

THE FIFTH BOOK.

OF THEIR FOURTH ASSERTION, THAT TOUCHING THE SEVERAL PUBLIC DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, THERE IS AMONGST US MUCH SUPERSTITION RETAINED IN THEM; AND CONCERNING PERSONS WHICH FOR PERFORMANCE OF THOSE DUTIES ARE ENDUED WITH THE POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, OUR LAWS AND PROCEEDINGS ACCORDING THEREUNTO ARE MANY WAYS HEREIN ALSO CORRUPT.

MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIFTH BOOK.

- I. True religion is the root of all true virtues and the stay of all well-ordered commonwealths.
- II. The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheism.
- III. Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.
- IV. Of the redress of superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this book.
- V. Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted, concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And, fifthly, of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.
- VI. The first proposition touching judgment what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of church affairs.
- VII. The second proposition.
- VIII. The third proposition.
- IX. The fourth proposition.
- X. The rule of men's private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.
- XI. Places for the public service of God.
- XII. The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the adversary.
- XIII. Of the names whereby we distinguish our Churches.
- XIV. Of the fashion of our Churches.
- XV. The sumptuousness of Churches.
- XVI. What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.
- XVII. Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
- XVIII. Of public teaching or preaching, and the first kind thereof, catechising.
- XIX. Of preaching by reading publicly the books of Holy Scripture; and concerning supposed untruths in those Translations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.

- XX. Of preaching by the public reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning books Apocryphal.
- XXI. Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.
- XXII. What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.
- XXIII. Of Prayer.
- XXIV. Of public Prayer.
- XXV. Of the form of Common Prayer.
- XXVI. Of them which like not to have any set form of Common Prayer.
- XXVII. Of them who allowing a set form of prayer yet allow not ours.
- XXVIII. The form of our Liturgy too near the papists', too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
- XXIX. Attire belonging to the service of God.
- XXX. Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.
- XXXI. Easiness of praying after our form.
- XXXII. The length of our service.
- XXXIII. Instead of such prayers as the primitive Churches have used, and those that the reformed now use, we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreadings, rather wishes than prayers.
- XXXIV. Lessons intermingled with our prayers.
- XXXV. The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.
- XXXVI. The people's saying after the minister.
- XXXVII. Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.
- XXXVIII. Of Music with Psalms.
- XXXIX. Of singing or saying Psalms, and other parts of Common Prayer wherein the people and the minister answer one another by course.
- XL. Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.
- XLI. Of the Litany.
- XLII. Of Athanasius's Creed, and *Gloria Patri*.
- XLIII. Our want of particular thanksgiving.
- XLIV. In some things the matter of our prayer, as they affirm, is unsound.
- XLV. "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all believers."
- XLVI. Touching prayer for deliverance from sudden death.
- XLVII. Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son would vouchsafe to grant.
- XLVIII. Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.
- XLIX. Prayer that all men may find mercy.
- L. Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.
- LI. That God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son, who is very God.

- LII. The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ.
- LIII. That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.
- LIV. What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.
- LV. Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.
- LVI. The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.
- LVII. The necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.
- LVIII. The substance of Baptism, the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.
- LIX. The ground in Scripture whereupon a necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.
- LX. What kind of necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.
- LXI. What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the fathers respecting necessity.
- LXII. Whether baptism by Women be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.
- LXIII. Of Interrogatories in Baptism touching faith and the purpose of a Christian life.
- LXIV. Interrogatories proposed unto infants in Baptism, and answered as in their names by godfathers.
- LXV. Of the Cross in Baptism.
- LXVI. Of Confirmation after Baptism.
- LXVII. Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
- LXVIII. Of faults noted in the form of administering that holy Sacrament.
- LXIX. Of Festival Days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.
- LXX. The manner of celebrating festival days.
- LXXI. Exceptions against our keeping of other festival days besides the Sabbath.
- LXXII. Of days appointed as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.
- LXXIII. The celebration of Matrimony.
- LXXIV. The Churching of Women.
- LXXV. The Rites of Burial.
- LXXVI. Of the nature of that Ministry which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happiness not eternal only but also temporal doth depend upon it.
- LXXVII. Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office, of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.

- LXXVIII. Of Degrees whereby the power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the Attire of ministers.
- LXXIX. Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of church livings be made frustrate.
- LXXX. Of Ordination lawful without Title, and without any popular Election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into holy orders.
- LXXXI. Of the Learning that should be in ministers, their Residence, and the number of their Livings.

I. FEW there are of so weak capacity, but public evils they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain, when the grievous inconveniences thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harm which they feel consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toil, and the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respective men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the world may go well, so it be not long of them<sup>1</sup>, than with pain and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good. We which thought it at the very first a sign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private ease before the labour of appeasing public disturbance, must now of necessity refer events to the gracious providence of Almighty God, and, in discharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and impartial defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeavour is not so much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived, accusing laws for men's oversights, imputing evils, grown through personal defects unto that which is not evil, framing unto some sores unwholesome plaisters, and applying other some where no sore is.

[2.] To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, We agree that pure and unstained religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertaining to

<sup>1</sup> ["All this coil is long of you," (1673), "Let the world go well or ill, so it be not long of them :"]  
 N. Dream, 3. 2. 239, and so  
 Love's Lab. Lost, 2. 1. 119. Cp.  
 Hales, Golden Remains, p. 206  
 with allusion to Hooker's phrase.]  
 1886.

BOOK V.  
 Ch. i. 1, 2.  
 True religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered common-wealths.

public regiment: as well in regard of that aid and protection<sup>1</sup> which they who faithfully serve God confess they receive at his merciful hands; as also for the force which religion hath to qualify all sorts of men, and to make them in public affairs the more serviceable<sup>2</sup>, governors the apter to rule with conscience, inferiors for conscience' sake the willing to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whose abilities the same proceed. For if<sup>3</sup> the course of politic affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit instruments, and that which fitteth them be their virtues, let Polity acknowledge itself indebted to Religion; godliness being the<sup>4</sup> chiefest top and wellspring of all true virtues, even as God is of all good things.

So natural is the union of Religion with Justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom religion doth not cause to be such; or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they, which employ their labour and travail about the public administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that<sup>5</sup> justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business, the sentence of right God's own verdict, and themselves his priests to deliver it; formalities of justice do but serve to smother right, and that, which was necessarily ordained for the common good, is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery.

The same piety, which maketh them that are in authority desirous to please and resemble God by justice, inflameth

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxliv. 2. ["My shield, and He in whom I trust; who subdueth my people under me."]

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2. "Gaudere et gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis et labore corporis vel sudore nostram Rempublicam contineri." [t. vi. p. 44. ed. Gothofred.]

<sup>3</sup> "Ἔστι δ' οὐθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πράξει ἀνευ τοῦ ποιόν τινα

εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἔστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. Arist. Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. i.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀρίστη πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεός, ἀρετῶν δ' ἐστέβεια. Philo de Dec. Præcept. [p. 751. ed. Paris. 1640.]

<sup>5</sup> 2 Chron. xix. 6. ["Ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment."]

every way men of action with zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all. For that<sup>1</sup>, they know, is most noble and divine. Whereby if no natural nor casual inability cross their desires, they always delighting to inure themselves with actions most beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wisdom; because conscience, and the fear of swerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the nurse of vulgar folly, no less than Salomon's attention thereunto was of natural furtherances the most effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that mean became the author of many parables<sup>2</sup>.

Concerning fortitude; sith evils great and unexpected (the true touchstone of constant minds) do cause oftentimes even them to think upon divine power with fearfullest suspicions, which have been otherwise the most secure despisers thereof<sup>3</sup>; how should we look for any constant resolution of mind in such cases, saving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed; from whose magnanimity, in causes of most extreme hazard, those strange and unwonted resolutions have grown, which for all circumstances no people under the roof of heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them was their mere religion.

Without which, if so be it were possible that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their full perfection, nevertheless the mind that should possess them divorced from piety could be but a spectacle of commiseration; even as that body is, which adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eyesight, the chiefest grace that nature hath in that kind to bestow. They which commend so much the felicity of that innocent world, wherein it is said that men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honesty, not for fear of the magistrate, or because revenge was before their eyes, if at any time they

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θεϊότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεισιν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> [Eccles. xii. 9, 10.]

<sup>3</sup> Wisd. xvii. 13. [qu. 11.]

should do otherwise, but that which held the people in awe was the shame of ill-doing, the love of equity and right itself a bar against all oppressions which greatness of power causeth; they which describe unto us any such estate of happiness amongst men, though they speak not of Religion, do notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For, if Religion did possess sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need no other restraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours where-with it concurrerth; but what event soever ensue, it breedeth, if not joy and gladness always, yet always patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath been set down as an axiom of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand are prosperously ended<sup>1</sup>; because whether men in the end have that which religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, they are in neither event unfortunate<sup>2</sup>.

[3.] But lest any man should here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our religion be, inasmuch as heathens, Turks, and infidels, impute to religion a great part of the same effects which ourselves ascribe thereunto, they having ours in the same detestation that we theirs; it shall be requisite to observe well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different religions. First, by the bitter strife which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalf, and is by so much always greater as the matter is of more importance; we see a general agreement in the secret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the religion which is true, and to shun, as hurtful, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth farthest dissent. The generality of which persuasion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a spur to our industry in searching and maintaining that religion, from which as to swerve in the least points is error, so the capital enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and, without repentance, children of endless perdition. Such therefore touching man's immortal state after this life are not likely to reap benefit by their

<sup>1</sup> Psalm i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
χόντων αἰεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν.  
ἐμφρονα πᾶσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 10. 13.

religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard of so important contrariety between it and the true religion.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as the errors of the most seduced this way have been mixed with some truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endless woe and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects as touching the affairs of this present life. There were in these quarters of the world, sixteen hundred years ago, certain speculative men, whose authority disposed the whole religion of those times. By their means it became a received opinion, that the souls of men departing this life do flit out of one body into some other<sup>1</sup>. Which opinion, though false, yet entwined with a true, that the souls of men do never perish, abated the fear of death in them which were so resolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures.

The Romans had a vain superstitious custom, in most of their enterprises to conjecture beforehand of the event by certain tokens which they noted in birds, or in the entrails of beasts, or by other the like frivolous divinations. From whence notwithstanding as oft as they could receive any sign which they took to be favourable, it gave them such hope, as if their gods had made them more than half a promise of prosperous success. Which many times was the greatest cause that they did prevail, especially being men of their own natural inclination hopeful and strongly conceited, whatsoever they took in hand. But could their fond superstition have furthered so great attempts without the mixture of a true persuasion concerning the irresistible force of divine power?

Upon the wilful violation of oaths, execrable blasphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of religion even unto false gods, fearful tokens of divine revenge have been known to follow. Which occurrents the devouter sort did take for manifest arguments, that the gods whom they worshipped were of power to reward such as sought unto them, and would plague those that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the wise man rightly noteth concerning such) it was not the power of them by whom they swear, but the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished the offences of the ungodly<sup>2</sup>. It was their hurt untruly to attribute so great power

<sup>1</sup> Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. [c. 13.]

<sup>2</sup> Wisd. xiv. 31.

unto false gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect as touching the course of their lives, who feared the wilful violation of oaths in that respect.

And whereas we read so many of them so much commended, some for their mild and merciful disposition, some for their virtuous severity, some for integrity of life, all these were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the word of God as the axioms of our religion, which being imprinted by the God of nature in their hearts also, and taking better root in some than in most others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidst the heaps of manifold repugnant errors; which errors of corrupt religion had also their suitable effects in the lives of the selfsame parties.

[4.] Without all controversy, the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who steadfastly and sincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the religion which they profess, may have failed in choice, but yet they are sure to reap what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that bear it not the like affection, yieldeth them, retaining it in that sort, no benefit. David was a "man after God's own heart"<sup>1</sup>, so termed because his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, "O keep this for ever in the purpose and thoughts of the heart of this people"<sup>2</sup>. But when, after that David had ended his days in peace, they who succeeded him in place for the most part followed him not in quality; when those kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate, (as they thought,) left their own and their people's ghostly condition uncared for; by woful experience they both did learn, that to forsake the true God of heaven, is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above endure.

[5.] Seeing therefore it doth thus appear that the safety of all estates dependeth upon religion; that religion unfeignedly loved perfecteth men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous services in the commonwealth; that men's desire is in general to

<sup>1</sup> [1 Sam. xiii. 14.]<sup>2</sup> 1 Chron. xxix. 18.

hold no religion but the true; and that whatsoever good effects do grow out of their religion, who embrace instead of the true a false, the roots thereof are certain sparks of the light of truth intermingled with the darkness of error, because no religion can wholly and only consist of untruths: we have reason to think that all true virtues are to honour true religion as their parent, and all well-ordered commonweals to love her as their chiefest stay.

II. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended are but few in number, and for grossness of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seem to hold the place of human being. These we should judge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whom whereas nature hath bestowed riper capacity, their evil disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. Whereby it cometh to pass that of these two sorts of men, both godless, the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other study how to persuade themselves that there is no such thing to be known. The<sup>1</sup> fountain and wellspring of which impiety is a resolved purpose of mind to reap in this world what sensual profit or pleasure soever the world yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatsoever means available thereunto. And that this is the very radical cause of their atheism, no man I think will doubt which considereth what pains they take to destroy those principal spurs and motives unto all virtue, the creation of the world, the providence of God, the resurrection of the dead, the joys of the kingdom of heaven, and the endless pains of the wicked, yea above all things the authority of Scripture, because on these points it evermore beateth, and the soul's immortality, which granted, draweth easily after it the rest as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their souls should be like to the souls of beasts, mortal and corruptible with their bodies? Till some admirable or unusual accident happen (as it hath in some) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, disputation about the

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<sup>1</sup> Wisd. ii. 21. "Such things "blinded them." \*Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία "they imagine and go astray, be- φθαρτικὴ ἀρχὴς. Arist. Eth. lib vi. "cause their own wickedness hath cap. 5, 6.