

BOOK IV. "I need thee not?" If some should be so vain and impotent
Ch. ix. 2. as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the
least they suppose themselves to have bestowed some good
turn; yet surely a wise body's part it were not, to put out his
fire, because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom he
borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply
cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, "Were it not for me
"thou wouldest freeze, and not be able to heat thyself."

[2.] As for that other argument derived from the secret
affection of papists, with whom our conformity in certain
ceremonies is said to put them in great hope, that their whole
religion in time will have re-entrance, and therefore none
are so clamorous amongst us for the observation of these
ceremonies, as papists and such as papists suborn to speak for
them, whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoice,
how much they triumph in these things¹; our answer here-
unto is still the same, that the benefit we have by such cere-
monies overweigheth even this also. No man which is not
exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is most
just cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the
church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to
deliberate for ourselves, the freer our minds are from all dis-
tempered affections, the sounder and better is our judgment.
When we are in a fretting mood at the church of Rome, and
with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the
orders and rites of our church; taking particular survey of
them, we are sure to have always one eye fixed upon the
countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe
or heavy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other
suitable token either of dislike or approbation towards our
own orders. For the rule of our judgment in such case being
only that of Homer, "This is the thing which our enemies
"would have²;" what they seem contented with, even
for that very cause we reject: and there is nothing but it
pleaseth us much the better if we espy that it galleth them.
Miserable were the state and condition of that church, the

¹ "To prove the papists' triumph
"and joy in these things, I alleged
"further that there are none which
"make such clamours for these
"ceremonies, as the papists and
"those whom they suborn." T. C.
lib. iii. p. 179.
² Ἡ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίλαμος. Il. A.
[v. 255.]

weighty affairs whereof should be ordered by those delibe- BOOK IV.
rations wherein such a humour as this were predominant. Ch. ix. 3.
We have most heartily to thank God therefore, that they
amongst us to whom the first consultations of causes of this
kind fell, were men which aiming at another mark, namely
the glory of God and the good of this his church, took that
which they judged thereunto necessary, not rejecting any
good or convenient thing only because the church of Rome
might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meet
and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them
this their solace; we do not think it a duty of ours to be
in every such thing their tormentors.

[3.] And whereas it is said that popery for want of this
utter extirpation hath in some places taken root and flourished
again¹, but hath not been able to re-establish itself in any
place after provision made against it by utter evacuation of all
Romish ceremonies: and therefore, as long as we hold any
thing like unto them, we put them in some more hope than if
all were taken away: as we deny not but this may be
true, so being of two evils to choose the less, we hold it
better that the friends and favourers of the church of Rome
should be in some kind of hope to have a corrupt religion
restored, than both we and they conceive just fear, lest under
colour of rooting out popery, the most effectual means to bear
up the state of religion be removed, and so a way made either
for Paganism or for extreme barbarity to enter. If desire of
weakening the hope of others should turn us away from the
course we have taken; how much more the care of preventing
our own fear withhold us from that we are urged unto!
Especially seeing that our own fear we know, but we are not
so certain what hope the rites and orders of our church have
bred in the hearts of others.

For it is no sufficient argument thereof to say, that in

¹ "Thus they conceiving hope
"of having the rest of their popery
"in the end, it causeth them to be
"more frozen in their wickedness,
"&c. For not the cause but the
"occasion also ought to be taken
"away, &c. Although let the reader
"judge, whether they have cause
"given to hope, that the tail of
"popery yet remaining, they shall
"the easilier hale in the whole body
"after: considering also that Master
"Bucer noteth, that where these
"things have been left, there popery
"hath returned; but on the other
"part, in places which have been
"cleansed of these dregs, it hath
"not been seen that it hath had any
"entrance." T. C. lib. iii. p. 179.
[and i. 52.]

maintaining and urging these ceremonies none are so clamorous as papists and they whom papists suborn¹; this speech being more hard to justify than the former, and so their proof more doubtful than the thing itself which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, must have marked who they be that speak for ceremonies; he must have noted who amongst them doth speak oftenest, or is most earnest; he must have been both acquainted thoroughly with the religion of such, and also privy what conferences or compacts are passed in secret between them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which allege this would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which all men know and see.

And if so be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be popish are eager in maintenance of ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a sinister intent and purpose, whose forwardness is not therefore a bridle to such as favour the same cause with a better and sincerer meaning? They that seek, as they say, the removing of all popish orders out of the Church, and reckon the state of Bishops in the number of those orders, do (I doubt not) presume that the cause which they prosecute is holy. Notwithstanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even this very cause, which they term so often by an excellency, "The Lord's cause," is "*gratissima*, most acceptable, "unto some which hope for prey and spoil by it, and that "our age hath store of such, and that such are the very "sectaries of Dionysius the famous atheist²." Now if hereupon we should upbraid them with irreligious, as they do us with superstitious favourers; if we should follow them in their own kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation are either atheists, or else proctors suborned by atheists; the answer which herein they

¹ [T. C. i. 53. iii. 180.]

² Eccles. Disc. f. 94. [p. 127. "oratio de episcoporum pompa et affluentia minuenda... gratissima nonnullis est, qui suam causam agi putant, et jampridem hæreditatem istam spe devorarint. . . .

"Habet enim ætas nostra multos ejusmodi milites, multos Dionysios, qui Deo togam auream neque ad ætatem neque ad hyemem commodam, sibi autem ad omnia utilissimam et commodissimam fore arbitrantur." Vide Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 34.]

would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there an end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause in defence of our church orders to be as good as theirs against them, till the contrary be made manifest to the world.

X. In the meanwhile sorry we are that any good and godly mind should be grieved¹ with that which is done. But to remedy their grief lieth not so much in us as in themselves. They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remove all out of the Church whereat they shew themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are persuaded, hurtful if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to persuade the contrary, they must and will I doubt not find out some other good means to cheer up themselves. Amongst which means the example of Geneva may serve for one. Have not they the old popish custom of using god-fathers and godmothers in Baptism? the old popish custom of administering the blessed sacrament of the holy Eucharist with wafer-cakes? These things the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learn to do the like both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further mean peradventure it might be to assuage their grief, if so be they did consider the revenge they take on them which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in so great grief so long. For if the maintenance of ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them, undoubtedly to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves martyrs when they are grieved, should think withal what they are whom² they grieve³. For we are still to put them in mind that the cause

The grief which they say godly brethren conceive in regard of such ceremonies as we have common with the church of Rome.

¹ T. C. l. iii. p. 180. [and i. 53.] "There be numbers which have "Antichristianity in such detestation, that they cannot without "grief of mind behold them." And afterwards, "such godly brethren "are not easily to be grieved, which "they seem to be when they are thus "martyred in their minds, for ceremonies which (to speak the best "of them) are unprofitable."
² ["when," edd. 1594, 1604, 1617.] 1886.

³ [See a letter of Archdeacon Barfoot to Archbishop Whitgift in Strype, Ann. iii. 1. 350. (1584.) "Truly, my lord, the conformable "ministry is very much grieved "thereat. And divers said plainly, "that if they had thought this would "have been the end, they would "have joined with the other in "their recusancy, rather than have "offered themselves to such reproachful speeches, as were given "out of them by some of that faction.

BOOK IV. doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as
Ch. x. 2. good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end
decided who have stood for truth and who for error. So that
till then the most effectual medicine and withal the most
sound to ease their grief, must not be (in our opinion) the
taking away of those things whereat they are grieved, but the
altering of that persuasion which they have concerning the
same.

[2.] For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more
because we are also persuaded, that it is but conceit in them
to think, that those Romish ceremonies whereof we have
hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious unto the
Church, or like soft and gentle poisons¹, the venom whereof
being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never
felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only,
and the world hath not as yet had so great experience of their
art in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authority
of their word should persuade in a cause so weighty, they
may not think much if it be required at their hands to shew,
first, by what means so deadly infection can grow from simili-
tude between us and the church of Rome in these things
indifferent: secondly, for that it were infinite if the Church
should provide against every such evil as may come to pass,
it is not sufficient that they shew possibility of dangerous
event, unless there appear some likelihood also of the same to
follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unless
it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and sufficient
way of prevention, but by evacuating clean, and by emptying
the Church of every such rite and ceremony, as is presently

"For they told him, that there was
"a letter there in the country sent
"from Mr. Field of London, [a great
"Puritan,] to the ministers in those
"parts, recusants, exhorting them
"to stand stoutly to the cause;
"affirming the same not to be theirs,
"but the Lord's; boldly assuring,
"that such as had subscribed had
"made a *breach*, as he was informed
"Field termed it. And therefore
"rashly judging of them, that they
"never would do good hereafter,
"and slanderously terming them by
"the name of *branded menne*. He
"assured his grace, there was
"great grief conceived hereat." In
"a schedule of complaints from
"Suffolk Archdeaconry, 1586. "The
"communion was received by many
"sitting, and those that conform-
"ed to the Church called Time-
"servers." Whitg. i. 497.]
¹ "Although the corruptions in
"them strike not straight to the
"heart, yet as gentle poisons they
"consume by little and little." T. C.
"lib. iii. p. 171.]

called in question. Till this be done, their good affection
towards the safety of the Church is acceptable, but the way
they prescribe us to preserve it by must rest in suspense.

[3.] And lest hereat they take occasion to turn upon us the
speech of the prophet Jeremy used against Babylon, "Behold
"we have done our endeavour to cure the diseases of Babylon,
"but she through her wilfulness doth rest uncured¹;" let
them consider into what straits the Church might drive itself
in being guided by this their counsel. Their axiom is, that
the sound believing Church of Jesus Christ may not be like
heretical churches in any of those indifferent things, which
men make choice of, and do not take by prescript appoint-
ment of the word of God. In the word of God the use of
bread is prescribed, as a thing without which the Eucharist
may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread it is not
denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of itself,
we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened
bread in that sacrament, because such bread the church of
Rome being heretical useth. But doth not the selfsame
axiom bar us even from leavened bread also, which the church
of the Grecians useth; the opinions whereof are in a number
of things the same for which we condemn the church of Rome,
and in some things erroneous where the church of Rome is
acknowledged to be sound; as namely, in the article about
proceeding of the Holy Ghost? And lest here they should
say that because the Greek church is farther off, and the
church of Rome nearer, we are in that respect rather to use
that which the church of Rome useth not: let them imagine
a reformed church in the city of Venice, where a Greek
church and a popish both are. And when both these are
equally near let them consider what the third shall do. With-
out either leavened or unleavened bread, it can have no sacra-
ment; the word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiom
doth exclude it from both. If this constrain them, as it must,
to grant that their axiom is not to take any place save in those
things only where the Church hath larger scope; it resteth
that they search out some stronger reason than they have as
yet alleged; otherwise they constrain not us to think that the
Church is tied unto any such rule or axiom, no not then when

¹ Jer. li. 9.

BOOK IV. she hath the widest field to walk in, and the greatest store of
Ch. xi. 1, 2. choice.

Their ex-
ception
against
such cere-
monies as
we have
received
from the
church of
Rome, that
church hav-
ing taken
them from
the Jews.

XI. Against such ceremonies generally as are the same in the church of England and of Rome, we see what hath been hitherto alleged. Albeit therefore we do not find the one church's having of such things to be sufficient cause why the other should not have them: nevertheless, in case it may be proved, that amongst the number of rites and orders common unto both, there are particulars, the use whereof is utterly unlawful in regard of some special bad and noisome quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquish such rites and orders, what freedom soever we have to retain the other still. As therefore we have heard their general exception against all those things, which being not commanded in the word of God, were first received in the church of Rome, and from thence have been derived into ours; so it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted against not only for that they are in the church of Rome, but are besides either Jewish, or abused unto idolatry, and so grown scandalous.

[2.] The church of Rome, they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the gospel, did almost out of all religions take whatsoever had any fair and gorgeous show¹, borrowing in that respect from the Jews sundry of their abolished ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their massing furniture almost they took from the Law, lest having an altar and a priest, they should want vestments for their stage²; so that whatsoever we have in common with the church of Rome, if the same be of this kind we ought to remove it. "Constantine the emperor speaking of the keeping of the feast of Easter, saith, 'That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spiteful company of the Jews³.' And a little after he saith, 'That it is most absurd and against reason, that the Jews should

¹ Eccles. Disc. fol. 98. [in T. C.'s transl. p. 131, 2.] and T. C. lib. iii. p. 181. "Many of these popish ceremonies faulty by reason of the pomp in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified."

² [Ecc. Disc. ibid.]

³ T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [103.] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 18. [Μηδέν τοίνυν ἔστω ἡμῖν κοινόν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου . . . ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀτοπώτατον, ἐκείνους ἀγχείν ὡς ἀρα παρεκτός τῆς αὐτῶν διδασκαλίας ταῦτα φυλάττειν οὐκ εἴημεν ἱκανοί.]

"vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keep those things without their doctrine.' And in another place it is said after this sort; 'It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that nation¹.' The council of Laodicea, which was afterwards confirmed by the sixth general council², decreed 'that the Christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety³.'" BOOK IV. Ch. xi. 3, 4.

[3.] For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must be considered: namely, the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Jewish ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their orders so far forth to be shunned, as we have already set down in handling the matter of heathenish ceremonies. For no enemies being so venomous against Christ as Jews, they were of all other most odious, and by that mean least to be used as fit church-patterns for imitation. Another cause is the solemn abrogation of the Jews' ordinances; which ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disannulled them. But how far this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame itself to the Jews' example in respect of their persons which are most hateful; yet God himself having been the author of their laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear.

[4.] Jewish ordinances had some things natural, and of the perpetuity of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive we likewise know to have been by the coming of Christ partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind circumcision and

¹ Socrat. lib. i. c. 9. [Τοῦτο οὕτως ἐπανορθοῦσθαι προσήκειν, ὡς μηδέν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν πατροκτόνων τε καὶ κυριοκτόνων ἐκείνων ἔθνους εἶναι κοινόν.] Quinisextum. vid. Labb. Conc. vi. 1124, 1146.]

² Tom. i. Concil. Laod. Can. 38. [i. 1503. οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄζυμα λαμβάνειν, ἢ κοινωνεῖν ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς αὐτῶν.]

³ [Or rather by the council called

BOOK IV. sacrifice were. For this point Stephen was accused, and the
Ch. xi. 4. evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgment was, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the Law, for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the ordinances that Moses gave us¹." True it is that this doctrine was then taught, which unbelievers condemning for blasphemy did therein commit that which they did condemn. The Apostles notwithstanding from whom Stephen had received it, did not so teach the abrogation, no not of those things which were necessarily to cease, but that even the Jews being Christian, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in Jerusalem the first Christian bishop not circumcised was Mark; and he not bishop till the days of Adrian the emperor, after the overthrow of Jerusalem: there having been fifteen bishops before him which were all of the circumcision².

The Christian Jews did think at the first not only themselves but the Christian Gentiles also bound, and that necessarily, to observe the whole Law. There went forth certain of the sect of Pharisees which did believe, and they coming unto Antioch, taught that it was necessary for the Gentiles to be circumcised, and to keep the Law of Moses³. Whereupon there grew dissension, Paul and Barnabas disputing against them. The determination of the council held at Jerusalem concerning this matter was finally this; "Touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined that they observe no such thing⁴." Their protestation by letters is, "Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which departed from us have troubled you with words, and cumbered your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep the Law; know that we gave them no such commandment⁵." Paul therefore continued still teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to observe the laws of Moses, but

¹ Acts vi. 13, 14.

² Vide Niceph. lib. iii. cap. 25. [Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἰούδας πεντεκαίδεκατος ὁὗς ἐξ ἔθνῶν μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν διαδέχεται Μάρκος τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων εἰς τὸν εἰρημένον Ἰουδαῖν ἐπίσκοποι ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐν

Ἱεροσολύμοις γεγόνασιν.] et Sulpit. Sever. p. 149. in edit. Plant. ["Tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcissione habebat Ecclesia Sacerdotem," p. 364. ed. Horn. 1665.]

³ Acts xv.

⁴ Acts xxi. 25. ⁵ Acts xv. 24.

that the observation of those laws which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point his doctrine was misrepresented, as though he had every where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but also touching the Jews. Wherefore coming unto James and the rest of the clergy at Jerusalem, they told him plainly of it, saying, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are amongst the Gentiles to forsake Moses, and sayest that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to live after the customs¹." And hereupon they give him counsel to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were untrue, and that himself being a Jew kept the Law even as they did.

In some things therefore we see the Apostles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity between the Christian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this law of inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This general is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was necessarily to cease at the coming of Christ.

[5.] Touching things positive, which might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the Apostles tendering the zeal of the Jews, thought it necessary to bind even the Gentiles for a time to abstain as the Jews did, "from things offered unto idols, from blood, from strangled²." These decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles to be straitly observed and kept³. In the other matters, where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion still tied, the Apostles' doctrine unto the Jew was, "condemn not the Gentile;" unto the Gentile, "despise not the Jew⁴." The one sort they warned to take heed, that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous, in giving unadvised sentence against their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous, by abusing their liberty and freedom to the offence of their weak brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therefore two conclusions there are which may evidently be drawn; the first, that whatsoever conformity of

¹ Acts xxi. 20. ² Acts xv. 28, 29. ³ Acts xvi. 4. ⁴ Rom. xiv. 10.