Therfore that which is vsed with a religion towardes God, & giueth occasion to aduaunce the name of God, is no doubt not simply, but excellently good, good (I say) in it self, if it be handled aright.

Hebr. 6.

That an Othe is not against the Loue of our neighbour.

THe place of the Apostle, which we recited before, doth sufficiently declare, that the vse of sweareing doth much good amongst men in that ỳ it doth ende many strifes and controuersies. The othe (sayth he) is the ende of their strife, to the confirmation, meaning of truth, and quietnes. For like as debates, strifes contentions and brawlings, &c. doe disquiet men, and take awaye the most excellent benefite of peace: and as he is also worthely reputed for a most noysome enemie of men, whosoeuer is either a beginner of debate and strife himself, or els doth maintaine the debates that be kindled by others, or hinder their attonement, so ỳ thing must nédes be accounted a cõmodious & friendly matter vnto mẽ, by the vsage wherof debates & strifes be ridde away, truth is established, peace restored, and a quietnesse set and continued. And séeing that this is wrought through the benefite of that Othe which is deuoutly & religiously taken in truth and good faith, who perceiueth not, that ỳ vse of an othe is such, that it can not be taken from men without their great discommoditie? Wherefore the very necessitie of it doth almost crie out, ỳ they be very vnwise, (I goe no farther) & vnderstãd not how much they go about to hinder the life of man, which sake vtterly to subuert the whole vse of sweareing. Albeit that the Othe dyd in no respect touche

the glorie of God, yet notwithstanding God is so louing towards mã, that he can in no sorte like their endeauours, which goe about asmuch as in thẽ lieth, to ouerthrow the good and benefite of publique quietnes. And now seeing that the condition of a lawfull othe is such, that it is not onely commodious & necessarie for the trafike of men, but doth also by a speciall meanes aduance the glorie of the name of God amongst the Gentiles, we do for a certaintie conclude, that the vse thereof is so farre off from being euill and vnlawfull, that it is also tried to be good and necessarie.

That an Othe is commaunded by God.

Although that it be sufficient inough for him that is quiet and loueth not many wordes, to be resolued vpon this question, if he do once assuredly knowe that the nature and kynde of a lawfull othe is such, that there is not onely no euil nor vnlawfulnes in it, but that it doth also auaile much, bothe to the glorie of Gods name, and to the commoditie and quietnes of men, yet for all that let vs adde this thereunto also, as being more than sufficient, that the vse of an othe is besides this commẽded also in the holy Scriptures. First by that that it was taught to ẏ people of God by his commaundement. Secondly, by the examples also of most godlye persons. Thirdly, for that it is a peece of Gods seruice. Fourthly, in that it was foretolde by the saying of the Prophetes, touching the time of the newe Testament, that it should fal out, that the Gentiles turned vnto the faith, should sweare in the name of God. And that an othe was commaunded by God, we may see in Exodus, where we doe reade in this wise. If any man lende his friende mony or vessel to keepe, and in case it be stolen from him which borowed it, if the thiefe be found, he shall restore double, if the thiefe be not founde, the master of the house shall be put to the Gods (that is to say, to the Magistrates and Judges) and he shall sweare, that he reached not out his hand to his neighbours good, to cõmit deceite. Item, in case any man do deliuer to his neighbour an asse, oxe, or any other beast to keepe, and if it die or decaye, or bee caught with enemies, and no man see it, the othe shal be the meane betwixt thẽ both, to proue that he layd not hand vpon his neighbours good, and the owner shall take his othe, and he not bounde to restore it. So that the vse of swearing is not only for the qualitie of it selfe, but for the commaundement of God also so commended, that it were the parte of a madde mã to minde to take it away as offensiue, and to defeate the quieting of matters which is wrought thereby.

Exod. 22.

The Othe is commended by the examples of most godly Fathers.

Abraham the Father not onely of many nations, but of ẏ faithful of Christ also, vsed an othe without offence: as it appeareth in Genesis, where we doe reade in this wise. At that time, Abymelech and

Abraham Gen. 2.

Phycol the Prince of his armie, said vnto Abraham. God is with thee in all things that thou doest, therefore sweare by God, that thou hurte not me, nor my aftercõmers of my stocke, but thou shalt deale with me & with the lande, in which thou liuedst as a straũger, according vnto the mercy and fauour which I haue shewed vnto thee. And Abraham sayd, I wil sweare, and a little after, And therefore the place was called Bersabee, bicause they swore both in that place, & entered a couenant for the pitte which before the name of ẏ othe. Likewise we reade also of Isaac, who did also take an othe, and entered couenant with Abimelech. So Jacob also swore vnto Laban his wiues father. And Dauid which was a man for Gods owne hart, entered an amitie with Jonathas by the means of an othe, and afterwards also he swore vnto Saule. These examples of so excellent personages, do sufficiẽtly proue, that an othe hath no euil in it of it selfe if it be vsed a right, nothing displeasant vnto God, nor vnsemely for the godly persone. Wherefore it followeth of necessitie, that the Anabaptists be of a cõtrarie minde to the fathers, which do diffame ẏ holy othe, being altogether vngodly, and so blinded, that they perceiue not how they doe herein condemne them, with whome the elect gathered from the East and West, from the South & North, shal repose thẽselues in the kingdome of God, whose godly life and faithe, is set forth for vs to followe, as a president in the holy Scriptures.

That an Othe is a peece of the seruice of God.

In case that this which we haue hitherto spokẽ, cõcerning othes, be of no great force, as that they be good, and auaileable to the glorie of God, and to the commoditie of our neighbour, and vsed of the holy fathers, let vs then procede to greater pointes. An Othe hath also the commendation in Scriptures, that it helpeth towards the seruice of God. So we do reade in Deuteronomie. Thou shalt feare thy Lord God, & serue him only, and sweare by his name. And likewise Thou shalt feare thy Lord God, & serue him only, sticke vnto him, & sweare in his name. In these two places God doth not onely commaunde othes to be made in calling vpon his name, but we may also easyly vnderstand thereby, that the othe which is giuen by the taking of his name, procedeth from a minde that feareth & worshippeth God, & sticketh fast vnto him. And what man of vnderstanding perceiueth not, the feare, worship and fast sticking vnto God, is such a parcell of his seruice, that the whole obseruance & religion of God, which is as it were the roote of all those things that may be required vnto ẏ true seruice of God, doeth chiefly consist in thẽ. So ẏ Prophet Esay also, shewing that a peece of Egypt should be brought vnto the knowledge & seruice of the true and only God, telleth them that it shal so betide, that fiue Cities in Egypt shal sweare by the Lord of hoastes, and that there shalbe raised vp an Altare of the Lords in the middes of Egypt, with the title of the Lorde at the end of it, for a token & testimony to the Lord of hostes in the

Deut. 6.

Cap 10.

Esay. 19.

land of Egypt, wherin we se̅ that ẏ Prophet doth also ioyne an othe taken vnder ẏ name of the true God, to the seruice of God. The Gētiles also were persuaded, ẏ the solemne taking of othes was a pece of gods seruice, and therefore they did take holde of the altars of their Gods when they swore. And therevnto agreeth that which we do reade in Exodus: Se̅ that you kepe al those things which I haue said vnto you, and sweare not by ẏ name of straṅge & forrē Gods, nor there shal no such thing be heard out of your mouth. Exod.23.

And Iosue: Lest whē you enter to the nations, which shal be amongst you, you may sweare in the name of their Gods & serue them, & worship them, but you shall sticke vnto the Lord your God. So that it is a refusal of the true God, to sweare by thē which be not gods, as we do reade also manifestly in Jeremie, in the person of God. Thy childrē haue forsaken me, swearing by thē which be not gods. And what nede we the testimonies of Prophetes? haue we not had a manifest proofe of this matter, that when mē began once to worshippe dead Saincles, they stucke not to cal vpon them also, and to ioyne their names with the name of God, after the manner of an Othe? Iosue.23. Ieremi.5.

That the Othe made in the fayth of God, in truth and iudgement, is the badge, or cognisance of the new Testament.

SEast some busie body shoulde striue with vs, and saye, that all these matters which we haue hitherto spoken of, take effect in the old Testament, but not so in ẏ new, and that therefore it is necessary ẏ all that we haue said, be proued by the scriptures of the newe Testament (for by this shift the Anabaptistes do seke to slippe their necke out of the coller,) let vs now therfore se̅, by what testimonies it may be tried, that ẏ vse of an Othe made vnder the name of the only & true God, doth belong chiefly vnto the times of the new Testament. And I suppose that no true Christian man doth denie, that those things which be spoken of the kingdom of Christ by the reporte of the Prophets, do without doubt concerne the newe Testament, & be most aptly vsed of the faithfull of Christ. Wherefore let vs heare the reporte of the Prophets touching this point. We doe reade in Esaie, that God speaketh in this sort: Where is no iust nor sauing God besides me. Turne vnto me all you the endes of ẏ world, & you shalbe saued, for I am God, & there is no other. I haue swore by my selfe, there shall go forth of my mouth the word of iustice, and shal not returne againe voyde, for all knées shalbe bowed, & al tonges shal sweare vnto me. First ẏ very words themselues do declare, that this prophecie doth belong vnto the times of the new Testament, and to the kingdome of Christ our Sauiour, wherby not only ẏ Israelites, but al the endes of ẏ world be called vnto the knowledge & seruice of God. And it is prophecied ẏ the worde which goeth forth of the mouth of God, shal not returne again voyde, but shall so well prosper, ẏ all knées shalbe bowed vnto God, & al tōgues sweare vnto him, that is to say, that al nations shall acknowledge, serue and worship ẏ true God, & forsake Esai.2. Psal.14. Phil.2 Esai.45. Rom.10.

false gods, and sweare by his name, and so declare, that they be cōuerted vnto him: which matter doth thoroughly agrée to none, but to ẏ kingdome of Christ & the new testamēt, vnder which all the nations of the world be turned vnto the true God through ẏ preaching of the gospell, which serued straṅge gods in the times of the olde Testament. Secōdly, the writings of the Apostles also doe testifie the same. Where this prophecie is applyed vnto the kingdome of Christ. There is a lyke place in Esaye, where we do reade this. He that shall bleste himselfe in ẏ earth, shal bleste himselfe in ẏ true god, & he ẏ shal sweare, shall sweare by the true God. And all the chapter concerneth the calling of the Gentiles, and the refusall of the Iewes, and therefore the Apostle vsed the testimony therof. So that it is made manifest, & perfectly tryed by these testimonies of the Prophets and Apostles, so well agreing together, ẏ the shifte of the Anabaptistes is but fonde, in ẏ they do so restrayne the vse of lawefull Othes to the olde Testamēt, that they would make it vnlawfull in the newe, whereas it is in manner of a cognisaunce of the true knowledge of God, and a very testimony of Gods seruice belonging vnto the newe Testament.

That God, Christ his sonne, and the Apostles vsed Othes.

YF Dauid muche as the hard harted Anabaptistes do neither shame nor shrinke at the examples of the fathers, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Dauid, which we alleaged before, but doe acknowledge it to be well done in the olde Testament, & doe not suffer the same to be followed in the new, let vs go to ẏ examples of them, which without an opē face of vngodlinesse, they can neither restraine to ẏ times of ẏ olde Testament, nor shift of frō the new. They must of necessitye graunt, that the Lord is Lord not only of ẏ Iewes, but of the Gentiles also: God not only of the olde, but God, Lord and beginer of ẏ new testamēt also. Secōdly, that Christ his sonne, though (as Paule sayth) he came as a mynister of circumcision, is for all that the mediatour & head of the newe Testament. Besydes ẏ that Paul was also a minister without match, not only of circumcision and of the olde Testament, but also of the Gētiles, of the new Testament, & of ẏ gospell of Christ. So ẏ if the examples of God, Christ, and Paule doe finde authoritie w̄ any sort of men, reasō would, they should haue most credite with Christiā men. Wherefore let vs se̅ whether that the vse of Othes be such, that it doth not misbecome neither God, neither Christe his sonne, neither Paul the minister to them both.

First, there be many places of Scripture, which do testifie that god did sweare. I do sweare by my self sayth the Lord, forasmuch as thou hast done this thing, & hast not spared thy only begottē son, I wil bleste thē, &c. I swore vnto Dauid my seruaūt. Item, I swore once in my holy one. To whome I swore in my anger. The Lord hath sworne and shall not repēt him. The lord swore truth vnto Dauid, &c. Many such testimonyes men doe read in the writings of the Prophetes. Gen.22. Psalm.89 Psalm.95. Psalm.110 Psalm.132

Hebre. 6.

And why it is that God sweareth by himself, ỹ Apostle doth declare, saying. Forasmuch as he hath none greater than himselfe by whom to sweare, he sweareth by himself, but men do sweare by him, bycause he is greater thã they. By which place it appeareth, that there is this only difference set betwirt men & God in the case & vse of othes, ỹ albeit they do both vse to sweare, yet notwithstanding mẽ do not sweare by thẽselues, but by him, who is greater than they be, that is to saye, by God: but God dothe sweare not by any greater, but by himself, not bycause it is of it selfe vnlawfull to sweare by a greater, in case there were any greater than he, but bycause he hath none greater aboue him, by whome he may sweare. Wherefore they can not shift off & say, ỹ the Apostle meaneth of ỹ children of this worlde, & not of Christiã folke & electes, when he saith, But men do sweare by their greater, for the Apostle doth not cõpare mẽ together, as the elects & chosen, with the children of this worlde, but he doth put this difference onely betwirt thẽ, that men do sweare by a greather than thẽselues, & God by none greater but by himself. Secõdly, if ỹ busy folke wil not be so answered neither, let vs loke to the example of the Apostle Paule, he speaketh in this wise: I cal God to witnesse vpõ my soule, that I came no more to Corinth to thintẽt to spare you. In these words is a manifest othe, for he calleth God to a witnesse against his soule, in case he lie, to persuade the Corinthiãs, that it is true that he sayth, that is to say, ỹ he came no more to Corinthe, bycause he would spare thẽ. And this is ỹ chief vse of an othe, so ỹ no man of vnderstanding is so dul, but perceiueth that Paule toke here a plaine & an expresse othe. And Paule was not afraide neither to take God to witnes in other places, & to get credit to his wordes by vsing his name. Ye and he doth coniure his scholer Timothe also by most earnest obtestatiõ, saying: I do earnestly obteste and sweare thee before God and Christe Iesu, who shall iudge the quicke & the dead, & by his cõming and kingdome, preach the word, &c. Ye ỹ doth coniure & sweare an other mã, yea & that his brother & felowe, by so earnest mãner of binding, how would he haue refused to take an othe himself in ỹ like case? Wherfore if the exãple of so notable an Apostle & minister of ỹ new Testament be any thing worth, it appeareth that ỹ Anabaptists must needs be shameleslie creatures, in holding that ỹ vse of swearing is not lawful for Christiã folke. Thirdly, let vs proceede vnto Christ himself, and se whether he did not vse to sweare also. No doubt, as often as he sayd, Verely, verely I say vnto you, so often he swore in dede, although that he did not expressly alege ỹ name of God. For ỹ strẽgth of an othe doth not cõsist in any expresse naming of God, but in those things also which do concerne the glorie of God: as truth doth peculiarly pertaine vnto God, & belongeth vnto his glorie. And ỹ speach, Amen, Amẽ, I say vnto you, is nothing els to say, but Truly, truly, I say vnto you. I vphold it to you by truth, for ỹ word, Amẽ, is taken for truth,

Corin. 1.

Rom. 1. Gala. 1. Philip. 1. 1. Thess. 2. Tim. 1.

Gen. 6.

truth,

truth, as they knowe which do vnderstand the Ebrew. And Paule vsed ỹ same also when he saith, that the promisses of God in Christ, be yea, & Amen. Wherefore all godly folke be afraide to make light of it. For ỹ they doe perceiue ỹ it is as very an othe whan this word Verely is vnadusedly vsed, as if they should cal God himself for witnes. So Paul doth alleage ỹ God swore, saying in this wise, for God made promisse vnto Abraham. And when he could not sweare by a greater, he swore by himself, saying, ἦ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, ỹ is to say, verely, & without doubt I wil bless thee with blessings, for the word is asmuch to say in the Greeke, as τὸ ναὶ ναί, that is, in dede, & verely. And the sonne of God who is equall in all respects with the father, hauing none greater to sweare by, did most conuenently frame his othes vnto this fashiõ of swearing, in ỹ he did sweare by himself oftentimes, saying: Verely, verely I say vnto you, wherby it doth openly appeare without nay, ỹ not only God the father, but Christ his sonne also did diuers and sundrie times sweare. Therefore, seeing it can not be denied but that an othe is lawful, bicause it is not euill but good, & furderung to ỹ glorie of the name of God, & to the profite of our neighbours, cõmãded by God and vsed of ỹ most godly fathers: furder ỹ it is also a peece of ỹ seruice of God, a cognisance of the new Testament, forasmuche by ỹ reports of ỹ prophets, & finally: ỹ God himselfe did sweare, ỹ the Apostle Paule swore, & that Christ himself swore: who perceiueth not ỹ where as the same Christ saith: But I say vnto you, sweare not at all, is not so to be vnderstande that it make stande against so vndoubted testimonies of the manifest truth, & to make him to be not onely against God his father, but also against himself, but ỹ it is necessary to take out ỹ sense thereof which conteineth no cõtrarietie, & withal agreeth to ỹ purpose of ỹ matter ỹ he vndertake there to entreate of: If ỹ Anabaptists had vsed this circũspection & warenes, they had not moued this question at all in the church of Christ, to trouble the consciences of the faithfull.

Of the sense of the wordes of Christ: But I say vnto you, sweare not at all.

IT is taken for a most necessarie rule, in expõuding of Scriptures after ỹ comen vnderstanding of men, not so much to marke the words as ỹ minde & meaning of ỹ speaker: otherwise if a mã shall enforce ỹ words without the waying of ỹ sense wherin they be spoken, it is not possible but there must ensue great errour, as for example. Christ sayth in the self same chap. Resist not euil: if a mã enforce the wordes, it shal not be lawfull any way to resist euils, so ỹ both ỹ office of ỹ Magistrate, & ỹ ministerie also of the word, & the authoritie of parents towards their children, is taken quite away, & a most smoothe race opened vnto all kindes of euils. Againe he saith: If any man come vnto me, & hateth not his father & mother, brethren & sisters, wife and children, he can not be my disciple. Let a man stande vpõ this, that ỹ wordes be open & plaine: & what shall followe els, but ỹ the precept

Luke. 14.

touching the honoring of parentes, and of leuing a mans wife, is quite abrogated & vnscharged to Christian men? so ỳ they which be charged to loue also their enemies, should be appointed to hate their parentes, brethern & sisters, wiues & children, vnles they refuse to be Christian men.

Matth. 23. He sayth of ỳ Scribes & Pharisées. Whatsoeuer they do say vnto you, that do you. They may cõclude thẽ, that the doctrine of the Scribes and Pharisées ought indifferently to be embraced of all sortes, so ỳ the same should be to small purpose, which he sayth: Beware of the leauen of the Pharisées. Whosoeuer (sayth hæ) came before me, were robbers and thæues, Ergo the Prophets & John Baptist were robbers & thæues, for they came before Christ. And Paul sayth, I became all vnto all, Ergo he became an idolater to the idolaters, in case we shall enforce ỳ generall words. All things be lawful for me, Ergo it was lawfull for him to vse whoredom & adulterie. See how vnseemely & foule matters may be inferred vpon the wordes of Christ & the Apostle, if the sense which seemeth to the outward shew, be enforced absolutely without vnderstanding. The very like falleth out also here in the wordes of Christ: But I say vnto you, sweare not at al. Whẽ the word, at al, is vnaduisedly snatched vp, & such a sense gathered therupon, as al the other scripture shall generally be against it, & not only ỳ doings of the fathers, but of Christ himself also, & of Paule be to the cõtrary. Wherfore, when we do way this place, it doth folow plainely, ỳ Christe speaketh not of a lawfull othe, but of ỳ customable vse & lightnesse of swearing, whẽ in our talke we do forswear with othes almost whatsoeuer we speake. This custome the Iewes had gotten. They swore vnaduisedly by heauen, by earth, by ỳ citie of Hierusalẽ, & eche one by his own head: forasmuch as such othes wer not made by any expresse name of God, they were persuaded, ỳ none was boũd by them, to kẽpe ỳ which he had sworne, or ỳ he did amisse in case this waye he swore falsly. And this persuasiõ was confirmed in ỳ mindes of ỳ cõmon people, by ỳ secondary exposition of the Pharisées & Scribes, in ỳ they did so expound ỳ cõmaundement of God, of forswearing, & that, Thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vayne, to teach ỳ there was no offence done against ỳ name of God, if any mã did forsweare, vnles the othe were made by some peculiar & proper name of God. And so Rabi Salemon wrote also vpon the place of Exodus: but the wordes of Christ do sufficiently discouer ỳ errour of ỳ Iewes. For this he sayth, Mat. Wo vnto you blinde guides, which say, Whosoeuer sweareth by ỳ Temple, it is nothing: but whosoeuer sweareth by ỳ Gold of ỳ tẽple, is an offender. Oh folish & blind, which is greater, ỳ gold or ỳ Temple which doth sanctifie ỳ golde? And whosoeuer sweareth by the altar, it is nothing, but whosoeuer sweareth by ỳ gift which is vpon ỳ altar, is an offender. Oh you blinde bussards which is ỳ greater, ỳ gift & present, or ỳ altar which sanctifieth ỳ gift & presẽt? Ergo, whosoeuer sweareth by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all that is vpon the same: & whosoeuer sweareth by the Temple, sweareth by it

1. Cor. 10.

and

and by him also which dwelleth in the temple: & he ỳ sweareth by heauẽ, sweareth also by ỳ throne of god, and by him which sitteth therein. By these wordes it appeareth well inough, how erronious a doctrine ỳ Scribes & Pharisées brought in of Othes, wherby to cõfirme ỳ false opiniõ of the cõmon people. But the Lorde speaketh against it. Also it taketh not away ỳ authoritie of the law, which gaue order for ỳ lawful making of an othe: nor he doth not cõdẽne ỳ exãples of ỳ most holy fathers, which vsed othes well, for he speaketh not of ỳ lawful, but of the rashe & customable daily oth, which was vnaduisedly vsed in common speach, and lightly vpon a naughty custome & persuasiõ of swearing, as if they were not bound to the performãce therof, bicause they swore not by ỳ name of God, or by ỳ golde of ỳ tẽple, or ỳ present of ỳ altar: & in this sence ỳ wordes of Christ be manifest & plaine. It was sayd (saith he) to your fathers, that is to say, it was taught them by Scribes & Magistrates, Thou shalt not forsweare. That ỳ law cõmaunded. For so we do reade in Leuiticus: Thou shalt not forswear in my name, least thou defile the name of thy Lorde God. The Scribes did expoũd it after this sort. If thou forsweare by the name of ỳ Lord God, thou shalt be guiltie, & thou hast defiled the name of god. But in case thou do forsweare, and not by the name of God, thou shalt not be guiltie, for thou hast not defiled ỳ name of God. And to this Lawe they added this clause: But thou shalt performe thy othes vnto ỳ Lord, ỳ is to say: if thou hast vowed any thing by Othe vnto the Lord God, by vsing his name, thou art better to performe it. Otherwise thou art not bounde, bicause thou swearest neither to the Lord nor by his name. As though ỳ he were not bounde which sweareth not to God, but to his neighbour: not by ỳ name of God, but by any Creature. Therfore Christ to declare ỳ this doctrine of ỳ Pharisées was naught, added, But I saye vnto you, sweare not at al. How? not vnto God neither? not by the name of God in iustice & iudgement, & after the lawful forme of an Othe? Harken, he doth not saye: neither to God, neither by ỳ name of God, neither in iudgemẽt: & why? bicause no doubt the Iewes thẽ selues knew this, that he was not giltles, which did forswear in iudgmẽt vnto god or vnto his neighbors in ỳ name of God, and therfore it was no nede to recite this. For he meant not of ỳ lawfull Othes, but of the customable othes, wherin they did forsweare at libertie without the name of God, and without any renounce of synne. Therefore he sayeth thus: But I saye vnto you, whatsoeuer your Scribes haue taught you, sweare not at all, neither by Heauen, bicause it is the throne of God, neither by the earth, bicause it it is the fotestole of his feete, neither by Hierusalem, bicause it is the citie of the great king: nor thou shalt not sweare by thy head, bicause thou art not able to make one heare white or blacke. See what fashions of swearing he toucheth. Neither by Heauen (sayeth he) neither by Earth, neither by Hierusalem, neither by thy head: but no man vsed these fashions of swearing in iudgement, no mã in couenants, no mã in law-

full

full contracts, no mā in vowes made vnto God, but in such cases ỳ othes were conceiued by the vsing of the name of God, as it appeareth by ỳ, that no man was deemed to be tied or bounde by those othes, which Christ here reciteth. Therfore they were not lawful, but daily accustomed & vsed in cōmon talke. Secōdly, marke ỳ reasons also which he addeth, Sweare not, saieth he, by heauen, And why? bicause it is the throne of God, nother by ỳ earth, & why? bicause it is the foote stole of Gods fete: nor by Hierusalem, & why? bycause it is the citie of the great king: nor by thy head, & why? bycause thou art not able to make one heare, neither white nor black, that is to saye, bicause it is not thy owne workmanship, but ỳ worke of the vertue of god. In case that these othes had any fauth, truth, or deuotion in thē, wherby the name of god might be glorified, as we declared before of the lawful othe, thā these reasons should be to no purpose, for it had ben reason inough to sweare by heauen, bicause it is the seate or throne of god, so that the glorie of god might be auanced thereby. And so in ỳ rest of ỳ cases, which do any wise belong to the glory of God, & so it should haue bene better sayd, Sweare by heauē, bicause it is the throne of god, than sweare not by heauen: so ỳ it appeareth by this cōsideratiō also, ỳ Christ speaketh not of lawful, but of light, rathe, & daily othes, which when they be vsed wout faith, deuotion, & truth, do rather seruo to the cōtempt of the throne, fotestole & citie of God, and other his workes, than to the honour of the same. And to ỳ end also he saith, Let your cōmunicatiō be, yea, yea, & no, no, meaning to reforme ỳ naughtie custome of their rathe swearing in their talke, either in affirming, either in denying of any thing. He sayth not, Let your vowes, let your promisses, let your requestes & vndertakings in cases of law. &c. but let your cōmunication be, yea, yea, & no, no. And to the like purpose he addeth, Whatsoeuer is more than this, is naught. As though he sayd, Wher as you be not cōtented with these words, yea, yea, and no, no, but adde othes therunto by heauen, by the earth, by Hierusalem, &c it proceedeth of this, that you be vayne in your heartes, stayed with no reuerence & religion, of ỳ throne of god, of his foote stole, & citie. And ỳ you beleue no man, onles he sweare, bicause for the most part, your talke is false talke & lies. Oneles ỳ we do after this sort vnderstand ỳ words of Christ, what answere shall we make vnto Porphirius & Julian, when they reproue Christ also, that his talke nother, was not yea, yea, & no, no, for as much as he did so often times double his word, Amē, Amē, and that therfore it came of euill: And how shal we defend ỳ Apostle, that he wrote not of euil, as often as he sayd, god is my witnesse. Itē I call God to witnesse against my soule? But God forbidde that either Christ, either his Apostle might be charged with so great lightnes: Wherfore this errour of the Anabaptistes is very grosse and foolish, wherin ỳ rude & simple folke be deceiued, by false & sly creeping, not bye thern but brothels, & crafty varlets, seruing not Christ, but their owne appetites.

And

And thus much touching that question, Whether that the vse of swearing be lawfull for Christian folke or no.

Of the abuse of Othes.

There be two thinges chiefly requisite of necessitie in ỳ maintenance of euery matter of truth: One, that the same which is true, be discouered and vpholden: The other is, that in case ỳ there be growne any abuse therunto, it be reproued and taken away. For such is the hope of truth in this worlde, that either it is condemned before it be knowen, by the ignorant, or els it is wrested vnto some abuse by the that doe knowe it. And both these doe betide in this case of othes. The Anabaptistes doe of a stabbernesse condemne that which they neither vnderstand, nor can be contented to be instructed of. Couetously and carnal men, bereaft of the faith and religion of God, doe peruerstly abuse that which they do not condemne, wherfore to vse this matter well and in order, the truth of the lawfull othe must firste be auouched, & then the abuse thereof vtterly folowed, so that after our fault finding with the error of the Anabaptistes, we will turne our talke to touche the abuse of othes. And the same is so exceding large, that I take it to be impossible to reherse & examine al the kindes & particularities therof, for whatsoeuer is done almost in the life of man, is so pase vp with othes, that by reason of the multitude of the othes, it must of necessitie betide in this case as it doth in much talke, wherein it can not be chosen, but must escape many ouerslyghtes and faultes. Therefore I will enter somewhat further into this matter, for your sake, which be trained with a certaine religion & deuotion of the name of God, to admonish them that they may be able to kepe their consciences cleere from the defiling of the name of God. And bicause of thē we will discourse how both he which doth exact the othe, and he also which doeth yelde the othe, may abuse the religion and reuerence of the othe.

How they do offende which do require an Othe.

The exactors of othes do offend three maner of ways. I first, when they doe put such men vnto othes which be light persons, & suspected of little or of no credite at al, of whom men can not conceaue any hope, that they haue any loue to the truth, or religion and feare of the name of god. For albeit that no man know what is in man, but the spirite of man which is in man, and that mans heart is of it selfe vnsearcheable, yet for all that, the matter can not be excused, when such men be put vnto othes, which do declare by open proufe and trial, how light and vaine they be, voide of faith, and of all feare of God: and altogether such as no iudge would giue any credite at all vnto, though they were charged neuer so much vpon their othes, if the case of their swearing did concerne themselues. They that doe put such persons to the sacrament of an othe, do wittingly minister occasion of periure. Wherefore that lightnes and in-

differencie

differēce to minister Othes vnadui-sedly vnto euery mā, doth argue a lightnes also in Iudges and Magistrates. He which putteth a man to an Othe, and knoweth ỳ he that forswears himself, is worse thā the murderer, for the one killeth but ỳ body, but the other killeth ỳ soule also. 2 The second offence is, whē the iudge either of his own accord, either entised by the accuser, doth minister thē a solemne Othe, that is to say, the vsing of the name of god in a light mater & of no waight. And this fault falleth out also oftētimes when ỳ truth might be tried out, & the matter which is in strife passed ouer by other meanes, vnles they do it more for spēde thā for a iust trial. 3 The third offence is, when an Oth is charged in a matter either impossible to be brought to passe, or such as ỳ iudge knoweth already shall neuer be performed, & doth require the Othe not to ỳ intent to haue it kept but to kepe the custome, & for the respect of his own cōmoditie & gaine. So they doe misvse the matter in our daies, which vnder an Othe require the vowe of sole life & chastitie, of masse priestes and cloyster creepers, wheras this order of theirs is manifestly declared by the vniuersall corruptiō of so many yeres & ages, to be the nurse of al manner of wantonnes and vncleannes. And such is the Othe also which is enforced vpō the suffragan Bishops, ỳ they must conuerte those churches vnto the faithe of Christe through the preaching of the Gospell, of which they take their titles and names. The case of it selfe is not such, that their Othe is thought impossible, nor the thing is not required of them in earnest, but they do perfectly know, that the Othe is to no purpose which is required, & be at length absoyled from it more men, colorably, to ỳ intent they may more carelesly procede in sinne.

4 Fourthly, they do offende in the forme of the Othe, which do couple the names of saints vnto the name of God, for they do minister cause vnto that sinne, which is foūde fault withal in the childrē of Israel. Thy children saith he, haue forsaken me, and do sweare by them which be no gods. None of the Papistes wil say, that saintes be Gods. Therefore when they do sweare by saintes, no doubt their conscience doth testifie vnto thē, that they do sweare by thē that be no Gods, which offence is a kinde of forsaking of God. And Chrysostome saith, ỳ he doth cōmit idolatrie, which sweareth by any thing ỳ is not God, bicause he doth put ỳ in the degrée of God, whereby he doth sweare. And what is it els to put any in the degree of God by an Othe, than to attribute vnto him or it the knowledge of ỳ secrets of mens heartes, to vnderstande what is true & what false in all mens promises, vndertakings & testimonies, and to be of that iustice & power, ỳ it can worthely punish the periured persons. If that saintes be able to perform this, they be worthy to be set in the degrée of Gods, by the reuerence of othes. But in case ỳ this knowledge, iustice, and power in al things do appertaine vnto God only, what man of vnderstanding perciueth not, how that mē ought not to sweare in iustice & iudgemēt, but by God onely, the knower of all secrets, & the punisher of al deceit and falshode:

falshode: And thus much how they do offend now & then which do put and minister Othes vnto others.

How they do offende which doe Sweare.

The fault of them which do offende in swearing, is to be cōsidered two wayes. First, how they do offend daily in their cōmon talke not being put to othes, but swearing of themselues. Secondly, how they do offēd which be put to othes in place of iudgement. And men do offende by swearing in daily talke: First, when they do sweare vnadui-sedly without cause, though not vntruely & falsly: for the name of God is taken in vaine contrarie to the third precept, & they do also offende contrary vnto the admonition of Christ, whereas he sayth: But I say vnto you, sweare not at all, but let your cōmunicatiō be, yea, yea, & no, no. The copulation of man & womā is good as appointed by God, but so that it be in lawful wedlock: & it is not so, if it be out of Patrimonie. It is good to sing, so it be to the Lord, and with deuotion, but it is not so in banckettings for a wantonnes, or in the Churche for gaine, when Psalmes be song without any religion or deuotion. Likewise an othe is good which is made by ỳ name of God, so ỳ it be done in iudgemēt, and reuerently wt the feare of the Lord: & it is otherwise, if it be vsed rashly & lightly. Secondly, the fault is greater, when mē do sweare not only in a lightnesse, rashnesse, and without cause, but falsly also & vntruelye: It is naught of it selfe to lye, but this naughtinesse is doubled, by the putting to of an Othe. It was death among the Egyptians, in case that any person swore by the health of Pharao, and howe cā he be reputed giltles, which doth forsweare himselfe by the name of God? Thirdly, this offence is also much encreased, whē our neighbour is hurt by ỳ periurie, and there be degrées herein. In case that thy neighbour be hurt in his goods, it is one degrée: in case he be dammaged by his fame and estimation it is an other: & ther is a third, if he be damaged in his body or life: the last is when he is harmed in his soule, and touching hys true health and saluation. And when that common sweerers be blamed for their so doing, they doe excuse the matter after this manner. 1 One will say, that he sweareth not for anye euill entent, but of a custome. But this is rather an accusing, than excusing. For such a custome is gotten not by once or twice, but by verye often swearing, & it is a token of a minde voide of the feare of GOD.

2 An other doth pretende that the multitude doth sweare in like sort, & the multitude of the offenders doe encrease & not diminysh the fault, & at length when the syn is come to a strength & rypenesse, it prouoketh the wrath of God. 3. Some will saye, no man is the worse by my custome of swearing, waye the case to thy self. Thou shalt hurt no man (thou sayst) if thou denye GOD and serue Sathan, and yet withall thou dwell vndoe thy self. And how can he be guiltlesse which is ỳ cause of his owne condemnation? Item, howe doth he hurt no man, which doth hurt God: no doubt hee doth

grieuously

greuously hurte God, whosoeuer by rashe swearing doth prophane and abuse his name. 4 Some saye, that they do not sweare by ẏ name of God, and they do not marke the admonition of Christ, wherin is declared, that the glorie of God is prophaned, when men do fondely sweare by his Creatures. 5 Some will saye, that they doe not lye in their swearing: as though it were inough for the excuse of the offence, if they make no lie: and as though there were not sinne in the verie custome and lightnes of swearing. Wherefore, that man which feareth God, must most diligently beware, that he distaine not the name of God, by his rashe and vnaduised swearing. But in case that some othe doe skape his mighte against his will, let him not excuse it, but rather accuse him selfe, and desire the Lorde to pardon his offence. I do knowe some cōmon wealthes, whiche were so ordered before these troublesome yeares, that if anye of the Citizens did offende by lyghtnesse of swearing, hee should be chastened by order of law: but nowe we see that all lawes of holy discipline be broken amongst vs, and all libertie giuen to whoredome, adulterie, dronkennes, vsury, amd rashe swearing. Wherefore wee must looke for the extreme wrath of God to be kindled, and fal vpon our countrey ere longe, which will be so great, that it wil specially plague noble and great personages, such as thinke they stand vpon a most sure & quiet grounde, in that they haue forsaken the yoke of the Lord, and be no lenger subiect vnto any daungers for the Gospel of the kingdome of God. In shifting of the anger and displeasure of that man, whose breath is in his nostrels, they may fall into the wrath and displeasure of God, by whose breath the whole worlde is shaken and crushed together. Secondly, we must consider howe they doe offende which doe sweare being put to othes in iudgements. 1 First, they doe offende which do take an othe for some small peece of money, which they should rather be content to loose than to cal vpon the holy name of God for so light a losse. 2 Secondly, they do offend, which doe willingly and wittingly sweare falsly, & that is two wayes: First when they doe vpholde that to be true which they know to be false, or mainteine that to be false, which they knowe to be true. Secondly, when they do promisse ẏ in their swearing, which they minde not to performe, but meane onely to shifte themselues for the present from the brakes that they be tied in by forswearing the matter. 3 Thirdly, when they doe not performe the same which they haue sworne: thereof the Prophet meaneth when he sayth, Which sweareth vnto his neighbour, and chaūgeth not. This kinde of periurie hath alwayes had an euill name amongest the Gentiles also. The olde Romaines were so stoute and sure of their woorde, that they woulde not haue their promisse made by othe broken, no not with their most deadly enemies. The history of Attilius Regulus is knowen, but now a daies Popes can say that it is not for kinges and Magistrates, but for Marchant men,

Math. 5.

to keepe their promisses. The Popes of Rome haue as often as they listed, and as it serued to their purpose, broken the leagues of Kings and Princes, which haue bene ratified by Othes, and haue by their bulles discharged their subiectes frō their Othe of fidelitie. So Pope Nicolas dischargeth the Bishop of Treueris from the bandes of his Othe. So Pope Zacharie deposed the King of Fraunce, and set Pipine ẏ father of Charles the Emperour in his place, and withall did discharge all the Frenchmen from the Othe of their fealtie, or fidelitie towardes him: and howe greatly this rashe dealing displeaseth the Lorde, & how sore it was punished in King Zedechias, which falsly forsworne, did breake his Othe of fealtie, which he made vnto ẏ King of Babylon. 4 Fourthly, swearers do offende, whē they do sweare and take the name of God in any vnlawfull matter, which can not be performed without sinne. As in case any minister of the worde shoulde vndertake by Othe, that he wil not correct the sinnes of great men, nor speake against false doctrine, and ther be an innumerable sort of this kinde of offences. Wherefore he that is put to take an Othe by the name of God, must diligently forsee whether that he be able to perfourme that without the offence of God, which he doth promise by othe or no. 5 Fiftly, they doe offende in the fourme of the Othe, which do ioyne the names of sainctes vnto the name of God. Which kynde of offence we touched before. Thus muche I thought good to speake briefly and in fewe wordes of the abuse of swearing, to admonish godly folke, that they learne to looke to themselues and others in the case of Othes, that they offend not therin wittingly and willingly against the Maiestie of Gods name, hauing euer that threaten in their mynde, which sayth in the Decalogus, For the Lorde will not take him to be giltles, which doth vse the name of his Lorde God in vaine.

Ernst. 6

Ezech. 17

Of the discharge of Othes.

For asmuche as the Prophet sayeth, He that sweareth vnto his neighbour, and doth not alter, we may well aske the question whether there be no consideration, wherefore an Othe may be voyde. And this question were good to be weyed not bicause of them, which haue little, or no respect nor religion at all of an Othe, but for their afflicted consciences, which are so entangled & streightened by the bands of Othes, that when they be driuē to keepe the promisse of their Oth, they be compelled therein to offend against God. Wherefore we must consider vpon what causes ẏ bande of an Othe ought to be broken.

1 First, when the Othe is vnlawfull, so that there is sinne both in the swearing and also in the obseruing thereof, as when men sweare to do that which is against the wil of God. As if an Israelite had vowed an offring vnto the idol Baal, or that he would burne his childe, or if he promised vnto God the pryce of a dogge or of a harlot, such othes be both vnlawfully sworne, and obserued also with great sinne. Such a case it is, if a married man shall

forsweare his wife. Item, if a man vowe any offering or seruice vnto any Saincte, he doth committe sinne in the swearing, and yet offendeth more in keeping his Othe.

2 Secondly, when there is occasion of sinne ministred to keepe ẏ Othe, and that such an Othe ought to be broken, it may be proued by that, that is read: That an Othe is not ordeined to this ende, to be a clogge of wickednesse, as for example. The Priests, Cloysterers and Byshops, be enforced to forsweare lawfull Matrimonie, for the keeping of a sole life, & to helpe thē to keepe this Othe, they be not restrained from whorehunting, but they bee forbidden from wedlocke. And so there is giuen to the poore men occasion of much sinne, bicause the knot of their Othe must not be broken. Such an Othe is in very deede no Othe of iustice and cleannes, but of vniustice and vncleannesse, and therefore lawfull inough to be broken. For as the Apostle testifieth, it is better to marrie, than to burne. Nor the Apostle meant not to snare the consciences of the faithfull, but he suffered euery man to continue at libertie in that grace, which he had receiued of the Lord, cleere and tied in no bandes, whose example, spirite and doctrine, all Byshops ought to followe, if they were Byshops in deede, and neither entangle the consciences of the faithfull with any restraintes of othes, nor herdle and tye them faste to sinne by their bande of wickednesse, but to let thē be at libertie to the Lorde which hath redeemed them frō the snares of Satan, by his bloud. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the Churche of Rome hath not such Byshops, but is subiect vnto Lords and Princes, there is no other waye to helpe our brethern, but that they may first vnderstande, that no religion of any Othe ought to be so great, that it may be a bande of wickednesse and sinne. Secondly, they must seeke to be at libertie, according to the mynde of the Apostle, if they may, and shifte themselues out of the snares of Satan, and flee the tyrannie of the Byshops, leaste in their seeking to obserue the Othe that they haue taken, they entangle and destroye themselues in most terrible and greuous sinnes and offences. Such a parte it was that Iepthe murdered his owne daughter, because of his Othe. And Herode wickedly slewe John Baptiste, to saue his Othe that he had made. And they, bicause they would not be periured, slewe others against the wyll of God. But thou my brother, which continuest still in whoredome, bicause thou wilt not breake thy vowe, doest murder thy selfe, not in body, but in soule, which is a great deale the worse.

22. Quæst. 4.

Iudic. 1.

3 Thirdly, the vnlawfull Othe ought not to be kept neither, when by reason thereof there is offence wrought against the loue of our neighbour. If any man had sworne the death of his neighbour, it ought to be broken by the example of Dauid. You shall finde some men now a dayes also which will take an Othe, that they will lende no man nothing, though it be neuer so little, bicause they haue bene once or twyce deceiued. And this Othe is a buckler to thē, to keepe them from the relieuing of the neede of theyr

1. Sam. 2.

brethren.

brethren. Such an Othe is against the loue of our neighbour, and is contrarie to the doctrine of Christ. Wherfore it can not be kept without sinne. They which doe lyue in Cloysters, be so tyed by the bande of their Cloyster vowe, that they may not vse the order of humanitie, nor perfourme the duetie of childrē, no nor the verie Christian charitie towardes their parentes, brethren, sisters, and other Christian folke, so that their vowes, for asmuch as thei be against the lawes of humanitie, and of Christian charitie, they can not please God. Wherefore they may lawfully be broken: and the same which is clogged by mens traditions, ought to be set at libertie, that men may vndertake the yoke of Christ. So the Apostle sayth: You be bought by a great raūsome, become not the seruauntes of men.

Fourthly, theyr Othe or vowe is nothing worth, which be not at theyr own libertie, but be subiecte to the power and commaundement of others. Wherefore that which they haue sworne can not be lawfully obserued, without the consent of their superiors, albeit that they vowe any thing vnto the Lorde God. And there is a most manifest proofe of this thing, in that which is written in this wyse. This is the word which the Lorde hath commaunded: if any man hath vowed any vowe vnto the Lord, or bound him selfe by an Othe, he shall not make his worde voyde, but fulfill all that which hee hath promysed. If a womā hath vowed any thing, and bounde hir selfe by an Othe, beyng yet in hir fathers house, and but a wenche of age, if hir father knowe of the vowe which shee hath promised, and of the Othe wherewith she hath bounde hyr soule, and keepe it priuie, he shall be guyltie of the vowe, and what soeuer she hath promised & sworne, she shall accomplyshe it in effect. But in case that the father as sone as hee vnderstande of it, doe speake against it, both hir vowes & Othes shalbe voyde, & she shall not stande bounde to hir promisse, bicause hir father was against it. It followeth there likewyse also of Wiues, so that their vowes and Othes must also be vtterly voyde, if their husbandes hearing of the matter, be against it: whereby it appeareth, that suche vowes and othes which be made by them that be not at their owne libertie, ought not to be obserued, but to bee reputed as vaine and voyde, vnles their consent, vnder whose iurisdiction they lyue, be ioyned therevnto. Wherefore it ought not to be counted to be of any strength, when the sonne or daughter do bynde themselues in Matrimonie, where as their parēts be against it. For the gouernaunce of the matter resteth in the father, which ought not to be taken from him. Secondly, that is also a wicked matter, when the sonne or daughter will withdrawe themselues from the iurisdiction of their parētes, and against their wils shut them selues vp in Cloysters, & there submitte themselues vnto I wote not, Friers or Nonnes arbitrement and order, so that hee must needes be very wicked and an ennemie vnto Gods law, whosoeuer is the causer that they shall treade their parentes vnder feete & runne

1. Cor. 7.

to the superstition of the Cloyster, and so accomplishe the saying of Christ: You doe make my commaundementes voyde, bicause of your owne inuentions. For God sayd, Honor thy father and mother: and whosoeuer curseth his father or mother, let hym dye the death: but these folkes do teache, that wée ought to ouerthrow our parentes, and treade vnder feete at the doore, if they withstande vs, & so get the Cloyster vpon our backes. Who seeth not, howe much lighter and more tollerable that poynte was, which the Scribes and Pharisées did, in teaching mé to say vnto their parentes: That Present which I doe offer into the Temple, doth profite you also. For first they taught thé to offer presentes into the temple of God. Secondly, they did admonishe them how to satisfie their parentes in the expostion and interpretation of the church presents, and in so doing they were the causers of the withdrawing of the due relefe vnto their parentes: and yet for all that they did not therein teach thé to withdraw themselues wholy from the iurisdiction of their parentes, nor they did not bidde thé to treade their parentes vnder their feete in the dores, and yet notwithstanding the Lord doth charge thé, that they made the commaundement of God, touching the honouring of parentes, voyde, bicause of their owne inuentions. And I beseeke you, can we imagine, ỳ god is so altered, that he doth suspende or chaunge his opinion towards them, which be the authors of a more greuous & haynous sinne then ỳ was? 5 Fiftly, the Othe which is made of a thing impossible, doth not bynd. And I call a thing impossible, not onely that which is of it selfe impossible, but that also which is vnpossible vnto the wofemaker and swearer. As for an example. To lyue an Angels life, is a thing of it selfe possible, but vnto Angels, and not vnto men as men. Albeit that it is possible for them to kéepe the continencie of virginitie, whiche haue the gift giuen them of God, yet for all that it is not possible for all folkes, he that can come by it, let hym take it, sayth Christ. Therefore, in case it be impossible for him whiche hath sworne it to lyue an Angels life remaining in this flesh, it were better to breake his foolishe and vnaduised promise, than by the bande of his impossibilitie to fall into a lyfe, not manlyke, but dyuelish. Paule woulde not that wydowes shoulde be admitted to the relefe of the Churche before they were threé scoare yeares olde. And now a dayes boyes and gyrles be enforced to kéepe the vowe of chastitie, before they haue had any tryall and experience of themselues, that God hath giuen them the gift of chastitie. Wherefore all they must be aduised herein, whiche through the impossibilitie of this matter, do fall vnto the lustes of the flesh, and to filthinesse at large, that they recouer them selues from that fonde vowe, and flye to the aduyse of the Apostle, where he sayeth: For the eschuing of whoredome, let euery man haue his wyfe, and euery woman haue hir husbande. This matter concerning the discharge of Vowes and Othes, might be more largely and fully intreated of, but

Matth. 15.

1. Tim.

I sup-

I suppose that this which I haue heere spoken, is euen sufficient inough for suche persons as bée godly and quietly disposed.

Of Vsurie.

The Preface.



Amongest the reste of the mischiefs of our tymes, the pestilent botche and sore of Vsury is growen to be so great, and waxen euen rype to the reuenge of GOD, that I thinke it vtterly vayne to speake any thyng against it, although I should doe it right earnestly and diligently. For I knowe by my owne experience, that this disease hath then growen to bée stronger, when it hath bene most spoken against, and reprehended in our dayes by the preaching and wrytings of Godly and learned persons, so that it is almost lyke the disease of the Canker, which groweth to bée more deadly, after the incision and launcing, and is become almost passe cure, mete to loke for nothing els but for vtter destruction, after so iust and worthie reprehention and speaking against it. Wherefore mé might well thynke, that I take a vaine & thankeleese office in hande, asmuch as to make the Rauen to bée whyte with washing, vnleese that I dyd consider my promyse, and the requestes of my friendes. Therefore to satisfie my promyse in some part, and to fulfil the desire of my brethren, I wyll so farre forth speake of Vsurie, as it may doe good to some godly folke, which bée not yet desperate and passing recouerie, altogether poysened with this pestilent disease. I know howe and by whome this poynte of Vsurie hath bene talked of in tymes passe, but I wyll not medle with the Schole trickes, no lesse intricate than is the verye nature of couetousnes it selfe, but I wyll symply set forthe, and without all crabbed disputation, that which I thynke méete to bée sayd. And I wyll first tell you, what Vsurie is. And secondly to the entent wé maye perceyue whether that it bée lawefull or no for Christian men. I wyll compare it with the doctrine of Christe, and with the profession of Christian religion.

What Vsurie is.

Bycause none of the Champions and maintayners of Vsurye, shall chalenge mé, I wyll bring them that definition of Vsurie, which I haue not deuised of my owne head, but hath bene manye

yeares past disclosed by them whose godlynesse hath gottē more auctho-ritie in the Churche of Christ, than that it may be ouerthrowen by any Vsurers, or of their bolsterers.

Hierome lib. 6. vpō Ezechiell.

Hierome writeth in this wise: Some folke doe surmise that Vsuries doe consiste onely in money, which the scripture of God did forsée, and therefore taketh awaye the ouerplus of all things, so that thou shalt receiue no more than thou deliueredst. Item, others are wont to take sundrie sortes of rewardes or presentes, for their lending of their money, and doe not vnderstand that the scripture doth call that an Vsurie and an ouerplus, whatsoeuer it be, that they receiue againe more than that which they gaue out.

This sayeth hee. And Ambrose speaking of Naboth, sayth, that many men to auoyde the daunger of the commaundements of the lawe, when they haue giuē out their money vnto Occupiers and Marchant men, doe not demaunde their Vsuries in money, but doe take the cōmoditie and profit of Vsurie vpon their wares. Therefore let them hearken what the Lawe sayth: Nor you shall not take any Vsurie in meates, nor of any other thing. So that a dishe of meate is Vsurie, and a garment is Vsurie, and whatsoeuer commeth aboue the principall, is Vsury, and what name soeuer you giue it, yet it is Vsurie. This sayth Ambrose. And Augustine also doth himself define Vsurie in this sorte. In case thou lende out thy money to any man, of whome thou lookest to receiue more than that thou deliueredst forth, whether it be corne or wyne, or oyle, or anye other thyng, if thou lookest to receyue anye more than thou deliueredst, thou arte an Vsurer, and worthy to be blamed. This sayeth hee. So that after the mynde of these men, it is not Vsurie onely to receiue and take, but also to hope and looke for anye thyng, more thā the principall, as they terme it, that is to saye, more than that which was delyuered, by what name so euer it be cloked. For the alteration of the name doth not alter the malice of the vyce which remayneth.

And it appeareth well inough, that Vsurie is that which is receyued aboue the principall. Whereas the Prophete sayeth: He that giueth not to Vsurie, and receyueth not an ouerplus. For as D. Kimhi doth well expounde it, it is expressed what it is to giue to Vsurie, by the parcell which followeth, when is added. And receiue no ouerplus.

So wée reade also. Thou shalt not take of hym anye vsurie, or ouerplus, but thou shalt feare thy GOD. Thou shalt not gyue him out thy money to Vsurye, nor thy meate to receyue an ouerplus.

The Ciuile lawes also in the Code, De Vsuris. doe likewyse call that Vsurie, which is receiued aboue the principall, and yet they doe permytte the vse of it some waye, of whiche wee will speake hereafter. And it was called Vsura of the Latine men, bicause there is receiued, as it were, a certayne recompence or interest for the vsage of the money whereby some profite may come to the lender.

Ezech

David Kimhi

Lexi

lender. The Greekes doe call it τόκον as it were a certaine thing bred of the principall. And the Ebrewes doe call it נשך of byting, bicause it doth at the ende byte, and wringe him which payeth the interest. And thus much what Vsury is.

Whether that Vsury be lawefull or no.

Our question here is not of Vsury vppon Vsurye, which the Jewes doe vse, whereof no man doubteth but that it is vnlawfull and detestable, but we doe speake of simple Vsury, when more is receyued than gyuen out, whether that it be much or little, or whether it bee done in money, wares, or any other thing.

For some men suppose that Vsurye is not vnlawefull of it selfe, vnlesse it be made vnlawefull by certaine vnlawefull circumstances. I doe not denye, but that there maye be found some kynde of Vsurye, not onely not vnlawfull, but also profitable, as that Vsury is, which wee call the Vsury of the lande, whereby is much more receyued than was committed vnto the land in the séede.

This Vsury he gyueth, who giueth all to all men: and yet notwythstandiuge, hath neuer a whyt the lesse by it. That Vsury is so gyuen, that it hurteth not the gyuer at all, notwithstanding that it bringeth a great gaine to him that receiueth it. And it is so farre wide frō any spot of couetuousnesse, that it ought rather to bee excédinglye commended bicause of the greate fauour and noble benefyte of the gyuer.

Loe heere is a lawefull, profytable and godly Vsury, whereby Abraham and Isaack became rych men. By thys there is bothe gyuen of GOD and receyued by man, sometimes thyrty folde, sometimes threscore folde, yea and sometimes an hundred folde, and that without sinne.

This Vsury was most dylygentlye applyed and folowed in times paste of our forefathers, which is nowe accounted vyle, and is compelled to gyue place to the damnable Vsurye of money.

There is an other sorte of Vsury also, whereby wee maye without offence receyue an hundred for one. And this Christ hymselfe, as a surety and vndertaking for his father, doth promise hys faithfull, saying: And euery man, that forsaketh house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, and mother, or wife or children, or lande for my name, shal receiue an hundred times as much agayne and possesse euerlasting life.

Loe heere is an other heauenlye kinde of Vsury, wherevnto we bee also called, and not frayed from it. But I beseeke you, howe manye fynde we of them whiche doe affyre their myndes, to gather them these heauenly treasures, which bee giuen with so great an interest, ouerplus and gayne? So that it is proued by these examples, that it is not vnlawefull of it selfe, to yelde more than is receyued or to receiue also more than is giuen out.

But thys is the poynte whych wee muſt conſyder off with ſymple and pure eyes, whether the order and nature of that Vſurye which is vſed in oure dayes, and whereof our queſtion goeth at this preſent, and that Vſurie of the land and of heauen, of which both God the moſt mightie Lorde is the giuer and lender, bee all one or no. They which doe mayntayne the accuſtomed Vſurie, doe deuyſe manye meanes to coloure it by, and to vpholde it to bée lawefull. They doe bryng for them the law out of the Code in the treatie De vſuris, whereby is permitted, yea, and appoynted the hundred and halfe hundreth parte &c. and they thynke to worke theyr feate by the authour of the ciuile lawes, ſo that the ſame whiche they doe, ſhal not ſeeme to bée Vſury, or if it bée Vſurie, yet it ſhould not be vnlaweful. Wherevnto wée aunſwere, that the lawemaker was enforced of neceſſitie not to maynteyne Vſurie, but to ſet ſome ſtaye in theyr couetouſneſſe, which grewe to bée paſſing great at thoſe tymes, as the very text it ſelfe of the lawe doth proue. For it eaſeth the ſorenelle and outrage of Vſurie, and appointeth certayne boundes, beyonde which none ſhall demaunde more. No doubte hée had rather there myght haue bene ſuche charitie amongeſt Chriſtian men, that there ſhould bée no entry to Vſurie at al. But for almuch as the couetouſneſſe of men was then wared exceadyng great, hée thought it neceſſarie to hedge it in, by certayne lymmittes and reſtrayntes, and therefore did cutte off the exceading enormitie thereof vnto the one halfe. Wherefore that lawe doth not maynteyne Vſurie, nor make it lawefull, but doth rather teſtifie, that Charitie was then waren colde among Chriſtian men, and moſt filthye and deteſtable couetouſneſſe growen vp: in ſo muche that there needed the authoritie of the Emperour to reſtrayne it.

So that lyke as the lawe of refuſall and diuorce, which was giuen by Moſes, dyd not excuſe the Iewe (which vſed it) before GOD, but that hée was giltie of the breache of wedlocke: So that Ciuill lawe doth not ſo make Vſurie to bée lawefull, that the Chriſtian man which vſeth it is cleered before GOD. Wherefore lyke as Chriſte ſayde vnto the Iewes, of the lawe of diuorce: It was not ſo from the firſt beginning. And bycauſe of the hardeneſſe of your heartes, Moſes ſuffered you to vſe the libell of diuorce, and ſo ſent them backe to the firſte trade of lawefull wedlocke, wherevnto they ſhould frame them ſelues.

So wee muſt alſo haue a reſpect in this caſe of Vſurie vnto the puritie, principles, iuſtice, and order of Chriſtian religion, whereof wée maye vnderſtande in the Goſpell, and not vnto Ciuile lawes. For they were not made for true Chriſtian men, which neede no Ciuill lawe to be reſtrayned by from paſſing of theyr boundes in followyng of couetouſneſſe. For they be ſo ledde on by the Spirite of loue, that they doe hartyly loue theyr neighbours, and be readye to beſtowe

Luce. 6. Matth. 5.

ſtowe vppon them, not onely their money, but theyr lyfe alſo, if nede bee. And where as this loue is, there no deſyre of gayne can take place: nor there is no reaſon, why to eſtablyſhe ſuch lawes, whereby to reſtraine couetouſneſſe. Wherefore the Lawyers meaning was not to maynteyne and defende him which requyreth Vſurie in lending, but to relieue him, which is the borrower, leaſt when he is dryuen and compelled by neceſſitie to borowe money, (when charitie is waren ſo colde, that he can finde no mã that will gyue him frankely, or lende hym without intereſt,) he bee not worne out to the verye bones by the vnſatiable couetouſneſſe of the Vſurers.

Wherefore that Lawe which the Chriſtian Emperour made touching Vſurie, is an argument to proue by, that the loue towardes mens neyghbours, was waren colde at that tyme to the ſhame of Chriſtendome, ſo farre is it from excuſing of it for not being vnlawful. It is the parte of Chriſtian menne, to bee withdrawen from all thoſe thynges which doe diſpleaſe GOD, partlye by the inwarde drifte of the holy Spirite, and partlye by the light, and authoritie of Gods worde, ſo that it ſhould not be neceſſarie for them to bee pricked forwarde, and reſtrayned back by the compulſion of anye Emperyall lawes. The Ciuile lawes doe not forbidde all thyngs, which bee vnlawefull before God, nor they doe not punyſhe thoſe thyngs, which they forbydde not. And yet notwythſtandyng it followeth not therevpon, that all thoſe matters bee lawefull in the ſighte of God, which bee not reſtrayned by anye ciuile lawes. They doe not forbydde anger, diſpleaſure, impatiencie, enuie, hatred, pryde, naughtie luſte, couetouſneſſe, and ſuche other lyke, which the Apoſtle doth call the workes of darkeneſſe.

Galat. 5.

And attributing vnto them, that they doe exclude ſuche from the kyngdome of God, as be therevnto diſpoſed. Wherefore no man that doeth theſe thynges is therevpon excuſed in the ſight of God, bicauſe he is not condemned by anye Ciuile Lawe.

Agayne, the Ciuile lawes doe not preſcribe all thoſe matters which bee requiſite vnto true iuſtice. No Ciuile lawe doth charge vs with faythe, hope, charitie towardes God and our neyghbour, patience in aduerſitie, myldeneſſe, meekeneſſe, humbleneſſe and modeſtie, &c. And yet for all that, no man ought to ſurmyſe therevpon, that hee is not bounde vnto theſe thynges, bicauſe that in caſe hee vſe hym ſelfe otherwyſe, he is not condemned by the Ciuile lawes.

Beſydes this, they doe permitte ſome thynges vpon certayne reaſons, and conſyderations whyche bee vnlawefull for all that in the ſyght of God, and bee vtterly condemned by his worde, and they doe ſuffer them not as vpryghte and lawefull of themſelues, but to cutte off thoſe thynges which be worſe. So they doe ſuffer Vſurie alſo to this reſpect to make ſome meane in the couetouſneſſe of men.

They doe not punithe whore-

dome, they doe not take awaye fewes, and yet no whoremaister is excused thereby in the sight of GOD. Nor that saying of the Apostle is not made voyde: Wedlocke is honourable and holye, but as for whoremasters and aduiterers the Lorde shall iudge them.

In lyke manner all those threatenunges bee not voyde, which doe condemne Vsurars in holy Scriptures: bycause that they bee not condemned by the Ciuile lawes, but wee must consyder what is the marke & ende of the Ciuile lawes, and not suppose that they were set to this intent, to make men iuste before God, but to make the estate of mans lyfe somewhat able to bee abyden, and to restraine and pale in the malice of man.

This I haue thought good to touche briefly, to aunswere them which doe maintayne and defende the Vsurie vsed in our dayes, by colloure of the Ciuile lawes, that they saye: It is not vnlawefull before God.

Howe men ought to lende according to the doctrine of Christ.

Forasmuche as our question is where of Vsurie, whether it bee lawefull or vnlawefull, not before the worlde, but before GOD, and that therefore the pretence or colloure of the Ciuile Lawes, or of anye other constitutions of men, can take no holde in this question, the very nature it self of our Christian profession, doeth compell vs to hearken vnto Christe hymselfe, the Sonne of God, and to learne at his mouth, howe Christian men ought so to lende one to an other, that they synne not in the sight of God. For we must fullye persuade our selues, that the same can not be lawefully done, whatsoeuer is against the doctrine of our Sauiour. Therefore wee must waye howe Vsurie doth agree with the wordes of Christe. And I doe first of all protest vnto you, that I doe speake not vnto the children of this worlde, but vnto the faythful folke, which bee fully persuaded, that the lessons of Christe bee so godly, conteyning the rule of true godlynesse and righteousnesse, that they must all of necessitie displease God which doe not with all their heart apply and frame themselues vnto them.

Matth. Luce.

Wee doe reade in Matthewe: Denye not him which is desyrous to borowe of thee. And in Luke: Lende trusting for nothing to come of it. And in case you doe lende there where you hope to receyue somewhat agayne, what thanke haue you? For synners doe lende also vnto synners, to receyue the like. By these wordes Christ doth teache and instruct his followers, howe they ought to vse themselues in this case. And hee putteth a difference betwirte them and the children of this worlde.

First, hee chargeth them, that they denye not hym which is wylling to borowe, meanyng if they be able to lende. For howe can he lende which hath it not hym selfe? He

He doth not haue his people at liberty if they haue the substance of this worlde, to lende as they lyst, but doth declare that they be straungers to the kingdome of GOD, and to the righteousnesse which belongeth vnto the children of God, as manye as do refuse to lende vnto such as be needy and do desire it. And therefore hee giueth warning to his flocke, that they do not so, in case they will be his people, and be reckened the children of God. This charge and commaundement the children of this worlde do not acknowledge, nor yet be not doyuen vnto it by Ciuile lawes, but they will haue it bee at theyr liberty to lende or not to lende.

Nor they doe not beleeue that they do offende, if they do denye hym which maketh requeste vnto them, when they bee able to relieue him. Wherefore in case that wee do lyke the profession of Christian religion, wee must endeauour to be otherwise affected than they bee. It is offence inoughe and inough that wee dw deny our ayde vnto him that woulde borowe of vs. But surely this is more than ynough, that lyke infidels we do not beleeue that we do offend when wee do not bestowe the duetie of Charitie vpon our brother that desireth to borow of vs, as though they were but nilles and trifles which CHRIST telleth vs, when hee sayth: Denye not hym which woulde borowe of thee.

They aunswere, that there is no commaundement, but a counsell. The commaundement ranne expressly to the Iewes in this wise: In case that one of thy brethren which dwelleth wythin the gates of thy citie, in the lande which the Lorde thy God shall giue thee, come to pouertie, thou shalt not harden thy hart, nor close thy hande, but open it to thy power and lende him that which thou perceiuest that he lacketh. Howe then is it reason that the iustice of Moses lawe shoulde bee perfecter than the righteousnesse of the Gospel of Christe: and that it shoulde bee left to our libertie to do or leaue that worke of charitie, wherein the Iewes were not at libertie? Agayne, though that it had bene spoken as a counsell: Denye not hym which is desirous to borowe of thee, howe can it be conuenient for Christian men to make so lyght of the counsel of christ so earnestly set forth, to imagine that they without daunger despyse it? I say vnto you, sayth hee, which doe heare mee, Ergo they which wyll bee the hearers of Christ, are beunde to the obedience of this counsell: neither can they shift it off without offence and perill of theyr soule health, euen lyke as the syche person can not neglecte the aduise of the Phisition, without the perill of the health of his body.

But the matter is cleare, that they do sinne against the wyll of GOD, which do denye theyr brother that desyreth to borowe, least hee crye (sayth he) to the Lorde against thee and so turne to thy sinne.

Secondly, Christ doth informe his folowers howe they ought to lende. Lende, sayth he, trusting

vpon

vpon nothing to come of it, which some do so vnderstand, that men should truste vppon, or receiue no profit or gayne, or interest, more than that which is lent, which is in deede principally requisite of him that desyreth to keepe his handes cleane from the filthynesse of Vsurye: but this doeth not fullye aunswere and satysfie the meaning of Christe, which doeth in thys place require of vs to lende them also of whome we can not hope to receiue anye thing againe, as it doth playnly appeare by that which hee addeth in saying: In case you do lende where you hope to receiue againe, what thancke haue you? For sinners do also lend vnto sinners, to receiue asmuche agayne. Marke, hee sayth not, to receiue in Vsurye, or an ouerplus somewhat more than the principall, but to receiue the lyke, or asmuch.

Wherefore hee doth herein also make a differrence betwixte hys people, and such as doe not belong vnto hym, and requyreth of hys folowers to relieue theyr neighbour and brother, not onely without gayne, forasmuch as sinners also doe so sometymes, but further to theyr hinderaunce and the losse of theyr money, which they doe lende, and so to lende, that the lenders may purchase themselues thereby the fauour & thanke of GOD.

And we muste herein also make a dyfference betwixt Ethnikes and Christians. The Ethnikes doe lende fyrst vnto suche as be able to repaye as much as they haue receyued.

Secondly, to them which haue also sometymes lent vnto them before, or maye lende them againe an other tyme.

Thyrdly, vnto theyr frendes and kinsmen.

Fourthly, to them of whom they may truste to fynde some fauour. And in deede there is no offence in these sortes of lending, but yet there is not expressed thereby the iustice of the kingedome and spyrite of Christe. Therefore they that be of Christes flocke doe lend in this manner.

Firste, vnto them which hath not so much welth as to pay them some againe.

Secondly, vnto them also which neuer lent vs any thing before, nor are not able to lend vs againe.

Thirdly, not onely vnto our frendes, but vnto our enemies also. Not onely vnto our kinsfolke, but vnto straungers and forreyners.

Fourthly, where we can loke for no thanckes giuinge, recompence nor fauour. And in so doing we doe declare in verye deede that we be his children, which bringeth forth his Sunne vpon bothe good and euill, and rayneth vpon the thankefull and vnthankefull, which Christe doth also require of his folowers, saying: That you may be the children of your Father, &c.

Now compare me them which do lende vpon Vsury now a dayes, vnto this square and rule of Christian rightuousnesse, and se howe farre they bee out of the square of Christes worde, whiche is so set

set forth vnto all Christian men, that vnlesse they do confirme themselues vnto it, they muste needes be accompted amongest synners, and not amongest the chyldren of God: yea, and that scarcely able to reach to the ryghteousnesse of synners. For there is so muche righteousnesse attrybute also vnto synners, ỹ they doe lende out without Vsury, and that they couet not to receiue any thyng for gayne, but the same onely whiche they lent out. So that it is an easye matter for vs whiche doe loke vnto the righteousnesse of the kyngdome of Christ, and to ỹ tenour of Christes wordes, and to the profession of Christian religion, to iudge vppon this comparison, whether that Vsurye bee lawefull for them or no whiche haue professed Christe, and wyll seme to be Christians, as for others, wee neede not to iudge. A Christian man ought to aunswere to his profession, and not to iudge otherwyse of thinges whether they be lawefull or vnlawefull, but according to the tenoure of the doctrine of Christe, and not to sette hymselfe that marke or end in the folowyng of righteousnesse, whereby he may escape blame of vniustice in the face of the worlde, but in the sighte of God. Wherefore we doe conclude agreeinge vnto the holye Scriptures and sayinges of Christ, that the Vsurie which is waren to bee exceeding marueylous and greate these latter tymes in the Churche of Christe, is not lawfull but dammable and farre out of the square from the profession of Christian righteousnesse.

And how greate the wickednesse of Vsurie is, consydered of it selfe, it is not hard to knowe, but onelye vnto them which take a swete sauoure of lucre and gayne of any thyng, howsoeuer it ryse, whose heartes the greedinesse of auarice hath blynded vp. Furste the vice of auarice hath allwayes beene reputed moste filthie and foule, not onlye amongest Christian men, but with Ethnickes also, and that is the verye rote of Vsurye. Take me awaye the loue of money and desyre of gayne, and we shall haue neuer an Vsurer left in the Church of Christ.

Secondly, who seeth not, howe wycked and wrongfull a matter it is, to seeke a gayne vppon the pyntching and payne of others, for the Vsury whiche is giuen, is reysed not vppon the trauayle and labour of the Vsurer, but of hym that payeth the interest.

Thirdely, it is out of all equitie also and reason, that the Vsurer doeth receyue a gayne without any losse or daunger of his money, so that hee is out of all hazarde how so euer the dyce fall, and he onely enforced to beare the daunger of the losse, which payeth the interest, what so euer losse or mishappe falleth, it is his lotte. The Vsurer hath nothing to doe, but onely to receyue his gayne, and haue his principall also saued.

Fourthly, this is also an other poynt, that though the debter paye neuer so great vsurie, yea and continue in it neuer so many yeares, yet for all that, the principall stock doth euer remayne whole, and no peece thereof dimunished. And how sore this matter doth torment the

heart

heart of him which paieth ẏ interest and howe thynne it maketh hys stocke, I néede not to tell you, for experiẽce doth wel teach it, when ẏ poore being once in this case, and finding him selfe to be in such a plagie bracke, as he can not wynde hym selfe out of, falleth to be desperate, and to forsake his wife and children, and to leaue behinde him the rest of all his goods, for the vnsatiable couetousnesse of the Vsurer to spoyle. Such a matter we reade chanced vnto them, which being in daunger and debt, fled vnto Dauid when he was an outlawe. Suche pitifull sightes and lamentable cases, godly folke doe sée dayly before their eyes, to their great griefe and sorowe, when the Magistrates doe but winke at the matter. And yet the worst poynt of all is that, wheras such Vsurers ought not to be taken for Citizens, they be preferred to places of honor and reputatiõ, as well Ecclesiasticall as worldly affaires.

1. Sam. 22.

The obiection of the Vsurers.

It is an olde saying (sayth the Vsurer) in euery mans mouth, that the partie that is willing, taketh no wrong. I sende for no mã, I enforce no man to take my mony, they come of their owne accord, and they take my mony vpon no other condition, but for Vsury, nor they require not otherwise: what doe I offende in this matter? Let them leaue me my mony, if the burden of the Vsurie be so sore. I aunswere, that this is a saying mœte for no Christian, but for an Ethnicke, yea, and enemy vnto man. Necessitie is a harde and sore weapon. The poore miserable men come vnto thée as driuen thereby, and thou doest most fouly make their miserie gainfull vnto thée, without all perseuerance of humanitie or gentlenesse. Againe, the Vsurer doth obiect: But Syr, they were well appointed, and gaue me thankes when they tooke my mony vpon the condition to pay interest. What wrong is this I praye you, which maketh men full glad, and to giue me great thankes? I aunswer. It is not for any benefite they fœle, that the poore men do reioyce & giue thée thankes, but bicause they thinke that they shalbe better able to shift off by the hinderance of Vsurie that cruel necessitie wherewith they be pricked. No doubt they had rather to haue had borowed the mony after ẏ plain fashion of borowing, than to take it with the hynderance of the Vsurie. But forasmuch as the vngẽtle dealing of men is so farre gone, that they can not finde ẏ fauour in any place, they be glad in déede whẽ they haue gottẽ that mony vpon any Vsurie: and yet this sort of gladnesse turneth them at length vnto a great heuines and sorowe: and where as they thinke they haue escaped one diuell, they fall into the clawes of the diuell and his damme both. Chrysostome doth most handsomly compare this ioye of them which do take mony vpon Vsurie, vnto the biting of an Adder, for lyke as hée which is bitten with an adder, falleth with a certaine delite into sléepe and in the swéetnesse of his deadly sléepe dieth, by reason that by the

Chrys.

meanes

meanes of his fléeping the poyson passeth ouer throughout al ẏ partes of his body. So he which receiueth money vpon interest, doeth so reioyce for the present, as if he had receiued a good turne, notwithstanding the Vsury doeth in continuaunce so sucke vp his substunce, that it turneth it all into debte. So Cato also the elder, being asked at a time, what it was to take Vsury, answered, as much as to murder a man.

Thirdly, it is replyed also by others, which hath some shew of the taste of the gospell of Christ, not to amende theyr life, but to couer their wickednesse withall, and say, that the whole law and summe of the scriptures of the Prophets, by the testimony of Christ consisteth in this point, that I must do the same to others, which I would haue don to my selfe. And I would me no better liuing, than to haue an hundred crownes euery year for the paying of fiue, than I pray you what fault is there in that that I do take asmuch of others. I do vse the same trade my self as often as I haue néed, I do giue the like and take the like againe of others. I answere. It is a most wicked matter to abuse the words of Christ, which bée of that nature that they ought not to mainteyn the couetousnesse of men, but all brotherly charity. Thou doest the same to others which thou desirest of others. If thou do this of a charitable spirit & motion, imagine thy self to be the poore and néedy person, and put on the affection of his necessitye, weying wyth thy selfe what thou wouldest wish to haue done to thée from them that be welthy if thou were in his case, whether thou wouldest haue them to lende thée with Vsurye or without Vsurye. No doubt thou haddest rather haue it without Vsury, for it were better for thy purpose than to abyde the hinderance of the Vsury: wherefore whereas Christe sayth do the same vnto others which thou wouldest haue done vnto thy selfe: thou must vnderstande it as spoken in this sense: Do that to thy neighbour which thou wouldest haue done vnto thée if thou were in his case, with the verye same friendly and fauorable affection of loue, as thou bearest vnto thy owne selfe.

Examine thy owne conscience & iudge vprightly, whether that thou canst truely say, that thou doest so loue and relieue thy poore and néedy neighbour, as thou wouldest be loued and releiued in case thou were as hée is. And séeing that thou canst not so say of thy selfe and speake truely, to what purpose is it to vse the guile to make a mockage of the sentence of our sauyour Christe?

Secondly, thou sayst that thou doest both giue and take Vsurye: but tell me I beséeche thée why doest thou giue, vppon what néede or necessytie? Lyke as they doe of whome thou doest take it? No no. They doe susteine the smartes of Vsurye, as compelled by necessitye, but thou féelest no smart, thou giuest not for necessitye, but of a couetous mynde, for the hope of a greater gayne, fiue in the hundred to wyn tenne: fiftéene to get twentie.

And

And doest so giue and take as some Passing priestes are wont to doo, which will themselues somtimes offer a halfepeny vpon the pax to continue and keepe in the gaine of the offerng in the Church, and to moue the people to offer by their example, and by that meanes for one halfepeny to get vp twenty. Thus the Simonists doo trymly aagree with the Vsurers, for they be possessed both with one kinde of couetousnesse. Fourthly, when the Vsurer perceyueth that he is driuen into a narow corner, & woteth not by what meanes to maintaine his Vsurie, he turneth himselfe to other shiftes, and saith: if Vsury be of this nature that I doo offende in receauing, I know what I will do, I will hereafter lende no man any of my mony, I will keepe it to my selfe least I be an Vsurer. I answere. This is that shift of couetousnesse, for which the ciuill lawes woulde not vtterly forbyd Vsurie. Wilt thou keepe thy mony to thy selfe? notwithstanding any restraint of the world, thou maist do so, but in the court of conscience and of Christ, thou canst not do so, by whose commaundement thou art charged, that thou shalt not deny him which will borow of thee, but lend him without hope to receaue any thing againe. Therfore which soeuer thou doost of thē both, thou shewest thy selfe to be nothing lesse than a Christian man, whether thou refuse to lende thy brother mony when thou art able, or whether thou do so lend that thou receaue Vsurie, thou doest all alike offend God and thy neighbour. In case thou lende nothing at all, in deede thou art not burdened with the offence of Vsurye, but yet thou doest still nourishe vp the roote of Vsurye, that is to saye, couetousnesse in thy hart, and becomest a trāsgressour of the word of Christ. To be short, thou doest (asmuch as in thee lieth) as well to destroy thy neighbour in not lending to him at all, as in the lending to Vsury. If thou refuse to lende, thou arte worse than an heathen sinfull person: for sinners do also lend vnto sinners, to receaue asmuch againe. If thou lend for Vsury, thou art in that respect also worse than a number of heathen men, which doo by the law of nature kepe themselues from this vice.

Fiftly, the couetousnesse of the Vsurer dooth reply also in this sort. If I shall lende without Vsury, it is not possible that I should be payde home my owne agayne: for the poore mans substance is not so great to paye me againe my whole summe. But in case he doo paye mee yearely a certayne Vsurye, I maye be payde at the least way yet some parte of my money. I aunswere. Doost thou confesse then that the pouertie of thy brother is so great, that he is not able to pay thee thy mony which he hath borowed? Why doost thou not thē harken to the wordes of Christ, wheras he sayth: And your rewarde shall be great in Heauen, and, You shall be the sonnes of the highest. And, Thou shalt be payed it at the regeneration of the iuste, How canst thou saye that thou receauest nothing, when for an earthly commoditie thou arte payde an euerlasting?

Luce.

Luce.

So that this pretence is quyte contrarie vnto the doctrine of Christ, which teacheth vs to be beneficiall to the poore, for that very cause, bicause ẏ he hath nothing to repay it withall, to the entent to purchase thee the heauenly rewarde. And thou wilte lende the poore body nothing for this occasion, bycause hee hath not so much wealth to be able to repaye thee that which thou wouldest els lende him. Doest thou not beleeue then, that the same is true which Christ doth promisse, or doest thou better like the temporarie rewarde and gayne than the euerlasting, the earthly than the heauenly?

Sixtly, That little that I haue (saith he) I haue gotten it togither with great trauaile and much a do, what reason were it I shoulde bestowe it vpon others for naught? what is that to mee, that other folkes haue not as well husbanded theyr thinges as I?

Doe I owe them anye thyng? I aunswere. It was a chargeable and costly matter also vnto Christ, that he redeemed thee with hys owne bloud vpon the Crosse, and for thy sake became poore, to the intent to make thee rich. Secondly, what matter is that to Christ, that we looke no better to our selues? Agayne, what thou owest to thy brother, heare the Apostle where he saith: Owe you (saith he) nothing to any man, but this, that you loue one an other. So that thou owest loue vnto thy needye brother, and consequently not onely thy mony, but thy selfe also? Why? bycause that Christ also hath loued vs, and giuen himselfe for vs: wherefore we ought also to laye our soules for our brethren as he dyd.

We bee all of vs far to slacke in this pointe, that we do consider the basenesse and pouertie of our brethren without any affection of true loue, and do not rather weye the wyll of God and his manifest commaundements, and the exceeding worthynesse of his free redemption. Doth not the poore man deserue to haue thee to lende him? yet no doubt, Christ doth well deserue it, which doth require it at thy hand. The poore man is not worthy to receiue so good a turne at thy hand, that thou shouldest lende him thy mony for nothing, but Christe is worthy inough. The poore man can not pay thee thy mony again which he borowed but christ can restore it an hundred fold thicke, and withall giue thee euerlasting lyfe, as he hath promised also.

Seuenthly, accordinge to the most stubbern nature of the shiftes of couetousnesse, the Vsurer replieth yet once agayne, and sayth: Wherevpon shall I lyue? Howe should I prouide for mee and my familie, in case that I shoulde so lende, that I shoulde receiue nothing agayne? I aunswere thee. The lorde saith: See you seeke first the kingdome of God and the righteousnesse thereof, and al this geare shall be ministred vnto you. And, The Heathen do seeke all these thinges, so that this maner of shifting and holdinge off, is not conuenient for Christian men: nor wee must not be afraid, least we husband our owne thinges naughtely by our ayding of our needy brethren.

Math. 9.

We do reade that some do deuide and bestowe their owne thinges, and become the richer for it, and some do catche that which is not theirs, and be alwayes in pouerty. The soule which blesseth, that is to saye, doth good shall wax fatte, and he which doth replenish, shall be replenished also. And, Breake thy breade, sayth he, vnto the hungry, and bring the needy and straying into thy house: and when thou seest one naked, cloath him, and neglect not thy flesshe. What tyme thou powrest out thy soule vpon the hungry, and doest refreshe the afflycted and troubled soule, thou shalt be like a well watered garden, and lyke a fountayne of water, which shall not slake or decay. And the Apostle sayth. He dispersed and gaue to the poore, his righteousnesse remaineth for euermore. And he which doth bestowe seede to the sower, will giue breade also to eate off. So that the faithfull ought not to feare penury and lacke, for that that he doth relieue the poore. And yet I woulde not so much myslike this matter, in case that at the least way that meaning of the Apostle could be admitted, that the aboundance and ouerplus of the rich, might relieue the lacke of the poore. For although that we dyd not so readily departe from our owne necessaries vnto others, it might be borne withall, so that we did not excuse, but confesse the weakenesse of our faith therein. But who can like this in the church of Christ, that in so great excesse or waste of all thinges, we be neuer afraide of lacke, but that we be than afraid, when we should succour the necessities of our brethern? If we should folow the Apostles rule, which is prescribed, saying in this sorte: Hauing to fede vpon: and to couer our carkas, let vs be contented withall, this care and feare woulde some be gone. For nature as he sayth, is serued with a little, but rauening greedinesse wouide haue an vnreasonable deale to be satisfied withall. Let vs laboure in that which is honest, eschewe Idlenesse, and cast of all the waste: let vs banyshe away the abuse of all thinges, and we shall be careles vnder the protection and prouidence of God, and haue no neede at all to feare the necessitie of penury and lacke, but nowe when there is so much cost bestowed vpon stately and gaye houses, and buildinges, vpon excesse and waste of apparell, vpon all kinde of delitions meates and drinkes, besydes all other vnnecessarie deuises, what wonder is it if men be afraide of pouertie? No doubt he hath neede of muche, which determineth with al symnesse and gaynesse not to nourish, but to nussell men in naughtinesse. He hath neede to haue much which purposeth to leaue great wealth vnto his heiers after him. And he that hath neede of much doth vse manye sleightes, & conueiances by right or by wrong, whereby to attaine to his purposed pretence. Away with this, and you shall finde it an easie matter, not onely, to shake of this detestable Vsury, but also euery way to relieue the necessities of our bretherne.

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Of

Prouerb. 11

Esay. 58.

2. Cor. 9.

2. Cor. 8.

1. Tim.

Of the Vsury of them which do deliuer their money to interest to Merchants or Princes.

Hitherto wee haue considered that kinde of Vsurie, wherein the poore man is bound to the rich, and the substãce of the bare & needy sucked away, and we haue also spoken of that kinde of lending, wherwith Christ doth charge vs to succour the necessities of our brethren. Nowe we haue to speake of them which do put out their mony to vse, fallen vnto them by inheritaunce or otherwise gotten, vnto rich men, Merchantmen, or Prynces, vpon condition to receiue some certaine pẽce monthly or yearely for the interest thereof and withall to haue their principall to remaine whole which may remain in their libertie to call home when soeuer they lyst. And here riseth the question, what the offence is in such kynde of Vsury. There is none of them both wronged or greeued (say they) in this dealing, neither he which giueth, nor he which receyueth the Vsury, but they haue a handsome commoditie both thereby, he which giueth the Vsury doth turne the penny well for the principall, and gaineth so much therby that he may welynough giue Vsury without any losse. On ỹ other side he which receiueth the Vsury, doth gather vp as it were a fruit or rent yearely vpon his mony, without daunger, or perill of the principall, and may by this meanes kepe it whole to the vse of his heiers. Therefore seeing that there is neither harme nor hinderance herein to no parte, how is there any offence of charity in it? And if there be none, how can it be said of this vsury, that it is vnlawfull? I answere, That in deede we muste needes confesse, that there is not so great offẽce in this kinde of Vsury, as there is in that, when Vsury is extorted of the barer sort of men, which in humanitie or vnkindnesse is condemned not onely by the lawes of Christ, but also of nature. For it is a very vnkinde point to scratch and scrape for gaine vpon the sweate & wretchednes of ỹ poore. So ỹ this vsury wherof we shall now entreate, doth much differ from it, which can by no meanes at all be tollerable. And yet withal we may not surmise, that there is no point in this Vsury of the rich, which may be reprehended. For ỹ righteousnesse of a Christian man doth not rest onely in this point ỹ he wrong or greaue no man in any matter. And therfore we must wey the circumstances of this Vsury in respecte of the which it can not bee commendable, and well to bee liked.

Firste of all I thincke it is a clere case, ỹ ther doth concurre in both parts, as well in him which giueth, as also in him which taketh ỹ vsurye, a respect of their owne proper gaine. For neither he which putteth forth his mony to the riche Merchauntman, doth it for any brotherly charitie, but to receiue a monthly or yearly cõmoditie vpon it, nor the other is not so ready to the giuing of Vsurie that he woulde giue it if he coulde with his commoditie and ease keepe it still.

For as one saide, the loue of mony

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groweth euen as the mony it selfe encreaseth. And yet hee payeth the Vsurye without any sticking, least he should bee enforced to deliuer vp the whole principall, and so to be reputed a banckrout. Wee haue knowen notable examples in thys matter. Therefore seeing that the seeking of mens owne proper gaine is the roote also of this Vsurie, I see not howe it can frame with Christian folke, without offence or blame, or rebuke, which of all others ought to be most void of al desirefull seeking of their own cōmoditie. Let no man (saith the Apostle) seeke thinges to himselfe, but vnto others. In deede it is to farre out of the way, yea and it can not be borne amongest the Heathen, to seeke a mans own cōmoditie, with the hinderance of others. And yet withall it ought to be as straunge a matter of it selfe vnto Christian men, to hunt after their owne againe, yea though it were without the hinderance of others as it ought to be, to giue thēselues vnto lustes and ydlenesse, without anye hynderance or incommoditie of others.

Wherfore like as they do offende, which doe giue themselues vnto wanton lustes & pleasures in Princes Pallacies and noble and riche mens houses, notwithstandinge that they feele no harme that they take thereby, so the Christian man doth also offend, which is greedy of his owne gaine, notwithstanding that he doth so apply it, that hee seeke his gaine, not out of the miserie of the poore, but onely of the wealth of rich men.

Secondly, he which taketh Vsury must looke circumspectly, that he feede not his humor of his owne vnbeliefe thereby. For it is not sufficient for a Christian so to deale with his neighbour, that he haue no cause to mislike, but he muste consider also, what faith hee haue towardes GOD, and howe that which he doth, agreeth or disagreeth with a sincere and cleare faith. And to make a proofe thereof, let him which taketh the Vsury ponder with himselfe, whether that it be not better for him and for a safe conscience, to call home his mony, and vtterly to eschewe gaine of Vsury.

And in case that he bee destitute of faith, he shal immediately meete with these imaginations: If I shall liue vpon my very principall, and not vpon Vsury, it can not be able to serue my whole necessarie expences and charges, during my lyfe tyme.

Secondly, what shall bee lefte to my children & successours after my death? Wherevpon shall they liue, in case that I spende all? But those imaginations do not come of Faith, but of diffidence and mistrust, and do argue that the minde of men is so wedded vnto Vsury, that it supposeth they shall haue nothing left to liue on, if they shoulde forsake that way and trade.

But herevnto they do obiecte, that men ought not to tempt the Lorde, as though it were a temptinge of the Lorde, to depende with a stedfast trust vpon his prouidence, according vnto the worde of GOD, and to refuse that kinde

kinde of lyfe, wherein mens necessaryes be idlely purchased by the gayne of vsurie. If it bee a temptinge of God, when a man wil not lyue vpon vsurie, I beseeche you, howe shal so many godly Fathers, Prophets, and Apostels aswell of the old, as of the new Testament, and others be defended, which dyd rather abyde penurie, than embrace the commoditie of vsurie? Doth Christe than teache hys people to tempte the Lorde, when hee commaundeth them, that they shall not heape them vp treasures, and that they shall lende, trustinge for nothinge thereof? It is a temptynge of the Lorde, to trust vnto the Lord when the lorde promyseth nothing, and to neglecte the wayes and meanes to lyue, which hee prescribed, and to vse the contrarie. But I do not read any wher, that ẏ lord promysed, that he wyll feede vs, and maintayne vs in idlenesse and pleasures by vsurie.

Wherfore that is rather a temptynge of God, to lyue in ydlenesse, and to trade our children in ydlenesse, and there while to hope that ẏ same mony wherof we do receiue a yearely interest, may serue vs for euer, to this ende, to suffyce not onely for our necessarie expences, but to the paumperinge vp of our pleasures also and lustes.

Wherfore their obiection is but vayne, which say to cloake theyr vsurie, that they doe put their money to aduēture, that is to say, that they lende or laye it out to daunger, whē for vsurie they doe commyt theyr mony to the credite of others. For it maye so happe, that the same merchaunt which vseth the trafyke of my money, may fall into decaye and pouertie, either by misfortunes, eyther through his own neglygēce, and so my whole pryncipall maye decaye and be loste.

Wherefore it is not so far out of the waye, that I doe take vsurye of hym, whylest hee hath good lucke. Thus the vsurer standeth alwayes vpon incertaynties, and aduentureth hys goodes, which thinge they doe not, whose doings bee practised with a fayth towards GOD, and as it becommeth honestye. Dyce players also and gamesters do aduenture theyr money vpon an incertaintye, and yet for all that no man of vnderstandynge wyll alowe the folowinge of playe in a Chrstyan man. In this maner, whiles they wil not be such, as to tempte God, they doe confesse not onely in fact, but also in wordes, that they doe aduenture their money vnto vncertayn chaūces and daungers, and so tempt God in that that they do put forth their mony to interest.

Thyrdly, thou must consyder also, howe the rych person, Merchaunt, or prynce dothe vse hymselfe of whome thou takest vsurye, thou thinckest it suffycient to excuse thy vsurie, ẏ he is not so poore that he shall decaye his substaunce by gyuing of vsurie. But if thou weye the matter well, thou shalt perceyue, that there bee other thinges to bee obserued withall. And in case hee doe so deale in the matter, that hee abuseth thy money, either to ẏ heaping vp of wealth, either to sumptuousnes & wātonnes, either to practise some tirāny, either

to make vnlawfull warres, and to the destruction and conquest of cõtreyes, (as it is somtimes employed) I beseech thee, how canst thou boast that the Vsurie which thou gyuest, is not to be blamed, where as thou doest therein serue the sinfull appetite of other men, in yeldinge thy mony to the ouer and abuse of such persons? Thinckest thou that it maketh no mater to thee, vnto what vse thou do lay out thy mony so that it be to thy profit? What may we thincke for the outragyous dayly wantonnesse, and lust of our tymes more than Ethnick, so shamefull vilenesse of so many thousandes, so many sturres and ouerthrowes of warres, and pyllages of the people, but that money which is lente out by Vsurers? If thou be a Chrystian man, how canst thou haue no care or regarde of these matters? So that there is as it were, a certaine conspiracy betwirt thẽ which doe gyue, and them which do take Vsurie. For they doe one of them gyue ayd and helpe to ỳ other wher by their gaynes and affections be serued on both sydes, & so be lynked togither to synne. It is a sore matter, if a man do synne alone & pryuately, but how much sorer musse it seeme, when a man for his own proper gayne, shall so employ his ayde to hys neighbour, that he shall minister vnto him matter to kindle, and mayntayne his wickednesse?

Fourthly, wee must consyder also howe this kinde of vsury doth hinder the workes of Charytie. The vsurer supposeth ỳ his mony which he hath more than nede, & which he is not driuen by any present necessitie to bestowe in the charge of housholde, ought to bee put forth to some vses, to the entent that it shoulde not be ydle, barren, and vnfruitfull, but that he may take some commoditie of it. Therfore he doth put it forth to vsury, and furnisheth that hee doth by this meanes, best husbande his matters. And as long as he is of this mynde, I beseeche you when shall he ayde and relieue hys poore and needy neighbors, whiche hee hath aboute him? As for that which commeth vppon the interest, hee doth employ parte of it to his owne necessarie vses, & part to gaine more, to encrease his principall euery yeare as much as hee can. And what is that thincke you out of which hee will gyue to the poore? Where is that which he will lende freely to the needy, without interest takinge? Is it anye peece of that, wherewith hee doth mayntayne himselfe and his familye? I thincke not. Why shoulde I gyue that vnto others (sayth he) which I haue nede of my owne selfe? Paule sayth: That your abundaunce, and ouerplus, may supply and furnyshe their nede. Here is no abundaunce, no more than nedeth. All is necessary ỳ I haue. It is mete for mee to loke to bewtyfie my degree and estate, which I haue receyued of my forefathers, to haue a consideration & regard of my reputation & honour, to fynd my wyfe and chyldren, not barely nor basely, but bountifully as reason woulde. Hereunto is requysyte no scarse, nor small peece of money, but a large and plentyfull stocke. Should he gyue out of that which he hath appointed for vsury? No, that is as holy as ỳ chalyce, it may not be touched. Therefore what is to bee locked for els in suche a man, but that all workes of charitie must bee extinguyshed by the greedy desyre to gather money, specially if he beleeue that this vsurye bee not vnlawfull when the couetouse harte is not bytten with any sause of synne, but wadeth out in the matter, castinge no peryll at all, as though it were lawful. And therfore we may heare them say, when they be desyred to lende: I would lende thee (say they,) if I had any mony in my handes, but I am without mony at this tyme, wherefore I pray you be not mislcontented that I lende you not, for I haue it not. Thus they doe excuse theyr shyfting ouer of the workes of charitie. But why haue they no mony in theyr handes? No doubt because they haue appoynted one peece of it to the dayly expences and charges of theyr house, and an other peece to the aduauncinge and encreasyng of theyr pryncipall, or stocke. And herevpon it falleth out oftentimes, that they which be thus nusseled in vsurie, be not very readye to paye theyr own debts, but runne in with taylers, shoemakers, carpenters, & other artyficers, and can bee content to let them bee vnpayd a yere, two or three, tyll it come to great lumpes, bycause they would not be dryuen to diminyshe anye percell, neyther of theyr stocke that they haue at vsury, neyther of it whych they haue culled out thereof for the expence of theyr family: notwithstandinge at nede or necessytie, the poore artyficers which they be indebted vnto, bee pynched withal for the mayntenaunce of themselues and theyr familye. And what can bee imagyned more wretched and wicked than this?

So that in case these poyntes be well wayed wherof I haue spoken, that is to saye, how this Vsurie is the nurse and feding of mens own proper gayne, and serueth to the mayntenaunce of vnbeliefe & mistrust, to what abuses the mony put out to vsury, is employed, and how the workes of Charitye bee extynguyshed and decayed by the greedy desyre of gatheringe of mony, I suppose it doth manyfestly appeare, that this vsurye, neyther which is practysed amongest the rycher sort, can bee estemed to bee lawfull by them which doe vnderstande what is requyred of the professors of the Christian Faythe, seynge that brotherly charitie and the contempt of worldly goodes, is the very cognysaunce and difference, without which they can not bee reputed to be Christians.

Of the Vsurye of Widowes and Pupilles.

They which be the guardians of Widowes and Pupilles, doe moue a question in this place, whether that it bee lawfull or no for them to put out to Vsurie, not their owne money, but the money, of Wyddowes and Orphanes lefte vnto them by theyr inheryttaunce or bequeste of theyr predecessours, and to delyuer it to the vsynge of them, which will yelde them yerely some encrease or gaine therof wout any hinderance or losse.

The mony (say they,) is not ours but put vnto vs of a speciall credyt or trust. And that which wee doe, we do it not for our owne gain, but for the commoditie of the widowes and Orphanes. Wherefore no man is able to charge vs, ỳ we do seeke our owne gaynes in the takinge that interest, for we do not seeke our owne profyt, but the profyte of others: I meane of widowes and Orphanes, and there in we do fyrst accomplish ỳ worke of charitie, and secondly discharge the truste also that we bee bounde vnto. I answere, I am not ignorannt, that our predecessours vsed this order before that ỳ pestelent plague of Vsurie had prophaned and defiled the Church, and were contented to permyt and beare that with wydowes and Puppylles, which was permytted in none else. All vsurie was foule & euyll fauoured, besydes that of wydowes and Pupilles. But at length, all gappes were layde wyde open vnto this wickednesse, and gaine vpon Vsurie permitted vnto all men. And howe well Widowes and Puppylles haue bene husbanded with all, the corruption of the tymes that came after do clearly and perfectly declare. There coulde haue bene no greater mischiefe brought into the Christyan Church, as it began to be abused afterwardes by synistrall dealing to the hinderaunce & vncommoditie of widowes and pupilles. For when mens substances be wasted before hande in theyr lyfe time by the fyre of vsurie, what is there lefte (I pray you,) to the widow and hir child after the death of hir husbande to be laide out to

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bee founde of hir kinsfolke, and in case that coulde not bee, than ther should be relieued of the reuenew of the Church after the order and custome of the Apostolike Church. How were the goods of the Church bestowed when they were brought togither at the fyrste growinge vp of the Church by the contribution of the faithfull? Surely they were parted, and deuided accordinge as eche man had nede: they were not put out to make a rent of Vsurie. That simple and playne dealinge was meet for ỳ Christian fayth and dyd recommende vnto vs that charitie by the iudgement and tryall whereof the Disciples of Christ be knowen. But nowe that the world is all giuen to Vsurie, we doe finde by ouer many examples dayly with what fayth and truste the necessitie of Widowes and Pupilles is prouided for.

But in case that ỳ confuse heape of all other Vsuries and vnlawfull contractes might be ridde out of the waye, either by the authoritie of Gods worde, amongest them which wyll seeme to feare God, either by the power of magistrates, (which ought to be none of the last cases worthy to be treated of in our Parliamentes, if wee seeke the true reformation of Christian Religion, as it is pretended) that Vsurie might easely be borne withal, wher in men thincke that the necessitie of Widowes, Pupilles, and Hospitals, be holpen. Wherfore it were to bee hartely wished that though this Vsurie can not bee wholy wiped out of the Church of Christe, yet and the worst fall, that Vsury maye be banished, wherby the substances of the poore and bare persons bee so wretchedly pilled, against all Christian charitie, yea so sucked vp when the rich man catcheth, & scrapeth vpō the poore man, whom he knoweth to be so weake to beare the eating of ỳ interest, vnto whom he ought by the affection of true loue, accordinge vnto the sayinge of Christe our Sauiour, reache not out hys robbinge, but reuninge handes, eyther in liberall gyuing, either inuocable lendinge.

The Canonistes haue determined with what paynes this kynde of Vsurie ought to be punished, besides the reuenge of God.

Fyrst, that they shall be reputed for defamed persons by the infamy of the lawe, as well Ciuill as also Canonicall.

Secondly, that they shall not be admitted vnto the Communion, and societie of the Church.

Thyrdly, that they shall be turned off from the burtall of the Churche.

Fourthly, that their Testamentes, and last willes shall not be ratified, or approued by any lawe with certaine other kindes, of worthy penalties. But these matters do remayne still in paper, & not put in vre, and that notwithstandinge Vsurers do clyme vnto all kyndes of honours and promotions in the Church by the meanes of their vnlawfull wealth and riches. And the worlde is growen to that libertie and lacke of shame that many Magistrates, Paynces and Estates do giue libertie vnto Iewes to practise not symple Vsurye in theyr territories and dominions,

but Usuries also vpon Usurye, as they terme them: and they do not onely gyue them licence, but house them also and bargaine with them vpon certayne tares and eractions, what they shall paye vnto them yearly for their lycence to lyue vpon Usurye: fynally, they do most wrongfully bynde their subiectes, also to endaunger themselues to the payment of such Usuries. And herein the Popes curses and excommunication is quyet and calme inough, winckinge vpon the theefe, and executing the innocent.

But nowe we will draw to an ende, touchinge this consyderation of Usurie, for (as I sayde at the beginninge) it may be thought very folyshnesse in me, to busy my selfe to much in such a matter, which like an olde goute, can take no phisycke nor medicines. This mischiefe is growen to be so greate, that after ỹ admonition of many a good man, it is become vncurable. For it is crept vp into the crowne of the heades, whose dutie it were, by their authoritie to kaye such corruptions, and to direct & order their members which bee subiectes vnto them, in the studye and endeuoure of true iustice. The sayinge of Christe is: In case that salt be infatuate, and lose the taste, whereby shall it bee turned to a saltnesse or sauerinesse? Item. You be the lyght of ỹ worlde. In case that the light which is in you, be darkened or dymmed, how greate shal the darkenesse of the bodye bee? The ende is, that wee must looke for the hand of the lord who will come eare it bee longe, and cleanse his Church of all kinde of corruptions. Oh, that he woulde come and deliuer his electes.

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FINIS.

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¶A Table wherein is briefly conteined the principal matters of the Common places of M. Wolfgangus Musculus.

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Christes sacrifice is effectuall in Gods sight. 601
Christes sacrifice decaieth not in processe of time. 601
Christes sacrifice reconcyled this vvorld to GOD the Father. 601
Scriptures declare Christes Priesthoode, to bee euerlasting. 601
This perpetuitie of Christes priesthoode, the Pope can not chalenge. 601

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The perpetuitie of Christes priesthood can haue no successoures. 601
The perpetuitie of Christes Priesthoode taketh avvaye al occasiō from the Church to erect any other chiefe priest. 602
The chife priesthoode of the Byshop of Rome can not be acknovveledged vvythout contumely and rebuke of Christ the euerlasting Priest. 602

Of the communicating or participiation of the Priesthoode of Christ. 602

There be foure places in the scripture that doe declare that this priesthood is common to all Christians 602
This priesthood pertaineth to all Christians in generall, and not to the Pope, nor his Church men. 602
Augustine, Ierome, Origen and Beda, declare the same 603
The Scholemen are compelled to graunt the same. 603
They graunt it to be generall in respect of specyall masking Priesthoode, vvhich they haue imagined vvithout Scriptures. 604
They maintaine this speciall priesthoode vvith vnvvrytten verities. 604
We say ther is great differēce betvvixt that vvhich vvee ought to beleeue by Scriptures, and thinges appointed by Customes, Counsels and other auethorities. 604
If their priesthoode be a matter of faith, they muste bring foorth Scriptures. 604.
If it bee a right or custome made by them then it is no Priesthoode. 604.
There can by no truth bee estabished tvvo Priesthoods in the Church. 604.
Seing all Christians be Priests they must offer acceptable offerings to God, 604.
The offeringes of Christians be spiritual & not outward. 604.
There bee three manner of Sacrifices in this Priesthood. 604
The first is of expiation or clensing vvhich pertaineth only to Christ. 604.
The second is of praise and thankes giuing vvhich is common to all Christians vvith Christ. 605
The Cannon of the Popishe Masse doth declare the same. 605
The Sacrifice of praise and praiers is acceptable vnto God. 605.
This Sacrifice is offered vp in euery place, 605.
The aduersaries aleage the fathers vvhich name the Sacrament of Christes bodie and bloud a Sacrifice. 605. and. 606.
There is a difference betvvixt a Sacrament & a Sacrifice. 606.
There is ioined to the Sacramēt the Sacrifice of Praise. 606.
Augustine doth mingle together the vvoordes of Sactifice and Sacrament. 606.
It is better to deuide the Sacrifice of Praise from the Sacrament, in sence and vnderstanding. 606.
When the Minister of Christ offereth this Sacrifice, hee doth it of Ministerie not of a singuler Priesthoode. 606.

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There is in the Church but one Priesthoode, one cheife Priest Christ, and one honor of Priestly people. 606.
The thirde kinde of Sacrifice is to offer vp our bodies after the example of Christ. 606.
Paul calleth this an holy, liuely, and acceptable oblation to God. 607.
Paule calleth it our reasonable seruice, 607.
This Sactifice can not be made vvithout forsakinge our selues, taking vp our Crosse, folovving of Christ. 607.
The Popishe shauelinges vvill rather slay Christ an Hundreth times and burne thousandes of his Members, than once offer this Sacrifice. 607.
We may adde the fourth Sacrifice to theſe Sacrifices, of the nevve Testament. 607.
The fourth Sacrifice is to succour Christes Ministers, and releeue his members. 607.
The Popes shauelinges doe like but one peece of this Sacrifice, that is, the taking at other folkes handes. 608.
Nothing is more holy or acceptable to GOD in all mans life than this true and lavvefull Priesthood 608.
Nothing is more detestable in the sight of god, than fals and counterfaite preisthood. 608.

Of the Church. 608.

Thoſe thinges that doe truly belong to the Church, are dilygentiye to bee declared. 608.
They that vvill seeme to bee Churchmen, doe vnder colour of the Church reiecte the truth for lukers sake. 608.
They barter forged vvaers in the Church. 608.
They cleaue to Simon Magus and not to Peter. 608.
They runne rather headlonge to the Deuill, than giue place to the truth. 608.
We must consider vvhich is the true and vvhich is the false Church. 609

What the Church is. 609.

The vvoorde *Ecclesia* in Greeke signifieth a calling out. 609
But the vvoord Church is taken for the faithfull vvhich bee called foorth. 609.
There bee three sortes of calling of the faithfull. 609.
The invvarde calling of the Spirite. 609.
The outvvarde calling by preaching. 609
The calling of the faithfull into the felovvesship of the Congregation. 609.
The place of the assemblye is called the Churche. 610.
The Fathers vsed to call it so. 610
The name of Church agreeth better to the nevve testament than the glorious Titles of Temple. 610
God is not in loue vvith gay building. 610
We doe not alovv the superstitious discription of a

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materiall Church by the Papistes. 610
The Papistes also doe cal the Romishe Prelates vvith the Pope the Churche. 610.
The Churche in respecte that it is the callyng out of the faythful is not to be considered by multitude nor place. 610

Howe manye sortes of churches there be. 611.

The true Church of Christe is one onely Catholike Church. 611
The Church of Rome maye be percell of the Churche but no vniuersall church. 611.
The true churche is not of good and badde mingled together. 611
Thonghe the Cockle & Darnell doe beare a great sway in the outvvarde felovvshipe thereof yet they doe not belonge to the felowshipe. 612
The name of the Churche is peculiar onely to the saincte not to the wicked 612.
The proprieties attributed to the Churche in Scriptures doe not agree vvyth the fashions of the vvicked. 612
Church, absolutely spoken doth in no vvise pertaine to the reprobate. 612
Men deuide the true church into the militant, and triumphant 612
The church seemeth to bee deuided into three partes before the lavve, in the lavve, after the lavve. 612.

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Ther is in deed but one churche of saincte throughout all ages, one order of salvation, one Testament of God. 612.
The Fathers make mention of the church of the Israelites and of the church of the Gentiles. 613
All is one selfesame churche knytte together in christ. 613.
The Papistes do also declare that there is no saluation out of the vnitie of their Romyshe church. 613
VVe say he that sequestreth himselfe from the true church must needes perish. 613.
There is difference betvvixt the true catholike church and those that seeme to be percell of it. 614
It can not bee proued that the Sea of Rome is the only body of the churche. 614.
A perticular church may bee such, that a man can not bee of the true churche except he goe from that. 614.
Any man maye bee in the body of Christe thoughe hee neuer heard of the Sea of Rome. 614

What the true Church of Christe is. 614

It is hearde in thys tyme of errours to trye the true church from the false. 614.
The true church once knowen, the false is sone decerned. 614
The knovvledge of the true church is co be sought for in the Scriptures. 614
In tymes past the true churche myght bee knowen diuers vvayes. 615
Novve the Schismes haue gotten all thinges proper vnto christes Truth, it can bee knovven but by the Scriptures onely 615
The true church vvas knovven in tymes paste by the conuersation of lyuing. 615.
Novve the conuersation of the church is become worse then the conuersation of Heretykes, the true churche must be knovven onely by Scriptures. 615
The true church is the company of the true faythfull holy electe people. 615.
This definition excludeth the counterfaite churche. 615.
This definition agreeth vvith Scriptures. 616
The church is the house of God. 616
The church is christes flocke. 616.
The church is christes spouse. 616.
The church is christes bodye. 616.
Christ is the onely foundation of the church. 616
The felovvshippe of rhe electe bee the stones and building of christes churche. 617.
The church is christes flocke and hath none other shepherde but christ. 617
The church vvhich is Christes spouse can not be false christians. 617
The churche vvhich is christes bodye, consisteth onely of christes members. 617.

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The true church is pestered vvith vvicked and reprobate, as a bodye vvith botches and Builes 618
As Botches be no part of the bodye, so bee the vvicked no parte of the churche. 618.

Of the Catholyke Church. 618.

The Fathers cal the true teaching church the catholyke church. 618
The catholike church is the vndefiled felovvshippe sequestred ftom the vnfaithfull. 619
The vniuersall church is Ierusalem the citie of the liuing God. 619
Three properties are giuen to the catholyke churche. 619.
The catholike church is spred throughout the vvhole vvorlde. 619
The church of the faythfull is dispersed throughout the vvhole vvorld but the Romyshe churche is not. 619.
Adam, the Patriarkes, Prophetes. Martyres, and other faithfull, &c. vvere members of the churche, before Rome beleeued. 619.
Therefore the seconde proprietie of the churche, is to bee borne and vvritten in heauen. 619
The third proprietie is to bee cleane & vndefiled, which the Romish church is not. 649.
The Papistes saye that the Prelates of the churche of Rome doe represent the catholyke church. 619
They saye the elders of Israell represented vvhole Israell, and receyued blessinge of Salomon in the name of vvhole Israell. 620.
They say vvhen Christ sayd: Tell the church, he spoke to the Prelates onely. 620.
VVee saye all mankinde of Israell vvas commaunded by the lavve to appeare before the LORDE, not the Elders onely.. 620
The saying of Christe: Tell the church, Is to bee referred to euery particular church, not to prelates representyng a catholyke church. 620
The Popish Prelates confesse themselues not to bee the church, in that they saye they represente the church 621.

Of the knowledge of the true Church. 621.

The makers of the interim sette foorth foure tokens to knovve the true church. 621.
The firste pure and cleane doctrine. 621
The seconde the right vse of Sacramente. 622
The thirde vnitie consisting in loue and quietnesse 622.
The fourth vniuersall consent throughout the vvhole vvorlde. 622
The firste token vvee alovve sequestring all mens traditions from it, vvhich the popishe church doeth not. 622.

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The seconde token vvee alovve sequestring all misuse of the sacraments and such Sacramentes vvhich christ himselfe did not institute. 622.
The thirde token vve alovve, if it bee poured in by christes Spirite, effectuall in all our lyfe, and no vvorldly vnitie. 622
The fourth token vve alowe reseruing the vniuersall consent to the chiefe pointes of our christian Faith, not in ceremonies, mens traditions, &c. 622
The catholike consent muste not be referred to any one time. 622
The Papistes take the catholike consent to bee the consente of the Pope and his adherentes. 622

VVhat the heade of the Church is. 623.

The Church being a bodye must needes haue a heade. 623.
VVhat manner of heade the church hath. 623
The church hath not a stráge heade, but his ovvne head. 623.
The Church hath not many heades but one heade. 623.
The church hath not an vnprofitable heade but an heade able to doe all that belongeth to a true heade. 623.
The churche hath an heade vvhervnto belongeth and it is subiecte. 623
The Church hath an heade giuen it by God. 624
The church hath a spirituall and heauenly heade. 624

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What the Apoſtle Paule ſaith the head of the Church is. 624.
God hath made al things ſubiect vnder Chriſt. 624.
God hath giuen Chriſt to be heade ouer all thinges. 624.
Chriſt is the head of the congregation and miniſtreth ſaluation to the bodye. 624.
Chriſt being the beginninge and firſt begotten of the dead, is the Church. 624
What things be conuenient for a heade. 624
The heade muſte haue excellente vvorthineſſe, gouernaunce and povver. 624
The heade muſte miniſter to the body, Spirite, and lyfe. 624.
The heade muſte keepe the members in a continuall concorde, directe the motions and prouide for the health of the vvhole body. 624.
Such a head is Chriſt vnto the congregation. 624
The Papiſts do ſubſtitute the Pope to be the heade alſo. 624.
They vvill haue an ouerſeer of the church to be aſmuch as heade. 624
Princes, Captaines, and kings are called Heades of the people in the olde Teſtament. 625
But the Apoſtles & Biſhops be not called Heades in the Scripture. 625
Auguſtine ſayth, the Apoſtles can not be called heades in the Church. 625
The Apoſtles can not be the heade of Chriſtes body for that all Chriſtiā men make but one body in Chryſte. 625.

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The Papiſtes make Peter the heade, bycauſe Chriſte ſayde to hym, feede my Sheepe. 625
Is ther any difference betwixt Paules planting and vvateryng and Peters feedinge. 626.
Peter neyther coulde nor did feede all, neither vvas it commaunded him. 626
If Paule might be iuſtly called Doctor and Teacher, he might alſo iuſtly be called a feeder as vvell as Peter. 626.
We muſt conſider of vvhat Church the Pope is head, if they vvill needes haue him to be an head. 626
If there be a Churche that maye bee called the Popes bodye, vve hinder him not to be head therof. 626.
Their boaſtinges of Peters ſucceſsion, be but tryfles. 626.
Peter vvas neuer head of the Catholike Churche, and though he had, it folovveth not that other may be ſo. 626.

Of the Vnitie of the Church. 626.

The particular and counterfaite Vnitie perteyneth to Heretikes 627
The Catholike and ſounde Vnitie perteyneth not to Schiſmatikes. 627
Let the Papiſtes that vvould haue vs keepe the vnitie of theyr Churche, make their vnitie an vniuerſall vnitie, and no particular Vnitie. 627
It is not the true vnitie by

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and by vvhich they boaſte off in the name to the Catholike vnitie. 627
We muſt diligently ſearche vvhich is the true Catholike vnitie. 627
The vnitie of the Church is deuided into three. 627
It is one of it ſelfe. 627
There is an Vnitie in the Church of the head Chriſt and of the Church the bodie. 627
Thirdly, the membres of the Church be at an vnitie in themſelues, vvhich can neither be encreaſed nor deminiſhed. 628
Who be breakers of this vnitie. 628
They break this vnitie which dyſplace the true heade or ioyne anye other vnto it. 628.
They breake this vnitie that ioyne vvicked mēbres thervnto. 628
They break this vnitie vvhich vvill haue vs folovve ſuch an vnitie as is contrary to the heade Chriſt. 628
The firſt and laſte breache of Vnitie the Papiſtes make. 628.
The Goſpellers vvhich regard not charitie make the ſeconde. 628
The true vnitie of the church requyreth mutuall loue and breedeth the ſame. 628.
By vvhat meanes thys vnitie doth conſiſt. 628
The Papiſtes ſaye, it ſtandeth in obedience to the Romiſhe Church. 628
VVee ſaye the vnitie of the Church is Catholicall, and vvas before the Romyſhe Church and ſhall be vvhen it is gone. 628
The vnitie of the members

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of the Church is lyke the vnitie of the bodye vvith the heade. 628
The vnitie of the Churche doth not exclude the communion of fleſhe and bloud in this lyfe. 629
The miſterie of this vnition of fleſhe and bloude vnto Spirite and Lyfe, is in the Sacramente of the body and bloude of CHRIST. 629.
The life of Ieſu muſt appeare in the mortall fleſhe of true Chriſtians. 629
It is not poſſible that the life ſhould be diſagreing from the vnitie of the ſame ſpirite. 630
The qualities of the lyfe ryſeth vpon the qualities of the ſpirites. 630
In the vnitie of the body being ioyned to the heade Chriſt, is comprehended the vnitie of God the Father. 630
They that bee knitte vnto Chriſt, be not onely knit in the felovvefhip of the Spirite, but of Fayth, Hope, and Baptyſme alſo. 630.
For this true Vnities ſake it is neceſſarie for all men to depart from the vnitie of perticular Churches. 630
The vnitie of the Catholyke Churche is to bee preſerued aboue all perticular Churches. 630
He that is bound to the vnity of the Romyſhe, is not in the vnitie of the Catholyke Church. 630
In the Romiſhe church there bee many naughtypackes. 530.

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The Vnitie of the Church doth not conſiſt in Ceremonies. 631.

Diuerſitie of ceremonies doe not breake the vnitie of the church, if the beleeuers be all of one ſoule and one hart. 931.
It is to be wiſhed that vvee ſhuld all agree concerning the caſe of ſaluation. 631
The vnitie of perticular churches vvas alvvayes vvont to be broken by the diſagreements of the Biſhops. 632.

Of the Faith of the Catholyke Church. 632.

The Faith of beleeuers is all one, as the vvill of them that vvill all one thing is al one. 632
This Fayth is one, not in member but in kynde. 632
The Fathers called it Catholike bycauſe all Faithfull do vniuerſally profeſſe the ſame. 632
The fathers brought it into a ſhorte and playne leſſon called the creede. 632
Athanaſius Creede declareth the ſame more at large. 632
According vnto this Creede vve be iudged catholike. 633.
In thys Fayth vve be baptiſed. 633
They bee vnreaſonable and raſhe that do require the Faythfull to beleeue other thinges not mentioned in this creede nor at Baptiſme 633.
Such thinges doth the Pope demaunde of vs. 633

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Of ſuch thinges do ryſe the great gaynes, Lordſhippe and kingdome of the prieſtes. 633
The Popes Prelates knovve, that no vvorldly gaynes is to bee gotten by the confeſſion of the catholyke Faith. 633
Hovve Fayth is one in the church. 633
It is neceſſary to knovve in what reſpect fayth may be diuers without any breach of the vnitie of the church 633.
In queſtions concerning rites and obſeruations, the beleefe of the Faithfull may be diuers. 634
Diſagreing in rytes and obſeruations, hurteth nothing the catholike vnitie. 634
Contentions vpon opinions of Doctrine, vvorſhyppinges, contrary to Gods vvorde, can not be beleeued without breach of this vnitie. 634
The beginners of ſuch contentions, and the mayntainers be in the fault, though they bee moſt in number. 634.
The church iudgeth neither is iudged after the greatneſſe of number, but after the truth of Scriptures. 634

Of the power of the Church. 634

The povver of the church is not to bee referred to the vniuerſall church. 634
The povver of the church is to be refetred vnto all perticular churches, being members of the vniuerſall

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Church. 634
It is no reason that anye one Church shoulde haue lesse powver than others. 635.
That some smaller churches be subiect vnto greater it is more vvorldly the church lyke. 635
Euery perticular church hath three kindes of powver. 635.
Powver to iudge those things vvhich bee hearde in the Church. 635
Thys powver is not to iudge the holye Scriptures. 635.
This powver is to ibuge by the Scriptures other Doctrines vvhich the Prophets declare out of the scriptures. 635
Wee muste not giue credite vnto them that gyue the church authority to iudge the scriptures. 635
In colour of such authoritie, the Pope auanceth hymselfe aboue the scriptures. 635.
The vvicked sorte of menne, doe suppresse the authoritie of the Churche, to iudge opinions and mens traditions, and giue it to the Pope. 636
The second kynde of power is to excommunicate. 636.
Thys powver the Churche hath, if it lacke a Christian Magistrate. 636
Thys powver the Pope hath taken avvaye from the perticular Churches. 636
The thirde powver is to depose naughtie Pastoures and to choose better. 636.
This powver the Churche vseth vvithout consent of

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the Ministers if they lacke a Christian Magistrate. 636.
This kynde of powver is now a dayes oppressed moste of all by Bishops and other Prelates. 636
The aduersaries say, that the Prelates maye by their authoritie decree, chaunge, and abrogate all lavves asvvell the Apostles as others. 637
They alleadge that the churche hath altered the Sabboth daye from Satterday vntill the Sunday. 637
They saye that Christe came to fulfill the lavve, and the Apostles did abrogate it. 637
They saye, the Churches after the Apostles tymes did alter the Apostles decrees concerning catyng strangled thinges and bloude. 637.
We saye the liberall obseruation of the Sabboth vvas temporarye, and figuratiue and vvas taken avvaye by Chrystes truthe. 637.
The Apostles did not take avvaye the lavvishe decrees but declared onely that Christ tooke them avvay. 637.
The Apostles did not decree that men should for euer abstayne from strangled thinges but for a season, leaste the Gentilse should be offended. 638

Whether the Church may erre. 638.

The aduersaryes contrarye to the olde Fathers saye, the

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Churche can not erre. 638.
They saye, Christ forsaketh not his spouse the Churche, *ergo* it can not erre. 638
They say, the Church is the kyngdome of Heauen: Howe can falsehoode raigne so many yeares in the kyngdome of Heauen? 638.
They saye, the Churche is the Piller and foundation of Truth: *ergo* it can not erre. 638
Wee saye, These sayinges do not pertayne to euery perticular Church. 638
The anoyntyng of the holy Spirite doth alvvayes teache the Churche: *ergo*, it can not erre. 630
No perticular Churche is Christes spouse, the kingdome of heauen, the foundation of the Truthe. 639.
These sayinges pertaine to the onely Catholyke churche dysperſed in all the vvorlde in all ages. 639
The catholyke Churche can not erre. 649
The other perticular Churches, both can, haue, and do erre. 639
Christ neuer forsaketh hys Church. 639
If the Church of Rome or any other perticular church can not erre, vvhy dothe Paule admonisshe the Romaines, and feare leaſt the Corinthyans shoulde bee seduced. 639
Pope Hormida didde feare, leaſt they shoulde forsake Christ, and be forsaken of him. 640
They excuse themselues by that Christe forsaketh not hys Church, as a vvhore

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doth vvhen shee sayth, I haue an honest man to my husbande. 640
In respect that the Catholyke Churche is the kyngdome of Heauen, and not of the flesshe it can not erre. 640.
But in asmuch as it is vveake in some of his members, it dothe sinne and erre also sometymes. 641
The Romyshe Churche is rather the kyngdome of the vvorlde and the Dyuell than of Heauen. 641.
If for some electes sake in the Romyshe Churche, it myghte bee called the kyngdome of Heauen, yet doth it not folovve that it can not erre. 641.
By the same reason that they saye it can not erre, they may say, it can not sinne. 641.
No Papist can for shame denye but that asvvell the Prelates as the common sort of the Romysh churche doe sinne moste abhominable. 641
It is more greeuous to doe vvickedly, then simplye to erre. 641
Bycause they vvyll seeme to bee ryngleders of the Churche, they bee more asshamed that men should perceiue that they doe erre, than they bee to doe vvyckedly. 641
They compare their Churche Prelates to a Pylote, vvhome all that bee in the shyppe doe beare vvithall, being neuer so vvycked, bycause shee is their guide. 641

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They deny not that they bee sinners, but they denye that they erre. 641
They feare theyr kyngdome shoulde bee loste, if they shoulde bee tryed to haue seduced the people. 641.
So farre foorth as the Churche obeyeth the gouernaunce of the Spyrite, so farre it erreth not. 642.
It can not bee proued that the Churche obeyed in all thinges, and did not erre. 642
The first Father erred often in keepinge the lavvyshe custome. 642
The churches of the Apostles erred in the Apostles lyfe time. 642.
The Apostle calleth the Church the piller of the Truth, in respect of the elect which continue vnto the ende. 642
VVe say not that the church altogither in all hys members hath erred. 642
Our variaunce is about correcting of erroures in the Church. 642
The vvhole vvorld erreth either in the Church, or out of the Church. 643
The Truth is the Piller of the Church, not the Churche the Piller of the Truth. 643.
The Church is firme in the faythfull, and erreth in the vveake members. 643
The Churche of Ierusalem erred long vnder the Apostles concerning lavvish Ceremonies. 643
The Churche of the Galathians erred. 643
Peter erred and vvas repre-

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hended of Paule. 644
In affirming that Christes Church can not erre, the Romyshe Churche is perceiued not to be of Christ. 644.
There bee tvvo kyndes of errours and of Christians that doe erre. 644
One is vvhen the Truth is vtterly forsaken, that men can not abyde to heare it. 644.
This is the erroure of the reprobate. 644
The seconde kynde commeth of ignorance of thinges pertayninge to the ground of our Saluation. 645.
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The breakyng of the breade, in the Lordes supper, is onely the breaking of the signe. ibidem
Some doe apply these vvords, is gyuen and broken for you, vnto the bread verye vnaptly. ibidem
This Cuppe is the nevve Testament. 740
The pronoune This, is referred to the Cuppe. ibidem
It is spoken of the Cuppe, as it is before of bread. 740
Cyprian sayeth, vve cleaue to the Crosse and sucke the bloud. 741
If these vvoordes bee Sacramentally spoken, there is no inconueniency in them. 742
The naturall taste of the Sacramentall vvyne doeth sauour of Christes bloude Sacramentally, not of corporall presence. 742
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What a Testament is. ibidem
The conditions, vvhateby a Testament is ratified. 742
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The Father had gyuen all things into Christes hands. ibidem.
The things bequeathed must bee the Testatours ovvne propre. ibidem
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Menne can not saye they haue deserued that vvhich Christe hath bequeathed. ibidem.
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To the ratifying of a Testament, is requisite the death of the testatour. 743
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By the sheading of bloude there vvas signified a bloudy death. 744
The vvorde of sheading, is not to bee referred too the cuppe of the Sacramente but the bloude of Christe. 744.
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746.

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747.

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This do in the remembrance of me. ibidem
He set forth his Sacramentall deede for vs to doe, but he died for our sinnes once for all him selfe. 748
He sayeth not offer this too God the Father. ibidem
Hee biddeth vs too doe that vvhich vvee can do, no that vve can not doe. 748
He commaunded no myraculous thing too bee done. ibidem.
He sayeth not this vvyll I doe agayne, but this doe ye. 748.
The Byshop of Rochester doeth confesse, no priest doth consecrate the bodye and bloud of Christ. 749
That the Lorde did once, is one thing, and that continually is done by vs is an other. 750
The Papistes presume to doe that vvhich the Lorde neither dyd nor commaunded vs to doe, and that GOD commaunded they vvyll not doe. 750
Christe sayeth doe this in remembrance of me. 751
He reciteth this vvorde, this, tvvise. ibidem
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Christ beeing absent. 752
Some doe confound the spirituall and corporall presence of Christ. 752
He saith not, doe this to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. 753
Some brethren do argue that the nevve testament is in the Lordes Supper, and hath forgiuenes of sinnes. 753.
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VVhat is the right disposig & administration of the Lordes supper. 755.

By vvhom the Lordes supper ought to be ministred. 755
The Lordes supper is not to be ministered of euery ma 756.
In some places the Mynister of the vvorde, doth not administer the Sacrament, 756.
The Papistes ordeyne forsweters of mariage, & keepers of vvhores, to mynyster the Sacraments. 756
They dispute vvhether the Sacramentes ministration of naughty packes be allowable. 756
The authoritie of the Sacramentes dependeth vpon Christes true instruction, not vpon the qualytie of the Mynister. 756

To whom the Lordes supper is to be ministred, and to whō not. 757

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After the Apostles time there vvas menciō made of matters, to a thanckes giuing to God for their stedfastnesse. 757.
The Lordes supper is to bee ministered to the lyuing, not to the dead. 757, and 758.
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There be tvvo kindes of dead folkes, to vvhom the Sacramentes be not to be ministred. 578
The one dead in body, the other dead in soule. 758
Of them that are ready to dye, and of prisoners, 758
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They call the last Communion the pasporte or safeconduct. 759
Other doe not admitte pryuate Communion of the sicke for three causes. 759.
Bycause the LORD vvoulde haue it publicke and ecclesiasticall. 759

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The, Papistes doe not giue the Sacrament to prysoners, and such as shall suffer. 760
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VVe disalowe that Augustine sayth, that infantes dying vvythout the participating of the Sacramentes can not be saued. 764

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Some onely vpon the Sundayes. 765
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Three respectes of conuenient ministrarion. ibid.
The respect of the minister, vvho represēteth the good stevvarde. ibid.
Respect of the thing that is ministred. 772
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That vve do it conueniently and accordingly. 775
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With an healthfull and hungry harte. ibid.
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true fayth. 776
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Who they be vvhich neither eate nor dryncke the body and bloud of Christ. ibid.
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Three sundry vvayes of eatyng Christes body. ibid.
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Hovve vve be made partakers of the continuall fruition of Christes body. 780
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What manner of men vvee ought to bee, comming to the Lordes table. ibid.

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VVe takenot avvay the ſpirituall eating frō the lordes ſupper. 781
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It is not gathered aright vpō the Lordes vvordes that the vvicked do eate of the Lordes body. 782
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They alleadge that Iudas receyued the Lordes body and bloude. 784
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It may be a doubt vvhether the order of ſpirituall gifts and ſacramentes bee ſo. 786.
The vvorde is all one in it ſelfe, but not all one in the mindes of the hearers. 787.
The ſacramentes bee all one in themſelues, but to them that receiue them, it is not all one. 787
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The Maſſe is not the outvvarde things that be done and ſpoken. ibid.
The ſubſtaunce of the maſſe conſiſteth in that vvhich none els but the prieſts may doe by their auctoritie. 791
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It appeareth by the vvordes of their Canon. ibid.
What thinges the prieſtes do attribute to their maſſe. ibid.
They performe the office of mediation betvvixt God and his church. ibid.
They offer vp Chriſtes body and bloude. 791
They obtaine by the vvorke of their oblation forgiueneſſe of ſinnes for bothe the quicke and deade, and all that euer is good beſides. ibid.
In vvhat things vve do finde the maſſe to bee naught. ibid.

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VVhether that the prieſt when he ſingeth Maſſe do playe the mediatour betwixt God and the Church. 792

Gabriell Byell ſayth that the prieſt is a mediatour betvvixt Chriſt & his Churche. 792
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VVe finde no mention of this prieſthood in the new Teſtament. 793
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The office of a Biſhop & Elder ſerueth not for the Popiſhe prieſtes. 794
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VVhether that the body and bloude of Chriſt be offered to God the father at the Maſſe. 794.

The vvordes of the Canon of the maſſe concerning offering. 794
The vvordes of the Canon ſpake of manye ſacrifices not of one alone. ibid.
The vvordes of the Canon be ſpoken before their cōſecration and tranſubſtantiation. ibid.
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They alleage Melchiſedech. ibid.
Melchiſedech did not offer bread to the Lorde, but brought it to Abraham. ibid.
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Chriſt can not bee offered agayne. 798
Chriſt can not be offered but by himſelfe. ibid.
That vvhich is offered is not better thē the offerer. ibid.
It is not neceſſary that Chriſt ſhoulde be offered againe. ibid.
They alleadge, Euery Biſhop taken from men is appointed for giftes and ſacrifices for ſinnes. 801
VVe ſay theſe ſayinges of the prieſtes of the olde Teſtament can not bee referred to the nevve. ibid.
They alleage the place of Malachie, I haue no pleaſure in you, &c. ibid.
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They ſay Chriſt vvhom they offer doth pleaſe God, although they doe diſpleaſe God. ibid.
Chriſt offered himſelfe once, vvho bid them offer him agayne. ibid.
They ſay the maſſe is a continuall ſacrifice. 803
The continuall ſacryfice vvas the ſacrifice of the lavve. ibid.
They ſay the fathers called the Lordes ſupper a ſacryfice. 803.
The fathers called it a ſacrifice not properly, but improperly. ibid

VVhether forgiueneſſe of ſinnes & all the merites of Chriſtes death with all other thinges that be good, be obtayned of God by the Maſſe. 804.

Gabryell Byell ſayth, that the prieſt may applye the vertue of the maſſe ſpecyally. 804
They ſay that the vertue of the maſſe is auailable moſt ſpecially, moſt generally, and in a meane ſorte. 804
Moſt ſpecially is onely to himſelfe that ſaithe the maſſe. 804
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VVee maye therefore more lavvfully deoy their prieſts povver of applying Chriſtes geace and vertue to vvhom they lyſte, as they may affirme it. 806
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They ſay, orderly charity beginneth at hir ſelfe firſte. ibid.
It is maruaile that any prieſt doth miſcarie, ſeeing that they can appoynt theſelues euerlaſting lyfe in halfe an houre, by ſaying maſſe. 806.
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VVhy the ryche mans ſoule hath neede of more maſſes then the poore. 808
The more men doe beſtovve vpō maſſes, the more they neede Maſſes. 808
How could the ſoules of the dead in the apoſtles times

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Why there vvas not so great a multitude of masses in old tyme. 808
VVhether the fathers vvere not as religious as they that came after. ibid.
VVas the masse of more effecte of olde time vvhen there neede not so manye masses. 809
Hovv can he neede any masse that is deliuered out of purgatory by the Popes pardon. ibid.
If the Popes pardon be effectuall, vve neede no masses: if masses be effectuall vvee neede none of the Popes pardon. ibid.
If vve haue neede of masses notvvithstanding the Popes pardon, the pope deceiueth vs falsely. 809
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It is meruaile the Pope doth not curse to death the massing priest. 809
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VVhat maner of applicatiō is vsed in Christes church. 811
The free povver to dispense the merites of Christ, is in Christ onely. 811
The ministerie of the dispensation belongeth to the Apostles, Euangelystes, Prophetes, pastoures, and doctours. 811
Their ministerie is truely to preach the vvorde. 811
This dispensatiō is receiued

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of such onely, vvhose hart God doeth open by hys holy spirite. 811
The mynister can aplye no more of the grace of Christ, neither vnto any other, than God doth appoynt to embrace it. 812

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Thinges necessarie to the priest. 812
Some be absolutely necessarie, some bee necessarie of congruencie onely. 813
Absolutely necessarie be authoritie only to consecrate, habilitie of speach, stedfastnesse of intent and purpose. 813.
Thinges necessarie of congruence be, putting awaye of impedimentes, and the application of things conuenient. 813
Thinges conuenient. 813

Thinges necessarie to the action of the Masse. 813

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They graunt there is nothing set foorth by Christ in the Masse, besides the institution of the sacrament. 814
Scholasticus vvas the auctour of theyr Canon. 814
Thinges necessarie of congruence. 814
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Of these thinges vvhich bee

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absolutely necessarie for the priest, as they saye. 815.
They referre the saying of the Lorde, Do this, vnto the priest onely. 815
God gaue the communion to the vvhole church, not to the Apostles onely. 816
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Do, vvith the papystes is as much to say, as offer. 816
By these vvords, Do this, they saye Christe doth ordeyne priestes to consecrate the breade, and chaunge it into his body and bloude. 816.
Hovve they performe theyr vvorke of consecration and transubstantiation. 817
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They say, it is not certayn by holy Scriptures, hovve Christ did consecrate. 818
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To blesse, is not to consecrate, but to giue thankes. 818.
The Bishop of Rochester doth confesse the same. 818
Hovv transubstāciation doth agree vvith the sacrament and the Lordes bodye and bloud. 819
Augustine saith, The vvord is ioyned vvith the element, and there is made a sacrament. 819
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That vvhich is seene is bread and the cup. 821
Augustine saith not, That vvhich is seene is a bodily forme. 821
The nature of a Predicate is not to take avvay the subiection. 821
Our faith can not be instructed, that the breade is the body of christ, if ther be no bread in the sacramēt. 822
The Papists do say, that their massing priest must haue a purpose to that the church intendeth, els hee can not consecrate. 822
The prieste masseth for hys ovvne gayne, vvhereof the church knovveth not. 822

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Some be good of thēselues. 823.
Some bee neither good nor euill. 823
Through the gaye glose of the masse, the true supper of the Lorde is set at naught. 823

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The Canon is one of the absolute necessary things. 823
Men vvere not acquainted vvith thys Canon in the tyme of the Apostles and fathers that folowed them. 824.
It is not lavvfull for the Priestes out of the masse time to peruse the Canon. 824.
When they come at the Canon in masse time they are in a great dumpe and terrible feare. 824
To speake the vvordes of the Canon negligently is heynous sinne, but to read the Gospell negligently, is no sinne vvith them. 824
Wherein the Canon of the masse is to be found faulte vvithall. 824
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They pray God to accepte it as the gifte of Abell, Abraham, & Melchisedech vvere accepted. 825
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Gabriel vvould faine expoūd that prayer somvvhat clenly. 825
They pray sayth he, it may be accepted in consideration of them that doe offer it, not in respecte of the sacrifice it selfe. 825
They pray sayth he, that it may be accepted in respect of the fayth of the offerers, as Abell vvas, &c. 825
We say the sacrifices of Abrahā and Abell vvere accepted in no respect of the sacrifice, but of the persons vvhich sacrificed. 825
The Papistes are not contented vvith Christes sacrifice offered once for all, but make it like a lavvishe sacrifice. 825
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This ſaying, Reſiſt not euill, taketh not avvaye the vſe of the magiſtrate. ibi.

VVhether a Chriſtian man may be a Magiſtrate. 1317.

The Chriſtian man maye be mercifull and yet vſe hys office againſte the reprobate. 1318
Paulus Sergius, the Centurion, the Eunuche, and the ſouldiers that vvere baptiſed of Iohn, vvere not forbidden to exerciſe their office. 1319
It is to bee vviſhed that all kingdoms had Chriſtian Magiſtrates. 1320
No man canne better vſe the office of a magiſtrate than a Chriſtian. ibi.

VVhat is due to the Magiſtrate from his ſubiectes. 1320.

Honour is due to the Magy-

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ſtrates from the ſubiectes, 1321.
Feare is due to the Magyſtrates. 1321
Trybutes and cuſtomes are to be paide to the Magyſtrates. ibi.
Wee muſt obey the magiſtrate. 1322
Whether eccleſiaſticall perſons, and vvhat eccleſiaſticall perſons, be reputed for ſubiectes. ibi.
There be that do diſdaine to be vnder ſubiection. ibi.
No liuing man is exempted from obedience due to the Magiſtrate. 1323
Deade folkes onely bee free from the obedience of the Magiſtrate. ibi.
VVhether the cleargie be diſcharged from obedience to the Magiſtrate. ibi.
Euery ſoule, is as muche to ſay, as euery man. 1324
The miſtery of iniquitie is, in the lybertie of the cleargie. 1325
They attribute vnto the Pope, all fulneſſe of powver due to Chriſt. ibi.
The blindeneſſe of the times paſt is very great. 1328
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The ſame Conſtantine, vſed his auctoritie tovvardes the Biſhops. ibi.
Emperours called Biſhops to counſels. ibi.
They alleadge the liberties graunted to them by Emperours. 1329
A priuilege is loſt bycauſe of the abuſe. 1330
The priueleges of Churchmen do proue, that they ought to be ſubiect to the Magiſtrates. 1331

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Howe farre foorth men ought to obey Magiſtrates. 1332.

It is one thing to obey God immediately & by meanes 1332.
Hovve Peter ſaith, bee ſubiect vnto euery creature of man. ibi.
VVe muſt obey all ſuperiour powver for the Lords ſake. ibi.
Violence vvrongfully done by the Magiſtrate, is rather to be ſuffered, thā to abide to bee driuen to offende. 1333.
There is much difference betvvixt them that doe patiently abyde a vvronge, and them that yelde to the vvorke of vniuſtice. ibi.
Hell gates can not compell a Chriſtian man to euill, much leſſe a Magiſtrate. 1334.
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The princes of the empire are not to bee excuſed, for ſufferinge the interim. 1336.
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It belongeth not to the Magiſtrate to order any thing in religion, vvithout Gods vvorde. 1338
The Lawes of the Magiſtrats doe binde the conſciences of the faithfull. 1340
The Magiſtrate is bounde no further to the lavve, which God executed, but in that they doe apoynte vvhat offeces are to be punyſhed by death and what not. 1340

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What an Othe is. *1
It is an othe when God is taken to vvitnesse by the vse of his name. * ibid.

VVhether it be lawfull for Christian men to vse Othes. 2.*

The Anabaptistes trauaile to take away all othes. * ibi.
An othe is not of it selfe euill, therefore not vnlavvful except it be made euill by circumstances. * ibidem
An othe is not against the glorie of Gods name. * ibid.
An oth is not against the loue of our neighbour. * 3
An othe is commaunded by God. *4
An othe is commaunded by examples of most godly fathers. * 4
An othe is a peece of the seruice of God. *5
An othe made in the faith of God, in truthe and iudgement, is the badge or cognisaunce of the nevve Testament. *6
God, Christ his sonne, and the Apostles, vsed othes. * 7
We may not expound Christs vvordes Math 5. to make him to be both against his father and him selfe. * 8
The sense of the vvordes of Christ, I say vnto you swore not at all. * 9

*Of the abuse of Othes. * 13.*

Anabaptistes condemne that they neyther vnderstande nor vvyll bee instructed off. *13
Worldly and carnall men do

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abuse that they do not cõdemne. * 13

How they do offende that do require an Othe. 13*

When they put light persons and of no credit to othes. * 13
When the iudge doeth minister an othe in light matters of no vvaight. * 14
When the iudge doth minister an othe in a matter vvhich hee knovveth is impossible to bee performed. * 14
They offende in the forme of an othe, in coupling of Sainctes names, vnto the name of God. * 14

*How they doe offende which do sweare. * 15.*

By a cõmon vse and custome of swearing. * 15
When men fall to svvearing, bicause the company he is in doth vse to sweare. * 15
They that vse svvearing vndo them selues, though they hurt no body els. * 15
By svvearing by Gods creatures, though they svveare not by his name. * 16
It excuseth not the offence, though it bee truthe that they svveare. * 16
Hovv they offend that be put to othes in iudgement. * 16
If they vvill rather svveare for a small matter than lose it. * 16
If they vvillingly & vvittingly svveare falsely. * 16
If they doe not perfourme the thing that they svveare * 16
If thei svveare in a matter that can not be performed vvith out sinne. * 17
If in svvearing, they ioyne

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Saincts names to the name of God. * 17

*Of the discharge of othes. * 17.*

We must consider vvherefore an othe may be voyde. * 17
If the othe be vnlavvfull both to be svvorne & performed, it ought to be broken. * 17
If there bee occasion of sinne ministred, if a man ... pe the othe. * 18
If by ... othe office is wrought against the loue of thy neighbour. * 18
If hee that svveareth can not performe his othe, bicause he is subiect to others. * 19
The othe made of a thing impossible, doeth not binde. * 20

Of Vsurie. * 21.

Vsurie is novv a daies become like the disease of the Canker. * 21

*VVhat Vsurie is. * 21.*

Vsurie is vvhatsoeuer men do receiue againe, more than they gaue out. * 22

*VVhether Vsurie be lawfull or no. * 23.*

The vsurie vvhich God giueth through the increase of the land, is commendable. * 23
Our forefathers applied this vsurie diligently, but novve it must giue place too the damnable vsury of money. * 23
There is another vsurie lavvfull and heauenly, that receiueth a hundreth for one to them that forsake anye thing for Christes sake. * 23

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Wee must consider vvhether the Vsurie that is vsed novv adayes, and the vsury of the lande and of heauen, be all one or no. *23. & 24
The mainteiners of the accustomed vsurie, alleage the ciuill lavve of the Code. * 24
The maker of that ciuill lavv vvas constrained to permit some vsurie, to staye theyr inordinate couetousnes.

*How men ought to lende according to the doctrine of Christ. * 26.*

Christ chargeth them that be able to lende, not to denye him that vvill borovve. * 26
By keeping of this charge, the children of the vvorlde are knovven from the children of the kingdome of heauē. * 27
Christ teacheth them that folovve him to lende, trusting vpon nothing to come of it. * 27. & 28
They that be of Christs flock must lende, too them that haue not so much vvealth to paye them agayne. * 28
To them that neuer lent vs, nor yet be able to lende vs againe. *28
Not only to friendes, but also to enemies, to straungers as to kinsfolkes. * 28
Wee must lende vvhere vvee looke for no recompence, thankes, nor fauour againe. * 28
Let vs consider hovve farre they that lende vpon vsurie be from this square & rule of Christian righteousnesse *28
All men maye vvell perceiue

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the great vvickednesse of vsurie, saue they vvhich haue a svvete sauour in the lucre and gaine. *29
All men see hovve vvicked a thing it is to seeke a gayne vpon the pinching & paine of others. *29
It is out of all reason for the Vsurer to receiue a gayne, vvithout daunger or losse of his money. * 29
Though the detter pay neuer so great vsurie a great many of yeares, yet hee must render the principall stocke vvhole. * 29

*The obiection of the Vsurers. * 30.*

The Vsurer saieth, they vvere vvilling and glad so to take it, and therefore he doeth no vvrong. * 30
Necessitie is an harde and sore thing, and the Vsurer maketh a gaine of other mens miserie. * 30. & . 31
Some Vsurers saye, they do as they vvould be done to, so that thei breake not the cõmaundementes by the vsurie. * 31
The Vsurer doeth abuse the vvordes of Christe in this matter. * 31
If it vvere true that charitie moued the Vsurer so to do, he must imagine him selfe to be poore and nedy, and then consider vvhether hee vvould rather giue interest, than no interest. * 31
When the Vsurers can not mainteine their Vsurie too be godly, they say they vvil not lende at all. * 32
Bicause of such couetousnesse, the ciuill lavves vvere faine too permitte some vsurie. * 32

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If thou refuse to lende, thou art vvorse than an Heathen if thou lende vpon Vsurie, thou art vvorse .he a number of Heathen men. *32
The Vsurer saith, if he should lende vvithout Vsurie, the poore man that borovved vvere neuer able to pay his principal stocke againe. * 32
If ye knovv his pouertie, vvhy doe yee not hearken too Christes vvordes. * 32
The Vsurer saith, it is not reason that he should bestovv that litle that he hath gotten vvith trauaile, vpon others for nought. * 33
It vvas a chargeable matter for Christ to redeeme thee vvith his bloud, and to become poore too make thee riche. * 33
The Vsurer saith, hovv shall I liue and mainteyne my familie, if I do not lende vpõ vsurie. * 33
Seeke the kingdome of God first, sayth Christe, and the righteousnesse thereof, and all this geare shall be ministred vnto you. * 33

*Of the Vsurie of them which deliuer their money to interest, to Marchantes or Princes. * 35.*

This vsurie is not so great an offence, as Vsurie taken of the poore. * 35
Both in the giuer out, and the receiuer, there is respecte of proper gaines. * 35
Seeing the seeking of proper gaines is the roote of vsury, Christi in folkes can not vse it vvithout offece or blame. * 36
Hee that taketh vsurie muste take heede, that hee feede

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not his owne vnbelyefe thereby. *36
They pleadge that the their principall, will not serue them to liue by. *36
Those imagynations come not of fayth but of diffydence. *39
They obiect that men ought not to tempt God. *36
Then did the godly me both of the old & newe Testament tempt God, abiding rather penurye than the commoditie of Vsurie. *36
The Vsurer sayth, he taketh vsurie for the aduentures of his principal, which peraduenture the Merchant by some myssortune shall not bee able to repaye. *37.
In excusing himselfe that he will not offend God, hee offendeth in aduenturing his money vnto vncertein

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chaunces & daungers. *37
The vserer is also to bee blamed in lending his mony, to them that will misuse it to their vnsaciable lustes, *37.
This kinde of vsurie hindereth the vvorks of charitie, *38.
The vsurer will not diminishe the stocke vvhich he hath appoynted to vsurye, for no necessitie of his neighboures. *38

The Vsurie of widowes and Pupilles. *38.

In tyme past all vsurie vvas abhorred, saue that of widowes & Pupiles goodes. *39. & 40.
Now mens substaunces be so vvasted vvith vsurie, that men can leaue nothing for

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vvines and children. *40.
It had bene much better to haue obserued the apostles ordinaunces for vvidowes, then to prouide for them by suffering vsurie. *40
Yet that vsurie of vvydovves and Pupiles might easely be borne, if all other vsurye vvere ryd out of the vvay. *41
The Canonistes appoynted punishement for this vsurie besides Gods reuen[illegible]. *41.
Those punishementes remaine in paper, but are not put in vre. *41
It is now become vncurable like an olde govvte. *42

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