do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by

some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force?

A more dutiful and religious way for us to admire the

wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all

things, but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimi-
litude 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 Abraham did import. So

much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did fore-

shew. 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 con-
sultations 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 opposites utterly to cast away them-
selves 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. io.

hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the

fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive laws

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 adventurers 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 through-
out 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 dis-
similitude in these things between that one only people before
Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since.

[10.] And whereas it is further alleged 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
Drift of St. Paul's Charge to Timothy:

BOOK III. 

Ch. xi. 11.

400 is no cause wherefore we should think God more desirous to manifest his favours by temporal blessings towards them than towards us. Godliness hath unto them, and it hath also unto us, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That 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 they 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?

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

and of Jesus Christ who witnessed that famous confession before Pontius Pilate, to keep what was commanded him "safe and sound till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." 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 strictly requireth to be observed without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In Scripture we grant every 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 'conventicles, which thou hast received;" but "γνωρισθῆναι," that great commandment, which doth principally concern "thee and thy calling;" that commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto Peter; that commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhort.

 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 blood;" 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 the dead at his "appearance and in his kingdom, preach the word of God."
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 Christ,” then received for performance of this duty “the special gift of the Holy Ghost,” “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 me.” If they that labour in this harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painful travel, a poor encouragement 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 counterfeit 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 thee; that great commandment which thou hast received, 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

The Puritans allow additional Church Laws.

some things of which Timothy received charge, as namely unto that precept concerning the choice of widows. 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 done yet perpetually 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: whereby 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 apparel; 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 forbidth addition unto church laws.

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

1 Tiv. vi. 20. τὴν παρακαταθήκην. 2 Tiv. iv. 14. 3 Tiv. v. 9. See T. C. i. 153. al. 101. Whig. Def. 693. 4 My reasons do never conclude "the unlawfulness of these ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and inexpediency of them." T. C. lix. iii. p. 241. And in the table. "Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulness, of popish apparel and ceremonies in burial." 5 [By Archbishop Whitgift: see Answer, p. 25-25, and Def. 199-113. The passage from Calvin is the following: "Quia Dominus..." quicquid ad salutem necessarium erat, sacris suis oraculis tum fideli Đối complexus est, tum per spicicae enarravit, in his solus ma gister est audendus. Quia autem in externa disciplina et ceremoniis non voluit sigillatim prescribere quid sequi debeatum, quod istud penderere a temporum conditiones praevideret, neque judicaret anima saculis omnibus formam conver nire, confugere hi oportet ad gere nerales, quas delit, regulas; ut ad eas exigatur quaeque ad ordinem et decorum principi necessitas Ecclesiae postulati. In st. c. xii. § 31, ed. 1550, or lib. iv. c. x, § 30, according to the present arrangement. All Whitgift’s quotations from the Institution specify chapter and sectio only. This division of the work into books first took place in the edition of 1559: and Whitgift used an earlier copy. See Def. 391. 508.]
Calvin allows additional Church Laws.

The Limits of Discretion, the Point in question.

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 neglected!" 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 received, 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

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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 believe, that M. Calvin had placed the whole external discipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all external discipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church, excommunication 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 external discipline is not left to the order of the Church, being particularly 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. Whitgift Def. 111.

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. 37. [15]

BOOK III. Ch. xi. 14, 15.

laws that Christ hath delivered concerning matters of substance, yea or no. For our constant persuasion in this point 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. Whosoever 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 thereto 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 want.

[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 cases 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

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"the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the Church." St. Augustine was of another mind, who speaking of fasts on the Sunday saith, "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 appoyneth 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 Josua. Did not congruity of reason induce them thereofunto, 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 daughter; what commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feast of Dedication, never spoken of in the law, yet solemnized even by our Saviour himself; 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 entombed. 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. i.]
2 August. Ep. 86. al. 36, t. ii. 68.
3 Quisquis hunc diem jejunio decreverit, . . . non parvo scandalo erit Ecclesiae: nec immensum in enim rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt. De quibus si disputaretur, voluerimus, et ex aliornum consue
4 [See above, ch. i.]
5 Isa. xxiv. 14; Col. ii. 22.
6 Judges xi. 16.
7 1 John xiv. 40.