

BOOK III. do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by
Ch. xi. 9. some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force?
A more dutiful and religious way for us were to admire the wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all things, but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his Church upon earth is guided from age to age, throughout all generations of men.

[9.] The Jews were necessarily to continue till the coming of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of nations unto him. So much the promise made unto Abraham¹ did import. So much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did fore-shew². Upon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after-good of the whole world and the salvation of all did depend. Unto their so long safety, for two things it was necessary to provide; namely, the preservation of their state against foreign resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselves.

Touching the one, as they received the promise of God to be the rock of their defence, against which whoso did violently rush should but bruise and batter themselves; so likewise they had his commandment in all their affairs that way to seek direction and counsel from him. Men's consultations are always perilous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation those things are by their wit even resolved on, which by trial are found most opposite to public safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they never so well established, yet by oversight in some one act or treaty between them and their potent opposites³ utterly to cast away themselves for ever. Wherefore lest it should so fall out to them upon whom so much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into war, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign states, unless the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with.

And lest domestical disturbance should waste them within themselves, because there was nothing unto this purpose more effectual, than if the authority of their laws and governors were such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience unto it, without incurring the

¹ Gen. xviii. 18.

² Gen. xlix. 10.

³ [Comp. Hamlet, v. 2. 62, "mighty opposites."] 1886.

hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the
BOOK III. fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive laws
Ch. xi. 10. from heaven, and as oft as occasion required chose in like sort rulers also to lead and govern them. Notwithstanding some desperately impious there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them, if they did attempt to be authors of confusion, and to resist both governors and laws. Against such monsters God maintained his own by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them.

By which means it came to pass, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of rest and quietness; yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to work the ruin and subversion of their state, till the time before-mentioned was expired. Thus we see that there was not no cause of dissimilitude in these things between that one only people before Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since.

[10.] And whereas it is further alleged¹ that albeit "in civil matters and things pertaining to this present life God hath used a greater particularity with them than amongst us, framing laws according to the quality of that people and country; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civil is so far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven, that it rather proves a straiter bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favour more appear by temporal blessings of this life towards the people under the Law than towards us, he gave also politic laws most exactly, whereby they might both most easily come into and most steadfastly remain in possession of those earthly benefits: even so at this time, wherein he would not have his favour so much esteemed by those outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in prescribing laws for that purpose hath somewhat fallen in leaving them to men's consultations which may be deceived, so his care for conduct and government of the life to come should (if it were possible) rise, in leaving less to the order of men than in times past." These are but weak and feeble disputes for the inference of that conclusion which is intended. For

¹ T. C. lib. ii. p. 440.

BOOK III. saving only in such consideration as hath been shewed, there is no cause wherefore we should think God more desirous to manifest his favour by temporal blessings towards them than towards us. Godliness had unto them, and it hath also unto us, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore should rise as much in heavenly ; that more is left unto men's consultations in the one, and therefore less must be granted in the other ; that God, having used a greater particularity with them than with us for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of laws for government of the life to come : these are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we must plainly confess that which truth is, we know it not. God which spake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us by his only-begotten Son ; those mysteries of grace and salvation which were but darkly disclosed unto them, have unto us most clearly shined. Such differences between them and us the Apostles of Christ have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or government of the Church, seeing that even in sense it is manifest that our Lord and Saviour hath not by positive laws descended so far into particularities with us as Moses with them, neither doth by extraordinary means, oracles, and prophets, direct us as them he did in those things which rising daily by new occasions are of necessity to be provided for ; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make laws ?

[II.] Yea, but the Apostle St. Paul doth fearfully charge Timothy¹, even "in the sight of God who quickeneth all,

¹ [See Eccl. Disc. fol. 10. "Sed universum hunc locum de disciplina a Deo profecta, et prophetica immobili atque perpetua, et omnium ecclesiarum communi, gravissima illa Pauli ad Timotheum de eadem conservanda obstatione concludamus. Qui quum disciplinam suam omnem domus Dei, quæ est Ecclesia, administrandæ rationem docuisset, 'Denuncio,' inquit, 'tibi, in conspectu Dei illis qui vivificat omnia, et Jesu Christi, qui præclaram illam confessionem Pontio Pilato professus est, ut hæc mandata sine labe et

"sine reprehensione custodiasque ad apparitionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi : ' &c. quæ gravissimis verbis Apostolus persecutus est. Unde primo colligimus, disciplinæ quam ea epistola Paulus tradidisset, Deum omnipotentem auctorem esse, et Servatorem nostrum Jesum Christum : ut qui ejusdem violatæ ultores et vindices significantur. Tum constanter esse atque immutabilem, quæ nulla hominum neque gratia variari, neque auctoritate frangi debeat : cum non solum ἐντολὴ καὶ παραγγελία appelletur, sed jubeatur etiam ἀσπιλος καὶ

"and of Jesus Christ who witnessed that famous confession before Pontius Pilate¹, to keep what was commanded him "safe and sound till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ²." This doth exclude all liberty of changing the laws of Christ, whether by abrogation or addition, or howsoever. For in Timothy the whole Church of Christ receiveth charge concerning her duty ; and that charge is to keep the Apostle's commandment ; and his commandment did contain the laws that concerned church government ; and those laws he straitly requireth to be observed without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In Scripture we grant every one man's lesson to be the common instruction of all men, so far forth as their cases are like ; and that religiously to keep the Apostle's commandments in whatsoever they may concern us we all stand bound. But touching that commandment which Timothy was charged with, we swerve undoubtedly from the Apostle's precise meaning if we extend it so largely, that the arms thereof shall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apostle. The very words themselves do restrain themselves unto some one especial commandment among many. And therefore it is not said, "Keep the ordinances, laws, and "constitutions, which thou hast received ;" but τὴν ἐντολὴν, "that great commandment, which doth principally concern "thee and thy calling ;" that commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto Peter³ ; that commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, "Attend to yourselves, and to all the flock wherein the Holy "Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to feed the Church of God, "which he hath purchased by his own blood⁴ ;" finally that commandment which unto the same Timothy is by the same Apostle even in the same form and manner afterwards again urged, "I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord "Jesus Christ, which will judge the quick and dead at his "appearance and in his kingdom, *preach the word of God*⁵."

"ἀνεπιληπτος conservari. Postremo "non certi alicujus temporis præceptum esse, sed perpetuum, et "quod ad omnia Ecclesiæ tempora "pertineat : quum tam diserte præceptum sit, ut usque in adventum

"Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservetur.]"

¹ John xviii. 36, 37.

² 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14.

³ John xxi. 15. ⁴ Acts xx. 28.

⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 1.

When Timothy was instituted into the office, then was the credit and trust of this duty committed unto his faithful care. The doctrine of the Gospel was then given him, "as the precious talent or treasure of Jesus Christ¹;" then received he for performance of this duty "the special gift of the Holy Ghost²." "To keep this commandment immaculate and "blameless" was to teach the Gospel of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound doctrine, such as a number did even in those times intermingle with the mysteries of Christian belief. "Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so," doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reserved: according to that of St. Paul concerning himself, "I have kept the faith; for the residue there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous shall in that day render unto me³." If they that labour in this harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painful travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in heaven; the crown of righteousness which shall be given them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatness of their reward is abundantly sufficient to countervail the tediousness of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour must rest in hope. "O Timothy, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great commandment which thou hast received keep, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In which sense although we judge the Apostle's words to have been uttered, yet hereunto we do not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold, that the last words do import perpetual observation of the Apostle's commandment imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant Church of Christ; let them withal consider, that then his commandment cannot so largely be taken, as to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command Timothy. For themselves do not all bind the Church unto

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20. τὴν παρακαταθήκην. ² 1 Tim. iv. 14. ³ 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

some things whereof Timothy received charge, as namely unto that precept concerning the choice of widows¹. So as they cannot hereby maintain that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be though positive yet perpetual in the Church.

[12.] They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration, which measure if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly: whereas now they themselves both granting, and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconvenient or unmeet laws: sundry of ours they hold inconvenient: therefore such laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christ's: being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very laws so added they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess both in matter of prescript attire and of rites appertaining to burial. Their own protestations are, that they plead against the inconvenience, not the unlawfulness of popish apparel²; and against the inconvenience not the unlawfulness of ceremonies in burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the laws of Jesus Christ; and so consequently they yield that no law of Christ forbiddeth addition unto church laws.

[13.] The judgment of Calvin being alleged³ against them,

¹ [1 Tim. v. 9. See T. C. i. 153. al. 191. Whitg. Def. 693.]

² "My reasons do never conclude the unlawfulness of these ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and inexpediency of them." T. C. lib. iii. p. 241. And in the table. "Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulness, of popish apparel and ceremonies in burial."

³ [By Archbishop Whitgift: see Answer, p. 25-29, and Def. 109-113. The passage from Calvin is the following: "Quia Dominus . . . quicquid ad salutem necessarium erat, sacris suis oraculis tum fideliter complexus est, tum perspicue enarravit, in his solus magister est audiendus. Quia autem in externa disciplina et ceremoniis

"non voluit sigillatim præscribere quid sequi debeamus, quod istud pendere a temporum conditione prævideret, neque judicaret unam sæculis omnibus formam convenire, confugere hic oportet ad generales, quas dedit, regulas; ut ad eas exigantur, quæcunque ad ordinem et decorum præcipi necessitas Ecclesiæ postulabit." Instit. c. xiii. § 31, ed. 1550, or lib. iv. c. x. § 30, according to the present arrangement. All Whitgift's quotations from the Institution specify chapter and section only. The division of the work into books first took place in the edition of 1559: and Whitgift used an earlier copy. See Def. 391. 508.]

BOOK III. to whom of all men they attribute most¹; whereas his words
Ch. xi. 13. be plain, that for ceremonies and external discipline the
Church hath power to make laws: the answer which here-
unto they make is, that indefinitely the speech is true, and
that so it was meant by him; namely, that some things be-
longing unto external discipline and ceremonies are in the
power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it
meant, neither is it true generally, that all external discipline
and all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, inas-
much as the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord
are ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abro-
gate. Again, Excommunication is a part of external discipline,
which might also be cast away, if all external discipline were
arbitrary and in the choice of the Church.

By which their answer it doth appear, that touching the
names of ceremony and external discipline they gladly would
have us so understood, as if we did herein contain a great
deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them
is, that they overmuch abridge the Church of her power in
these things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in these
things we gave the Church a liberty which hath no limits or
bounds; as if all things which the name of discipline contain-
eth were of the Church's free choice; so that we might either
have church governors and government or want them, either
retain or reject church censures as we list. They wonder at
us, as at men which think it so indifferent what the Church
doth in matter of ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we
judge the very Sacraments themselves to be held at the
Church's pleasure.

¹ "Upon the indefinite speaking
"of M. Calvin, saying, 'ceremonies
"and external discipline,' without
"adding 'all' or 'some,' you go
"about subtly to make men be-
"lieve, that M. Calvin had placed
"the whole external discipline in
"the power and arbitrement of the
"Church. For if all external disci-
"pline were arbitrary, and in the
"choice of the Church, excommuni-
"cation also (which is a part of it)
"might be cast away; which I think
"you will not say." And in the very
next words before: "Where you

"would give to understand that
"ceremonies and external discipline
"are not prescribed particularly by
"the word of God, and therefore
"left to the order of the Church:
"you must understand that all ex-
"ternal discipline is not left to the
"order of the Church, being particu-
"larly prescribed in the Scriptures:
"no more than all ceremonies are
"left to the order of the Church, as
"the Sacrament of Baptism, and
"Supper of the Lord." T. C. lib. i.
p. 32. [and 33, al. 19. Whitgf. Def.
111.]

No, the name of ceremonies we do not use in so large
a meaning as to bring Sacraments within the compass and
reach thereof, although things belonging unto the outward
form and seemly administration of them are contained in
that name, even as we use it. For the name of ceremonies
we use as they themselves do, when they speak after this
sort: "The doctrine and discipline of the Church, as the
"weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto; but
"the ceremonies also, as mint and cummin, ought not to be
"neglected¹." Besides, in the matter of external discipline
or regiment itself, we do not deny but there are some things
whereto the church is bound till the world's end. So as the
question is only how far the bounds of the Church's liberty
do reach. We hold, that the power which the Church hath
lawfully to make laws and orders for itself doth extend unto
sundry things of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such other
matters, whereto their opinion is that the Church's authority
and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in disputing
against us about this point, they take their compass a great
deal wider than the truth of things can afford; producing
reasons and arguments by way of generality, to prove that
Christ hath set down all things belonging any way unto the
form of ordering his Church, and hath absolutely forbidden
change by addition or diminution, great or small: (for so their
manner of disputing is:) we are constrained to make our
defence, by shewing that Christ hath not deprived his Church
so far of all liberty in making orders and laws for itself, and
that they themselves do not think he hath so done. For are
they able to shew that all particular customs, rites, and orders
of reformed churches have been appointed by Christ himself?
No: they grant that in matter of circumstance they alter that
which they have received², but in things of substance, they
keep the laws of Christ without change. If we say the same
in our own behalf (which surely we may do with a great deal
more truth) then must they cancel all that hath been before
alleged, and begin to inquire afresh, whether we retain the

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

² "We deny not but certain
"things are left to the order of the
"Church, because they are of the
"nature of those which are varied
"by times, places, persons, and
"other circumstances, and so could
"not at once be set down and
"established for ever." T. C. lib. i.
p. 27. [15.]

BOOK III. laws that Christ hath delivered concerning matters of substance, yea or no. For our constant persuasion in this point Ch. xi. 14, 15. is as theirs, that we have no where altered the laws of Christ farther than in such particularities only as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Christ hath commanded prayers to be made, sacraments to be ministered, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of these somewhat Christ hath commanded which must be kept till the world's end. On the contrary side, in every of them somewhat there may be added, as the Church shall judge it expedient. So that if they will speak to purpose, all which hitherto hath been disputed of they must give over, and stand upon such particulars only as they can shew we have either added or abrogated otherwise than we ought, in the matter of church polity. Whatsoever Christ hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the same we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatsoever our laws have thereunto added besides, of such quality we hope it is as no law of Christ doth any where condemn.

[14.] Wherefore that all may be laid together and gathered into a narrower room: First, so far forth as the Church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible spouse, it needeth no external polity. That very part of the law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness is itself alone sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But as the Church is a visible society and body politic, laws of polity it cannot want¹.

[15.] Secondly: Whereas therefore it cometh in the second place to be inquired, what laws are fittest and best for the Church; they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion, which depriveth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for herself, inclined as it should seem thereunto, for that they imagined all things which the Church doth without commandment of Holy Scripture subject to that reproof which the Scripture itself useth in certain cases² when divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoever, to say, "The word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of

¹ [See above, ch. i.]

² Isa. xxix. 14; Col. ii. 22.

"the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the Church¹." St. Augustine was of another mind, who speaking of fasts on the Sunday saith², "That he which would choose out that day to fast on, should give thereby no small offence to the Church of God, which had received a contrary custom. For in these things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the use of the people of God or the ordinances of our fathers must serve for a law. In which case if we will dispute, and condemn one sort by another's custom, it will be but matter of endless contention; where, forasmuch as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into men's heads any certain or necessary truth, surely it standeth us upon to take heed, lest with the tempest of strife the brightness of charity and love be darkened."

If all things must be commanded of God which may be practised of his Church, I would know what commandment the Gileadites had to erect that altar which is spoken of in the Book of Josua³. Did not congruity of reason induce them thereunto, and suffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandment the women of Israel had yearly to mourn and lament in the memory of Jephtha's daughter⁴; what commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feast of Dedication, never spoken of in the law, yet solemnized even by our Saviour himself⁵; what commandment finally they had for the ceremony of odours used about the bodies of the dead, after which custom notwithstanding (sith it was their custom) our Lord was contented that his own most precious body should be entombed⁶. Wherefore to reject all orders of the Church which men have established, is to think worse of the laws of men in this respect, than either the judgment of wise men alloweth, or the law of God itself will bear.

[16.] Howbeit they which had once taken upon them to

¹ [See above, ch. ii. 1.]

² August. Ep. 86. [al. 36, t. ii. 68. "Quisquis hunc diem jejuniis decernendum putaverit, . . . non parvo scandalo erit Ecclesiae: nec immerito. In his enim rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt. De quibus si disputare voluerimus, et ex aliorum consue-

tudine alios improbare, orietur interminata luctatio: quæ labore sermocinationis cum certa documenta nulla veritatis insinuet, utique cavendum est, ne tempestate contentionis serenitatem caritatis obnubilet."]

³ Josh. xxii. 10.

⁴ Judges xi. 40.

⁵ John x. 22.

⁶ John xix. 40.