

THE AGES DIGITAL LIBRARY
HISTORICAL

**THE HISTORY OF THE
SABBATH**

by Peter Heylyn

Books For The Ages
AGES Software • Albany, OR USA
Version 1.0 © 1997

THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH

IN TWO BOOKES.

BY PET. HEYLYN

THE SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

*Deuteronomy 32.7. Remember the dayes of old, consider the yeeres of many
Generations: aske thy Father, and hee will shew thee; by Elders,
and they will tell thee.*

LONDON,

*Printed for Henry Seile, and are to bee sold at the Signe of the
Tygers-head in Saint Pauls Church-yard. 1636.*

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, CHARLES, By the Grace of God, King of Great Brit- aine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Most dread Sovereigne, YOur Majesties most Christian care, to suppress those Rigours, which some, in maintenance of their Sabbath Doctrines, had pressed upon this Church in these latter dayes; justly deserves to be recorded amongst the principall Monuments of your zeale and pietie. Of the two great and public Enemies of Gods holy Worship, although Prophanenesse, in it selfe, be the more offensive; yet Superstition is more spreading, and more quicke of growth, In such a Church as this, so settled in a constant practice of Religious Offices, and so confirmed by godly Canons, for the performance of the same: there was no feare, that ever the Lords Day, (the Day appointed by Gods Church for his publike service) would have beene over-runne by the prophane neglect of any pious duties, on that day required. Rather the danger was, lest by the violent torrent of some mens xaffections, it might have been oreflowne by those Superstitions; wherewith, in imitation of the Iewes, they began to charge it. Alreadie they had made it farre more burthensome to their Christian Brethren, than was the Sabbath to the Israelites, by the Law of MOSES. Nor know wee where they would have stayed, had not your Majestie been pleased, out of a tender care of the Churches safetie, to give a checke to their proceedings: in licencing on that day, those lawful Pastimes, which some, without authoritie from Gods Word, or from the practice of Gods Church, had of late restrained. Yet so it is, your Majesties most pious, and most Christian purpose, hath not found answerable entertainment: especially amongst those men, who have so long dreamt of a Sabbath day, that now they will not be perswaded, that it is a Dreame. For the awakening of the which, and their reduction to more sound and sensible counsailes, (next to my dutie to Gods Church, and your sacred Majestie) have I applyed my selfe to compose this Story. Wherein I doubt not but to shew them, how much they have deceived both themselves and others, in making the old Iewish Sabbath, of equall age and observation with the Law of Nature: and preaching their new Sabbath Doctrines in the Church of Christ, with which the church hath no acquaintance. Wherein I doubt not but to shew them, that by their obstinate resolution, not to make publication of your Majesties pleasure, they tacitely condemne, not onely all the Fathers of the primitive times, the learned Writers of all Ages, many most godly Kings and Princes of the former dayes, and not few Councils

of chiefe note, and of Faith unquestionable: but even all states of Men, Nations, and Churches, at this present, whom they most esteeme. This makes your Majesties interest so particular in this present Historie, that were I not obliged unto your Majestie in any neerer bond, than that of every common Subject, it could not be devoted unto any other, with so just propriete. But being it is the Worke of your Majesties servant, and in part, fashioned at those times, which by your Majesties leave, were borrowed from attendance on your sacred Person; your Majestie hath also all the rights unto it, of a Lord, and Master. So, that according to that Maxime of the Civill Lawes, Quodcunque per servum acquiriritur, id domino acquiririt suo; your Majestie hath as absolute power to dispose thereof, as of the Author: who is,

Dread Sovereigne,
 Your Majesties, most obedient Subject,
 and most faithfull Servant,
PET. HEYLYN

THE PREFACE.

A PREFACE To them, who being themselves mistaken, have misguided others, in these new Doctrines of the Sabbath.

NOT out of any humor or desire of being in action, or that I love to have my hands in any of those public quarrels, wherewith our peace has been disturbed: but that posterity might not say we have been wanting, for our parts, to your information and the direction of God's people in the ways of truth; have I adventured on this Story. A Story which shall represent unto you the constant practice of God's Church in the present business from the Creation to these days: that so you may the better see how you are gone astray from the paths of truth, and tendries of Antiquity, and from the present judgment of all Men and Churches. The Arguments whereto you trust, and upon seeming strength whereof you have been hitherto emboldened to press these Sabbatarian Doctrines upon the consciences of poor people, I purpose not to meddle with in this Discourse, *. They have been elsewhere thoroughly canvassed, and all those seeming strengths beat down, by which were yourselves misguided; and by the which you have since wrought on the affections of unlearned men, or such at least who judged not of them by their weight but by their numbers. But where you give it out, as in matter of fact, how that the Sabbath was ordained by God in Paradise, and kept accordingly by all the Patriarchs before Moses' time; or otherwise ingraft by Nature in the soul of man, and so in use also amongst the Gentiles: in that, I have adventured to let men see that you are very much mistaken, and tell us things directly contrary unto truth of Story. Next, where it is the groundwork of all your building that the Commandment of the Sabbath is moral, natural and perpetual; as punctually to be observed as any other of the first or second Table: I doubt not but it will appear by this following History that it was never so esteemed of by the Jews themselves; no not when as the observation of the same was most severely pressed upon them by the Laws and Prophets, nor when the day was made most burdensome unto them by the Scribes and Pharisees. Lastly, whereas you make the Lord's day to be an institution of our Savior Christ, confirmed by the continual usage of the holy Apostles, and both by him and them imposed as a perpetual ordinance on the Christian Church; making yourselves believe that so it was observed in the times before, as you have taught us to observe it in these latter days: I have

made manifest to the world that there is no such matter to be found at all, either in any Writings of the Apostles, or Monument of true Antiquity, or in the practice of the middle or the present Churches: What said I, of the present Churches? so I said indeed; and doubt not but it will appear so in this following Story: the present Churches, all of them, both Greek and Latin, together with the Protestants of what name soever being far different, both in their Doctrine and their practice, from the new conceptions. And here I cannot choose but note, That whereas those who first did set on foot these Doctrines, in all their other practices to subvert this Church, did bear themselves continually on the authority of Calvin and the example of those Churches which came most near unto the Platform of Geneva: in these their Sabbath-Speculations they had not only none to follow; but they found Calvin, and Geneva, and those other Churches directly contrary unto them. However, in all other matters, they cried up Calvin and his Writings, making his Books the very Canon to which both Discipline and Doctrine was to be conformed: yet, his *Magister non tenetur*, here, by his leave, they would forsake him and leave him fairly to himself; that they themselves might also have the glory of a new invention. For you, my Brethren, and beloved in our Lord and Savior, as I do willingly believe that you have entertained these Tenets upon mis-persuasion; not out of any ill intentions to the Church, your Mother; and that it is an error in your judgments only, not of your affections: so, upon that belief, have I spared no pains, as much as in me is, to remove that error and rectify what is amiss in your opinion. I hope you are not of those men, *Quos non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris*, who either hate to be reformed; or have so far espoused a quarrel that neither truth nor reason can divorce them from it. Nor would I gladly you should be of their resolutions, *Qui volunt id verum esse quod credunt, nolunt id credere quod verum est*; who are more apt to think all true which themselves believe, than to be persuaded to believe such things as are true indeed. In confidence whereof, as I was first induced to compose this Historie; so, in continuance of those hopes, I have presumed to address it to you, to tender it to your perusal, and to submit it to your censure: that if you are not better furnished, you may learn from hence that you have trusted more unto other men than you had just reason. It is my chief endeavor, as it is my prayer, that possibly I may behold Jerusalem in prosperity all my life long. Nor doubt I, by the grace of God, to reduce some of you, at least, to such conformity with the practice of the Catholic Church; that even your hands may also labor in the advancement and promotion of that full

prosperity which I do desire. This that I may the better do, I shall present you, as I said, with the true Story of the Sabbath: and therein lay before your eyes both what the Doctrine was, and what the practice, of all former times; and how it stands in both respects, with all God's Churches at this present. First, for the Sabbath, I shall show you that it was not instituted by the Lord in Paradise, nor naturally imprinted in the soul of man, nor ever kept by any of the ancient Fathers before Moses' time: and this, not generally said, and no more but so; but proved particularly and successively, in a continued descent of times and men. Next, that being given unto the Jews by Moses, it was not so observed or reckoned of as any of the Moral Precepts; but sometimes kept, and sometimes not; according as men's private business, or the necessities of the State might give way unto it: and finally was for ever abrogated, with the other Ceremonies, at the destruction of the Temple. As for the Gentiles all this while, it shall hereby appear that they took no more notice of it (except a little, at the latter end of the Jewish State), than to deride both it, and all them that kept it. Then for the Lord's day, that it was not instituted by our Savior Christ, commanded by the Apostles, or ordained first by any other authority than the voluntary consecration of it by the Church to Religious uses: and being consecrated to those uses, was not advanced to that esteem which it now enjoys, but leisurely and by degrees; partly by the Edicts of secular Princes; partly by Canons of particular Councils; and finally by the Decretals of several Popes, and Orders of inferior Prelates: and being so advanced, is subject still, as many Protestant Doctors say, to the Authority of the Church, to be retained or changed as the Church thinks fit. Finally that in all Ages heretofore, and in all Churches at this present, it neither was nor is esteemed of as a Sabbath day, nor reckoned of so near a kin to the former Sabbath: but that all such leisure times as were not destinate by the Church to God's public service; men might apply their minds and bestow their thoughts, either about their business, or upon their pleasures such as are lawful in themselves, and not prohibited by those Powers under which they lived. Which showed and manifestly proved unto you, I doubt not but those Paper-walls, which have been raised heretofore to defend these Doctrines, how fair soever they may seem to the outward eye, and whatsoever colors have been laid upon them; will in the end appear unto you to be but Paper-walls indeed: some beaten down by the report only of those many Canons which have successively been mounted in the Church of God; either to fortify the Lord's day, which itself did institute, or to cast down those Jewish fancies which some had labored to restore. Such

passages as occurred concerning England, I purposely have deferred till the two last Chapters, that you may look upon the actions of our Ancestors with a clearer eye: both those who lived at the first planting of Religion; and those who had so great an hand in the reforming of the same. And yet not look upon them only, but by comparing your new Doctrines with those which were delivered in the former times: your severe practice, with the innocent liberty which they used amongst them: you may the better see your errors, and what strange incense you have offered in the Church of God. A way in which I have the rather made choice to walk, that by the practice of the Church in general you may the better judge of those Texts of Scripture which seem to you to so speak in the behalf of that new Divinity which you have preached unto the people: and by the practice of this Church particularly, it may with greater ease be showed you that you did never suck these Doctrines from your Mother's breasts. A church, I dare be bold to say it, than which there is not any in the Christian World wherein the Lord's day is observed with more due solemnity; nor that observance better countenanced by godly Laws and Constitutions; not any one which walks an evener and more equal way 'twixt Superstition and Profaneness, than this most flourishing Church of England; however she be thought by you, deficient in so great a matter. It is an observation and a rule in Law; that custom is the best interpreter of a doubtful statute; and we are lessoned thereupon to cast our eyes, in all such questionable matters, unto the practice of the state in the selfsame case. *Si de interpretatione laegis quaeritur, imprimis inspiciendum est, quo jure civitas retro, in jhusmodi casibus, usa fuit: Consuetudo enim optima interpretatio legis est.* If you submit unto this rule and stand unto the Plea which you oft have made: I verily persuade myself that you will quickly find your error; and that withal you will discover how to abet a new and dangerous Doctrine, you have deserted the whole practice of the Christian Church, which for the space of 1600 years has been embraced and followed by all godly men. These are the hopes which we project unto ourselves. The cause of this our undertaking was your information; and the chief end we aim at is your reformation: Your selves, my Brethren, and your good, if I may procure it, are the occasion and the recompense of these poor endeavors: *pretiumq; & causa laboris*, in the Poets' language. Nor would I, you should think it any blemish to your reputation, should you desert a cause which with so vehement affections you have erst maintained: or that the world would censure you of too deep a folly, should you retract what you have either taught or written in the times before. Rather the world and

all good men shall praise both your integrity and ingenuity, in that you think it no disparagement to yield the better unto truth whensoever you find it. Being men, conceive it not impossible but that you may be in an error; and having erred, think it your greatest victory that you are conquered by the truth: which being mighty will prevail, and either here or elsewhere, enforce all of us to confess the great powers thereof. Saint Austin and the Cardinal, two as great Clerks as almost any in their times, have herein shewed the way unto you; one in his retractions, the other in his Recognitions: nor did it ever turn unto their disgrace. Therefore abandoning all such fond conceits as enemies unto the Truth, which I trust you seek, and above all things wish to find: let me beseech you to possess your souls with desire of knowledge; and that you would not shut your eyes against the tendrie of those truths, which either here or else-where are presented to you for your information. Which that you may the better do, I do adjure you in the name, and for the sake of Jesus Christ, to lay aside all prejudice which possibly you may be possessed withal, either in reference to the Argument or unto the Author: and to peruse this following Story with as much singleness of heart, and desire of truth, and invocation of God's Spirit to find out the same, as was by me used in the writing of it. It is your welfare which I aim at, as before was said; your restitution to your functions, and reconciliation to the Church from which you are at point of falling: that we with you, and you with us, laying aside those jealousies and distrusts which commonly attend on divided minds; may join our hearts and hands together for the advancement of God's Honor, and the Church's peace. And God even our own God, shall give us his blessing. For others which shall read this Story, whether by you misguided, or yet left entire; I do desire them to take notice that there is none so much a stranger to good Arts and Learning, whom in this case and kind of writing, I dare not trust with the full cognizance of the cause herein related. In points of Law, when as the matter seems to be above the wit of common persons; or otherwise is so involved and intricate, that there has been no Precedent thereof in former times: it is put off to a demurrer, and argued by my Lords the Judges, with their best maturity of deliberation. But in a matter of fact, we put ourselves upon an ordinary Jury, not doubting, if the evidence proves fair, the Witnesses of faith unquestioned, and the Records without suspicion of imposture, but they will do their conscience, and find for Plaintiff or Defendant as the cause appears. So in the business now in hand, that part thereof which consists most of argument and strength of disputation, in the examining of those reasons which pro or Con have been

alleged; are by me left to be discussed and weighed by them who either by their place are called, or by their learning are enabled to so great a business. But for the point of practice, which is a matter of fact, how long it was before the Sabbath was commanded, and how it was observed, being once commanded; how the Lord's day has stood in the Christian Church, by what authority first instituted, in what kind regarded: these things are offered to the judgment and consideration of the meanest Reader. No man that is to be returned on the present Jury, but may be able to give up his verdict touching the title now in question; unless he come with passion and so will not hear, or else with prejudice and so will not value the evidence which is produced for his information. For my part, I shall deal ingenuously, as the cause requires, as of sworn counsel to the truth; not using any of the mysteries or Arts of pleading, but as the holy Fathers of the Church, the learned Writers of all Ages, the most renowned Divines of these latter times, and finally as the public Monuments and Records of most Nations christened have furnished me in this inquiry. What these, or any of them have herein either said or done, or otherwise left upon the Register for our direction, I shall lay down in order in their several times; either the times in which they lived, or whereof they writ: that so we may the better see the whole succession both of the Doctrine, and the practice of God's Church, in the present business. And this with all integrity and sincere proceeding, not making use of any Author who has been probably suspected of fraud or forgery; nor dealing otherwise in this search than as becomes a man who aims at nothing more than God's public service, and the conducting of God's people in the ways of truth. This is the sum of what I had to say in this present Preface; beseeching God, the God of Truth, yea, the Truth itself, to give us all a right understanding, and a good will to do thereafter.

PART 1

CHAPTER 1

THAT THE SABBATH WAS NOT INSTITUTED IN THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD.

(1) The entrance to the Worke in hand. (2) That those Words Genesis 2. And God blessed the seventh day, etc. are there delivered as by way of Anticipation. (3) Anticipations in the Scripture confessed by them, who denie it here. (4) Anticipations of the same nature not strange in Scripture. (5) No Law imposed by God, on Adam, touching the keeping of the Sabbath. (6) The Sabbath not ingraft by nature, in the soule of man. (7) The greatest Advocates for the Sabbath, denie it to be any part of the law of nature. (8) Of the morallitie and perfection supposed to be in the number of seven, by some learned men. (9) That other numbers in the confession of the same learned men, particularly the first, third, and fourth, are both as morall and as perfect, as the seventh. (10) The like is proved of the sixth, eighth, and tenth, and of other numbers. (11) The Scriptures not more favorable to the number of seven, than they are to others. (12) Great caution to be used by those, who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

CHAPTER 2

THAT THERE WAS NO SABBATH KEPT, FROM THE CREATION TO THE FLOOD.

(1) God's rest upon the seventh day; and from what hee rested. (2) Zanchius conceit touching the sanctifying of the first seventh day, by Christ our Savior. (3) The like of Toraniellus, touching the sanctifying of the same, by the Angels in heaven. (4) A generall demonstration that the Fathers before the Law, did not keepe the

Sabbath. (5) Of Adam; that he kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abel and Seth did not keep the Sabbath. (7) Of Enos, that he kept not the Sabbath. (8) That Enoch and Methusalem did not keepe the Sabbath. (9) Of Noah; that he kept not the Sabbath. (10) The Sacrifices, and devotions of the Ancients were occasionall.

CHAPTER 3.

THAT THE SABBATH WAS NOT KEPT FROM THE FLOOD TO MOSES.

(1) The Sonnes of Noah did not keepe the Sabbath. (2) The Sabbath could not have beene kept, in the dispersion of Noahs Sonnes, had it beene commanded. (3) Diversitie of Longitudes and Latitudes, must of necessitie make a variation in the Sabbath. (4) Melchisedech, Heber, Lot, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Abraham and his Sonnes, that they kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abraham did not keepe the Sabbath, in the confession of the Jewes. (7) Jacob nor Job no Sabbath-keepers. (8) That neither Joseph, Moses, nor the Israelites in AEgypt, did observe the Sabbath. (9) The Israelites not permitted to offer sacrifice, while they were in AEgypt. (10) Particular Prooves that all the morall Law was both knowne and kept amongst the Fathers.

CHAPTER 4.

THE NATURE OF THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT: AND THAT THE SABBATH WAS NOT KEPT AMONGST THE GENTILES.

(1) The Sabbath first made knowne in the fall of Mannah. (2) The giving of the Decalogue, and how farre it bindeth. (3) That in the Judgment of the Fathers of the Christian Church, the fourth Commandment is of a different nature from the other nine. (4) The Sabbath was first given, for a Law, by Moses. (5) And being given, was proper only to the Jewes. (6) What moved the Lord to give the Israelites a Sabbath. (7) Why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, than any other. (8) The seventh day not more

honored by the Gentiles, than the eighth or ninth. (9) The Attributes given by some Greeke Poets to the seventh day, no Argument that they kept the Sabbath. (10) The Jewes derided for their Sabbath, by the Grecians, Romans, and AEgyptians. (11) The division of the yeere into Weekes, not generally used, of old, amongst the Gentiles.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRACTICE OF THE JEWES IN SUCH OBSERVANCES, AS WERE ANNEXED UNTO THE SABBATH.

(1) Of some particular adjuncts affixed unto the Jewish Sabbath. (2) The annuall Festivals called Sabbaths in the Books of God, and reckned as a part of the fourth Commandment. (3) The Annuall Sabbaths no lesse solemnely observed and celebrated, than the weekly were; if not more solemnely. (4) Of the Parasceve or Preparation to the Sabbath, and the solempne Festivals. (5) All manner of worke, as well prohibited on the Annuall, as the weekly Sabbaths. (6) What things were lawfull to bee done on the Sabbath dayes. (7) Touching the prohibition of not kindling fire, and not dressing meat. (8) what moved the Gentiles generally, to charge the Jewes with fasting on the Sabbath day. (9) Touching this prohibition, Let no man goe out of his place on the Sabbath day. (10) All lawfull recreations, as dancing, feasting, man-like exercises, allowed and practiced by the Jewes upon their Sabbaths.

CHAPTER 6

TOUCHING THE OBSERVATION OF THE SABBATH, UNTO THE TIME, THE PEOPLE WERE ESTABLISHED IN THE PROMISED LAND.

(1) The Sabbath not kept constantly during the time the people wandred in the wilderness. (2) Of him that gathered stickes on the Sabbath day. (3) Wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist, in the time of Moses. (4) The Law not by him ordered to be

read in the Congregation, every Sabbath day. (5) The sacke if Hiericho, and the destruction of that people, was upon the Sabbath. (6) No Sabbath after this without Circumcision; and how that ceremonie could consist with the Sabbaths rest. (7) What moved the Jewes to preferre Circumcision before the Sabbath. (8) The standing still of the Sunne at the prayers of Josiah, etc. could not but make some alteration about the Sabbath. (9) What was the Priests worke on the Sabbath day; and whither it might stand with the Sabbaths rest. (10) The scattering of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation unto the reading of the Law, on the Sabbath day.

CHAPTER 7

TOUCHING THE KEEPING OF THE SABBATH, FROM THE TIME OF DAVID TO THE MACCABEES.

(1) Particular Necessities must give place to the Law of Nature. (2) That Davids flight from Saul, was upon the Sabbath. (3) What David did being King of Israel, in ordering things about the Sabbath. (4) Elijahs flight upon the Sabbath; and what else happened on the Sabbath, in Elijahs time. (5) The limitation of a Sabbath dayes journey, not knowne amongst the Jewes when Elisha lived. (6) The Lord becomes offended with the Jewish Sabbaths; and on what occasion. (7) the Sabbath entertained by the Samaritans, and their strange nicities therein. (8) Whether the Sabbaths were observed during the captivitie. (9) The speciall care of Nehemiah to reforme the Sabbath. (10) The weekely reading of the Law on the Sabbath day, begun by Ezra. (11) No Synagogues nor weekely reading of the Law, during the Government of the Kings. (12) The Scribes and Doctors of the Law, impose new rigours on the people about their Sabbaths.

CHAPTER 8

WHAT DOTH OCCURRE ABOUT THE SABBATH, FROM THE MACCABEES TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.

(1) *The Jewes refuse to fight in their owne defense, upon the Sabbath; and what was ordered thereupon. (2) The Pharisees, about these times, had made the Sabbath burdensome by their traditions. (3) Hierusalem twice taken by the Romans, on the Sabbath day. (4) The Romans, many of them, Judaize, and take up the Sabbath; as other nations did by the Jewes example. (5) Whether the Strangers dwelling amongst the Jewes, did observe the Sabbath. (6) Augustus Caesar very gracious to the Jewes, in matters that concerned their Sabbath. (7) What our Redeemer taught, and did, to rectifie the abuses of, and in the Sabbath. (8) The finall ruine of the Temple, and the Jewish Ceremonies, on a Sabbath day. (9) The Sabbath abrogated with the other Ceremonies. (10) Wherein consisteth the Spirituall Sabbath mentioned in the Scriptures, and amongst the Fathers. (11) The idle and ridiculous nicities of the moderne Jewes, in their Parasceves and their Sabbaths, conclude this first part.*

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAPTER 1

THAT THERE IS NOTHING FOUND IN SCRIPTURE, TOUCHING THE KEEPING OF THE LORDS DAY.

(1) *The Sabbath not intended for a perpetuall ordinance. (2) Preparatives unto the dissolution of the Sabbath, by our Savior Christ. (3) The Lords day not enjoynd in the place thereof, either by Christ, or his Apostles: but instituted by the authority of the Church. (4) Our Saviours Resurrection upon the first day of the weeke, and apparition on the same, make it not a Sabbath. (5) The*

coming downe of the Holy Ghost upon the first day of the weeke, makes it not a Sabbath. (6) The first day of the weeke, not kept more like a Sabbath than the other dayes, by S.Peter, S.Paul, or any other of the Apostles. (7) Saint Paul frequents the Synagogues on the Jewish Sabbath; and upon what reasons. (8) What was concluded against the Sabbath, in the Councill holden at Hierusalem. (9) The preaching of S.Paule at Troas, upon the first day of the weeke, no Argument that then that day was set apart by the Apostles, for religious exercises. (10) Collections on the first day of the weeke I Cor. 16. conclude as little for that purpose. (11) Those places of S.Paul, Galat. 4.10. Coloss. 2.16. doe prove invincibly, that there is no Sabbath to be looked for. (12) The first day of the weeke not called the Lords day, untill the end of this first Age: and What that Title adds unto it.

CHAPTER 2

IN WHAT ESTATE THE LORDS DAY STOOD, FROM THE DEATH OF THE APOSTLES, TO THE REIGNE OF CONSTANTINE.

(1) Touching the Orders, settled by the Apostles, for the Congregation. (2) The Lords day, and the Saturday, both Festivals, and both observed in the East, in Ignatius time. (3) The Saturday not without great difficultie made a fasting day. (4) The controversie about keeping Easter; and how much it conduceth to the present business. (5) The Feast of Easter not affixed to the Lords day, without much opposition of the Easterne Churches. (6) What Iustin Martyr, and Dionysius of Corinth, have left us of the Lords day: Clemens Alexandrinus his dislike thereof. (7) Upon what grounds the Christians of the former times used to pray, standing, on the Lords day, and the time of Pentecost. (8) What is recorded by Tertullian of the Lords day; and the Assemblies of the Church. (9) Origen, as his Master Clemens had done before, dislikes set dayes for the Assembly. (10) Saint Cyprian, what he tells us of the Lords day; and of the reading of the Scriptures, in Saint Cyprians time. (11) Of other holy dayes established in these three first Ages; and that they were observed as solemnly as the

Lords day was. (12) The name of Sunday, often used by the Primitive Christians, for the Lords day; but the Sabbath, never.

CHAPTER 3

THAT IN THE FOURTH AGE, FROM THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE TO SAINT AUGUSTINE, THE LORDS DAY WAS NOT TAKEN FOR A SABBATH DAY.

(1) The Lords day first established, by the Emperour Constantine. (2) What labors were permitted, and what restrained on the Lords day by this Emperours Edict. (3) Of other holy dayes, and Saints dayes, instituted in the time of Constantine. (4) That weekely, other dayes, particularly the Wednesday and the Friday, were in this Age, and those before, appointed for the meetings of the Congregation. (5) The Saturday as highly honored in the Easterne Churches, as the Lords day was. (6) The Fathers of the Easterne church crie downe the Iewish Sabbath, though they held the Saturday. (7) The Lords day not spent wholly in religious exercises: and what was done with that part of it, which was left at large. (8) The Lords day, this Age, a day of Feasting: and that it hath beene alwayes judged hereticall, to hold fasts thereon. (9) Of Recreations on the Lords day; and of what kinde those Dancings were, against the which the Fathers inveigh so sharpely. (10) Other Imperiall Edicts about the keeping of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes. (11) The Orders at this time in use on the Lords day, and other dayes of publike meeting. (12) The infinite differences betweene the Lords day and the Sabbath.

CHAPTER 4

THE GREAT IMPROVEMENT OF THE LORDS DAY IN THE FIFT AND SIXT AGES, MAKE IT NOT A SABBATH.

(1) In what estate the Lords day stood in Saint Austins time. (2) Stage-playes and publike Shewes prohibited on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes by Imperiall Edicts. (3) The base and beastly

nature of the Stage-plays, at those times in use. (4) The barbarous and bloudie qualitie of the Spectacula, or Shewes, at this time prohibited. (5) Neither all civill businesse, nor all kinde of pleasures, restrained on the Lords day, by the Emperour Leo; as some give it out. (6) The French and Spaniards, of the sixth Age, begin to Judaize about the Lords day; and of restraint of Husbandrie on that day, in that Age first made. (7) The so much cited Canon of the Councell of Mascon proves no Lords day Sabbath. (8) Of publike honors done, in these Ages, to the Lords day, both by Prince and Prelate. (9) No Evening Service on the Lords day, till these present Ages. (10) Of Publike Orders now established, for the better regulating of the Lords day meetings. (11) The Lords day not more reckoned of than the greater Festivals; and of the other holy dayes, in these Ages instituted. (12) All businesse, and recreation, not by Law prohibited, are, in themselves, as lawfull on the Lords day, as on any other.

CHAPTER 5

THAT IN THE NEXT 600 YEERES, FROM POPE GREGORIE FOREWARDS, THE LORDS DAY WAS NOT RECKNED OF, AS OF A SABBATH.

(1) Pope Gregories care to set the Lords day free from some Jewish rigours, at that time obruded on the Church. (2) Strange fancies taken up, by some few men, about the Lords day, in these darker Ages. (3) Scriptures, and Miracles, in these times found out, to justifie the keeping of the Lords day holy. (4) That in the judgement of the most learned men in these sixe Ages, the Lords day hath no other ground, than the Authoritie of the Church. (5) With how much difficultie the people of these Westerne parts were barred, from following their Husbandrie, and Courts of Law, on the Lords day. (6) Husbandrie not restrained on the Lords day in the Easterne parts, untill the time of Leo Philosophus. (7) Markets, and Handy-crafts, restrained with no lesse opposition, than the Plough, and pleading. (8) Severall casus reservati in the Lawes themselves, wherein men were permitted to attend those businesses, on the Lords day, which the Lawes restrained. (9) Of

divers great and publike actions, done, in these Ages, on the Lords day. (10) Dancing, and other sports, no otherwise prohibited on the Lords day, than as they were an hindrance to Gods publike service. (11) The other holy dayes as much esteemed of, and observed, as the Lords day was. (12) The publike hallowing of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, in these present Ages. (13) No Sabbath all these Ages heard of, either on Saturday, or Sunday: And how it stood with Saturday, in the Easterne Churches.

CHAPTER 6

WHAT IS THE JUDGEMENT OF THE SCHOOLE.MEN, AND OF THE PROTESTANTS; AND WHAT THE PRACTICE OF THOSE CHURCHES IN THIS LORDS DAY BUSINESSE.

(1) That, in the judgement of the Schoole-men, the keeping of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandment. (2) As also that the Lords day is not founded on Divine Authoritie, but the Authoritie of the Church. (3) A Catalogue of the holy dayes drawne up in the Councill of Lyons: and the new doctrine of the Schooles, touching the naturall sanctitie of the holy dayes. (4) In what estate the Lords day stood, in matter of restraint from labor, at the Reformation. (5) The Reformatours finde great fault both with the said new doctrine, and restraints from labor. (6) That in the judgement of the Protestant Divines, the sanctifying of one day in seven is not the morall part of the fourth Commandment. (7) As also that the Lords day hath no other ground, on which to stand, than the Authoritie of the Church. (8) And that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other. (9) What is the practice of the Roman, Lutheran, and chiefly the Calvinian Churches on the Lords day, in matter of devotion, rest from labor, and sufferance of lawfull pleasure. (10) Dancing cryed downe by Calvin, and the French Churches; not in relation to the Lords day, but the sport it selfe. (11) In what estate the Lords day stands in the Easterne churches: And that the Saturday is observed by the Ethiopians, as the Lords day is.

CHAPTER 7

IN WHAT ESTATE THE LORDS DAY STOOD IN THIS ISLE OF BRITAIN, FROM THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION TO THE REFORMATION.

(1) *What doth occurre about the Lords day, and the other Festivals amongst the Churches of the Britaines.* (2) *Of the estate of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in the Saxon Heptarchie.* (3) *The honors done unto the Sunday, and other holy dayes, by the Saxon Monarchs.* (4) *Of publike actions, civill, ecclesiasticall, mixt, and military, done on the Lords day under the first six Norman Kings.* (5) *New Sabbath doctrines broached in England in King Johns reigne; and the miraculous originall of the same.* (6) *The prosecution of the former businesse; and ill successe therein, of the undertakers.* (7) *Restraint of worldly business on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, admitted in these times in Scotland.* (8) *Restraint of certaine servile Workes, on Sundayes, holy dayes, and the Wakes, concluded in the Councell of Oxon under King Henry 3.* (9) *Husbandrie, and legall processe, prohibited on the Lords day, first, in the reigne of King Edward the 3.* (10) *Selling of Wooll on the Lords day, and the solemne Feasts forbidden first by the said King Edward, as after, Faires, and Markets generally, by King Henry 6.* (11) *The Cordwainers of London restrained from selling of their wares on the Lords day, and some solemne feasts, by King Edward the 4. and the repealing of that Law by King Henry the 8.* (11) *In what estate the Lords day stood, both for the doctrine and the practice, in the beginning of the Reigne of the said King Henry.*

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Exodus 31:15, 16. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keepe the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations: it is a signe between mee and the children of Israel, for ever.

CHAPTER 1

THAT THE SABBATH WAS NOT INSTITUTED IN THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD.

(1) The entrance to the Worke in hand. (2) That those Words Genesis 2. And God blessed the seventh Day, etc. are there delivered, as by way of Anticipation. (3) Anticipations in the Scripture confessed by them, who denie it here. (4) Anticipations of the same nature not strange in Scripture. (5) No Law imposed by God on Adam touching the keeping of the Sabbath. (6) The Sabbath not ingraft by nature in the soule of man. (7) The greatest Advocates for the Sabbath, denie it to be any part of the Law of Nature. (8) Of the moralitie and perfection supposed to be in the number of seven, by some learned men. (9) That other numbers in the confession of the same learned men, particularly the first, third, and fourth, are both as morall and as perfect, as the seventh. (10) The like is proved of the sixth, eighth, and tenth, and of other numbers. (11) The Scripture not more favorable to the number of seven, then it is to others. (12) Great caution to be used by those, who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

(1) I Purpose by the grace of God to write an History of the Sabbath, and to make known what practically has been done therein by the Church of God in all ages past, from the Creation till this present: Primaq; ab origine mundi ad mea perpetuum deducere tempera carmen. One day, as David tells us, teaches another. Nor can we have a better Schoolmaster in the things of God, than the continual and most constant practice of those famous men that have gone before us. An undertaking of great difficulty, but of greater profit. In which I will crave leave to say, as does Saint Austine, in the entrance to his Books de Civitate; Magnum opus & arduum, sed Deus est

adjutor noster. Therefore, most humbly begging the assistance of God's holy Spirit to guide men in the way of truth, I shall apply myself to so great a work, beginning with the first beginnings, and so continuing my discourse successively unto these times wherein we live. In which no accident of note, as far as I am able to discern, shall pass unobserved, which may conduce to the discovery of the truth and settling of the minds of men in a point to be controverted. On therefore * to the present business. [In the beginning (saith the Text) God created the Heaven and the Earth. Which being finished, and all the host of them made perfect, on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made, and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And then it follows, And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his works, which God created and made. Unto this passage of the Text, and this point of time, some have referred the institution and original of the Sabbath: taking these words to be a plain narration of a thing then done, according to that very time wherein the Scripture doth report it. And that the sanctifying of the seventh day therein mentioned, was a Commandment given by God to our Father Adam touching the sanctifying of that day to his public worship. Conceiving also that there is some special mystery and morality in the number of seven, for which that day, and none but that, could be designed and set apart for this employment. Others, and those the ancients, and of more authority, conceive these words to have been spoken by a Prolepsis or Anticipation; and to relate unto the times wherein Moses wrote. And that it was an intimation only of the reason why God imposed upon the Jews the sanctifying rather of the seventh day, than of any other: no precept to that purpose being given to Adam and to his posterity; nor any mystery in that number, why of itself it should be thought most proper for God's public service. The perfect stating of these points will give great light to the following story. And therefore we will first crave leave to remove these doubts before we come to matter of fact; that afterwards I may proceed with the greater ease to my self, & satisfaction to the Reader. The ground work or foundation laid, the building will be raised the surer.

(2) And first it is conceived by many learned men, that Moses in the second of Genesis, relates unto the times in the which he lived and wrote the History of the Creation: when God had now made known his holy will unto him, and the Commandment of the Sabbath had by his Ministry been delivered to the house of Israel. This is indeed the ancients and more

general tendency, unanimously delivered both by Jew and Christian; and not so much as questioned till these later days. And however some ascribe it to Tostatus as to the first inventor of it; yet it is ancients far than he: though were it so, it could not be denied but that it had an able and learned Author. A man considering the times in which he lived, and the short time of life it pleased God to give him; that hardly ever had his equal. It's true, Tostatus thus resolves it. He makes this query first, *Num sabbatum cum a Deo sanctificatum fuerit in primordio rerum, etc.* "Whether the Sabbath being sanctified by God in the infancy of the World, had been observed of men, by the Law of Nature." And thereunto returns this answer, "*quod Deus non dederit praeceptum illud de observatione sabbati in principio, sed per Mosen datum esse, etc.*" "That God commanded not the Sabbath to be sanctified in the beginning of the World, but that it was commanded afterwards by the Law of Moses; when God did publicly make known his will upon Mount Sinai. And that whereas the Scripture speaketh of sanctifying the seventh day, in the second of Genesis, it is not to be understood as if the Lord did then appoint it for his public worship; but is to be referred unto the time wherein Moses wrote, which was in the Wilderness. *Et sic Moses intendebat dicere quod Deus illum diem sanctificavit, se. N O B I S, etc.* And so, saith he, the meaning of the Prophet will be briefly this, that God did sanctify that day, that is, to Us, to us that are his people of the house of Jacob, that we might consecrate it to his service." So far Tostatus. In which I must confess, that I see not any thing but what Josephus said before him, though in other words: who speaking of the World's Creation doth conclude it thus, *, etc. So that Moses saith that the World and all that is therein, was made in six whole days, and that upon the seventh day God took rest, and ceased from his labors. *, etc. By reason whereof, we likewise desist from travail on that day, which we call the Sabbath, i.e. repose. So that the institution of the Sabbath, by Tostatus; and the observation of it, by Josephus; are both of them referred, by their use of us, and we, unto the times of Moses, and the house of Israel. Nor is Josephus the only learned man amongst the Jews that so interpreteth Moses' meaning. Solomon Iarchi, one of the principal of the Rabbins speaks more expressly to this purpose; and makes this Gloss or Comment upon Moses' words: "*Benedixit ei, i.e. in manna, etc.* God blessed the seventh day, i.e. in Mannah, because for every day of the week, an Homer of it fell upon the earth, and a double portion on the sixth, and sanctified it, i.e. in Mannah, because it fell not on the seventh day at all. *Et scriptura loquitur de re futura.*" "And in this place" (saith he) "the Scripture

speaks as of a thing that was to come.” Nay, generally the Hebrew Doctors do affirm as much, assuring us that the Commandment of the Sabbath was neither given nor known till the fall of Mannah; & ante alia mandata datum esse, quando Mannah acceperunt: whose testimony more at large shall be reported in the first Section of the fourth Chapter of this Book. If not before the fall of Mannah, then certainly not given at the first beginning: and therefore mentioned here as by Anticipation. But what need more be said? Mercer, a learned Protestant and one much conversant in the Rabbins, confesseth that the Rabbins generally refer this place and passage to the following times, even to the sanctification of the Sabbath established by the law of Moses, and the fall of Mannah, *Hebri fere ad futurum referunt, i.e. sanctificationem Sabbati postea lege per Mosen sancitam: unde & Manna eo die non descendit.* And howsoever for his own part, he is of opinion that the first Fathers being taught by God, kept the seventh day holy; yet he conceives withal that the Commandment of keeping holy the Sabbath days was not made till afterwards. *Nam hinc (from God’s own resting on that day) postea praeceptum de Sabbato natum est,* as he there hath it. Doubtless the Jews, who so much doted on their Sabbath, would not by any means have robbed it of so great antiquity; had they had any ground to approve thereof, or not known the contrary. So that the scope of Moses in this present place was not to shew the time when, but the occasion why, the Lord did after sanctify the seventh day for a Sabbath day: viz. because that on that day he rested from the works which he had created.

(3) Nor was it otherwise conceived then that Moses here did speak by way of Prolepsis, or Anticipation, till Ambrose Catharin, one of the great sticklers in the Trent Council, opined the contrary. He in his Comment on that Text falls very foul upon Tostatus; and therein leads the dance to others, who have since taken up the same opinion. “*Ineptum est quod quidam commentus est, etc.* It is a foolish thing (saith he) that (as a certain Writer fancieth) the sanctification of that day which Moses speaks of, should not be true as of that very point of time whereof he speaks it, but rather is to be referred unto the time wherein he wrote: as if the meaning only were, that then it should be sanctified when it was ordered and appointed by the Law of Moses.” And this he calls *Commentum ineptum, & contra literam ipsam, & contra ipsius Moseos declarationem;* A foolish and absurd conceit, contrary unto Moses’ words and to his meaning. Yet the same Catharin doth affirm in the self-same Book, *Scripturis*

frequentissimum esse, multa per anticipationem narrare; that nothing is more frequent in the holy Scriptures than these anticipations. And in particular, that whereas it is said in the former Chapter, male and female created he them, per anticipationem dictum esse non est dubitandum, that (without doubt) it is so said by anticipation: the woman not being made, as he is of opinion, till the next day after, which was the Sabbath. For the Anticipation he cites Saint Chrysostome, who indeed tells us on that text, *. Behold, saith he, how that which was not done as yet, is here related as if done already. He might have added, for that purpose, Origen on the first of Genesis, and Gregory the Great, Moral lib.32.cap.9. both which take notice of a Prolepsis, or Anticipation in that place of Moses. For the creation of the woman he brings in Saint Jerome, who in his Tract Against the Jews expressly saith, mulierem conditam fuisse die septimo, that the woman was created on the seventh day or Sabbath; to which this Catharin assents, and thinks that thereupon the Lord is said to have finished all his works on the seventh day; that being the last that he created. This seems indeed to be the old tradition, if it be lawful for me to digress a little: it being supposed that Adam being wearied in giving names unto all creatures on the sixth day, in the end whereof he was created, did fall that night into a deep and heavy sleep; and that upon the Sabbath or seventh day morning, his side was opened and a rib took thence, for the creation of the woman. So Augustinus Steuchius reports the Legend. And this I have the rather noted, to meet with Catharinus at his own weapon. Whereas he concludes from the rest of God, that without doubt the institution of the Sabbath began upon that very day when God rested: it seems, by him, God did not wholly rest upon that day, and so we either must have no Sabbath to be kept at all; or else it will be lawful for us by the Lord's example, to do whatever work we have to do upon that day; and after sanctify the remainder. And yet I needs must say withal, that Catharinus was not the only he, that thought God wrought upon the Sabbath. Aretius also so conceived it. Dies itaque tota non fuit quiete transacta, sed perfecto opere ejus deinceps quievit, ut Hebraeus contextus habet. "The whole day was not spent" (saith he) "in rest from labor, but then God rested when he had perfected all his works; according as the Hebrew Text informs us." Mercer a man well skilled in Hebrew, denieth not but the Hebrew Text will bear that meaning. Who thereupon conceives that the seventy Elders in the Translation of that place, did purposely translate it, *, that on the sixth day God finished all the works that he had made, and after rested on the seventh. "And this they did," saith he, "ut omnem dubitandi occasionem

tollerent, to take away all hint of collecting thence, that God did any kind of work on that day. For if he finished all his works on the seventh day, it may be thought (saith he) that God wrought upon it." Saint Hierome <Jerome> noted this before, that the Greek Text was herein different from the Hebrew; and turns it as argument against the Jews and their rigid keeping of the Sabbath. *Arctavimus igitur Judaeos qui de ocio sabbati gloriantur, quod jam tunc in principio sabbatum dissolutum sit, dum Deus operatur in sabbato, complens opera sua in eo; & benedicens ipse diei, quia in ipso uiversa compleverat.* "Here," saith the Father, "have we brought the Jews to a narrow strait, who so much glory in their Sabbath; as being broken even in the first beginning, when God did work upon that day, perfecting on the same his works, and therefore blessing it, because thereon he finished all the works which he had created." If so, if God himself did break the Sabbath, as Saint Hierome turns upon the Jews; we have small cause to think that he should at that very time, impose the Sabbath as a Law upon his creatures.

(4) But to proceed. Others that have took part with Catharinus against Tostatus have had as ill success as he; in being forced either to grant the use of anticipation in the holy Scripture, or else to run upon a tenet wherein they are not like to have any seconds. I will instance only two particulars, both Englishmen, and both exceeding zealous in the present cause. The first is Doctor Bound, who first of all did set afoot these Sabbatarian speculations in the Church of England, wherewith the Church is still disquieted. He determines thus: "I deny not, (saith he), but that the Scripture speaketh often of things, as though they had been so before, because they were so then, when the things were written. As when it is said of Abraham, that he removed unto a Mountain Eastward of Bethel, whereas it was not called Bethel till above a 100 years after. The like may be said of another place in the Book of Judges called Bochin, etc. yet in this place of Genesis it is not so. And why not so in this, as well as in those? Because (saith he) Moses entreateth there of the sanctification of the Sabbath, not only because it was so then, when he wrote that Book, but specially because it was so even from the Creation." Which by his leave, is not so much a reason of his opinion, as a plain begging of the question. The second, Doctor Ames, the first I take it, that sowed Bound's doctrine of the Sabbath in the Netherlands. Who saith expressly first, and in general terms, *hujusmodi prolepseos exemplum nullum in tota scriptura dari posse*, that no example of the like anticipation can be found in

Scripture: the contrary whereof is already proved. After more warily, and in particular, de hujusmodi institutione Proleptica, that no such institution is set down in Scripture, by way of a Prolepsis or Anticipation, either in that book or in any other. And herein, as before I said, he is not like to find any seconds. We find it in the sixteenth of Exodus, that thus Moses said. This is the thing which the Lord commandeth: Fill an Omer of it [of the Mannah] to be kept for your generations, that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the Wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of AEGypt. It followeth in the text, that as the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the testimony to be kept. Here is an ordinance of God's, an institution of the Lord, and this related in the same manner, by anticipation, as the former was. Lyra upon the place affirms expressly, that it is spoken there per anticipationem: and so doth Vatablus too, in his annotations on that Scripture. But to make sure work of it, I must send Doctor Ames to school to Calvin, who tells us on this text of Moses, non contexit Moses historiam suo ordine, sed narratione * interposita, melius confirmat, etc. Moses, saith he, relates not here the history in its place and order; but sets it down by way of prolepsis or Anticipation. Indeed it could not well be otherwise interpreted. For how could Aaron lay up a pot of Mannah to be kept before the testimony, when as yet there was neither Ark, nor Tabernacle, and so no testimony before which to keep it? To bring this business to an end, Moses hath told us in the place before remembered, that the children of Israel did eat Mannah forty years, which is not otherwise true, in that place and time in which he tells it, but by the help and figure of anticipation. And this Saint Austin noted in his Questions upon Exodus, Significat scriptura per Prolepsin, i.e., hoc loco commemorando quod etiam postea factum est: "This is expressed, saith he, in Scripture by an anticipation: that is, by mentioning in that place and time, a thing not done a long while after." And lastly, where Amesius sets it down for certain that no man ever thought of an anticipation in this place of Moses, qui praejudicio aliquo de observatione diei Dominicae non fuit prius anticipatus, who was not first possessed with some manifest prejudice against the sanctifying of the Lord's day; this cannot possibly be said against Tostatus, who had no enemy to encounter, nor no opinion to oppose, and so no prejudice. We conclude then, that for this passage of the Scripture, we find not any thing unto the contrary, but that it was set down in that place and time by a plain and mere Anticipation; and doth relate unto the time wherein Moses wrote: and therefore no sufficient warrant to fetch the institution of the Sabbath from

the first beginnings. One only thing have I to add, and that's the reason which moved Moses to make this mention of the Sabbath, even in the first beginning of the Book of God, and so long time before the institution of the same. Which doubtless was, the better to excite the Jews to observe that day, from which they seemed at first to be much averse: and therefore were not only to be minded of it, by a Memento in the front of the Commandment; but by an intimation of the equity and reason of it, even in the entrance of God's Book, derived from God's first resting on that day after all his works. Theodoret hath so resolved it in his Questions on the book of Genesis, *Maxime autem Judaeis ist ascribens, necessario posuit hoc, sanctificavit cum, ut majore cultu prosequantur Sabbatum. Hoc enim in legibus sancienti inquit, sex diebus creavit Deus, etc.* Moses, saith he, writing these things for the use and benefit of the Jews, was of necessity to set down the sanctifying of the sabbath at this place and time, that so they might observe it with the greater reverence.

(5) I said an intimation of the equity and reason of it, for that's as much as can be gathered from that place: though some have labored what they could, to make the sanctifying of the seventh day, therein mentioned, a precept given by God to our Father Adam, touching the sanctifying of that day to his public worship. Of this I shall not now say much, because the practice will disprove it. Only I cannot but report the mind and judgment of Pererius, a learned Jesuit. Who amongst other reasons which he hath alleged, to prove the observation of the sabbath not to have took beginning in the first infancy of the World, makes this for one: that generally the Fathers have agreed on this, *Deum non aliud imposuisse Adamo praeceptum, omnino positivum, nisi illud de non edendo fructu arboris scientiae, etc.* that God imposed no other law on Adam, which was plainly positive, than that of not eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of knowledge. Of the which Fathers, since he hath instanced in none particularly, I will make bold to lay before you some two or three; that so out of the mouths of two or three witnesses the truth hereof may be established. And first we have Tertullian, who resolves it thus. *Namque in principio mundi ipsi Adae et Evae legem dedit, etc.* In the beginning of the World, the Lord commanded Adam and Eve that they should not eat of the fruit of the tree, which is in the middle of the Garden. Which Law (saith he) had been sufficient for their justification, had it been observed. For in that Law all other precepts were included, which afterwards were given by Moses. Saint Basil next, who tells us first, that abstinence of fasting was

commanded by the Lord in Paradise. And the, *, etc. the first Commandment given by God to Adam was that he should not eat of the tree of knowledge. The very same, which is affirmed by Saint Ambrose in another language, *Et ut sciamus no esse novum jejunium primam illic legem*, [i.e. in Paradise] *constituit de jejunio*. That we may know, saith this good Father, that abstinence or fasting is no new invention, the first Law which the Lord proclaimed in Paradise, was that of fasting. See to this purpose Chrysost. hom. 14. & 16. on the book of Genesis; Austin de Civit. l. 14. c. 12; and many other Christian Doctors of all times and ages, who do from hence aggravate the offense of Adam, in that he had but one commandment imposed on him, and yet kept it not. So perfectly agree in this, the greatest lights both of African, the Eastern, and the Western Churches. If so, if that the law of abstinence had been alone sufficient for the justification of our Father Adam, as Tertullian thinks; or if it were the first law given by God unto him, as both Saint Basil and Saint Ambrose are of opinion: the only Law, as both Saint Austin and the Schoole-men think: then was there no such law at all then made, as that of sanctifying of the Sabbath; or else not made according to that time and order, wherein this passage of the Scripture is laid down by Moses. And if not then, there is no other ground for this Commandment in the Book of God before the wandering of God's people in the Wilderness and the fall of Mannah. A thing so clear, that some of those who willingly would have the Sabbath to have been kept from the first Creation, have not the confidence to ascribe the keeping of it to any ordinance of God, but only to the voluntary imitation of his people. And this is Torნიellus' way, amongst many others, who though he attribute to Enos both set forms of prayer, and certain times by him selected for the performance of that duty; *praecipue vero diebus Sabbati*, especially upon the Sabbath; yet he resolves it as before, that such as sanctified that day, if such there were; *non ex praecepto divino, quod nullum tunc extabat, sed ex pietate solum, id egisse*; "were not obliged to do, by any precept from the Lord, none such being given, but only of an arbitrary piety." Of this opinion doth Mercer also seem to be, as before I noted. So that in this particular point, the Fathers and the modern Writers; the Papist and the Protestant, agree most lovingly together.

(6) Much less did any of the Fathers, or other ancient Christian Writers, conceive that sanctifying of the Sabbath, or one day in seven, was naturally ingrafted in the mind of man from his first creation. It's true, they tell us of a Law which naturally was ingrafted in him. So Chrysostome affirms, that

neither Adam nor any other man did ever live without the guidance of this Law; and that it was imprinted in the soul of man, as soon as as he was made a living creature. *, as that Father hath it. But neither he nor any other did ever tell us that the Sabbath was a part of this law of nature: nay, some of them expressly have affirmed the contrary. Theodoret for example, “that these Commandments, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, and others of that kind, alios quoque homines natura edocuit, were generally implanted by the law of nature, in the minds of men. But for the keeping of the Sabbath, it came not in by nature, but by Moses’ law. At Sabbati observandi, non natura magistra, sed ratio legis.” So Theodoret. And answerably thereunto Sedulius doth divide the law into three chief parts. Whereof the first is de Sacramentis, of signs and Sacraments, as Circumcision, and the Passover; the second is, quae congruit legi naturali, the body of the Law of nature, and is the summary of those things which are prohibited by the words of God; the third and last, factorum, of rites and ceremonies (for so I take it is his meaning) as new Moons and sabbaths: which clearly doth exempt the Sabbath, from having any thing to do with the law of nature. “ And Damascen assures us too, that when there was no law enacted, nor any Scripture inspired by God, that then there was no Sabbath neither,” *. To which three Ancients we may add many more of these later times, Ryvet and Ames, and divers others, who though they plead hard for the antiquity of the Sabbath, dare not refer the keeping of it to the law of nature; but only (as we shall see anon) unto positive law, and divine commandment. But hereof we shall speak more largely, when we are come unto the promulgating of this Law in the time of Moses; where it will evidently appear to be a positive Constitution only, fitted peculiarly to the Jews; and never otherwise esteemed of than a Jewish ordinance.

(7) It’s true, that all men generally have agreed on this, that it is consonant to the law of nature to set apart some time to God’s public service; but that this time should rather be the seventh day than any other, that they impute not unto any thing in nature; but either to divine, legal, or Ecclesiastical institution. The Schoole-men, Papists, Protestants, men of almost all persuasions in religion, have so resolved it. And for the Ancients, our venerable Bede assures us, “that to the Fathers before the law, all days were equal; the seventh day having no prerogative before the others; and this he calls naturalis sabbati libertate, the liberty of the natural sabbath, which ought (saith he) to be restored at our Savior’s coming.” If so, if that

the Sabbath, or time of rest unto the Lord, was naturally left free and arbitrary, then certainly it was not restrained more unto one day than another; or to the seventh day, more than to the sixth or eighth. Even Abrose Catharin, as stout a champion as he was for the antiquity of the Sabbath, finds himself at a loss about it. For having took for granted, as he might indeed, that men by the prescript of nature were to assign peculiar times for the service of God; and adding that the very Gentiles used so to do, is fain to shut up all “with an Ignoramus. Nescimus modo quem diem praecipue observarunt prisci illi Dei cultores. We cannot well resolve (saith he) what day especially was observed, by those who worshipped God, in the times of old.” Wherein he doth agree exactly with Abulensis, against whom principally he took up the bucklers; who could have taught him this, if he would have learnt of such a Master, that “howsoever the Hebrew people, or any other, before the giving of the Law, were bound to set apart some time, for religious duties: non tamen magis in sabbato, quam in quolibet aliorum dierum,” yet were they no more bound to the Sabbath day, than to any other. So for the Protestant Writers, two of the greatest Advocates of the Sabbath have resolved accordingly. Quod dies ille solennia unus debeat esse in septimana, hoc positivi juris est; that’s Amesius’ doctrine. And Ryvet also saith the same. Legem de Sabbato, positivam, non naturalem agnoscimus. The places were both cited in the former Section; and both do make the Sabbath a mere positive law, no prescript of nature. But what need more be said in so clear a case; or what needs further Witnesses be produced to give in evidence, when we have confitentem reum. For Doctor Bound, who first amongst us, here, endeavored to advance the Lord’s day into the place of the Jewish Sabbath; and feigned a pedigree of the Sabbath, even from Adam’s infancy: hath herein said enough to betray his cause, and those, who since have either built upon his foundation; or beautified their undertakings with his collections. “Indeed (saith he) this law was given in the beginning, not so much by the light of nature, as the rest of the nine Commandments were; but by express words when God sanctified it. For though this be in the law of nature, that some days should be separated to God’s worship, as appears by the practice of the Gentiles: yet that it should be every seventh day, the Lord himself set down in express words; which otherwise by the light of nature they could never have found. So that by his confession, there is no Sabbath to be found in the law of nature: no more than by the testimony of the Fathers, in any positive law, or divine appointment, until the Decalogue was given by Moses.

(9) Nay, Doctor Bound goeth further yet, and robs his friends and followers of a special argument. For where Danaeus asks this question, Why one of seven, rather than one of eight, or nine; and thereunto makes answer, that the number of seven doth signify perfection and perpetuities. “First, saith the Doctor, I do not see that proved, that there is any such mystical signification, rather than of any other. And though that were granted, yet do I not find that to be any cause at all in Scripture, why the seventh day should be commanded to be kept holy, rather than the sixth, or eighth. And in the former page, The special reason why the seventh day should be rather kept than any other, is not the excellency or perfection of that number, or that there is any mystery in it, or that God delighteth more in it, than in any other: though, I confess (saith he) that much is said that way, both in divine and humane writers.” Much hath been said therein indeed, so much that we may justly wonder at the strange niceties of some men, and the unprofitable pains they have took amongst them in searching out the mysteries of this number; the better to advance, as they conceive, the reputation of the Sabbath. Aug. Steuchius hath affirmed in general, that this day and number is most natural and most agreeable to divine employments, and therefore in omni aetate inter omnes gentes habitus venerabilis & facer, accounted in all times and Nations holy and venerable; and so have many others said since him. But he that led the way unto him, and to all the rest, is Philo the Jew; who being a great follower of Plato’s, took up his way of trading in the mysteries of several numbers: wherein he was so intricate and perplexed, that numero Platonis obscurius, did grow at last into a Proverb. This Philo therefore Platonizing, first tells us of this number of seven, *, that he persuades himself there is not any man able sufficiently to extol it; as being far above all the powers of Rhetoric, and that the Pythagoreans (from them first Plato learnt those trifles) did usually resemble it, *, even to Jove himself. Then, that Hippocrates doth divide the life of man into seven ages, each age containing seven full years; to which the changes of man’s constitution are all framed and fitted: as also that the Bear, or Arcturus, as they use to call it, and the constellation called the Pleiades, consist of seven stars severally, neither more nor less. He shows us also, how much nature is delighted in this number, *, as viz. that there are seven Planets, and that the Moon quartereth every seventh day, that Infants borne in the seventh month are usually like enough to live; that there are seven several motions of the body, seven entrails, so many outward members, seven holes, or outlets, in the same, seven sorts of excrements; as also that the seventh is the critical day in most kinds of

maladies. And to what purpose this, and much more of the same condition every where scattered in his Writings, but to devise some natural reason for the Sabbath? For so he manifests himself in another place. *, etc. “Now why God chose the seventh day, and established it by law, for the day of rest, you need not ask at all of me; since both Physicians and Philosophers have so oft declared of what great power and virtue that number is, as in all other things, so especially in the nature and state of man. *. And thus (saith he) you have the reason of the seventh day-Sabbath.” Indeed Philosophers, and Physicians, and other learned men of great name and credit, have spoken much in honor of the number of seven; and severally impute great power unto it in the works of nature, and several changes of man’s body. Whereof see Censorinus de Die natali, cap.12; Varro in Gellius lib.3.cap.10; Hippocrates, Solon, and Hermippus Beritus in the sixth Book of Clemens of Alexandria; besides divers others. Nay it grew up so high in the opinion of some men, that they derived it at the last, *, i.e. from the reverence due unto it. So Philo tells us. Macrobius also saith the same. *Apud veteres * vocitatur quod Graeco nomine testabatur venerationem debitam numero: as he, in Somnio Scipionis.*

(9) But other men as good as they find no such mystery in this number, but that the rest may keep pace with it, if not go before it: and some of those, which so much magnify the seventh, have found as weighty mysteries in many of the others also. In which I shall the rather enlarge myself, that seeing the exceeding great both contradiction and contention that is between them in these needless curiosities, we may the better find the slightness of those arguments which seem to place a great morality in this number of seven; as if it were by nature the most proper number for the service of God. And first, whereas the learned men before mentioned affix a special power unto it in the works of nature, Justin the Martyr plainly tells us, “*, etc. that the accomplishment of the works of nature is to be ascribed to nature only, not unto any period of time accounted by the number of seven; and that they oft times come to their perfection sooner or later than the said periods: which could not be, in case that nature were observant of this number, as they say she is, and not this number tied to the course of nature. *, etc. Therefore (saith he) this number hath no influence on the works of nature.” Then whereas others attribute I know not what perfection to this number above all the rest; Cicero affirming that it is *plenus numerus*; Macrobius, that it is *numerus solidus & perfectus*; Bodinus doth affirm expressly, *Neutrum de septenario dici potest*, that

neither of those attributes is to be ascribed unto this number; then, that the eighth number is a solid number, although not a perfect one; the sixth, a perfect number also. Now as Bodinus makes the eighth more solid, and the sixth more perfect; so Servius on these words of Virgil, *Septima post decimam foelix*, prefers the tenth number a far deal before it: *Ut primum locum decimae ferat, quae sit valde foelix; secundum septima, ut quae post decimae foelicitatem secunda sit.* Nay, which may seem more strange than this, the Arithmeticians generally, as we read in Nyssen, make this seventh number to be utterly barren and unfruitful, *. But to go forwards in this matter. Macrobius who before had said of this number seven, that it is *plenus & venerabilis*, both full and venerable; hath in the same Book said of the number of one, that it is *principium & finis omnium*, the beginning and end of all things, and that it hath a special reference or resemblance unto God on high: which is by far the greater commendation of the two. And Hierom, that however there be many mysteries in the number of seven, *prima tamen beatitudo est, esse in primo numero*, yet the prime happiness or beatitudo is to be sought for in the first. So for the third, Origen generally affirms that it is *apsus sacramentis*, even made for mysteries; & some particulars he nameth. Macrobius findeth in it all the natural faculties of the soul; *, or rational; *, or irascible, and last of all *, or concupiscible. Saint Athanasius makes it equal altogether with the seventh; the one being no less memorable for the holy Trinity, than the other for the World's Creation. And Servius on these words of Virgil, *Numero Deus impare gaudet*, saith that the Pythagoreans hold it for a perfect number, and do resemble it unto God, a *quo principium, & medium, & finis est.* Yet on the contrary, Bodinus takes up Aristotle, Plutarch, and Lactantius, for saying that the third is a perfect number; there being in his reckoning but four perfect numbers in 100000; which are 6, 28, 496, and 8128. Next for the fourth, Philo not only hath assured us that it is *, a perfect number, wherein Bodinus contradicts him; but that it is highly honored, as amongst Philosophers, so by Moses also, who hath affirmed of it that it is *, both holy, and praise-worthy too. And for the mysteries thereof, Clemens of Alexandria tells us, that both Jehovah in the Hebrew, and * in the Greek, consisteth of four letters only; and so doth Deus in the Latin. Nazianzen further doth inform us that as the seventh amongst the Hebrews, so was the fourth honored by the Pythagoreans, *, and that they used to swear thereby, when they took an oath. Yet for all this, Saint Ambrose thought this number not alone unprofitable, but even dangerous also. *Numerum quartum plerique cavent, & inutile putant*, as he in his *Hexaameron*. Then

for the fifth, Macrobius tells us that it comprehendeth all things both in the Heavens above and the earth below. And yet by Origen it is placed indifferently, partly in laudabilibus, partly in culpabilibus; there being five foolish Virgins, for the five wise ones.

(10) Now let us look upon the sixth, which Beda reckoneth to be numerus perfectus; and Bodin, primus perfectorum. Philo, and generally the Pythagoreans do affirm the same. Yet the same Bodin tells us in the self-same Book, that howsoever it be the first perfect number, such as according unto Plato, did sort most fitly with the workmanship of God: Videmus tamen vilissimis animantibus convenire, yet was it proper in some sort to the vilest creatures. As for the eighth, Hesychius makes it an expression or figure of the world to come. Macrobius tells us that the Pythagoreans used it as an Hieroglyphick of justice, Quia primus omnium selvitur in numeros pariter pares, because it will be always divisible into even or equal members. Nay, whereas those of Athens did use to sacrifice to Neptune on the eighth day of every month; Plutarch hath found out such a mystical reason for it out of the nature of that number, as others in the number of seven for the morality of the Sabbath. "They sacrifice (saith he) to Neptune on the eighth day of every month because the number of eight is the first Cube, made of even numbers, and the double of the first square: *, which doth represent an immoveable steadfastness, properly attributed to the might of Neptune; whom for this cause we name Asphalius and *, which signifieth the safe keeper and stayer of the earth." As strong an argument for the one, as any mystery or morality derived from numbers can be for the other. But if we look upon the tenth, we find a greater commendation given to that than to the seventh; yea, by those very men themselves, to whom the seventh appeared so sacred. Philo affirms thereof that of all numbers it is most absolute and complete; not meanly celebrated by the Prophet Moses; most proper and familiar unto God himself; that the powers and virtues of it are innumerable; and finally, that learned men did call it *, because it comprehended in itself all kind of numbers. With whom agree Macrobius, who styles it numerum perfectissimum, the most perfect number; and Clemens Alexandrinus, who gives it both the attributes of holiness and perfection. Nazianzen and Athanasius are as full as they. And here this number seems to me to have got the better; there being nothing spoken in disgrace of this, as was before of the seventh, by several Authors there remembered. So that for ought I see, in case this argument be good, for the morality of the Sabbath, we may make every day, or any day a

Sabbath, with as much reason as the seventh, and keep it on the tenth day, with best right of all. Adeo argumenta ab absurdo petita, ineptos habent exitus, said Lactantius truly. Nay, by this reason, we need not keep a Sabbath oftener than every thirtieth day, or every fiftieth, or every hundredth; because those numbers have been noted also to contain great mysteries, and to be perfecter than others. For Origen hath plainly told us that if we look into Scriptures, invenies multa magnarum rerum gesta sub tricenario & quinquagenario contineri, we shall find many notable things delivered to us in the numbers of thirty and fifty. Of fifty more particularly, Philo affirms upon his credit that it is *, the holiest and most natural of all other numbers; and Origen conceived so highly of it that he breaks out into a timeo hujus numeri secreta discutere, and durst not touch upon that string. So lastly for the Centenary, the same Author tells us that it is plenus and perfectus, no one more absolute. We may have Sabbaths at our will, either too many, or too few, if this plea be good.

(11) Yea, but perhaps, there may be something in the Scripture whereby the seventh day may be thought more capable in nature of so high an honor. Some have so thought indeed, and thereupon have mustered up all those Texts of Scripture in which there hath been any good expressed or intimated, which concerns this number, or is reducible unto it. Bellarmine never took more pains out of that fruitless Topick to produce seven Sacraments, than they have done from thence to derive the Sabbath. I need not either name the men, or recite the places; both are known sufficiently. Which kind of proof if it be good, we are but where we were before, amongst out Ecclesiastical and humane Writers. In this the Scriptures will not help us, or give the seventh day naturally and in itself more capability or fitness for God's worship than the ninth or tenth. For first the Scripture gives not more honor to this number in some Texts thereof, than it detracts from it in others; and secondly, they speak as highly of the other numbers as they do of this. The Jesuit Pererius shall stand up to make good the first, and Doctor Cracanthorp to avow the second. Pererius first resolves it clearly, numerum Septenarium etiam in rebus possimis & execrandis saepe numero positum esse in Scriptura sacra: that the seventh number is oft used in Scripture to signify the vilest and most execrable things. As for example. "The evil spirit (saith Saint Luke) brought with him seven spirits worse than himself; and out of Mary Magdalen did Christ cast out seven Devils, as Saint Marke tells us. So in the Revelation, Saint John informs us as also of seven plagues sent into the earth, and seven Vials of God's wrath

poured out upon it. (He might have told us had he listed, that the purple beast whereon the great Whore rid, had seven heads also, and that she sat upon seven Mountains.) It's true (saith he) which David tells us, that he did praise God seven times a day; but then as true it is, which Solomon hath told us, that the just man falleth seven times a day." So in the Book of Genesis, we have seven lean kine, and seven thin ears of Corn; as well as seven fat Kine, and seven full Ears. To proceed no further. Pererius hereupon makes this general resolution of the case: Apparet igitur eosdem numeros, aequè in bonis & malis poni, & usurpari in sacra a Scriptura: Hence it is manifest, saith he, that the same numbers frequently are used in Scripture, both for good and evil. Next, whereas those of Rome, as before I noted, have gone the same way to find out seven Sacraments; our Cracanthorpe, to shew "the vanity of that argument, doth the like for the proof of two. Quod & si nobis fac esset, etc. If it were lawful for us to take this course, we could produce more for the number of two than they can for seven. As for example, God made two great Lights in the Firmament, and gave to man two eyes, two ears, two feet, two hands, two arms. There were two Nations in the womb of Rebecca, two Tables of the Law, two Cherubins, two Sardonich stones in which were written the names of the sons of Israel. Thou shalt offer to the Lord, two Rams, two Turtles, two Lambs of a year old, two young Pigeons, two he-goats, two Oxen for a peace-offering. Let us make two Trumpets, two Doors of the wood of Olives, two Nets, two Pillars. There were two Horns of the Lamb, two Candlesticks, two Olive branches, two Witnesses, two prophets, two Testaments; and upon two Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets, saith our Savior. Congruentiis facile vinceremus, si nobis in hunc campum descendere libet, etc. We should (saith he) presume of an easy victory, should we thus dally with congruities, as do those of Rome." Hence we conclude that by the light of Scripture, we find not any thing in nature why either every seventh day should, or every second day should not be a Sabbath. Not to say any thing of the other numbers, of which the like might be affirmed if we would trouble ourselves about it.

(12) It's true, this trick of trading in the mysteries of numbers is of long standing in the Church, and of no less danger; first borrowed from the Platonists and the Pythagoreans by the ancient Hereticks, Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and the rest of that damned crew; the better to disguise their errors, and palliate their impieties. Some of the Fathers afterwards took up the device, perhaps to foil the Hereticks at their own

weapons; though many of them purposely declined it. Sure I am, Chrysostom dislikes it. Who on those words in the seventh of Genesis, by seven and by seven (which is the number now debated) doth instruct us thus: *, etc. “Many (saith he) do tell strange matters of this fact, and taking an occasion hence, make many observations out of several numbers. Whereas not observation, but only an unseasonable curiosity hath produced those fictions, *, from whence so many heresies had their first original. For oftentimes (that out of our abundance we may fit their fancies) we find the even or equal number no less commemorated in holy Scripture; as when God sent out his Disciples by two, and two; when he chose twelve Apostles, and left four Evangelists. But these things it were needless to suggest to you, who have so many times been lessoned,” *, to stop your ears against such follies. Saint Augustine also, though he had descanted a while upon the mysteries of this number; yet he cuts off himself in the very middle, as it were; *Nescientolam suam leviter magis quam utiliter, jactare velle videatur*; lest he should seem to shew his reading, with more pride than profit. And thereupon he gives this excellent rule, which I could wish had been more practiced in this case: *Habenda est itaque ratio moderationis & gravitatu, ne forte cum de numero multum loquimur, mensuram & pondus negligere judicemur*. “We must not take, saith he, so much heed of numbers, that we forget at the last both weight and measure.” And this we should the rather do, because that generally there is no rule laid down, or any reason to be given in nature, why some particular numbers have been set apart for particular uses, when other numbers might have served: why Jericho should be rather compassed seven times, than six or eight; why Abraham rather trained three hundred and eighteen of his servants, than three hundred and twenty, or why his servant took ten Camels with him into Padan Aram, and not more or less; with infinite others of this kind, in the Law Levitical. Yet I deny not that some reason may be given, why in the Scripture, things are so often ordered by sevens and sevens: viz. as Justin Martyr tells *, the better to preserve the memory of the world’s Creation. Another reason may be added, which is, by this inculcating the number of seven unto the Jews, to make that people, who otherwise were at first averse from it, as before I noted, continually mindful of the Sabbath: *Numerum septenarium propter Sabbatum Judaeis familiarem esse*, being the observation of S. Hierom. To draw this point unto an end, It is apparent by what hath before been spoken, that there is no Sabbath to be found in the beginning of the World, or mentioned as a thing done, in the 2. of Genesis, either on any strength of the Text itself; or by immediate

ordinance and command from God, collected from it; or by the law and light of nature, imprinted in the soul of man at his first creation: much less by any natural fitness in the number of seven, whereby it was most capable in itself of so high an honor. Which first premised, we shall the earlier see what hath been done in point of practice.

CHAPTER 2

THAT THERE WAS NO SABBATH KEPT, FROM THE CREATION, TO THE FLOOD.

(1) Gods rest upon the seventh day; and from what hee rested. (2) Zanchius conceit touching the sanctifying of the first seventh day, by Christ our Savior. (3) The like of Torniellus, touching the sanctifying of the same, by the Angels in heaven. (4) A generall demonstration that the Fathers before the Law, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Adam; that he kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abel, and Seth did not keep the Sabbath. (7) Of Enos, that he kept not the Sabbath. (8) That Enoch and Methusalem did not keep the Sabbath. (9) Of Noah, that he kept not the Sabbath. (10) The Sacrifices and devotions of the Ancients were occasionall.

(1) HOW little ground there is whereon to build the original of the Sabbath, in the second of Genesis, we have at large declared in the former Chapter. Yet we deny not but that Text affords us a sufficient intimation of the equity and reason of it, which is God's rest upon that day after all his works that he had made. Not as once Celsus did object against the Christians of his time, as if the Lord, *, etc. like to some dull Artificer, was weary of his labors, and had need of sleep: for he spake the word only, and all things were made. There went no greater labor to the whole Creation, than a Dixit Dominus. Therefore Saint Austin rightly noteth, nec cum creavit defessus, nec cum cessavit refectus est; that God was neither weary of working, nor refreshed with resting. The meaning of the Text is this, that he desisted then, from adding any thing, de novo, unto the World by him created: as having in the six former days fashioned Heaven and Earth, and every thing in them contained; and furnished them with all things necessary, both for use and ornament. I say, from adding any thing, de novo, unto the World by him created; but not from governing the same: which is a work by us as highly to be prized as the first Creation; and from the which God never resteth. Sabbaths and all days are alike in respect of providence, in reference to the universal government of the World and Nature. Semper videmus Deum operari, & Sabbatum nullum est in quo Deus no operetur, in quo no producat Solem suum super bonos & malos. No Sabbath, whereon God doth rest from the adminstration of the World

by him created, whereon he doth not make his Sun to shine both on good and bad; whereon he rains not plenty upon the sinner and the just, as Origen hath truly noted. Nor is this more than what our Savior said in his holy Gospel. I work (saith he) and my Father also worketh. “A saying, as Saint Austine notes, at which the Jews were much offended, our Savior meaning by those words that God rested not, *nec ullum sibi cessationis statuisset diem*, and that there was no day wherein he tended not the preservation of the creature; and therefore for his own part, he would not cease from doing his Father’s business, *ne Sabbatis quidem*, no though it were upon the Sabbath. By which it seemeth, that when the Sabbath was observed, and that if still it were in force, it was not then, and would not be unlawful to any now, to look to his estate on the Sabbath day; and to take care that all things thrive and prosper which belong unto him; though he increase it not, or add thereto by following on that day the works of his daily labor. And this according to their rules, who would have God’s example so exactly followed in the Sabbaths rest; who rested, as we see, from creation only, not from preservation. So that the rest here mentioned, was as before I said, no more than a cessation or a leaving off from adding any thing as then, unto the World by him created. Upon which ground he afterwards designed this day for his holy Sabbath, that so by his example the Jews might learn to rest from their worldly labors, and be the better fitted to meditate on the works of God, and to commemorate his goodness manifested in the World’s Creation.

(2) Of any other sanctification of this day by the Lord our God, than that he rested on it now, and after did command the Jews that they should sanctify the same, we have no Constat in the Scriptures; no nor in any Author that I have met with, until Zanchie’s time. Indeed he tells us, a large story of his own making, how God the Son came down to Adam, and sanctified his first Sabbath with him; that he might know the better how to do the like. *Ego quidem non dubito*, etc. “I little doubt, saith he, (I will speak only what I think, without wrong or prejudice to others, I little doubt) but that the Son of God, taking the shape of man upon him, was busied all this day in most holy conferences with Adam; that he made known himself both to him and Eve; taught them the order that he used in the World’s Creation; exhorted them to meditate on those glorious works; in them to praise the Name of God, acknowledging him for their Creator; & after his example, to spend that day for ever in these pious exercises. I doubt not, finally, saith he, but that he taught them on that day the whole

body of Divinity; and that he held them busied all day long in hearing him, and celebrating with due praise their Lord and God; & giving thanks unto him for so great and many benefits as God had graciously vouchsafed to bestow upon them. Which said, he shuts up all with this conclusion: *Haec est illius septimi dici benedictis & sanctificatio, in quae filius Dei una com patre & spiritu sanctu, quievit ab opere quod fecerat.* This was (saith he) the blessing and sanctifying of that seventh day, wherein the Son of God did rest from all the works which they had made." How Zanchie thwarts himself in this, we shall see hereafter. Such strange conceptions, though they miscarry not in the birth: yet commonly they serve to no other use than monsters in the works of nature, to be seen and shown; with wonder at all times, and sometimes with pity. Had such a thing occurred in Pet. Comestor's supplement, which he made unto the Bible, it had been more tolerable. The Legendaries and the Rabbins might fairly also have been excused if any such device had been extant in them. The gravity of the man makes the Tale more pitiful, though never the more to be regarded. For certainly, had there been such a weighty conference between God and man; & so much tending to information & instruction: it is not probable but that we should have heard thereof in the holy Scriptures. And finding nothing of it there, it were but unadvisedly done, to take it on the word & credit of a private man. *Non credimus, quia non legimus,* This we believe not, because we read it not, was in some points Saint Hierom's rule; and shall now be ours.

(3) As little likelihood there is, that the Angels did observe this day and sanctify the same to the Lord their God: yet some have been so venturous as to affirm it. Sure I am Toriellus saith it. And though he seem to have some Authors upon whom to cast it, yet his approving of it makes it his, as well as theirs who first devised it. *Quidam non immerito existimarunt hoc ipso die in Coelis, omnes Angelorum choras, speciali quadam exultatione in Dei laudes prorupisse, quod tam praeclarum & admirabile opus absolvisset.* "Some men have thought, saith he, and that not improbably, that on this day the Choir of Angels in the Heavens brake out into the praise of God, in a special manner, in honor of that excellent and admirable work which he then had perfected." Nay he, and they, who ever they were, have a Scripture for it; even God's words to Job: Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth; when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy? Who, and from whence those *Quidam* were, that so interpreted God's words, I could never find; and yet

have took some pains to seek it. Sure I am, Saint Austin makes a better use of them, and comes home indeed unto the meaning. Some men, it seems, affirmed that the Angels were not made till after the six days were finished in which all things had been created, and he refers to this Text for their confutation. Which being repeated, he concludes: *Iam ergo erant Angeli, quando facta sunt sydera, facta autem sunt sydera die quarto.* “Therefore (saith he) the Angels were created before the Stars; and on the fourth day were the Stars created. Yet Zanchius, and those Quidam, be they who they will, fell short a little of another conceit of Philos, who tells us that the Sabbath had a privilege above other days, not only from the first Creation of the World (though that had been enough to set out the Sabbath), *, but even before the Heavens and all things visible were created. If so it must be sanctified by the holy Trinity, without the tongues of men and Angels: and God, not having worked, must rest, and sanctify a time when no time was. But to return to Torniiellus, however those Quidam did mislead him, and make him think that the first Sabbath had been sanctified by the holy Angels; yet he ingenuously confesseth that sanctifying of the Sabbath here upon the earth was not in use till very many ages after, not till the Law was given by Moses. *Veruntamen in terris ista sabbati sanctificatio non nisi post multa saecula in usum venisse creditur, nimirum temporibus Mosis, quando sub praecepto data est filiis Israel.* So Torniiellus.

(4) So Torniiellus, and so far unquestionable. For that there was no Sabbath kept amongst us men till the times of Moses, the Christian Fathers generally, and some Rabbins also, have agreed together. Which that we may the better show, I shall first let you see what they say in general, and after what they have delivered of particular men, most eminent in the whole story of God’s Book, until the giving of the Law. And first that never any of the Patriarchs before Moses’ time did observe the Sabbath, Justin the Martyr hath assured us: *. None of the righteous men, saith he, and such as walked before the Lord, were either circumcised, or kept the Sabbath, until the several times of Abraham and Moses. And where the Jews were scandalized, in that the Christians did eat hot meats on the Sabbath days, the Martyr makes reply that the said just and righteous men, not taking heed of any such observances, *, obtained a notable testimony of the Lord himself. So Irenaeus, having first told us that Circumcision and the Sabbath were both given for signs; and having spoke particularly of Abraham, Noah, Lot, and Enoch, that they were justified without them, adds for the close of all that the multitude of the faithful before Abraham were justified

without the one; Et Patriarcharum eorum qui ante Mosen fuerunt, and all the Patriarchs which preceded Moses without the other. Tertullian next, disputeth thus against the Jews, that they which think the Sabbath must be still observed, as necessary to salvation; or Circumcision to be used upon pain of death: Doceant in praeteritum justos sabbatizasse, aut circumcidisse, & sic amicos Dei effectos esse; ought first of all, saith he, to prove, That the fathers of the former times were circumcised, or kept the Sabbath, or that thereby they did obtain to be accounted the friends of God. Then comes Eusebius the Historian, and he makes it good that the Religion of the Patriarchs before Moses' Law was nothing different from the Christian; and how proves he that? *. They were not circumcised, no more are we; they kept not any Sabbath, no more do we: they were not bound to abstinence from sundry kinds of meats, which are prohibited by Moses; nor are we neither. Where still observe how constantly these several Fathers rank Circumcision and the Sabbath in one rank or order, which shows that they thought them both of the same condition. This or the like argument doth he also use to the self-same purpose in his first Book, de demonstrat. Evangel, and sixth Chapter. And in his seventh, de praeparatione, he resolves it thus, *, etc. The Hebrews which preceded Moses, and were quite ignorant of his Law (whereof he makes the Sabbath an especial part) disposed their ways according to a voluntary kind of piety, *, framing their lives and actions to the law of nature. This argument is also used by Epiphanius, who speaking of the first ages of the World, informs us this: that then there was no difference among men in matters of opinion; no Judaism, nor kind of heresy whatsoever;*, etc. but that the faith which doth now flourish in God's church was from the beginning. If so, no Sabbath was observed in the times of old, because none in his. I could enlarge my Catalogue, but that some testimonies are to be reserved to another place: when I shall come to show you that the commandment of the Sabbath was published to God's people by Moses only; and that to none but to the Jews. After so many of the Fathers, the modern Writers may perhaps seem unnecessary; yet take one or two. First, Musculus (as Doctor Bound informs me, for I take his word), "who tells us that it cannot be proved that the Sabbath was kept before the giving of the Law, either from Adam to Noah, or from the Flood to the times of Moses, or of Abraham and his Posterity." Which is no more than what we shall see shortly out of Eusebius. Hospinian next, who though he fain would have the sanctifying of the Sabbath to be as old as the beginning of the World; yet he confesseth at the last, Patres idcirco Sabbatum observasse ante

legem, etc. “that for all that it cannot be made good by the Word of God, that any of the Fathers did observe it before the Law.” These two I have the rather cited, because they have been often vouched in the present controversy as men that wished well to the cause, and say somewhat in it.

(5) We are now come to particulars. And first we must begin with the first man Adam. The time of his Creation, as the Scriptures tells us, the sixth day of the week, being as Scaliger conjectured in the first Edition of his Work, the three and twentieth day of April; and so the first Sabbath, *Sabbatum primum*, so he calls it, was the four and twentieth. Petavius, by his computation, makes the first Sabbath to be the first day of November; and Scaliger, in his last Edition, the five and twentieth of October: more near to one another than before they were. Yet saith not Scaliger, that that *primum Sabbatum* had any reference to Adam, though first he left it so at large, that probably some might so conceive it: for in his later thoughts he declares his meaning to be this, *Sabbatum primum in quo Deus requievit ab opere Hexaemeri*; the first Sabbath on the which God rested from his six days’ work. Indeed the Chaldee Paraphrase seems to affirm of Adam, that he kept the Sabbath. For where the 92nd Psalm doth bear this Title, A Song or Psalm for the Sabbath day, the Authors of that Paraphrase do expound it thus: *Laus & Canticum quod dixit homo primus pro die Sabbati*, the Song or Psalm which Adam said for the Sabbath day. Somewhat more wary in this point was Rabbi Kimchi, who tells us how that Adam was created upon Friday about three of the clock, fell at eleven, was censured and driven out of Paradise at twelve; that all the residue of that day and the following night he bemoaned his miseries, was taken into grace next morning, being Sabbath day; and taking then into consideration all the works of God, in *similia istius Psalmi verba prorupisse*, brake out into words as there are recorded. A tale that hath as much foundation, as that narration of Zanchy before remembered. Who though he seem to put the matter out of doubt, with his three *non dubito*’s, that Christ himself did sanctify the first Sabbath with our Father Adam, and did command him ever after to observe that day; yet in another place he makes it only a matter of probability that the commandment of the Sabbath was given at all to our first parents. *Quomodo autem sanctificavit? Non solum decreto & voluntate, sed reipsa; quia illum diem, (ut non pauci volunt & probabile est) mandavit primis parentibus sanctificandum*. How did God sanctify that day, saith he? Not only by decree or designation, but in very deed; in that, as not a few conceive, and probable it is that it may be so, he did command

it to be kept by our first Parents. So easily doth he overthrow his former structure, making that there to be only probable, which formerly he had affirmed to be unquestionable. But to return unto the Rabbins and this dream of theirs, besides the strangeness of the thing, that Adam should continue not above eight hours in Paradise, and yet give names to all the creatures, fall into such an heavy sleep, and have the woman taken out of him; that she must be instructed, tempted, and that both must sin, and both must suffer in so short a time: besides all this, the Christian Fathers are express that Adam never kept the Sabbath. Justin the Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, a learned Jew, makes Adam one of those, *, etc. *, which being neither circumcised, nor keeping any Sabbath, were yet accepted by the Lord. And so Tertullian in a Treatise written against the Jews, affirms of Adam, *quod nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem, Deus eum instituerit*; That God did institute and direct him, being neither circumcised nor a Sabbath- keeper. Nay, which is more, he makes a challenge to the Jews to prove unto him, if they could, that Adam ever kept the Sabbath. *Doceant Adamum sabbatizasse*, as he there hath it. Which doubtless neither of them would have done, considering with whom the one disputed, and against whom the other wrote; had they not been very well assured of what they said. The like may be affirmed both of Eusebius, and Epiphanius, two most learned Fathers. Whereof the first, maintaining positively that the Sabbath was first given by Moses, makes Adam one of those which neither troubled himself with Circumcision, *, nor any of the Laws of Moses: the other reckoneth him amongst those also who lived according to that Faith, which when he wrote was generally received in the Christian Church. Therefore no Sabbath kept by our Father Adam.

(6) But whatsoever Adam did, Abel, I hope, was more observant of this duty. Thus some have said indeed, but on no authority. It is true the Scriptures tell us that he offered Sacrifice: but yet the Scriptures do not tell us that in his Sacrifices he had more regard unto the seventh day than to any other. To offer Sacrifice, he might learn of Adam, or of natural reason, which doth sufficiently instruct us, that we ought all to make some public testimony of our subjection to the Lord. But neither Adam did observe the Sabbath, nor could nature teach it, as before is shown. And howsoever some Modern Writers have conjectured, and conjectured only, that Abel in his Sacrifices might have respect unto the Sabbath; yet those whom we may better trust have affirmed the contrary. For Justin Martyr disputing against Trypho, brings Abel in for an example; “that neither Circumcision

nor the Sabbath, the two great glories of the Jews, were to be counted necessary. For if they were, saith he, God had not had so much regard to Abel's Sacrifice, being as he was uncircumcised; and then he adds, *, etc. *,” that though he was no Sabbath-keeper, yet he was acceptable unto God. And so Tertullian, that God accepted of his Sacrifice, though he were neither circumcised nor kept the Sabbath. *Abelem offerentem sacrificia, incircumcisum neque sabbatizantem laudavit Deus, acceptaferens qua in simplicitate cordis offerebat.* Yea, and he brings him also into his challenge, as one to whom the Jews could produce no proof that ever he had observed the Sabbath. *Doceant Abel, hostiam Deo sanctam offerentem, Sabbati religionem, placuisse:* which is directly contrary to that which is conjectured by some Modern Writers. So Epiphanius also makes him one of those who lived according to the tendries of the Christian Faith. The like he also saith of Seth, whom God raised up instead of Abel, to Father Adam. Therefore no Sabbath kept by either.

(7) It is conceived of Abel, that he was killed in the one hundred and thirtieth year of the World's Creation: of Enos, Seth's son, that he was born, Anno two hundred thirty-six. And till that time there was no Sabbath. But then, as some conceive, the Sabbath day began to be had in honor, because it is set down in Scripture that then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord. “That is, as Torniellus descants upon the place: then were spiritual Congregations instituted, as we may probably conjecture, certain set forms of prayers and Hymns devised to set forth God's glory, certain set times and places also set apart for those pious duties: *praecipue diebus Sabbati,* especially on the Sabbath days, in which, most likely, they began to abstain from all servile works, in honor of that God, whom they well knew had rested on the seventh day from all his labors.” Sure Torniellus' mind was upon his Matins when he read this paragraph. He had not else gathered a Sabbath from this Text, considering that not long before he had thus concluded: That sanctifying of the Sabbath here on earth was not in use until the Law was given by Moses. But certainly this Text will bear no such matter, were it considered as it ought. The Chaldee Paraphrase thus reads it, *Tunc in diebus ejus inceperunt filii hominum, ut non orarent in nomine Domini;* then in those days began the sons of men, not to address their invocations to the name of God: which is quite contrary to the English. Our Bibles of the last Translation in the margin, thus; Then began men to call themselves by the name of the Lord: and generally the Jews, as Saint Hierome tells us, do thus gloss upon it, *Tunc*

primum in nomine Domini, & in similitudine ejus, fabricat a sunt idola; that then began men to set up idols both in the name, and after the similitude of God. Ainsworth in his Translation thus, Then began men profanely to call upon the Name of the Lord: who tells us also in his Annotations on this Text, out of Rabbi Maimony, that in these days Idolatry took its first beginning, and the people worshiped the stars and all the host of Heaven; so generally that at the last there were few left which acknowledged God, as Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Sem, and Heber. So that we see not any thing in this Text sufficient to produce a Sabbath. But take it as the English reads it, which is agreeable to the Greek and vulgar Latin; and may well stand with the original; yet will the cause be little better. For men might call upon God's Name, and have their public meetings and set forms of Prayer, without relation to the seventh day more than any other. As for this of Enos, Eusebius proposeth him unto us, *, as "the first man commended in the Scripture for his love to God: that we by his example might learn to call upon God's Name with assured hope. But yet withal he tells us of him that he observed not any of those ordinances which Moses taught unto the Jews;" whereof the Sabbath was the chief, as formerly we observed in Adam; and Epiphanius ranks him amongst those Fathers who lived according to the rules of the Christian Church. Therefore no Sabbath kept by Enos.

(8) We will next look on Enoch, who, as the Text tells us, walked with God, and therefore doubt we not but he would carefully have kept the Sabbath, had it been required. But of him also the Fathers generally say the same as they did before of others. For Justin Martyr not only makes him one of those which without Circumcision and the Sabbath, had been approved of by the Lord: but pleads the matter more exactly. The substance of his plea is this, that "if the Sabbath, or circumcision, were to be counted necessary to eternal life, we must needs fall upon this absurd opinion, *, that the same God whom the Jews worshiped, was not the God of Enoch, and of other men about those times: which neither had been circumcised,*, nor kept the Sabbath, nor any other ordinances of the Law of Moses." So Irenaeus speaking before of Circumcision and the Sabbath, placeth this Enoch among those, qui sine iis quae praedicta sunt justificationem adepti sunt, which had been justified without any of the ordinances before remembered. Tertullian more fully yet. Enoch justissimum nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem, de hoc mundo transtulit, etc. "Enoch that righteous man, being neither circumcised nor a Sabbath-

keeper, was by the Lord translated, and saw not death, to be an Item or instruction unto us, that we, without the burden of the Law of Moses, shall be found acceptable unto God.” He sets him also in his challenge, as one whom never any of the Jews could prove, Sabbati cultorem esse, to have been a keeper of the Sabbath. Eusebius too, who makes the sabbath one of Moses’ institutions, hath said of Enoch, that “he was neither circumcised, nor meddled with the Law of Moses: *, etc. and that he lived more like a Christian than a Jew.” The same Eusebius in his seventh de praeparatione, and Epiphanius in the place before remembered, affirm the same of him as they do of Adam, Abel, Seth, and Enos: and what this Epiphanius saith of him, that he affirms also of his son, Methuselem. Therefore not Enoch, nor Methusalem ever kept the Sabbath. It’s true, the Aethiopians in their Calendar have a certain period which they call Sabbatum Enoch, Enoch’s Sabbath. But this consisteth of seven hundred years, and hath that name, either because Enoch was born in the seventh Century from Creation, viz. in the year six hundred twenty-two, or because he was the seventh from Adam. It’s true that many of the Jews, and some Christians too, have made this Enoch an Emblem of the heavenly and eternal sabbath, which shall never end: because he was the seventh from Adam, and did never taste of death, as did the six that went before him. But this is no Argument, I trow, that Enoch ever kept the Sabbath, whiles he was alive. Note that this Enoch was translated about the year nine hundred eighty-seven: and that Methusalem died but one year only before the Flood, which was 1655. And so far we are safely come, without any rub.

(9) To come unto the Flood itself, to Noah, who both saw it, and escaped it; it is affirmed by some, that he kept the Sabbath; and that both in the Ark, and when he was released out of it, if not before. Yea, they have arguments also for the proof hereof, but very weak ones: such as they dare not trust themselves. It is delivered in the eighth of the Book of Genesis, that after the return of the Dove into the Ark, Noah stayed yet other seven days before he sent her forth again. What then? This seems unto Hospinian to be an argument for the Sabbath. In historia diluvii, columba ex arca amisse septenario dierum intervallo, ratione sabbati videntur. So he, and so verbatim, Josias Simler in his Comment on the twentieth of Exodus. But to this argument, if at the least it may be honored with that name, Tostatus hath returned an answer as by way of prophecy. He makes this Query first, sed quare ponit hic, quod Noe expectabat semper septem dies, etc. Why Noah, betwixt every sending of the Dove, expected just seven days, neither

more nor less; and then returns this answer to it, such as indeed doth excellently satisfy both his own Query and the present argument. “Resp. quod Noah intendebat scire, utrum aquae cessassent, etc. “Noah (saith he) desired to know whether the waters were decreased. Now since the waters being a moist body, are regulated by the Moon, Noah was most especially to regard her motions: for as she is either in opposition or conjunction with the Sun, in her increase or in her wane, there is proportionably an increase or falling of the waters. Noah then considering the Moon in her several quarters, which commonly we know are at seven days distance, sent forth his Birds to bring him tidings; for the Text tells us that he sent out the Raven and the Dove four times. And the fourth time, the Moon being then in the last quarter, when both by the ordinary course of nature the waters usually are, and by the will of God were then much decreased; the Dove which was sent out had found good footing on the earth, and returned no more.” So far the learned Abulensis; which makes clear the case. Nor stand we only here upon our defense. For we have proof sufficient that Noah never kept the Sabbath. Justin the Martyr, and Irenaeus both, make him one of those which without circumcision and the Sabbath, were very pleasing unto God, and also justified without them. Tertullian positively saith it, that God delivered him from the great water flood, *Nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem*; being neither circumcised, nor a Sabbath-keeper; and challengeth the Jews to prove, if any way they could, *sabbatus observasse*, that he kept the Sabbath. Eusebius also tells us of him, that being a just man, and one whom God preserved as a remaining spark to kindle piety in the World, yet knew not any thing that pertained to the Jewish Ceremony: not Circumcision, *, nor any other thing ordained by Moses. Remember that Eusebius makes the Sabbath one of Moses’ ordinances. Finally, Epiphanius in the place before remembered, ranks Noah in this particular with Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, and the other Patriarchs. Therefore no sabbath kept by Noah.

(10) It’s true that Joseph Scaliger once made the day, whereon Noah left the Ark and offered sacrifice to the Lord, to be the seventh day of the week; *Decembris 28, feris septima, egressus Noah, * immolavit Deo*, saith his first Edition. Which were enough to cause some men, who infinitely admire his Dictates, from thence to have derived a Sabbath: had he not changed his mind in the next Edition, and placed this memorable action, not on the seventh day, but the fourth. I say it might have caused some men, for all men would not so have doted, as from a special accident to

conclude a practice. Considering especially that there is no ground in Scripture to prove that those before the Law had in their sacrifices, any regard at all to set times and days. Either unto the sixth day, or the seventh, or eighth, or any other; but did their service to the Lord, I mean the public part thereof, and that which did consist in external action, according as occasion was administered unto them. The offerings of Cain and Abel, for ought we can inform ourselves, were not very frequent. The Scripture tells us that it was in process of time; at the year's end, as some expound it. For at the year's end, as Ainsworth noteth, men were wont in most solemn manner to offer sacrifice unto God, with thanks for all his benefits, having then gathered in their fruits. The Law of Moses so commanded; the ancient Fathers so observed it, as by this place we may conjecture; and so it was accustomed too among the Gentiles; their ancient Sacrifices and their Assemblies to that purpose, (as Aristotle hath informed us) being after the gathering in of fruits. No day selected for that use, that we can hear of. This sacrifice of Noah, as it was remarkable, so it was occasional: an Eucharistical Oblation for the great deliverance which did that day befall unto him. And had it happened on the seventh day, it were no argument that he made choice thereof as most fit and proper, or that he used to sacrifice more upon that day than on any other. So that of Abraham in the twelfth of Genesis was occasional only. The Lord appeared to Abraham saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land (the land of Canaan). And then it followeth, that Abraham builded there an Altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him. The like he did when he first set his footing in the promised Land, and pitched his Tents not far from Bethel, V. 8 and when he came to plant in the Plain of Mamre, in the next Chapter. See the like, Genesis 21.33. & 22.13. Of Isaac, Genesis 26.25. Of Jacob, Genesis 28.8. & 31.54. & 33.20. & 35.7-14. No mention in the Scripture of any Sacrifice or public worship, but the occasion is set down. Hoc ratio naturalis dictat, ut de donis suis honoretur imprimis ipse qui dedit. Natural reason, saith Rupertus, could instruct them that God was to be honored with some part of that which he himself had given unto them; but natural reason did not teach them that one day differed from another.

CHAP. 3.

THAT THE SABBATH WAS NOT KEPT FROM THE FLOOD TO MOSES.

(1) The Sonnes of Noah did not keepe the Sabbath. (2) The Sabbath could not have been kept, in the dispersion of Noahs Sonnes, had it been commanded. (3) Diversitie of Longitudes and Latitudes, must of necessitie make a variation in the Sabbath. (4) Melchisedech, Heber, Lot, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Abraham and his Sonnes, that they kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abraham did not keepe the Sabbath, in the confession of the Jewes. (7) Jacob, nor Job, no Sabbath-keepers. (8) That neither Joseph, Moses, nor the Israelites in Egypt, did observe the Sabbath. (9) The Israelites not permitted to offer sacrifice, while they were in Egypt. (10) Particular proofes, that all the Morall Law was both knowne, and kept, amongst the Fathers.

(1) WE are now come unto the hither side of the Flood, to the sons of Noah. To whom, the Hebrew Doctors say, their Father did bequeath seven several Commandments, which they and their Posterity were bound to keep. Septem praecepta acceperunt filii Noah, etc. as Schindler reckoneth them out of Rabbi Maimony. First, That they dealt uprightly with every man; Secondly, That they should bless and magnify the Name of God; Thirdly, that they abstained from worshiping false gods, and from all Idolatry; Fourthly, That they forbear all unlawful lusts and copulations; The fifth, against shedding blood; The sixth, against theft and robbery; The seventh and last, a prohibition not to eat the flesh, or any member of a beast taken from it when it was alive; whereby all cruelty was forbidden. These precepts whosoever violated, either of Noah's sons, or their posterity, was to be smitten with the sword. Yea, these Commandments were reputed so agreeable to nature that all such Heathens as would yield to obey the same, were suffered to remain and dwell amongst the Israelites; though they received not Circumcision, nor any of the ordinances which were given by Moses. So that amongst the precepts given unto the sons of Noah, we find no footsteps of the Sabbath. And where a Modern Writer, whom I spare to name, hath made the keeping of the Sabbath a member of the second precept, or included in it; it was not so advisedly done; there

being no such thing at all, either in Schindler, whom he cites, nor in Cunaeus, who repeats the self-same precepts, from the self-same Rabbi. Nay, which is more, the Rabbin out of who they cite it, doth in another place exclude expressly the observation of the Sabbath out of the number of these precepts given the sons of Noah. The man and woman-servant, saith he, which are commanded to keep the Sabbath, are servants that are circumcised, or baptized, etc. But servants not circumcised nor baptized, but only such as have received the seven Commandments given to the sons of Noah, they are as sojourning strangers, and may do work for themselves openly on the Sabbath, as any Israelite may on a working day. So Rabbi Maymony in his Treatise of the Sabbath, Chap.20.Sect.14. So that it seems, that sojourners and servants, in the land of Jewry, however they were bound to observe the seven commandments given to the sons of Noah, were not obliged to keep the Sabbath: unless they had been circumcised, or otherwise initiated in the Jewish Church, by some kind of washing, as probably were women Proselytes. Which proves sufficiently that the sons of Noah were not bound to observe the Sabbath. If then we find no Sabbath amongst the sons of Noah, whereof some of them were the sons of their Father's piety, there is no thought of meeting with it in their children, or their children's children: the builders of the Tower of Babel. For they being terrified with the late Deluge, as some conjecture, and to procure the name of great undertakers, as the Scripture saith, resolved to build themselves a Tower unto the top whereof the waters should in no wise reach. A work of a most vast extent, if we may credit those reports that are made thereof; and followed by the people, as Josephus tells us, with their utmost industry, there being none amongst them idle. If none amongst them would be idle; as likely that no day was spared from so great an action, as they conceived that work to be: Those that durst bid defiance to the heaven of God, were never like to keep a Sabbath to the God of Heaven. This action was begun and ended, Anno 1940, or thereabouts.

(2) To ruinate these vain attempts, it pleased the Lord first to confound the language of the people, which before was one; and after to disperse them over all the earth. By means of which dispersion, they could not possibly have kept one and the same day for a Sabbath, had it been commanded: the days in places of a different longitude, which is the distance of a place from the first Meridian, beginning at such different times, that no one day could be precisely kept amongst them. The proof and ground whereof, I will make bold to borrow from my late learned friend Nath. Carpenter; that I

may manifest, in some sort, the love I bore him: though probably I might have furnished out this argument from mine own wardrobe: at least I have had recourse to many other learned men, who have written of it. For that the difference of time is varied according to the difference of longitudes, in divers places of the earth, may be made manifest to every man's understanding, out of these two principles: First, that the earth is spherical: and secondly, that the Sun doth compass it about in twenty-four hours. From hence it comes to pass, that places situate Eastward see the Sun sooner than those do that are placed Westward. And that with such a different proportion of time, that unto every hour of the Sun's motion, there is assigned a certain number of miles upon the Earth: every fifteen degrees, which is the distance of the Meridians, being computed to make one hour; and every fifteen miles upon the earth, correspondent to one minute of that hour. By this we may perceive how soon the noon-tide happeneth in one City before another. For if one City stands Eastward of another the space of three of the aforesaid Meridians, which is 2700 miles; it is apparent that it will enjoy the noon-tide no less than three hours before the other: and consequently in 10,800 miles, which is half the compass of the earth, there will be found no less than twelve hours difference in the rising and setting of the Sun, as also in the noon and midnight. The reason of which difference of times is, as before we said, the difference of longitudes, wherein to every hour, Cosmographers have allotted 15 degrees in the Sun's diurnal motion: so that 15 degrees being multiplied by twenty-four hours, which is the natural day, the product will be 360, which is the number of degrees in the whole circle. Now in these times, wherein the sons of Noah dispersed themselves, in case the Sabbath was to have been kept as simply moral, it must needs follow that the moral Law is subject unto manifold mutations and uncertainties, which must not be granted. For spreading as they did over all the earth, some farther, some at shorter distance; and thereby changing longitudes, with their habitations: they must of mere necessity alter the difference of times and days, and so could keep no day together. Nor could their issue since their time observe exactly and precisely the self-same day, by reason of the manifold transportation of Colonies and transmigration of Nations, from one Region to another; whereby the times must of necessity be supposed to vary. The Author of the Practice of Piety, though he plead hard for the "morality of the Sabbath, cannot but confess that in respect of the diversity of the Meridians, and the unequal rising and setting of the Sun, every day varieth in some places a quarter, in some half, in others an whole day: therefore

the Jewish Sabbath cannot (saith he) be precisely kept in the same instant of time, everywhere in the World." Certainly if it cannot now, then it never could: & then it will be found that some at least of Noah's posterity, and all that have from them descended, either did keep at all no Sabbath, or not upon the day appointed: which comes all to one. Or else it needs must follow, that God imposed a Law upon his people, which in itself without relation to the frailty, ne dum to the iniquity of poor man, could not in possibility have been observed: Yea, such a Law as could not generally have been kept, had Adam still continued in his perfect innocence.

(3) To make this matter yet more plain, It is a Corollary or conclusion in Geography, that if two men do undertake a journey from the self-same place, round about the earth: the one Eastward, the other Westward, and meet in the same place again: it will appear that he which hath gone East, hath gotten: and that the other going Westward, hath lost a day, in their account. The reason is, because he that from any place assigned doth travel Eastward, moving continually against the proper motion of the Sun, will shorten somewhat of his day: taking so much from it, as his journey in proportion of the distance from the place assigned, hath first opposed, and so anticipated in that time, the diurnal motion of the Sun. So daily gaining something from the length of the day; it will amount in the whole circuit of the Earth, to twenty- four hours, which are a perfect natural day. The other going Westward, and seconding the course of the Sun by his own journey, will by the same reason add as much proportionably, unto his day, as the other lost, and in the end will lose a day in his account. For demonstration of the which, suppose of these two Travelers, that the former for every fifteen miles, should take away one minute from the length of the day: and the latter add as much unto it, in the like proportion of his journey. Now by the Golden Rule, if every fifteen miles subtract or add one minute in the length of the day, then must 21,600 miles, which is the compass of the Earth, add or subtract 1440 minutes, which make up twenty-four hours, a just natural day. To bring this matter home unto the business now in hand, suppose we that a Turk, a Jew, and a Christian should dwell together at Jerusalem, whereof the one doth keep his Sabbath on the Friday; the other, on the Saturday; and the third sanctifieth the Sunday: then, that upon the Saturday, the Turk begin his journey Westward, and the Christian, Eastward; so as both of them compassing the World, do meet again in the same place; the Jew continuing where they left him. It will fall out, that the Turk by going Westward, having lost a day; and the Christian, going

Eastward, having got a day: one and the self-same day, will be a Friday, to the Turk; a Saturday, unto the Jew; and a Sunday to the Christian; in case they calculate the time exactly, from their departure to their return. To prove this further yet, by a matter of fact. The Hollanders in their Discovery of Fretum le Maire, Anno 1615, found by comparing their account at their coming home, that they had clearly lost a day (for they had traveled Westward in that tedious Voyage); that which was Monday to the one, being the Sunday to the other. And now what should these people do when they were returned? If they are bound by nature, and the moral law, to sanctify precisely one day in seven; they must then sanctify a day apart from their other Countrymen; and like a crew of Schismatics, divide themselves from the whole body of the Church: or to keep order, and comply with other men, must of necessity be forced to go against the law of nature, or the moral law; which ought not to be violated by any respect whatever. But to return unto Noah's sons, whom this case concerns; it might, for ought we know, be theirs, in this dispersion, in this removing up and down, and from place to place. What shall we think of those that planted Northwards, or as much extremely Southwards; whose issue now, are to be found, as in part is known, near and within the Polar circles: what Sabbath think we could they keep? Some times a very long one sure, and sometimes none: indeed none at all, taking a Sabbath, as we do, for one day in seven. For near the Polar Circles, as is plainly known, the days are twenty-four hours in length. Between the Circle and the Pole, the day, if so it may be called, increaseth first by weeks, and at last by months; till in the end, there is six months perpetual day, and as long a night. No room in those parts for a Sabbath. But it is time to leave these speculations, and return to practice.

(4) And first we will begin with Melchisedech, King of Salem, the Priest of the most high God, *Rex idem hominumque divumque sacerdes*; a type and figure of our Savior; whose Priesthood still continueth in the holy Gospel. With him the rather, because it is most generally conceived that he was Sem the son of Noah. Of him it is affirmed by Justin Martyr, that he was neither circumcised, nor yet kept the Sabbath, and yet most acceptable unto God, *. Tertullian also tells us of him, *Incircumcisum nec sabbatizantem ad sacerdotium Dei allectum esse*; that he was called unto the Priesthood, not being circumcised, nor an observer of the Sabbath: and puts him also in his challenge, as one whom none amongst the Jews could ever prove to have kept the Sabbath. Eusebius yet more fully than either of

them: “Moses, saith he, brings in Melchisedech Priest of the most high God, neither being circumcised, nor anointed with the holy Oil, as was afterwards commanded in the Law; *, *, no not so much as knowing that there was a Sabbath; and ignorant altogether of those ordinances, which were imposed upon the Jews, and living most agreeably unto the Gospel.” Somewhat to that purpose also doth occur, in his seventh de praeparatione. Melchisedech, whosoever he was, gave meeting unto Abraham, about the year of the World, 2118: and if we may suppose him to be Sem, as I think we may, he lived till Isaac was fifty years of age, which was long after this famous interview. Now what these Fathers say of Sem, if Sem at least was he whom the Scriptures call Melchisedech; the same almost is said of his great grand-child Heber: he being named by Epiphanius for one of those who lived according to the faith of the Christian Church; wherein no Sabbath was observed in that Father’s time. And here we will take Lot in too although a little before his time, as one of the Posterity of Heber, that when we come to Abraham, we may keep ourselves within his Family. Him, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus both in the places formerly remembered, make to be one of those which without Circumcision and the Sabbath, were acceptable to the Lord, and by him justified. And to Tertullian, that sine legis observatione, de Sodomorum incendio liberatus est: that without keeping of the Law (Sabbaths and circumcision and the like), he was delivered from the fire of Sodom. Therefore not Lot, nor Heber, nor Melchisedech, ever kept the Sabbath.

(5) For Abraham next, the Father of the Faithful, with whom the Covenant was made, and Circumcision, as a seal, annexed unto it: The Scripture is exceeding copious in setting down his life and actions, as also of the lives and actions of his Son, and Nephews, their flittings and removes, their sacrifices, forms of Prayer, and whatsoever else was signal in the whole course of their affairs: but yet no mention of the Sabbath. Though such a memorable thing as sanctifying of a constant day unto the Lord, might probably have been omitted in the former Patriarchs, of whom there is but little left, save their names and ages; as if they had been only brought into the story, to make way for him: yet it is strange that in a punctual and particular relation of his life and piety, there should not be one Item to point out the Sabbath, had it been observed. This is enough to make one think there was no such matter. *Et quod non invenis usquam, esse putes nusquam*, in the Poets’ language. I grant indeed, that Abraham kept the Christian Sabbath, in righteousness and holiness serving the Lord his God,

all the days of his life: and so did Isaac and Jacob. Sanctificae diem sabbati, saith the Prophet Jeremiah to the Jews, i.e. ut omne tempus vitae nostrae in sanctificatione ducamus, sicut fecerunt patres nostri, Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob, as Saint Hierome glosseth it. Our venerable Bede also hath affirmed as much, that Abraham kept indeed the spiritual sabbath, quo semper a servili, i.e. noxia vacabat actione, whereby he always rested from the servile work of sin: but that he kept or sanctified any other Sabbath, the Christian Fathers deny unanimously. Justin the Martyr numbering up the most of those before remembered, concludes; that they *, were justified without the Sabbath: *. & so, saith he, was Abraham after them, & all his children until Moses. And whereas Trypho had exacted a necessary keeping of the Law, Sabbaths, New-moons, & Circumcision: the Martyr makes reply, “that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, and all the other Patriarchs both before and after them, until Moses’ time; yea, and their wives, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Lea, and all the rest of religious women unto Moses’ mother, * neither kept any of them all, nor had commandment so to do, till Circumcision was enjoined to Abraham & his posterity. So Irenaeus, that Abraham, sine Circumcisione & observatione Sabbatorum credit Deo, etc. without or Circumcision, or the Sabbath did believe in God, which was imputed to him for righteousness. And where the Jews objected in defense of their ancient Ceremonies, that Abraham had been circumcised: Tertullian makes reply, sed ante placuit Deo quam circumcideretur, nec tamen sabbatizavit; that he was acceptable unto God, before his being circumcised; and yet he never kept the Sabbath. See more unto this purpose, in Eusebius de Demonstr. l. I c. 6; de praeparat. l. 7. c. 8; (where Isaac and Jacob are remembered too;) as also Epiphanius adv. haeres. l. I. n. 5. In all which passages of the Fathers we may still observe how evenly Circumcision and the Sabbath do keep pace together; both Ceremonies, both to end at our Savior’s passion, both of them special marks and cognizances to discern the Christian from the Jew.

(6) Thus far the ancient Christian Writers have declared of Abraham, that he kept no Sabbath: and this in conference with the Jew, and in Books against them. Which doubtless they had never done, had there been any possibility for the Jews to have proved the contrary. Some of the Jews indeed, not being willing thus to lose their Father Abraham, have said, and written too, that he kept the Sabbath, as they do: and for a proof thereof they ground themselves on that of Genesis, because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my Commandments, my statutes and my

laws. The Jews conclude from hence, as Mercer and Tostatus tell us, upon the Text, that Abraham kept the Sabbath, and all other Ceremonies of the Law: as much I think the one, as he did the other. Who those Jew were that said it, of what name and quality, that they have not told us: and it were too much forwardness, to credit any nameless Jew, before so many Christian Fathers. Tostatus though he do relate their dicunt, yet believes them not: And herein we will rather follow him than Mercer; who seems a little to incline to that Jewish fancy. The rather since some Jews of name and quality have gone the same way that the Fathers did, before remembered. For Petrus Galatinus tells us how it is written in Beresith Ketanna, or the lesser exposition upon Genesis, a Book of public use and great authority among them, that Abraham did not keep the Sabbath. And this he tells us on the credit of Rabbi Johannan, who saith expressly that there, upon these words, God blessed the seventh day; it is set down positively, *Non scripta est de Abrahamo, observatio Sabbati*; that there is no such thing recorded of our Father Abraham, as that he ever kept the Sabbath. And where it is objected for the Jew, that in case Abraham did not keep it, it was because it was not then commanded: this Galatinus makes reply, *Ex hoc saltem infertur sabbati cultum non esse de lege natura*, that therefore it is evident that the Sabbath is no part of the Law of nature. As for the Text of Genesis, we may expound it well enough, and never find a Sabbath in it, which that it may be done with the least suspicion, we will take the exposition of Saint Chrystostome, who very fully hath explained it. “Because he hath obeyed my voice, etc.] Right, saith the Father, <apparently an interjection by Chrysostome> God said unto him, Get thee out from thy Father’s house, and from thy kindred, and go into the land that I shall show thee: and Abraham went out, *, and left a fair possession for an expectation: and this not wavering, but with all alacrity and readiness. Then followeth his expectation of a son in his old age (when nature was decayed in him), as the Lord had promised; his casting out of Ishmael, as the Lord commanded, his readiness to offer Isaac, as the Lord had willed, and many others of that nature.” Enough to give occasion unto that applause, because he hath obeyed my voice; although he never kept the Sabbath. Indeed the Sabbath could not have relation to those words in Genesis because it was not then commanded.

(7) Next look on Jacob, the heir as well of Abraham’s travels, as of his Faith. Take him as Laban’s shepherd, and the Text informs us of the pains he took. In the day time the drought consumed me, and the frost by night,

and the sleep departed from mine eyes. No time of rest, much more, no seventh part of his time allotted unto rest from his daily labors. And in his flight from Laban, it seems he stood not on the Sabbath. For though he fled thence with his wives and children, and with all his substance; and that he went but easily, according as the cattle and the children were able to endure: yet he went forwards still without any resting. Otherwise Laban, who heard of his departure on the third day, & pursued after him amain; must needs have overtaken him before the seventh. Now for the rest of Jacob's time, when he was settled in the Land appointed for him, and afterwards removed to Egypt; we must refer you unto Justin Martyr and Eusebius: whereof one saith expressly, *, that he kept not any of the things before remembered, the Sabbath being one as before was showed; the other makes him one of those which lived without the Law of Moses, whereof the Sabbath was a part. Having brought Jacob into Egypt, we should proceed to Joseph, Moses, & the rest of his offspring there: but we will first take Job along, as one of the posterity of Abraham; that after we may have the better leisure, to wait upon the Israelites in that house of bondage. I say as one of the posterity of Abraham, the fifth from Abraham, so Eusebius tells us; who saith, moreover, "that he kept no Sabbath. What (saith he) shall we say of Job, that just, that pious, that most blameless man? What was the rule whereby he squared his life, & governed his devotions? Was any part of Moses' Law? Not so, *; Was any keeping of the Sabbath, or observation of any other Jewish order? How could that be, saith he, considering that he was ancients than Moses, and lived before his Law was published? For Moses was the seventh from Abraham, and Job the fifth." So far Eusebius. And Justin Martyr also joins him with Abraham and his Family, as men that took not heed of New Moons, or Sabbaths, whereof see before, n.5. I find indeed in Doctor Bound, that Theodore Beza on his own authority hath made Job very punctual, in sanctifying septimum saltem quemque diem, every seventh day at least, as God, saith he, from the beginning hath appointed. But I hold Beza no fit match for Justin and Eusebius, nor to be credited in this kind when they say the contrary, considering in what times they lived, and with whom they dealt.

(8) And now we come at last unto the Israelites in Egypt; from Joseph, who first brought them thither, to Moses who conducted them in their flight from thence; and so unto the body of the whole Nation. For Joseph, first, Eusebius first tells us in the general, that the same institution and course of life which by the Ordinance of Christ was preached unto the

Gentiles, had formerly been commended to the ancient Patriarchs: particular instances whereof, he makes Melchisedech, and Noah, and Enoch, and Abraham, till the time of Circumcision. And then it follows, *, That Joseph in the Court of AEGypt long time before the Law of Moses, lived answerably to those ancient patterns, and not according to the Jews. Nay, he affirms the same of Moses, *, the very Law-giver himself, the Chieftain of the tribes of Israel. As for the residue of the people, we can expect no more of them, that lived in bondage under severe and cruel Masters: who called upon them day by day to fulfill their tasks; and did expostulate with them in an heavy manner in case they wanted of their Tale. The Jews themselves can best resolve us in this point. And amongst them Philo doth thus describe their troubles. *, etc. “The Taskmasters or Overseers of the works, were the most cruel and unmerciful men in all the Country, who laid upon them greater tasks than they were able to endure: inflicting on them no less punishment than death itself, if any of them, yea, though by reason of infirmity, should withdraw himself from his daily labor. Some were commanded to employ themselves in the public structures; others in bringing in materials, for such mighty buildings; *, never enjoying any rest either night or day, that in the end they were even spent and tired with continual travail. Josephus goes a little further and tells us this, that the AEGyptians did not only tire the Israelites with continual labor; *, but that the Israelites endeavored to perform more than was expected.” Assuredly, in such a woeful state as this, they had not leave, nor leisure, to observe the Sabbath. And lastly, Rabbi Maimony makes matter yet more absolute, who saith it for a truth, that when they were in AEGypt, neque quiescere, vel Sabbatum agere potuerunt, they neither could have time to rest, nor to keep the Sabbath, seeing they were not then at their own disposing. So he ad Deuter. 5.15.

(9) Indeed it easily may be believed, that the people kept no Sabbath in the Land of AEGypt; seeing they could not be permitted in all that time of their abode there, to offer sacrifice; which was the easier duty of the two, and would less have took them from their labors. Those that accused the Israelites to have been wanton, lazy, and I know not what, because they did desire to spend one only day in religious Exercises: what would they not have done, had they desisted every seventh day from the works imposed upon them? Doubtless, they had been carried to the house of Correction, if not worse handled. I say, in all that time, they were not permitted to offer sacrifice, in that Country: and therefore when they

purposed to escape from thence, they made a suit to Pharaoh, that he would suffer them to go three days journey into the Wilderness, to offer sacrifice there to the Lord their God. Rather than so, Pharaoh was willing to permit them for that once, to sacrifice unto the Lord in the land of Aegypt: and what said Moses thereunto? It is not meet (saith he) so to do. For we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Aegyptians to the Lord our God before their eyes, and they will stone us. His reason was, because the Gods of the Aegyptians were Bulls and Rams, and Sheep and Oxen, as Lyra notes upon that place: *Talia vero animalia ab Hebrais erant immolanda, quod non permisissent Aegyptii in terra sua;* And certainly the Egyptians would not endure to see their Gods knocked down, before their faces. If any then demand, wherein the Piety and Religion of God's people did conflict especially: we must needs answer that it was in the integrity and honesty of their conversation; and that they worshiped God only in the spirit and truth. Nothing to make it known that they were God's people, *, but only that they feared the Lord, and were circumcised; as Epiphanius hath resolved it: nothing but that they did acknowledge one only God, and exercised themselves in justice, and in modesty, in patience and long suffering, both towards one another and amongst the Aegyptians; framing their lives agreeably to the will of God, and the Law of Nature. Therefore we may conclude with safety, that hitherto no Sabbath had been kept in all the World, from the Creation of our first Father Adam, to this very time; which was above five and twenty hundred years: no nor commanded to be kept amongst them, in their generations.

(10) I say there was none kept, no not none commanded: for had it been commanded, sure it had been kept. It was not all the pride of Pharaoh, or subtle tyranny of his Subjects, that could have made them violate that sacred Day, had it been commended to them from the Lord. The miseries which they after suffered under Antiochus, rather than that they would profane the Sabbath; and those calamities which they chose to fall upon them by the hands of the Romans; rather than make resistance upon that day, when lawfully they might have done it: are proofs sufficient, that neither force, nor fear, could now have wrought upon them not to keep the same, had such a duty been commanded. Questionless, Joseph for his part, that did prefer a loathsome prison before the unchaste embraces of his Master's Wife, would no less carefully have kept the Sabbath than he did his chastity; had there been any Sabbath then to have been observed, either as dictated by nature, or prescribed by Law. And certainly either the

Sabbath was not reckoned all this while, as any part or branch of the Law of nature: or else it finds hard measure in the Book of God that there should be particular proofs, how punctually the rest of the Moral Law was observed and practiced amongst the Patriarchs; and not one word, or Item, which concerns the observation of the Sabbath. Now that the whole Law was written in the hearts of the Fathers, and that they had some knowledge of all the other Commandments, and did live accordingly: the Scripture doth sufficiently declare unto us. First, for the first, I am God all-sufficient, walk before me, and be thou perfect. Genesis 17.1. So said God to Abraham. Then Jacob's going up from Bethel, Genesis 25.1, to cleanse his house from Idolatry; is proof enough that they were acquainted with the second. The pious care they had not to take the Name of the Lord their God in vain, appears at full in the religious making of their Oaths; Abraham with Abimelech (Genesis 21.27, etc.), and Jacob with Laban. Genesis 31.51. Next for the fifth Commandment what duties children owe their parents, the practice of Isaac (Genesis 24.67.etc.) and Jacob (Genesis 28.42) doth declare abundantly, in being ruled by them in the choice of their Wives, and readily obeying all their directions: as also doth Noah's curse on his graceless son, for showing no more reverence to his naked Father. Then for the sin of murder, the History of Jacob's children (Genesis 34.26, 30), and the grieved Father's curse upon them for the slaughter of the Schemites; together with God's precept given to Noah ((Genesis 9.6) against shedding blood; shew us that both it was forbidden, and condemned being done. The continence (Genesis 39.8) of Joseph before remembered; and the punishment threatened to Abimelech (Genesis 20.3) for keeping Sarah, Abraham's Wife: the quarreling (Genesis 31.30) of Laban for his stolen Idols; and Joseph's pursuit (Genesis 44.4) for the silver cup, that was supposed to be purloined: are proofs sufficient that adultery and theft were deemed unlawful. And last of all, Abimelech's reprehension of Abraham and Isaac (Genesis 20.9) for bearing false witness in the denial of their wives; shew plainly that they had the knowledge of that Law also. The like may also be affirmed of their not coveting the wives, or goods, or any thing that was their Neighbor's. For though the history cannot tell us of men's secret thoughts: yet we may judge of good men's thoughts by their outward actions. Had Joseph coveted his Master's wife, he might have enjoyed her. And Job, more home unto the point, affirms expressly of himself, That his heart was never secretly enticed; which is the same with this, that he did not covet. We conclude then, that seeing there is particular mention how all the residue of the commandments

had been observed and practiced by the saints of old; and that no word at all is found which concerns the sanctifying of the Sabbath: that certainly there was no Sabbath sanctified in all that time, from the Creation to the Law of Moses; nor reckoned any part of the Law of Nature, or special ordinance of God.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATURE OF THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT: AND THAT THE SABBATH WAS NOT KEPT AMONG THE GENTILES.

(1) The Sabbath first made knowne in the fall of Mannah. (2) The giving of the Decalogue, and how farre it bindeth. (3) That in the Judgement of the Fathers of the Christian Church, the fourth Commandment is of a different nature from the other nine. (4) The Sabbath was first given for a Law by Moses. (5) And being given was proper only to the Jewes. (6) What moved the Lord, to give the Israelites a Sabbath. (7) Why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, than any other. (8) The seventh day not more honored by the Gentiles, then the eighth or ninth. (9) The Attributes given by some Greeke Poets, to the seventh day, no Argument that they kept the Sabbath. (10) The Jewes derided for their Sabbath, by the Graecians, Romans, and AEgyptians. (11) The division of the yeare into weeks, not generally used of old, amongst the Gentiles.

(1) THUS have we shown you, how God's Church continued without any Sabbath, the space of 2500 years and upwards, even till the children of Israel came out of AEgypt. And if the Saints of God in the line of Seth, and the house of Abraham, assigned not every seventh day for God's public worship; it is not to be thought that the posterity of Cain, and the sons of Canaan, were observant of it. To proceed therefore in the History of the Lord's own people, as they observed no Sabbath when they were in Egypt; so neither did they presently, after their departure thence. The day of their deliverance thence was the seventh day, as some conceive it, which after was appointed for a Sabbath to them. Torniellus, I am sure, is of that opinion: and so is Zanchie too, who withal gives it for the reason, why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath than any other. "Populus die septima liberatus fuit ex AEgypto; & tunc jussit in hujus rei memoriam diem illam sanctificare." The people, as he tells us, were on the seventh day delivered out of Egypt: and thereupon it was commanded that the seventh day should be observed in memorial of it." Which were it so, yet could not that day be a Sabbath, or a day of rest; considering the sudden and tumultuous manner of their going thence: their sons, and daughters, maid-

servants, and men-servants, the cattle and the strangers within their gates being all put hardly to it, and fain to fly away for their life and safety. And if Saint Austin's note be true, and the note be his, that on the first day of the week, *transgressi sunt filii Israel, Marerubrum, siccis pedibus*, the Israelites went dry foot over the Red Sea, or Sea of Edom: then must the day before, if any, be the Sabbath day; the next seventh day, after the day of their departure. But that day certainly was not kept as a Sabbath day. For it was wholly spent in murmuring and complaints against God and Moses. They cried unto the Lord, and they said to Moses, why hast thou brought us out of Egypt to die in the Wilderness? Had it not been better far for us to serve the Egyptians? Nothing in all their murmurings and seditious clamors that may denote it for a Sabbath, for an holy Festival. Nor do we find that for the after times, they made any scruple of journeying on that day, till the Law was given them in Mount Sinai: which was the eleventh station after their escape from Egypt. It was the fancy of Rabbi Solomon that the Sabbath was first given in Marah; and that the sacrifice of the red Cow, mentioned in the nineteenth of Numbers, was instituted at that time also. This fancy founded on those words in the Book of Exodus, *If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God,* etc. then will I bring none of those diseases upon thee, that I brought on the Egyptians. But Torniellus and Tostatus, and Lyra, although himself a Jew, count it no other than a Jewish and Rabbinical folly. Sure I am, that on the fifteenth day of the second month, after their departure out of Egypt; being that day seven-night before the first Sabbath was discovered in the fall of Mannah: we find not any thing that implies either rest or worship. We read indeed how all the Congregation murmured, as they did before, against Moses and against Aaron; wishing that they had died in the land of Egypt, where they had bread their bellies full, rather than be destroyed with Famine. So eagerly they murmured, that to content them God sent them Quails that night; and rained down bread from Heaven, next morning. Was this, think you, the sanctifying of a Sabbath to the Lord their God? Indeed the next seventh- day that followed, was by the Lord commanded to them for a Sabbath; and ratified by a great and signal miracle the day before: wherein it pleased him, to give them double what they used to gather on the former days, that they might rest upon the seventh, with greater comfort. This was a preamble or preparative to the following Sabbath: for by this miracle, this rest of God from raining Mannah on the seventh day, the people came to know, which was precisely the seventh day from the World's Creation: whereof they were quite

ignorant, at that present time. Philo assures in his third Book de vita Mosis, that the knowledge of that day on which God rested from his works had been quite forgotten, *, by reason of those many miseries which had befallen the World by fire and water: and so continued, till by this miracle, the Lord revived again the remembrance of it. “And in another place, when men had made, saith he, a long enquiry after the birth day of the World, and were yet to seek; *, etc. God made it known to them by a special miracle, which had so long been hidden from their Ancestors.” The falling of a double portion of Mannah on the sixth day, and the not putrifying of it on the seventh; was the first light which Moses had to descry the Sabbath: which he accordingly commended unto all the people, to be a day of rest unto them; that as God ceased that day from sending, so they should rest from looking after their daily bread. But what need Philo be produced, when we have such an ample testimony from the Word itself? For it is manifest in the story, that when the people, on the sixth day, had gathered twice as much Mannah, as they used to do; according as the Lord had directed by his servant Moses: they understood not what they did, at least why they did it. The Rulers of the Congregation, as the Text informs us, came and told Moses of it: and he, as God before had taught him, acquainted them that on the morrow should be the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord; and that they were to keep the over-plus until the morning. Nay, so far were the people from knowing any thing of the Sabbath, or of God’s rest upon that day; that though the prophet had thus preached unto them of a Sabbath’s rest, the people gave final credit to him. For it is said, that some of the people went out to gather on the seventh day (which was the seventh day after, or the second Sabbath, as some think), notwithstanding all that had been spoken, and that the Mannah stank not, as on other days. So that this resting of the people was the first sanctifying of the Sabbath mentioned in the Scriptures; and God’s great care to make provision for them on the day before, the blessing he bestowed upon it. And this is that which Solomon Iarchi tells us, as before we noted, *Benedixit ei] i.e. in Mannah, quia omnibus diebus septimanae descendit Omer pro singulis, & sexto panis duplex: & sanctificavit eum]* i.e. in Mannah, quia non descendit omnino. Nay, generally the Hebrew Doctors do affirm the same: assuring us that the commandment of the Sabbath is foundation and ground of all the rest, as being given before them all, at the fall of Mannah. Unde dicunt Hebraei sabbatum fundamentum esse aliorum praeceptorum, quod ante alia praecepta hoc datum sit, quando Mannah acceperunt. So Hospinian tells us. Therefore the Sabbath was not given

before, in their own confession. This happened on the two and twentieth day of the second month after their coming out of AEgypt; and of the World's Creation, Anno 2044; the people being then in the Wilderness of Sin, which was their seventh station.

(2) The seventh day after, being the nine and twentieth of the second month, is thought by some, and those of very good esteem, to be that day whereon some of the people, distrusting all that Moses said, went out to gather Mannah, as on other days: but whether they were then in the Wilderness of Sin, or were encamped in Dophthkath, Alush, or Rephidim, which were their next removes, that the Scriptures say not. Most likely that they were in the last station, considering the great business there performed; the fight with Amalek, and the new ordering of the Government by Jethro's counsel; and that upon the third day of the third month, which was Thursday following, they were advanced as far as the Wilderness of Sinai. I say the third day of the third month; For where the Text hath it, In the third month when the children of Israel were gone forth out of AEgypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai: by the same day is meant the same day of the month, which was the third day, being Thursday, after our Account. The morrow after went Moses up unto the Lord, and had commandment from him to sanctify the people that day, and tomorrow, and to make them ready against the third day: God meaning on that day, to come down in the eyes of all the people on Mount Sinai, and to make known his will unto them. That day being come, which was the Saturday or Sabbath, the people were brought out of the Camp to meet with God, and placed by Moses at the nether part of the Mountain: Moses ascending first to God, and descending after to the people; to charge them that they did not pass their bounds, before appointed. It seems the Sabbath's rest was not so established, but that the people had been likely to take the pains to climb the Mountain, and to behold the wonders which were done upon it: had they not had a special charge unto the contrary. Which their averseness at the first, when they went out to gather Mannah; and their forgetfulness at the present, though so shortly after, was doubtless the occasion of that watch-word, or memento prefixed before the fourth Commandment. But to proceed. Things ordered thus, it pleased the Lord to publish and proclaim his Law unto the people in thunder, smoke, and lightnings, and the noise of a Trumpet; using therein the Ministry of his holy Angels: which Law we call the Decalogue, or the ten Commandments, and contains in it the whole Moral Law, or the Law of Nature. This had

before been naturally imprinted in the minds of men; however that in tract of time, the character thereof had been much defaced; so dimmed and darkened, that God's own people stood in need of a new impression: and therefore was proclaimed in this solemn manner, that so the letter of the Law might leave the clearer stamp in their affections. A Law which in itself was general and univeral, equally appertaining both to Jew and Gentile; the Gentiles which know not the Law, doing by nature the things contained in the Law, as Saint Paul hath told us: but as at this time published on Mount Sinai, and as delivered by the hand of Moses, they obliged only those of the house of Israel. Zanchius hath so resolved it amongst the Protestants, (not to say any thing of the Schoolmen, who affirm the same:) *ut Politicae & Ceremoniales, sic etiam morales leges quae Decalogi nomine significantur, quatenus per Mosen traditae fuerunt Israelitis, ad nos Christianos nihil pertinent, etc.* "As neither the Judicial nor the Ceremonial, so nor the Moral Law contained in the Decalogue, doth any way concern us Christians, as given by Moses to the Jews: but only so far forth, as it is consonant to the Law of Nature, which binds all alike; and after was confirmed and ratified by Christ, our King." His reason is, because that if the Decalogue as given by Moses to the Jews did concern the Gentiles; the Gentiles had been bound by the fourth Commandment, to observe the Sabbath, in as strict a manner as the Jews. *Cum vero constet ad hujus diei sanctificationem numquam fuisse Gentes obligatas, etc.* "Since therefore it is manifest that the Gentiles never were obliged to observe the Sabbath, it followeth that they neither were, nor possibly could be bound to any of the residue, as given by Moses to the Jews." We may conclude from hence, that had the fourth Commandment been merely moral, it had no less concerned the Gentiles, than it did the Israelites.

(3) For that the fourth Commandment is not of the same condition with the rest, is no new invention. The Fathers jointly so resolve it. It's true that Irenaeus tells us, "how God, the better to prepare us to eternal life, Decalogi verba per semetipsum omnibus similiter locutum est, did by himself proclaim the Decalogue to all people equally: which therefore is to be in full force amongst us, as having rather been enlarged than dissolved by our Savior's coming in the flesh." Which words of Irenaeus, if considered rightly, must be referred to that part of the fourth Commandment which indeed is Moral, or else the fourth Commandment must not be reckoned as a part or member of the Decalogue: because it did receive no such enlargement, as did the rest of the Commandments, by our

Savior's preaching (whereof see Matth.5.6 and 7 Chapters); but a dissolution rather by his practice. Justin the Martyr more expressly, in his dispute with Trypho a learned Jew, maintains the Sabbath to be only a Mosaical Ordinance; as we shall see anon more fully; & that it was imposed on the Israelites, *, because of their hardheartedness, and irregularly. Tertullian also in his Treatise against the Jews, saith that it was not spirituale & aeternum mandatum; sed temporale, quod quandoque cessaret, not a spiritual and eternal institution, but a temporal only. The like saith Chrystostome, that this Commandment is not any of those, *, which naturally were implanted in us, or made known unto our conscience: *, but that it was temporary and occasional, and such as was to have an end; where all the rest were necessary and perpetual. Saint Austin yet more fully, that it is no part of the Moral Law. For he divides the Law of Moses into these two parts, Sacraments, and moral duties: accounting Circumcision, the New Moons, Sabbaths, and the Sacrifices, to appertain unto the first: *ad mores autem, non occides, etc.* and these Commandments, Thou shalt not kill, nor commit adultery nor bear false witness, and the rest, to be contained within the second. Nay more, he tells us that Moses did receive a Law to be delivered to the people, writ in two Tables made of stone by the Lord's own finger: wherein was nothing to be found either of Circumcision, or the Jewish Sacrifices. And then he adds, *In illis igitur decem praeceptio, excepta Sabbati observatione, dicatur mihi quid non sit observanda a Christiano:* "Tell me, saith he, what is there in the Decalogue, except the observation of the Sabbath day, which is not carefully to be observed of a Christian man." To this we may refer all those several places, wherein he calls the fourth Commandment, *praeceptum figuratum, & in umbra positum, a Sacrament, a shadow, and a figure:* as Tract. the third in Joh.I. and Tract 17. and 20. in Joh.5. ad Bonifac.13.T.7. contra Faust. Manich.1.9,c.18. the I4 Chapter of the Book de spiritu & lit. before remembered: and finally, to go no further, *Qu.in Exod.1.2.qu.173.* where he speaks most home, and to the purpose. *Ex decem praeceptis hoc solum figurate dictum est.* Of all the ten Commandments this only was delivered as a sign or figure. See also what is said before out of Theodoret, and Sedulius, Chap.I.n.5. Hesychius goes yet further, and will not have the fourth Commandment to be any of the ten; *Etsi decem mandatis insertum sit, non tamen ex iis esse;* and howsoever it is placed amongst them, yet it is not of them. And therefore to make up the number, divides the first Commandment into two, as those of Rome have done the last, to exclude the second. But here Hesychius was deceived, in taking this Commandment

to be only ceremonial, whereas it is indeed of a mixt or middle nature: for so the Schoolmen, and other learned Authors in these later times, grounding themselves upon the Fathers, have resolved it generally. Nor is it any prejudice unto the Decalogue that any thing therein should be ceremonial: God haply thinking fit, (as one rightly noteth) to dispose it so, that he might intimate the perpetual necessity of having some Ceremonies in the Church. So then, the fourth Commandment is moral as unto the duty, that there must be a time appointed for the service of God: and Ceremonial as unto the Day, to be one of seven, and to continue that whole day, and to surcease that day from all kind of work. As moral, placed amongst the ten Commandments, extending unto all mankind, and written naturally in our hearts by the hand of nature: as ceremonial, appertaining to the Law Levitical, peculiar only to the Jews, and to be reckoned with the rest of Moses' institutes. Aquinas thus, 2.2aqu.122.art.4.resp.ad primum. Tostatus thus in Exod.20.qu.II. So Petr. Galatinus also, lib.II,cap.9. and Bonaventure in his Sermon on the fourth Commandment; and so divers others: besides what shall be said hereafter of the Protestant Doctors.

(4) I say, the fourth Commandment, so far as it is ceremonial, in limiting the Sabbath day to be one of seven, and to continue all that day, and thereon to surcease from all kind of labor: which three ingredients are required in the Law, unto the making of a Sabbath: is to be reckoned with the rest of Moses' institutes, and proper only to the Jews. For proof of this, we have the Fathers very copious. And first that it was one of Moses' institutes, Justin the Martyr saith expressly. *, etc. "As Circumcision began from Abraham, and as the Sabbath, Sacrifices, Feasts, and Offerings, came in by Moses: so were they all to have an end. And in another place of the same Discourse, seeing there was no use of Circumcision until Abraham's time, *, nor of the Sabbath until Moses: by the same reason, there is as little use now of them, as had been before." So doth Eusebius tell us, *, etc. "that Moses was the first Law-giver, amongst the Jews, who did appoint them to observe a certain Sabbath, in memory of God's rest from the World's Creation: as also divers anniversary Festivals, together with the difference of clean and unclean creatures, and of other Ceremonies not a few." Next Athanasius lets us know that in the Book of Exodus, we have the institution of the Passover, the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah, the sending down of Quails and Mannah, the waters issuing from the rocks *, what time the Sabbath took beginning, and the Law was published by Moses on Mount Sinai. Macarius, a Contemporary of

Athanasius doth affirm as much, viz. that in the Law, *, which was given by Moses, it was commanded, as in a figure or a shadow, that every man should rest on the Sabbath day from the works of labor. Saint Hierome also lets us know, though he name not Moses, that the observation of the Sabbath, amongst other ordinances, was given by God unto his people in the Wilderness. Haec praecepta, & justificationes, & observantiam Sabbati, Dominus dedit in deserto: which is as much as if he had expressly told us that it was given unto them by the hand of Moses. Then Epiphanius, “God saith he, rested on the seventh day from all his labors; which day he blessed and sanctified, *, and by his Angel made known the same to his servant Moses. See more unto this purpose *advers.haeres.I.I.her.6.n.5*. And lastly, Damascen hath assured us, that when there was no Law nor Scripture, that then there was no Sabbath neither: but when the Law was given by Moses, *, then was the Sabbath set apart for God’s public worship. Add here, that Tacitus, and Justin both, refer the institution of the Sabbath unto Moses only: of which more hereafter.

(5) Next that the Sabbath was peculiar only to the Jews, or those, at least that were of the house of Israel; the Fathers do affirm more fully than they did the other. For so Saint Basil, *, the Sabbath was given unto the Jew, in his first Homily of Fasting. Saint Austin so, that it was given unto the former people; and namely to the Jews, or Hebrews, as he elsewhere calleth them: and given to them, not only for their bodily rest, but for a type or figure of the rest to come. Or as his own words are, *Sabbatum datum est priori populo in otio corporali, Epistola 119. & Sabbatum Judaeis fuisse praeceptum in umbra futuri, de Genesis ad lit.1.4.c.II.* and in the 13. of the same Book, *unum diem observandum mandavit populo Hebraeo*: the like to which occurs *Epist.86.ad Casulanum*, the Jews, the Hebrews, and the former people; all these three are one: and all do serve to show, that Saint Austin thought the Sabbath to be peculiar unto them only. That it was given unto the Jews, exclusively of all other Nations, is the opinion and conceit also of the Jews themselves. This Petrus Galatinus proves against them, on the authority of their best Authors. *Sic enim legitur apud eos in Glossa, etc.* We read, saith he, in their Gloss on these words of Exodus, The Lord hath given you the Sabbath: what mean, say they, these words, he hath given it you? *Quia vobis, viz. Judaeis dedit, & non gentibus saeculi*: Because it was given unto the Jews, and not unto the Gentiles. It is affirmed also, saith he, by R. Johannan, that whatsoever statute God gave to Israel, he gave it to them in secret: according unto that

of Exodus. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel. Quod si ita est, non obligantur gentes ad sabbatum. If so saith Galatinus, the Gentiles were not bound to observe the Sabbath. A sign between me and the children of Israel. It seems the Jews were all of the same opinion. For where they used on other days to wear their Phylacteries on their arms or foreheads, to be a sign or token to them as the Lord commanded; they layed them by upon the Sabbaths: because, say they, the Sabbath was itself a sign. So truly said Procopius Gazaus, Ita Judaeis imperavit supremum numen, ut segregarent a caeteris diebus diem septimum, etc. "God, saith he, did command the Jews to set apart the seventh day to his holy worship; that if by chance they should forget the Lord their God, that day might call him back unto their remembrances: where note, it was commanded to the Jews alone." Add, that Josephus calls the Sabbath in many places a national or local custom, *, a law peculiar to that people; as Antiqu.lib.14.cap.18. & de Bello,lib.2.cap.16 as we shall see hereafter more at large. Lastly, so given to the Jews alone that it became a difference between them and all other people. Saint Cyril hath resolved it so. "God, saith he, gave the Jews a Sabbath, not that the keeping of the same should be sufficient to conduct them to eternal life: Sed ut haec civilis administrationis ratio peculiaris, a gentium institutis distinguat eos; but that so different a form of civil government should put a difference between them, and all Nations else. Theodoret more fully, that the Jews being in other things like to other people, In observatione Sabbati, propriam videbantur obtinere rempublicam; seemed in keeping of the Sabbath to have a custom by themselves. "And which is more, saith he, their Sabbath put a greater difference between the Jews and other people, than their Circumcision: for Circumcision had been used by the Idumaeans, and AEgyptians: sabbati vero observationem sola Judaeorum natio custodiebat, But the observation of the Sabbath, was peculiar only to the Jews." Nay, even the very Gentiles took it for a Jewish Ceremony, sufficient proof whereof we shall see ere long. But what need more to be said in this, either that this was one of the Laws of Moses, or that it was peculiar to the Jews alone, seeing the same is testified by the holy Scripture? Thou camest down upon mount Sinai, saith Nehemiah, and spakest with them [the house of Israel] from Heaven: and gavest them right judgments and true laws, good statutes and commandments, what more? It followeth, And madest known unto them thy holy Sabbaths, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of thy servant Moses. Add here what God himself delivered to his

servant Moses, where he informed him that he had made the Sabbath to be a sign between him and the people of Israel; Exodus 31.16.

(6) Now on what motives God was pleased to prescribe a Sabbath to the Jews, more at this time than any of the former ages; the Fathers severally have told us: yea and the Scriptures too in several places. Justin Martyr, as before we noted, gives this general reason, because of their hard-heartedness and irregular courses; wherein Saint Austin closeth with him. *Cessarunt onera legis quae ad duritiem cordis Judaici fuerunt data, in escis, Sabbatis, & neomeniis*: where note how he hath joined together, new-moons, and Sabbaths, and the Jewish difference between meat and meat. Particularly, Gregory Nyssen makes the special motive to be this, *Ad sedandum nimium eorum pecuniae studium*, “so to restrain the people from the love of money. For coming out of AEGYPT very poor and bare, and having almost nothing but what they borrowed of the AEGYPTIANS; they gave themselves, saith he, unto continual and incessant labor, the sooner to attain to riches. Therefore said God, that they should labor six days, and rest the seventh.” Damascen somewhat to this purpose, *, etc. “God, saith he, seeing the carnal and the covetous disposition of the Israelites, appointed them to keep a Sabbath, that so their servants and their cattle might partake of rest. And then he adds, *, etc. as also, that thus resting from their worldly businesses, they might repair unto the Lord in Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual songs, and meditation of the Scriptures.” Rupertus harps on the same string that the others did, save that he thinks the Sabbath given for no other cause, than that the laboring man being wearied with his weekly toil, might have some time to refresh his spirits. *Sabbatum nihil aliud est nisi requies, vel quam ob causam data est, nisi ut operarius fessus caeteris septimanae diebus, uno die requiesceret?* Gaudentius Brixianus in his twelfth Homily or Sermon, is of the same mind also, that the others were. These seem to ground themselves on the fifth of Deuteronomy, where God commands his people to observe his Sabbaths, that thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And then it followeth, Remember that thou wast a servant in the Land of AEGYPT, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, though with a mighty hand and an out-stretched arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day. The force of which illation is no more than this, that as God brought them out of AEGYPT wherein they were servants, and let them rest upon the Sabbath: considering that they themselves would willingly have kept some time of rest, had they been

permitted. A second motive might be this, to make them always mindful of that spiritual rest which they were to keep from the acts of sin; and that eternal rest that they did expect from all toil and misery. In reference to this eternal rest, Saint Augustine tells us that the Sabbath was commanded to the Jews, *in umbra futuri, quae spiritalem requiem figuraret*; As a shadow of the things to come, in Saint Paul's language, which God doth promise unto those that do the works of righteousness. And in relation to the other, the Lord himself hath told us, that he had given his Sabbath unto the Jews, to be a sign between him and them, that they might know that he was the Lord that sanctified them. *Exod.31.13*; which is again repeated by *Ezekiel ad 20.12*. That they may know that I am the Lord which sanctifieth them. For God, as Gregory Nyssen notes it, seems only to propose this unto himself, that by all means he might at least destroy in man his inbred corruption. *. This was his aim in Circumcision, and in the Sabbath, and in forbidding them some kind of meats: *, for by the Sabbath he informed them of a rest from sin." To cite more Fathers to this purpose were a thing unnecessary; and indeed *sensibilie super sensum*. This yet confirms us further, that the Sabbath was intended for the Jews alone. For had God given the Sabbath to all other people, as he did to them, it must have also been a sign that the Lord had sanctified all people as he did the Jews.

(7) There is another motive yet to be considered, and that concerns as well the day as the institution. God might have given the Jews a Sabbath, and yet not tied the Sabbath to one day of seven, or to the seventh precisely from the World's Creation. *Constitui pouisset, quod in die sabbati coleretur Deus, aut in die Martis, aut in altera die*. "God, saith Tostatus, might have ordered it, to have his Sabbath on the Saturday, or on the Tuesday, or any other day what ever. What, any other of the week, and no more than so? No, he might have appointed it, *Aut bis, aut semel tantum in anno, aut in mense, once or twice a year, or every month, as he had listed*. And might not God as well exceed this number, as fall short thereof? yes say the Protestant Doctors, that he might have done. "He might have made each third, or fourth, or fifth day a Sabbath; indeed as many as he pleased. *Si volnisset Deus absolute uti dominio suo, potuit plures dies imperare cultui suo impendendos:*" so saith Doctor Ryvet, one of the Professors of Leyden, and a great Friend to the antiquity of the Sabbath. What was the principal motive then, why the seventh day was chosen for this purpose, and none but that? *, to keep God always in their minds; so saith Justin Martyr. "But why should that be rather done by a seventh day Sabbath than

by any other? Saint Cyrill answers to that point exceeding fully. The Jews, saith he, became infected with the Idolatries of AEGypt, worshipped the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, and the host of Heaven: which seems to be insinuated in the fourth of Deuter.vers.19. Therefore that they might understand the Heavens to be God's workmanship, eos opificem suum imitari jubet, he willeth them that they imitate their Creator; that resting on the Sabbath day, they might the better understand the reason of the Festival. Which if they did, saith he, in case they rested on that day, whereon God had rested, it was a plain confession that all things were made by him; and consequently that there were no other Gods besides him." Et haec una ratio sabbato indicta quietis; And this, saith he, is the only reason of the Sabbath's rest. Indeed the one and only reason that is mentioned in the body of the Commandment, which reflects only on God's rest from all his work which he had made: and leaves that as the absolute and sole occasion, why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath than the sixth or eighth, or any other. Which being so, it is the more to be admired, that Philo being a learned Jew, or any learned Christian Writer, leaving the cause expressed in the Law itself, should seek some secret reason for it, out of the nature of the day, or of the number. First, Philo tells us that the Jews do call their seventh day by the name of Sabbath, "which signifieth repose and rest. Not because they did rest that day from their weekly labors: *, but because seven is found to be, both in the world and man himself, the most quiet number, most free from trouble, war, and all manner of contention. A strange conceit to take beginning from a Jew: yet that, that follows of Aretius, is as strange as this. Who thinks that the day was therefore consecrated unto rest, even amongst the Gentiles. Quod putarent civilibus actionibus ineptum esse, fortasse proper frigus planetae, contemplationibus vero idoneum: "because they thought that day, by reason of the dullness of the Planet Saturne, more fit for contemplation, than it was for action." Some had it seems, conceived so in the former times, whom thereupon Tostatus censures in his Comment on the fifth of Deuteronomy. For where it was God's purpose, as before we noted out of Cyril, to wean the people from Idolatry and Superstition: to lay down such a reason for the observation of the Sabbath, was to reduce them to the worship of those Stars and Planets, from which he did intend to wean them. I had almost omitted the conceit of Zanchie, before remembered, who thinks that God made choice of this day the rather; because that on the same day, he had brought his people out of AEGypt. In case the ground be true, that on this day the Lord wrought this deliverance for his people

Israel; then his conceit may probably be countenanced from the fifth of Deuteronomy where God recounting to his people, that with a mighty hand and an out-stretched arm he had delivered them from AEGYPT; hath thereupon commanded them, That they should keep the Sabbath day. Lay all that hath been said together, and it will come in all to this, that as the Sabbath was not known till Moses' time; so being known, it was peculiar unto Israel only. *Non nisi Mosaicae legis temporibus in usu fuisse septimi diei cultum; nec postea nisi penes Hebraeos perdurasse*, as Torniellus doth conclude it. I only add, that this assigning of a reason to the fourth, and to none other in the Decalogue, is by Saint Chrysostome made an argument to prove the Sabbath not to be a part of the law of nature, or naturally made known unto our consciences. For, saith the Father, "when God saith, Thou shalt not kill, * , he adds not any reason unto the precept, intimating that murder is an evil act: as taking it for granted, * , that that was naturally known unto us. Whereas enjoining them to keep the Sabbath, he adds a reason to the law, as being of that sort which had not formerly been made known unto them by the light of nature.

(8) For that the Gentiles used to keep the seventh day sacred, as some give it out, is no where to be found, I dare boldly say it, in all the Writings of the Gentiles. The seventh day of the month indeed they hallowed, and so they did the first, and fourth; as Hesiod tells us. * . Not the first day, and the fourth, and seventh of every week, for then they must have gone beyond the Jews: but as the Scholiast upon Hesiod notes it, of every month: *a novilunio exorsus laudat tres*, Beginning with the new moon he commends three days, the first, fourth, and seventh. And lest it should be thought that the seventh day is to be counted holier than the other two, because the attribute of * seems joined unto it: the Scholiast takes away that scruple, *a novilunio exorsus tres laudat, omnes sacras dicens, septimam etiam ut Apollonis natalem celebrans*; and tells us that all three are accounted holy, and that the seventh was also celebrated as Apollo's birthday. For so it followeth in the Poet, * : from whence the Flamines or Gentile Priests did use to call him * , i.e. the God born on the seventh day. For further proof hereof, we find in Alexander ab Alexandro, that the first day of every month was consecrated to Apollo; the fourth, to Mercury; the seventh, again unto Apollo; the eighth, to Theseus. The like doth Plutarch say of Neptune, where he affirms that the Athenians offered unto Theseus their greatest sacrifice upon the eighth day of October, because of his arrival that day from Crete: and that they also honored him, * on the eighth

day of the other months, because he was derived from Neptune; to whom, on the eighth day of every month, they did offer sacrifice. To make the matter yet more sure, Philo hath put this difference between the Gentiles and the Jews; that diverse Cities of the Gentiles, did solemnize the seventh day, *, once a month, beginning their account with the New-moon: *, but that the Jews did keep every seventh day, constantly. It is true that Philo tells us more than once or twice, how that the Sabbath was become a general Festival: but that was rather taken up, in imitation of the Jews, than practiced out of any instinct or light of nature, as we shall see hereafter in a place more proper. Besides which days before remembered, the second day was consecrate to the bonus Genius; the third, and fifteenth, to Minerva; the ninth, unto the Sun; the last, to Pluto: and every 20th day kept holy by the Epicures. Now as the Greeks did consecrate the New-moons, and seventh- day, to Phoebus; the fourth of every month, to Mercury; and the eighth to Neptune, & sic de caeteris: so every ninth day in the year, was by the Romans anciently kept sacred unto Jupiter; the Flamines or Priests upon that day, offering a Ram unto him for a sacrifice. *Nundinas Jovis ferias esse, ait Granius Licinius: siquidem Flaminica omnibus nundinis [every ninth day] in regia, Iovi arietem solere immolare: as in Macrobius.* So that we see the seventh day was no more in honor, than either the first, fourth, or eighth, and not so much as was the ninth: this being, as it were, a weekly Festival, and that a monthly. A thing so clear and evident, that Doctor Bound could tell us, “that the memory of Weeks and Sabbaths was altogether suppressed and buried amongst the Gentiles. “And in the former page. But how the memory of the seventh day was taken away amongst the Romans, *Ex veteri nundinarum instituto apparet, saith Beroaldus.* And Satan did altogether take away from the Graecians, the holy memory of the seventh day, by obtruding on them wicked rites of Superstition, which on the eighth day they did keep in honor of Neptune. So that besides other holy days, the one of them observed the eighth day, and the other the ninth, and neither of them both the seventh as the Church doth now, and hath done always from the beginning.” It is true, Diogenes the Grammarian, did hold his disputations constantly upon the Saturday or Sabbath: and when Tiberius at an extraordinary time came to hear his exercises; *In diem septimum distulerat, the Pedant put him off, until the Saturday next following.* A right Diogenes indeed, & as rightly served. For coming to attend upon Tiberius, being then made Emperour; he sent him word, *Ut post annum septimum rediret,* that he would have him come again the seventh year after. But then as true it is, which the same Suetonius tells us of

Antonius Gniphio, a Grammarian too, that he taught Rhetoric every day; Declamaret vero non nisi nundinis, but declaimed only on the ninth. But then as true it is, which Juvenal hath told us of the Roman Rhetoricians, that they pronounced their Declamations on the sixth day chiefly. Nil salit Arcadico juveni, cujus mihi sexta Quaque die, miserum dirum caput Annibal implet. As the Poet hath it. All days, it seems, alike to them; the first, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and indeed what not, as much as in honor as the seventh: whether it were in civil, or in sacred matters.

(9) I am not ignorant that many goodly Epithets are by some ancient Poets amongst the Graecians, appropriated to this day: which we find gathered up together, by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius; but before either of them, by one Aristobulus a learned Jew, who lived about the time of Ptolomie Philometer King of AEGypt. Both Hesiod and Homer, as they there are cited, give it the title of * or an holy day, and so it was esteemed amongst them, as before is shown: but other days esteemed as holy. From Homer they produce two verses, wherein the Poet seems to be acquainted with the World's Creation, and the perfection of it on the seventh day. On the seventh day all things were fully done, On that we left the waves of Acheron.

The like are cited out of Linus, as related by Eusebius, from the collections of Aristobulus before remembered: but are by Clemens fathered on Callimachus, another of the old Greek Poets; who between them thus.

Which put together may be thus Englished, in the main, though not verbatim. On the seventh day all things were made complete, The birth-day of the World, most good, most great. Seven brought forth all things in the starrie skie; Keeping each yeare their courses constantly. This Clemens makes an argument, that not the Jews only but the Gentiles also, knew that the seventh day had a privilege, yea, and was hallowed above other days; on which the world, and all things in it, were complete and finished. And so we grant they did: but neither by the light of nature, nor any observation of that day amongst themselves, more than any other. Not by the light of nature. For Aristobulus, from whom Clemens probably might take his hint, speaks plainly, that the Poets had consulted with the holy Bible, & from thence sucked this knowledge: *, as that Author saith of Hesiod, and Homer. Which well might be, considering that Homer who was the oldest of them, flourished about 500 years after Moses' death; Callimachus who was the latest, above 700 years after Homer's time. Nor did they speak it

out of any observation of that day, more than any other, amongst themselves. The general practice of the Gentiles, before related, hath thoroughly, as we hope removed that scruple. They which from these words can collect a Sabbath, had need of as good eyes as Clemens; who out of Plato in his second de repub. conceives that he hath found a sufficient warrant for the observing of the Lord's day, above all the rest: because it is there said by Plato, That such as had for seven days solaced in the pleasant Meadows, were to depart upon the eighth, and not return till four days after. As much a Lord's day in the one, as any Sabbath in the other. Indeed the argument is so weak, that some of those that thought it of especial weight have now deserted it, as too light and trivial. Ryvet by name, who cites most of these Verses in his notes on Genesis, to prove the Sabbath no less ancient than the world's Creation; doth on the Decalogue, think them utterly unable to conclude that point, Nisi aliunde suffulcianitur, unless they be well backed with better arguments and authorities out of other Authors.

(10) Nay, more than this, the Gentiles were so far from sanctifying the Sabbath or seventh day, themselves; that they derided those that kept it. The Circumcision of the Jews was not more ridiculous amongst the Heathens than their Sabbaths were; nor were they more extremely scoffed at for the one, than for the other, by all sorts of Writers. Seneca lays it to their charge, that by occasion of their Sabbaths, septimam fere atatis sua partem vacando perdant, they spent the seventh part of their lives in sloth and idleness: and Tacitus, that not the seventh day, but the seventh year also, was as unprofitably wasted. Septimo quoque die otium placuisse ferunt; dein blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum. Moses, saith he, had so appointed, because that after a long six days' march, the people became quietly settled on the seventh. Juvenal makes also the same objection against the keeping of the Sabbath by the Jewish Nation.

*---quod septima quaeque fuit lux Ignava,
& partem vitae non attigit ullam.*

*Every seventh day in sloth they lose,
And on it no employment use.*

And Ovid doth not only call them peregrina sabbata, as things which with the Romans had but small, and that late acquaintance: but makes them a peculiar mark of the Jewish Religion.

*Quaque die redeunt, rebus minus apta gerendis,
Culta Palestino septima sacra viro.*

*The seventh day comes, for business unfit;
Held sacred by the Jew, who halloweth it.*

Where by the way, Tostatus notes upon these words that *sacrima septa* are here ascribed unto the Jews, as their badge or cognizance: which had been most improper, and indeed untrue, *si gentes altae servarent sabbatum*, if any other Nation, specially the Romans had observed the same. But to proceed, Persius hits them in the teeth with their *recutita sabbata*: and Martial scornfully calleth them *Sabbatarians*, in an Epigram of his to Bassus, where reckoning up some things of an unsavoury smell, he reckoneth *Sabbatariorum jejunia*, amongst the principal. So Agacharcides who wrote the lives of Alexander's successors accuseth them of an unspeakable superstition; in that *, they suffered Ptolomie to take their City of Jerusalem, on a Sabbath day, rather than stand upon their guard. But that of Apion, the great Clerk of Alexandria, is the most shameful and reproachful of all the rest! Who, to despite the Jews the more, and lay the deeper stain upon their Sabbaths; relates in his Egyptian story, that at their going out of Egypt, having traveled for the space of six whole days, they became stricken with certain inflammations in their privy parts, which the Egyptians call by the name of *Sabbo*:* and for that cause they were compelled to rest on the seventh day, which afterwards they called the Sabbath. Than which, what greater calumny could a malicious Sycophant invent against them? Doubtless, those men that speak so despicably and reproachfully of the Jewish Sabbath; had never any of their own. Nor did the Greeks and Latins, and Egyptians only out of the plenty, or the redundance rather of their wit, deride and scoff the Sabbaths celebrated by those of Jewry: it was a scorn that had before been fastened on them, when wit was not so plentiful as in later times. For so the Prophet Jeremiah in his Lamentations, made on the death of King Josiah. The adversaries saw her, and did mock at her Sabbaths. The Jews must needs be singular in this observation. All Nations else, both Graecian and Barbarian, had never so agreed together, to deride them for it.

(11) Yet we deny not all this while, but that the fourth Commandment, so much thereof as is agreeable to the law and light of nature, was not alone imprinted in the minds of the Gentiles, but practiced by them. For they had *statos dies*, some appointed times, appropriated to the worship of their several gods, as before was showed: their holydays, & half-holydays,

according to that estimation which their gods had gotten in the World. And this as well to comfort and refresh their spirits, which otherwise had been spent and wasted with continual labor as to do service to those Deities which they chiefly honored. *Dii genus hominum laboribus natura pressum miserati, remissionem laborum statuerunt solennia festa;* was the resolution once of Plato. But this concludes not any thing, that they kept the Sabbath, or that they were obliged to keep it by the law of nature. And where it is conceived by some that the Gentiles by the light of nature had their weeks, which is supposed to be an argument that they kept the Sabbath; a week being only of seven days, and commonly so called both in Greek, and Latin: we on the other side affirm, that by this very rule, the Gentiles, many of them, if not the most, could observe no Sabbath; because they did observe no weeks. For first the Chaldees, and the Persians, had no weeks at all: but to the several days of each several month, appropriated a particular name of some King or other; as the Peruvians do at this present time: *nomina diebus mensis indunt, ut prisci Persae,* as Scaliger hath noted of them. The Graecians also did the like in the times of old: there being an old Attic Calendar to be seen in Scaliger, wherein is no division of the month into weeks at all. Then for the Romans, they divided their account into eighths and eighths; as the Jews did by sevens and sevens: the one reflecting on their *nundinae*, as the other did upon their Sabbath. *Ogdoas Romanorum in tributione dierum servabatur propter nundinas, ut hebdomas apud Judaeos propter Sabbatum.* For proof of which there are some ancient Roman Calendars to be seen as yet, one in the aforesaid Scaliger; the other in the Roman Antiquities of John Rossinus: wherein the days are noted from A to H, as in our common Almanacks from A to G. The Mexicans go a little further, and they have 13 days to the week, as the same Scaliger hath observed of them. Nay even the Jews themselves were ignorant of this division of the year into weeks, as Tostatus thinks; till Moses learnt it of the Lord, in the fall of Mannah. Nor were the Greeks & Romans destitute of this account only while they were rude and untrained people, as the Peruvians and the Mexicans at this present time: but when they were in their greatest flourish for Arts and Empire. Dion affirms it for the ancient Grecians, that they knew it not; *, for ought he could learn: and Seneca more punctually, that first they learnt the motions of the Planets of Eudoxus, who brought that knowledge out of Egypt; and consequently could not know the weeks before. And for the Romans, though they were well enough acquainted with the Planets in their latter times; yet they divided not their Calendars into weeks, as now they do, till near about the

time of Dionysius Exiguus, who lived about the year of Christ, 520. Nor had they then received it in all probability, had they not long before admitted Christianity throughout their Empire; and therewithal the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, where the account by weeks was exceeding obvious. Therefore according to this rule the Chaldees, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, all the four great Monarchies, did observe no Sabbaths; because they did observe no weeks. Which said in this place once for all, we resolve it thus: that as the Israelites kept no Sabbath before the Law, so neither did the Gentiles when the Law was given: which proves it one of Moses' Ordinances, no prescript of nature.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRACTICE OF THE IEWS IN SUCH OBSERVANCES, AS WERE ANNEXED UNTO THE SABBATH.

- (1) *Of some particular adjuncts affixed unto the Jewish Sabbath.*
 (2) *The annuall Festivals called Sabbaths in the Booke of God, and reckoned as a part of the fourth Commandement.* (3) *The Annuall Sabbaths no lesse solemnely observed and celebrated, then the weekly were; if not more solemnely.* (4) *Of the Parasceve or Preparation to the Sabbath, and the solemne Festivalls.* (5) *All manner of worke, as well forbidden on the Annuall, as the weekly Sabbaths.* (6) *What things were lawfull to be done on the Sabbath dayes.* (7) *Touching the prohibitions of not kindling fire, and not dressing meat.* (8) *What moved the Gentiles, generally, to charge the Iews, with Fasting on the Sabbath day.* (9) *Touching this Prohibition, Let no man goe out of his place on the Sabbath day.* (10) *All lawfull recreations, as Dancing, Feasting, Man-like Exercises, allowed and practiced by the Iews upon their Sabbaths.*

(1) I Showed you in the former Chapter, the institution of the Sabbath, by whom it was first published, and to whom prescribed. It now remains to see, how it was observed; how far the people thought themselves obliged by it, and in what cases they were pleased to dispense therewith. Which that we may the better do, we will take notice first of the Law itself, what is contained in the same, what the Sabbath signifieth: and then of such particular observances, which by particular statutes were affixed by God to the fourth Commandment, either by way of Comment on it, or addition to it; and after were misconstrued by the Scribes and Pharisees, to ensnare the people. And first, not to say any thing in this place of the quid nominis, or derivation of the word, which Philo and Josephus, and the Seventy do often render by *, repose, or rest: Sabbath is used in Scripture to signify some selected time by God himself deputed unto rest and holiness. Most specially and *, it points out unto us the seventh day, as that which was first honored with the name of Sabbath, Exodus 16.25, and in the second place those other Festivals, which were by God prescribed to the house of Israel, and are called Sabbaths also, as the others were. Of these the one was weekly, and the others Annual: the New-moons not being honored

with this title in the Book of God, though in Heathen Authors. The weekly Sabbath was that day, precisely, whereon God rested from the works which he had made: which he commanded to be kept for a day of rest unto the Jews, that so they might the better meditate on the wondrous works that he had done; every seventh day exactly, in a continual revolution, from time to time. Therefore, saith Damascen, when we have reckoned to seven days, *, our computation of the time runs round, and begins anew. These as in general, and *, as before I said, they were calculated Sabbaths: so were there some of them that had particular adjuncts, whereby to know them from the rest: whereof the one was constant, and the other casual. The constant adjunct is that of *, or sabbatum secundoprimum, as the Latin renders it: mention whereof is made in Saint Luke's Gospel. Our English reads it, on the second Sabbath after the first. A place and passage which much exercised men's wits, in the former times, and brought forth many strange conceits: until at last, this, and the * sophistarum, and super fluvios manare fontes, came to be reckoned in a Proverb, as preposterous things. Scaliger hath of late untied the knot, and resolved it thus, that all the Weeks or Sabbaths from Pasch to Pentecost, did take their name *, from the second day of the Feast of Passover; that being the Epoch, or point of time, from which the fifty days were to be accounted by the Law: and that the first Week or Sabbath after the said second day, was called *, the second, * the third, *, and so the rest. According to which reckoning, the second Sabbath after the first, as we translate it, must be the first Sabbath * from the second day of the Passover. The casual adjunct is, that sometimes there was a Sabbath that was calculated *, the great Sabbath; or as it is in Saint John's Gospel, *, magnus ille dies Sabbati, as the Latin hath it. And is so called not for its own sake, for Casaubon hath rightly noted, nunquam eam appellationem sabbato tributam reperiri propter ipsum: but because then, as many other times it did, the Passover did either fall, or else was celebrated on a Sabbath. Even as in other cases, and at other times, when any of the greater and more solemn Festivals did fall upon the Sabbath day, they used to call it, Sabbatum sabbatorum, a Sabbath of Sabbaths. *, as Isidore Pelusiotes notes it.

(2) For that the Annual Feasts were called Sabbaths too is most apparent in the Scriptures; especially Levit. 23. where both the Passover, the Feast of Trumpets, the Feast of Expiation, and the Feast of Tabernacles, are severally entitled by the name of Sabbaths. The Fathers also note the same, *, saith Saint Chrysostome: and *, saith Isidore, in the place before

remembered. Even the New-moons, amongst the Gentiles, had the same name also; as may appear by that of Horace, who calls them in his Satyres, *Tricesima Sabbata*, because they were continually celebrated every thirtieth day. The like they did by all the rest, if Joseph Scaliger's note be true, as I think it is; who hath affirmed expressly, *Omnem festivitatem Judaicam non solum Judaeos, sed Gentiles, sabbatum vocare*. Nay, as the weekly Sabbaths, some of them had their proper adjuncts: so had the annual. Saint Athanasius tells us of the Feast of Expiation, that it was *, or the principal Sabbath: for so I take it is his meaning: which selfsame attribute is given by Origen, to the Feast of Trumpets. Clemens of Alexandria, 6. *Stromat.* brings in a difference of those Festivals, out of a supposed work of Saint Peter the Apostle: wherein, besides the New-moons, and Passover, which are there so named, they are distributed into *, or the first Sabbath, the Feast * so called, and the Great day. Casaubon for his part protesteth, *ipsi obscuram esse quid sit Sabbatum primum*, that he was yet to seek what should be the meaning of that first Sabbath. But Scaliger conceives, and not improbably, that by this first Sabbath, or *, was meant the Feast of Trumpets, because it was *caput anni*, or the beginning of the civil year: the same which Origen calls *Sabbatum sabbatorum*, as before we noted. As for the Feast * so named in Clemens, that he conceives to be the Feast of Pentecost; and the great day in him remembered, the Feast of Tabernacles: for the which last he hath authority in the Scriptures, who tell of the Great day of this very Feast, *Joh.7.37*. Not that the Feast of Tabernacles was alone so called, but in a more especial manner: For there were other days so named, besides the Sabbaths. *Dies observatis*, saith Tertullian, & *Sabbata*, ut opinor, & *coenas puras*, & *jejunia*, & *dies magnos*. Where *sabbata* & *dies magni* are distinguished plainly. Indeed it stood with reason that these annual Sabbaths should have the honor also of particular adjuncts, as the weekly had: being all founded upon one & the same Commandment. Philo affirms it for the Jews, *, etc. "the fourth Commandment, saith he, is of the Sabbath, and the Festivals, of Vows, of Sacrifices, forms of purifying, and other parts of divine worship." Which is made good by Zanchie for the Christian Writers, who in his work upon the Decalogue doth resolve it thus, *Sabbati nomine ad Judaeos quod attinebat, Deus intellexit non solum sabbatum septem dierum, sed sabbata etiam annorum, item omnia festa, quae per Mosen illis explicavit*. "By Sabbath, saith that Author, God doth signify not only the weekly Sabbath, but the Sabbath of years, and all the other Feasts which he commanded to the Jews by his servant Moses." So he, in his exposition on the fourth

Commandment. It was the Moral part of the fourth Commandment, that some time should be set apart for God's public service: and in the body of that Law it is determined of that time, that it should be one day in seven. Yet not exclusively, that there should be no other time appointed, either by God, or by his Church, than the seventh day only. God therefore added other times as to him seemed best, the list whereof we may behold in the twenty-third of Leviticus: and the Church too by God's example, added also some, as namely the Feast of Dedication, and that of Purim.

(3) Now as the Annual Festivals ordained by God, had the name of Sabbath, as the weekly had: so the observances in them were the same, not much different. If in some things the weekly Sabbaths seemed to have preeminence, the Annual Sabbaths went beyond them in some others also. For the continuance of these Feasts, the weekly Sabbath was to be observed throughout their generations for a perpetual covenant, Ex.31.16. So for the Passover, you shall observe it throughout your generations, by an ordinance for ever. Exod.12.14. The like of Pentecost, it shall be a statute for ever, throughout your generations; Leviticus 23.21. So also for the Feast of Expiation, Leviticus 23.31. and for the Feast of Tabernacles, Levit.23.4. Where note, that by these words for ever, and throughout their generations, it is not to be understood that these Jewish Festivals were to be perpetual; for then they would oblige us now, as they did the Jews: but that they were to last as long, as the Republic of the Jews should stand; and the Mosaical Ordinances were to be in force. *Per generationes vestras, i.e. quam diu Respub. Judaica constaret*, as Tostatus notes upon this twenty-third of Leviticus. For the solemnity of these Feasts, the presence of the high Priests was as necessary in the one as in the other. The high Priests also (saith Josephus) ascended with the Priests into the Temple, *, and yet not always, but only on the Sabbaths, and New-moons, *, as also on those other Feasts and solemn assemblies which yearly were to be observed, according unto the custom of the Country. And hitherto we find no difference at all: but in the manner of the rest, there appears a little, between the weekly Sabbath, and some of the Annual. For of the weekly Sabbath it is said expressly, that thou shalt do no manner of work: as on the other side, of the Passover, the Pentecost, the Feast of Trumpets, and of Tabernacles, that they shall do no servile work: which being well examined, will be found the same in sense, though not in sound. But then again for sense and sound it is expressly said of the Expiation, that therein thou shalt do no manner of work, as was affirmed before of the weekly

Sabbath. So that besides the seventh day Sabbath, there were seven Sabbaths in the year, in six of which, viz. the first and seventh of unleavened bread, the day of Pentecost, the Feast of Trumpets, and the first and eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, they were to do no servile works and on the Expiation day, no work at all. So that in this respect the weekly Sabbath and the day of Expiation were directly equal, according to the very letter. In other things the day of Expiation seems to have preeminence; first, that upon this day only, the high Priest, omnibus pontificalibus indumentis indutum, attired in his Pontificals might go into the Sanctum sanctorum, or the holiest of all, to make atonement for the people; whereof see Levit.16. And secondly, in that the sacrifices for this day were more, and greater, than those appointed by the Lord for the weekly Sabbaths: which last is also true of the other Festivals. For where the sacrifice appointed for the weekly Sabbath, consisted only of two Lambs, over and above the daily sacrifice: with a meat-offering and a drink-offering thereunto proportioned: on the New-moons, and all the Annual Sabbaths before remembered, the Sacrifices were enlarged, nay, more than trebled; as is expressed in the 28. and 29 of the book of Numbers. Nay, if it happened any time as some times it did, that any of the Festivals did fall upon the weekly Sabbath; or that two of them, as the New-moon, and the Feast of Trumpets, fell upon the same: the service of the weekly Sabbath lessened not at all the sacrifices destinate to the Annual Sabbath; but they were all performed in their several turns. The Text itself affirms as much, in two chapters before specified: and for the practice of it, that so it was, is apparent to be seen in the Hebrew Calendars. Only the difference was this, as Rabbi Maimony informs us, that the addition of the Sabbath was first performed: and after, the addition of the New-moon, and then the addition of the Great day, or other Festival. So that in case the weekly Sabbath had a privilege above the Annual, in that the Shew-bread or the loaves of proposition, were only set before the Lord on the weekly Sabbaths: the Annual Sabbaths seem to have had amends, all of them in the multiplicity of their sacrifices; and three of them in the great solemnity and concourse of the people. For it is manifest in the Scripture, that all the people of Israel were bound to appear before the Lord on those three great Festivals; the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. As for the penalty inflicted on the breakers of these solemn Festivals, it is expressly said of the weekly Sabbath, that whosoever doth any work therein, shall be put to death; Exodus 31:15; and in the Verse before, That whosoever doth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off (or as the

Chaldee Paraphrase reads it, that man shall be destroyed) from amongst his people. Which if it signify the same, as by the Chaldee Paraphrase it seems to do; it is no more than what is elsewhere said of the Expiation, for so saith the Text. And whatsoever soul it be, that doth any work in that same day, that soul will I destroy from amongst his people. But if the phrase be different, as the Rabbins say, the difference is no more than this; that they which break the weekly Sabbath, are to be put to death by the Civil Magistrate: and they which work upon the Feast of Expiation, shall be cut off by God, by untimely deaths. As for the other Annual Sabbaths, the Rabbins have determined thus, “that whosoever doth in any of them, such works as are not necessary for food, as if he build, or pull down, or weave, and the like, he breaketh a Commandment, and transgresseth against this prohibition, ye shall not do any servile work: and if he do, and there be witnesses and evident proof, he is by law to be beaten or scourged for it. So that we see, that whether we regard the institution, or continuance of these several Sabbaths; or the solemnities of the same, either in reference to the Priests, the Sacrifices, and concourse of people; or finally the punishment inflicted on the breakers of them; the difference is so little, it is scarce remarkable: considering especially, that if the weekly Sabbaths do gain in one point, they lose as often in another. For the particulars, we shall speak of them hereafter, as occasion is. Only I add, by way of observation from the former premises, that by the same reason, on which some have labored a continuance of the Sabbath day; they may as well bring into the Church all the Jewish Festivals, as being grounded all on the fourth Commandment, and otherwise so equal in all observance.

(4) As for the time, when they began their Sabbaths, and when they ended them; they took beginning on the Evening of the day before, and so continued till the evening of the Feast itself. The Scripture speaks it only, as I remember of the Expiation; which is appointed by the Lord to be observed on the tenth day of the seventh month, Levit.23.27; yet so that it is ordered thus in the 31st. It shall be unto you a Sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict your souls on the ninth day of the month, at even. And then it followeth, From even to even shall ye celebrate your Sabbath. But in the practice of the Jews, it was so in all: either because they took those words for a general precept; or else because they commonly did account their day from even to even. For where the Romans and Egyptians began the day at midnight; the Chaldees, and the Persians, with the rising Sun; and the Umbri, an Italian people, reckoned theirs from noon to noon: the Jews and

the Athenians took the beginning of their day, *ab occasu solis*, from Sun-setting, as Scaliger and divers others have observed. Yet sure I am, Honorius Augustodunensis, who lived four hundred years ago and upwards, placeth the Jews together with the Persians and Chaldeans, as men that do begin their day at the Sun-rising. However, in this case it is not to be thought that the even was any part of the Sabbath following (for the additional sacrifices were offered only on the morning and the evening of the several Sabbaths;) but a * or preparation thereunto: which preparation if it were before the weekly Sabbath, it was called *: if before any of the Annual, it was called *. In imitation of the Gentiles, the Latin Writers call these Parasceves or Evens of Preparation, by the name of *Coena pura*, as Augustine noteth upon the nineteenth of Saint John; because of some resemblance that was between them: but yet they had a difference too. For Casaubon hath taught us this, that in the *Coena pura* amongst the Gentiles, a part of the Ceremony did consist in the choice of meats; where no such thing occurs at all in these preparations of the Jews. Now these Parasceves or Preparation days, the Jews did afterward divide into these four parts. The first was *, a preparative, as it were, to the preparation, which began in the morning, and held on till noon. The second was * largely taken, from noon until the evening sacrifice of the day; the third was *, or the approaching of the Sabbath, which began after the evening sacrifice, continued till Sun-set, and was properly called the *, the fourth was the *, or entrance of the Sabbath, which lasted from Sun-set unto the dawning of the day. They had amongst them a tradition, or a custom rather, that on the whole day, from the * till Sun-set, they might not travel above twelve miles: lest coming home too late, they might not have sufficient leisure to prepare things before the Sabbath. The time was, as Buxdorffius tells us, *quo cornu vel inflata tuba daretur signum*, when there was public warning given by sound of Trumpet, that every man should cease from work, and make all things ready for the Sabbath: though in these days the Clerk or Sexton goeth about from door to door to give notice of it. The time was so indeed, So Josephus tells us, “that in Jerusalem one of the Priests continually standing upon a Pillar, *, made known upon the even before by sound of Trumpet, what time the Sabbath did begin; and on the evening of the Sabbath, at what time it ended: that so the people might be certified, both at what time to rest from labor; and at what time they might again apply their minds and hands unto it.” Now what Josephus saith of the weekly Sabbath, the same was done, saith Philo, in the New-moons also: *, which is much alike. And consequently we may say the same of the Annual

Sabbaths in which the sons of Aaron were to blow the Trumpet, as well as in the New-moons, or the weekly Sabbaths. As for the works prohibited or permitted on these days of preparation, whether before the weekly or the Annual sabbaths, I find little difference. This I am sure of, that it was as much unlawful for the Judges to sit on any capital crimes, the day before the Annual Sabbath, as before the weekly: and the reason was, because the morrow after, of which sort soever, was thought to be no fit day for execution. *Iudices verum Capitalium non iudicant in parasceve Sabbati, aut in parasceve dici festi, quia non debet id fieri: & reus occidi postridie non potest.* So saith Rabbi Maimony. Of the ridiculous nicety of the modern Jews in these Parasceves, we shall speak hereafter.

(5) To come unto the day itself, it is said expressly in the Law that therein thou shalt do no manner of work. What, no work at all? How could they eat and drink, and put on clothes? These are some manner of works, yet done every Sabbath: yea, by the Pharisees themselves, which were most strict observers of the weekly Sabbaths. *Quie Pharisaeorum, saith Saint Hierom, in die Sabbati non extendis manum, portans cibum, porrigens calicem, & caetera quae victui sunt necessaria.* “Which of the Pharisees, saith he, doth not upon the Sabbath day stretch out his hand, and take his meat, and reach his cup; and whatsoever else appertains to victuals?” How could they circumcise, and offer sacrifice, and set on the shew-bread on the Sabbath? Surely all these are works too; some of them very troublesome: yet commonly performed on the weekly Sabbath, of which more anon. Therefore when all is done, we must expound these words, of ordinary and servile labors, such as are toilsome in themselves, and aim at profit. *Zanchie, I am sure, doth expound them so. Nomen operis quod hic habet Moses, non significat opus simpliciter, sed opus quod propter opes comparandas suscipitur: Tale autem opus est vere servile.* “The name of work, saith he, which here Moses useth, signifieth not simply and properly any kind of work: but works which chiefly are undertaken on hope of profit: which kind of works are truly servile.” Saint Hierome also expounds it, *Lege praeceptum est ne in Sabbatis opus servile faciamus, etc.* We are commanded in the Law, to do no servile works on the Sabbath days. And on the fifth of Amos he affirms the same; *Iubet ne quid in eo operis servilis fiat, etc.* And so Tertullian; *Nec dubium esteos opus servile operatos, etc.* in his second Book against Marcion. If so, there is no difference at all between the weekly and the Annual Sabbaths, in this one particular; because all servile works, expressly, are forbidden in them also, as before

we showed. But take it in the very words, No manner of work: and ask the Hebrew Doctors what they mean thereby. They will then tell you first, there must be no marketing, no not buying of victuals; for which they cite the 13. of Nehemiah, Vers.16,17; nor no embalming of the dead, in which they vouch Saint Luke's Gospel, Chap.27.Vers.54,56. This we acknowledge for a truth, but then we say withal, that neither of these two were lawful on the Annual Sabbaths. For when it happened any time, as sometimes it did, that a weekly Sabbath and an Annual Sabbath, came next days together: the Jews did commonly in their later times, put off the Annual Sabbath to a farther day. And this they did, as themselves tell us, because of burials, and of meats which were fit for eating; lest by deferring either the one or the other, the carcasses should putrify, and the meats be spoiled. Non facimus duo Sabbata continua, propter olera, & propter mortuos, us Rabbini dicitant. Which need not be, in case they held it lawful either to bury, or to buy, on the annual Sabbaths. They tell us next, that the Jews could not travel on the weekly Sabbath, and this from Exod.16.29. Whether that Text were so intended, we shall see anon. But sure I am, that when the Jews began to reckon it an unlawful matter to travel on the weekly Sabbath, they held it altogether as unlawful to travel on the Annual Sabbaths. "Nic. Damascen reporteth (as Josephus tells us) how that Antiochus the great King of Syria, created a Trophée near the flood Lycus, and abode there two days, at the request of Hyrcanus the King of Jewry; by reason of a solemn Feast at that time, whereon it was not lawful for the Jews to travel. In which he was no wise mistaken. For (saith Josephus) the Feast of Pentecost was that year the morrow after the Sabbath, (for at that troublesome time, the Pentecost was not deferred) what then? It followeth, *, and unto us it is not lawful, either upon our Sabbaths, or our Feasts, to journey any whither." They tell us also, that it is not lawfull to execute a malefactor on the weekly Sabbath, although it be commanded that he must be punished: nor do they do it on the Feasts, or Annual sabbaths, as before we noted. As also that it is not lawful to marry on the Sabbath day, nor on the Even before the Sabbath, nor the morrow after; lest they pollute the Sabbath by dressing meat for the Feast: and on the solemn Festivals or the Annual Sabbaths, they were not suffered to be married; lest, say the Rabbins, the joy of the Festival be forgotten, through the joy of the wedding. The many other trifling matters, which have been prohibited by the Jewish Doctors, and are now practiced by that senseless and besotted people, shall somewhere be presented to you, towards the end of this first Book.

(6) Again, demand of these great Doctors, since it said expressly, that we shall do no manner of work, whether there be at all no case, in which it may be lawful to do work on the Sabbath day: and then they have as many shifts to put off the Sabbath; as they had niceties before, wherewithal to beautify it. A woman is in travail on the Sabbath day, is it not lawful for the Midwife to discharge her duty; although it be for gain, and her usual trade? Yes, saith that great Clerk Rabbi Simeon, propter puerum unius diei vivum, solvunt Sabbatum; To save a child alive, we may break the Sabbath. This child being born, must needs be circumcised on the eighth day after, which is the Sabbath: May not the Ministers do their office? yes: for the Rabbins have a maxim, that Circumcisio pellit Sabbatum. And what? doth only Circumcision drive away the Sabbath? No, any common danger doth it: And then they change the phrase a little, Et periculum mortis pellit Sabbatum. Nay more, the Priest that waiteth at the Altar, doth he no work upon the Sabbath? yes, more than on the other days, and for that too they have a maxim, viz. Qui observari jussit Sabbatu, is profanari jussit Sabbatu: He which commanded that the Sabbath should be sanctified, commanded also that it should be profaned. We shall meet with some of these again, hereafter. Therefore we must expound these words, No manner of work, i.e. no kind of servile work, as before we did; or else the weekly Sabbath & the fourth Commandment, must be a nose of wax, and a Lesbian rule, fit only to be wrested and applied to whatsoever end and purpose shall please the Rabbins. More warily and more soundly have the Christian Doctors, yea, and the very Heathens determined of it: who judge that all such corporal labors as tend unto the moral part of the fourth Commandment, which are rest and sanctity; were fit and lawful to be done on the Sabbath day. That men should rest upon such times as are designed and set apart for God's public service, and leave their daily labors till some other season, the Gentiles knew full well by the light of nature. Therefore the Flamines were to take especial care, Ne feriis opus fieret, that no work should be done on the solemn days; and to make known by proclamation, Ne quid tale ageretur, that no man should presume to do it. Which done, if any one offended, he was forthwith mulcted, yet was not this enjoined so strictly that no work was permitted in what case soever. All things which did concern the Gods, and their public worship, Vel ad urgentem vitae utilitatem respicerent, or were important any way to man's life and welfare, were accounted lawful. More punctually Scevola, being then chief Pontifex. Who being demanded what was lawful to be done on the Holy-days, made answer, Quod praetermissum noceret, that which would

probably miscarry, if it were left undone. He therefore that did underprop a ruinous building, or raise the cattle that was fallen into the ditch; did not break the Holy-day, in his opinion. No more did he that washed his sheep, *si hoc remedii causa fieret*, were it not done to cleanse the wool and make it ready for the shearers; but only for the cure of some sore or other: according unto that of Virgil, *Balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri*. Thus far the Gentiles have resolved it agreeably to the Law of nature: and so far do the Christian Doctors, yea, and our Lord and Savior determine of it. The corporal labors of the Priest on the Sabbath day, as far as it concerns God's service, were accounted lawful: The Priests in the Temple break the Sabbath, and yet were blameless. So was the corporal labor of a man, either to save his own life, or preserve another's. Christ justified his Disciples for gathering Corn upon the Sabbath, being then an hungered, Matth.12.Vers.1.&3; and restored many unto health on the Sabbath day, Matth.12.13; and in other places. Finally, corporal labors to preserve God's creatures, as to draw the sheep out of the pit, Matth.12.11 and consequently to save their Cattle from the Thief; a ruinous house from being over-blown by the tempest; their Corn and hay also from a sudden inundation, these and the like to these, were all judged lawful on the Sabbath. And thus you see, the practice of the Gentiles governed by the light of nature, is every way conformable to our Savior's doctrine; and the best Comment also on the fourth Commandment, as far as it contains the Law of nature.

(7) For such particular ordinances, which have been severally affixed to the fourth Commandment, either by way of Comment on it, or addition to it: that which is most considerable, is that prohibition in the 35th of Exodus viz. *Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the Sabbath day*. The Rabbins, some of them, conceive that hereby is meant that no man must be beaten, or put to death upon the Sabbath: and then it must be thus expounded, *Ye shall kindle no fire*, i.e. to burn a man upon the Sabbath, who is condemned by the Law to that kind of death; and consequently not to put him on that day, unto any punishment at all. Others of late, refer that prohibition unto the building of the Tabernacle, in that Chapter mentioned: and then the meaning will be this, that they should make no fire upon the Sabbath day, no, though it were to hasten on the work of the holy Tabernacle. Philo restrains it chiefly unto manual Trades, *, such whereby men do get their livings: and then it must be thus interpreted, *Ye shall not kindle any fire*, that is, to do any common, ordinary, and servile works, like

as do common Bakers, Smiths, and Brewers, by making it part of their usual trade. The later Rabbins, almost all; and many Christian Writers also, taking the hint from Vatablus, and Tremellius, in their Annotations; refer it unto dressing of meat, according to the latter custom. Nay, generally the Jews in the later times were more severe and rigid in the exposition of that Text; and would allow no fire at all, except in sacred matters only. For whereas R. Aben Ezra had so expounded it, Quod liceat ignem accendere ad calefaciendum, si urgeret frigus, That it was lawful to make a fire wherewith to warm oneself, in the extremity of cold weather, though not to dress meat with it for that day's expense: the Rabbins generally would have proceeded against him as an Heretic; and purposely wrote a Book in confutation of him, which they called the Sabbath. How this interpretation was thus generally received, I cannot say. But I am verily persuaded, that it was not so in the beginning: and that those words of Moses, Quae coquenda sunt, hodie coquite, Bake that which ye will bake to day, and seethe what ye will seeth, Which words are commonly produced to justify and confirm this fancy; do prove quite contrary to what some would have them. The Text and Context both make it plain and manifest that the Jews baked their Mannah on their Sabbath day. The people, on the sixth day, had gathered twice as much as they used to do, whereof the Rulers of the Congregation acquainted Moses. And Moses said, To morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which ye will bake to day, and seethe what ye will seethe, and that which remaineth over, lay up to be kept until the morning. i.e. As much as you conceive will be sufficient for this present day, that bake or boil, according as you use to do: and for the rest, let it be laid by, to be baked or boiled to morrow, that you may have wherewith to feed you on the Sabbath day. That this interpretation is most true and proper appears by that which followeth in the holy Scripture: viz. They laid it up as Moses bade, and it did not stink, neither was any worm therein; as that which they had kept till morning, on some day before, Vers.2. This makes it evident, that the Mannah was laid up unbaked: for otherwise, what had it been at all, that it did neither breed worm, or stink, had it been baked the day before. Things of that nature, so preserved, are far enough from putrefying in so short a time. This, I am verily persuaded was the practice then: and for this light unto that practice, I must ingenuously confess myself obliged to Theophilus Braborne, the first that ever looked so near into Moses' meaning. And this most likely, was the practice of the Jews in after times, even till the Pharisees had almost made the word of God of no effect, by their traditions: for then came in those

many rigid ordinances about this day, which made the day & them ridiculous, unto all the Heathens. Sure I am that the Scriptures call it a day of gladness, for it was a Festival; and therefore probable it is, that they had good cheer. And I am sure that Dr. Bound, the Founder of these Sabbatarian fancies, though he conceive the dressing meat upon the Sabbath was by the words of Moses, utterly unlawful in the time of Mannah: yet he conceives withal, that that commandment was proper only unto the time of Mannah, in the Wilderness, and so to be restrained unto that time only. Therefore, by his confession, the Jews for after times might as well dress their meat on the Sabbath day, as on any other: notwithstanding this injunction of not kindling fire. Indeed why not as well dress meat, as serve it in: the attendance of the servant at his Master's Table, being no less considerable on the Sabbath day, than of the Cooks about the Kitchen; especially in those riotous and excessive Feasts, which the Jews kept upon this day, in their later times.

(8) I say those riotous and excessive Feasts which the Jews kept upon that day; and I have good authority for what I say. Saint Augustine tells us of them, they kept the Sabbath, only *ad luxuriam & ebriatatem*, in rioting and drunkenness; and that they rested only *ad nugus & luxurias suas*, to luxury and wontonness; that they consumed the day, *languido & luxurioso otio*, in an effeminate slothful ease; and finally did abuse the same, not only *deliciis Judaicis*, in Jewish follies, but *ad nequitiam*, even to sin and naughtiness. Put all together, and we have luxury and drunkenness, and sports, and pleasures; enough to manifest that they spared not any dainties to set forth their Sabbath. Nay, Plutarch lays it to their charge, that they did feast it on their Sabbath, with no small excess; but of Wine especially. Who thereupon conjectureth, that the name of Sabbath, had its original from the Orgies, or Feasts of Bacchus: whose Priest used often to ingeminate the word *Sabbi, Sabbi*, in their drunken Ceremonies. Which being so, it is the more to be admired, that generally the Romans did upbraid this people with their Sabbath's fast. Augustus having been at the Baths, and fasting there a long time together; gives notice of it to Tiberius, thus: *ne Judaeus quidem tam diligenter Sabbatis jejunium servat*; that never any Jew had fasted more exactly on their Sabbaths than he did that day. So Martial reckoning up some things of unsavory smell, names amongst others, *jejunia sabbatariorum*; for by that name did he contemptuously mean the Jews, as before I noted. And where the Romans in those times, began, some of them, to incline to the Jewish Ceremonies, and were observant of the

Sabbath; as we shall see hereafter in a place more proper: Persius objects against them this, *labramonent taciti, recutitaque sabbatapalient*, i.e. that being Romans, as they were, they muttered out their Prayers as the Jews accustomed, and by observing the Fast, on the Jewish Sabbaths, grew lean and pale for very hunger. So saith Petronius Arbiter, that the Jews did celebrate their Sabbath, *jejunia lege*, by a legal Fast: and Justin yet more generally, *septimum diem more gentis Sabbatum appellatum in omne avum jejunio sacravit*, Moses, that Moses did ordain the Sabbath, to be a fasting day for ever. That the Jews fasted very often, sometimes twice a week, the Pharisee hath told us in Saint Luke's Gospel: and probably the *jejunia Sabbatariorum* in the Poet Martial, might reflect on this. But that they fasted on the Sabbath, is a thing repugnant both to the Scriptures, Fathers, and all good antiquity: except in one case only, which was when their City was besieged, as Rabbi Moises AEGuptius hath resolved it. Nay, if a man had fasted any time upon the Sabbath, they used to punish him in this sort, *ut sequenti etiam die jejunaret*, to make him fast the next day after. Yet on the other side, I cannot but conceive that those before remembered, had some ground of reason, why they did charge the Jews with the Sabbaths Fast: for to suppose them ignorant of the Jewish custom, considering how thick they lived amongst them, even in Rome itself, were a strange opinion. The rather since by Plutarch, who lived not long after Sueton, if he lived not with him; the Jews are generally accused for too much riot and excess upon that day. For my part, I conceive it thus: I find in Nehemiah, that when the people were returned from the captivity, Ezra the Priest brought forth the Law before the Congregation, and read it to them from the morning until mid-day: which done, they were dismissed by Nehemiah to eat, and drink, and make great joy; which they did accordingly. This was upon the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, one of the solemn Annual Sabbaths: and this they did for eight days together, from the first day unto the last that the Feast continued. After when as the Church was settled, and that the Law was read amongst them in their Synagogues, on the weekly Sabbaths; most probable it is that they continued the same custom, holding the Congregation from morn to noon: and that the Jews came thither fasting (as generally men do now unto the Sacrament), the better to prepare themselves, and their attention, for that holy exercise. Sure I am that Josephus tells us, that at mid-day they used to dismiss the Assemblies, that being the ordinary hour for their repast: as also that Buxdorfius saith of the modern Jews, that *ultra tempus meridianum jejunare non licet*, It is not lawful for them to fast beyond the noon-tide on the Sabbath days.

Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lord's Disciples, for eating a few ears of Corn on the Sabbath day, are not unlikely, in my mind to have aimed at this. For neither was the bodily labor of that nature that it should any ways offend them in so high a measure: and the defense made by our Lord in their behalf, being that of David's eating of the Shew-bread when he was an hungered; is more direct and literal to justify his Disciples eating, than it was their working. This abstinence of the Jews that lived amongst them, the Romans noted; and being good Trenchermen themselves, at all times and seasons, they used to hit them in the teeth with their Sabbaths' fasting. But herein I submit myself to better judgments.

(9) There was another prohibition given by God about the Sabbath, which being misinterpreted, is become as great a snare unto the consciences of men, as that before remembered of not kindling fire, and dressing meat upon the sabbath: viz. Let no man go out of his place on the seventh day, Which prohibition, being a bridle only unto the people, to keep them in from seeking after Mannah, as before they did, upon the Sabbath: was afterwards extended to restrain them also, either from taking any journey, or walking forth into the fields on the Sabbath days. Nay, so precise were some amongst them, that they accounted it unlawful to stir hand or foot upon the Sabbath: *Ne leviter quispiam se commeveat, quod sifecerit, legis transgressor sit*, as Saint Hierome hath it. Others, more charitably, chalked them out a way, how far they might adventure, and how far they might not: though in this the Doctors were divided. Some made the Sabbath day's journey to be 2000 Cubits, of whom Origen tells us: others restrained it to 2000 foot, of whom Hierome speaks: and some again enlarged it unto six furlongs, which is three quarters of a mile. For where Josephus hath informed us that Mount Olivet was six furlongs from Jerusalem; and where the Scriptures tell us that they were distant about a Sabbath day's journey: we may perceive by that how much a Sabbath day's journey was accounted then. But of these things we may have opportunity to speak hereafter. In the mean time, if the injunction be so absolute and general as they say it is, we may demand of these great Clerks, as their Successors did of our Lord and Savior; by what authority they do these things, and warrant that which is not warranted in the Text: if so the Text be to be expounded. Certain I am that *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning was it neither so, nor so. The Scripture tells us that when the people were in the Wilderness, they found a man gathering sticks on the Sabbath day. They found him, where? not in the Camp; he was not so audacious as to transgress the Law in the

open view of all the people; knowing how great a penalty was appointed for the Sabbath-breaker: but in some place far off, wherein he might offend without fear or danger. Therefore the people were permitted to walk forth, on the Sabbath day; and to walk further than 2000 foot, or 2000 Cubits: otherwise they had never found out this unlucky fellow. And so saith Philo, that they did, *, etc. "Some of the people going out into the wilderness, that they might find some quiet and retired place in which to make their prayers to God; saw what they looked not for, that wretched and prohibited Spectacle." So that the people were not stinted in their goings on the Sabbath day, nor now, nor in a long time after: as by the course of the ensuing story will at large appear. Even in the time of Mannah, they did not think themselves obliged not to stir abroad upon the Sabbath, or not to travel above such and such a compass: in case they did it not out of a mere distrust in God, as before they did, to gather Mannah; but either for their meditation, or their recreation.

(10) What said I, for their recreation? what, was that permitted? yes, no doubt it was. Though the Commandment did prohibit all manner of work; yet it permitted, questionless, some manner of pleasures. The Sabbath's rest had otherwise been more toilsome than the week-day's labor: and none had gained more by it than the Ox and Ass. Yea this injunction last related, Let none go out of his place on the seventh day, had been a greater bondage to that wretched people than all the drudgeries of AEGYPT. Tostatus tells us on that Text, "non est simpliciter intelligendum, etc. It is not so to be conceived, that on that day the people might not stir abroad, or go out of their doors at all; but that they might not go to labor, or traffic about any worldly business. Et enim die Sabbati ambulare possunt Hebraei, ad solaciandum, etc. For the Jews lawfully might walk forth on the Sabbath day, to recreate and refresh themselves, so it be not in pursuit of profit. And this he saith, on the confession of the Jews themselves, ut ipsi communiter confitentur, Buxdorffius, in his Jewish Synagogue, informs us further. Permissum est juvenibus, ut tempore Sabbati, currendo, spatiando, faltando, sese oblectent, etc. "It is, saith he, permitted that their young men may walk, and run, yea and dance also on the Sabbath day; and leap and jump, and use other manlike Exercises:" in case they do it for the honor of the holy Sabbath. This speaks he of the modern Jews, men as tenacious of their Sabbath, and the rigors of it, as any of the Ancients were; and such as have more private flings, above the meaning of the Law, than either the Pharisees, or Essees. Of manly Exercises on the Sabbath, we shall see more

anon, in the seventh Chapter. And as for dancing, that they used anciently to dance upon the Sabbath, is a thing unquestionable. Saint Austine saith, they used it, and rebukes them for it: not that they danced upon the Sabbath, but that they spent and wasted the whole day in dancing. There is, no question, an abuse even of lawful pleasures. And this is that which he so often lays unto them. *Melius tota die foderent, quam tota die saltarent:* Better the men did dig all day, than dance all day. And for the women, *Melius eorum foemine lanam facerent, quam illo die [&] in neomeniis saltarent:* Better the women spin, than waste all that day, and the New-moons, in dancing, as they use to do. I have translated it all that day, agreeable unto the Father's words in another place; where it is said expressly in *tota die. Melius foemine eorum die sabbati lanas facerent, quam tota [&] in neomeniis suis impudice saltarent.* "Better, saith he, the women spent the Sabbath, at their wheels in spinning; than that they revelled all day long, both on that day and the New-moons in immodest dancings." Where note, not dancing simply, but lascivious dancing; and dancing all day long, without respect to pious and religious duties; are by him disliked. Ignatius also saith the same, where he exhorts the "people to observe the Sabbath, in a Jewish fashion: walking a limited space, and setting all their mind, *, as they did, in dancing, and in capering. They used also on that day, to make invitations, Feasts, and assemblies of good neighborhood; to foster brotherly love and concord amongst one another: a thing, even by the Pharisees themselves both allowed and practiced. Saint Luke hath given an instance of it, how Christ went into the house of a chief Pharisee, to eat bread on the Sabbath day: In plainer terms the Pharisee invited him that day to dinner. We may assure ourselves, so famous a Professor had not invited so great a Prophet; nor had our Savior Christ accepted of the invitation: had they not both esteemed it a lawful matter. It seems it was a common practice for friends to meet and feast together on the Sabbath. *Finito cultu Dei solebant amici convenire, & inter se convivia agitare,* as Chemnitius notes upon the place. Lastly, they used upon this day, as to invite their Friends and Neighbors, so to make them welcome: anointing their heads with oil, to refresh their bodies; and spending store of wine amongst them, to make glad their hearts. In which regard, whereas all other marketing was unlawful on the Sabbath days; there never was restraint of selling wine: the Jews believing that therein they brake no Commandment. *Hebraei faciunt aliquid speciale in vino, viz. quod cum in Sabbato suo a caeteris venditionibus & emptionibus cessent, solum vinum vendunt; credentes se non solvere sabbatum,* as Tostatus hath it. How they

abused this lawful custom, of Feasting with their Friends and neighbors, on the Sabbath day, into foul riot and excess; we have seen already. So having spoken of the weekly and the Annual Sabbaths, the difference and agreement which was between them, both in the institution, and the observation: as also of such several observances as were annexed unto the same; what things the Jews accounted lawful to be done, and what unlawful, and how far they declared the same, in their constant practice: it is high time that we continue on the story, ranking such special passages as occur here- after, in their place and order.

CHAPTER 6

TOUCHING THE OBSERVATION OF THE SABBATH, UNTO THE TIME THE PEOPLE WERE ESTABLISHED IN THE PROMISED LAND.

(1) The Sabbath not kept constantly, during the time the people wandred in the Wildernesse. (2) Of him that gathered sticks, on the Sabbath day. (3) Wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist, in the time of Moses. (4) The Law not ordered by Moses to be read in the Congregation, every Sabbath day. (5) The sacke of Iericho, and the destruction of that people, was upon the Sabbath. (6) No Sabbath, after this, without Circumcision; and how that Ceremony could consist with the Sabbaths rest. (7) What moved the Iews, to preferre Circumcision before the Sabbath. (8) The standing still of the Sunne at the prayer of Iosuah, etc. could not but make some alteration about the Sabbath. (9) What was the Priests worke on the Sabbath day; and whether it might stand with the Sabbaths rest. (10) The scattering of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation unto the reading of the Law, on the Sabbath dayes.

(1) WE left this people in the Wilderness, where the Law was given them: and whether this Commandment were there kept, or not, hath been made a question: and that both by the Jewish Doctors, and by the Christian, some have resolved it negatively, that it was not kept in all that time, which was forty years: and others, that it was at some times omitted, according to the stations or removes of Israel; or other great and weighty businesses, which might intermit it. It is affirmed by Rabbi Solomon, that there was only one Passover observed, whiles they continued in the Desert; notwithstanding that it was the principal solemnity of all the year. Etsi illud fuit omissum, multo fortius alia minus principalia. If that, saith he, then by an argument a majore ad minus, much rather were the lesser Festivals omitted also. More punctually Rabbi Eleazar, who on those words of Exodus, And the people rested on the seventh day, Chap.16.30; gives us to understand, that for the space of forty years, whilst they were in the Wilderness, Non fecerunt nisi dunt axat primum sabbatum: they kept no more than that first sabbath. According unto that of the Prophet Amos, Have ye offered unto me

sacrifice and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? On which authority, Aretius for the Christian Doctors doth affirm the same: *Sabbata per annos 40 non observavit in deserto populus Dei*; that for the space of forty years, the people in the wilderness did not keep the Sabbath; Amos 5.25. The argument may yet be enforced by one more particular, that Circumcision was omitted for all that while, and yet it had precedency of the Sabbath, both in the institution for the times before: and in the observation, for the times that followed. If therefore neither Circumcision, nor the daily sacrifices, nor the Feast of Passover, being the principal of the Annual Sabbaths, were observed by them till they came to the land of Canaan: why may not one conclude the same of the weekly Sabbaths? Others conceive not so, directly; but that it was omitted at some times, and on some occasions. Omitted at some times, as when the people journeyed in the Wilderness many days together, *Nulla requie aliquorum dierum habita*, without rest or ceasing: and this the Hebrew Doctors willingly confess, as Tostatus tells us. Omitted too on some occasions, as when the spies were sent to discover the Land, what was the strength thereof, and what the riches; in which discovery they spent forty days: it is not to be thought that in that time they kept the Sabbath. It was a perilous work that they went about, not to be discontinued and layed by so often as there were Sabbaths in that time. But not to stand upon conjectures, the Jewish Doctors say expressly that they did not keep it. So Galatine reports from their own records, that in their latter exposition on the Book of Numbers, upon those words, “Send men that they may search the land of Canaan; they thus resolve it. *Nuncio praecepti licitum est*, etc. A Messenger that goes upon Command, may travel any day, at what time he will. And why? because he is a Messenger upon command. *Nuncius autem praecepti excludis Sabbatum.*” The phrase is somewhat dark, but the meaning plain: that those which went upon that errand, did not keep the Sabbath. Certain it also is, that for all that time, no nor for any part thereof, the people did not keep the Sabbath, completely as the Law appointed. For where there were two things concurring to make up the Sabbath, first, rest from labor, and secondly, the sacrifices destinate unto the day: however, they might rest some Sabbaths from their daily labors; yet sacrifices they had none until they came into the Land of Canaan.

(2) Now that they rested, sometimes, on the Sabbath day, and perhaps did so, generally, in those forty years; is manifest, by that great and memorable business touching the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath. The case

is briefly this: The people being in the wilderness, found a man gathering sticks, on the Sabbath day, and brought him presently unto Moses. Moses consulted with the Lord, and it was resolved that the offender should be stoned to death; which was done accordingly. The Law before had ordered it, that he who so offended should be put to death; but the particular manner of his death was not known till now. The more remarkable is this case, because it was the only time which we can hear of, that execution had been done upon any one, according as the Law enacted: and thereupon the Fathers have took some pains, to search into the reasons of so great severity. Philo accuseth him of a double crime, in one whereof he was the principal, and an Accessory only in the other. For where it was before commanded that there should be no fire kindled on the Sabbath day: this party did not only labor on the day of rest; but also labored in the gathering of such materials, *, which might administer fuel to prohibited fire, and consequently to those works and labors which <were> forbidden on that day. Saint Basil seems a little to bemoan the man, in that he smarted so for his first offense; not having otherwise offended either God or Man: and makes the motive of his death neither to consist in the multitude of his sins, or the greatness of them, *, but only in his disobedience to the will of God. But we must have a more particular motive yet than this. And first Rupertus tells us, *Per superbiam illud quod videbatur exiguum commisit*, That he did sin presumptuously with an high hand against the Lord: and therefore God decreed he should die the death: God not regarding either what or how great it was, *sed qua mente fecerat*, but with what mind it was committed. But this is more, I think, than Rupertus knew, being no searcher of the heart. Rather I shall subscribe herein unto Saint Chrysostome, Who makes this Query first, seeing the Sabbath, as Christ saith was made for man, why was he put to death that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath? And then returns this answer to his own demand, *, etc. because, in case God had permitted that the Law should have been slighted in the first beginning, none would have kept it for the future. Theodoret to that purpose also, *ne autor fieret leges transgrediendi*, lest other men encouraged by his example should have done the like: the punishment of this one man, striking a terror unto all. No question but it made the people far more observant of the Sabbath than they would have been: who were at first but backwards in the keeping of it, as is apparent by that passage in the sixteenth of Exod.v.27. And therefore stood the more in need; not only of a watch-word or Memento, even in the very Front of the Law itself; but of some sharper course to stir up their memory. Therefore this execution

was the more requisite at this instant, as well because the Jews by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil, could not be suddenly drawn unto contrary offices without some strong impression of terror: as also because nothing is more needful than with extremity to punish the first transgressors of those laws, which do require a more exact observation for the times to come. What time this Tragedy was acted, is not known for certain. By Torniellus it is placed in the year 2548 of the World's Creation; which was some four years after the Law was given. More than this is not extant in the Scripture touching the keeping of the Sabbath, all the life of Moses. What was done after, we shall see in the Land of Promise.

(3) In the mean time, it is most proper to this place, to take a little notice of those several duties, wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did conflict especially: that we may know the better what we are to look for at the peoples' hands, when we bring them thither. Two things the Lord commanded in his holy Scripture, which concern the Sabbath, the keeping holy of the same: one in relation to the people, the other in reference to the Priest. In reference to the people, he commanded only rest from labor, that they should do no manner of work; and that is contained expressly in the Law itself. In reference to the Priest, he commanded sacrifice, that on the Sabbath day, over and above the daily sacrifice, there should be offered to the Lord two Lambs of a year old, without blemish, one in the morning, and the other in the evening: as also to prepare first, and then place the Shewbread, being twelve loaves, one for every Tribe, continually before the Lord every Sabbath day. These several references so divided, the Priest might do his part, without the people, and contrary the people do their part, without the Priest. Of any Sabbath duties, which were to be performed between them, wherein the Priest and people were to join together, the Scriptures are directly silent. As for these several duties, that of the Priest, the Shew-bread, and the Sacrifice, was not in practice till they came to the Land of Canaan: and then, though the Priest offered for the people; yet he did not, with them. So that for forty years together, all the life of Moses, the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist only, for ought we find, in a bodily rest, a ceasing from the works of their weekly labors: and afterwards in that, and in the Sacrifices which the Priest made for them. Which as they seem to be the greater of the two, so was there nothing at all therein, in which the people were to do; no not so much, except some few, as to be spectators: the Sacrifices being offered only in the Tabernacle first, as in the Temple after, when they had a Temple; the people being scattered

over all the Country, in their Towns and Villages. Of any reading of the Law, or exposition of the same unto the people; or public form of prayers to be presented to the Lord in the Congregation; we find no footstep now, nor a long time after. None in the time of Moses, for he had hardly perfected the Law before his death: the book of Deuteronomy being dictated by him, a very little before God took him. None in a long time after, no not till Nehemiah's days, as we shall see hereafter in that place and time. The resting of the people was the thing commanded, in imitation of God's rest when his works were finished: that as he rested from the works which he had created, so they might also rest in memorial of it. But the employment of this rest to particular purposes either of contemplation or devotion, that is not declared unto us in the Word of God: but left at large, either unto the liberty of the people, or the Authority of the Church. Now what the people did, how they employed this rest of theirs, that Philo tells us in his third Book of the life of Moses. "Moses, saith he, ordained, that since the Word was finished on the seventh day, all of his Commonwealth following therein the course of nature should spend the seventh day, *, in Festival delights, resting therein from all their works: yet not to spend it as some do in laughter, childish sports, or (as the Romans did their time of public Feastings) in beholding the activity either of the Jester or common Dancers; but *, and a little after, *, in the study of true Philosophy, and in the contemplation of the works of nature. And in another place, He did command, saith he, that as in other things so in this also they should imitate the Lord their God, working six days, and resting on the seventh, *, and spending it in meditation of the works of nature, as before is said. And not so only, but that upon that day they should consider of their actions in the week before, if haply they had offended against the Law: *, etc. that so they might correct what was done amiss, and be the better armed to offend no more. So in his Book de mundi opificio, he affirms the same, that they implied that day in divine Philosophy, *, even for the bettering of their manners, and reckoning with their consciences. That thus the Jews did spend the day, or some part thereof, is very probable: and we may take it well enough upon Philo's word: but that they spent it thus, by the direction or command of Moses is not so easily proved as it is affirmed; though for my part, I willingly durst assent unto it. For be it Moses so appointed, yet this concerns only the behavior of particular persons; and reflects nothing upon the public duties in the Congregation.

(4) It is true that Philo tells us in a Book not extant, how Moses also did ordain those public meetings. *, etc. What then did Moses order to be done on the Sabbath day? “He did appoint, saith he, that we should meet all in some place together, and there sit down with modesty and a general silence, *, to hear the Law, that none plead ignorance of the same. Which custom we continue still, harkening with wonderful silence to the Law of God, unless perhaps we give some joyful acclamation at the hearing of it: some of the Priests, if any present, or otherwise some of the Elders, reading the Law, and then expounding it unto us, till the night come on. Which done, the people are dismissed, full of divine instruction, and true piety.” So he, or rather out of him, Eusebius. But here by Philo’s leave, we must pause a while. This was indeed the custom in our Savior’s time, and when Philo lived: and he was willing, as it seems, to fetch the pedigree thereof, as far as possible he could. So Salianus tells him on the like occasion. *Videtur Philo Judaeorum morem in Synagogis differendi, antiquitate donare voluisse, quem a Christo & Apostolis observatum legimus.* The same reply we make to Josephus also, who tells of their Lawmaker, “that he appointed not, that they should only hear the Law once or twice a year:*, etc. but that once every week we should come together to hear the Laws, that we might perfectly learn the same. Which thing, saith he, all other Law-makers did omit.” And so did Moses too, by Josephus’ leave, unless we make a day and a year all one. For being now to take his farewell of that people, and having oft advised them in his exhortation, to meditate on the words that he had spoken, even when they tarried in their houses, and walked by the way, when they rose up, and when they went to bed: he called the Priests unto him, and gave the Law into their hands, and into the hands of all the Elders of Israel. And he commanded them and said, At the end of every seven years in the solemnity of the year of release, at the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord their God, in the place that thou shalt choose, thou shalt read this Law before Israel in their hearing: that they may hear, and that they may learn and fear the Lord your God, and observe all the words of this Law to do them. This was the thing decreed to Moses; and had been needless, if not worse, in case he had before provided, that they should have the Law read openly unto them every Sabbath day. So then, by Moses’s order, the Law was to be read publicly, every seventh year only: in the year of release, because then servants, being manumitted from their bondage, and Debtors from their Creditors, all sorts of men might hear the Law with the greater cheerfulness: and in the Feast of

Tabernacles, because it lasted longer than the other Festivals, and so it might be read with the greater leasure, and heard with more attention: and then it was but this Law too, the book of Deuteronomy. This to be done only in the place which the Lord shall choose, to be the seat and receptacle of his holy Tabernacle: not in inferior Towns, much less petite Villages: and yet this thought sufficient to instruct the people in the true knowledge of God's Law and keeping of his testimonies. And indeed happy had they been, had they observed this order and decree of Moses; and every seventh year read the Law as he appointed: they had then questionless escaped many of those great afflictions, which afterwards God brought upon them for contempt thereof. That in the after times, the Law was read unto them every Sabbath, in their several Synagogues, is most clear and manifest: both by the testimony of Philo and Josephus, before related; and by sufficient evidence from the holy Gospel. But in these times, and after for a thousand years, there were no Synagogues, no public reading of the Law in the Congregation, excepting the seventh year only, and that not often: Sure I am, not so often as it should have been. So that in reference to the People, we have but one thing only to regard, as yet, touching the keeping of the Sabbath, which is rest from labor rest from all manner of work, as the Law commanded: and how far this was kept, and how far dispensed with, we shall see plainly by the story. The private Meditations and Devotions of particular men stand not upon record at all: and therefore we must only judge by external actions.

(5) This said and shown, we will pass over Jordan, with the house of Israel, and trace their foot-steps in that Country. This happened on the tenth day of the fifth month, or the month of Nisan, forty days after the death of Moses, Anno 2584. That day they pitched their Tents in Gilgal. And the first thing they did, was to erect an Altar in memorial of it: that done to circumcise the people, who all the time that they continued in the Wilderness (as many as were born that time), were uncircumcised. The 14th of the same month did they keep the Passover: and on the morrow after, God did cease from raining Mannah; the people eating of the fruits of the land of Canaan. And here, the first Sabbath which they kept, as I conjecture, was the day before the siege of Jericho, which Sabbath probably was that very day whereon the Lord appeared to Joshua, and gave him order how he should proceed in that great business. The morrow after, being the first day of the week, they began to compass it, as the Lord commanded; the Priests some of them bearing the Ark, some going before

with trumpets; and the residue of the people, some before the Trumpeters, some behind the Ark. This did they once a day, for six days together. But when the seventh day came, which was the Sabbath, they compassed the Town about seven times; and the Priests blew the Trumpets, and the people shouted, and they took the City: destroying in it young and old, man, woman, and children. I said it was the Sabbath day, for so it is agreed on generally, both by Jews and Christians. One of the seven days, be it which it will, must needs be the Sabbath day; and be it which it will, there had been work enough done on it: but the seventh day whereon they went about seven times, and destroyed it finally, was indeed the Sabbath. For first the Jews expressly say it, that the overthrow of Jericho fell upon the Sabbath; and that from thence did come the saying, *Qui sanctificari jussit Sabbatum, is profanari jussit Sabbatum*. So R. Kimchi hath resolved on the sixth of Joshua. The like, Tostatus tells us, is affirmed by R. Solomon, who adds that both the falling of the wall and slaughter of that wicked people was purposely deferred, *In honorum Sabbati*, to add the greater luster unto the Sabbath. Galatine proves the same out of divers Rabbines, this Solomon before remembered, and R. Joses in the Book called *Sedar Olem*; and many of them joined together, in their *Beresith ketanna*, or lesser exposition on the book of Genesis: they all agreeing upon this, *dies Sabbati erat, cum fuit praelium in Hiericho*; and again, *Non capta fuit Hiericho nisi in Sabbato*; That certainly both the battle and the execution fell upon the Sabbath. So for the Christian Writers, Tertullian saith not only in the general, that one of those seven days was the Sabbath day: “but makes that day to be the Sabbath wherein the Priests of God did not only work, *Sed & in ore gladii praedata sit civitas ab omni populo*, but all the people sacked the City, and put it to the sword. *Nec dubium est eos opus servile operatos*, etc. And certainly, saith he, they did much servile work that day, when they destroyed so great a City by the Lord’s commandment. Procopius Gazaesus doth affirm the same. *Sabbato Jesus expugnavit & cepit Hiericho*. Saint Austin thus, *Primus Jesus nunc divino praecepto, Sabbatum non servavit, quo facto muri Hiericho ultro ceciderunt*. So lastly, Lyra on the place who saith, that *dies septimus, in quo capta Hiericho, Sabbatum erat*: all jointly pitching upon this, that the seventh day, whereon the City was destroyed, was the Sabbath day. And yet they did not sin, saith Lyra, because they did it on that day by God’s own appointment. This doth indeed excuse the parties, both from the guilt of sin and from the penalty of the Law: but then it shows withal, that this Commandment is of a different quality from the other nine, and that it is no part of the law of nature. God

never did command them any thing, contrary to the law of nature; unless it were tentandi causa, as in the case of Abraham and Isaac. As for the spoiling of the A Egyptians, that could be no theft; considering the A Egyptians owed them more than they lent unto them, in recompence of the service they had done them in former times.

(6) But was the Sabbath broken or neglected only on the Lord's Commandment; in some especial case, and extraordinary occasion? I think none will say it. Nay, was there ever any Sabbath which was not broken publicly, by common approbation, and of common course? Surely not one. In such a numerous Commonwealth as that of Jewry, it is not to be thought but that each day was fruitful in the works of nature: children born every Sabbath day, as well as others; and therefore to be circumcised on the same day also. And so they were continually, Sabbath by Sabbath, feast by feast, not one day free in all the year from that Solemnity: and this by no especial order and command from God, but merely to observe an ancient custom. In case it was deferred some time, as sometimes it was, it was not sure in conscience to observe the Sabbath; but only on a tender care to preserve the Infant, which was, perchance, infirm and weak, not able to abide the torment. No question, but the Sabbath following the sack of Jericho, was in this kind broken: and so were all that followed after: *Nullum enim Sabbatum praeteribat, quin multi in Judaea infantes circumciderentur.* It is Calvin's note. There passed not any Sabbath day, saith he, in which there were not many children circumcised in the Land of Jewry. Broken, I say. For Circumcision, though a Sacrament, was no such easy Ministry but that it did require much labor and many hands to go through with it. Buxdorfius thus describes it in his Synagoga. *Tempore diei octavi matutino, ea quae ad circumcisionem opus sunt, tempestive parantur, etc.* "In the morning of the eighth day, all things were made ready. And first two seats are placed, or else one so framed that two may set apart in it; adorned with costly Carpets answerable unto the quality of the party. Then comes the surety for the child, and placeth himself in the same seat, and near to him the Circumciser. Next followeth one bringing a great Torch in which were lighted twelve wax-candles, to represent the twelve Tribes of Israel: after, two boys carrying two cups full of red-wine, to wash the Circumciser's mouth, when the work is done; another, bearing the Circumciser's Knife; a third, a dish of sand, whereinto the fore-skin must be cast, being once cut off, a fourth, a dish of Oil wherein are linen clouts to be applied unto the wound: some others, spices and strong wines, to refresh those that faint, if

any should.” All this is necessarily required as preparations to the Act of Circumcision; nor is the Act less troublesome than the preparations make show of: which I would now describe, but that I am persuaded I have said enough to make it known how much ado was like to be used about it. And though perhaps some of these ceremonies were not used in this present time, whereof we speak: yet they grew up, and became ordinary, many of them, before the Jewish Commonalty was destroyed and ruined. *

“Where there is Circumcision, there must be Knives, and Sponges to receive the blood, and such other necessaries. So saith the Author of the Homily, De Sement, ascribed to Athanasius. And not such other only as concern the work, but such as appertain also to the following cure. Circumciditur & curatur homo circumcisu in Sabbato, as Saint Cyril notes it. Which argument our Savior used in his own defense, viz. that he as well might make a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day; as they, one part. Now that this Act of Circumcision was a plain breaking of the Sabbath, (besides the troublesomeness of the work) is affirmed by many of the Fathers. By Epiphanius expressly, *. “If a child was born upon the Sabbath, the circumcision of that child took away the Sabbath.” Saint Chrysostome speaks more home than he: *. “The Sabbath, saith the Father, was broke many ways among the Jews; but in no one thing more than in Circumcision.”

(7) Now what should more the Jews to prefer Circumcision before the Sabbath, unless it were because that Circumcision was the older ceremony, I would gladly learn: especially considering the resemblance which was between them in all manner of circumstances. Was the Circumcision made to be a token of the Covenant between the Lord of heaven, and the seed of Abraham? Genes.17.11. So was the Sabbath between God and the house of Israel, Exod.31.17. Was Circumcision a perpetual covenant with the seed of Abraham, in their generations? So was the Sabbath to be kept throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant also. Exod.31.16. Was Circumcision so exacted, that whosoever was not circumcised, that soul should be cut off from the people of God? Genesis 17.14. So God hath said it of his Sabbath, that whosoever breaks it, or doth any manner of work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among the people, Exod.31.14. In all these points there was a just and plain equality between them: but had the Sabbath been a part of the Moral Law, it must have infinitely gone before circumcision. What then should move the Jews to prefer the one before the other: but that conceiving both alike, they

thought it best to give precedence to the elder; and rather break the Sabbath, than put off Circumcision to a further day. Hence grew it into a common maxim amongst that people, *Circumcisio pellit Sabbatum*, that Circumcision drives away the Sabbath; as before I noted. Nor could it be, that they conceived a greater or more strict necessity to be in Circumcision, than in the Sabbath; the penalty and danger, as before we showed you, being alike in both: For in the Wilderness, by the space of forty years together, when in some sort they kept the Sabbath; most certain that they circumcised not one of many hundred thousands which were born in so long a time. Again, had God intended Circumcision to have been so necessary, that there was no deferring of it for a day or two: he either had not made the Sabbath's rest so exact and rigid; or else out of that general rule, had made exception in this case. And on the other side, had he intended that the Sabbath's rest should have been literally observed, and that no manner of work should be done therein: he had not so precisely limited Circumcision to the eighth day only. *, yea though it fell upon the Sabbath; but would have respited the same till another day. The Act of Circumcision was not restrained unto the eighth day so precisely but that it might be, as it was sometimes, deferred upon occasion; as in the case of Moses' children, and the whole people in the Wilderness, before remembered. Indeed it was not to be hastened, and performed before. Not out of any mystery in the number, which might adapt it for that business, as some Rabbins thought; but because children, till that time, are hardly purged of that blood and slime which they bring with them into the World, Upon which ground the Lord appointed thus in the Law Levitical. When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat is brought forth, it shall be seven days under the dam: and from the eighth day, and thence-forth, it shall be accepted for an offering to the Lord. This makes it manifest, that the Jews thought the Sabbath to be no part of the Moral Law; and therefore gave precedence to Circumcision, as the older ceremony: Not because it was of Moses, but of the Fathers, as our Savior tells us, John 7.22. That is, saith Cyril on that place, because they thought not fit to lay aside an ancient custom of their Ancestors for the Sabbath's sake. *Quia non putabant consuetudinem patrum propter honorem Sabbati contemnendam esse*; as the Father hath it. Nay, so far did they prize the one before the other, that by this breaking of the Sabbath, they were persuaded verily that they kept the Law. Moses, saith Christ our Savior, gave you circumcision, and you on the Sabbath day circumcise a man, that the Law of Moses should not be broken. It seems that circumcision was much like *Terminus* and *Juventus*, in the Roman

story, who would not stir nor give the place, not to Jove himself. More of this point, see Chrysost. Hom.49. in Joh.

(8) But to proceed. The next great action which occurs in holy Scripture, reducible unto the business now in hand, is that so famous miracle of the Sun's standing still at the prayers of Joshua: when as the Sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day, as the Text hath it. Or as it is in Ecclesiast. Did not the sun go back by his means, and was not one day as long as two? The like, to take them both together in this place, was that great miracle of mercy showed to Hezekiah, by bringing of the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz. In each of these there was a signal alteration in the course of nature, and the succession of time: so notable that it were very difficult to find out the seventh day precisely from the world's creation; or to proceed on that account, since the late giving of the law. So that in this respect, the Jews must needs be at a loss in their calculation: and though they might hereafter set apart one day in seven for rest and meditation; yet that this day so set apart, could be precisely the seventh day from the first creation, is not so easy to be proved. The Author of the Practice of Piety, as zealously as he pleads for the morality of the Sabbath, confesseth that in these regards the Sabbath could not be observed, precisely, on the day appointed. "And to speak properly, saith he, as we take a day for the distinction of time, called either a day natural consisting of 24 hours, or a day artificial, consisting of twelve hours from Sun-rising to Sun-setting: And withal consider the Sun standing still at noon, the space of an whole day in the time of Joshua; and the Sun going back ten degrees (viz. five hours which is almost half an artificial day) in Hezekiah's time: the Jews themselves could not keep their Sabbath, on that precise and just distinction of time, called at the first, the seventh day from the Creation. If so, if they observed it not at the punctual time, according as the Law commanded: it followeth then, on his confession, that from the time of Joshua, till the destruction of the Temple, there was no Sabbath kept by the Jews at all; because not on the day precisely, which the law appointed.

(9) This miracle, as it advantaged those of the house of Israel, in the present slaughter of their enemies: so could it not but infinitely astonish all the Canaanites; and make them faint, and fly before the conquerors. Insomuch that in the compass or five years, as Josephus tells us, there was not any left to make head against them. So that the victory being assured, and many of the Tribes invested in their new possessions: it pleased the

Congregation of Israel to come together at Shilo, there to set up the Tabernacle of the Congregation. And they made choice thereof, as Josephus saith, because it seemed to be a very convenient place, by reason of the beauty of it. Rather because it sorted best with Joshua's liking, who being of the Tribe of Ephraim within whose lot that City stood, was perhaps willing to confer that honor on it. But whatsoever was the motive, here was the Tabernacle erected, and hitherto the Tribes resorted; and finally here the legal ceremonies were to take beginning: God having told them many times, these and these things ye are to do, when ye are come into the land which I shall give you, viz. Levit.14. and 23, Numb.15, Deut.12. That Gilgal was the standing lamp, and that the Levites there laid down the Tabernacle, as in a place of strength and safety; is plaine in Scripture: but that they there erected it, or performed any legal Ministry therein, hath no such evidence. Though God had brought them into the Land of Promise, yet all this while they were unsettled. The Land was given after, when they had possession. So that the next Sabbath which ensued on the removal of the Tabernacle unto Shilo, was the first Sabbath which was celebrated with its Legal Ceremonies: and this was Anno Mundi 2589. In which if we consider as well the toilsomeness as multiplicity of the Priest-like-offices: we shall soon see, that though the people rested then, yet the Priest worked hardest. First, for the Loaves of Proposition, or the Shew-bread, however Josephus tells us, that they were baked *, the day before the Sabbath; and probably in his time it might be so: yet it is otherwise in the Scriptures. The Kohathites, saith the Text, were over the shew-bread, for to prepare it every Sabbath. These loaves were twelve in number, one for every Tribe, each of them two tenth deals, or half a peck; so the Scriptures say; every Cake square, ten hand-breadths long, five square, and seven fingers high; so the Rabbins teach us. The kneading, baking, and disposing of these Cakes must require some labor. *, etc. Where there is baking, saith the Author of the Homily, de Semente, ascribed to Athanasius, then must be heating of the oven, and carrying in of faggots, and whatsoever work is necessary in the Baker's trade. Then for the sacrifices of the day, the labor of the priest, when it was left, was double what it was on the other days. *. as Chrysostome hath rightly noted. The daily sacrifice was of two lambs, the supernumerary of the Sabbath was two more. If the New- moon fell on the Sabbath, as it often did, there was besides these named already, an offering of two Bullocks, a Ram, seven Lambs: and if that New- moon were the Feast of Trumpets also, as it sometimes was, there was a further offering of seven Lambs, one

Ram, one Bullock. And which is more, each of these had their several Meat-offerings, and Drink-offerings, Perfumes, and Frankincense, proportionable to attend upon them. By that time all was done, so many beasts killed, skinned, washed, quartered, and made ready for the Altar; so many fires kindled, meat and drink-offerings in a readiness, and the sweet odors, fitted for the work in hand: no question but the Priest had small cause to boast himself of his Sabbath's rest; or to take joy in any thing but his larger fees, and that he had discharged his duty. In which regard, the Jews retain this still amongst their traditions, *In Templo non esse Sabbatum*, That in the Temple they observed no Sabbath. As for the people, though they might all partake of the fruits hereof: yet none but those which dwelt in Shilo, or near unto it at the least, could behold the sight; or note what pains the Priests took for them, whilst they themselves sat still and stirred not. Had the Commandment been moral, and every part thereof of the same condition: The Priests had never done so many manners of work, as that day they did. However, as it was, our blessed Savior did account these works of theirs to be a public profanation of the Sabbath day. Read ye not in the Law, saith he, how that upon the Sabbath days, the Priests in the Temple do profane the Sabbath? yet he declared withal that the Priests were blameless, in that they did it by direction from the God of Heaven. The Sabbath then was daily broken but the Priest excusable. For Fathers that affirm the same, see Justin Martyr. dial. & qu.27. ad Orthod; Epiphan. I.I.haer.19.n.5; Hierom. in Psal.92; Athanas.de Sabb.& Circumcis; Austin, Qu. ex N. Test.61; Isidore Pelusiot.Epl.72.I.I; and divers others.

(10) These were the Offices of the Priest on the Sabbath day; and questionless they were sufficient to take up the time. Of any other Sabbath duties by them performed, at this present time, there is no Constat in the Scripture: no not of any place, as yet, designed for the performance of such other duties, as some conceive to appertain unto the Levites. That they were scattered and dispersed over all the Tribes, is indeed most true. The curse of Jacob now was become a blessing to them. Forty-eight Cities had they given them for their inheritance, (whereof thirteen were proper only to the Priests) besides their several sorts of Tithes, and what accrued unto them from the public Sacrifices, to an infinite value. Yet was not this dispersion of the Tribe of Levi, in reference to any Sabbath duties, that so they might the better assist the people in the solemnities and sanctifying of that day. The Scripture tells us no such matter. The reasons manifested in

the word were these two especially. First, that they might be near at hand to instruct the people, and teach them all the statutes which the Lord had spoken by the hand of Moses: as also to let them know the difference between the holy and unholy, the unclean and clean. Many particular things there were in the Law Levitical touching pollutions, purifying, and the like legal Ordinances; which were not necessary to be ordered by the Priests, above those that attended at the Altar, and were resorted to in most difficult cases: Therefore both for the people's case, and that the Priests, above, might not be troubled every day in matters of inferior moment; the Priests and Levites were thus mingled amongst the Tribes. A second reason was, that there might be as well some nursery to train up the Levites, until they were of age fit for the service of the Tabernacle; as also some retirement unto the which they might repair, when by the Law they were dismissed from their attendance. The number of the Tribe of Levi, in the first general muster of them, from a month old and upwards, was 22000, just: out of which number, all from 30 years of age to 50, being in all 8580 persons, were taken to attend the public Ministry. The residue with their wives and daughters, were to be severally disposed of in the Cities allotted to them: therein to rest themselves with their goods and cattle, and do those other Offices above remembered. Which Offices as they were the works of every day: so if the people came unto them upon the Sabbaths, or New-moons, as they did on both, to be instructed by them in particular cases of the Law, no doubt but they informed them answerably unto their knowledge. But this was but occasional only, no constant duty. Indeed it is conceived by Master Samuel Purchas, on the authority of Cornelius Bertram, almost as modern as himself, That the forty-eight Cities of the Levites had their fit places for Assemblies; and that thence the Synagogues had their beginnings: which were it so, it would be no good argument that in those places of Assemblies, the Priests and Levites publicly did expound the Law unto the people on the Sabbath days, as after in the Synagogues. For where those Cities were but four in every Tribe, one with another, the people must needs travel further than six Furlongs, which was a Sabbath-day's journey of the largest measure, as before we noted; or else that nice restriction was not then in use. And were it that they took the pains to go up unto them, yet were not those few Cities able to contain the multitudes. When Joab, not long after this, did muster Israel at the command of David; he found no fewer than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men. Suppose we then, that unto every one fighting man, there were three old men, women and children, fit to hear the Law, as no doubt there were. Put these

together, and it will amount in all to two and fifty hundred thousand. Now out of these set by four hundred thousand for Jerusalem, and the service there; and then there will remain one hundred thousand just,* which must owe suit and service every Sabbath day, to each several City of the Levites. Too ----- * Heylyn's arithmetic is unclear: thirteen hundred thousand (1,300,000) is more than a million, and multiplied by four is 5,200,000. vast a number to be entertained in any of their Cities; and much less in their Synagogues, had each house been one. So that we may resolve for certain, that the dispersion of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation, hitherto, unto the reading of the Law, or any public Sabbath duties.

CHAPTER 7

TOUCHING THE KEEPING OF THE SABBATH, FROM THE TIME OF DAVID TO THE MACCHABEES.

(1) Particular necessities must give place to the Law of Nature. (2) That Davids flight from Saul was upon the Sabbath. (3) What David, did being King of Israel, in ordering things about the Sabbath. (4) Elijahs flight upon the Sabbath; and what else hapned on the Sabbath, in Elijahs time. (5) The limitation of a Sabbath days journey, not knowne amongst the Iewes, when Elisha lived. (6) The Lord becomes offended with the Iewish Sabbaths; and on what occasion. (7) The Sabbath entertained by the Samaritans; and their strange niceties therin. (8) Whether the Sabbaths were observed during the Captivitie. (9) The speciall care of Nehemiah to reforme the Sabbath. (10) The weekly reading of the Law on the Sabbath dayes, began by Ezra. (11) No Synagogues nor weekly reading of the Law, during the Government of the Kings. (12) The Scribes and Doctours of the Law, impose new rigours on the people, about their Sabbaths.

(1) THUS have we traced the Sabbath from the Mount to Shilo, the space of forty-five years or thereabouts; wherein it was observed sometimes, and sometimes broken: broken by public order from the Lord himself; and broken by the public practice both of Priest and people. No precept in the Decalogue so controlled, and jostled by the Legal Ceremonies; forced to give place to Circumcision, because the younger; and to the Legal sacrifices, though it was their Elders: and all this while, no blame or imputation to be laid on them that so profaned it. Men durst not thus have dallied with the other nine; no nor with this neither, had it been a part of the Law of nature. Yet had the Sabbath been laid by in such cases only, wherein the Lord had specially declared his will and pleasure, that these and these things should be done upon it, or preferred before it; there was less reason of complaint. But we shall see in that which follows, that the poor Sabbath was enforced to yield up the place, even to the several necessities and occasions of particular men: and that without injunction or Command from the Court of Heaven. This further proves the fourth Commandment, as far as it concerns the time, one whole day of seven, to

be no part nor parcel of the Law of Nature: for if it were the Law of Nature, it were not dispensable, no not in any exigent or distress what ever. *Nullum periculum suadet, ut quae ad legem naturalem directe pertinent infringamus.* No danger (saith a modern Writer) is to occasion us to break those bonds, wherewith we are obliged by the Law of Nature. Nor is this only Protestant Divinity, for that *Praecepta decalogi omnino sint indispensabilia*, is a noted maxim of the Schoolmen. And yet it is not only School Divinity, for the Fathers taught it. It is a principle of S. Austin's, *Illud quod omnino non licet semper non licet; nec aliqua necessitate mitigatur, ut admissum non obsit: est enim semper illicitum, quod legibus, quia crimosum est, prohibetur.* "That, saith the Father, which is unlawful in itself, is unlawful always, nor is there any exigent or extremity that can so excuse it being done, but that it makes a man obnoxious unto God's displeasure. For that is always to be reckoned an unlawful thing, which is forbidden by the Law because simply evil." So that in case this rule be true, as no doubt it is; and that the fourth Commandment prohibiting all manner of work on the Sabbath day, as simply evil, be to be reckoned part of the Moral Law: they that transgress this Law, in what case soever, are in the self-same state with those who to preserve their lives or fortunes, renounce their Faith in God, and worship Idols; which no man ought to do, no though it were to gain the world. For what will it profit a man to gain the world, and to lose his soul?

(2) But sure the Jews accounted not the Sabbath of so high a nature; as not to venture the transgressing of that law, if occasion were. Whereof, or of the keeping it, we have no monument in Scripture, till we come to David. The residue of Joshua and the Book of Judges give us nothing of it. Nor have we much in the whole story of the Kings: but what we have, we shall present unto you in due place and order. And first for David, we read in Scripture how he stood in fear of Saul his Master, how in the Festival of the New-moon his place was empty, how Saul became offended at it, and publicly declared that malicious purpose which in his heart he had before conceived against him. On the next morning, Jonathan takes his bow and arrows, goes forth a shooting, takes a boy with him to bring back his arrows: and by a signal formerly agreed between them, gives David notice that his Father did seek his life. David on this makes haste, and came to Nob, unto Abimelech the Priest; and being an hungry, desires some sustenance at his hands. The Priest not having ought else in readiness, sets the shew-bread before him, which was not lawful for any man to eat, but

the Priest alone. Now if we ask the Fathers of the Christian Church what day this was, on which poor David fled from the face of Saul, they answer that it was the Sabbath. The Author of the homily, de Semente, ascribed to Athanasius, hath resolved it so: *, “most likely that it was the Sabbath. His reason makes the matter surer than his resolution. The Jews, saith he, upbraid our Savior, that his Disciples plucked the ears of Corn on the Sabbath day: to satisfy which doubt, he tells them what was done by David, on a Sabbath also.” *, as that Father hath it. S. Hierome tells us, that the day whereon he fled away from Saul was both a Sabbath and New-moon; Et ad sabbati solennitatem accedebant neomeniaru dies. Indeed the story makes it plain, it could be no other. The shew-bread was changed every Sabbath, in the morning early: that which was brought in new, not to be stirred off from the Table, till the Week was out; the other which was taken away, being appropriated to the Priests, and to be eaten by them only. Being so stale before, we may the easier think it lay not long upon their hands: and had not David come, as he did, that morning; perhaps he had not found the Priest so well provided, in the afternoon. Had David thought that breaking of the Sabbath, in what case soever, had been a sin against the eternal Law of Nature: he would, no doubt, have hid himself that day in the field, by the stone Ezel, as he had done two days before; rather than so have run away, as well from God as from the King. Especially considering that on the Sabbath day he might have lurked there, with more safety, than before he did: none being permitted, as some say, by the Law of God, to walk abroad that day, if occasion were. Neither had David passed it over in so light a manner, had he done contrary to the Law. That heart of his which smote him for his murder and adultery, and for his numbering of the people; would sure have taken some impression, upon the breaking of the Sabbath, had he conceived that Law to be like the rest. But David knew of no such matter: neither did Jonathan, as it seems. For howsoever David’s fact might be excused, by reason of the imminent peril; yet surely Jonathan’s walking forth with his bow and arrows was of a very different nature. Nor did he do it fearfully, and by way of stealth, as if he were afraid to avow the action: but took his Page with him to bring back his arrows, and called aloud unto him to do thus and thus, according as he was directed; as if it were his usual custom. Jonathan might have thought of some other way to give advertisement unto David of his Father’s anger: rather than by a public breaking of the Sabbath, to provoke the Lords. But then, as may from hence be gathered, shooting and such like manlike exercises were not accounted things unlawful on the Sabbath day.

(3) This act and flight of David's from the face of Saul happened in Toraniellus' computation, Anno 2974: and forty-six years after that, being 3020 of the World's Creation, and the last year of David's life, he made a new division of the sons of Levi. For where the Levites were appointed in the times before to bear about the Tabernacle, as occasion was: the Tabernacle now being fixed and settled in Jerusalem, there was no further use of the Levites' service in that kind. Therefore King David thought it good to set them to some new employments; and so he did: some of them to assist the Priests in the public Ministry; some to be overseers and Judges of the people; some to be Porters also in the house of God; and finally, some others to be singers, to praise the Lord with instruments that he had made, with Harps, with Viols, and with Cymbals. Of these the most considerable were the first and last. The first appointed to assist at the daily sacrifices: as also at the Offering of all burnt-offerings unto the Lord in the Sabbaths, in the months, and at the appointed times, according to the number, and according to their custom continually before the Lord. The other were instructed in the songs of the Lord: Those chiefly which were made for the Sabbath days, and the other Festivals: and one he made himself, of his own inditing, entitled a Song or Psalm for the Sabbath day. Calvin upon the 92nd Psalm is of opinion, that he made many for that purpose, as no doubt he did; and so he did for the Feasts also. Josephus tells us that he composed Odes and Hymnes to the praise of God; as also that he made divers kinds of instruments, and that he taught the Levites to praise God's Name upon them, both on the Sabbath days, *, and the other Festivals: as well upon the Annual, as the weekly Sabbath. Where note, that in the distribution of the Levites into several Offices, there was then no such Office thought of, as to be Readers of the Law: which proves sufficiently, that the Law was not yet read publicly unto the people on the Sabbath day. Nor did he only appoint them their songs and Instruments: but so exact and punctual was he, that he prescribed what habits they should wear in the discharging of their Ministry, in singing praises to the Lord; which was a white linen raiment, such as the surplice now in use in the Church of England. Also the Levites, saith the Text, which were the singers, being arrayed in white linen, having Cymbals and Psalteries and Harps, stood at the East end of the Altar, etc. praising and thanking God, for his grace and mercies. And this he did, not by commandment from above, or any warrant but his own that we can hear of, and that he thought it fit and decent. David, the Prophet of the Lord, knew well what did belong to David the King of Israel, in ordering matters of the Church and

settling things about the Sabbath. Nor can it be but worth the notice, that the first King whom God raised up to be a nursing Father unto his church, should exercise his regal power in dictating what he would have done on the Sabbath day, in reference to God's public worship. As if in him, the Lord did mean to teach all others of the same condition, as no doubt he did, that it pertains to them to vindicate the day of his public service, as well from superstitious fancies, as profane contempts: and to take special order that his name be glorified, as well in the performances of the Priests, as the devotions of the people. This special care we shall find verified in Constantine, the first Christian Emperour, of whom more hereafter in the next Book, and third Chapter. Now what was here ordained by David, was afterwards confirmed by Solomon (whereof see 2.Chron.8.14.) who as he built a Temple for God's public worship; for the New-moons, and weekly Sabbaths, and the solemn Feasts, as the Scripture tells us: so he, or some of his successors, built a fair seat within the Porch thereof, wherein the Kings did use to sit, both on the Sabbaths and the annual Festivals. The Scripture calls it *tegmen sabbati*, The covert for the Sabbath: that is, saith Rabbi Solomon, *Locus quidam in porticu templi gratiose coopertus, in quo Rex sedebat die Sabbati, & in magnis festivitatibus*, as before was said. So that in this too, both were equal; as well as in the Psalms, and Hymns, and public lauds, which David had ordained for both; without any difference.

(4) From David pass we to Elijah, from one great Prophet to another: both persecuted, and both fain to fly, and both to fly upon the Sabbath. Elijah had made havoc of the Priests of Baal, and Jezebel sent a message to him, that he should arm himself to expect the like. The Prophet warned hereof, arose, and being encouraged by an Angel, he did eat and drink, and walked in the strength of that meat, forty days and forty nights, until he came to Horeb the Mount of God. What, walked he forty days and as many nights, without rest or ceasing? So it is resolved on. Elijah as we read in *Damascen*, *, etc. "disquieting himself not only by continual fasting, but by his traveling on the Sabbath, even for the space of forty days, *, did without question break the Sabbath: yet God who made that Law, was not at all offended with him, but rather to reward his virtue, appeared to him in Mount Horeb." So Thomas Aquinas speaking of some men in the old Testament, *Qui transgredientes observantiam Sabbati, non peccabant*, "Who did transgress against the Sabbath, and yet did not sin; makes instance of Elijah, and of his journey: wherein, saith he, it must needs be granted, that he did travel on the Sabbath." And where a question might be

made, how possibly Elijah, could spend forty days and forty nights in so small a journey: Tostatus makes reply that he went not directly forwards, but wandered up and down, and from place to place; *Ex timore & inquietudine mentis*, partly for fear of being found, and partly out of a disquieted and afflicted mind. Now while Elijah was in exile, Benhadad King of Syria invaded Israel, and encamped near Aphek; where Ahab also followed him, and sat down by him with his Army. And, saith the Text, they pitched one over against the other, seven days, and so it was that in the seventh day the battle was joined, and the children of Israel slew of the Syrians an hundred thousand footmen in one day. Ask Zanchius what this seventh day was; and he will tell you plainly, that it was the Sabbath. For showing us that any servile works may be done lawfully on the Sabbath, if either charity, or unavoidable necessity do so require: he brings this History in, for the proof thereof. And then he adds, *Illi die ipso Sabbati, quia necessitas postulabat, pugnam cum hostibus commiserunt*, etc. “The Israelites, saith he, fighting against their enemies on the Sabbath day, necessity enforcing them thereunto, prevailed against them with a great & mighty slaughter.” Neither is he the only one that so conceived it. For Peter Martyr saith as much, and collects from hence, *Die Sabbati militaria munia obijisse eos*, “That military matters were performed by the Jews on the Sabbath day.” This field was fought, Anno mundi 3135: and was 11 years after Elijah’s flight.

(5) Proceed we to Elisha next. Of whom, though nothing be recorded that concerns this business; yet on occasion of his piety and zeal to God, there is a passage in the Scripture which gives light unto it. The Shunamite having received a child at Elisha’s hands, and finding that it was deceased, called to her husband and said, Send with me I pray thee, one of the young men and one of the asses, for I will haste to the man of God, and come again. And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to day? It is neither New-moon, nor Sabbath day. Had it been either of the two, it seems she might have gone and sought out the Prophet; and more than so, she used to do it at those times: else what need the question? It was their custom, as before we noted, to travel on the Sabbath days and the other Festivals, to have some conference with the Levites, if occasion were; and to repair unto the Prophets at the same times also, as well as any day whatever. In *illis diebus festivis frequentius ibant ad Prophetas ad audiendum verbum Dei*, as Lyra hath it on the place. And this they did without regard unto that nicety of a Sabbath day’s journey; which came not up till long time after:

sure I am was not now in use. Elisha, at this time, was retired to Carmel, which from the Shunamite's City was ten miles at least; as is apparent both by Adrichomius' Map of Issachar, and all other Tables that I have met with. And to the limitation of 2000 foot, or 2000 Cubits, or the six Furlongs, at the most, which some require to be allotted for the utmost travel on the Sabbath, is vanished suddenly into nothing. Nay, it is evident by the story, that the journey was not very short: the woman calling to her servant to drive on, and go forwards, and not to slack his riding unless she bid him: which needed not, in case the journey had not been above six Furlongs. Neither New-moon nor Sabbath day? It seems the times were both alike, in this respect: the Prophets to be sought unto, and they to publish and make known the will of God, as well at one time as the other. Quasi Sabbatum & Calendae equalis essent solennitatis, as Tostatus hath it. If so, if the New-moons, in this respect, were as solemn as the weekly Sabbath: no question but the Annual Sabbaths were as solemn also. And not in this respect alone, but in many others. Markets prohibited in the New- moons, as in the Sabbath. When will the New-moon be gone, that we may sell our corn? in the eighth of Amos: the Sacrifices more in these than in the other, of which last we have spoke already. So when the Scriptures prophesy of those spiritual Feasts which should be celebrated by God's Saints in the times to come: they specify the New-moons as particularly as they do the Sabbaths. From one New-moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. See the like Prophecy in Ezech.Chap.46, Ver.1.3. Upon which last S.Hierome tells us, Quod privilegium habet dies septimum in hebdomada, hoc habet privilegium mensis exordium: The New-moons and the Sabbath have the like Prerogatives.

(6) Nay, when the Jews began to set at naught the Lord, and to forget that God which brought them out of the Land of AEGypt; when they began to loath his Sabbaths, and profane his Festivals; as they did too often: the Lord expostulates the matter with them, as well for one as for the other. When they were weary of the New-moon, and wished it gone, that they might sell corn; and of the Sabbath, because it went not fast enough away, that they might set forth wheat to sale: the Lord objects against them, both the one and the other, by his Prophet Amos; that they preferred their profit before his pleasure. Et Dei solennitates turpis lucri gratia, in sua verterent compendia, as Saint Hierome hath it. When on the other side they did profane his Sabbaths, and the holy Festivals with excess and surfeiting,

Carousing wine in bowls, stretching themselves upon their couches, and anointing of themselves with the chief ointments: the Lord made known unto them by his servant Isaiah, how much he did dislike their courses. The New-moons and Sabbaths, the calling of Assemblies I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the solemn meeting. It seems they had exceedingly forgot themselves, when now their very Festivals were become a sin. Nay, God goes further yet, Your New-moons and your appointed Feasts my soul hateth, they are a trouble to me. I am weary to bear them. Your New-moons, and your Feasts, saith God, are not mine. Non enim mea sunt quae geritis, they are no Feasts of mine, which you so abuse. How so? Judaei enim neglectis spiritualibus negotiis quae pro animae salute agenda deus praeceperat, omnia legitima Sabbati, ad otium luxuriamque contulere. So said Gaudentius Brixianus. "The Jews, saith he, neglecting those spiritual duties which God commanded on that day, abused the Sabbath's rest unto ease and luxury." For whereas being free from temporal cares, they ought to have employed that day to spiritual uses, and to have spent the same in modesty and temperance, *, and in the repetition and commemoration of God's holy Word: they on the other side did the contrary, *, wasting the day in gluttony, and drunkenness, and idle delicacies. How far S. Augustine, chargeth them with the self-same crimes, we have seen before. Thus did the house of Israel rebel against the Lord, and profane his Sabbaths. And therefore God did threaten them by the Prophet Hosea, that he would cause their mirth to cease, their Feast days, their New-moons and Sabbaths, and their solemn Festivals: that so they might be punished in the want of that, which formerly they had abused.

(7) And so indeed he did, beginning first with those of the revolted Tribes, whom he gave over to the hand of Shalmaneser the Assyrian; by whom they were led Captive unto parts unknown, and never suffered to return. Those which were planted in their places, as they desired in tract of time to know the manner of the God of the Land: so for the better means to attain that knowledge, they entertained the Pentateuch, or five Books of Moses; and with them, the Sabbath. They were beholding to the Lions which God sent amongst them. Otherwise they had never known the Sabbath, nor the Lord who made it. Themselves acknowledge this in an Epistle to Antiochus Epiphanes, when he made havoc of the Jews. The Epistle thus, "*, etc. To King Antiochus Epiphanes, the mighty God, the suggestion of the Sidonians that dwell at Sichem. Our Ancestors enforced by a continual plague which destroyed their Country (this was the Lions before spoken

of) and induced by an ancient superstition, *, took up a custom to observe that day as holy, which the Jews call the Sabbath.” So that it seems by this Epistle, that when the Assyrians sent back one of the Priests of Israel, to teach this people what was the manner of the God of the Land; that at that time they did receive the Sabbath also: which was about the year of the World’s Creation, 3315. The Priest so sent, is said to have been called Dosthai; and as the word is mollified in the Greek, it is the same with Dositheus: who as he taught these new Samaritans the observation of the Sabbath; so as some say, he mingled with the same, some neat devices of his own. For whereas it is said in the Book of Exodus, Let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day: this Dositheus, if at least this were he, keeping the letter of the Text, did affirm and teach, that in whatever posture any man was found, *, in the beginning of the Sabbath; in the selfsame he was to be *, even until the evening: as Origen hath told us of him. I say, if this were he, and as some say; because there was another Dositheus, a Samaritan too, who lived more near unto the time of Origen, and is most like to be the man. However, we may take it for a Samaritan device, as indeed it was; though not so ancient as to take beginning with the first entertainment of the Sabbath, in that place and people.

(8) This transportation of the ten Tribes, for their many sins, was a fair warning unto those of the house of Judah, to turn unto the Lord, and amend their lives, and observe his Sabbaths: his sabbata annorum, Sabbaths of years, as well as either his weekly, or his yearly Sabbaths. The Jews had been regardless of them all, & for neglect of all, God resolved to punish them. First, for the weekly Sabbath, that God avenged himself upon them for the breach thereof, is evident by that one place of Nehemiah. Did not your Fathers thus, saith he, and our God brought this plague upon us, and upon our City? yet ye increase the wrath upon Israel, in breaking the Sabbath. Next for the Annual Sabbaths, God threatened that he would deprive them of them, by his Prophet Hosea; as before was said. And lastly, for his Sabbaths of years, they had been long neglected and almost forgotten; if observed at all. Toraniellus finds 3 only kept in all the Scripture. Nor are more specified in particular, but sure more were kept: the certain number of the which may easily be found by the proportion of the punishment. God tells them that they should remain in bondage, until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths: for so long as she lay desolate, she kept sabbath, to fulfill threescore and ten years. So that as many years as they were in bondage, so many Sabbaths of years they had neglected. Now from

the year 2593, which was the seventh year after their possession of the Land of Canaan; unto the year 3450, which was the year of their Captivity: there passed in all 857 years just; of which 122 were years sabbatical. By which account it is apparent, that they had kept in all that time, but fifty-two sabbatical years: and for the seventy Sabbaths of years which they had neglected, God made himself amends, by laying desolate the whole Country, seventy years together, till the earth had enjoyed her sabbaths. Not that the earth lay still all that while, and was never tilled; for those that did remain behind, and inhabit there, must have means to live: but that the tillage was so little, and the crop so small (the people being few in numbers) that in comparison of former times, it might seem to rest. But whatsoever Sabbaths the earth enjoyed, the people kept not much themselves. The solemn Feasts of Pentecost, the Passover, and the Feast of Tabernacles, they could not celebrate at all, because they had no Temple to repair unto: nor did they celebrate the New-moons and the weekly Sabbath, as they ought to do. *Non neomeniae, non sabbati exercere laetitiam, nec omnes festivitates quas uno nomine comprehendit*, as Saint Hierome hath it. For that they used to work on the Sabbath day, both in the Harvest and the Vintage, during the Captivity, we have just reason to suspect, considering what great difficulty Nehemiah found, to redress those errors. So little had that people profited in the School of Piety; that though they felt God's heavy anger for the breach thereof, yet could they hardly be induced to amend their follies.

(9) But presently on their return from Babylon, they reared up an Altar, and kept the Feast of Tabernacles, and the burnt offerings day by day, and afterward the continual burnt-offering, both in the New-moons & the solemn Feast-days, that had been consecrate unto the Lord. This the first work that was endeavored by their Zorobabel, & other Rulers of the people: and it was somewhat that they went so far in the reformation, as to receive the Sabbaths, and the public Festivals. I say the Sabbaths, amongst others; for so Josephus doth express it. "They celebrated at that time, saith he, the Feast of Tabernacles, according as their Law-maker had ordained: and afterwards they offered Oblations and continual Sacrifices, observing their Sabbaths, and all holy solemnities." By which it seems, the Sabbaths had not been observed, in time of the captivity. Nor were they now observed so truly, but that some evil customs, which had crept amongst them during the Captivity, were as yet continued: Markets permitted on the Sabbath, and the public Festivals; Burdens brought in and out; the Vintage

no less followed on those days, than on any other. And so continued till the year 3610, which was some 90 years after they were returned from Babel: what time they celebrated that great Feast of Tabernacles; and Ezra publicly read the Law before all the people. Upon which Act, this good ensued, that both the Priests and Princes, and many others of the people, did enter covenant with the Lord, that If the people of the Land brought ware, or any victuals, to sell them on the Sabbath day, that we would not buy it of them on the Sabbath, or on the Holy-days, and that we would leave the seventh year free, and the exaction of every debt. Where still observe, that they had no less care of the annual sabbaths, yea, of the sabbaths of years, than of the weekly: and marketing not more restrained on the weekly Sabbaths, than on the Annual. A covenant not so well performed, as it was agreed. For Nehemiah who was a principal on the people's part, being gone for Babylon; at his return, found all things contrary to what he looked for. I saw, saith he, in Judah, them that trod Wine-presses on the Sabbath, and that brought in sheaves, and which laded Asses also with Wine, Grapes, and Figs, and brought them into Jerusalem on the Sabbath day; and others, men of Tyrus, that brought fish and all manner of ware, and sold it on the Sabbath unto the children of Judah: a most strange disorder. So general was the crime become, that the chief Rulers of the people were most guilty of it. So that to rectify this misrule, Nehemiah was not only forced to shut up the Gates, upon the Even before the Sabbath, yea, & to keep them shut all the Sabbath day; whereby the Merchants were compelled, to rest with their commodities, without the walls: but to use threatening words unto them, that if from that time forwards, they came with Merchandise on the Sabbath, he would forbear no longer, but lay hands upon them. A course not more severe than necessary, as the case then stood. Nor had those mischiefs been redressed, being now countenanced by custom, and some chief men among the people: had they not met a man, both resolved and constant; one that both knew his work, and had a will to see it finished. This reformation of the Sabbath, or rather of those foul abuses which had of late defiled it, and even made it despicable; is placed by Toraniellus, Anno 3629: which was above a 100 years after the restitution of this people to their Native Country. So difficult a thing it is to overcome an evil custom.

(10) Things ordered thus, and all those public scandals being thus removed: there followed a more strict observance of the Sabbath day, than ever had been kept before. The rather since about these times, began the reading of

the Law in the Congregation. Not every seventh year only, and on the Feast of Tabernacles, as before it was, or should have been at the least, by the Law of Moses; but every Sabbath day, and each solemn meeting: not only in the Temple of Jerusalem, as it used to be; but in the Towns and principal places of each several Tribe. Ezra first set this course on foot, a Priest by calling, one very skillful in the Laws of Moses: who having took great pains to seek out the Law, & other Oracles of God, digested and disposed them into that form and method, in which we have them at this present. Of this see *Iren. l. 3. 25*; *Tertull. de habitu mulierum*; *Clem. Alex. l. 1. Strom*; *Chrysost. hom. 8. ad Hebraeos*; and divers others. This done, and all the people met together at the Feast of Tabernacles, An. 3610, which was some ninety years after the return from Babylon, as before was said: he took that opportunity to make known the Law unto the people. For this cause he provided a Pulpit of wood, that so he might be heard the better: & round about him stood the Priests and Levites, learned men, of purpose to expound the Text and to give the sense thereof; that so the people might the better understand the reading. And this they did eight days together, from the first day until the last, when the Feast was ended. Now in this Act of Ezra's, there was nothing common, nothing according to the custom of the former times, neither in time or place, or any other circumstance. First for the time, although it was the Feast of Tabernacles, yet was it not the seventh year, as Moses ordered it: that year, which was the first of Nehemiah's coming into Jerusalem, not being the Sabbatical year, but the third year after; as *Torniellus* doth compute it. Then for the place, it should have been performed in the Temple only, as both by Moses' Ordinance and *Josiah's* practice doth at large appear. But now they did it in the street before the Water-gates, as the Text informs us. So for manner of the reading, it was not only published, as it had been formerly, but expounded also. Whereof, as of a thing never known before, this reason is laid down by *Torniellus*, *quod lingua Hebraica desierat jam vulgaris esse, Chaldaico seu Syriaco idiomate in ejus locum surrogato*, "because the Hebrew Tongue wherein the Scriptures were first written, was now grown strange unto the peoples, the Chaldee or the Syriac being generally received in the place thereof." And last of all, for the continuance of this exercise, it held out eight days, all the whole time the Feast continued: whereas it was appointed by the law of Moses, that only the first and last days of the Feast of Tabernacles should be esteemed and solemnized as holy convocations to the Lord their God, *Levit. 23. 35. & 36*. Here was a total alteration of the ancient custom; and a fair overture to the Priests, who were then Rulers of

the people, to begin anew; a fair instruction to them all, that reading of the Law of God was not confined to place, or time, but that all times and places, were alike to his holy Word. Every seventh day as fit for so good a duty, as every seventh year was accounted in the former times: the Villages, and Towns, as capable of the Word of God, as was the great and glorious Temple of Jerusalem: and what prerogative had the Feast of Tabernacles, but that the Word of God might be as necessary to be heard on the other Festivals, as it was on that? The Law had first been given them on a Sabbath day, and therefore might be read unto them every Sabbath day. This might be pleaded in behalf of this alteration, and that great change which followed after, in the weekly Sabbaths: whereon the Law of God was not only read unto the people, such of them as inhabited over all Judaea; but publicly made known unto them, in all the Provinces and Towns abroad, where they had either synagogues or habitations. God certainly had so disposed it, in his heavenly counsels, that so his holy Word might be more generally known throughout the world; and a more easy way laid open for the admittance and receipt of the Messiah, whom he meant to send: that so Jerusalem and the Temple might by degrees be lessened in their reputation and men might know that neither of them was the only place where they ought to worship. This I am sure of, that by this breaking of the custom, although an institute of Moses, the Law was read more frequently, than in times of old: there being one other reading of it, publicly, and before the people, related in the thirteenth of Nehemiah, when it was neither Feast of Tabernacles nor sabbatical year, for ought we find in holy Scripture. Therefore most like it is that it was the Sabbath; which, much about those times, began to be ennobled with the constant reading of the Word in the Congregation: First in Jerusalem, and after by degrees, in most places else, as men could fit themselves with convenient Synagogues, Houses selected for that purpose, to hear the Word of God, and observe the same. Of which times, and of none before, those passages of Philo and Josephus before remebered, touching the weekly reading of the Law, and the behavior of the people in the public places of assemblies; are to be understood and verified, as there we noted.

(11) For that there was no Synagogue, nor weekly reading of the Law, before these times, (besides what hath been said already) we will now make manifest. No Synagogue before those times, for there is neither mention of them, in all the body of the Old Testament: nor any use of them in those days, wherein there were no Congregations in particular places. And first

there is no mention of them in the old Testament. For where it is supposed by some, that there were Synagogues in the time of David; and for the proof thereof they produce these words, they have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land: the supposition, and the proof, are alike infirm. For not to quarrel with the Translation, which is directly different from the Greek and vulgar Latin, and somewhat from the former English: this Psalm, if written by David, was not composed in reference to any present misery which befell the Church. There had been no such havoc made therof, in all David's time, as is there complained of. Therefore if David wrote that Psalm, he wrote it as inspired with the spirit of prophecy: and in the spirit of prophecy, did reflect on those wretched times wherein Antiochus laid waste the Church of God, and ransacked his inheritance. To those most probably must it be referred; the miseries which are there bemoaned not being so exactly true in any other time of trouble, as it was in this. *Magis probabilis est conjectura, ad tempus Antiochi referri has querimonias*, as Calvin notes it. And secondly, there was no use of them before: because no reading of the Law in the Congregation of ordinary course, and on Sabbath days. For had the Law been read unto the people every Sabbath day, we either should have found some Commandment for it, or some practice of it: but we meet with neither. Rather we find strong arguments to persuade the contrary. We read it of Jehoshaphat, that in the third year of his reign, he sent his Princes, Ben-hail, and Obadiah, and Zechariah, and Nathaneel, and Micajah, to teach in the cities of Judah. These were the principal in Commission, and unto them he joined nine Levites, and two Priests, to bear them company; and to assist them. It followeth, And they taught in Judah, and had the book of the Law of the Lord with them, and they went about throughout all the Cities of Judah, and taught the people. And they taught in Judah, and had the Books of the Law with them. This must needs be a needless labor, in case the people had been taught every Sabbath day: or that the Book of the Law had as then been extant (and extant must it be, if it had been read), in every Town and Village over all Judea. For what need they have carried with them in that Visitation, a Copy of the book of the Law; as the Text tells us that they did: had it been so, that every Town or Village in all the Country was provided of it. Therefore there was no Synagogue, no reading of the Law every Sabbath day, in Jehoshaphat's time. But that which follows of Josiah, is more full than this. That godly Prince intended to repair the Temple, and in pursuit of that intendment, Hilkiyah the Priest, to whom the ordering of the work had been committed; found hidden an old Copy of the Law of

God, which had been given unto them by the hand of Moses. This Book is brought unto the King, and read unto him; And when the King had heard the words of the Law, he rent his clothes. And not so only, but he gathered together all the Elders of Judah and Jerusalem, and read in their ears all the words of the Book of the Covenant which was found in the house of the Lord. Had it been formerly the custom, to read the Law each Sabbath unto all the people: it is not to be thought that this good King Josiah could possibly have been such a stranger to the Law of God: or that the finding of the book had been related for so strange an accident; when there was scarce a Town in Judah but was furnished with them. Or what need such a sudden calling of all the elders, and on an extraordinary time, to hear the Law; if they had heard it every Sabbath, and that of ordinary course? Nay, so far were they at this time from having the Law read amongst them every weekly Sabbath, that as it seems, it was not read amongst them in the Sabbath of years, as Moses had before appointed. For if it had been read unto them, once in seven years only, that virtuous Prince had not so soon forgotten the contents thereof. Therefore there was no Synagogue, no weekly reading of the Law, in Josiah's days. And if not then, and not before, then not at all till Ezra's time. The finding of the Book of God, before remembered, is said to happen in the year 3412 of the World's Creation; not forty years before the people were led Captives into Babylon: in which short space the Princes being careless, and the times distracted, there could be nothing done that concerned this business. Now from this reading of the Law in the time of Ezra, unto the Council holden in Jerusalem, there passed 490 years, or thereabouts, Antiquity sufficient to give just cause to the Apostle there to affirm that Moses in old time in every City, had them that preached him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day. So that we may conclude for certain, that till these times wherein we are, there was no reading of the Law unto the people, on the Sabbath days: and in these times, when it was taken up amongst them, it was by Ecclesiastical Institution only, no divine authority.

(12) But being taken up, on what ground soever, it did continue afterwards, though perhaps sometimes interrupted, until the final dissolution of that Church and State: and therewithal grew up a liberty of interpretaion of the holy Word, which did at last divide the people into Sects and Factions. Petrus Cunaeus doth affirm, that howsoever the Law was read amongst them, in the former times, either in public, or in private; yet the bare Text only was read, without gloss or descant. Interpretatio

magistrorum, commentatio nulla. But in the second Temple, when there were no Prophets, then did the Scribes and Doctors begin to comment, and make their several expositions on the holy Text: Ex quo natae disputationes & sententiae contrariae; from whence, saith he, sprung up debates, and doubtful disputations. Most probable it is, that from this liberty of interpretation sprung up diversity of judgments: from whence arose the several Sects of Pharisees, Essees and Sadduces, who by their difference of opinions did distract the multitude, and condemn each other. Of whom, and what they taught about the Sabbath, we shall see in the next Chapter. Nor is it to be doubted, but as the reading of the Law did make the people more observant of the Sabbath than they were before: so that libertas Prophetandi, which they had amongst them, occasioned many of those rigours which were brought in after. The people had before neglected the Sabbatical years, but now they carefully observed them. So carefully, that when Alexander the Great being in Jerusalem, anno 3721, commanded them to ask some boon, wherein he might espress his favor and love unto them: the high Priest answered for them all, that they desired but leave to exercise the ordinances of their fore-fathers, *, and that each seventh year might be free from tribute; because their lands lay then untilled. But then again, the liberty and variety of interpretation bred no little mischief. For where in former times, according to God's own appointment, the Sabbath was conceived to be a day of rest; whereon both man and beast might refresh themselves, and be the more enabled for their ordinary labors: by canvassing some Texts of Scripture, and wringing blood from thence instead of comfort, they made the Sabbath such a yoke as was insupportable. Nor were these weeds of doctrine very long in growing. Within an 100 years, and less, after Nehemiah, the people were so far from working on the Sabbath day, (as in his time we see they did, and hardly could be weaned from so great a sin:) but thought it utterly unlawful to take sword in hand; yea though it were to save their liberty, and defend Religion. A folly, which their neighbor Ptolomie, the great King of AEGYPT, made especial use of. For having notice of this humor (as it was no better), "he entered the City on the Sabbath day, under pretense to offer sacrifice; and presently without resistance surprised the same: the people, *, not laying hand on any weapon, or doing any thing in defense thereof; but sitting still, * in an idle slothfulness, suffered themselves to be subdued by a Tyrant Conqueror." This happened Ann.M.3730. And many more such fruits of so bad a doctrine, did there happen afterwards: to which now we hasten.

CHAPTER 7

WHAT DOTH OCCURRE ABOUT THE SABBATH FROM THE MACCABEES, TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE.

(1) The Jews refuse to fight in their own defense upon the Sabbath; and what was ordered thereupon. (2) The Pharisees, about these times, had made the Sabbath burdensome by their Traditions. (3) Ierusalem twice taken by the Romans, on the Sabbath day. (4) The Romans, many of them, Iudaize, and take up the Sabbath: as other Nations did by the Jews example. (5) Whether the strangers dwelling amongst the Jews, did observe the Sabbath. (6) Augustus Caesar very gracious to the Jews, in matters that concerned their Sabbath. (7) What our Redeemer taught, and did, to rectifie the abuses of, and in the Sabbath. (8) The finall ruine of the Temple, and the Iewish ceremonies, on a Sabbath day. (9) The Sabbath abrogated with the other Ceremonies. (10) Wherein consisteth the spirituall Sabbath, mentioned in the Scriptures, and amongst the Fathers. (11) The idle and ridiculous niceties of the moderne Iews, in their Paraseves, and their Sabbaths conclude this first part.

(1) WE shewed you in the former Chapter, how strange an alteration had been made in an hundred years, touching the keeping of the Sabbath. The people hardly at the first restrained from working, when there was no need; and after easily induced to abstain from fighting, though tending to the necessary defense both of their liberty and Religion. Of so much swifter growth is superstition, than true piety. Nor was this only for a fit, as easily laid aside as taken up; but it continued a long time, yea, and was every day improved: It being judged, at last, unlawful to defend themselves, in case they were assaulted on the Sabbath day. Antiochus Epiphanes the King of Syria, intending utterly to subvert the Church and Common-wealth of Judah, did not alone defile the Sanctuary, by shedding innocent blood therein: but absolutely prohibited the burnt-offerings and the Sacrifices, commanding also that they should profane the Sabbaths, and the Festival days. So that the Sanctuary was laid waste, the holy days turned into mourning, and the Sabbath into a reproach, as the story tells us: some of the people so far yielding through fear and faintness, that they both offered unto Idols, and profaned the Sabbaths, as the King commanded. But

others, who preferred their piety before their fortunes, went down into the wilderness, and there hid themselves in caves and other secret places. Thither the enemies pursued them, and finding where they were in covert, assailed them on the Sabbath day; the Jews not making any, the least resistance, no not so much as stopping up the mouths of the Caves, *, as men resolved not to offend against the honor of the Sabbath, in what extremity soever. These men were certainly more persuaded of the morality of the Sabbath than David or Elijah in the former times: and being so persuaded, thought it not fit to fly or fight upon that day; no, though the supreme Law of Nature, which was the saving of their lives did call them to it. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*, in the Poet's language. But Mattathias, one of the Priests, a man that durst as much as any in the cause of God, and had not been infected with those dangerous fancies; taught those that were above him a more saving doctrine: Assuring them that they were bound to fight upon the Sabbath, if they were assaulted. For otherwise, if that they scrupulously observed the Law, in such necessities: *, they would be enemies to themselves, and finally be destroyed both they and their Religion. It was concluded thereupon, that whosoever came to make battle with them on the Sabbath day, they would fight against him: and afterwards it held for current, as Josephus tells us, that if necessity required, they made no scruple, *, to fight against their enemies on the Sabbath day. Yet by Josephus' leave, it held not long, as he himself shall tell us in another place: what time, the purpose of this resolution was perverted quite, by the nice vanities of those men who took upon them to declare the meaning of it. But howsoever it was with those of Jewry, such of their Countrymen as dwelt abroad amongst other Nations made no such scruple of the Sabbath; but that they were prepared, if occasion were, as well to bid the battle as to expect it: as may appear by this short story, which I shall here present in brief, leaving the Reader to Josephus for the whole at large. Two brethren, Asinaeus, and Anilaeus, born in Nearda, in the Territory of Babylon, began to fortify themselves, and commit great outrages: which known, the Governor of Babylon prepares his forces to suppress them. Having drawn up his Army, he lies in ambush near a marsh: and the next day, which was the Sabbath (wherein the Jews did use to rest from all manner of work), making account that without stroke stricken, they would yield themselves, he marched against them fair and softly, to come upon them unawares. But being discovered by the Scouts of Asinaeus, it was resolved amongst them to be far more safe, valiantly to behave themselves in that necessity, yea, though it were a breaking of the

very Law; than to submit themselves, and make proud the Enemy. Whereupon all of them at once marched forth, and slaughtered a great many of the enemies; the residue being constrained to save themselves by a speedy flight. The like did Anilaeus, after; being provoked by Mithridates, another Chieftain of those parts. This happened much about the year 3957, that of the Macchabees before remembered, Anno 3887, or thereabouts. Happy it was these brethren lived not in Judea; for had they done so there, the Scribes and Pharisees would have took an order with them; and cast them out of the Synagogues, if not used them worse.

(2) For by this time, those Sects which before we spake of, began to shew themselves, and disperse their doctrines. Josephus speaks not of them till the time of Jonathan, who entered on the Government of the Jewish Nation, Anno 3894. Questionless they were known and followed in the former times; though probably not so much in credit, their Dictates not so much adored, as in the Ages that came after. Of those the Pharisees were of most authority, being most active in their courses, severe professors of the Law, and such as by a seeming sanctity had gained exceedingly on the affections of the common people. The Sadducees were of less repute (though otherwise they had their dependents), as men that questioned some of the common principles: denying the resurrection of the dead, the hope of immortality. As for the Essees or Esseni, they were a kind of Monkish men, retired and private; of far more honesty than the Pharisees, but of far less cunning: therefore their Tendries not so generally received, or hearkened after, as the others were. In matters of the Sabbath, they were strict alike: but with some difference in the points wherein their strictness did consist. In this the Essee seems to go beyond the Pharisee, that they not only did abstain from dressing meat, and kindling fire upon the Sabbath:*. “But unto them it was unlawful to remove a dish, or any other vessel, out of the place wherein they found it, yea or to go aside to ease nature. And on the other side, the Pharisee in the multiplicity of his Sabbath speculations, went beyond the Essee: all of which were thrust upon the people as prescribed by God, and grounded in his holy Law; the perfect keeping of the which seemed their utmost industry. There is a dictate in the Scripture, that No man go out of his place on the Sabbath day. This was impossible to be kept, according to the words and letter: therefore there must be some device to expound this Text, and make the matter feasible. Hereupon Achiba, Simeon, and Hillel, three principal Rabbins of these times, found out a shift to satisfy the Text, and yet not

bind the people to impossible burdens. This was to limit out the Sabbath's journey, allowing them 2000 foot to stir up and down, for the ease and comfort of the body: by which device they thought the matter well made up, the people happily contented, and the Law observed. This was the refuge of the Jews, when afterwards the Christians pressed them with the not keeping of this Text, R. Achiba, Simeon, & Hillel magistri nostri tradiderunt nobis, ut bis mille pedes ambularem in Sabbato, as Saint Hierome tells us. But this being somewhat of the least, they afterwards improved it to 2000 Cubits, then to three quarters of a mile, as before we noted: and this, with this enlargement too, that in their Towns and Cities they might walk as much and as far as they listed, though as big as Nineveh. This Rab. Hillel above named, lived in the year 3928, which was some fifteen years after Jonathan's death: and therefore to be reckoned of these times in the which we are. The other two, for ought we know, were his Coatanei, and lived about the same times also. So for the other Text, Thou shalt not kindle fire on the Sabbath day, this also must be literally understood: and then comparing this with that in Exodus, Bake that which ye will bake to day; it needs must follow that no meat must be made ready on the Sabbath. We shewed before, that generally the people did use to fast on the Sabbath day, till they came from Church, that so they might be more attent unto the reading of the Law: this might suggest a plausible pretense unto the Pharisees of the latter times, to teach the people that they should forbear from dressing meat, that so their servants also might be present when the Law was read. Hence came the saying used amongst them, Quo parat in parasceve, vescetur in sabbato; He that doth cook it on the Eve, may eat upon the Sabbath. There is a Text in Jeremy, expressly against bearing of burdens on the Sabbath day. This by the Christian Fathers is interpreted of the burden of sin. Custodit animam suam qui non portat pondera peccatorum in die quietis, & sabbati; "That man doth safely keep his soul which doth not carry the burden of his sins in the day of rest, the eternal Sabbath," as S. Hierome hath it on the place. See the same Father also on the 58th of Isaiah; and Basil, on the first of the same Prophet. And certainly had God's intent been plain and peremptory, that whosoever did bear any burden on the Sabbath day should never enter into the kingdom of Heaven: our Savior never had commanded the poor lame man to take up his bed upon the Sabbath. But for the Pharisees, they have so dallied with this Text, that they have made both it, and themselves, ridiculous. For finding it impossible that men should carry nothing at all about them; to salve the matter, they devised some nice absurdities. "A man might wear

no nailed shoes on the Sabbath day, because the nails would be a burden: *: that which a man did carry on one shoulder only, was a burden to him; not what he carried upon both, as Origen informs us of them. So where they found it in the Law, that thou shalt do no manner of work, they would have no work done at all, no though it were to save one's life: neither to heal the wounded, or to cure the sick, both which they did object against Christ our Savior; nor finally to take sword in hand, for the defense either of men's persons, or their Country. And though their rigor herein had been over-ruled by Mattathias, and that it was concluded lawful to fight against their enemies on the Sabbath day; yet they found out a way to elude this order: teaching the people this, that they might fight that day against their enemies if they were assaulted; but not molest them in their preparations for assault and battery. This is now made the meaning of the former law, and this cost them dear. As good no Law at all, as so bad a Comment.

(3) For when that Pompey warred against them and besieged their Temple, he quickly found on what foot they halted; “and did accordingly make use of the occasions which they gave unto him. Had not the Ordinance of the Country, as Josephus tells it, commanded us to keep the Sabbath, and do no labor on that day: the Romans never had been able to have raised their Bulwarks. How so? *. Because the Law permits us to defend ourselves, in case at any time we are assailed, and urged to fight; but not to set upon them or disturb them when they have other work in hand. Which when the Romans found, saith he, they neither gave assault, or proffered any skirmish on the Sabbath days, but built their Towers and Bulwarks, and planted Engines thereupon: and the next day put them in use against the Jews. It seems too, that they were not well resolved on the former point, whether they might defend themselves on the Sabbath day, though they were assaulted. For on that day it was, that Pompey took the City, and enslaved the people. So Dio tells us touching the use the Romans made of that advantage: adds for the close of all, *, That at the last they were surprised upon the Saturday, not doing any thing in their own defense.” Strabo therein concurs with Dio in making Saturday the day; but takes it for a solemn fast, *, wherein it is not lawful to do any work. And so it was a fast indeed, but such a Fast as fell that time upon the Sabbath. Josephus tells us only that the Temple was taken in the third month, on a fasting day: which Casaubon conceives to be the seventh, and Scaliger the seventeenth of the month called Tamuz; but both agree upon it, that it was the Sabbath. As for their fasting on that day, it was permitted in this case, as before we

shewed. Yet could not this unfortunate rigor be any warning to the Jews, but needs they must offend again in the self-same kind. For just upon the same day seven and twenty years, the City was again brought under by Sosius and Herod, who had then besieged it: in the same month, and on the same day, as Josephus tells it; *, and on the day called Saturday, as Dion hath it. So fatal was it to the Jews, to perish in the folly of their superstitions. The first of these two actions, is placed in Anno 3991, therefore the last, being just 27 years after, must be 4018 of the World's Creation, Augustus Caesar being then in the Triumvirate.

(4) By means of these two victories, the Jews being tributary to the Romans, began to find admittance into their Dominions; in many places of the which they began to plant, and filled at last whole Townships with their numerous Families. Scarce any City of good note in Syria, and the lesser Asia, wherein the Jews were not considerable for their numbers; and in the which they had not Synagogues for their devotions. So that the manner of their lives, and forms of their Religion, being once observed: the Roman people, many of them, became affected to the rites of the Jewish worship, and amongst other Ceremonies, to the Sabbath also. It was the custom of the Romans to incorporate all Religions into their own; and worship those Gods whom before they conquered: *Et quos post cladem triumphatos colere coeperunt*, in Minutius' words. Therefore the marvel is the less, that they were fond of something in the Jews' Religion; though of all others they most hated that, as most repugnant to their own. Yet many of them, out of wantonness and a love to novelties, began to stand upon the Sabbath; some would be also circumcised, & abstain from flesh; others use Candlesticks and Tapers, as they saw the Jews. The Satyrist thus scoffs them for it.

Quidam sortiti metuentem Sabbata parem, Nil praeter nubes & coeli numen adorant, Nec distare putant humana carne suillam, Quapater abstinnis: mox & praeputia ponunt.

Some following him, the Sabbaths who devised, Only the Clouds and Sky, for Gods adore; Hating Swine's flesh, as they did man's before, Cause he forbare it; and are circumcised.

Remember Persius taunteth them with their Sabbata recutita, as before we noted. Now as the Poet did upbraid them with Circumcision, and forbearing Swine's flesh: so Seneca derides them for the Sabbaths, and their burning Tapers on the same, as a thing unnecessary; neither the Gods

being destitute of light, nor mortal men in love with smoke. *Accendere aliquam lucernam Sabbatis praecipiamus, quoniam nec lumine dii egent, & ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine.* Nay, some of them bewail the same, and wish their Empire never had extended so far as Jewry; that so the Romans might not have been acquainted with these superstitions of their Sabbaths. For thus Rutilius Claudius, having before upbraided them for the Circumcision and other ceremonies; doth thus deride them for their Sabbaths.

Radix stultitiae, cui frigida Sabbata cordi, Sed cor frigidius religione sua. Septima quaque dies turpi damnata veterno, Tanquam lassati mollis imago Dei. Caetera mendacis deliramenta Catastae, Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor. Atq; utinam nunquam Iudaea subacta fuisset Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi. Latius excisae gentis contagia serpunt, Victoresque suos natio victa premit.

Vain men, by whom their sluggish Sabbaths are So priz'd, yet have an heart more sluggish far: Who each seventh day to their old sloth devote; Of their tired God, a true, but lazy note. Other the dotages of that lying Sect, Me thinks no child should credit, or respect. O would Judea never had been won By Pompey's armies, or Vespasian's son! Their superstition spreads itself so far, That they give Laws unto the Conqueror.

Nor were the Sabbaths entertained only in Rome itself. Some, in almost all places of their Empire, were that way inclined; as Seneca most rightly noted. *Eo usque sceleratissima gentis consuetudo invaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit, & victi victoribus leges dederunt.*

“So far, saith he, the custom of that wretched people hath prevailed amongst us, that it is now received over all the world; and the conquered seem to prescribe laws unto the victors.” Saint Augustine so reports him in his sixth Book *De Civitate*. And this is that which Philo means when as he calls the Sabbath *, the general Festival of all people: when he sets up this challenge against all the World, *; etc. “What man is there in all the World, who doth not reverence this our holy Sabbath, which bringeth rest and ease to all sorts of Men, Masters, and servants, bond and free, yea, to the very brute beasts also?” Not that they knew the Sabbath by the light of nature, or had observed the same in all ages past; but that they had admitted it in Philo's time, as a Jewish ceremony. For let Josephus be the Comment upon Philo's Text, and he will thus unfold his meaning. “The Laws, saith he, established amongst us, have been imitated of all other Nations: *. Yea,

and the common people did long since imitate our piety. Neither is there any Nation Greek or Barbarous, to which our use of resting on the seventh day hath not spread itself: who also keep not Fasting days, and Lamps with lights; and many of those Ordinances about meats and drinks which are enjoined us by the Law.” So far Josephus. By which it is most clear and manifest, that if the Gentiles in these times took up the fashion of keeping every seventh day sacred; it was in imitation only, and not as taught by the law, or light of nature. For were it otherwise, their keeping fasting days, and lamps with lights, and other things before remembered, must have been planted in them by nature also.

(5) These Romans, and what other nations they were soever which did thus Judaize about the Sabbath, were many of them Proselytes of the Jews: such as had been admitted into that Religion: for it appears that they did also worship the God of heaven, and were circumcised, and abstained from swine’s flesh. Otherwise we may well believe that of their own accord they had not bound themselves so generally to observe the Sabbath, being no parts nor members of the Jewish state: considering that such strangers as lived amongst them, not being circumcised nor within the Covenant, were not obliged so to do. Tostatus tells us of two sorts of strangers amongst the Jews. The first, *Qui adveniebat de Gentilitate, & convertebatur ad Iudaismum*, etc. Who being originally of the Gentiles, had been converted to the religion of the Jews, and were circumcised, and lived amongst them: and such were bound, saith he, to observe the Sabbath, & *omnes observantias legis*, and all other rites of the Law of Moses. This is evident by that in the 12th of Exodus where it is said, that every man- servant bought with money, when he was circumcised should eat the Passover: but that the foreigner and hired servant (conceive it not being circumcised) might not eat thereof. The other sort of strangers, such as lived amongst them only for a certain time to trade and traffic: or upon any other business, of what sort soever. “And they, saith he, were not obliged by the Commandment to keep the Sabbath, *Quia non poterant cogi ad aliquam observantiam legalem, nisi vellent accipere circumcisionem*: Because they could not be constrained to any legal ordinance, except they would be circumcised, which was the door unto the rest. Finally, he resolves it thus, that by the stranger within their gates, which by the Law were bound to observe the Sabbath; were only meant such strangers, *De Gentilitate ad Iudaismum conversi*, which had renounced their Gentilism, and embraced the Religion of the Jews. And he resolved it so, no doubt, according to the

practice of the Jews amongst whom he lived; and to the doctrine of the Rabbins, amongst whose writings he was very conversant. Lyra, himself a Jew, and therefore one who knew their customs as well as any, doth affirm as much; and tells us that the stranger, in the Law intended, *Gentilis est conversus ad ritum Judaeorum*, is such a stranger as had been converted to the Jewish Church. And this may yet appear, in part, by the present practice of that people, “who though themselves milk not their kine, on the Sabbath day, *Permissum est iis ut die Sabbatino dicant Christiano*, etc. Yet they may give a Christian leave to perform that office; and they to buy the milk of him for a toy, or trifle.” Add here what formerly we noted of their servants. Of whom we told you out of Rabbi Maimony, that if they were not circumcised, or baptized, they were as sojourning strangers; and might do work for themselves openly on the Sabbath, as any of the Israelites might do on a working day. By which it seems that strangers, yea, and servants too, in case they were not circumcised, or otherwise initiated into their Churches, were not obliged to keep the Sabbath. And here it is to be observed out of Rabbi Maimony, that servants not being circumcised, might lawfully work on the Sabbath for themselves, though not for their Masters: which plainly shews, that the Commandment of keeping holy the seventh day, in the opinion of the Rabbins, was given unto the Masters principally; and not unto the servants, but by way of Accessory. So then it seems that by the Jews themselves, the keeping of the Sabbath was not taken for a moral Law; or supposed to concern any but themselves, and those of their religion only. For had they took it for a part of the Law of Nature, as universally to be observed as any other; they had not suffered it to be broke amongst them, before their faces, and that without control or censure: no more than they would have permitted a sojourning stranger to blaspheme their God, or publicly to set up Idolatry, or without punishment to steal their goods or destroy their persons. The rather since their Sabbath had prevailed so far as to be taken up with other parts of their religion, in many principal Cities of the Roman Empire: or otherwise, by way of imitation, so much in use among the Gentiles. And this I have the rather noted in this place and time, because that in these times, the Country of the Jews was most resorted to by all sorts of strangers; and they themselves in favor with the Roman Emperors.

(5) [sic] Indeed these customs of the Jews did fly about the Roman Empire with a swifter wing, by reason of that countenance which great Augustus Caesar did shew both to the men, and unto their Sabbath. First, for the

men, he did not only suffer them to enjoy the liberty of conscience in their own Country; and there to have their Synagogues and public places of assembly, as before they had: but he permitted them to inhabit a great part of Rome, and there to live according to their country's laws. *, "and yet, saith he, he knew that they had their Proseuchas, or Oratories; that they assembled in the same, especially on the holy Sabbaths; and finally, that there they were instructed in their own Religion. Then for the Sabbath, the Jews had anciently been accustomed not to appear in judgment either upon the Sabbath day or the Eve before. Augustus doth confirm this privilege, bestows upon their Synagogues the prerogative of Sanctuary, enables them to live according to the Laws of their own Country; and finally threateneth severe punishment on those which should presume to do any thing against his Edict. The tenor of which Edict is as followeth. Caesar Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pleb. ita censet. Quoniam Judaeorum gens semper fida & gratafuit populo Romans etc. placet mihi de communi Senatus sententia, eos propriis uti legibus & ritibus, quibus utebantur tempore Hyrcani Pontificis Dei maximi, & corum fanis jus Asyli manere, etc. neque cogi ad praestanda vadimonia Sabbatis, aut pridie Sabbatorum, post horam nonam in Parasceve, etc. Quod si quis contra decretum ausus fuerit, gravi poena mulctabitur. In English thus. "Forasmuch as the Nation of the Jews hath been always faithful to the Romans, etc. I have ordained with the consent of the Senate, that they shall live according to their own rites and laws, which they observed in the time of Hyrcanus Priest of the most high God: and that their Temple shall retain the right of a Sanctuary, etc. And that they shall not be compelled to appear before any Judge on their Sabbath days, or on the day before in the afternoon; if any shall presume to do contrary to our Decree, he shall be punished with a grievous punishment." This Edict was set forth Anno 4045, and after, many of that kind were published in several Provinces, by Mark Agrippa, Provost General under Caesar: as also by Norbanus Flaccus, and Julius Antonius, Proconsuls at that time; whereof see Julius Antonius. Nay, when the Jews were grown so strict, that it was thought unlawful either to give, or take an alms on the Sabbath day; Augustus, for his part, was willing not to break them of it; yet so to order and dispose his bounties, that they might be no losers by so fond a strictness. For whereas he did use to distribute, monthly, a certain donative, either in money, or in corn: this distribution sometimes happened on the Sabbath days, *, as Philo hath it, whereon the Jews might neither give nor take, neither indeed do any thing that did tend to sustenance." Therefore, saith he, it was provided, that their proportion should be given

them *, on the next day after, that so they might be made partakers of the public benefit. Not give nor take an Almes on the Sabbath day? Their superstition sure was now very vehement, seeing it would not suffer men to do the works of mercy, on the day of mercy. And therefore it was more than time, they should be sent to school again, to learn this lesson; I will have mercy and not sacrifice.

(6) And so indeed they were, sent unto School to him, who in himself was both the teacher and the truth. For at this time our Savior came into the world. And had there been no other business for him to do: this only might have seemed to require his presence; viz. to rectify those dangerous errors, which had been spread abroad, in these latter times, about the Sabbath. The service of the Sabbath, in the congregation, he found full enough. The custom was, to read a Section of the law, out of the Pentateuch or five Books of Moses; and after, to illustrate, or confirm the same, out of some parallel place amongst the Prophets. That ended, if occasion were, and that the Rulers of the Synagogue did consent unto it; there was a word of exhortation made unto the people, conducing to obedience, and the works of piety. So far it is apparent by that passage in the Acts of the Apostles; touching S. Paul, and Barnabas: that being at Antioch in Pisidia, on the Sabbath day, after the reading of the Law and Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation to speak unto the people, dicite, say on. As for the Law (I note this only by the way) they had divided it into 54 Sections, which they read over in the two and fifty Sabbaths: joining two of the shortest, twice, together, that so it might be all read over within the year; beginning on the Sabbath, which next followed the feast of Tabernacles, ending on that which came before it. So far our Savior found no fault, but rather countenanced & confirmed the custom, by his gracious presence, and example. But in these rigid vanities, and absurd traditions, by which the Scribes and Pharisees had abused the Sabbath, and made it of an ease to become a drudgery: in those he thought it requisite to detect their follies, and ease the people of that bondage; which they, in their proud humors, had imposed upon them. The Pharisees had taught, that it was unlawful on the Sabbath day, either to heal the impotent, or relieve the sick, or feed the hungry: but he confutes them all, both by his Acts, and by his disputations. Whatever he maintained by argument, he made good by practice. Did they accuse his followers, of gathering corn upon the Sabbath, being then an hungered? he lets them know what David did, in the

same extremity. Their eating, or their gathering on the Sabbath day, take you which you will, was not more blameable, nay not so blameable by the law; as David's eating of the shewbread: which plainly was not to be eat by any, but the Priest alone. The cures he did upon the Sabbath, what were they more, than what themselves did daily do, in laying salves unto those Infants, whom on the Sabbath day they had circumcised? His bidding of the impotent man to take up his bed, & get him gone, which seemed so odious in their eyes; was it so great a toil, as to walk round the walls of Jericho, and bear the Ark upon their shoulders? or any greater burden to their idle backs, than to lift up the ox, and set him free out of that dangerous ditch, into the which the hasty beast might fall as well upon the Sabbath, as the other days? Shoud men take care of oxen, and not God of man? Not so. The Sabbath was not made for a lazy idol, which all the Nations of the world should fall down, and worship: but for the ease and comfort of the laboring man, that he might have some time to refresh his spirits, *Sabbatum propter homine factum est*, the Sabbath, saith our Savior, was made for man; man was not made to serve the Sabbath. Nor had God so irrevocably spoke the word, touching the sanctifying of the Sabbath, that he had left himself no power to repeal that Law; in case he saw the purpose of the Law perverted: the Son of man, even he that was the Son both of God and Man, being Lord also of the Sabbath, Nay it is rightly marked by some, that Christ our Savior did more works on charity on the Sabbath day, than on all other days else. Zanchius observes it out of Irenaeus, *Saepius multo Christum in die Sabbati praestitisse opera charitatis, quam in alii diebus*; and his note is good. Not that there was some urgent and extreme necessity; either the Cures to be performed that day, or the man to perish. For if we look into the story of our Savior's actions, we find no such matter. It's true, that the Centurion's son, and Peter's mother in law, were even sick to death: and there might be some reason in it, why he should haste unto their Cures, on the Sabbath day. But on the other side, the man that had the withered hand, Matth.13; and the woman with her flux of blood 18 years together, Luk.13; he that was troubled with the dropsy, Luk.14; and the poor wretch which was afflicted with the palsy, Joh.5; in none of these was found any such necessity, but that the cure might have been respited to another day. What then? shall it be thought our Savior came to destroy the Law? No, God forbid. Himself hath told us, that he came to fulfill it rather. He came to let them understand the right meaning of it; that for the residue of time wherein it was to be in force, they might no longer be misled by the Scribes and Pharisees, and such blind guides as

did abuse them. Thus have I briefly summed together, what I find scattered in the writings of the ancient Fathers: which who desires to find at large, may look into Irenaeus, li.4.ca.19.&20. Origen, in Num.homs.23. Tertull.lie .4. contr.Marcion. Athanas.hom.de Semente,p.1061.& 1072.edit.gr.lat. Victor Antioch. cap.3.in Marcum. Chrysost.hom.39.in Matth.12. Epiphan.li.I. haeres.30.n.32. Hierom. in Matth.12. Ambros.in cap.3. Luk.li.3. Augustin. cont.Faustum, li.16.ca.28.&li.19.ca.9. to descend no lower. With one of which Father's sayings, we conclude this list. "Non ergo Dominus rescindit Scripturam, Vet. Tost. sed cogit intelligi. Our Savior's purpose, saith the Father, was not to take away the Law, but to expound it."

(7) Not then to take away the Law; it was to last a little longer. He had not yet pronounced, Consummatum est, that the Law was abrogated. Nor might it seem so proper for him, to take away one Sabbath from us, which was rest from labor; until he had provided us of another, which was rest from sin. And to provide us such a Sabbath was to cost him dearer, than words and arguments. He healed us by his Word before. Now he must heal us by his stripes, or else no entrance into his rest, the eternal Sabbath. Besides the Temple stood as yet, and whilst that stood, or was in hope to be rebuilt, there was no end to be expected of the legal Ceremonies. The sabbath, and the Temple did both end together; and which is more remarkable, on a Sabbath day. The Jewes were still sick of their old disease, and would not stir a foot on the Sabbath day, beyond their compass: no, though it were to save their Temple, and in that their Sabbath, or whatsoever else was most dear unto them. Nay, they were more superstitious now, than they were before. For whereas in the former times, it had been thought unlawful, to take arms and make war on the Sabbath day; unless they were assaulted and their lives in danger: now, *, it was pronounced unlawful even to treat of peace. A fine contradiction. Agrippa laid this home unto them, when first they entertained a rebellious purpose against the Romans, *, etc. "If you observe the custom of the Sabbaths, and in them do nothing, it will be no hard matter to bring you under: for so your Ancestors found in their wars with Pompey, who ever deferred his works until that day, wherein his enemies were idle and made no resistance. *, etc. If on the other side, you take arms that day, then you transgress your Country's Laws, yourselves; and so I see no cause why you should rebel." Where note, Agrippa calls the Sabbath, a custom, and their Country's Law; which makes it evident that they thought it not any

Law of Nature. Now what Agrippa said, did in fine fall out: the City being taken on the Sabbath day, as Jos. Scaliger computes it; or the Parasceve of the Sabbath, as Rab. Joses hath determined. Most likely that it was on the Sabbath day, itself. For Dion speaking of this war, and of this taking of the City, concludes it thus. *. “Jerusalem, saith he, was taken on the Saturday, which the Jews most reverence till this day.” Thus fell the Temple of the Jews, and with it all the Ceremonies of the Law of Moses.” Since when, according as Eusebius tells us, *, etc. It is not lawful for that people, either to sacrifice according to the Law, or to build a Temple, or erect an Altar, to consecrate their Priests, or anoint their Kings, *, or finally, to hold their solemn assemblies, or any of their Festivals, ordained by Moses.”

(8) For that the Sabbath was to end with other legal Ceremonies, is by this apparent, first, that it was an institute of Moses; and secondly, an institute peculiar to the Jewish Nation; both which we have already proved: and therefore was to end with the Law of Moses, and the state of Jewry. Fathers there be good store, which affirm as much: some of the which shall be produced to express themselves, that we may see what they conceived of the abrogation of the Sabbath. And first for Justin Martyr, it is his chief scope and purpose in his conference with Trypho, to make it manifest and unquestionable; that as there was no use of Circumcision, before Abraham’s time, nor of the Sabbath until Moses, *, so neither is there any use of them, at this present time: that as it took beginning then, so it was now to have an end. Tertullian in his argument against the Marcionites, draws out this conclusion. *Ad tempus & praesentis causae necessitatem convaluisse, non ad perpetuit temporis observationem*; “That God ordained the Sabbath, upon special reasons, and as the times did then require; not that it should continue always.” Saint Athanasius thus discourseth: “When God, saith he, had finished the first Creation, he did betake himself to rest, *, etc and therefore those of that creation, did celebrate their Sabbath on the seventh day. But the accomplishment of the new creature hath no end at all, and therefore God still worketh, as the Gospel teacheth. Hence is it, that we keep no Sabbath, as the ancients did, expecting an eternal Sabbath, which shall have no end.” That of S. Abrose, *Synagoga diem observat, Ecclesia immortalitatem*, comes most near to this. But he that speaks most fully to this point, is the great S. Austin; and what he saith, shall be delivered under three several heads. first, that the Sabbath is quite abrogated; *Tempore gratiae revelatae, observatio illa Sabbati, quae unius diei vacatione figurabatur, ablata est ab observatione fidelium*: The keeping

of the Sabbath, is taken utterly away, in this time of Grace. De Genesis ad lit. 1.4.c.13. See the like ad Bonifac.1.3.Tom.7. contra Faust. Man.1.6.c.4. Qu.ex N.Test.69. Secondly, that the Sabbath was not kept in the Church of Christ; In illis decem praecepta, excepta Sabbati observatione, dicatur mihi quid non sit observandum a Christiano, desp. & lit.c.14. “What is there (saith the Father) in all the Decalogue, except the keeping of the Sabbath, which is not punctually to be observed of every Christian?” More of the like occurs de Genesi contr. Manich.1.1.c.22. cont. Adimant.ca.2. Qu. in Exod.1.2.1u.173. And Thirdly, that it is not lawful for a Christian to observe the Sabbath. For speaking of the Law, how it was a Pedagogue, to bring us unto the knowledge of Christ; he adds, “that in those Institutes and Ordinances, Quibus Christianis uti fas non est, quale est Sabbatum, circumcisio, sacrificia, etc. which are not lawful to be used by any Christian, such as are the Sabbath, circumcision, sacrifices, and such other things; many great mysteries were contained.” And in another place, Quisquis diem illum observat, sicut litera sonat, carnaliter sapit. Sapere autem secundum carnem mors est. “He that doth literally keep the Sabbath favors of the flesh; but to favor of the flesh is death.” Therefore no Sabbath to be kept by the sons of life.

(9) No Sabbath to be kept at all? We affirm not so: We know there is a spiritual Sabbath, a Sabbath figured out unto us in the fourth Commandment, which every Christian man must keep, who doth desire to enter into the rest of God. This is that Sabbath which the Prophet Isaiah hath commended to us. Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it. Quid autem sabbatum est quod praecipit observandum, etc. “What Sabbath is it, saith S. Hierome, which is here commanded? The following words, saith he, will inform us that, keeping our hands from doing evil. This is the Sabbath here commanded, Sibona faciens quiescat a malis, if doing what is good we do rest from sin.” Nor was this his conceit alone; the later Writers so expound it. The Prophet in this place, saith Ryvet, thus prophesies of the Church of Christ, Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and keepeth his hands from doing any evil. Ubi manus suas a malo. And in these words, saith he, to keep a Sabbath in the Christian Church, is only to preserve our hands from doing evil. The like spiritual Sabbath doth the man of God prescribe unto us in the 58 Chap. of his book. If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, etc. not doing thine own way, nor finding thine own pleasures, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou

delight thyself in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, etc. What saith S. Hierome unto this? It must be understood, saith he, spiritually. *Alioquin si haec tantum prohibentur in Sabbato, ergo in aliis sex diebus tribuitur nobis libertas delinquendi.* “For otherwise, if those things above remembered, are prohibited only on the Sabbaths; then were it lawful for us on the other days, to follow our own sinful courses, speak our own idle words, and pursue our own voluptuous pleasures; which were most foolish to imagine.” And so saith Ryvet too for the modern Writers, *Perpetuam ab omnibus operibus nostris vitiosam cessationem, etc.* “That everlasting rest from all sinful works, which is begun in this life, here; and finished in the life to come; is signified and represented by those words of Isaiah, ca.58.” They therefore much mistake these Texts, and the meaning of them, who grounding thereupon, forbid all manner of recreations and lawful pleasures, on their supposed Sabbath day; as being utterly prohibited by God’s holy Prophet. The Jews did thus abuse this Scripture, in the times before: and made it an unlawful matter, for any man to walk into the fields, or to see his Gardens on the Sabbath day; either to mark what things they wanted, or how well they prospered: because this was to do his own pleasure, and so forbidden by the Prophet. But those that understand the spiritual Sabbath, apply them to a better purpose; as was showed before. And for the Christian or spiritual Sabbath, what it is, and in what things it doth consist, besides what hath been said already, we shall add something more from the ancient Fathers. If any man, saith Justin Martyr, which hath been formerly a perjured person, a deceiver of his Neighbors, an incontinent liver, repents him of his sins, and amends his life: * That man doth keep a true and holy Sabbath day to the Lord his God. See to this purpose also, Clemens of Alexandria, Strom l.4. So Origen, *Omnis qui vivit in Christo semper in Sabbatis vivit*; “That man, whose life is hid with Christ in God, keeps a daily Sabbath.” See to that purpose, Hom.23. in Numbers, Macarius tells us also, that the Sabbath given from God by Moses, was a Type only and a shadow of that real Sabbath *, given by the Lord unto the soul. More fully Chrysostome *, etc. “What else, saith he, is there of a Sabbath, to him whose conscience is a continual Feast, to him whose conversation is in Heaven? For now we feast it every day, doing no manner of wickedness, but keeping a spiritual rest, holding our hands from covetousness, our bodies from uncleanness. What need we more? The Law of righteousness contains ten Commandments.” The first, to know God; the second to abstain from Idols; the third not to profane God’s Name; The fourth, *Sabbatum celebrare spirituale*, to keep

the true spiritual Sabbath, etc. So he that made the *Opus imperfectum*, on Saint Matthew's Gospel. Saint Augustine finally makes the fourth Commandment, so far as it concerns us Christians, to be no more than *requies cordis, & tranquillitas mentis, quam facit bona conscientia*, "the quiet of the heart, and the peace of mind occasioned by a good conscience." Of any other Sabbath to be looked for now, the Fathers utterly are silent: and therefore we may well resolve, there is no such thing.

(10) Yet notwithstanding this, the Jews still dote upon their Sabbath; and that more sottishly, and with more superstition far, than they ever did. A view whereof I shall present you, and so conclude the first part of this present argument. And first for the Parasceves, or their Eves, Buxdorfius thus informs us of their vain behavior, *Die Veneris singuli ungues de digitis ab abscindunt*, etc.

"On Friday in the afternoon, they pare their nails, and whet their knives, and lay their holy-day clothes in readiness, for the reception of Queen Sabbath, for so they call it; and after lay the cloth, & set on their meat, that nothing to be done upon the morrow. About the evening goes the Sexton from door to door, commanding all the people to abstain from work, and to make ready for the Sabbath. That done they take no work in hand. Only the women, when the Sun is near its setting, light up their Sabbath lamps in their dining rooms; and stretching out their hands towards them, give them their blessing and depart. The morrow they begin their Sabbath, very early; and for an entrance thereunto, array themselves in their best clothes, and their richest jewels: it being the conceit of Rabbi Solomon, that the memento in the Front of the fourth Commandment, was placed there especially, to put the Jews in mind of their holy-day Garments." Nay, so precise they are in these preparations, and the following rest; that if a Jew go forth on Friday, and on the night falls short of home, more than is lawful to be traveled on the Sabbath day: there must he set him down, and there keep his Sabbath, though in a Wood, or in the Field, or the highway side, without all fear of wind or weather, of Thieves or Robbers, without all care also of meat and drink *Periculo latronum praedonumque omni, penuria item omni cibi potusque, neglectis*, as that Author hath it. For their behavior on the Sabbath, & in the strange niceties wherewith they abuse themselves, he describes it thus, *Equus aut asinus, Domini ipsius stabulo exiens, froenum aut capistrum non aliud quicquam portabit*, etc. "An horse may have a bridle, or an halter, to lead, not a saddle to load him; and he that leadeth him, must not let it hang so loose, that it may seem he rather

carrieth the bridle, than leads the Horse. An Hen must not wear her hose, sowed about her leg. They may not milk their Kine, nor eat any of the milk, though they have procured some Christian to do that work; unless they buy it. A Taylor may not wear his Needle sticking on his sleeve. The lame may use a staff, but the blind may not. They may not burden themselves with Clogs or Pattens, to keep their feet out of the dirt: nor rub their Shoes, if foul, against the ground; but against a wall: nor wipe their dirty hands with a cloth or Towel; but with a Cow's or Horse's tail may they do it lawfully. A wounded man may wear a plaster on his sore, that formerly was applied unto it: but if it fall off, he may not lay it on anew, or bind up any wound that day, nor carry money in their purses, or about their clothes. They may not carry a fan or flap to drive away the Flies. If a Flea bite, they may remove it, but not kill it; but a Louse they may; yet Rabbi Eliezer thinks one may as lawfully kill a Camel. They must not fling more Corn unto their Poultry, than will serve that day: lest it may grow by lying still, and they be said to sow their Corn upon the Sabbath. To whistle a tune with one's mouth, or play it on an instrument, is unlawful utterly: as also to knock with the ring, or hammer of a door; or knock one's hand upon a Table, though it be only to still a child. So likewise, to draw letters either in dust or ashes, or on a wet-board is prohibited; but not to fancy them in the air." With many other infinite absurdities of the like poor nature, wherewith the Rabbins have been pleased to afflict their brethren, and make good sport to all the World, which are not either Jews, or Jewishly affected. Nay, to despite our Savior, as Buxdorfius tells us, they have determined since, that it is unlawful to lift the Ox or Ass out of the ditch; which in the strictest time of Pharisaical rigors, was accounted lawful. Indeed the marvel is the less, that they are so uncharitable to poor Brute creatures; when as they take such little pity upon themselves. Crantzius reports a story of a Jew of Magdeburg, who falling on the Saturday, into a Privy, would not be taken out, because it was the Sabbath day: and that the Bishop gave command, that there he should continue on the Sunday also: so that between both, the poor Jew was poisoned with the very stink. The like our Annals do relate of a Jew of Tewkesbury; whose story being cast into three rhyming Verses, according to the Poetry of those times, I have here presented and translated: Dialogue-wise as they first made it.

*Tende manus Solomon, ut te de stercore tollam.
Sabbata nostracolo, de stercore surgere nolo.
Sabbata nostra quidem, Solomon celebrabis ibidem.*

Friend Solomon, thy hands up-rear, And from the jakes I will thee bear.
 Our Sabbath I so highly prize, That from the place I will not rise.
 Then Solomon, without more ado, Our Sabbath thou shalt keep there too.

For the continuance of their Sabbath, as they begin it early on the day before; so they prolong it on the day till late at night. And this they do in pity to the souls in Hell; who all the while the Sabbath lasteth, have free leave to play. For as they tell us, silly wretches, “upon the Eve of the sabbath, it is proclaimed in Hell, that every one may go his way, and take his pleasure: and when the sabbath is concluded, they are recalled again to the house of torments.” I am ashamed to meddle longer in these trifles, these dreams and dotages of infatuated men, given over to a reprobate sense. Nor had I stood so long upon them, but that in this Anatomy of the Jewish follies, I might let some amongst us see, into what dangers they are falling. For there are some, indeed too many, who taking this for granted, which they cannot prove, that the Lord’s Day succeeds into the place and rights of the Jewish Sabbath; and is to be observed by virtue of the fourth Commandment: have trenched too near upon the Rabbins, in binding men to nice & scrupulous observances; which neither we, nor our Fore-fathers, were ever able to endure. But with what warrant they have made a Sabbath day, in the Christian Church, where there was never any known in all times before; or upon what authority, they have presumed to lay such heavy burdens, upon the consciences of poor men, which are free in Christ, we shall the better see, by tracing down the story from our Savior’s time, unto the times in which we live. But I will here sit down and rest, beseeching God, who enabled me thus far, to guide me onwards to the end.

Tu qui principio medium, medio adjice finem.

THE SECOND BOOK

Colossians 2:16,17. Let no man judge you in meate or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new Moone, or of the SABBATH dayes: which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

AND such I hope to meet with, in this part especially; which treating of the affairs of the Christian Church, cannot but be displeasing unto them, which are not Christianly affected. Our former Book we destined to the Jewish part of this enquiry; wherein, though long it was before we found it, yet at the last we found a Sabbath. A Sabbath which began with that state and Church, and ended also when they were no longer to be called a Nation; but a dispersed and scattered ruin of what once they were. In that which followeth, our enquiry must be more diffused, of the same latitude with the Church; a Church not limited & confined to some Tribes and Kindreds, but generally spreading over all the world. We may affirm it of the Gospel, what Florus sometimes said of the state of Rome. Ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani facta discant. The history of the Church, and of the World, are of like extent. So that the search herein, as unto me it was more painful in the doing, so unto thee will it be more pleasing being done; because of that variety which it will afford thee. And this Part we have called the History of the Sabbath too; although the institution of the Lord's Day, and entertainment of the same in all times and Ages since that institution, be the chief thing whereof it treateth. For being it is said, by some, that the Lord's Day succeeded by the Lord's appointment, into the place and rights of the Jewish Sabbath; so to be called, and so to be observed, as the Sabbath was: this book was wholly to be spent in the search thereof, whether in all, or any Ages of the Church, either such doctrine had been preached, or such practice pressed, upon the consciences of God's people. And search indeed we did with all care and diligence, to see if we could find a Sabbath, in any evidence of Scripture, or writings of the holy Fathers, or Edicts of Emperors, or Decrees of Councils, or finally in any of the public Acts & Monuments of the Christian Church. But after several searches made, upon the alias, and the pluries, we still return, Non est inventus, and thereupon resolve in the Poet's language, Et quod non invenis usquam, esse putes

nusquam; that which is no where to be found, may very strongly be concluded not to be at all. Buxdorffius in the 11th Chapter of his Synagoga Iudaica, out of Antonius Margarita, tells us of the Jews, quod die sabbatino, praeter animam consuetam, praediti sunt & alia; that on the Sabbath day, they are persuaded that they have an extraordinary soul infused into them, which doth enlarge their hearts, and rouse up their spirits. Ut Sabbatum multo honorabilius peragere possint, that they may celebrate the Sabbath with the greater honor. And though this sabbatary soul, may by a Pythagorical *, seem to have transmigrated from the Jews, into the bodies of some Christians, in these later days: yet I am apt to give myself good hopes, that by presenting to their view, the constant practice of God's Church in all times before, and the consent of all God's Churches at this present; they may be dispossessed thereof without great difficulty. It is but anima superflua, as Buxdorffius calls it; and may be better spared, than kept, because superfluous. However I shall easily persuade myself, that by this general representation of the state and practice of the Church of Christ, I may confirm the wavering, in a right persuasion; and assure such as are already well affected, by shewing them the perfect harmony and agreement, which is between this Church and the purest times. It is our constant prayer to almighty God, as well that he would strengthen such as do stand, and confirm the weak, as to raise up those men which are already fallen into sin and error. As are our prayers, such should be also our endeavors; as universal to all sorts of men, as charitable to them in their several cases and distresses. Happy those men, who do aright discharge their duties, both in their prayers, and their performance. The blessing of our labors we must leave to him, who is all in all: without whom all Paul's planting, and Appolo's watering, will yield poor increase. In which of these three states soever thou art, good Christian Reader, let me beseech thee kindly to accept these pains; which for thy sake were undertaken; that so I might, in some poor measure, be an instrument, to strengthen or confirm, or raise thee; as thy case requires. This is the most that I desire, and less than this thou couldst not do, did I not desire it. And so fare thee well.

CHAPTER 1

THAT THERE IS NOTHING FOUND IN SCRIPTURE, TOUCHING THE KEEPING OF THE LORDS DAY.

(1) The Sabbath not intended for a perpetuall ordinance. (2) Preparatives unto the dissolution of the Sabbath, by our Savior Christ. (3) The Lords day not enjoyed in the place thereof, either by Christ, or his Apostles: but instituted by the authority of the Church. (4) Our Saviours resurrection on the first day of the weeke, and apparitions on the same, make it not a Sabbath. (5) The comming downe of the Holy Ghost, upon the first day of the weeke, makes it not a Sabbath. (6) The first day of the weeke not kept more like a Sabbath, than the other dayes, by Saint Peter, Saint Paul, or any other of the Apostles. (7) Saint Paul frequents the Synagogue, on the Iewish Sabbath; and upon what reasons. (8) What was concluded against the Sabbath, in the Councell holden in Hierusalem. (9) The preaching of Saint Paul at Troas, upon the first day of the weeke, no argument, that then that day was set apart by the Apostles, for religious exercises. (10) Collections, on the first day of the week, I Cor.16, conclude as little for that purpose. (11) Those places of Saint Paul, Galat.4.10; Coloss.2.16, doe prove iinvincibly, that there is no Sabbath to be looked for. (12) The first day of the week not called the Lords day, untill the end of the first age: and what that title addes unto it.

(1) WE shewed you in the former book what did occur about the Sabbath, from the Creation of the world to the destruction of the Temple: which comprehended the full time of 4000 years and upwards, in the opinion of the most and best Chronologers. Now for five parts of eight of the time computed, from the Creation to the Law, being in all 2540 years and somewhat more, there was no Sabbath known at all. And for the fifteen hundred, being the remainder, it was not so observed by the Jews themselves as if it had been any part of the Law of Nature; but sometimes kept, and sometimes broken; either according as men's private businesses, or the affairs of the republic, would give way unto it. Never such conscience made thereof, as of adultery, murder, blasphemy, or idolatry; no not when as the Scribes and Pharisees had most made it burdensome, there

being many *casus reservati*, wherein they could dispense with the fourth Commandment, though not with any of the other. Had they been all alike, equally natural and moral as it is conceived; they had been all alike observed, all alike immutable: no jot nor syllable of that law, which was ingraft by nature in the soul of man, being to fall to the ground, till heaven & earth shall pass away and decay together; till the whole frame of Nature, for preservation of the which that Law was given, be dissolved for ever. The Abrogation of the Sabbath which before we spake of, shows plainly that it was no part of the Moral law, or Law of Nature: there being no law natural, which is not perpetual. Tertullian takes it for conceit, or at least makes it plain and evident. *Temporale fuisse mandatum quod quandoque cessaret*, that it was only a temporary constitution, which was in time to have an end. And after him, Procopius Gazaeus, in his notes on Exodus, lays down two several sorts of laws whereof some were to be perpetual and some were not; of which last sort were Circumcision, and the Sabbath, *Quae duraverunt usque in adventum Christi*, which lasted till our Saviours's coming; and he being come, went out insensibly of themselves. For as S. Abrose rightly tells us, "*Absente imperatore imago ejus habet auctoritatem, praesente non habet, etc.* What time the Emperor is absent, we give some honor to his State, or representation; but none at all, when he is present. And so, saith he, the Sabbaths and new-moons and the other festivals, before our Savior's coming, had a time of honor during the which they were observed: but he being present once, they became neglected." But hereof we have spoke more fully in our former book.

(2) Neglected, not at once, and upon the sudden, but leisurely and by degrees. There were preparatives unto the Sabbath, as before we showed, before it was proclaimed as a Law by Moses: and there were some preparatives required, before that law of Moses was to be repealed. These we shall easiest discover if we shall please to look on our Savior's actions; who gave the first hint unto his disciples for the abolishing of the Sabbath, amongst other ceremonies. It's true that he did frequently repair unto the Synagogues on the Sabbath days, and on those days did frequently both read and expound the Law unto the people. And he came to Nazareth; saith the Text, where he had been brought up, and as his custom was, he went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up to read. It was his custom so to do, both when he lived a private life, to frequent the Synagogue that other men might do the like by his good example; and after, when he undertook the ministry, to expound the Law unto them

there, that they might be the better by his good instructions. Yet did not he conceive that teaching or expounding the word of God was annexed only to the Synagogue, or to the Sabbath. That most divine and heavenly Sermon which takes up three whole Chapters of S. Matthew's Gospel was questionless a week day's work; and so were most of those delivered to us in S. John; as also that which he did preach unto them from the ship-side, and divers others. Nay, the text tells us that he went through every City and Village, preaching, and showing the glad tidings of God. Too great a task to be performed only on the Sabbath days; and therefore doubt we not but that all days equally were taken up for so great a business. So when he sent out his Apostles, to preach the kingdom of God, he bound them not to days and times, but left all at liberty: that they might take their best advantages, as occasion was; and lose no time in the advancing of their Master's service. Now in this he seemed to give all days the like prerogative with the Sabbath; so many other ways did he abate that estimation which generally the people had conceived of the Sabbath day. And howsoever the opinion which the people generally had conceived thereof was grounded, as the times then were, on superstition rather than true sense of piety: yet that opinion once abated, it was more easily prepared for a dissolution; and went away at last with less noise and clamor. Particulars of this nature we will take along, as they lie in order. His casting out the unclean spirit out of a man, in the Synagogue of Capernaum, on the Sabbath day; his curing of Peter's wife's mother, and healing many which were sick of divers diseases, on the self-same day: being all works of marvelous mercy, and effected only by his word, brought no clamor with them. But when he cured the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, and had commanded him to take up his bed and walk; then did the Jews begin to persecute him, and seek to slay him. And how did he excuse the matter? My Father worketh hitherto, saith he, and I also work: ostendens per haec, in nullo seculi hujus Sabbato requiescere Deum, a dispensationibus mundi, & provisionibus generis humani. "Whereby, saith Origen, he let them understand that there was never any Sabbath wherein God rested or left off from having a due care of mankind; and therefore neither would he intermit such a weighty business in any reference to the Sabbath." Which answer when it pleased them not, but that they sought their times to kill him, he then remembereth them how they themselves upon the Sabbath used to circumcise a man, & that as lawfully he might do the one as they the other. This precedent made his disciples a little bolder than otherwise perhaps they would have been; Pulling the ears of corn, and

rubbing them with their hands, and eating them to satisfy and allay their hunger: which Epiphanius thinks they would not have done, though they were an hungered, had they not found both by his doctrine and example, that the Sabbath did begin to be in its declination. For which, when he and they were jointly questioned by the Pharisees, he chokes them with the instances of what David did in the same extremity, when he ate the shew-bread; and what the Priests did every Sabbath, when they slew the sacrifice. In which it is to be considered, that in these several defences, our Savior goes no higher than the legal ceremonies, the sacrifice, the shew-bread, and the Circumcision. No argument or parallel case drawn for his justification from the moral law; or any such neglect thereof on the like occasions. Which plainly shews, that he conceived the Sabbath to be no part or member of the moral Law; but only to be ranked amongst the Mosaical ordinances. It happened on another Sabbath that in the synagogue he beheld a man with a withered hand, and called him forth, and made him come into the midst and stretch out his hand, and then restored it. Hereupon the Author of the Homily entitled de Semente, ascribed to Athanasius, hath noted thus, *, “that Christ reserved his greatest miracles for the Sabbath day: and that he bade the man stand forth, in defiance as it were of all their malice, and informing humor:” His healing of the woman which had been crooked 18 years, and of the man that had the dropsy, one in the synagogue, the other in the house of a principal Pharisee, are proof sufficient that he feared not their accusations. But that great cure he wrought on him that was born blind is most remarkable to this purpose. First, in relation to our Savior, who had before healed others with his word alone; but here he spit upon the ground and made clay thereof, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay: *, but to mould the clay and make a plaster was questionless work, so saith Epiphanius. Next in relation to the patient, whom he commanded to go into the pool of Siloam and then wash himself: which certainly could not be done without bodily labor. These words and actions of our Savior, as before we said, gave the first hint to his disciples for the abolishing of the Sabbath amongst other ceremonies, which were to have an end with our Savior’s sufferings; to be nailed with him to his Cross, and buried with him in his grave for ever. Now where it was objected in S. Austin’s time, why Christians did not keep the Sabbath, since Christ affirms it of himself that he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it, the Father thereto makes reply “that therefore they observed it not, Quia quodea figura profitebatur, jam Christus implevit, because our Savior had fulfilled what ever was intended

in that Law by calling us to a spiritual rest in his own great mercy. For as it is most truly said by Epiphanius, *, etc. “He was the great and everlasting Sabbath, whereof the less (and temporal) Sabbath was a type and figure, which had continued till his coming: by him commanded in the law; in him destroyed, and by him fulfilled in the holy Gospel.” So Epiphanius.

(3) Neither did he, or his disciples, ordain another Sabbath in the place of this, as if they had intended only to shift the day, and to transfer this honor to some other time. Their doctrine and their practice are directly contrary to so new a fancy. It is true that in some tract of time the Church, in honor of his resurrection, did set apart that day on the which he rose, to holy exercises: but this upon their own authority, and without warrant from above that we can hear of, more than the general warrant which God gave his church, that all things in it be done decently and in comely order. This is that which is told us in the Homily, inscribed as formerly we noted, unto Athanasius: *, we honor the Lord’s day for the resurrection. So Maximus Taurinensis, *Dominicum diem ideo solennum esse, quia in eo salvator, velut sol oriens, discussis infernorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis, emicuerit*; “That the Lord’s day is therefore solemnly observed, because thereon our Savior, like the rising Sun, dispelled the clouds of hellish darkness by the light of his most glorious resurrection.” The like S. Austin, *Dies Dominicus Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, & ex illo cepit habere festivitatem suam*. “The Lord’s day was made known, saith he, unto us Christians by the resurrection, and from that began to be accounted holy.” See the like, *lib.22.de Civit.Dei.c.30. & serm.15.de Verbis Apostoli*. But then it is withal to be observed, that this was only done on the authority of the Church, and not by any precept of our Lord and Savior, or any one of his Apostles. And first, besides that there is no such precept extant at all in holy Scripture, Socrates hath affirmed it in the general, *, etc. that the designs of the Apostles was not to busy themselves in prescribing festival days, but to instruct the people in the ways of godliness. Now lest it should be said that Socrates, being a Novatian, was a professed enemy to all the orders of the Church, we have the same, almost verbatim, in Nicephorus, *lib.12.cap.32. of his Ecclesiastical History*. S. Athanasius saith as much for the particular of the Lord’s day, that it was taken up by a voluntary usage in the Church of God, without any commandment from above. *, etc. As saith the Father, “it was commanded at the first, that the Sabbath day should be observed in memory of the accomplishment of the world: *, so do we celebrate the Lord’s day, as a

memorial of the beginning of a new creation. Where note the difference here delivered by that Reverend Prelate. Of the Jews' Sabbath it is said, *, that it was commanded to be kept: but of the Lord's day there is no commandment, only a positive *, an honor voluntarily afforded it by consent of men. Therefore whereas we find it in the Homily, entitled De Semente, *, that Christ transferred the Sabbath to the Lord's day; this must be understood, not as if done by his commandment, but on his occasion: the resurrection of our Lord upon that day being the principal motive which did induce his Church to make choice thereof for the assemblies of the people. For otherwise that Author, whosoever he was, would plainly cross what formerly had been said by Athanasius in his *; and not him only, but the whole cloud of witnesses, all the Catholic Fathers, in whom there is not any word which reflects that way, but much in affirmation of the contrary. For besides what is said before, and elsewhere shall be said in its proper place, The Council held at Paris, Anno. 829, ascribes the keeping of the Lord's day at most to Apostolical tradition, confirmed by the authority of the Church. For so the Council, *Christianorum religiosae devotionis, quae ut creditur Apostolorum traditione immo Ecclesiae auctoritate descendit, mos inolevit, ut Dominicum diem, ob Dominicae resurrectionis memoriam, honorabiliter colat.* "It is a custom of long standing in the religious devotion of the Christian people, which as it is conceived, descended from the tradition of the Apostles, but rather from the authority of the Church, that they do honor the Lord's day, in memory of the Lord's resurrection. Where note, the Synod calls it a custom only; and such a custom as was chiefly founded on the authority of the Church. And last of all Tostatus puts this difference between the Festivals of the old testament and those now solemnized in the new: that in the old testament, God appointed all the festivals which were to be observed in the Jewish Church: *in novo nulla festivitas a Christe legislatore determinata est, sed in Ecclesia Praelati ista statuunt;* "but in the new, there were no Festivals at all prescribed by Christ, as being left unto the Prelates of the Church, by them to be appointed as occasion was." What others of the ancient writers, and what the Protestant Divines have affirmed herein, we shall hereafter see in their proper places. As for these words of our Redeemer in S. Matthew's Gospel: Pray that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day: they have indeed been much alleged to prove that Christ did intimate, at the least, unto his Apostles and the rest, that there was a particular day by him appointed, whereof he willed them to be careful: which being not the Jewish Sabbath, must of necessity, as they think, be the Lord's day. But

certainly the Fathers tell us no such matter, nay, they say the contrary: and make these words a part of our Redeemer's admonition to the Jews, not to the Apostles. Saint Chrysostom hath it so expressly. *, etc. "Behold, saith he, how he addresseth his discourse unto the Jews, and tells them of the evils which should fall upon them: for neither were the Apostles bound to observe the Sabbath; nor were they there, when those calamities fell upon the Jewish Nation. Not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath; and why so saith he? Because their flight being so quick and sudden, *, neither the Jews would dare to fly on the Sabbath, [for such their superstition was in the latter times] nor would the winter but be very troublesome, in such distresses. Theophilact doth affirm expressly, that "this was spake unto the Jews, and spoke upon the selfsame reasons:" adding withal, * that before any of those miseries fell upon that Nation, the Apostles were all departed from out Jerusalem. S. Hierom saith as much, as unto the time, that those calamities which by our Savior were foretold, were generally referred unto the wars of Titus and Vespasian: and that both in his Comment on S. Matthew's Gospel and his Epistle to the Algasia. And for the thing, that the Apostles and the rest of the Disciples were all departed from Jerusalem before that heavy war began is no less evident in story. For the Apostles long before that time were either martyred or dispersed in several places, for the enlargement of the Gospel; not any of them resident in Jerusalem after the martyrdom of S. James, who was Bishop there. And for the residue of the Disciples, they had forsook the country also before the wars, being admonished so to do by an heavenly vision, which warned them to withdraw from thence and repair to Pella, beyond Jordan, as Eusebius tells us. So that these words of our Redeemer could not be spoke as to the Apostles, and in them unto all the rest of the Disciples, which should follow after; but to the people of the Jews. To whom our Savior gave this caution, not that he did not think it lawful for them to fly upon the Sabbath day: but that as things then were, and as their consciences were entangled by the Scribes and Pharisees, he found that they would count it a most grievous misery to be put unto it. To return then unto our story, as the chief reason why the Christians of the primitive times did set apart this day to religious uses, was because Christ that day did rise again from death to life for our justification: so there was some analogy or proportion which this day seemed to hold with the former Sabbath, which might more easily induce them to observe the same. For as God rested on the Sabbath from all the work which he had done in the Creation, so did the Son of God rest also on the day of his resurrection from all the works which he had done in

our Redemption, *. as Gregory Nyssen notes it for us. Yet so that as the Father rested not on the former Sabbath from the works of preservation, so neither doth our Savior rest at any time from perfecting this work of our redemption by a perpetual application of the benefit and effects thereof. This was the cause, and these the motives, which did induce the Church in some tract of time to solemnize the day of Christ's resurrection as a weekly Festival; though not to keep it as a Sabbath.

(4) I say in tract of time, for *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so in the beginning. The very day itself was not so observed, though it was known to the Apostles in the morning early, that the Lord was risen. We find not on the news that they came together for the performance of divine and religious exercises; much less that they intended it for a Sabbath day; or that our Savior came amongst them until late at night, as in all likelihood he would have done, had any such performance been thought necessary as was required unto the making of a Sabbath. Nay, which is more, our blessed Savior, on that day, and two of the Disciples, whatsoever the others did, were otherwise employed than in Sabbath duties. For from Jerusalem to Emmaus, whither the two Disciples went, was sixty furlongs, which is seven miles and an half, and so much back again unto Jerusalem, which is fifteen miles. And Christ who went the journey with them, at least part thereof, and left them not until they came unto Emmaus, was back again that night, and put himself into the midst of the Apostles. Had he intended it for a Sabbath day, doubtless he would have rather joined himself with the Apostles, who as it is most likely, kept themselves together in expectation of the issue, and so were most prepared and fitted to begin the new Christian Sabbath; than with those men who, contrary to the nature of a Sabbath's rest, were now engaged in a journey and that, for ought we know, about worldly business. Nor may we think, but that our Savior would have told them of so great a fault as violating the new Christian Sabbath, even in the first beginning of it, had any Sabbath been intended. As for the being of the eleven in a place together, that could not have relation to any Sabbath duties or religious exercises; being none such were yet commanded: but only to those cares and fears wherewith, poor men, they were distracted: which made them loath to part asunder till they were settled in their hopes or otherwise resolved on somewhat, whereunto to trust. And where it is conceived by some that our most blessed Savior shewed himself oftener unto the Apostles upon the first day of the week than on any other, and therefore by his own appearings did sanctify that

day, instead of the Jewish Sabbath: neither the premises are true, nor the sequel necessary. The premises not true, for it is no where to be found that he appeared oftener on the first day than any other of the week, it being said in holy Scripture that he was seen of them by the space of forty days; as much on one as on another. His first appearing, after the night following his resurrection, which is particularly specified in the book of God, was when he showed himself to Thomas, who before was absent. That the text tells us, was after eight days from the time before remembered; which some conceive to be the the eighth day after, or the next first day of the week; and thereupon conclude that day to be most proper for the Congregations, or public meetings of the Church. *Diem octavum quo Christus Thomae apparuit; Dominicu diem esse necesse est*, as Saint Cyril hath it: *Iure igitur sanctae congregationes die octavo in Ecclesia fiunt*. But where the Greek Text reads it, * in the vulgar Latin, after eight days according to our English Bibles: that should be rather understood of the ninth or tenth, than the eighth day after; and therefore could not be upon the first day of the week, as it is imagined. Now as the premises are untrue, so the Conclusion is unfirm. For if our Savior's apparition unto his disciples were of itself sufficient to create a Sabbath, then must that day whereon Saint Peter went on fishing, be a Sabbath also; and so must holy Thursday too, it being most evident that Christ appeared on those days unto his Apostles. So that as yet, from our Redeemer's resurrection unto his ascension, we find not any word or item of a new Christian Sabbath to be kept amongst them; or any evidence for the Lord's day in the four Evangelists, either in precept or in practice.

(5) The first particular passage which doth occur in holy Scripture, touching the first day of the week, is that upon that day the Holy Ghost did first come down on the Apostles; and that upon the same Saint Peter preached his first Sermon unto the Jews, and baptized such of them as believed, there being added to the Church that day three thousand souls. This happened on the Feast of Pentecost, which fell that year upon the Sunday, or first day of the week, as elsewhere the Scripture calls it: but as it was a special and casual thing, so can it yield but little proof, if it yield us any, that the Lord's day was then observed; or that the Holy Ghost did, by selecting of that day for his descent on the Apostles, intend to dignify it for a Sabbath. For first it was a casual thing, that Pentecost should fall that year upon the Sunday. It was a moveable Feast, as unto the day, such as did change and shift itself, according to the position of the Feast of

Passover, the rule being this: that on what day soever, the second of the Passover did fall; upon that also fell the great feast of Pentecost. Nam * semper eadem est feria, quae *; as Scaliger hath rightly noted. So that as often as the Passover did fall upon the Saturday or Sabbath, as this year did, then Pentecost fell upon the Sunday; but when the Passover did chance to fall upon the Tuesday, the Pentecost fell that year upon the Wednesday; & sic de coeteris. And if the rule be true, as I think it is, that no sufficient argument can be drawn from a casual fact, and that the falling of the Pentecost, that year, upon the first day of the week, be merely casual: the coming of the Holy Ghost upon that day will be no argument nor authority to state the first day of the week, in the place and honor of the Jewish Sabbath. There may be other reasons given why God made choice of that time, rather than of any other: as first because about that very time before, he had proclaimed the Law upon Mount Sinai; and secondly, that so he might the better countenance and grace the Gospel in the sight of men, and add the more authority unto the doctrine of the Apostles. The Feast of Pentecost was a great and famous Festival, at which the Jews, all of them, were to come unto Jerusalem, there to appear before the Lord: and amongst others, those which had their hands in our Savior's blood. And therefore as Saint Chrysostome notes it, did God send down the Holy Ghost at that time of Pentecost: because those men that did consent to our Savior's death might publicly receive rebuke for that bloody Act, and so bear record to the power of our Savior's Gospel, before all the World: *, as that Father hath it. So that the thing being casual, as unto the day, and special, as unto the business then by God intended: it will afford us little proof, as before I said, either that the Lord's day was, as then, observed; or that the Holy Ghost did select that day for so great a work, to dignify it for a Sabbath.

(6) As for Saint Peter's preaching upon that day, and the baptizing of so many, as were converted to the faith, upon the same: it might have been some proof that now at least, if not before, the first day of the week was set apart by the Apostles for religious exercises, had they not honored all days with the same performances. But if we search the Scriptures, we shall easily find that all days were alike to them in that respect: no day, in which they did not preach the word of life, and administer the Sacraments of their Lord and Savior, to such as either wanted it or did desire it. Or were it that the Scriptures had not told us of it, yet natural reason would inform us that those who were employed in so great a work as the conversion of the

World could not confine themselves unto times and seasons, but must take all advantages, whensoever they came. But for the Scriptures, it is said in terms express, first generally, that the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved; and therefore without doubt, the means of their salvation were daily ministered unto them: and in the fifth Chapter of the Acts, that daily in the Temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ. So for particulars, when Philip did baptize the Eunuch, either he did it on a working day, as we now distinguish them, and not upon the first day of the week, and so it was no Lord's day duty; or else it was not held unlawful to take a journey on that day, as some think it is. Saint Peter's preaching to Cornelius and his baptizing of that house was a week day's work, as may be gathered from Saint Hierome. That Father tells us that the day whereon the vision appeared to Peter was probably the Sabbath, or the Lord's day, as we call it now; *fieri potuit ut vel Sabbatum esset, vel dies Dominicus*, as the Father hath it: and choose you which you will, we shall find little in it for a Christian Sabbath. In case it was on the Sabbath, then Peter did not keep the Lord's day holy as he should have done, if so that day was then selected for God's worship; for the text tells us that the next day he did begin his journey to Cornelius' house. In case it was upon the Lord's day, as we call it now, then neither did Saint Peter sanctify that day in the Congregation, as he ought to do had that day then been made the Sabbath; and his conversion of Cornelius, being three days after, must of necessity be done on the Wednesday following. So that we find no Lord's day Sabbath, either of S. Peter's keeping, or of S. Philip's; or else the preaching of the Word and the administering the Sacraments were not affixed at all unto the first day of the week, as the peculiar marks and characters thereof. So for Saint Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles, who labored more abundantly than the other Apostles, besides what shall be said particularly in the following section: it may appear in general that he observed no Lord's-day-sabbath, but taught on all days, traveled on all days, and worked according to his Trade upon all days too, when he had no employment in the congregation. That he did teach on all days is not to be questioned by any that considers how great a work he had to do, and how little time. That he did travel upon all days is no less notorious to all that look upon his life, which was still in motion. And howsoever he might rest sometimes on the Lord's day, as questionless he did on others, as often as upon that day he preached the Gospel; yet when he was a Prisoner in the hands of the Roman soldiers, there is no doubt but that he traveled as they did Lord's days, and Sabbaths, all days equally, many days together. Of

this see what Saint Luke hath written in the last Chapters of the Acts. Lastly, for working at his Trade (which was Tent-making) on the Lord's day, as well as others, Conradus Diatericus proves it out of Hierome, that when he had none unto whom to preach in the Congregation, he followed on the Lord's day the works of his Occupation. Hieronymus colligit ex Act.18.vers.3&4. quod die etiam Dominica, quando, quibus in publico conventu concionaretur, non habebat; manibus suis laboravit. So Diatericus, speaking of our Apostle. Now what is proved of these Apostles, and of Saint Philip the Evangelist, may be affirmed of all the rest whose lives and actions are not left upon record in holy Scripture. Their Ministry being the same, and their work as great, no question but their liberty was correspondent; and that they took all times to be alike in the advancing of the business which they went about, and cherished all occasions presented to them, on what day soever. What further may be said hereof in reference to Saint John, who lived longest of them, and saw the Church established, and her public meetings in some order; we shall see hereafter in his own place and time. Mean while we may conclude for certain, that in the planting of the Church, he used all days equally, kept none more holy than another, and after, when the Church was settled, how ever he might keep this holy, and honor it for the use which was made thereof; yet he kept other days, so used, as holy, but never any like a Sabbath.

(7) Proceed we next unto Saint Paul, in his particular; of whom the Scripture tells us more than of all the rest: and we shall find that he no sooner was converted but that forthwith he preached in the synagogues, that Jesus was the Christ. If in the synagogues, most likely that it was on the Jewish Sabbath, the synagogues being destinate especially to the Sabbath days. So afer he was called to the public Ministry, he came to Antioch, and went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and there preached the Word. What was the issue of his Sermon? That the Text informs us. And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that those words might be preached again the next Sabbath. Saint Paul assented thereunto, and the next Sabbath day, as the Text tells us, came almost the whole City together, to hear the Word of God. It seems the Lord's day was not grown as yet into any credit, especially not into the repute of the Jewish Sabbath; for if it had, Saint Paul might easily have told these Gentiles, (that is, such Gentiles as had been converted to the Jewish Church) that the next day would be a more

convenient time, and indeed *opus diei in die suo*, the doctrine of the resurrection, on the day thereof. This happened in the forty-sixth year of Christ's Nativity, some twelve years after his Passion and Resurrection: and often after this, did the Apostle shew himself in the Jewish synagogues on the Sabbath days; which I shall speak of here together, that so we may go on unto the rest of this discourse, with less interruption. And first it was upon the Sabbath, that he did preach to the Philippians, and baptized Lydia, with her household, Acts 16. Amongst the Thessalonians, he reasoned three Sabbath days together, out of the Scriptures, Acts 17. At Corinth every Sabbath day, with the Jews and Greeks, Acts 18, besides those many texts of Scripture when it is said of him that he went into the synagogues, and therefore probably that it was upon the Sabbath, as before we said. Not that Saint Paul was so affected to the Sabbath as to prefer that day before any other; but that he found the people at those times assembled, and so might preach the Word with greater profit. Saint Chrysostome, for the Ancients hath resolved it so; *. He came most fitly to the Synagogue on the Sabbath days because the people were then all met together, as the Father hath it. So Calvin, for the modern Writers, makes this special cause of Saint Paul's resort unto the places of assembly on the Sabbath day, *quod profectum aliquem sperabat*; because in such concourse of people, he hoped the Word of God would find the better entertainment. Any thing rather to be thought than that Saint Paul, who had withstood so stoutly those false Apostles who would have circumcision and the law observed, when there was nothing publicly determined of it, would after the decision of so great a Council, wherein the Law of Moses was for ever abrogated, either himself observe the Sabbath, for the Sabbath's sake, or by his own example teach the Gentiles how to Judaize, which he so blamed in Saint Peter. The Sabbath, with the legal ceremonies, did receive their doom, as they related to the Gentiles, in that great Council holden in Jerusalem: which though it was not until after he had preached at Antioch on the Sabbath day, yet was it certainly before he had done the like, either at Philippos, Thessalonica, or at Corinth.

(8) For the occasion of that Council, it was briefly this: Amongst those which had joined themselves with the Apostles, there was one Cerinthus, a fellow of a turbulent and unquiet spirit, and a most eager enemy of all those councils whereof himself was not the Author. This man had first begun a faction against S. Peter for going to Cornelius and preaching life eternal unto the Gentiles; and finding ill success in that, goes down to

Antioch, and there begins another against Saint Paul. This Epiphanius tells of him, *. The like Philaster doth affirm, *Seditionem sub Apostolis commovisse*, that he had raised a faction against the Apostles, which was not to be crushed but by an Apostolical and general Council. This man and those that came down with him were so enamored on the ceremonies and rites of Moses, that though they entertained the Gospel, yet they were loath to leave the Law: and therefore did resolve, it seems, to make a mixture out of both. Hence taught they, that except all men were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could not be saved. Where note, that though they spake only of circumcision, yet they intended all the law: Sabbaths, and other legal ordinances of what sort soever. Docuit Cerinthus *observationem legis, Mosaicae necessariam esse, circumcissionem, & Sabbata observanda*, as Philaster hath it. Cerinthus taught, saith he, that the observation of Moses' law was necessary still, Sabbaths and Circumcision to be kept as before they were. The like saith Calvin on the place, *Sola quidem circumcisio hic nominatur, sed ex contextu facile patet, eos de tota lege movisse controversiam*: though Circumcision only be here named, yet it is evident from the context that the observing of the whole law was aimed at. The like Lorinus also amongst the Jesuits; *Nomine circumcissionis reliqua lex tota intelligitur*. Indeed the Text affirms as much, where it is said in terms express, that they did hold it needful to circumcise the people and to command them to keep the Law of Moses, whereof the Sabbath was a part. For the decision of this point, and the appeasing of those controversies which did thence arise, it pleased the Church directed by the holy Ghost to determine thus: that such amongst the Gentiles as were converted to the faith, should not at all be burdened with the Laws of Moses, but only should observe some necessary things, viz. that they abstain from things offered unto idols, and from blood, and that which is strangled, and from fornication. And here it is be observed that the decree or Canon of this Council, did only reach unto the Gentiles: as is apparent out of the proeme to the Decretal, which is directed to the brethren which are of the Gentiles; and from the 21st Chapter of the Acts where it is said, that as concerning the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined that they observe no such thing as the law of Moses. So that for all that was determined in this Council, those of the Jews which had embraced the faith of Christ were not prohibited, as yet, to observe the Sabbath, and other parts of Moses' law, as before they did; in which regard S. Paul caused Timothy to be circumcised, because he would not scandalize and offend the Jews. The Jews were very much affected to

their ancient ceremonies; and Calvin rightly hath affirmed, *Correctionem, ut difficilis erat, ita subitam esse non potuisse*, that a full reformation of that zeal of theirs, as it was full of difficulty, so could it not be done upon the sudden. Therefore it pleased the Apostles, as it is conceived, in their fourth Council holden at Jerusalem, mention whereof is made in the 21st of the Acts, to make it lawful for the Jews to retain circumcision and such legal rites, together with the faith in Christ. *Quamdiu templum & sacrificia legis in Hierusalem stabant*, as long as the Jewish Temple, and the legal sacrifices in Jerusalem, should continue standing. Not that the faith of Christ was not sufficient of itself for their salvation, *Sed ut mater synagoga paulatim cum honore sepeliretur*, but that the synagogue might be laid to sleep with the greater honor. But this, if so it was, was for no long time. For whereas the third Council holden in Jerusalem, against Cerinthus and his party, was held in Anno 51, and this which now we speak of, Anno 58, the final ruin of the Temple was in 72. So that there was but one and twenty years, in the largest reckoning, wherein the Christian Jews were suffered to observe their Sabbath: and yet not (as before they did) as if it were a necessary duty, but as a thing indifferent only. But that time come, the Temple finally destroyed, and the legal ceremonies therein buried, it was accounted afterwards both dangerous and heretical to observe the Sabbath, or mingle any of the Jewish leaven with the bread of life. S. Hierome roundly so proclaims it, *Ceremonias Iudaeorum & perniciosas & pestiferas esse Christianis*: that all the Ceremonies of the Jews, (whereof before he named the Sabbath to be one,) were dangerous, yea and deadly too, to a Christian man; *Sive ex Iudaeis esset, sive ex Gentibus*, whether he were originally of the Jews, or Gentiles. To which S. Austin gives allowance, *Ego hanc vocem tuam omnino confirmo*, in his reply to S. Hierome: That it was also deemed heretical, to celebrate a Sabbath in the Christian church, we shall see hereafter.

(9) In the mean time, we must proceed in search of the Lord's day, and of the duties then performed: whereof we can find nothing yet, by that name at least. The Scripture tells us somewhat that S. Paul did at Troas upon the first day of the week: which happening much about this time, comes in this place to be considered. The passage in the Text stands thus: Upon the first day of the week when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight. Take notice here, that S. Paul had tarried there seven days before this happened. Now in this Text, there are two things to

be considered; first what was done upon that day; and secondly what day it was, which is there remembered. First for the action, it is said to be breaking of bread: which some conclude, to be administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and Paul's discourse which followed on it, to be a Sermon. But sure I am Saint Chrysostome tells us plainly otherwise, who relates it thus: *, etc. "Their meeting at that time, saith he, was not especially to receive instruction from Saint Paul, but to eat bread with him, and there, upon occasion given, he discoursed unto them. See, saith the Father, how they all made bold with Saint Paul's table, as it had been common to them all: and as it seems to me, saith he, Saint Paul sitting at the table did discourse thus with them." Therefore it seems by him, that as the meeting was at an ordinary supper; so the discourse there happening was no Sermon properly, but an occasional dispute. Lyra affirms the same, and doth gloss it thus: They came together to break bread, i.e. saith he, *Pro refectioe corporali*, for the refectioe and support of their bodies only: and being there, Paul preached unto them, or as the Greek and Latin have it, he disputed with them; *prius eos reficiens pane verbi divini*, refreshing of them first with the bread of life. This also seems to be the meaning of the Church of England, who in the margin of the Bible, allowed by Canon, doth for the understanding of this place refer us unto the second of the Acts, verse 46, where it is said of the disciples that they did break their bread from house to house, and eat their meat together with joy and singleness of heart: which plainly must be meant of ordinary and common meats. Calvin not only so affirms it, but censures those who take it for the holy Supper. *Nam quod hic fractionem panis nonnulli interpretantur sacram coenam, alienum mihi videtur a mente Lucae*, etc: That some interpret the breaking of bread here mentioned to be the holy Supper: seems unto me (saith he) to be repugnant to S. Luke's meaning in that place, as he there discourseth. Then for the time, our English reads it upon the first day of the week, agreeable unto the exposition of most ancient Writers, and the vulgar Latin; which here, as in the four Evangelists, doth call the first day of the week *una Sabbati*. Yet since the Greek phrase is not so perspicuous, but that it may admit of a various exposition, Erasmus renders it by *uno die sabbatorum*, & *quodam die sabbatorum*; that is, upon a certain Sabbath: and so doth Calvin too, and Pellican, and Gualter, all of them noted men, in their translations of that Text. Nor do they only so translate it, but frame their expositions also to their translation, and make the day there mentioned to be the Sabbath. Calvin takes notice of both readings, *Vel proximum Sabbato diem intelligit, vel unum quodpiam Sabbatum*; either (saith he) S.

Luke here meaneth the day next to the Sabbath, or else some Sabbath day itself. For his part, he approves the last, *Quod dies ille ad habendum conventum aptior fuerit*, because the Sabbath day was then most fit for the assemblies of the people. Gualter doth so conceive it also, that they assembled at this time on the Sabbath day, *Qui propter veterem morem haud dubie tunc temporis celebrior habebatur*, as that which questionless was then of most repute and name amongst them. So that the matter is not clear, as unto the day, if they may judge it. But take it for the first day of the week, as the English reads it: yet doth S. Austin put a scruple, which may perhaps disturb the whole expectation; though otherwise he be of opinion that the breaking of the bread there mentioned, might have some reference or resemblance to the Lord's Supper. Now this is that which S. Austin tells us: *Aut post peractum diem Sabbati, noctis initio fuerunt congregati, quae utique nox ad diem Dominicum, b.e. ad unam Sabbati pertinebat*, etc. "Either, saith he, they were assembled on the beginning of the night, which did immediately follow the Sabbath day, and was to be accounted as a part of the Lord's day, or first day of the week; and breaking bread that night, as it is broken in the Sacrament of the Lord's body, continued his discourse till midnight, *Ut Incescente proficisceretur Dominico die*, that so he might begin his journey, with the first dawning of the Lord's day, which was then at hand. Or if they did not meet till the day itself, since it is there expressed, that he preached unto them, being to depart upon the morrow; we have the reason why he continued his discourse so long: viz. because he was to leave them, *, and he desired to lesson them sufficiently, before he left them." So far S. Austin. Choose which of these you will, and there will be but little found for sanctifying the Lord's day by Saint Paul at Troas. For if this meeting were upon Saturday night, then made Saint Paul no scruple of traveling upon the Sunday; or if it were on the Sunday, and that the breaking bread there mentioned were the celebration of the Sacrament, (which yet Saint Augustine saith not in terms express, but with a *sicut*) yet neither that, nor the discourse or sermon which was joined unto it, were otherwise than occasional only, by reason of Saint Paul's departure on the morrow after. Therefore no Sabbath, or established day of public meeting, to be hence collected.

(10) This action of Saint Paul, at Troas, is placed by our Chronologers in Anno 57 of our Savior's birth; and that year also did he write his first Epistle to the Corinthians, wherein amongst many other things, he gives them this direction, touching collections for the poorer brethren at

Jerusalem: Concerning the gathering for the Saints, saith he, as I have ordained in the Churches of Galatia, so do ye also. And how was that? Every first day of the week, let every one of you set aside, by himself, and lay up as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. This some have made a principal argument to prove the institution of the Lord's day to be by Apostolical precept; and Apostolical though we should grant it, yet certainly it never can be proved so from this Text of Scripture. For what hath this to do with a Lord's day duties? or how may it appear from hence, that the Lord's day was ordered by the Apostles to be weekly celebrated, instead of the now antiquated Jewish Sabbath? being an intimation only of Saint Paul's desire, to the particular Churches of the Galatians and Corinthians, what he would have them do in a particular and present case. Agabus had signified by the spirit, that there should be a great dearth over all the world; and thereupon the Antiochians purposed to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea. It is not to be thought that they made this collection on the Sunday only, but sent their common bounties to them when and as often as they pleased. Collections for the poor, in themselves considered, are no Lord's day duties; no duties proper to the day; and therefore are not here appointed to be made in the congregation, but every man is ordered to lay up somewhat by himself, as it were in store; that when it came to a full round sum, it might be sent away unto Jerusalem. This being but a particular case, and such a case as was to end with the occasion, can be no general rule for a perpetuity. For might it not fall out, in time, that there might be no poor, nay, no Saints at all in all Jerusalem; as when the Town was razed by Adrian, or after peopled by the Saracens? Surely if not before, yet then this duty was to cease, and no collection to be made by those of Corinth: and consequently no Lord's day to be kept amongst them, because no collection, in case collections for the Saints, as some do gather from this place, were a sufficient argument to prove the Lord's day instituted by divine authority. But let us take the Text with such observations, as have been made upon it by the Fathers. Upon the first day of the week, i.e. as generally they conceive it, on the Lord's day. And why on that? Chrysostome give this reason of it, "that so the very day might prompt them to be bountiful to their poor brethren, as being that day whereon they had received such inestimable bounties at the hands of God; in the resurrection of our Savior. *: as the Father hath it. What to be done upon that day? Unusquisque apud se reponat, let every man lay by himself, saith the Apostle, *. He saith not, saith S. Chrysostome, let every man bring it to the Church: and why? *; for

fear lest some might be ashamed at the smallness of their offering: but let them lay it by, saith he, and add unto it week by week, that at my coming it may grow to a fit proportion. That there be no gathering when I come, but that the money may be ready to be sent away, immediately upon my coming: and being thus raised up by little and little, they might not be so sensible thereof, as if upon his coming to them, it were to be collected all at once, and upon the sudden.” Ut paulatim reservantes non una hor gravari se putent, as Saint Hierome hath it. Now as it is most clear, that this makes nothing for the Lord’s day, or the translation of the Sabbath thereunto, by any Apostolical precept: so it is not so clear, that this was done upon the first day of the week, but that some learned men have made doubt thereof. Calvin upon the place, takes notice how S. Chrysostome expounds the * of the Apostle, by primo sabbati, the first day of the week, as the English reads it: but likes it not. Cui ego non assentior, as his phrase is; conceiving rather this to be the meaning of S. Paul, that on some Sabbath day or other, until his coming every man should lay up somewhat towards the collection. And in the second of his Institutes, he affirms expressly; that the day destinate by Saint Paul to these Collections, was the Sabbath day. The like do Victorinus Strigelius, Hunnius, and Aretius, Protestant Writers all, note upon the place. Singulis sabbatis, saith Strigelius; per singula sabbata; so Aretius; diebus sabbatorum, saith Egidius Hunnius: all rendering *, on the Sabbath days. More largely yet, Hemingius, who in his Comment on the place, takes it indefinitely for any day of the week, so they fixed on one. Vult enim ut quilibet certum diem, in septimana, constituat, in quo apud se seponat, quod irrogaturus est in pauperes. “It was the meaning of S. Paul, saith he, that every one should resolve of some day constantly in every week, in which to lay aside, by himself at home, what he intended to bestow among the poor.” Take which you will, either the Fathers, or the Moderns, and we shall find no Lord’s Day instituted by any Apostolical Mandate; no Sabbath set on foot by them upon the first day of the week, as some would have it: much less that any such Ordinance should be hence collected out of these words of the Apostle.

(11) Indeed it is not probable that he who so opposed himself against the old Sabbath would erect a new. This had not been to abrogate the ceremony, but to change the day; whereas he labored what he could to beat down all the difference of days and times which had been formerly observed. In his Epistle to the Galatians, written in Anno 59, he lays it home unto their charge, that they observed days, and months, and times,

and years; and seems a little to bewail his own misfortune, as if he had bestowed his Labor in vain amongst them. I know it is conceived by some that Saint Paul spake it of the observation of those days and times which had been used among the Gentiles, and so had no relation to the Jewish Sabbath, or any difference of times observed amongst them. Saint Ambrose so conceived it, and so did Saint Augustine. *Dies observant, qui dicunt crastino non est proficiscendum*; etc. “They observe days, who say, I will not go abroad to morrow, or begin any work upon such a day, because of some unfortunate aspect,” as Saint Ambrose hath it. From him it seems, S. Augustine learnt it, who in his 119th Epistle directly falls upon the very same expression. *Eos inculpat qui dicunt, non proficiscor quia posterus dies est, aut quia luna sic fertur; vel proficiscar ut prospere cedat, quia ita se habet positio syderum*, etc. He reprehends those men who say, I will not go abroad because it is an unlucky day, and the moon is in such a sign: or I will go abroad this day for good luck’s sake, because the stars are in a fortunate aspect.” The like conceit he hath in his *Enchiridion*, ad Laurentium, cap. 79. But whatsoever Saint Ambrose did, Saint Augustine lived I am sure to correct his error: observing very rightly that his former doctrine could not consist with Saint Paul’s purpose in that place, which was to beat down that esteem which the Jews had amongst them of the Mosaical Ordinances, their New-moons and Sabbaths. I shall report the place at large for the better clearing of the point. *Vulgatissimus est Gentilium error, ut vel in agendis rebus, vel expectandis eventibus vitae ac negotiorum suorum ab Astrologis & Chaldaeis notatos dies observent*. “It is, saith he, a common error of the Gentiles that in the undertaking of any business, or in expecting the event of their undertakings, they take especial notice of those days which their Astrologers have noted for good or evil.” This was the ground on which he built his former error. Then followeth the correction of it, *Fortasse tamen non opus est ut haec de Gentilium errore intelligamus, ne intentionem causae (mark that) quam ab exordio susceptam ad finem usque perducit, subito in aliud temere detorquere velle videamur; sed de his potius de quibus cavendis eum agere per totam Epistolam apparet. Nam & Iudaei serviliter observant dies & menses & annos & tempora, in carnali observatione Sabbati, & neomeniae*, etc. “But yet perhaps, saith he, it is not necessary that we should understand this of the Gentiles, lest so we vary from the scope and purpose of the Apostle; but rather of those men, of the avoiding of whole doctrines, he seems to treat in all this Epistle, which were the Jews; who in their carnal keeping of New-moons and Sabbaths, did observe days and years, and times, as he

here objecteth.” Compare this with Saint Hierome’s preface to the Galatians, and then the matter will be clear; that Saint Paul meant not this of any Heathenish, but of the Jewish observation of days and times. So in the Epistle to the Colossians, writ in the sixtieth year after Christ’s Nativity, he lays it positively down, that the Sabbath was now abrogated with the other ceremonies, which were to vanish at Christ’s coming. Let no man judge you, saith the Apostle, in meat and drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the New-moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ. In which the Sabbath is well matched with meats and drinks, new-moons and holy-days, which were all temporary ordinances, and to go off the stage at our Savior’s Exit. Now whereas some, that would be thought great sticklers for the Sabbath, conceive that this was spoken, not of the weekly moral Sabbath, as they call it, which must be perpetual, but of the annual ceremonial Sabbaths, which they acknowledge to be abrogated: this new device directly crosseth the whole current of the ancient Fathers who do apply this Text to the weekly Sabbath. It is sufficient in this point to note the places. The Reader may peruse them, as his leisure is, and look on Epiphanius. l. 1. haeres. 33. n. 11. Ambrose upon this place. Hierome Epistle ad Algas. qu. 10. Chrysost. hom. 13. in Hebr. 7. August. cont. Iudaeos cap. I. & cont. Faust, Manich. l. 1. 6. c. 28. I end this list with that of Hierome, Nullus Apostoli sermo est vel per Epistolam, vel praesentis, in quo non laboret docere antiquae legis onera deposita, & omnia illa quae in typis & imaginibus praecessere, i.e. otium Sabbati, circumcisionis injuriam, Kalendarum, & trium per annum solennitatum recursus, etc. gratia Evangelii subrepente, cessasse. “There is, saith he, no Sermon of the Apostle’s, either delivered by Epistle, or by word of mouth, wherein he labors not to prove that all the burdens of the Law are now laid away; that all those things which were before in types and figures, namely, the Sabbath, Circumcision, the New-moons, and the three solemn Festivals, did cease upon the preaching of the Gospel.

(12) And cease it did upon the preaching of the Gospel; insensibly and by degrees, as before we said: not being afterwards observed as it had been formerly, or counted any necessary part of God’s public worship. Only some use was made thereof for the enlargement of God’s Church, by reason that the people had been accustomed to meet together on that day, for the performance of religious and spiritual duties. This made it more regarded than it would have been, especially in the Eastern parts of Greece

and Asia, where the Provincial Jews were somewhat thick dispersed; and being a great accession to the Gospel, could not so suddenly forsake their ancient customs. Yet so, that the first day of the week began to grow into some credit towards the ending of this Age, especially after the final desolation of Jerusalem and the Temple, which happened Anno 72 of Christ's Nativity. So that the religious observation of this day, beginning in the Age of the Apostles, no doubt but with their approbation and authority, and since continuing in the same respect for so many Ages, may be very well accounted amongst those Apostolical traditions which have been universally received in the Church of God. For being it was the day which our Redeemer honored with his resurrection, it easily might attain unto that esteem, as to be honored by the Christians with their public meetings, that so they might with greater comfort preserve and cherish the memorial of so great a mercy; in reference unto which the World's Creation seemed not so considerable. By reason of which work wrought on it, it came in time to be entitled, *, the Lord's day: which attribute is first found in the Revelation, writ by Saint John, about the 94th year of our Savior's birth. So long it was before we find the Church took notice of it by a proper name. For I persuade myself, that had that day been destinate, at that time, to religious duties, or honored with the name of the Lord's day, when Paul preached at Troas, or wrote to the Corinthians, which as before we shewed was in 57, neither Saint Luke nor the Apostle had so passed it over and called it only the first day of the week, as they both have done. And when it had this attribute affixed unto it, it only was *, as before we said; by reason of our Savior's resurrection performed upon it, and not exclusively of all other days, as if all other days were not the Lord's as well as this; or that the Congregation might not be assembled as well on them as on the other. For first it was not called the Lord's Day exclusively, but by way of eminence, in reference to the resurrection only; all other days being the Lord's as well as this. *Prima sabbati significat diem Dominicam, quo Dominus resurrexit, & resurgendo isti seculo subvenit, mundumque ipso die creavit, qui ob excellentiam tanti miraculi proprie dies Dominica appellatur, i.e. dies Domini; quamvis omnes sunt Domini.* So Bruno Herbipolensis hath resolved it. "The first day of the week, saith he, doth signify the Lord's day, on the which he rose, and by so rising brought great comfort to this world, which on that day he had created: which day by reason of the excellency of so great a miracle, we call the Lord's day; though indeed all days be the Lord's." And next, it was not so designed for the public meetings of the Church, as if they might not be assembled as well on every

day as this. For as Saint Hierome hath determined, *omnes dies aequales sunt, nec per parasceven tantum Christum crucifigi, & die Dominica resurgere, sed semper sanctum resurrectionis esse diem, & semper eum carne vesci Dominica, etc.* “All days are equal in themselves, as the Father tells us. Christ was not crucified on the Friday only, nor did he rise only upon the Lord’s day: but that we may make every day the holy day of his resurrection; and every day eat his blessed body in the Sacrament. When therefore certain days were publicly assigned by Godly men for the assemblies of the Church, this was done only for their sakes, *qui magis seculo vacant quam Deo*, who had more mind unto the World than to him that made it, and therefore either could not, or rather would not every day assemble in the Church of God.” Upon which ground as they, those godly men whom S. Hierome speaks of, made choice of this (even in the Age of the Apostles) for one, because our Savior rose that day from amongst the dead: so chose they Friday for another, by reason of our Savior’s passion; and Wednesday, on the which he had been betrayed: the Saturday, or ancient Sabbath, being mean-while retained in the Eastern Churches. Nay, in the primitive times, excepting in the heat of persecution, they met together every day for the receiving of the Sacrament: that being fortified with that viaticum, they might with greater courage encounter death if they chanced to meet him. So that the greatest honor, which in this Age was given the first day of the week, or Sunday, is that about the close thereof, they did begin to honor it with the name and title of the Lord’s Day, and made it one of those set days whereon the people met together for religious exercises. Which their religious exercises when they were performed, or if the times were such that their assemblies were prohibited, and so none were performed at all; it was not held unlawful to apply themselves unto their ordinary labors, as we shall see anon in the following Ages. For whereas some have gathered from this Text of the Revelation, from S. John’s being in the spirit on the Lord’s Day, as the phrase there is, that the Lord’s Day is wholly to be spent in spiritual exercises; that their conceit might probably have had some shew of likelihood, had it been said by the Apostle that he had been in the spirit every Lord’s Day. But being, as it is, a particular case, it can make no rule, unless it be that everyman on the Lord’s Day, should have dreams and visions, and be inspired that day with the spirit of prophecy: no more than if it had been told us, upon what day S. Paul had been rapt up into the third heaven; every man should upon that day, expect the like celestial raptures. Add here, how it is thought by some, that the Lord’s Day here mentioned, is not to be interpreted of the

first day of the week, as we use to take it; but of the day of his last coming, of the day of judgment, wherein all flesh shall come together to receive their sentence; which being called the Lord's day too, in holy Scripture (that so the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord, I Cor. 5.5) S. John might see it, being rapt in spirit, as if come already. But touching this we will not meddle; let them that own it, look unto it: the rather since S. John hath generally been expounded in the other sense, by Aretas and Andraeas Caesariensis upon the place, by Bede de rat. temp. c.6, and by the suffrage of the Church the best expositor of God's Word; wherein this day, hath constantly since the time of that Apostle, been honored with that name, above other days. Which day, how it was afterwards observed, and how far different it was thought from a Sabbath day; the prosecution of this story will make clear and evident.

CHAPTER 2

IN WHAT ESTATE THE LORDS DAY STOOD, FROM THE DEATH OF THE APOSTLES TO THE REIGNE OF CONSTANTINE.

(1) Touching the orders settled by the Apostles, for the Congregation. (2) The Lords day and the Saturday, both festivals, and both observed in the East, in Ignatius time. (3) The Saturday not without great difficulty, made a fasting day. (4) The Controversie about keeping Easter; and how much it conduceth to the present businesse. (5) The feast of Easter not affixed to the Lords day, without much opposition of the Easterne Churches. (6) What Justin Martyr; and Dionysius of Corinth, have left us of the Lords day; Clemens of Alexandria, his dislike thereof. (7) Upon what grounds, the Christians of the former times used to pray, standing, on the Lords day, and the time of Pentecost. (8) What is recorded by Tertullian, of the Lords day; and the assemblies of the Church. (9) Origen, as his master Clemens had done before, dislikes set dayes for the assemblie. (10) S. Cyprian what he tells us of the Lords day: and of the reading of the Scriptures in S. Cyprians time. (11) Of other holy dayes, established in these three first ages; and that they were observed as solemnly, as the Lords day was. (12) The name of Sunday often used for the Lords day, by the primitive Christians; but the Sabbath never.

(1) WE showed you in the former Chapter what ever doth occur in the Acts and Monuments of the Apostles, touching the Lords day and the Sabbath: how that the one of them was abrogated as a part of the Law of Moses, the other rising by degrees from the ruins of it, not by authority divine, for ought appears, but by authority of the Church. As for the duties of that day, they were most likely such as formerly had been used in the Jewish Synagogues: reading the Law and Prophets openly to the Congregation; and afterwards expounding part thereof as occasion was; calling upon the Lord their God for the continuance of his mercies, and singing Psalms and Hymns unto him as by way of thankfulness. These the Apostles found in the Jewish Church, and well approving of the same, as they could not otherwise, commended them unto the care of the disciples;

by them to be observed, as often as they met together, on what day soever. First for the reading of the Law, Origen saith expressly that it was ordered so by the Apostles; *Iudaicarum historiarum libri traditi sunt ab Apostolis legendi in Ecclesiis*, as he there informs us. To this was joined in tract of time the reading of the holy Gospel and other Evangelical writings; it being ordered by S. Peter, that S. Mark's Gospel should be read in the Congregation, as Eusebius tells us; and by S. Paul, that his Epistle to the Thessalonians should be read unto all the holy brethren; and also, that to the Colossians, to be read in the Churches of the Laodiceans, as that from Laodicea in the Church of the Colossians. By which example not only all the writings of the Apostles, but many of the writings of Apostolical men were publicly read unto the people; and for that purpose one appointed to exercise the ministry of a Reader in the congregation. So ancient is the reading of the Scriptures in the Church of God. To this by way of Comment or application, was added as we find by S. Paul's directions, the use of prophecy or preaching, interpretation of the Scriptures, to edifying, and to exhortation, and to comfort; this exercise to be performed with the head uncovered, as well the Preacher as the hearer. Every man praying or prophesying with his head covered, dishonoreth his head, as the Apostle hath informed us. Where we have public prayers also for the congregation: the Priest to offer to the Lord the prayers and supplications of the people, and they to say Amen unto those prayers which the Priest made for them. These to contain in them all the things necessary for the Church of God, which are the subject of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks; and to extend to all men also, especially unto Kings and such as be in authority, that under them we may be godly and quietly governed, leading a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For the performance of which last duties with the greater comfort, it was disposed that Psalms and Hymns should be intermingled with the rest of the public service; which comprehending whatsoever is most excellent in the book of God, and being as so many notable forms of praise and prayer were cheerfully and unanimously to be sung amongst them. And thereupon S. Paul reprehended those of Corinth, in that they joined not with the assembly, but had their psalms unto themselves. Whereby it seems that they had left the true use of psalms, which being so many acclamations, exultations and holy provocations, to give God the glory, were to be sung together by the whole assembly; their singing at that time being little more than a melodious kind of pronunciation, such as is commonly now used in singing of the ordinary psalms and prayers in Cathedral Churches. And so it stood,

till in the entrance of this age Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, one who was conversant with the Apostles, brought in the use of singing alternatim, course by course, according as it still continues in our public Choirs, where one side answers to another; some shew whereof is left in Parochial Churches in which the Minister and the people answer one another, in their several turns. To him doth Socrates refer it, and withal affirms that he first learned it of the Angels, whom in a vision he had heard to sing the praise of God after such a manner: *, as that Author hath it. And where Theodoret doth refer it to Flavianus and Diodorus, Priests of Antioch, during the bustlings of the Arian Heretics; and Platina unto Damasus Pope of Rome; Theodoret is to be interpreted of the restitution of this custom, having been left off; and Platina of the bringing of it into the Western Churches. For that it was in use in Ignatius' time, (who suffered in the time of Trajan) and therefore probably began by him, as is said by Socrates, is evident by that which Pliny signified to the selfsame Trajan; where he informs him of the Christians, *Quod soliti essent stato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere, secum invicem*, etc. "Their greatest crime, said he, was this, that at a certain day, (but what that day was that he tells not) they did meet together before daylight; and there sing hymnes to Christ as unto a God, one with another in their courses: and after bind themselves together by a common Sacrament, not unto any wicked or unjust attempt; but to live orderly without committing robbery, theft, adultery, or the like offenses."

(2) Now for the day there meant by Pliny, it must be Saturday or Sunday, if it were not both; both of them being in those times, and in those parts where Pliny lived, in especial honor; as may be gathered from Ignatius who at that time flourished. For demonstration of the which, we must first take notice, how that the world, as then was very full of dangerous fancies and heretical dotages, whereby the Church was much disquieted, and God's worship hindered. The Ebionites, they stood hard for the Jewish Sabbath, and would by all means have it celebrated as it had been formerly, observing yet the Lord's day, as the Christians did, in honor of the resurrection of our Lord and Savior. *, as Eusebius tells. "They kept saith he the Sabbath and the Jewish institutes in the same manner as the Jews, and the Lord's days they celebrated as the Christians did in memory of our Redeemer's resurrection." The like saith Epiphanius of them, I.1.Heres.30.n.2. And on the other side there was a sort of Heretics in the Eastern parts, (whereof see Irenaeus lib. I. ca.20.21.22.23.24.&25.) who

thought that this world, being corruptible, could not be made but by a very evil Author. Therefore as the Jews did by the festival solemnity of their Sabbath, rejoice in God that created the world, as in the Author of all goodness; so they in hatred of the maker of the world, sorrowed and wept, and fasted on that day, as being the birth day of all evil. And whereas Christian men of sound belief, did solemnize the Sunday in a joyful memory of Christ's resurrection; so likewise at the selfsame time, such Heretics as denied the resurrection, did contrary to them that held it, and fasted when the rest rejoiced. For the expressing of which two last heresies, it was affirmed by Ignatius with such zeal and earnestness, *. If any one did fast either upon the Lord's day, or the Sabbath, except one Sabbath in the year, (which was Easter Eve) he was a murderer of Christ. So he in his Epistle ad Philippenses. The Canons attributed to the Apostles, take notice of the misdemeanor, though they condemn it not with so high a censure, it being in them only ordered that if a Clergyman offended in that kind he should be degraded; * if any of the Laity, they should be excommunicated. Which makes me marvel, by the way, that those which take such pains to justify Ignatius, as Baronius doth, in Anno 57 of his Grand Annals, should yet condemn this Canon of imposture, which is not so severe as Ignatius is, only because it speaks against the Saturdays' fast. Whereof consult the Annals Anno 102. Now as Ignatius labors here to advance the Sabbath, in opposition of those heretics before remembered, making it equally a festival with the Lord's day; so being to deal with those which too much magnified the Sabbath, and thought the Christians bound unto it as the Jews had been; he bends himself another way and resolves it thus. *, etc. "Let us not keep the Sabbath in a Jewish manner, in sloth and idleness; for it is written that he that will not labor shall not eat; and, in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread. But let us keep it after a spiritual fashion, not in bodily ease, but in the study of the law: not eating meat dressed yesterday, or drinking lukewarm drinks, or walking out a limited space, or settling our delights as they did, on dancing; but in the contemplation of the works of God. *, etc. "And after we have so kept the Sabbath, let every one that loveth Christ, keep the Lord's day festival, the resurrection day, the Queen and Empress of all days; in which our life was raised again, and death was overcome by our Lord and Savior." So that we see that he would have both days observed: the Sabbath first, though not as would the Ebionites, in a Jewish sort: and after that the Lord's day, which he so much magnifieth, the better to abate that high esteem which some had cast upon the Sabbath. Agreeable unto this we find that in the Constitutions of the

Apostles, for by that name they pass, though not made by them, both days are ordered to be kept holy, one in memorial of the Creation, the other of the Resurrection.*. See the like l.8.c.33. of which more hereafter.

(3) And so it was observed in the Eastern parts where those of the dispersion had took up their seats; and having long time had their meetings on the Sabbath day, could not so easily be persuaded from it. But in the Western Churches, in the which the Jews were not so considerable, and where those heretics before remembered had been hardly heard of, it was plainly otherwise: that day not only being honored with their public meetings, but destinate to a settled or a constant fast. Some which have looked more nearly into the reasons of this difference, conceive that they appointed this day for fasting in memory of Saint Peter's conflict with Simon Magus, which being to be done on a Sunday following, the Church of Rome ordained a solemn fast on the day before, the better to obtain God's blessing in so great a business; which falling out as they desired, they kept it for a fasting day for ever after. Saint Austine so relates it, as a general and received opinion, but then he adds, *Quod eam esse falsam perhibeant plerique Romani*; That very many of the Romans did take it only for a fable. As for Saint Austine, he conceives the reason of it to be the several uses which men made of our Savior's resting in the grave the whole Sabbath day. For thence it came to pass, saith he, that some, especially the Eastern people, *Ad requiem significandam mallent relaxare jejunium*, to signify and denote that rest, did not use to fast: whereon the other side, those of the Church of Rome and some Western Churches, kept it always fasting, *Propter humilitatem mortis Domini*, by reason that our Lord that day lay buried in the sleep of death. But as the Father comes not home unto the reason of this usage in the Eastern countries, so in my mind Pope Innocent gives a likelier reason for the contrary custom in the Western. For in a Decretal by him made touching the keeping of this fast, he gives this reason of it unto Decentius Eugubinus, who desired it of him: because that day and the day before were spent by the Apostles in grief and heaviness. *Nam constat Apostolos biduo isto & in moerore fuisse, & propter metum Iudaeorum se occuluisse*, as his words there are. The like saith Platina that Innocentum did ordain the Saturday or Sabbath to be always fasted, *Quod tali die Christus in sepulchro jacuisset, & quod discipuli ejus jejunassent*; "Because our Savior lay in the grave that day, and it was fasted by his disciples." Not that it was not fasted before Innocent's time, as some vainly think; but that being formerly an arbitrary practice only, it was by him

intended for a binding Law. Now as the African and the Western Churches were severally devoted either to the Church of Rome, or other Churches in the East, so did they follow in this matter of the Sabbath's fast, the practice of those parts to which they did most adhere. Millaine <Milan> though near to Rome, followed the practice of the East: which shews how little power the Popes then had, even within Italy itself. Paulinus tells us also of S. Ambrose, that he did never use to dine, nisi die Sabbati & Dominico; etc. but on the Sabbath, the Lord's day, and on the Anniversaries of the Saints and Martyrs. Yet so, that when he was at Rome, he used to do as they there did, submitting to the orders of the Church in the which he was. Whence that so celebrated speech of his, Cum hic sum, nonjejuno Sabbato: cum Romae sum jejuno Sabbato: at Rome he did; at Millaine he did not fast the Sabbath. Nay, which is more, Saint Augustine tells us that many times in Africa, one and the selfsame Church, at least the several Churches in the selfsame Province, had some that dined upon the Sabbath and some that fasted. And in this difference it stood a long time together, till in the end the Roman Church obtained the cause, and Saturday became a fast almost through all the parts of the Western world. I say the Western world, and of that alone, The Eastern Churches being so far from the altering their ancient custom that in the sixth Council of Constantinople, Anno 692, they did admonish those of Rome to forbear fasting on that day upon pain of censures. Which I have noted here in its proper place, that we might know the better how the matter stood between the Lord's day and the Sabbath; how hard a thing it was for one to get the mastery of the other, both days being in themselves indifferent for sacred uses and holding by no other tenure than by the courtesy of the Church.

(4) Much of this kind was that great conflict between the East and Western Churches about keeping Easter, and much alike conduced, as it was maintained, unto the honor of the Lord's day or neglect thereof. The Passover of the Jews was changed in the Apostles' times to the Feast of Easter, the anniversary memorial of our Savior's resurrection; and not changed only in their times, but by their authority. Certain it is that they observed it, for Polycarpus kept it, *, both with Saint John, and with the rest of the Apostles, as Irenaeus tells us in Eusebius' History. The like Polycrates affirms of Saint Philip also, whereof see Euseb.1.5.c,14. Nor was the difference which arose in the times succeeding about the Festival itself, but for the time wherein it was to be observed. The Eastern Churches, following the custom of Jerusalem, kept it directly at the same time the

Jews did their Passovers: and at Jerusalem they so kept it (the Bishops there for fifteen several successions, being of the Circumcision), the better to content the Jews their brethren, and to win upon them. But in the Churches of the West they did not celebrate this Feast *decima quarta luna*, upon what day soever it was, as the others did; but on some Sunday following after: partly in honor of the day, and partly to express some difference between Jews and Christians. A thing of great importance to the present case. For if the Christians of the East reflected not upon the Sunday, in the Annual return of so great a Feast, but kept it on the fourteenth day of the month, be it what it will; it may be very strongly gathered that they regarded not the Lord's day so highly, which was the weekly memory of the resurrection, as to prefer that day before any other in their public meetings. And thereupon Baronius pleads it very well, that certainly Saint John was not the Author of the contrary practice, as some gave it out. *Nam quaenam potuit esseratio*, etc. "For what, saith he, might be the reason why in the Revelation, he should make mention of the Lord's day as a day of note, and of good credit in the Church, had it not got that name in reference to the resurrection. And if it were thought fit by the Apostles to celebrate the weekly memory thereof upon the Sunday, then to what purpose should they keep the Anniversary on another day?" And so far questionless we may join issue with the Cardinal, that either Sunday is not meant in the Revelation; or else Saint John was not the Author of keeping Easter with the Jews on what day soever. Rather we may conceive; that Saint John gave way unto the current of the times which in those places, as is said, were much intent upon the customs of the Jews, most of the Christians of those parts being Jews originally.

(5) For the composing of this difference, and bringing of the Church to an uniformity, the Popes of Rome bestirred themselves, & so did many others also. And first, Pope Pius publisheth a declaration, *Pascha domini die dominica annuis solennitatibus celebrandum esse*, that Easter was to be solemnized on the Lord's day only. And here, although I take the words of the letter decretorie, yet I rely rather upon Eusebius for the authority of the fact than on the Decretal itself, which is neither for the substance probable, and for the date, starkly false; not to be trusted, there being no such Council (it is Crab's own note) as are there set down. But the Authority of Pope Pius did not reach so far as the Asian Churches, and therefore it produced an effect accordingly. This was 159, and seven years after, Polycarpus, Bishop of Smyrna, a Reverend and an holy man, made away to

Rome; *, there to confer with Arniceus, then Roman Prelate, about this business. And though one could not woo the other to desert the cause, yet they communicated together, and so parted Friends. But when that Blastus afterwards had made it necessary, which before was arbitrary, and taught it to be utterly unlawful to hold this Feast at any other time than the Jewish Passover, becoming so the Author of the Quarto decimani, as they used to call them; then did both Eleutherius publish a Decree that it was only to be kept upon the Sunday; and Irenaeus, though otherwise a peaceable man, wrote a Discourse entitled *De schismate contra Blastum*, now not extant. A little before this time (this happened Anno 180), the controversy had took place in Laodicea, *, as Eusebius hath it; which moved Melito Bishop of Sardis, a man of special eminence, to write two Bookes de Paschate, and one de die Domenico, *. But to what side he took, it is hard to say. Were those discourses extant, as they both are lost, we might no doubt find much that would conduce to our present business. Two years before the close of this second century Pope Victor, presuming probably on his name, sends abroad his Mandate touching the keeping of this Feast on the Lord's day only: against the which, when as Polycrates and other Asian Prelates had set out their Manifests, he presently without more ado declares them all for excommunicate. But when this rather hindered than advanced the cause, the Asian Bishops caring little for those *Bruta sublumina*; and Irenaeus, who held the same side with him, having persuaded him to milder courses, he went another way to work, by practicing with the Prelates of several Churches to end the matter in particular Councils. Of these, there was one held at Osroena, another by Bachyllus Bishop of Corinth, a third in Gaul by Irenaeus, a fourth in Pontus, a fifth in Rome, a sixth in Palestine by Theophilus Bishop of Caeserea; the Canons of all which were extant in Eusebius' time: and in all which it was concluded for the Sunday. By means of these Synodical determinations, the Asian Prelates by degrees let fall their rigor and yielded to the stronger and surer side. Yet waveringly and with some relapses, till the great Council of Nice, backed with the authority as great an Emperor, settled it better than before; none but some scattered Schismatics now and then appearing, that durst oppose the resolution of that famous Synod. So that you see, that whether you look upon the day appointed for the Jewish Sabbath, or on the day appointed for the Jewish Passover; the Lord's day found it no small matter to obtain the victory. And when it had prevailed so far that both the Feast of Easter was restrained unto it, and that it had the honor of the public meetings of the Congregation, yet was not this last exclusively of all other days: the former

Sabbath and the fourth and sixth days of the week having some share therein for a long time after, as we shall see more plainly in the following Centuries.

(6) But first to make an end of this: this Century affords us three particular writers which have made mention of this day. First Justin Martyr, who then lived in Rome, doth thus relate it, * etc. “Upon the Sunday all of us assembled in the Congregation, as being that first day wherein God separating the light and darkness did create the world, and Jesus Christ our Savior rose again from the dead.” This for the day; then for the service of the day, he describes it thus: “Upon the day called Sunday, all that abide within the Cities, or about the fields, do meet together in some place where the records of the Apostles and writings of the Prophets, as much as is appointed are read unto us. The reader having done, the Priest or Prelate ministereth a word of exhortation, that we do imitate those good things which are there repeated. Then standing up together, we send up our prayers unto the Lord; which ended, there is delivered unto every one of us bread and wine with water. After all this, the Priest or Prelate offers up our prayers and thanksgiving as much as in him is, to God; and all the people say Amen: those of the richer sort, *, every man as he would himself, contributing something towards the relief of the poorer brethren; which after, by the Priest or Prelate, was disposed amongst them.” A form of service not much different from that in the church of England, save that we make the entrance unto our Liturgy with some preparatory prayers. The rest consisting as we know of Psalms, and several readings of the Scriptures out of the Old Testament and the New; the Epistles, and the holy Gospel; that done, the Homily or Sermon followeth the Offertory next, then prayers, and after that the Sacrament, and then prayers again; the people being finally dismissed with a benediction. The second testimony of these times is that of Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, who lived about 175, some nine years after Justin Martyr wrote his last Apologie: who in an Epistle unto Soter Pope of Rome, doth relate it thus: *, etc. “To day, saith he, we kept holy the Lord’s day, wherein we read the Epistle which you writ unto us, which we do always read for our instruction, as also the first Epistle writ by Clemens.” Where note that not the Scriptures only were in those times read publicly in the Congregation, but the Epistles and Discourses of such learned men as had been eminent for place and piety, as in the after times, on defect of Sermons, it was the custom of the Church to read the Homilies of the Fathers for their edification. Concerning

which it was ordained in a Council at Vaux, Anno 444, that if the Priest were sick or otherwise infirm so that he could not preach himself, the Deacons should rehearse some Homily of the holy Fathers. Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum Patrum homilie a Diaconibus recitentur; so the Council ordered it. The third and last Writer of this Century which gives us any thing of the Lord's day is Clemens Alexandrinus, (he flourished in the year 190) who though he fetched the pedigree of the Lord's day even as far as Plato which before we noted, yet he seems well enough contented that the Lord's day should not be observed at all. *, etc. "We ought, saith he, to honor and to reverence him, whom we are verily persuaded to be the word, our Savior and our Captain; and in him, the Father: *, not in selected time, as some do amongst us, but always during our whole lives and on all occasions. The Royal Prophet tells us that he prayed God seven times a day. Whence he that understands himself stands not upon determinate places or appointed Temples, *, much less on any Festivals or days assigned; but in all places honors God, though he be alone. And a little after, *, etc. making our whole lives a continual Festival, and knowing God to be every where, we praise him sometimes in the fields, and sometimes sailing on the Seas, and finally in all the times of our life what ever. So in another place of the self-same book, *, etc. He that doth lead his life according to the ordinances of the Gospel, * then keeps the Lord's day when he casts away every evil thought, and doing things with knowledge and understanding, doth glorify the Lord in his resurrection." By which it seems that whatsoever estimation the Lord's day had attained unto at Rome and Corinth, yet either it was not so much esteemed at Alexandria, or else this Clemens did not think so rightly of it as he should have done.

(7) Now in the place of Justin Martyr before remembered, there is one special circumstance to be considered, in reference to our present search: for I say nothing here of mingling water with the Wine in the holy Sacrament, as not conducing to the business which we have in hand. This is, that in their Sunday's service they did use to stand during the time they made their prayers unto the Lord: *, as his words there are. Such was the custom of his time, and a long time after; that though they kneeled on other days, yet on the Lord's day they prayed always standing. Yet not upon the Lord's day only, but every day from Easter unto Pentecost. The reason is thus given by him who made the Responiones ascribed to Justin; that so saith he, "We might take notice as of our fall by sin, so of our restitution by

the grace of Christ. Six days we pray upon our knees, and that's in token of our fall:*, etc. But on the Lord's day we bow not the knee in token of the Resurrection; by which according to the Grace of Christ, we are set free from sin, and the powers of death." The like saith he, is to be said of the days of Pentecost, which custom as he tells us, and cites Irenaeus for his Author, did take beginning even in the times of the Apostles. Rather we may conceive that they used this ceremony to testify their faith in the resurrection of our Lord and Savior; which many Heretics of those times did publicly gain- say, as before we noted, and shall speak more thereof hereafter. But whatsoever was the reason, it continued long, and was confirmed particularly by the great Synod of Nice, what time some people had begun to neglect this custom. The Synod there thus determined, *, etc. "that forasmuch as some did use to kneel on the Lord's day, and the time of Pentecost, that all things, in all places might be done with an uniformity, it pleased the holy Synod to decree it thus: *, that men should stand at those times when they made their prayers. For Fathers which avow this custom, consult Tertullian, lib. de corona mil; S. Basil.l, de Sp. S. c. 27; S. Hierom. Adv. Luciferian; S. Austin. Epist. 118; S. Hilaries Praefat. in Psalm; Ambros. Serm. 62, and divers others. What time this custom was laid by, I can hardly say; but sure I am it was not laid aside in a long time after; not till the time of Pope Alexander the third, who lived about the year 1160. For in a Decretal of his, confirmatory of the former custom, it was prohibited to kneel on the times remembered; Nisi aliquis ex devotione id velit facere, in secreto, unless some out of pure devotion, did it secretly. Which dispensation probably occasioned the neglect thereof, in the times succeeding: the rather since those heretics who formerly had denied the resurrection, were now quite exterminated. This circumstance we have considered the more at large, as being the most especial difference whereby the Sunday's service was distinguished from the week-days worship, in these present times whereof we write, and yet the difference was not such that it was proper to the Lord's day only; but, if it were a badge of honor, communicated unto more than forty other days; of which more anon. But being it was an Ecclesiastical and occasional custom, the Church which first ordained it let it fall again, by the same authority.

(8) In the third Century, the first we meet with is Tertullian, who flourished in the very first beginnings of it: by whom this day is called by three several names. For first he calls it *Dies solis*, Sunday, as commonly we now call it; and saith, that they did dedicate the same unto mirth and gladness; not to

devotion altogether: *Diem solis laetitiae indulgemus*, in his *Apologeticks*. The same name is used by Justin Martyr in the passages before remembered, partly because being to write to an heathen Magistrate, it had not been so proper to call it by the name of the Lord's day, which name they knew not; and partly that delivering the form and substance of their service done upon that day, they might the better quit themselves from being worshipers of the Sun as the Gentiles thought. For by their meetings on this day for religious exercises, in greater numbers than on others, in Africa and the West, especially; and by their use of turning towards the East when they made their prayers; the world was sometimes so persuaded. *Iude suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari*, as he there informeth us. Whereby we may perceive of what great antiquity that custom is, which is retained in the Church of England, of bowing, kneeling, and adoring towards the Eastern parts. The Second name by which Tertullian calls this day, is the eighth day simply: *Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisquis festus est, tibi octavo quoque die*. The Gentiles, as he tells us, did keep their festivals only once a year; the Christians every eighth day, weekly. The third is, *Dies Dominicus*, or the Lord's day; of which more hereafter. For their performances in their public meetings he describes them thus: *Coimus in coetum & congregationem*, etc. "We come together into the assembly or congregation, to our common prayers, that being banded as it were in a troop or Army, we may besiege God with our petitions. To him such violence is exceeding grateful. It followeth, *Cogimur ad sacrarum literarum commemorationem*, etc. We meet to hear the holy Scriptures rehearsed unto us, that so according to the quality of the times, we may either be premonished or corrected by them. Questionless by these holy speeches our faith is nourished, our hopes erected, our assurance settled: and notwithstanding by inculcating the same, we are the better stablished in our obedience to God's precepts. A little after, *President probati quique seniores*, etc. Now at these general meetings, some Priests or Elders do preside, which have attained unto that honor not by money, but by the good report that they have gotten in the Church. And if there be a Poor-man's Box, every one cast in somewhat *menstrua die*, at least once a month, according as they would, and as they were able." Thus he describes the form of their public meetings: but that such meetings were then used amongst them on the Sunday only, that he doth not say. Nor can we learn by him, or by Justin Martyr who describes them also, either how long those meetings lasted, or whether they assembled more than once a day; or what they did after the meetings were dissolved. But sure it is that their

assemblies held no longer than our Morning Service; that they met only before noon; for Justin saith, that when they met they used to receive the Sacrament; and that the Service being done, every man went again to his daily labors. Of all these I shall speak hereafter. Only I note it out of Beza, that hitherto the people used not to forbear their labors, but while they were assembled in the Congregation: there being no such duty enjoined amongst them, neither in the times of the Apostles nor after, many years, nor till the Emperors had embraced the Gospel and therewith published their Edicts to enforce men to it. But take his words at large for the more assurance. *Vt autem Christiani eo die a suis quotidianis laboribus abstinerent, preter id temporis quod in coetu ponebatur, id neque illis Apostolicis temporibus mandatum, neque prim fuit observatum quam id a Christianis Imperatoribus, ne quis a rerum sacrarum meditatione abstraheretur, & quidem non ita precise observatum.* “That Christians ought, saith he, to abstain that day from their daily labor, except that part thereof alone which was appointed for the meetings of the Congregation, was never either commanded in the Apostles’ times nor otherwise observed in the Church, until such time that so it was enjoined by Christian Emperors, to the end the people might not be diverted from meditating on holy matters; nor was it then so strictly kept as it was enjoined.” Which makes it manifest, that the Lord’s day was not taken for a Sabbath day, in these three first Ages. But for Tertullian where I left, note that I rendered *seniores* by Priests or Elders; because I think his meaning was to render the Greek *Presbyter* by the Latin *senior*. For that he should there mean lay-elders, as some men would have it, is a thing impossible: considering that he tells us in another place that they received the Sacrament at the hands of those who did preside in the assemblies. *Eucharistiae Sacramentum non de aliorum manu, quam de Presidentium sumimus; and therefore sure they must be Priests that so presided.*

(9) Proceed we next to Origen, who flourished at the same time also. He being an Auditor of Clemens in the schools of Alexandria, became of his opinions too in many things; and amongst others, in dislike of those selected festivals which by the Church were set apart for God’s public service. *Dicite mihi vos qui festis tantum diebus ad Ecclesiam convenitis, coeteri dies non sunt festi, non sunt dies Domini? Iudeorum est dies certos & raros observare solennes etc. Christiani, omni die carnes agni comedunt, i.e. carnes verbi Dei quotidie sumunt.* “Tell me, saith he, you that frequent the Church on the feast days only, are not all days festival? are not all the

Lord's? It appertains unto the Jews to observe days and festivals: the Christians every day eat of the flesh of the Lamb, i.e. they every day do hear the Word of God." And in another place, *, etc. "He truly keeps the festivals that performs his duty, praying continually, and offering every day the unbloody sacrifice in his prayers to God. Which whosoever doeth, and is upright in thought word and deed, adhering always unto God our natural Lord," *, Every day is to him a Lord's day. It seems too, that he had his desire, in part: it being noted by the Mandeburgians that every day there were assemblies in Alexandria, where he lived, for hearing the word of God. Et de collectis quotidie celebratis in quibus praedicatum sit verbum Dei, Hom. 9. in Isaiah significare videtur, as they note it from him. Indeed the Proem to his several Homilies seem to intimate that if they met not every day to hear his Lectures, they met very often. But being a learned man and one that had a good conceit of his own abilities, he grew offended that there was not as great resort of people every day to hear him as upon the Festivals. Of Sunday there is little doubt but that it was observed amongst them; so was the Wednesday, and the Friday both. For it is positively said by Socrates that on them both, the Scriptures were read openly, and afterwards expounded by the Doctors of the Church; and all things done appointed by the public Liturgy, save that they did not use to receive the sacrament. *. And this saith he was the old use in Alexandria: which he confirms by the practice of Origen, who was accustomed, as he tells us, to preach upon these days to the Congregation. Tertullian too, takes special notice of these two days; whereof consult him in his book adv. Psychicos.

(10) About the middle of this Century did Saint Cyprian live, another African: and he hath left us somewhat, although not much, which concerns this business. Aurelius, one of excellent parts, was made a Reader in the Church, I think of Carthage: which being very welcome news to the common people, Saint Cyprian makes it known unto them, and withal lets them understand that Sunday was the day appointed for him to begin his Ministry. Et quoniam semper gaudium properat, nec moraferte potest laetitia, dominico legit. So that as Sunday was a day which they used to meet on; so reading of the Scripture was a special part of the Sunday's exercise. Not as an exercise to spend the time, when one doth wait for another's coming, till the assembly be complete; and that without or choice, or stint, appointed by determinate order; as is now used both in the French and Belgic Churches: for what need such an eminent man as

Aurelius was, be taken out with so much expectation, to exercise the Clarke's, or the Sexton's duty. But it was used amongst them then, as a chief portion of the service which they did to God; in hearkening reverently unto his voice: It being so ordered in the Church, that the whole Bible or the greatest part thereof, should be read over once a year. And this, that so the Ministers of the congregation, by often reading and meditation of God's Word, be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be the more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were Adversaries to the truth: as that the people by daily hearing of the Scriptures, should profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true Religion. Now for the duties of the people on this day in the Congregation, as they used formerly to hear the Word and receive the Sacraments, and to pour forth their souls to God in affectionate prayers: so much about these times, viz. in Anno 237, it has been appointed by Pope Fabian that every man and woman should, on the Lord's day, bring a quantity of bread and wine, first to be offered on the Altar and then distributed in the Sacrament. A thing which had been done before as of common course, but now exacted as a duty: for the neglect whereof, Saint Cyprian chides with a rich widow of his time who neither brought her offering nor otherwise gave any thing to the poor-man's Box; and therefore did not celebrate the Lord's Supper as she should have done. *Locuples, & dives, dominicum celebrare te credis, quae Carbonam omnino non respicis, quae in Dominicum, sine sacrificio venis, quae partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis.* "Thinkest thou that thou dost rightly celebrate the Lords' Supper, who being rich and wealthy, hast no care at all of the poor-man's Box? who comest into the Church, (for so Dominicum doth signify in the second place) without thy sacrifice, and eatest a part of that which the poor man offereth?" In after times this custom went away by little and little; instead of which it was appointed by the Church, and retained in ours, that Bread and Wine for the Communion shall be provided by the Church-wardens at the charge of the Parish. I should now leave Saint Cyprian here, but that I am to tell you first, that he conceives the Lord's day to have been prefigured in the eighth day, destinate to circumcision. Which being but a private opinion of his own, I rather shall refer the Reader unto the place, than repeat the words. And this is all this Age affords me in the present search.

(11) For other holy days instituted by the Church for God's public service in these three Centuries precedent, besides the Lord's day, or the Sunday,

which came every week: Origen names Good Friday, as we call it now, or the Parascève, as he calls it there; the feast of Easter, & of Pentecost. Of Easter we have spoke already. For Pentecost or Whitsuntide, as it began with the Apostles, so it continues till this present, but not in that solemnity which before it had. For anciently not that day only, which we call Whitsunday, or Pentecost *, but all the fifty days from Easter forwards were accounted holy, and solemnized with no less observation than the Sundays were: no kneeling on the one, nor upon the other; no fasting on the one, nor upon the other. Of which days, that of the Ascension, or Holy Thursday, being one; became in little time to be more highly reckoned of than all the rest: as we shall prove hereafter out of Saint Austin. But for these fifty days aforesaid, Tertullian tells us of them thus: *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare; Eadem immunitate a die Paschae in Pentecosten gaudemus.* “We count it an impiety, saith he, to fast on the Lord’s day, or to pray kneeling on the same: the same immunity we enjoy, from Easter unto Whitsuntide, which makes both alike.” Which words if any think too short to reach the point: he tells us in another place that all the Festivals of the Gentiles contained not so many days as did that one. *Excerpe singulas solennitates nationum, & in ordinem texe, Pentecosten implere non poterunt.* The like he hath also in his book *av. Psychicos*: the like Saint Hierom *ad Lucimum*; the like Saint Ambrose, or Maximus Taurinens. which of the two soever it was, that made those Sermons, Serm. 60, 61; In which last it is said expressly of those fifty days, that every one of them was *instar Dominice, and qualis est Dominica*, in all respects nothing inferior to the Lord’s day. And in the Comment on Saint Luke (which questionless was writ by Ambrose) *cap.17.l.8*, it is said expressly, *Et sunt omnes dies tanquam Dominica*, that every day of all the fifty was to be reckoned of no otherwise, in that regard especially, than the Sunday was. Some footsteps of this custom still remain amongst us, in that we fast not either on S. Mark’s Eve or on the Eve of S. Philip and Jacob, happening within that time. The fast of the Rogation week was after instituted on a particular and extraordinary occasion. Now as these festivals of Easter and of Whitsuntide, were instituted in the first age or Century, and with them, those two days attendant, which we still retain; whereof see Austin *de Civit. Dei.li.22.ca.8.* & Nyssen in his first Hom. *de Paschate*, where Easter is expressly called *, or the three-days-feast: so was the feast of Christ’s nativity ordained or instituted in the second; that of his incarnation in the third. For this, we have an Homily of Gregory surnamed Thaumaturgus, who lived in Anno 230, entitled *De*

annunciacione B. Virginis, as we call it now. But being it is questionable among the learned, whether that Homily be his or not: there is an Homily of Athanasius on the selfsame argument (he lived in the beginning of the following Century), whereof there is no question to be made at all. That of the Lord's nativity began, if not before, in the second Age. Theophilus Caesariens. who lived about the times of Commodus, and Severus, the Roman Emperors, makes mention of it, and fixeth it upon the 25. of Decemb. as we now observe it. *Natalem Domini, quocunque die 8. Calend. Ianuar. venerit, celebrare debemus*, as his own words are. And after, in the time of Maximinus, which was one of the last great persecutors, Nicephorus tells us that in *ipso natalis Dominici die, Christianos Nicomediae festivitatem celebrantes, succenso templo concremavit*; "even in the very day of the Lord's nativity, he caused the Christians to be burnt at Nicomedia, whilst they were solemnizing this great feast within their Temple." I say this Great Feast, and I call it so on the authority of Beda, who reckoneth Christmas, Easter, and Whitsontide for *majora solennia*; as they still are counted. But before Bede it was so thought over all the Church. Chrysostome calls it, *, the mother or metropolis of all other feasts. And before him Pope Fabian, whom but now we spake of, ordained that all lay-men should communicate at least thrice a year, which was these three festivals. *Et si non frequentius, saltem ter in Anno Laici homines communicent, etc. in Pascha & Pentecoste, & Natali Domini*. So quickly had the Annual got the better of the weekly Festivals. According to which ancient Canon, the Church of England hath appointed that every man communicate at least thrice a year, of which times Easter to be one.

(12) Before we end this Chapter, there is one thing yet to be considered, which is the name whereby the Christians of these first Ages did use to call the day of the resurrection; and consequently the other days of the week according as they found the time divided. The rather, because some are become offended that we retain those names amongst us which were to us commended by our Ancestors; and to them by theirs. Where first we must take notice that the Jews in honor of their Sabbath used to refer their times to that; distinguishing their days by *Prima Sabbati, Secunda Sabbati*, and so until they came to the Sabbath itself: as on the other side the Gentiles, following the motions of the Planets, gave to each day the name of that particular Planet by which the first hour of the day was governed, as their Astrologers had taught them: Now the Apostles being Jews, retained the custom of the Jews; and for that reason called that day on which our

Savior rose, *, una sabbati, the first day of the week, as our English reads it. The Fathers, many of them followed their example. Saint Austin thereupon calls Thursday by the name of *quintum sabbati*, Epist. 118, and so doth venerable Beda, *hist. lib. 4.c.25*; S. Hierome Tuesday, *tertium sabbati*, in Epitaph. Paule; Tertullian Friday, by the old name *parasceve* l.4.advers. Marcion. Saturday they called generally the Sabbath; and Sunday, sometimes *dies solis*, and sometimes *Dominicus*. Pope Silvester, as Polydore Virgil is of opinion, *vanorum deorum memoriam abhorrens*, hating the name and memory of the Gentile gods, gave order that the days should be called by the name of *Feriae*; and the distinction to be made by *Prima feria*, *Secunda feria*, etc. the Sabbath and the Lord's day holding their names and places as before they did. Hence that of Honorius Augustodunensis: *Hebraei nominant dies suos, una vel prima sabbati, etc. Pagni sic, dies solis, Lunae, etc. Christiano vero sic dies nominant, viz. Dies Dominicus, feria prima, etc. Sabbatum*. But by their leave, this is no universal rule; the Writers of the Christian Church not tying up their hands so strictly as not to give the days what names they pleased: Save that the Saturday is called amongst them by no other name than that which formerly it had, the Sabbath. So that when ever for a thousand years and upwards we meet with *Sabbatum*, in any writer of what name soever, it must be understood of no day but Saturday. As for the other day, the day of resurrection, the Evangelists, and S. Paul, take notice of no other name than of the first day of the week. S. John, and after him Ignatius, call it *, the Lord's day. But then again Justin Martyr for the second Century, doth in two several passages call it no otherwise than *, Sunday, as then the Gentiles called it, and we call it now: and so Tertullian for the third, who useth both, and calls it sometimes *diem solis*, and sometimes *Dominicum*, as before was said. Which questionless neither of them would have done on what respect soever, had it been either contrary to the Word of God or scandalous unto his Church. So for the after ages, in the Edicts of Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Honorius, Arcadius, Theodosius, Christian Princes all, it hath no other name than Sunday, or *dies solis*; and many fair years after them, the Synod held at Dingulosinum in the lower Bavaria, Anno 772, calls it plainly Sunday; *Festo die solis prophanis negotiis abstineto*: of which Edicts we shall speak hereafter. Thus also Aventine, for the latter Writers, who lived not till the Age last past, speaking of the battle fought near Cambry between Charles Martell, and Hilpericus King of France, saith that it happened on the thirteenth of the Calends of Aprill, *quae tum dies solis ante Paschalia erat*, being the

Sunday before Easter. They therefore are more nice than wise, who out of a desire to have all things new would have new names for every day; or call them as sometimes they were, the first day of the week, the second day of the week, & sic de caeteris: and all for fear lest it be thought that we do still adore those Gods whom the Gentiles worshiped. S. Augustine, as it seems, had met with some this way affected, and thus disputes the case with Faustus Manichaeus. *Deorum suorum nomina gentes imposuerunt diebus istis*, etc. “The Gentiles, saith the Father, gave unto every day of the week, the name of one or other of their Gods, and so they did also unto every month. If then we keep the name of March, and not think of Mars; why may we not, saith he, preserve the name of Saturday, and not think of Saturn.” I add, why may we not then keep the name of Sunday, and not think of Phoebus, or Apollo, or by what other name soever, the old Poets call him. This, though it satisfied the Manichees, will not perhaps now satisfy some curious men who do as much dislike the names of the Months as of the days. To others I presume it may give some reason why we retain the name of Sunday, not only in our common speech, but in the Canons of the Church, and our Acts of Parliament: as being used indifferently by so many eminent persons in the Primitive Church, as also in an open Synod, as before was shown; from thence transmitted by our Fathers unto their posterity. Better by far, and far less danger to be feared, in calling it the Sunday, as the Gentiles did, and as our Ancestors have done before us; than calling it the Sabbath, as too many do, and on less authority; nay, contrary indeed to all antiquity, and Scripture.

CHAPTER 3

THAT IN THE FOURTH AGE FROM THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE TO SAINT AUSTINE, THE LORDS DAY WAS NOT TAKEN FOR A SABBATH DAY.

(1) The Lords day first established by the Emperour Constantine. (2) What labors were permitted, and what restrained on the Lords day, by this Emperours Edict. (3) Of other holy dayes, and Saints dayes, instituted in the time of Constantine. (4) That weekely other dayes particularly the Wednesday and the Friday, were in this Age, and those before appointed for the meetings of the Congregation. (5) The Saturday as highly honored in the Eastern Churches, as the Lords day was. (6) The Fathers of the Easterne Churches, cry downe the Iewish Sabbath, though they held the Saturday. (7) The Lords day, in this Age, a day of feasting; and that it hath beene alwayes deemed haereticall, to hold fasts thereon. (8) Of recreation on the Lords day: and of what kind those dancings were, against the which the Fathers enveigh so sharply. (9) Other Imperiall Edicts, about the keeping of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes. (10) The Orders, at this time in use, on the Lords day, and other dayes of publick meeting, in the Congregation. (11) The infinite differences betweene the Lords day, and the Sabbath.

(1) HITHERTO have we spoken of the Lords day as taken up by the common consent of the Church: not instituted or established by any text of Scripture, or Edict of Emperor, or decree of Council; save that some few particular Councils did reflect upon it in the point of Easter. In that which followeth, we shall find both Emperors and Councils very frequent in ordering things about this day and the service of it. And first we have the Emperor Constantine, who being the first Christian Prince which publicly professed the Gospel, was the first also which made any law about the keeping of the Lord's day or Sunday. Of him Eusebius tells us that thinking that the chiefest and most proper day for the devotion of his subjects, he presently declared his pleasure, *, "that every one who lived in the Roman Empire should take their ease, or rest, in that day weekly, which is entitled to our Savior." Now where the soldiers in his camp were partly Christians

and partly Gentiles, it was permitted unto them who professed the Gospel, upon the Sunday, so he calls it, freely to go unto the Churches and there offer up their prayers to Almighty God. But such as had continued still in their ancient errors, were ordered to assemble in the open fields, upon those days; and on a signal given, to make their prayers unto the Lord after a form by him prescribed. That form being in the Latin tongue, was this that followeth: *Te solum Deum agnoscimus, te regum profiteamur, te adiutorem invocamus, per te victorias consecuti sumus, per te hostes superavimus, a te & praesentem felicitatem consecutos fatemur, & futuram adepturos speramus: tui omnes supplices sumus; a te petimus, ut Constantinum Imperatorum nostrum una cumpys ejus liberis, quam diutissim: nobis salvum & victorem conserves.* In English thus: “We do acknowledge thee to be the only God, we confess thee to be the King, we call upon thee as our helper and defender: by thee alone it is that we have got the victory, and subdued our enemies; to thee as we refer all our present happiness, so from thee also do we expect our future. Thee therefore we beseech, that thou wouldest please to keep in all health and safety our noble Emperor Constantine, with his hopeful progeny.” Nor was this only to be done in the fields of Rome, in *patentibus suburbiorum campis*, as the Edict ran: but after, by another proclamation he did command the same over all the Provinces of the Empire. *, as Eusebius hath it. So natural a power it is in a Christian Prince, to order things about religion, that he not only took upon him to command the day but also to prescribe the service; to those I mean who had no public Liturgy, or set form of prayer.

(2) Nor did he only take upon him to command or appoint the day as to all his subjects; and to prescribe a form of prayer as unto the Gentiles, but to decree what work should be allowed upon it, and what intermitted in former times, though the Lord’s day, had got the credit as to be honored with the public meetings of the Congregation, yet was it not so strictly kept, no not in time of Divine Service, but that the public Magistrates, Judges and other Ministers of State were to attend those great employments they were called unto, without relation to this day or cessation on it: and so did other men which had less employments, and those not so necessary. These things this pious Emperor taking into consideration, and finding no necessity but that his Judges and other Public ministers might attend God’s service on that day, at least not be a means to keep others from it; and knowing that such as dwelt in Cities had sufficient

leisure to frequent the Church; and that Artificers without any public discommodity might, for that time, forbear their ordinary labors: he ordered and appointed that all of them, in their several places should this day lay aside their own business to attend the Lord's. But then withal considering that such as followed husbandry could not so well neglect the times of seeds and harvests, but that they were to take advantage of the fairest and most seasonable weather, as God pleased to send it, he left it free to them to follow their affairs on what day soever; lest otherwise they might lose those blessings which God, in his great bounty, had bestowed upon them. This mentioned in the very Edict he set forth about it. First for his Judges, Citizens or inhabitants of the greater towns, and all Artificers therein dwelling. *Omnes Iudices, urbanae qua plebes, & cunctarum artium officia, venerabili die Solis quiescant.* Next for the people of the Country, *Rure tamen positi, libere licenterque agrorum culturae inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die, frumenta fulcis, vinea scrobibus mandentur.* And then the reason of this follows, *Ne occasione momenti, pereat commodit ac coelesti provisione concessa.* The tenor of the whole is this: "It is our pleasure that all Judges, inhabitants of Cities, and Artificers should on the venerable Sunday lay aside their businesses. As for the people of the Country that they with liberty and safety shall attend their husbandry on that day; because it happeneth many times, that no day is more fit than that, either for sowing corn or for planting vines: lest otherwise by neglect of convenient seasons they lose those benefits which their God had bestowed upon them." This Edict did bear date in the Nones of March, Anno 321, being the 11th year of that Prince's Empire; and long it did not stand till he himself was fain to explain his meaning in the first part of it. For whereas he intended only to restrain law suits and contentious pleadings, as being unfit for such a day, his Judges and like officers, finding a general restraint in the law of Edict, durst not engage themselves in the Cognizance of any civil cause what ever; no not so much as in the Manumission of a Bondslave. This coming to the Emperor's notice, who was a friend of liberty, and could not but well understand how acceptable a thing it was to God that works of charity and mercy should not be restrained on any days, it pleased him to send out a second Edict in the July following, directed to Elpidius, who was then Praefectus Praetorio, as I take it; wherein he authorized his Ministers to perform that Office, any thing in the former Law unto the contrary notwithstanding. For so it runs, *Sicut indignissimum videbatur, diem Solis venerationis suae celebrem, altercantibus jurgijs & noxys partium consentionibus, occupari;*

ita gratum est & jucundum, eo die, quae sunt maxime votiva, compleri. Atque ideo emancipandi & manumittendi, die festo, cuncti licentiam habeant; & super his rebus, Acta non prohibeantur. “As we conceived it most unfitting that Sunday being a famous and a sacred day, should be taken up in wrangling suits and hurtful altercations: so is it a most grateful and most pleasing thing that those things should be done upon it which are most desired. Therefore it is our pleasure that all our ministers have leave to manumit and make free on that holy day; and enter all such Acts as concern the same.” So that not only husbandry was permitted in small Towns and Villages: but manumission, being a mere civil Act, and of no small ceremony, was by him suffered and allowed in the greater Cities. The first great work done by the first great Christian Prince was to declare his royal pleasure about this day; what things he thought most proper to permit, and what to disallow upon it: teaching all other Kings and Princes which have since succeeded, what they should also do on the same occasion.

(3) Nor did this pious Prince confirm and regulate the Lord’s day only; but unto him we are indebted for many of those other Festivals which have been since observed in the Church of God. It had been formerly a custom in the Christian Church carefully to observe the times and days of their departure who had preferred the Gospel before their lives, and suffered many torments and at last death itself, for the faith of Christ. The church of Smyrna (and that’s the highest we need go) testifieth in an Epistle writ ad Philomelienses, that they did celebrate the day wherein the Reverend Bishop Polycarp did suffer Martyrdom, with joy and gladness and an holy Convocation. This was in Anno 170 or thereabouts. And in the following Age, S. Cyprian taking notice of such men as were imprisoned for the testimony of a good conscience, appointed that the days of their decease should be precisely noted, that so their memories might be celebrated with the holy Martyrs. Denique & dies eorum quibus excedunt, annotare, ut commemorationes eorum, inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus, as there he hath it. But hitherto they were only bare memorials, (for more they durst not do in those times of trouble,) their sufferings only signified to the Congregation: and that they did unto this end, that by exhibiting to the people their infinite endurance for the truth and testimony of Religion, they also might be nourished in an equal constancy. After, when as the Church was in perfect peace, it pleased the Emperor Constantine to signify to all his Deputies and Lieutenants in the Roman Empire that they should have a

care to see those the memorials of the Martyrs duly honored, and solemn times or Festivals to be appointed in the Churches to that end and purpose. *, as that Author hath it. And though these Festivals, and Saint's days became not forthwith common over all the world, but were observed in those parts chiefly wherein the memory of the Saint, or Martyr, was in most esteem; in which respect Saint Hierome calls them, *tempora in honore Martyrum, pro diversa regionum varietate, constituta*: yet in a little tract of time, such of them as had been most eminent, as the Apostles, and Evangelists, were universally received and celebrated, even as now they are. I say as now they are, as they are now observed in the Church of England; and this I say upon the credit and authority of Theodoret, who, though he gives another reason and original of these institutions, informs us of these Festivals that they were *modestae, castae, temperantiae plene*, performed with modesty, charity, and sobriety: not as the Festivals of the Gentiles were, in excess and riot. And not so only, but he affirms this of them: *divinis canticis personantis, sacrisque sermonibus audiendis intentae*, "that they were solemnized with spiritual Hymns, and religious Sermons; and that the people used to empty out their souls to God in fervent and affectionate Prayers, *non sine lachrymis & suspirijs*, even with sighs and tears. As for Theodoret, he lived and flourished in the year 420, and speaks of these Festivals (S. Peter and S. Thomas and S. Paul, with others which he names particularly) as things which had been settled and established a long time before, and therefore could not be much after the time of Constantine, who died not till the year 341 or thereabouts. As for the eighth book de Martyrib. where this passage is, it is the 12th of those entitled de curandie Grac. affect. And howsoever some exception hath been made against them, as that they were not his whose name they carry: yet find I no just proof thereof amongst our Critics.

(4) Now as the Emperor Constantine did add the Annual Festivals of the Saints unto those other Anniversary feasts, which formerly had been observed in the Christian Church, so by this royal Edict did he settle and confirm those public meetings which had been formerly observed on each Friday weekly; the Wednesday standing on the same Basis, as before it did, which was the custom of the Church. Eusebius having told us of this Emperor's Edict, about the honoring of the Sunday, adds that he also made the like about the Friday: * as the Author hath it. Sozomen adds that he enjoined also the like rest upon it, the like cessation both from judicature and all other businesses; and after gives this reason of it. *. "He honored

the one, saith he, as being the day of our Redeemer's resurrection, the other as the day of our Savior's passion. So for the practice of the Church in the following times, that they used other days besides the Sundays is evident by many passages of Cyril of Jerusalem, where he makes mention of the Sermon preached the day before, * in his own Language; Catech. orat. 7. *. the morrow after the Lord's day, Cat.14. & *. Catech. Mystag.2. The like is very frequent in S. Ambrose also. Hesternus die de fonte disputavimus, De Sacram. lib.3.cap.I. Hesternus noster sermo ad sancti altaris sacramentum deductus est. lib.5.cap.I, and in other places. The like in Chrysostome, as in many other places; too many to be pointed at in this place and time; for in his 18th Hom. on the 3rd of Genesis *, etc. But this perhaps was only in respect of Lectures, or Expositions of the Scriptures, such as were often used in the greater Cities where there was much people and but little business; for I conceive not that they met every day in those times to receive the Sacraments. Of Wednesday and of Friday it is plain they did, (for of the Saturday we shall speak more fully in the next Section:) S. Basil names them all together, *, etc. It is saith he a profitable and pious thing, every day to communicate and to participate of the blessed body and blood of Christ our Savior; he having told us in plain terms that Whosoever eateth his flesh, and drinketh his blood, hath eternal life." We notwithstanding do communicate but four times weekly, *, viz. on the Lord's day, the Wednesday, the Friday, and the Saturday; unless on any other days, the memory of some Martyr be perhaps observed." Epiphanius goeth a little further, and he deriveth the Wednesday's and the Friday's Service even from the Apostles, ranking them in the same Antiquity, and grounding them upon the same authority that he doth the Sunday. *. Only it seems the difference was that whereas formerly it had been the custom not to administer the Sacrament on these two days (being both of them fasting days, and so accounted long before) until towards evening; it had been changed of late, and they did celebrate in the mornings, * as on the Lord's day was accustomed. Whether the meetings on these days were of such antiquity as Epiphanius saith they were, I will not meddle. Certain it is that they were very ancient in the Church of God; as may appear by that of Origen and Tertullian; before remembered. So that if we consider either the preaching of the Word, the ministration of the Sacraments, or the public Prayers, the Sunday in the Eastern Churches had no great prerogative above other days, especially above the Wednesday and the Friday, save that the meetings were more solemn and the concourse of people greater than at other times, * as it is most likely. The

footsteps of this ancient custom are yet to be observed in this Church of England, by which it is appointed that on Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, though they be not holy days, the Minister at the accustomed hours of Service shall resort to Church and say the Litany prescribed in the book of Common Prayer.

(5) As for the Saturday, that retained its wonted credit in the Eastern Church, little inferior to the Lord's day if not plainly equal; not as a Sabbath, think not so; but as a day designed unto sacred meetings. The Constitutions of the Apostles, said to be writ by Clemens, one of Saint Peter's first successors in the Church of Rome, appoint both days to be observed as solemn Festivals, both of them to be days of rest: that so the servant might have time to repair unto the Church for his institution. *.

"Let servants, saith the Constitution, attend their business five days in the week; but for the Saturday (or Sabbath) and the Lord's day, let them rest themselves, and repair to Church; that so they may be trained in the ways of Godliness." Not that they should devote them wholly unto rest from labor, but only those set times of both which were appointed for the meetings of the Congregation. Yet this had an exception too, the Saturday before Easter day, whereupon Christ rested in the Grave, being exempt from these assemblies and destined only unto grief and fasting. And though these constitutions in all likelihood were not writ by Clemens, there being many things there in which could not be in use of a long time after; yet ancient sure they were, as being mentioned in Epiphanius, as the Cardinal confesseth, a Graecis veteribus magni factos, much made of by the ancient Grecians, though not of such authority in the Church of Rome. How their authority in this point is countenanced by Ignatius we have seen already; and we shall see the same more fully throughout all this Age. And first, beginning with the Synod held in Laodicea, a town of Phrygia, Anno 314, there passed a Canon, *, touching the reading of the Gospels with the other Scriptures upon the Saturday or Sabbath; that in the time of Lent there should be no oblation made *, but on the Saturday, and the Lord's day only; neither that any Festival should then be observed in memory of any Martyrs, but that their names only should be commemorated, * upon the Lord's day and the Sabbaths, thirty Prelates there assembled; it was the practice generally of the Eastern Churches, and of some Churches of the west. For in the Church of Millaine, which as before I said, in some certain things followed the Churches of the East; it seems the Saturday was held in a far esteem, and joined together with the Sunday. Crastino die Sabbato, &

dominico, de orationis ordine dicemus; "To morrow being Saturday, and on the Lord's day, we will speak unto you concerning prayer;" as S. Ambrose hath it. And probably his often mention of yesterday, or hesternus dies remembered in the former Section, may have relation to the joint observance of these two days: and so may that which is reported then out of S. Chrysostome and S. Cyril, Eastern Doctors both. Sure I am Socrates counts both days for weekly Festivals, *, that on them both the Congregation used to be assembled and the whole Liturgy performed. Which plainly shows that in the practice of those Churches they were both regarded, both alike observed. Gregory Nyssen speaks more home and unto the purpose. Some of the people had neglected to come unto the Church upon the Saturday, and on the Sunday he thus chides and rebukes them for it. *, etc. "With what face, saith the Father, wilt thou look upon the Lord's day, which hast dishonored the Sabbath, knowest thou not that these days are sisters, and that who ever doth despise the one, doth affront the other?" Sisters indeed, and so accounted in those Churches, not only in regard of the public meetings but in this also, that they were both exempt from the Lenten Fast; of which, more anon. In the mean time, we may remember how Saturday is by S. Basil, made one of those four times, whereon the Christians of those parts did assemble weekly to receive the Sacrament, as before we noted. And finally it is said by Epiphanius that howsoever it was not so in the Isle of Cyprus, which it seems held more correspondence with the Church of Rome and Alexandria, than those of Asia; Yet in some places, *, they used to celebrate the holy Sacrament, and "hold their public meetings on the Sabbath day." Not that the Eastern Churches, or any of the rest which observed that day, were inclined to Judaism; but that they came together on the Sabbath day, to worship Jesus Christ the Lord of the Sabbath. The Author of the Homily de Semente hath informed us so. *, etc. "We are assembled on the Sabbath not as infected any whit with Judaism, for with their false Sabbaths we have no acquaintance; but we assemble on the same*, worshiping the Lord of the Sabbath, which is Jesus Christ." Who was the Author of this Homily is not yet discovered, that I can hear of. I know it passeth under the name of Athanasius, and generally is ascribed unto him: but I am verily persuaded it was none of his. For besides that is rejected by Pet. Nannius in his Epistle dedicatory, prefixed before the works of that Reverend Prelate, this very passage is sufficient to make clear the point. This Author, whosoever he was, speaks of the keeping of the Sabbath, or meeting of the congregation on the Saturday: which was, it seems the custom of that place where the

Author lived. But no such custom was observed in Alexandria, whereof Saint Athanasius was so long time Bishop: it being evident in Socrates, Eccl.hist.lib.5.cap.21; and so in Sozomen, lib.7.cap.19; that the Alexandrians had no ecclesiastical assemblies on the Saturday but were therein conformed to the Church of Rome. As for the Homily itself, we deny it not, but that it is a piece of good antiquity and credit written, as I conceive, by some Prelate of the Eastern Churches, where the observance of the Saturday was in constant use. But return unto our story. Put all that hath been said together, it will come to this: that whereas in the Eastern and the Western Churches several days were in commission for God's public service, the Lord's day, in both places was of the Quorum; and therefore had the greater worship, because more business.

(6) As for the Saturday or Sabbath, although they held their public meetings on the same, yet did they not keep it like a Sabbath. The Fathers of this learned age knew that Sabbath had been abrogated, and professed as much. The Council of Laodicea before remembered, though it ascribe much to this day in reference to the Congregations then held upon it; yet it condemns the Jewish observations of the same*, etc. "It is not fit for Christians, saith the 29th Canon, to Judaize and do no manner of work on the Sabbath days, but to pursue their ordinary labors upon it." Conceive it so far forth, as they were no impediment to the public meetings then appointed. And in the close of all, *. "If any should be found so to play as the Jews, let them be Anathema." So Athanasius also stands as strongly for the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath. Not on the by <as a side issue>, but in a whole discourse, writ and contrived especially for that end and purpose, entitled De Sabbato & circumcissione. One might conjecture by the title, by coupling of these two together, what his meaning was; that he conceived them both to be of the same condition. And in the homily De Semente, the Author tells of the New-moons and the Sabbaths, that they were vespers unto Christ, and to be in authority until the master came. *. "The Master being come, the Vesper grew out of all employment; the Sun being risen once, the lamp was darkened." Two other of the Fathers which have said as much, and whereof we have spoken in a place more proper; add Nazianz. Orat. 41; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat.4; and Epiphanius in the confutation of those several heretics which held the Sabbath for a necessary part of God's public worship, and to be now observed as before it was. Of which kind, over and above the Ebionites, and Cerinthians, which before we spake of, were the Nazarai, in the second Century; who,

as this Epiphanius tells us, differed both from the Jew and Christian. First from the Jew, in that they did believe in Christ: next from the Christian, * “in that they still retain the law, as Circumcision, and the Sabbath, and such things as those.” And those I have the rather noted in this place and time as being, so Saint Austine tells, the Ancestors or Original of the Symmachians; who held out till this very Age, and stood as much for Sabbaths and legal ceremonies as their founders did; whereof consult Saint Ambrose’ preface to the Galatians. Now as these Nazarens, or Symmachiani, had made a mixed religion of Jew and Christian, so did another sort of heretics, in these present times, contrive a miscellany of the Jew and Gentile: Idols and sacrifices they would not have; and yet they worshiped the fire and candle. *, etc. The Sabbath also they much revered, and stood upon the difference of unclean and clean; yet by no means would be induced to like of Circumcision. These they called Hypsistary; or rather so those doughty fellows pleased to call themselves. Add here, that it was counted one of the great dotages of Appolaris, and afterwards of all his sect, viz. that after the last resurrection every thing should be done again according to the former law: *, etc. “That we should be circumcised, and observe the Sabbath, and abstain from meats, and offer sacrifice, and finally of Christians become Jews again. Than which, saith Basil, who reports it, what can be more absurd, or more repugnant to the Gospel.” By which it is most plain and certain, that though the Christians of the East, retained the Saturday for a day of public meeting; yet they did never mean it to be a Sabbath, reckoning them all for heretics that so observed it.

(7) Next let us look upon the Sunday, what they did on that. For though it pleased the Emperor by his royal edict to permit works of husbandry in the Country, and manumissions in the Cities on that sacred day; yet probably there were some pure and pious souls who would not take the benefit of the declaration, or think themselves beholding to him for so injurious and profane a dispensation. This we will search into exactly, that so the truth may be discovered. And first beginning with the Council of Eliberis, (a Town of Spain) in the beginning of this Age, it was thus decreed: *Si quis in civitate positus, per tres dominicas ecclesiam non accesserit, tanto tempore abstineat, et correptus esse videatur.* “If any inhabitant of the Cities absent himself from Church three Lord’s days together, let him be kept so long from the holy Sacrament that he may seem corrected for it.” Where note, *Si quis in civitate positus*, the Canon reacheth unto such only as dwelt in

Cities, near the Church, and had no great business: those of the Country being left unto their husbandry and the like affairs; no otherwise than the Emperor's Edict which came after this. And in the Council of Laodicea not long after, which clearly gave the Lord's day place before the Sabbath, it is commanded that the Christians should not Judaize on the Sabbath day but that they should prefer the Lord's day before it and rest thereon from labor, if at least they could, but as Christians still. The Canon is imperfect as it stands in the Greek text of Binius' edition; no sense to be collected from it. But the translation of Dionysius Exiguus, which he acknowledged to be more near the Greek than the other two, makes the meaning up: "Diem dominicum praeferentes ociari oportet, si modo possint; preferring the Lord's day before the Sabbath, let them rest upon it; if at least they can." And this agreeably both unto Zonaras, and Balsamon, who do so report it, [*:] nor doubt we but they saw the truest and most perfect copies. Thus then saith Zonaras. "It is appointed by this Canon, that none abstain from labor on the Sabbath day, which plainly was a Jewish custom, and an anathema laid on those who offend herein*, etc. but they are willed to rest from labor on the Lord's day, in honor of the resurrection of our Lord and Savior. But here we must observe that the Canon adds, *, in case they may. For by the civil law it is precisely ordered, that every man shall rest that day *, the hinds and husband-men excepted." His reason is the very same, with that expressed before in the Emperor's Edict. *, etc. "for unto them it is permitted to work and travail on that day, because perhaps if they neglect it, they may not find another day so fit and serviceable for their occasions." The like saith Balsamon, and more: but him we will reserve for the 12th Century, at what time he lived. S. Hierome long time after this tells us of his Egyptian Monks, diebus dominicis orationi tantum & lectionibus vacare, that they designed the Lord's day wholly unto prayer, and reading of the holy Scriptures; and that they did the like upon other days, completis opusculis, when their task was finished. This plainly shows that it was otherwise with the common people. For what need Hierome have observed it as a thing notable in his Monks, and peculiar to them, that they spent all the Lord's day in religious exercises, had other men so done as well as they. But Hierome tells us more than this of Paula, a most devout and pious woman, who lived in Bethlehem, accompanied with many Virgins and poor Widows, in manner of a Nunnery. Of whom he saith, that every Lord's day they repaired to the Church of God: Et inde pariter revertentes instabant operi distributo, & vel sibi vel coeteris vestimenta faciebant, "& after their return from thence, they set themselves

to their tasks, which was the making of garments for themselves or others:” A thing which questionless so good a woman had not done, and much less ordered it to be done by others, had it been then accounted an unlawful Act. And finally Saint Chrysostome, though in his popular discourses he seem to intimate to the people that God from the beginning did insinuate to them that they should set apart, *, one day in every week to his public worship. Hom.10. in Genesis & that he calls upon them often *, to destinate that one day, and that day wholly, unto those employments, as Hom.5. in Mat.I. yet he confesseth at the last, that after the dismissing of the Congregation, every man might apply himself to his lawful business. Only he seems to offend with them, that they went presently to the works of their vocations as soon as they came out of the house of God, and did not meditate on the Word delivered unto them. Therefore he wooeth them unto this, that presently upon their coming home, they would take the Bible into their hands, and recapitulate with their wives and children, that which had been delivered from the Word of God: * and afterwards go about their worldly business. As for the time appointed to these public exercises, it seems not to be very long. Chrysostome in the place before remembered, saith that it was *, a very small portion of the day: Origen more precisely hath laid it out, and limited the same, ad unam aut duas horas ex die integro, but to an hour, or two at most, no great space of time. Nor indeed could they hold them long, the Sermons being most times exceeding short, as may appear by those of the ancient Fathers which are still extant in our hands; and the Liturgy not so full, as now it is.

(8) Let it then go for granted, that such as dwelt in populous cities (for of the Husbandman there is no question to be made), might lawfully apply themselves to their several businesses, the exercises being ended and the assembly broken up: may we conceive it lawful also, for any man to follow his honest pleasures on the remainder of that day; to feast it with his friends and neighbors, to dance or sport, or to be merry in a civil manner. There is a little question of it? For feasting, first we must take notice how execrable a thing it was always held to fast the Sunday; though some now place a great part of their piety in their fond abstinence on that day. In this respect Tertullian tells us touching the Christians in his time, that they did hold it an impiety to fast the Lord’s day, *die dominico jejunium nefas esse ducimus*, as before we noted. Such an impiety that the very Montanists, though otherwise frequent in their fasts, did yet except this day and the former Sabbath out of their austerities, as the same Author doth inform us

adv. Psychicos. What was Ignatius' censure of the Sunday's Fast, we have seen already. In the declining third age arose the Manichees, and they revived the former dotage. *Dominica jejunare non possumus, quia Manichaeos ob istius diei jejunia, merito damnamus.* "We fast not on the Lord's day, saith S. Ambrose, but rather do condemn the Manichees for fasting on it." Now what this Father said, he made good by practice. Baronius tells us out of Paulinus, who wrote the story of his life, that he did never dine but on the Saturday, the Sunday, or the memorial of some Martyr; and that upon those days, he did not only cherish and relieve the poor, *sed & viri clarissimi exciperentur*, but entertained great persons, men of special eminence. Vincentius Deputy of Gaul, and count Arbogastis, are there said by name to have been often at his table upon those days before remembered; and doubt we not but they had all things fit for such eminent persons. The like hath been affirmed by S. Austin also. *Die dominica jejunare scandalum est magnum*, etc. "It is a great offense or scandal to fast on the Lord's day, in these times especially, since the most damnable heresy of the Manichees came into the world; who have imposed it on their followers as the Law of God, and thereby made the Lord's day fast the more abominable." Now for an instance of his entertainments also upon this day, see *l.22.de civitate dei,c.8*. This probably occasioned Pope Meltiades, who lived in the beginning of this present Century, to publish a decree, *Ne Dominica, neve feria quinta jejunaretur*, that no man should presume to fast upon the Sunday, or the Thursday. Not on the Sunday, as the day of the Resurrection, to cry down the Manichees; nor on the Thursday, as a day of special credit amongst the Gentiles, the better to comply with them in those perilous times. After arose up one Eutactus (for so I rather choose to call him with the learned Cardinal, than yield to Socrates, who falsely doth impute these follies unto Eustathius:) and he would fast the Sunday too, but on another ground: on pretense of abstinence. A folly presently condemned in a Provincial Synod held at Gangra of Paphlagonia, wherein it was determined thus; *, if any fasted on the Lord's day, on pretense of abstinence, he should be anathema. Next sprung up one Aerius, no good Sundays man; but one that went not on so good a ground as Eutactus did. He stood, good man, upon his Christian liberty; and needs must fast upon the Lord's day, only because the Church had determined otherwise. Of him S. Austin tells us in the general, that he cried down all settled and appointed fasts, and taught his followers this: that every man might fast as he saw occasion, *ne videatur sub lege*, lest else he should be thought to be under the Law. More punctually Epiphanius

tells us that to express this liberty, they used to fast upon the Sunday, and feast it (as some do of late) upon the Wednesday and the Friday, ancient fasting days: * as that author hath it. Add that S. Austin tells us of this Aerius, that amongst other of his heresies he taught this for one, *Presbyterum ab Episcopo nulla differentia discerna debere*, that there should be no difference between Priests and Bishops; A pregnant evidence that those who set themselves against the Hierarchy of the Church are the most likely men of all to overthrow all orders in the civil state. Now as the Manichees did use to fast the Sunday, so were they therein imitated by the Priscillianists, *manichaeorum simillimos*, the very picture of the Manichees, as S. Austine calls them; save that these last did use to fast on the Christmas also, and therein went beyond their pattern. And this they did, as Pope Leo tells us, *quia Christum dominum in vera hominis natura natum esse non credunt*, because they could not be persuaded, that Christ the Lord had took upon him our human nature. To meet with these proud sectaries, for such they were, there was a council called at Saragossa, Caesarea Augusta the Latins call it; wherein the Fathers censured and anathematized all such as fasted on the Lord's day, *causa temporis, aut persuasionis, aut superstitionis*; whether it were in reference unto any time, or mispersuasion, or superstition. In reference unto any times? this seems to make the Sunday's fast unlawful in the time of Lent, and so it was accounted without all question. For this look Epiphanius *Expos. fid. Cathol. Numbers 22*; S. Ambr. *de Elia & jejuniis, cap.10*; S. Hierome *cpl. ad Lucinum*; S. Chrysostome *Hom.11.in Gen.2*. In two of which Four fathers, Chrysostome and Ambrose, the Saturday is excepted also. S. Austin *Epl. 8. concil. Agathens. can.12*; Aurelianens. *4.can.2*; Humberti *Resp. ad libellum Nicetae*; and last of all Rupertus, who lived in the beginning of the 12th Century, to descend no lower; who withal tells us, "that from the first Sunday in Lent unto Easter day, are 42 days just, whereof the Church fasteth only the 36, it being prohibited by the Canon to fast upon the day of the Resurrection. *Vt igitur nostri sollemnitas jejunij dominico magis coaptetur exemplo, quatuor dies qui hanc dominicam praecedunt, superadditi sunt*. "Therefore, saith he, that the solemnity of our fast might come more near the Lord's example; the four days which occur between Shrovetuesday and the first Sunday in Lent, were added to make up the number." But to come back unto the times where before we left, partly in detestation of the heretics before remembered, but principally in honor of the resurrection, the council held at Carthage Anno 398 did decree it thus: *Qui die dominico studiose jejunat, non credatur Catholicus,*

that he which of set purpose did fast the Sunday should be held no Catholic.

(9) For honest recreations next, I find not any thing to persuade me that they were not lawful, since those which in themselves were of no good name, nor otherwise were prohibited in this present Age, than as they were an hindrance to the public service of the Church. For so it was adjudged in the Council of Carthage, before remembered. *Qui die solenni, praetermisso ecclesiae solenni conventu, ad spectacula vadit, excommunicetur.* “He which upon a solemn day shall leave the service of the Church to go unto the common shows, be he excommunicate.” Where, by the way, this Canon reacheth unto those also who are offenders in this kind, as well on any of the other festivals and solemn days, as upon the Sunday; and therefore both alike considerable in the present business. But hereof, and the *spectacula* here prohibited, we shall have better opportunity to speak in the following Age. And here it is to be observed, that as Saint Chrysostome, before, confessed it to be lawful for a man to look unto his worldly business on the Lord’s day after the congregation was dismissed: so here the Fathers seem to dispense with those who went unto the common shows, being worldly pleasures, in case they did not pretermitt God’s public service.

Therefore we may safely conclude, that they conceived it not unlawful for any man to follow his honest pleasures, such as were harmless in themselves and of good report, after the breaking up of the congregation. Of this sort questionless, were shooting and all manly exercises, walking abroad or riding forth to take the air, civil discourse, good company, and ingenuous mirth: by any of the which the spirits may be quickened and the body strengthened. Whether that dancing was allowed is a thing more questionable; and probably as the dancings were in the former times, it might not be suffered; nay, which is more, it had been infinite scandal to the Church if they had permitted it. For we may please to know that in the dancings used of old, throughout the principal Cities of the Roman Empire, there was much impurity and immodesty, such as was not to be beheld by a Christian eye. Sometimes they danced stark naked, and not privately alone, but in public feasts. This Cicero objects against Lucius Piso, *quod in convivio saltaret nudus*; the same he also casts in the teeth of Verres: and Deiotarus was accused of the like immodesty, whereof perhaps he was not guilty. As for the Women, they had armed themselves with the like strange impudency; and though they danced not naked in the open streets, yet would be hired to attend naked at public feasts; and after prostitute

themselves unto those guests for entertainment of the which they were thither brought, where of see Athenaeus *Dipnos*.l.12; & Sueton. in *Tiberio*, c.41,43. And for their dancings in the public, they studied all those cunning and provoking Arts by which they might entice young men to wantonness and inflame their lusts, using lascivious gestures, and mingling with their dances most immodest songs; nay, which is more than this, sometimes of purpose laying open to the eye and view of the spectator, those parts which womanhood and common honesty would not have uncovered. Saint Ambrose so describes them, and from him we take it. *An quicquam est tam pronum ad libidines, quam inconditis motibus, ea quae natura abscondit, vel disciplina velavit, membrorum operta nudare, ludere oculis, rotare cervicem, comam spargere?* “What, saith he, is of greater force to excite men’s lust, than by unseemly motion to make bare those parts which either nature hath hidden or education taught us how to cover; to fling about their necks, and to toss about their hair in a wanton manner.” And in another place he is more particular. *Mulieres in plateis inverecundos sub conspectu adolescentulorum intemperantium choros ducunt, jactantes comam, trahentes tunicas, scissae amictus, nudae lacertos, plaudentes manibus, personantes vocibus, saltantes pedibus, irritantes in se juvenum libidines motu histrionico, petulanti oculo, dedecoroso ludibrio.* “The women, saith the father, even in the sight of wanton and lascivious youths, dance immodest dances, tossing about their hair, drawing aside their coats that so they might lay open what should not be seen, their garments open in many places for that purpose also, their arms quite bare: clapping their hands, capering with their feet, chanting obscene and filthy songs (for afterwards he speaks *de obscoenis cantibus*) finally stirring up the lusts of ungoverned men by those uncomely motions, wanton looks, and shameful spectacles. Saint Basil in his tract *de luxu & ebrietate*, describes them much after the same manner; whereof see that father. Yet think not that all women were so lewdly given, or so immodest in their dancings: but only common women which most used those arts to increase their custom; such as were mustered up by Strato King of the Sidonians to attend his banquetings; or such loose trulls as Messalina, and others mentioned in the Poet, who practiced those lascivious dances to inflame their paramours. Now to these common public dancings, the people in the Roman Empire had been much accustomed; especially in their height of fortune, wherein they were extremely riotous and luxurious. And unto these too many innocent souls, both young men and women, in the first ages of the Church, used to repair sometimes for their recreation, only to look upon

the sport; and seeing those uncomely gestures, and uncivil sights, went back, sometimes possessed with unchaste desires and loose affections, which might perhaps break out at last in dishonest actions. This made the Fathers of this Age, and of some that followed, inveigh as generally against all dancings as most unlawful in themselves; so more particularly, against the sport itself and the beholding of the same, upon those days which were appointed to God's worship. And to these kind of dancings, and to none but these, must we refer those declamations which are so frequent in their writings, whether in reference to the thing, or unto the times. Two only in this Century have spoken of dancing as it reflects upon the day: Saint Chrysostome and Ephrem Syrus. Saint Chrysostome, though last in time, shall be first in place, “*, etc. Therefore, saith he, we ought to solemnize this day with spiritual honor, not making riotous feasts thereon, swimming in wine, *, drinking to drunkenness, or in wanton dancings; but in relieving of our poor and distressed brethren.” Where note that I have rendered *, not simply, dancing, but with wanton dancing, according to the nature of the word which signifieth such dancing as was mixed with songs, according to the fashion in use, *, *choros agito, salto, tripudio, proprie cum cantu*, as in the lexicon; and for the quality of the songs which in those times they used in dancing, that is shown before. So that not dancing, simply, but immodest dancing, such as was then in use, is by him prohibited. And to that purpose, Ephrem Syrus, if the work be his. *Festivitates dominicas honorare contendite*, etc. “Endeavor earnestly, saith he, to honor the Lord's day, not in a worldly sort, but after a spiritual manner, not as the Gentiles keep their feasts, but as Christians should.” Amongst which customs of the Gentiles that are there forbidden, one and the principal is this: *non choreas ducamus*, that we lead no dances; that is no such immodest and unseemly dancings as were most practiced by the Gentiles, and could not stand with that discreet behavior which pertained to Christians. This evident by that which Saint Ambrose tells us: *Notum est omnibus, nugaces & turpes saltationes ab episcopis solere compesci*: It is well known, saith he, how carefully the Bishops do restrain all toying, light, and beastly kind of dances. So that in case the dancings be not toying, light, nor beastly, as were the dances of the Gentiles whom they reprehended; neither the fathers did intend them, nor the rulers of the Church restrain them.

(10) For the Imperial constitutions of this present Age, they strike all of them upon one and the self same string with that of Constantine, before

remembered: save that the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, who were all partners in the Empire, set out an edict to prohibit all public shows upon the Sunday. *Nullus, die Solis, spectaculum praebeat, nec divinam venerationem, consecrata solennitate, confundas.* Such was the Letter of the Law, which being afterwards enlarged by Theodosius the younger, who lived in the next Century, we shall meet with there. The other Edicts which concern the business that is now in hand were only explanations and additions unto that of Constantine: one in relation to the matter, the other in reference to the time. First, in relation to the matter, whereas all Judges were restrained by the law of Constantine from sitting on that day in the open Court; there was a clause, now added touching Arbitrators: that none should arbitrate any litigious cause, or take cognizance of any pecuniary business, on the Sunday; *Debitum publicum, privatumve, nullus efflagitet: nec apud ipsos quidem arbitros, vel in judicij flagitatos, vel sponte delectos, ulla sit agnitio jurgiorum:* “Let no man sue upon the Sunday, for any public or private debt: neither let any Arbitrator, whether appointed in open Court, or otherwise chosen by the parties, take cognizance on the same of any brangling and litigious businesses:” a penalty being inflicted upon them that transgressed herein. This published by the same three Emperors, Honorius, and Euodius being that year consuls, which was in Anno 384 as the former was. Afterwards Valentinian and Valens Emperors were pleased to add, *neminem christianum ab exactoribus conveniri volumus;* that they would have no Christians brought upon that day before the officers of the Exchequer. In reference to the time, it was thought good by Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, all three Emperors together, to make some other Festivals capable of the same exemption. For whereas formerly all the time of harvest and of Autumn, was exempt from pleadings; as that the Calends of January or the new-year’s day, as now we call it, had anciently been honored with the same immunity: these added thereunto the days on which the two great Cities of Rome and Constantinople had been built, the seven days before Easter day and the seven that followed, together with every Sunday in its course; yea and the birth-days of themselves, with those on which each of them had began his Empire: *Sanctos quoque Pascha dies qui septene vel praecedunt numero vel sequuntur in eadem observatione numeramus: nec non & dies Solis* (so they call it all) *qui repetito inter se calculo revolvuntur. Parem necesse est haberi severentiam etiam nostris diebus, qui vel lucis, auspicia, vel imperij ortus protulere.* “It is our pleasure that the holy time of Easter, for seven days space before and seven days after, should be observed in the

same manner; as all the Sundays also in their several order and succession. It is meet also that the like reverence be afforded to those days in which we either were first born, or began our empires. Dated VII. Id. Aug. Timasius and Promotus Consuls, which was 389. So that in this regard, the sacred day had no more privilege than the civil, but were all alike; the emperor's day as much respected as the Lord's.

(11) Now as the days were thus established, so was the form of worship on those days established, brought unto more perfection than it had been formerly; when their assemblies were prohibited, and their meetings dangerous, or at least not so safe and free as in this fourth Century. For in these times, if not before, the Priests that waited at the Altar attired themselves in a distinct habit at the ministration, from what they used to wear on other days: the color white, and the significance thereof to denote that holiness wherewith the Priests of God ought to be apparelled; such as the Surplice now in use in the Church of England. Witness S. Hierome for the West, that in the ministration, they used a different habit from that of ordinary times. *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitae communi*: so for the general he informs us. For the particular next, in a reply unto Pelagius, who it seems disliked it, he asks him what offense it could be to God that Bishops, Priests, Deacons, or those of any other inferior order, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint, did in the ministration of the Eucharist, bestir themselves in a white Vesture. And so Saint Chrysostome for the East, telling the Priests of Antioch unto how high a calling the Lord had called them, and how great power they had to repel unworthy men from the Lord's Table; adds that they were to reckon that for their Crown and glory, and not that they were privileged to go about the Church in a white garment. *. Nor did the Priests only thus avow his calling. The people wanted not some outward signs and ceremonies wherewith to honor their Redeemer, and testify unto the world that they were his servants: and that by bowing of the knee, which in those parts and times was the greatest sign both of humility and subjection. Bowing the knee, in honor of their Savior, at the name of Jesus; and reverently kneeling or adoring, when they received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. S. Ambrose tells us of the first, in his sixth Book de opere Hexaemeri, where speaking of the office of each several member, he makes the bowing of the knee at the Name of Jesus, the proper duty of that part. *Flexibile genu quo prae coeteris domini mitigatur offensa*, etc. The knee, saith he, is flexible, by which especially the anger of the Lord is

mitigated, his displeasure pacified, and his grace obtained. Hoc enim patris summi erga, filium donum est, ut in nomine J E S V omne genu curvetur. For this, saith he, did the most Mighty Father give as a special gift to his only son, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow. This makes the matter plain enough, we need go no further; yet somewhat to this purpose may be seen also in S. Hierome in his comment on the 46th of Isaiah, which reverence as they used at other times, so most especially may they be thought to have observed it in the public meetings of the Congregation; men testifying (as our Canon hath it) by these outward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgement that the Lord Jesus Christ the true and eternal Son of God is the only Savior of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised. For kneeling or adoring at the instant of receiving the holy Sacrament, the same. S. Ambrose on those words Adore his footstool, doth expound it thus: Per scabellum terra intelligitur, per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodie quoque in mysterijs adoramus. By the footstool here, we are to understand the Earth, and by the Earth the flesh of Christ, which we adore in the holy mysteries: which expressly shows what was the custom of these times. And so S. Chrysostome tells his Audience, “that the great King hath made ready his Table, [*], the Angels ministering at the same, the King himself in presence, why then stand they still? In case they are provided of a wedding garment, why do they not fall down, and then communicate? *. Adora & communica as the Latin renders it. Where if the word adoration seem a little strange, we may take notice that it is so used by Bishop Jewell. The Sacraments, saith he in that sort i.e. in respect of that which they signify, and not in respect of that which they are in themselves, are the flesh of Christ and are so understood, and believed and adored. And in another place of the same 8th Article, Nor do we only adore Christ, as very God; but we do also worship and reverence the Sacrament, and holy mysteries of Christ’s body: yet so that we adore them not with godly honor, as we do Christ himself: See more hereof in Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, Catech.5; where adoration is expressly mentioned: and for the close of all, that which is told us by S. Austin, how in his time the Gentiles charged it on the Christians, that they did worship Ceres and Bacchus; which was occasioned questionless by reason of their kneeling or adoring, when they received the bread and wine in the holy Sacrament. Not that this use of kneeling or adoring was not more ancient in the Church, for such a custom may be gathered both out of Origen and

Tertullian, in the age before; but that this age affords us the most clear and perfect evidence for the proof thereof. And howsoever in these times, and many Ages following after, the people used not to stand at the public prayers, both on the Lord's day, and the Pentecost, as before I noted; yet on those days if they received the blessed Sacrament, they either used to bow their bodies, or prostrate themselves, or make some other kind of Adoration of no less reverence than kneeling, which comes all to one. So for the music used in the Congregation, it grew more exquisite in these times than it had been formerly; that which before was only a melodious kind of pronounciation, being now ordered into a more exact and artificial harmony. This change was principally occasioned by a Canon of the Council of Laodicea in the first entrance of this age. For where before it was permitted unto all promiscuously, to sing in the Church, it was observed that in such dissonance of voices, and most of them unskillful in the notes of music, there was no small jarring and unpleasant sounds. This Council thereupon ordained, *, that none should sing hereafter in the Congregation, but such as were Canonically appointed to it, and skillful in it. By means whereof before the shutting up of this fourth Century, the music of the Church became very perfect and harmonious; *suavi & artificiosa voce cantata*, as S. Austin tells us. So perfect and harmonious, that it did work exceedingly on the affections of the hearers, and did *movere animos ardentius in flammam pietatis*, inflame their minds with a more lively flame of piety; taking them prisoners by the ears, and so conducting them unto the glories of God's kingdom. S. Austin attributes a great cause of his conversion to the powers thereof, calling to mind those frequent tears *quas fudi at cantus ecclesiae tuae*, which had been drawn from him by this sacred music, by which his soul was humbled and his affections raised to an height of godliness. The like he also tells us, in his ninth Book of Confessions, and sixth Chapter. Nor doubt we but it did produce the same effect on divers others; who coming to the Churches as he then did, to be partakers of the music, returned prepared in mind and well disposed in their intentions, to be converted unto God. Now that the Church might be frequented at the times appointed, and so all secret Conventicles stopped, in these divided times wherein so many heresies did domineer, and that the itching ears of men might not persuade them to such Churches: where God had not placed them, so to discourage their own proper minister: it pleased the Fathers in the Council of Saragossa, Anno 368, or thereabout to decree it thus: First, *Ne latibulus cubiculorum & montium habitent qui in suspicionibus perseverent*: "that none who were

suspected (of Priscillianism,) which was the humor that then reigned, should lurk in secret corners, either in houses or in hills, but follow the example and direction of the Priests of God." And secondly, *ad alienas villas, agendorum conventuum causa non convenient;* "that none should go to other places under pretense of joining there to the assembly, but keep themselves unto their own." Which prudent Constitutions, upon the selfsame pious grounds, are still preserved amongst us in the Church of England.

(12) Thus do we see upon what grounds the Lord's day stands; on custom first, and voluntary consecration of it to religious meetings; that custom countenanced by the authority of the Church of God which tacitly approved the same; and finally confirmed and ratified by Christian Princes throughout their Empires. And as the day, so rest from labors, and restraint from business upon that day received its greatest strength from the supreme magistrate, as long as he retained that power which to him belongs as after from the Canons and decrees of Councils, the Decretals of Popes, and orders of particular Prelates, when the sole managing of Ecclesiastical affairs was committed to them. I hope it was not so with the former Sabbath, which neither took original from custom, that people being not so forward to give God a day; nor required any countenance or authority from the Kings of Israel, to confirm and ratify it. The Lord had spoke the word, that he would have one day in Seven; precisely the seventh day from the World's Creation, to be a day of rest unto all his people: which said, there was no more to do but gladly to submit and obey his pleasure; *nec quicquam reliquum erat praeter obsequy gloriam,* in the greatest Prince. And this done all at once, not by degrees, by little and little, as he could see the people affected to it, or as he found it fittest for them, like a probation Law made to continue till the next session, and then on further liking, to hold good for ever: but by a plain and peremptory order that it should be so, without further trial. But thus it was not done in our present business. The Lord's day had no such command that it should be sanctified, but was left plainly to God's people, to pitch on this or any other for the public use. And being taken up amongst them, and made a day of meeting in the congregation for religious exercises; yet for 300 years there was neither Law to bind them to it, nor any rest from labor or from worldly business, required upon it. And when it seemed good unto Christian Princes, the nursing Fathers of God's church, to lay restraints upon their people, yet at the first they were not general, but only thus: that

certain men, in certain places, should lay aside their ordinary and daily works to attend God's service in the Church; those whose employments were most toilsome, and most repugnant to the true nature of a Sabbath, being allowed to follow and pursue their labors, because most necessary to the Common-wealth. And in the following times, when as the Prince and Prelate, in their several places, endeavored to restrain them from that also which formerly they had permitted, and interdicted almost all kind of bodily labor upon that day; it was not brought about without much struggling, and on opposition of the people: more than a thousand years being past, after Christ's ascension, before the Lord's day had attained that state in which now it standeth; as will appear at full in the following story. And being brought unto that state, wherein now it stands, it doth not stand so firmly and on such sure grounds, but that those powers which raised it up may take it lower if they please, yea take it quite away, as unto the time, and settle it on any other day as to them seems best, which is the doctrine of some Schoolmen, and diverse Protestant writers of great name and credit in the world. A power which no man will presume to say was ever challenged by the Jews, over the Sabbath. Besides, all things are plainly contrary in these two days, as to the purpose and intent of the institution. For in the Sabbath, that which was principally aimed at was rest from labor, that neither they nor any that belonged unto them should do any manner of work upon that day, but sit still and rest themselves. Their meditating on God's Word, or on his goodness, manifest in the world's Creation, was to that an accessory: and as for reading of the Law in the Congregation, that was not taken up in more than a thousand years after the Law was given; and being taken up, came in by ecclesiastical ordinance only, no divine authority. But in the institution of the Lord's day, that which was principally aimed at was the performance of religious and Christian duties, hearing the Word, receiving of the Sacraments, praising the Lord for all his mercies, and praying to him jointly with the Congregation for the continuance of the same Rest and cessation from the works of labor, came not in till afterwards; and then but as an accessory to the former duties; and that not settled and established in a thousand years, as before was said; when all the proper and peculiar duties of the day had been at their perfection a long time before. So that if we regard either institution or the authority by which they were so instituted; the end and purpose at the which they principally aimed, or the proceedings in the settling and confirming of them: the difference will be found so great, that of the Lord's day, no man affirm in sense and reason that it is a Sabbath, or

so to be observed as the Sabbath was. And certainly if not before, yet now at least it had been seasonable, to have translated the Lord's day into the nature of a Sabbath, had it at all been thought a necessary duty that it should be so. Before the Church consisted much of servants, who being obnoxious to their Masters, could not so fitly lay aside their business, to attend the public service of the Congregation: but needs it must have brought some scandal unto the Gospel; and no small danger unto those who did profess it. But now, when peace and full tranquility was restored unto the Church, and that almost all people generally had embraced religion: how easy had it been to have imposed on all men equally a restraint from labors, that so all of them might together apply themselves wholly to religious exercises, the servant without fear of his Master's anger, the Master without danger of being betrayed by a faithless servant. A pregnant evidence, that neither in these times nor in those before, the Christians ever made it a matter of conscience to forbear their labors upon any day, further than as they were restrained by supreme authority: which licensing the most toilsome labors on this day, and restraining those which were most easy, most plainly manifested that the Lord's day was not meant for a Sabbath day.

CHAPTER 3

THE GREAT IMPROVEMENT OF THE LORDS DAY, IN THE FIFT AND SIXT AGES, MAKE IT NOT A SABBATH.

(1) In what estate the Lords day stood in S. Austines time. (2) Stage-playes, and publike shewes prohibited on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes; by Imperiall Edicts. (3) The base and beastly nature of the Stage-playes at those times in use. (4) The barbarous, and blood quality of the Spectacula, or shewes at this time prohibited. (5) Neither all civill businesse, nor all kind of pleasures, restrained on the Lords day, by the Emperour Leo; as some give it out. (6) The French and Spaniards in the sixt Age, begin to Judaize about the Lords day: and of restraint of husbandry, on that day, in that age first made. (7) The so much cited Canon of the Councill of Mascon, proves no Lords-day-Sabbath. (8) Of publicke honors done in these Ages, to the Lords day, by Prince and Prelate. (9) No evening service on the Lords day, till these present ages. (10) Of publick orders now established, for the better regulating of the Lords day-meetings. (11) The Lords day not more reckoned of, than the greater festivals: and of the other holy dayes, in these ages instituted. (12) All businesse and recreation not by Law prohibited, are in themselves as Lawfull on the Lords day, as on any other.

(1) WE are now come unto the times wherein the Church began to settle, having with much ado got the better hand of Gentile-ism, and mastered those stiff heresies of the Arians, Macedonians, and such other as descended from them; Unto those times wherein the troubles which before distracted her peace and quiet being well appeased, all things began to grow together in a perfect harmony: what time the faithful being united better than before in points of judgment, became more uniform in matters of devotion; and in that uniformity did agree together to give the Lord's day all the honor of an holy festival. Yet was not this done all at once but by degrees, the fifth and sixth Centuries being fully spent before it came unto that height which hath since continued. The Emperors and the Prelates in these times had the same affections; both earnest to advance this day above all other: and to the Edicts of the one, and Ecclesiastical

constitutions of the other, it stands indebted for many of those privileges and exemptions which it still enjoyeth. But by degrees, as now I said, and not all at once: For in S. Austin's time, who lived in the beginning of this fifth Century it was no otherwise with the Lord's day than as it was before, in the former Age, accounted one of those set days and probably the principal, which was designed and set apart for God's public worship. Amongst the writings of that Father which are his unquestionably, we find not much that doth conduce to our present business: but what we find we shall communicate, with as much brevity as we can. The Sunday's fast he doth abominate as a public scandal. *Quis deum non offendit, si velit cum scandalo totius ecclesiae, die dominico jejunaere.* The exercise of the day, he describes in brief, in this form that followeth: *Venit Pascha, atque ipso die dominico, mane, frequens populus praesens erat. Facto silentio, divinarum Scripturarum lecta sunt solennia, etc.* "Easter was come and on the Lord's day in the morning the people had assembled themselves together. All being silent and attent, those lessons out of holy Scripture which were appointed for the time were read unto them. When we were come unto that part of the public service which was allotted for the Sermon, I spake unto them what was proper for the present festival and most agreeable to the time: Service being done I took the man along to dinner (a man he means, that had recovered very strangely in the Church that morning), who told us all the story of those sad calamities which had befallen him." This is not much, but in this little there are two things worth our observation. First, that the Sermon in those times was not accounted either the only, or the principal part of God's public service, but only had a place in the Common Liturgy; which place was probably the same, which it still retains, *post Scripturarum solennia*, after the reading of the Gospel. Next that it was not thought unlawful in this Father's time to talk of secular and human affairs upon this day as some now imagine; or to call friends or strangers to our Table, as it is supposed: S. Austin being one of so strict a life, that he would rather have put off the invitation and the story both to another day, had he so conceived it. Nor doth the Father speak of Sunday as if it were the only festival that was to be observed of a Christian man. Other festivities there were which he tells us of. First generally, *Nos quoque & dominicum diem, & Pascha, solenniter celebramus, & quaslibet alias Christianas dierum festivitates.* The Lord's day, Easter, and all other Christian festivals were alike to him. And he enumerates some particulars too, the resurrection, passion, and ascension of our Lord and Savior, together with the coming of the holy Ghost, which constantly were

celebrated, anniversaria solennitate. Not that there were no other festivals then observed in the Christian Church, but that those four were reckoned to be Apostolical; and had been generally received in all ages past. As for the Sacrament, it was not tied to any day but was administered indifferently upon all alike; except it were in some few places where it had been restrained to this day alone. *Alij quotidie communicant corpori & sanguini dominico, alij certis diebus accipiunt: alibi Sabbato tantum & dominico*, as he there informs us. “Some, saith the Father, do every day communicate, receiving the Lord’s body and blood; and others only upon certain and appointed times: in some parts only on the Sabbath and upon the Sunday; in others on the Sunday only.” As for those works ascribed unto him which either are not his, or at least are questionable, they inform us thus: The tract *de rectitudine Cathol. Conversationis*, adviseth us to be attent and silent all the time of Divine Service, not telling tales nor falling into jarres and quarrels, as being to answer such of us as offend therein, for a double fault: *Dum nec ipse verbum Dei audit, nec alios audire permittit*, as neither hearkening to the Word of God ourselves, nor permitting others. In the 251st Sermon, inscribed *De tempore*, we are commanded to lay aside all worldly businesses, in *solennitatibus sanctorum, & maxime in dominicis diebus*, “upon the festivals of the Saints, but the Lord’s day specially: that we may be the readier for divine employments.” Where note, that whosoever made the Sermon, it was his purpose, that on the Saint’s days men were to forbear all worldly businesses, and not upon the Lord’s day only, though on that especially. And in the same it is affirmed, “that the Lord’s day was instituted by Doctors of the Church, Apostles and Apostolical men; the honors of the Jewish Sabbath being by them transferred unto it.” *Sancti ecclesiae Doctores omnem Judaici Sabbatismi gloriam in illam transferre decreverunt*. Particularly it is enjoined, *ut a vespera diei Sabbati, usque in vesperam diei dominici, sequestrati a rurali opere, etc. Solo divino cultui vacemus*: that from the Saturday evening until Sunday night, men should abstain from husbandry and all other business, and only give themselves to the service of God.” It seems some used to hunt on the Lord’s day then; for there it is prohibited as a devilish exercise: *Nullus [in die dominico] in venatione se occupet, & diabolico mancipetur officio*, with command enough. Nay in the 244th of those *De tempore*, it is enjoined above all things, with an *ante omnia*, that no man meddle with his wife, either upon the Lord’s day, or the other holy days. *Ante omnia quoties dies dominicus, aut aliae festivitates veniunt, uxorem suam nullus agnoscat*; which I the rather note, though not worth the

noting, that those who are possessed with so poor a fancy, (and some such there be) would please to be as careful of the holy days, as of the Sundays, being alike expressed in the Prohibition. One may conjecture easily, both by the style and by the state of things then being in the Christian Church, that neither of these Sermons (not to say any thing of the rest which concern us not) could be writ by Austin; the latter, every thing therein considered, by no man of wisdom.

(2) I say as things then were in the Christian Church, that Sermon was not likely to be Saint Austin's. It had been too much rashness in him to restrain men from husbandry, the Emperor's Edict which permitted it, being still in force: or to prohibit hunting, being in itself a lawful sport; when such as in themselves were extremely evil and an occasion of much sin, were not yet put down. The Circus and Theater were frequented hitherto, as well upon the Lord's day as on any other; and they were first to be removed before it could be seasonable to inhibit a lawful pleasure. Somewhat to this effect was done in the Age before; the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, having made a law that no man should exhibit any public show upon the Sunday, as before we noted. But this prevailed not at the first. And thereupon the Fathers of the Council of Carthage, in the first year of this fifth Century, did then and there decree by public order to make petition to the Emperor then being: *ut spectacula theatrorum, coeterorumque ludorum, die dominica, vel coeteris religionis Christianae diebus solennibus, amoveantur, etc.* Their suit was double, first that the shows exhibited on the theaters, and other places then used, might no more be suffered on the Lord's day, or any other festival of the Christian Church, especially upon the Octaves of the feast of Easter, what time the people used to go in greater numbers unto the Circus or show-place than the house of God. Then that for other days, no man might be compelled to repair unto them (as they had been formerly), as being absolutely repugnant unto God's commandments: but that all people should be left at liberty to go or not to go, as they would themselves. *Nec oportere quonquam christianorum ad haec spectacula cogi, etc. Sed udi oportet homo in libera voluntate subsistat, sibi divinitus concessa;* so the Canon. The Emperor Theodosius thereupon enacted that on the Lord's day, on the feast of Christ's Nativity, and after to the Epiphany or twelfth day, as we call it commonly, as also on the feast of Easter, and from thence to Whitsontide, the Circuses and Theaters in all places should be shut up: that so all faithful Christian people might wholly bend themselves to the service of God.

Dominice quitotius septimane primus est dies; & Natale, atque Epiphaniarum Christi, Paschae etiam & Quinquagesimae diebus etc. Omni theatrorum atque Circensium voluptate per universas urbes earumdem populus denegata; totae Christianorum & fidelium mentes dei cultibus occupenter. So far the letter of the law, which was enacted at Constantinople, the first of February Anno 425, Theodosius the second time, and Valentinian being that year Consuls. Where still observe, how equally the principal festivities, and the Lord's day, were matched together: that being held unlawful for the one, which was conceived so of the other. And so it stood until the Emperor Leo, by two several Edicts, advanced the Lord's day higher than before it was, and made it singular above other festivals as in some other things, of which more anon; so in this particular. For in an Edict by him sent unto Amasius, at that time Captain of his Guard, or Praefectus Praetorio, he enacts it thus: First generally, Dies festos, dies altissimae majestati dedicatos, nullis volamus voluptatibus occupari; "that he would have the holy days, which had been dedicated to the supreme majesty; not to be taken up with pleasures. What, would he have no pleasures used at all on the holy days? No, he saith not so, but only that they should not wholly be taken up with sports and pleasures; no time being spared for pious and religious duties. Nor doth he bar all pleasures on the Sunday neither, as we shall see in the law itself, but only base, obscene, and voluptuous pleasures. Then more particularly for the Lord's day thus, in reference to the point in hand, that neither theater nor Cirque fight nor combatings with wild beasts should be used thereon; and if the birth day or inauguration of the Emperor fell upon the same, that the solemnities thereof should be referred to another day: no less a penalty than loss of dignity and confiscation of estate being laid on them that should offend against his pleasure. But for the better satisfaction, take so much of the law itself as concerns this business. Nihil eadem die vendicet scena theatralis, aut circense certamen, aut ferarum lachrymosa spectacula: Etiam si in nostrum ortum aut natalem celebranda solennitas incideris, differatur. Amissionem militiae; proscriptionemque patrimonij sustinebit, si quis unquam spectaculis hoc die interesse [praesumpserit.] Given at Constantinople, Martian and Zeno being consuls; 469 of our Savior's birth.

(3) Now for the things prohibited in these several Edicts, we will take notice of two chiefly: the sports accustomed to be shown on the stage or theater, and those Spectacula wherein men with beasts, and sometimes men with men, did use to fight together in the cirque or show-place: that we

may know the better what these Princes aimed at, and what the fathers mean in their frequent invectives against plays and shows. And first for that which first is named, the scene or stage-plays, though they arose from poor beginnings, yet they attained at last to an infinite impudence such as no modest eye could endure to see, or care to hear. The whole contexture of the Poems, wanton and lascivious; the speeches most extremely sordid, and obscene; the action such, as did not so much personate, as perform, all base kind of vices. Their women, as their parts were framed, did many times act naked on the open stage; and sometimes did perform the last acts of lust, even in the sight of all spectators; than which what greater scorn could be given to nature, what more immodest spectacle could be represented to the eye of heaven. This Caesar Bullinger assures us, and withal makes it the chief cause, why both profane and sacred Authors did cry down the stage as being a place of such uncleanness: *Authores omnes cum sacri tum profani, spurcitiem scenae exagitant, non modo quod fabulae obscenae in sena agerentur, sed etiam quod motus gestusque essens impudici, atque adeo prostibula ipsa in scenam saepe venirent, & scena prostarent.* So he: Not hath he done them wrong, or delivered any thing, without good authority. Lactantius and Tertullian have affirmed as much, and from them he had it: moulding up into one relation what they had severally reported. First for their Women acting naked, Lactantius saith that so it was in all their plays devoted to the memory of their Goddess Flora. *Exuuntur vestibus populo flagitante meretrices, quae tunc mimorum funguntur officio,* etc. “The whores, which used to act those parts, (for who else would do it) were by the people importuned to put off their clothes, which they did accordingly; and being naked personated, as the Mimics used, all shameless and immodest gestures; till the most impudent eye amongst them was glutted with so foul a spectacle.” Then for the other filthiness, Tertullian tells us that the common prostitutes, such as received the filth of all the town, like the common sewers, performed those beastly acts on the public stage; and which was yet more shameful, in the sight and presence of the selfsame sex. *Ipsa etiam prostibula, publicae libidinis hostiae, in scena proferuntur, plus misera in presentia foeminarum,* as that Author hath it. And sure there must be in them some extreme impurities; when Salvian a godly Bishop of this Age, hath told us of them that such they were, *Vt ea non solum dicere, sed etiam recordari, aliquis sine pollutione non possit:* that none could speak, no not so much as think of them, without some infection. Such that whereas all other crimes, of what kind soever, murder, adultery, and theft, and sacrilege, and others of that

heinous nature might without any breach of Modesty, be accused and censured: *Solae impuritates theatrorum sunt, quae honeste non possunt vel accusari*, the baseness of the theaters was so transcendent, that no man could accuse them, but must put off modesty. No marvel therefore if the fathers both of this and the former Ages, used to declaim so much against them, and to cry them down; at least to wean the people from them as being the bane of chastity, the Shipwreck of the Soul, the devil's temples, the scandal of the world, and the shame of nature. No marvel if the Council held in Carthage in the Age before, or any of the Christian writers of these present times, Salvian and Chrysostome and the rest, so highly censured those who left the Church and public service of the Lord, to go to those impure delights and unmanlike spectacles: or that the Fathers in the same place assembled in this present century agreed so well together to petition the Emperors then being, to redress this mischief; or lastly that the Emperors of these times sent out their Edicts to prohibit such unchristian sports.

(4) As wicked, as unchristian were those other shows, against which the self same Fathers do inveigh, against the which the foresaid Councils did petition, and the good Emperors before remembered made their several laws; though of a very different nature: those worthily abominated for their filthy baseness; and these as much to be detested for their inhumanity. It was the custom of the great ones in the State of Rome to court the favor of the people by entertaining them with several shows, which in the end became replete with all kind of cruelty; which fashion afterwards was retained among the Emperors, the better to content the vulgar and keep them in a good opinion of the present change. Sometimes they entertained their humors by presenting them with diverse sorts of cruel and outlandish beasts which being brought into the place appointed, were chased and hunted up and down by such as were condemned to die, or otherwise would adventure for reward and hire. In which it happened many times that many a man was made a prey unto Bears and Lions, and other beasts of the like fierce and cruel nature; and therefore in the Emperors' law before recited are justly called *ferarum lachrymosa spectacula*; a most proper Epithet. Sometimes again they would present them with a show of fencers, not such as played at Cudgels or with swords rebated, only to show their activeness and teach men how to use their weapons, but such as in good earnest were to fight it out and not give over till the victory was made good by death. And these I take to be *Cirque-fights*, or the *Circense*

certamen, principally in the law prohibited. Tertullian tells us of the first, *ferarum voluptati satis non fieri, nisi & feris humana corpora dissiparentur*; that they conceived the beasts had not sport enough, unless they tore in pieces the wretched bodies of poor men. And to the other we may well apply the words of Cyprian, *Quid potest inhumanius, quid acerbius dici? disciplina est ut perimere quis possit gloria quod peremit*. “What, saith the Father, can be told that is more cruel, more inhumane. Murder is grown into an Art, and they that kill most, have the greatest honor.” And so indeed they had, there being rewards designed for them that came off with victory: liberty, if they had been bondmen; if Freeman, sometimes money and sometimes a garland of palm-tree, which being wound about with certain woolen ribbons called *Lemnisci* had generally the name of *Palmae Lemniscatae*. With this Tertullian doth upbraid the Roman people, that whereas sometimes they would cry out to have a notable murderer cast unto the Lions: *Fidem gladiatori atroci rudem petunt, & pileum praemium conferunt*; the selfsame men would have some cruel swash-buckler or Gladiator rewarded with a Rod and cap, the signs of freedom. These barbarous and blood fights, being so far different from the spirit of meekness which was the badge and proper cognizance of a Christian, were therefore bitterly inveighed against by the ancient writers, the Reverend Fathers of the Church; and such as hearkened not to their exhortations esteemed as men given over to a reprobate sense; such as had cast away their livery and forsook their Master. The nature of these fights, and the opinion had of those which did frequent them, we cannot better show than by the story of Alipius, as S. Austin tells it; and is briefly this. *Quidam amici ejus & condiscipuli, etc.* “Some friends of his meeting him as he came from dinner, with a familiar kind of violence, forced him, against his will, to go with them into the Amphitheater (for there these sports were sometimes held) *crudelium & funestorum ludorum diebus*, upon a day designed to these cruel pastimes. He told them by the way that though they haled his body with them, yet should his eyes and soul be free from these bloody spectacles, *cum talia aversaretur & detestaretur*, which of himself he so detested. But thither he went and took his place, and presently closed his eyes that he might not see those dismal sights which were before him. When as the fight waxed hot, & *omnia fervebant immanis finis voluptatibus*, and all were taken up with those unmerciful delights, upon a sudden shout occasioned in the fight, he let look his eyes to see what it meant: *Et percussus est graviori vulnere in anima, quam ille in corpore; ceciditque miserabilius, quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor*. By means

whereof, he became smitten with a greater wound in his soul, than the poor fellow in his body; and fell more miserably by far, than he upon whose death the said noise was raised. How so? *Vt enim vidit illum sanguinem, immanitatem simul ebibit, etc.* For presently as soon as he beheld the blood, he sucked in cruelty and drew in the furies of the place, being delighted with the wickedness of the sport and made drunk, as it were, with those blood spectacles." Such plays and shows as these were not unlawful to be seen on the Lord's day only, but on all days else. And such and none but such were the plays and shows against the which the Fathers do inveigh with so much bitterness: which as they were unworthy of a Christian eye, so as religion did prevail they began to vanish and finally were put down. I mean these last by Theodoricus King of the Goths, in Italy. Our plays and theirs, our shows and theirs, yea, and our dancings too compared with theirs, are no more of kin than Alexander the Coppersmith was with Alexander the Great King of Macedon. Nay if Baronius tells us true as I think he doth, these Plays and Cirque-fights were not prohibited by the Emperor Leo, because he thought them not as lawful to be performed upon the Lord's day as any other, but for a more particular reason: He had a purpose to avenge himself of Asper and Ardaburius, two great and powerful men that had conspired against his safety; and for the execution of that purpose made choice of such a time, when the Circensian sports were to be exhibited. Which therefore he prohibited at this time to be presented on the Sunday; because though his revenge was just, yet the effusion of so much Christian blood on that sacred day might be a blemish to religion. *Ne licet justa esset ultio, tamen diem sacrum ignominia videri posset labefactasse.* So far the Cardinal.

(5) A second thing which this Emperor did, in the advancing of the Lord's day, was in relation unto Civil and legal businesses. It was before appointed by the Emperor Constantine that Judges should not sit that day in the open Court; the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius adding thereunto that none should arbitrate in any brawling and litigious cause upon the same. And whereas Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius had privileged other days as well as Sundays from the suits of Court, which days are formerly remembered in their proper place: The Emperor Theodosius the younger was pleased to add the feast of Christ's Nativity, and so to the Epiphany or twelfth-tide as we use to call it, together with seven days before and seven days after: [*Diem natalis domini, & epiphaniae, septem qui praecedunt, & septem qui sequuntur*] making this

festival with the rest before remembered, in this case equal with the Sunday. Where by the way we may observe of what antiquity the feast of the Epiphany is to be accounted, as having got unto such an height in this Emperor's time (he entered on the Empire Anno 408) as to be privileged in the self-same manner as Christmas was. And not in this respect alone, in respect of pleadings, but in a following law of his Anno 425 he declared his pleasure that this day, with the other principal feasts as before we noted, was not to be profaned as it had been formerly by the Cirques and Theaters. For the antiquity thereof more might be said, were not this sufficient. Only I add that in the Eastern Churches from the times of old, they used to lengthen out the feast of Christmas for 12 days together, not ending the solemnities of the same till the Epiphany was gone over: from whence in likelihood that custom came at last to these Western parts! *Nativitatem domini Epiphaniae continuantes, duas illas festivitates unam faciunt.* So Otho. Frisnigensis tells us of them. But to proceed, it seems that either these Edicts were not well observed, or else the ministers of the Courts used to meet together for dispatch of business on that day, though the Judges did not. Therefore it seemed good to this Emperor Leo, in the year and day above recited, to declare his pleasure thereupon in this form that followeth: *Dies festos, dies altissima majestati dedicatos, etc.* "It is our will that the holy days, being dedicated to the most high God, should not be spent, or wholly taken up in pleasures, or otherwise profaned with vexatious suits. Particularly for the Lord's day, that it be exempt from executions, citations, entering into bonds, appearances, pleadings, and such like; that criers be not heard upon it, and such as go to Law lay aside their actions, taking truce a while to see if they can otherwise compose their differences." For so it passeth in Edict. *Dominicum itaque ita semper honorabilem decernimus & venerandum, ut a cunctis executionibus excusetur. Nulla quenuquam urgeat admonitio, nulla fideijussionis flagitetur exactio, taceat apparitio, advocatio delitescat, sit idem dies, a cognitionibus alienus, praeconis horrida vox fileat, respirent a controversijs litigantis, & habeant faederis intervallum, etc.* I have the rather here laid down the Law itself, that we may see how punctual the good Emperor was in silencing those troublesome suits and all preparatives or appurtenances thereunto, that so men might with quieter minds repair unto the place of God's public service. Yet was not the Edict so strict, that neither any kind of Pleasures were allowed upon that day, as may be thought by the beginning of the Law; nor any kind of secular and civil business to be done upon it. The Emperor Constantine allowed of manumission and so did Theodosius too.

Die dominico emancipare & manumittere licet; reliquae causae vel lites quiescant, so the latter Emperor. Nor do we find, but that this Emperor Leo well allowed thereof, Sure we are that he well allowed of other civil business when he appointed in this very Edict, that such as went to law might meet together on this day, to compose their differences; to show their evidences and compare their writings. And sure I am that he prohibited not all kind of pleasures, but only such as were of an obscene and unworthy nature. For so it followeth in the Law: first in relation unto businesses, *ad sese simul veniant adversarij non timentes, pacta conferant, transactiones loquantur*: “Let the several parties meet together (upon the Sunday), compare their Covenants, and declare their bargains. Next in relation unto pleasures, that he would have no man abuse the rest of that sacred day in filthy pleasures.” For so it followeth in the law, *Nec tamen hujus religiosae diei oia relaxantes, obscenis quemquam patimur voluptatibus detineri*. Where note, not simple voluptates, but *obscenae voluptates*; not pleasures, but obscene and filthy pleasures, are by him prohibited, such as the *Scena theatralis*, therein after mentioned: nor civil business of all sorts, but brangling and litigious businesses are by him forbidden, as the Law makes evident. And thus must Theodorus Lecor be interpreted, who tells us of this Emperor Leo, how he ordained *, that the Lord’s day should be kept holy by all sorts of people, that it should be a non-lee day, a day of rest and ease unto them; which is no otherwise to be understood, than as the Law itself intended: however the words of Theodorus seem to be more general. Nor was it long before this Edict or the matter it had found good entertainment in the Christian world, the rather since those Churches which lay further off and were not under the command of the Roman Emperor, taking perhaps their hint from hence, had made a Canon to that purpose. For in a Council held in Arragon, Anno 516, being some 47 years after Leo’s Edict, it was decreed that neither Bishop, Priest, or any other of the Clergy (the Clergy at that time were possessed of some seats of judicature) should pronounce sentence in any cause, which should that day be brought before them. *Nullus Episcoporum aut presbyterorum vel Clericorum, propositum cujusunque causae negotium, die dominico audeat judicare*. This was in Anno 516, as before I said; the second year of Amalaricus, King of the Goths in Spain.

(6) Nor stayed they here. The people of this sixth age wherein now we are, began to Judaize a little in the imposing of so strict a rest upon this day, especially in the Western Churches, which naturally are more inclined to

superstition, than the Eastern nations. Wherein they had so far proceeded that “it was held at last unlawful to travel on the Lord’s day with wagons or horses, to dress meat, or make clean the house, or meddle with any manner of domestic businesses.” The third Council held at Orleans, Anno 540, doth inform us so; and plainly thereupon determined that since these prohibitions above said, *Ad Iudaicam magis quam ad Christianam observantiam pertinere probantur*, did favor far more of the Jew, than of the Christian: *Die dominico quod ante licuit, licere*, that therefore whatever had formerly been lawful on that day, should be lawful still. Yet so, that it was thought convenient, that men should rest that day from husbandry, and the vintage; from sowing, reaping, hedging, and such servile works: *quo facilius ad ecclesiam venientes, orationis gratia vacent*, that so they might have better leisure to go unto the Church and there say their Prayers. This was the first restraint, which hitherto we have observed whereby the Husbandman was restrained from the plough and vintage, or any work that did concern him. And this was yielded, as it seems to give them some content at least, which aimed at greater and more slavish prohibitions than those here allowed of; and would not otherwise be satisfied than by grant of this. Nay, so far had this superstition, or superstitious conceit about this day prevailed amongst the Goths in Spain, a sad and melancholic people, mingled and married with the Jews who then therein dwelt, that in their dotage on this day they went before the Jews their neighbors; the Sabbath not so rigorously observed by one as was the Lord’s day by the other. The Romans in this age had utterly defeated the Vandals and their power in Africa, becoming so bad neighbors to the Goths themselves. To stop them in those prosperous courses, Thende the Gothic King, Anno 543, makes over into Africa with a complete Army. The Armies near together, and occasion fair, the Romans on a Sunday set upon them, and put them all unto the sword: the Goths, as formerly the Jews, never so much as laying hand upon their weapons, or doing any thing at all in their own defense; only in reverence to the day. The general History of Spain so relates the story, although more at large. A superstition of so sudden and so quick a growth that whereas till this present age, we cannot find that any manner of Husbandry or country labors were forbidden as upon this day; it was now thought unlawful on the same, to take a sword in hand for one’s own defense. Better such doctrines had been crushed and such Teachers silenced in the first beginnings, than that their Jewish speculations should in fine produce such sad and miserable effects. Nor was Spain only thus infected, where the Jews now lived: the French we see began to be so

inclined. Not only in prohibiting things lawful, which before we specified; and to the course whereof the Council held at Orleans gave so wise a check: but by imputing such calamities as had fallen amongst them to the neglect or ill observance of this day. A flash of lightning or some other fire from heaven, as it was conceived, had on the Lord's day made great spoil of men and houses in the City of Limoges. This, Gregory of Tours, who lived about the end of this sixth Century, pronounceth to have fallen upon them, *ob diei dominici injuriam*, because some of them used to work upon the Sunday. But how could he tell that; or who made him acquainted with God's secret counsels. Had Gregory been Bishop of Limoges, as he was of Tours; it may be Limoges might have scaped so fierce a censure, and only Tours have suffered in it. For presently he adds, in *Turonicis vero nonnulli ab hoc igne, sed non die dominico, adusti sunt*: "that even in Tours itself many had perished by the self same fire; but being it fell not on the Sunday, as it did at Limoges, therefore that misery fell on them for some other reason." Indeed he tells us of this day, that being it was the day whereon God made the light, and after was the witness of our Savior's resurrection: *Ideo omni fide Christiane observari debet, ne fiat in eo omne opus publicum*; therefore it was to be observed of every Christian, no manner of public business to be done upon it. A piece of new Divinity, and never heard of till this age; nor in any afterwards.

(7) Not heard of till this age, but in this it was. For in the 24th year of Gunthram, King of the Burgundians, Anno 588, there was a Council called at Mascon, a town situate in the Duchy of Burgundy, as we now distinguish it: wherein were present Priscus, Evantuis, Praetextatus, and many other reverend and learned Prelates. They taking into consideration how much the Lord's day was of late neglected, for remedy thereof ordained that it should be observed more carefully for the times to come: which Canon I shall therefore set down at large, because it hath been often produced as a principal ground of those precise observances which some amongst us have endeavored to force upon the consciences of weak and ignorant men. It is as followeth: *Videmus populum Christianum temerario more diem dominicum contemptui tradere, etc.* "It is observed that Christian people do very rashly slight and neglect the Lord's day; giving themselves thereon, as on other days, to continual labors, etc. Therefore let every Christian, in case he carry not that name in vain, give care to our instruction; knowing that we have care that you should do well, as well as power to bridle you that you do not ill. It followeth, *Custodite diem*

dominicum qui nos denuo peperit, etc. Keep the Lord's day, the day of our new birth, whereon we were delivered from the snares of sin. Let no man meddle in litigious controversies, or deal in actions, or law suits; or put himself at all upon such an exigent, that needs he must prepare his Oxen for their daily work; but exercise yourselves in hymns, and singing praise unto God, being intent thereon both in mind and body. If any have a Church at hand, let him go unto it, and there pour forth his soul in tears and prayers; his eyes and hands being all that day lifted up to God. It is the everlasting day of rest, insinuated to us under the shadow of the Seventh day or Sabbath in the Law and Prophets: and therefore it is very meet that we should celebrate this day with one accord: whereon we have been made what at first we were not. Let us then offer unto God our free and voluntary service, by whose great goodness we are freed from the Gaol of error: not that the Lord exacts it of us, that we should celebrate this day in a corporal abstinence or rest from labor; who only looks that we do yield obedience to his holy will, by which contemning earthly things, he may conduct us to the heaven of his infinite mercy. How ever if any man shall set at naught this our exhortation, he be assured that God shall punish him as he hath deserved; and that he shall be also subject unto the censures of the Church. In case he be a Lawyer, he shall lose his cause; If that he be an husbandman, or servant, he shall be corporally punished for it: but if a Clergy man, or Monk, he shall be six months separated from the Congregation." Add here, that two years after this, being the second year of the second Clotaire King of France, there was a Synod holden at Auxerre, a town of Campaigne (concilium Antisiodorensis in the Latin writers), wherein it was decreed as in this of Mascon, Non licet die dominico boves jungere, vel alia opera exercere; "that no man should be suffered to yoke his Oxen, or do any manner of work upon the Sunday." This is the Canon so much urged (I mean that of Mascon) to prove that we must spend the Lord's day wholly in religious exercises and that there is no part thereof which is to be employed unto other uses. But there are many things to be considered before we yield unto this Canon or the authority thereof: some of them being of that nature that those who most insist upon it must be fain to traverse. For first it was contrived of purpose, with so great a strictness to meet the better with those men which so extremely had neglected that sacred day. A stick that bends too much one way cannot be brought to any straightness till it be bent as much the other. This Synod secondly, was Provincial only, and therefore can oblige none other but those for whom it was intended; or such who after did submit unto it by

taking it into their Canon. Nor will some part thereof be approved by them who most stand upon it, none being bound hereby to repair to Church to magnify the name of God in the Congregation, but such as have some Church at hand; and what will then become of those who have a mile, two, three, or more, to their parish Churches, & no Chapel nearer? They are permitted by the Canon to abide at home. As for religious duties, here are none expressed as proper for the Congregation but Psalms and hymns, and singing praise unto the Lord, and pouring forth our souls unto him in tears and prayers; and then what shall we do for preaching, for preaching of the Word, which we so much call for. Besides, King Gunthram, on whose authority this Council met, in his Confirmatory letters doth extend this Canon as well unto the other holy days, as unto the Sunday: commanding all his Subjects, *Vigore hujus decreti & definitionis generalis*, by virtue of his present mandate, that on the Lord's day, *vel in quibuscunque alijs solennitatibus*, and all solemn festivals whatsoever, they should abstain from every kind of bodily labor save what belonged to dressing meat. But that which needs must most afflict them is that the Council doth profess this abstinence from bodily Labor which is there decreed to be no ordinances of the Lord's, that he exacteth no such duty from us; and that it is an ecclesiastical exhortation only, and no more but so. And if no more but so, it were too great an undertaking to bring all nations of the world to yield unto the prescript of a private and particular Canon, made only for a private and particular cause; and if no more but so, it concludes no Sabbath.

(8) Yet, notwithstanding, these restraints from work and labor, the Church did never so resolve it, that any work was in itself unlawful on the Lord's day; though to advance God's public service, it was thought good that men should be restrained from some kind of work that so they might the better attend their prayers and follow their devotions. It's true these centuries, the fifth and sixth, were fully bent to give the Lord's day all fit honor: not only in prohibiting unlawful pleasures, but in commanding a forbearance of some lawful business, such as they found to yield most hindrance to religious duties. Yea and some works of piety they affixed unto it for its greater honor. The Prisoners in the common Gaols had formerly been kept in too strictly. It was commanded by Honorius and Theodosius, at that time Emperors, Anno 412, that they should be permitted *omnibus diebus dominicis*, every Lord's day to walk abroad with a guard upon them; as well to crave the charity of well disposed persons, as to repair unto the

Baths for the refreshing of their bodies. Nor did he only so command it, but set a mulct of 20 pound in gold on all such public ministers as should disobey, the Bishops of the Church being trusted to see it done. Where note, that going to the Baths on the Lord's day was not thought unlawful, though it required, no question, some corporal labor; for had it been so thought, as some thought it afterwards, the Prelates of the Church would not have taken it upon them to see the Emperor's will fulfilled and the law obeyed. A second honor affixed in these Ages to the Lord's day is that it was conceived the most proper day for giving holy Orders in the Church of God; and a law made by Leo then Pope of Rome, and generally since taken up in the Western Church, that they should be conferred upon no day else. There had been some regard of Sunday in the times before, and so much Leo doth acknowledge. *Quod ergo a patribus nostris propensiore cura novimus servatum esse, a vobis quoque volumus custodiri, ut non passim diebus omnibus sacerdotalis ordinatio celebretur.* "That which our Fathers heretofore with such care observed, we would that you observe in the self-same manner; viz. that you confer not holy Orders on all days indifferently." But that which was before a voluntary Act is by him made necessary: and a law given to all the Churches under his obedience, *Vt his qui consecrandi sunt, nunquam benedictiones nisi in die resurrectionis dominicae tribuantur,* "that ordinations should be celebrated on the Lord's day only." And certainly he gives a good reason why it should be so except in extraordinary and emergent cases, wherein the law admits of a dispensation. "For on that day, saith he, The holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles, and thereby gave us, as it were, this celestial rule, that on that day alone we should confer spiritual orders, in quo collata sunt omnia dona gratiarum, in which the Lord conferred upon his Church all spiritual graces." Nay that this business might be done with the more solemnity and preparation, it was appointed that those men who were to be invested with holy Orders should continue fasting from the Eve before; that spending all that time in prayer and humbling of themselves before the Lord, they might be better fitted to receive his Graces. For much about these times, the service of the Lord's day was enlarged and multiplied; the Evenings of the day being honored with religious meetings, as the Mornings formerly. Yea, and the Eves before were reckoned as a part or parcel of the Lord's day following; *Cui a vespere sabbati initium constat ascribi,* as the same Decretal informs us. The 251st Sermon de tempore, ascribed unto Saint Austin, doth affirm as much, as before we noted. Note that this Leo entered on the chair of Rome Anno 440 of our Savior's birth, and did

continue in the same full 20 years; within which space of time he set out this decretal, but in what year particularly, that I cannot find.

(9) I say that now the Evenings of the Lord's day began to have the honor of religious meetings, for *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so from the beginning. Nor had it been so now, but that almost all sorts of people were restrained from work, as well by the Imperial Edicts as by the constitutions of particular Churches; by means whereof the afternoon was left at large to be disposed of for the best increase of Christian Piety. Nor probably had the Church conceived it necessary, had not the admiration which was then generally had of the Monastic kind of life, facilitated the way unto it. For whereas they had bound themselves to set hours of prayer, *Mane hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio*, "at prime or dawning of the day, at six of the clock, at nine; and afterwards at three in the afternoon, and at the evening, and at midnight," as S. Hierome tells us, the people generally became much affected with their strict devotions, and seemed not unwilling to conform unto them, as far at least, as might consist with their vocations. Upon this willingness of the people, the service of the Church became more frequent than before, and was performed thrice every day in the greatest Churches, where there were many Priests and Deacons to attend the same; namely, at six, and nine, before noon; and at some certain time appointed in the evening, for the afternoon; according as now we use it in our Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. But in inferior towns and petit villages, where possibly the people could not every day attend so often, it was conceived sufficient that there should be the morning and the evening prayer, sung or said publicly in their Churches, that such as would might come to Church for their devotions; and so it stands by the appointment of the Rubric in our Common Prayer Book. Only the Sundays and the holy days were to be honored with two several meetings in the morning: the one at six of the Clock, which simply was the morning service; the other at nine for the administration of the holy Sacrament, and Preaching of the Word to the congregation. This did occasion the distinction of the first and second Service, as we call them still; though now, by reason of the people's sloth, and backwardness in coming to the Church of God, they are in most places joined together. So whereas those of the monastic life did use to solemnize the Eve or Vigils of the Lord's day, and of other festivals, with the peculiar and preparatory service to the day itself: that profitable and pious custom, began about these times to be taken up and generally received in the Christian Church. Of this there is much mention to be found in Cassian, as

Institut.lib.,2,c.18.l,3; c.9. Collat.20.c.20; and in other places. This gave the hint to Leo, whosoever made that sermon ascribed to Austin, which before we spake of, to make the Eve before a part or parcel of the day; because some part of the Divine offices of the day were begun upon it. And hence it is that in these Ages, and in those that followed (but in none before), we meet with the distinction of matutinae & vespertinae precatones, matins & Evensong, as we call it, the Canons of the Church about these times beginning to oblige men to the one, as well as formerly to the other. The Council held in Arragon hereupon ordained, *Vt omnis clerus die Sabbati, ad vesperam, paratus sit etc.* "That all the Clergy be in readiness on the Saturday vespers that so they may be prepared with the more solemnity to celebrate the Lord's day in the congregation." And not so only, *sed ut diebus omnibus vesperas & matutinas celebrent*, but that they diligently say the morning and the evening service every day continually. So for the matins on the Sunday, Gregory of Tours informs us of them, *Motum est signum ad matutinas, Erat enim dies dominica*; how the bell rung to Mattins for it was a Sunday. I have translated it the bell, according to the custom of these ages whereof now we write; wherein the use of bells was first taken up, for gathering of the people to the house of God: (there being mention in the life and history of S. Loup or Lupus, who lived in the fifth Century) of a great bell that hung in the Church of Sens in France, whereof he was Bishop, *ad convocandum populum* for calling of the congregation. Afterwards they were rung on holy-day Eves to give the people notice of the feast at hand, and to advertise them that it was time to leave off their businesses, *Solebant vesperi, initia feriarum campanis praenunciare*; so he that wrote the life of S. Codegundus.

(10) Well then, the bells are rung and all the people met together: what is expected at their hands? That they behave themselves there, like the Saints of God, in fervent prayers, in frequent Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual songs, hearing God's holy Word, receiving of the Sacraments. These we have touched upon before, as things that had been always used from the beginnings of the Church. Collections for the poor had been sometimes used on this day, before; but now about these times the Offertory began to be an ordinary part of God's public worship. Pope Leo seems to intimate it, in his fifth Sermon *de collectis: Et quia die dominico proxima futura est collectio, vos omnes voluntariae devotioni praeparare etc.*; and gives them warning of it that they may be ready. For our behavior in the Church, it was first ordered by Saint Paul, that all things be done reverently,* because

of the Angels; according to which ground and warrant, it was appointed in these ages that every man should stand up at the reading of the Gospel and the Gloria Patri; that none depart the Church till the service ended. Pope Anastasius, who lived in the beginning of the fifth Age, is said to have decreed the one. Dum S.S. Evangelia in ecclesia recitantur, sacerdotes & coeteri omnes praesentes, non sedentes sed venerabiliter curvi, in conspectu sancti evangelij stantes dominica verba attente audiant, & fideliter adorent. The Priests and all else present are enjoined to stand (their bodies bowed a little in sign of reverence) during the reading of the Gospel, but by no means to hear it sitting; adding some joyful acclamation at the end thereof such as it is that of "Glory be to thee O Lord": for that I take to be the meaning of the adoration, or the fideliter adorent there remembered. So for the Gloria Patri, that form of giving to the Lord the glory which belongs unto him, we find in Cassian that they used to stand upon their feet at the doing of it. In clausula psalmi; omnes astantes pronunciant magno clamore, Gloria patri, etc. That at the end of every Psalm they all stood up, and with a loud voice pronounced the Gloria Patri, that gesture being thought most natural and most proper for it. No constitution needed to enjoin those duties which natural discretion of itself could dictate. As for the last it seemed the people in those parts used to depart the Church, some of them, before the service ended and the blessing given, for otherwise there had been no Canon to command the contrary. Ex malis moribus bonae nascuntur leges, the old saying is. And out of this ill custom did arise a law, made in a Synod held in Agatha which is now called Agde, a town of Gallia Narbonensis, the 22nd of the reign of Alaricus King of the Visigoths, or Western Goths Anno 506; that on the Lord's day all Lay people should be present at the public liturgy, and none depart before the blessing. Missas die dominico secularibus audire speciali ordine praecipimus; ita ut egredi ante benedictionem sacerdotis, populus non praesumat; So the Canon hath it. According unto which it is provided in the Canons of the Church of England that none depart out of the Church during the time of service and Sermon without some reasonable or urgent cause. The benediction given, and the assembly broken up, the people might go home, no doubt; and being there make merry with their friends and neighbors such as came either to them of their own accord, or otherwise had been invited. Gregory of Tours informs us of a certain Presbyter which thrust himself into the Bishopric of the Arverni immediately upon the death of Sidonius Apollinaris, who died about the year 487; and that to gain the people's favor, on the next Lord's day after,

Iussit cunctos cives praeeparato epulo invitari, he had invited all the principal Citizens to a solemn feast. Whatever might be said of him that made the invitation, no doubt but there were many pious and religious men which accepted of it. Of recreations after dinner, until evening prayers, and after evening prayer till the time of supper; there is no question to be made but all were practiced which were not prohibited, nam quod non prohibetur, permissum est, as Tertullian hath it.

(11) Yet notwithstanding all these honors publicly done unto the Lord's day, as before was said, it never grew so great that it could swallow up all the other festivals. The Saturday continued hitherto a day of special meeting for the Congregation in all the Churches of the East, and in those of Egypt. Cassian hath informed us so, Institut.1.3.c.2; & 1.9.c.12; as also 1.2.c.6; & Collat.1.3.c.1. The Alexandrians only of all the people of Egypt observed it not, being therein conformed to the Church of Rome, as before we noted in the third Chapter of this part, section 5. But for the Churches of Constantinople, and those near unto it, it is said by Sozomen that they assembled in the Church both on the Saturday or Sabbath, and on the first day of the week. Or as his own words are, *. Socrates doth affirm as much, 1.6.c.8; both they and Cassian being contemporaries, and living about the year 430. The like saith Anastatius Synaita, who flourished in the sixth Century, Anno 540 or thereabouts, that Saturday as well as Sunday were *, holy and festival days, both of them: one of them in relation to the rest of God; the other to the resurrection of our Lord and Savior. So for the Western Churches and the Alexandrian, the greater festivals stood upon it, and would by no means yield the place unto the Sunday. It happened once, as it may often, that Christmas day fell on the Monday, which much perplexed Theophilus, then Patriarch of Alexandria; he knew not well which way to take in a case so doubtful. That Christmas Eve was to be fasted, he knew well enough; and well enough he knew that fasting on the Sunday had been oft condemned in the times before him. At last he resolved to compose the business, & paucos dactylos sumentes etc. by eating a few grapes to avoid the imputation of heretical abstinence, and yet withal to fast it out as the day following did require. Where plainly, Christmas had the better. This happened in the year 411, or thereabouts; since when the Church had fallen on a finer temper; viz. when any festival falls upon the Monday, to keep the fast thereof on the Saturday night. So for the Western Churches it was thus ordered in the Synod of Agatha, or Agde a town in France, Anno 420, that "in case any man should build a

private oratory or a Chapel of Ease for his proper use, it was permitted that on the ordinary festivals [Sundays and other holy days of inferior sort] he might have mass and other divine Offices performed therein, propter familiae suae fatigationem, for the ease and accomodation of his family. But on the feasts of Easter, Christmas, the Epiphany, holy Thursday, Whitsontide and the nativity of S. John the Baptist, and other the greater festivals, if more such there were:” non nisi in civitatibus vel parochij, teneant, they should repair unto the cities, or their Parish Churches. And in the Synod of Auvergne, Anno 541, it was decreed also to the same purpose, that Priests and deacons not being beneficed abroad, or within the Cities, might upon ordinary days, help to serve the cure in the Country villages. Festivitates praecipuas, domini natale, Pascha, Pentecosten, & si que sunt festivitates reliquae, nullatenus alibi nisi cum episcopo suo in civitate teneant. “But on the greater festivals, Christmas, and Whitsontide, and Easter, and others the more principal feasts, they should not celebrate any where but with their Bishop in the City.” This clearly shows how high the Annual festivals, those chiefly of the greater sort, were in esteem above the weekly. Nor did these Ages so adhere to the former festivals or other days appointed for religious duties, as not to institute any but what they found. For to the fifth Century we are indebted for the feasts of our Savior, Circumcision, S. Stephen, S. Michael the Arch-Angel, and the nativity of S. John the Baptist: as to the sixth, for that of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, or the presenting of our Savior in the holy temple, when Simeon took him into his Arms and blessed God for him; on which last motive it was instituted by Justinian first, and by him called festum *. To these two Ages also do we stand indebted both for the litany itself, as a form of prayer; and for processions which is one especial use thereof, in the Rogation week, as we still do call it. Processions had been used of old in the interring of the Martyrs, as Tertullian intimates. These and the prayers accustomed being perfected by Mamercus Bishop of Vienne in France, about the year 456, and by him fitted to those present miseries which then had fallen upon that people, attained to that opinion that they were used also by Sidonius Bishop of Auverne, being then visited with the like, if not greater miseries. And in the year 506, it was determined in a Council held at Orleans that the whole Church should bestow yearly at the feast of Pentecost, three days in that processionary kinds of service. So it continues still in the Church of England, the Litany thereof being so complete that I dare boldly say that from the death of the Apostles till this very day there never was a form of prayer so exact and absolute.

(12) Thus we have brought the Lord's day to the highest pitch; the highest pitch that hitherto it had enjoyed, both in relation unto rest from worldly business, and to the full performance of religious duties. Whatever was done afterwards in pursuit hereof consisted specially in beating down the opposition of the common people, who were not easily induced to lay by their business; next in a descant, as it were, on the former plain-song, the adding of particular restrictions, as occasion was, which were before contained though not plainly specified, both in the Edicts of the former Emperors, and Constitutions of the Churches, before remembered. Yet all this while we find not any one who did observe it as Sabbath, or which taught others so to do; nor any who affirmed that any manner of work was unlawful on it, further than as it was prohibited by the Prince, or Prelate; that so the people might assemble with their greater comfort; not anyone who preached or published that any pastime, sports, or recreations, of an honest name, which in themselves were lawful on the other days, were not so on this. And thereupon we may resolve, as well of lawful businesses as of lawful pleasures; that such as have not been forbidden by supreme authority, whether in proclamations of the Prince, or Constitutions of the Church, or Acts of Parliament, or any such like declaration of those higher powers to which the Lord hath made us subject, are to be counted lawful still. It matters not, in case we find it not recorded in particular terms, that we may lawfully apply ourselves to some kind of business, or recreate ourselves in every kind of honest pleasure, at those particular hours and times which are left at large and have not been designed to God's public service. All that we are to look for, is to see how far we are restrained from labor or from recreations on the holy days, and what authority it is which hath so restrained us, that we may come to know our duty and conform unto it. The Canons of particular Churches have no power to do it, further than they have been admitted into the Church wherein we live; for then being made a part of her Canon also, they have power to bind us to observance. As little power there is to be allowed unto the declarations and Edicts of particular Princes, but in their own dominions only. Kings are God's Deputies on the Earth, but in those places only where the Lord hath set them; their power no greater than their empire, and though they may command in their own estates, yet it is *extra sphaeram activitatis*, to prescribe laws to nations not subject to them. A King of France can make no law to bind us in England. Much less must we ascribe unto the dictates and directions of particular men, which being themselves subject unto public order, are to be hearkened to no further than by their life and

doctrine they do preach obedience unto the public ordinances under which they live. For were it otherwise, every private man of name and credit would play the tyrant with the liberty of his Christian brethren, and nothing should be lawful but what he allowed of; especially if the pretense be fair and specious, such as the keeping of a Sabbath to the Lord our God; the holding of an holy convocation to the King of heaven. Example we had of it lately in the Goths of Spain; and that strange bondage into which some pragmatic and popular men had brought the French, had not the Council held at Orleans given a check unto it? And with examples of this kind we must begin the story of the following Ages.

CHAPTER 5

THAT IN THE NEXT SIX HUNDRED YEERES, FROM POPE GREGORY FORWARDS, THE LORDS DAY WAS NOT RECKONED OF, AS A SABBATH.

(1) Pope Gregories care to set the Lords day free from some Jewish rigours, at that time obruded on the Church. (2) Strange fancies taken up, by some few men, about the Lords day, in those darker Ages. (3) Scriptures, and Miracles, in these times found out, to justifie the keeping of the Lords day holy. (4) That in the judgement of the most learned men in these sixe Ages, the Lords day hath no other ground, than the Authoritie of the Church. (5) With how much difficultie the people of these Westerne parts were barred, from following their Husbandrie, and Courts of Law, on the Lords day. (6) Husbandrie not restrained on the Lords day in the Easterne parts, until the time of Leo Philosophus. (7) Markets, and Handy-crafts, restrained with no lesse opposition, than the Plough, and pleading. (8) Severall casus reservati in the Lawes themselves, wherein men were permitted to attend those businesses, on the Lords day, which the Lawes restrained. (9) Of divers great and publike actions, done, in these Ages, on the Lords day. (10) Dancing, and other sports, no otherwise prohibited on the Lords day, than as they were an hinderance to Gods publike service. (11) The other holy dayes as much esteemed of, and observed, as the Lords day was. (12) The publike hallowing of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, in these present Ages. (13) No Sabbath all these Ages heard of, either on Saturday, or Sunday: And how it stood with Saturday, in the Easterne Churches.

(1) WE are now come to the declining Ages of the Church, after the first 600 years were fully ended; and in the entrance on the seventh, some men had gone about to possess the people of Rome with two dangerous fancies: One, That it was not lawful to do any manner of work upon the Saturday, or the old Sabbath; ita ut die Sabbati aliquid operari prohiberent; The other, ut Dominicorum die nullus debeat lavari, That no man ought to bathe himself on the Lord's day, or their new Sabbath. With such a race of

Christened Jews, or Judaizing Christians, was the Church then troubled. Against these dangerous Doctrines did Pope Gregory write his Letter to the Roman Citizens, styling the first no other than the Preachers of Antichrist, one of whose properties it shall be, saith he, that he will have the Sabbath and the Lord's day both so kept as that no manner of work shall be done on either; *qui veniens, diem Sabbatum atque Dominicum, ab omni faciet opere custodire*, as the Father hath it. Where note that to compel or teach the people that they must do no manner of work on the Lord's day is a mark of Antichrist. And why should Antichrist keep both days in so strict a manner? "Because, saith he, he will persuade the people that he shall die, and rise again; therefore he means to have the Lord's day in especial honor: and he will keep the Sabbath too, that so he may the better allure the Jews to adhere unto him." Against the other he thus reasoneth: *Et si quidem pro luxuria, & voluptate, quis lavari appetit, hoc fieri nec reliquo quolibet die concedimus*, etc. "If any man desires to bathe himself, only out of a luxurious and voluptuous purpose (observe this well), this we conceive not to be lawful upon any day; but if he do it only for the necessary refreshing of his body, then neither is it fit it should be forbidden upon the Sunday. For if it be a sin to bathe, or wash all the body on the Lord's day, then must it be a sin to wash the face upon that day; if it be lawful to be done in any part, why then, necessity requiring, is it unlawful for the whole?" It seems then by Saint Gregory's doctrine, that in hot weather one may lawfully go into the water on the Lord's day, and there wade or swim, either to wash or cool his body, as well as upon any other. Note also here that not the quality of the day, but the condition of the thing is to be considered in the denominating of a lawful or unlawful act; that things unlawful in themselves, or tending to unlawful ends, are unfit for all days; and that what ever thing is fit for any day is, of itself, as fit for Sunday. Finally, he concludes with this: *Domicorum vero die a labore terreno cessandum est*, etc. "We ought to rest indeed on the Lord's day from earthly labors, and by all means abide in prayers; that if by human negligence, any thing hath escaped in the six former days, it may be expiated by our prayers on the day of the Resurrection." This was the salve, by him applied to those dangerous sores; and such effect it wrought upon them that for the present, and long after, we find not any who prohibited working on the Saturday. But at the last it seems some did; who thereupon were censured and condemned by another Gregory, of that name the seventh. *Damnavit docentes, non licere die Sabbati operas facere*; as the Law informs us, *De consecratsone distinct.3.cap.Pervenit*. But this

was not till Anno 1074 or after, almost 500 years after the times where now we are. As for the other fancy, that of not going to the Baths on the Lord's day, it seems he crushed that too as for that particular: though otherwise the like conceit did break out again, as men began to entertain strange thoughts and superstitious doctrines about this day; especially in these declining Ages of the Church, wherein so many errors both in faith and manners, did in fine defile it, that it was black indeed, but with little comeliness. The Church, as in too many things not proper to this place and purpose, it did encroach upon the Jew; much of the ceremonies, and Priestly habit, in these times established, being thence derived: so is it not to be admired, if in some things, particular both Men and Synods began to Judaize a little, in our present business; making the Lord's day no less rigidly to be observed than the Jewish Sabbath, if it were not more.

(2) For in the following Age, and in the latter end thereof, when Learning was now almost come to its lowest ebb, there was a Synod held at Friuli, by the command of Pepin then King of France; a Town now in the Territory of the State of Venice. The principal motive of that meeting was to confirm the Doctrine of the holy Trinity and the incarnation of the Word; which in those times had been disputed. The President thereof, Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquilegia, Anno 791 of our Redemption. There, in relation to this day, it was thus decreed: *Diem dominicum inchoante noctis initio, i.e. vespere Sabbati, quando signum insonuerit, etc.* "We constitute and appoint that all Christian men (that is to say all Christian men who lived within the Canon's reach) should with all reverence and devotion honor the Lord's day, beginning on the evening of the day before, at the first ringing of the Bell: and that they do abstain therein especially from all kinds of sin, as also from all carnal acts, *Etiam a propriis conjugibus*, even from the company of their Wives, and all earthly labors; and that they go unto the Church devoutly, laying aside all Suits of Law, that so they may in love and charity praise God's Name together." You may remember that some such device as this was fathered formerly on Saint Austin, but with little reason. Such trim conceits as these had not then been thought of. And though it be affirmed in the Preamble to these Constitutions: *Nec novae regulae instituimus, nec supervacuas rerum adinventiones in hianter sectamur*; that they did neither make new Rules, or follow vain and needless fancies; *Sed sacris paternorum Canonum recensitis foliis, etc.* but that they took example by the ancient Canons: yet look who will into all Canons of the Church for the times before, and he shall find no such

example. For my part, I should rather think that it was put into the Canon, in succeeding times, by some misadventure: that some, observing a restraint, *ab omni carnali*, of all carnal acts, might as by way of question write in the Margin, *etiam a propriis conjugibus?* from whence, by ignorance or negligence of the Collectors, it might be put into the Text. Yet if it were so passed at first, and if it chance that any be so minded (and some such there be), as to conceive the Canon to be pure and pious, and the intent thereof not to be neglected; they are to be advertised that the holy days must be observed in the self-same manner: It was determined so before, by the false Saint Austin. And somewhat to this purpose saith this Synod now, That all the greater Festivals must with all reverence be observed and honored: and that such holy days as by the Priests were bidden in the Congregation, *Omnibus modis sunt custodienda*, were by all ways and means to be kept amongst them; that is, by all those ways and means which in the said Canon were before remembered. In this the Christian plainly out-went the Jew; amongst whose many superstitions there is none such found. It's true indeed the Jews accounted it unlawful to marry on the Sabbath day, or on the evening of the Sabbath, or on the first day of the week, lest (say the Rabbins) they should pollute the Sabbath by dressing meat. Conformably whereunto, it was decreed in a Synod held in Aken or Aquisgranum, Anno 833, "*nec nuptias reverentia tantae solennitatis celebrari visum est*, that in a reverence to the Lord's day, it should no more be lawful to marry, or be married upon the same." The Jews, as formerly we showed, have now by order from their Rabbins restrained themselves on their Sabbath day from knocking with their hands upon a table to still a child; from making figures in the air, or drawing letters in the ground, or in dust and ashes, and such like niceties. And some such teachers, Olaus King of Norway had no question met with, Anno 1028. For being taken up one Sunday, in some serious thoughts, and having in his hand a small walking stick, he took his knife and whittled it, as men do sometimes, when as their minds are troubled, or intent on business. And when it had been told him, as by way of jest, how he had trespassed therein against the Sabbath, he gathered the small chips together, put them upon his hand, and set fire unto them. *Vt viz. in se ulcisceretur, quod contra divinum praeceptum incautus admisisset*; that so, saith Crantzius, he might revenge that on himself, which unawares he had committed against God's Commandments. Crantzius, it seems, did well enough approve this folly: for in the entrance on this story, he reckoneth this *inter alia virtutum suarum praeconia*, amongst the monuments of his

piety, and sets it up as an especial instance of that Prince's sanctity. Lastly, whereas the modern Jews are of opinion that all the while their Sabbath lasts, the souls in hell have liberty to range abroad, and are released of all their torments, so, lest in any superstitious fancy they should have preeminence, it was delivered of the souls in Purgatory, by Petrus Damiani, who lived in Anno 1056: "Domenico die refrigerium poenarum habuisse, that every Lord's day they were manumitted from their pains, and fluttered up and down the lake Avernus in the shape of birds."

(3) Indeed the marvel is the less, that these and such like Jewish fancies should in those times begin to shew themselves in the Christian Church: considering that now some had begun to think that the Lord's day was founded on the fourth Commandment; and all observances of the same grounded upon the Law of GOD. As long as it was taken only for an Ecclesiastical institution, and had no other ground upon which to stand than the authority of the Church, we find not any of these rigors annexed unto it. But being once conceived to have its warrant from the Scripture, the Scripture presently was ransacked; and whatsoever did concern the old Jewish Sabbath, was applied thereto. It had been ordered formerly that men should be restrained on the Lord's day from some kind of labors, that so they might assemble in the greater numbers; the Princes and the Prelates both conceiving it convenient that it should be so. But in these Ages there were Texts produced to make it necessary. Thus Clotaire King of France grounded his Edict of restraint from servile labors on this day on the holy Scripture: *quia hoc lex prohibet, & Sacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit*, because the Law forbids it, and the holy Scripture contradicts it. And Charles the Great builds also on the self-same ground, *Statuimus secundum quod in lege dominus praecepit*, etc. "We do ordain, according as the LORD commands us, that on the Lord's day none presume to do any servile business." Thus finally, the Emperor Leo Philosophus, in a Constitution to that purpose, of which more hereafter, declares that he did so determine, *secundum quod Sp. Sancto ab ipsoque institutis Apostolis placuit*, according to the Dictate of the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles by him tutored. So also, when the Fathers of the Church had thought it requisite that men should cease from labor on the Saturday in the afternoon, that they might be the better fitted for their devotions the next day; some would not rest, till they had found a Scripture for it. *Observemus diem Dominicum fratres, sicut antiquis praeceptum est de Sabbato*, etc. Let us observe the Lord's day, as it is commanded; from even to even shall ye

celebrate your Sabbath. The 251st Sermon, inscribed de tempore, which I conceive to have been writ about these Times, hath resolved it so. And lastly, that we go no further, the superstitious act of the good King Olaus burning his hand, as formerly was related, was then conceived to be a very just revenge upon himself because he had offended, although unawares, contra divinum Praeceptum, against God's Commandment. Nor were these rigorous fancies left to the naked World, but they had miracles to confirm them. It is reported by Vincentius and Antoninus, that Austregisilus, one who had probably preached such Doctrine, restored a Miller by his power, whose hand had cleaved unto his Hatchet as he was mending of his Mill on the Lord's day; for now you must take notice that in the Times in which they two lived, grinding had been prohibited on the Lord's day by the Canon Laws. As also how Sulpitius had caused a poor man's hand to wither, only for cleaving wood on the Lord's day (no great Crime assuredly, save that some parallel must be found for him, which gathered sticks on the former Sabbath); and after, of his special goodness, made him whole again. Of these, the first was made Arch-bishop of Burges, Anno 627, Sulpitius being successor unto him in his See; and, as it seems too, in his power of working miracles. Such miracles, as these they who lift to credit <those who believe such miracles>, shall find another of them in Gregorius Turonensis, Miracul.1.2.c.6. And some we shall hereafter meet with, when we come to England; forged purposely, as no doubt these were, to countenance some new device about the keeping of this day; there being no new Gospel preached, but must have miracles to attended it for the greater state.

(4) But howsoever it came to pass, that those four Princes, especially Leo, who was himself a Scholar, and Charles the Great, who had as learned men about him as the times then bred, were thus persuaded of this day that all restraints from work and labor on the same were to be found expressly in the Word of God; yet was the Church and the most learned Men therein of another mind. Nor is it utterly impossible but that those Princes might make use of some pretense or ground of Scripture, the better to incline the people to yield obedience unto those restraints which were laid upon them. First, for the Church, and men of special eminence in the same for place and learning, there is no question to be made but they were otherwise persuaded. Isidore Arch-bishop of Seville, who goes highest, makes it an Apostolical sanction only, no divine Commandment: a day designed by the Apostles for religious exercises, in honor of our Savior's resurrection, on

that day performed. *Diem dominicum Apostoli ideo religiosa solennitate sanxerunt, quia in eo redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit.* And adds, “that it was therefore called the Lord’s day, to this end and purpose: that resting in the same from all earthly Acts, and the temptations of the world, we might intend God’s holy worship; giving this day due honor for the hope of the resurrection, which we have therein.” The same, verbatim, is repeated by Bede, *lib.de Offic;* and by Rabanus Maurus *lib. de institut. Cleric.1.2.c.24;* and finally by Alcuinus *de divin. Offic. cap.24;* which plainly shows that all those took it only for an Apostolical usage, an observation which grew up by custom, rather than upon commandment. Sure I am that Alcuinus, one of principal credit with Charles the Great, who lived about the end of the eighth Century, as did this Isidore in the beginning of the seventh, saith clearly that the observation of the former Sabbath had been translated very fitly to the Lord’s day, by the customs and consent of Christian people. For speaking how the Sabbath was accounted holy in the former times, and that the Jews resting thereon from all manner of work did only give themselves to meditation and to feasting; he adds, *cujus observationem mos Christianus ad diem dominicum competentius transtulit;* “the observation of the which, was by the custom of the Christians translated very fitly unto the Sunday.” Where plainly *mos Christianus*, the custom of the Christians, doth imply no precept, no order or command from the Apostles that it should be so, and much less any precept in the Old Testament which should still oblige. And sure I am, Rabanus Maurus speaks only as by way of exhortation, as not being armed with any warrant from the Apostles, or other Argument from Scripture: Where he adviseth us, *A vespera diei Sabbati usque ad vesperam diei dominici, sequestrati a rurali opere & omni negotio, solo divino cultui vacemus:* “That from the Eve on Saturday until Sunday night, being wholly sequestered from husbandry and all other business, we should devote ourselves to the service of God:” which are the self-same words in the Homily *de tempore* ascribed to Austin. Where no man will presume to say that either rest from husbandry, and such other business, or the beginning of the Lord’s day on the Eve before, were introduced by any precept of the Apostles, considering how long it was before either of them had been used in the Christian Church. And so Hesychius Bishop of Jerusalem, who flourished at the self-same time with Isidore, speaks of it only as a custom, or matter of fact, descending by tradition from the Apostles. *Apostolorum sequentes traditionem, diem dominicum conventibus divinis sequestramus:* which was the most he could say for the original thereof; indeed who could

more? And as for Isidore himself whom the others followed, it's clear that they esteemed the Lord's day for no other than a common holiday, by far inferior unto Easter. *Pascha festivitatum omnium prima est.* The feast of Easter, is, saith he, the most principal Feast. Then followeth Pentecost, Epiphany, Palm-Sunday, Maundy-thursday, and in the last place *Dies dominicus*, the Lord's day: Which questionless he had not placed in so low a room, had he conceived it instituted by any precept or injunction of those blessed Spirits. So in a Council held at Paris, Anno 819, it was determined positively that keeping of the Lord's day had no other ground than custom only, and that this custom did descend *ex Apostolorum traditione, immo ecclesiae autoritate*, at most from Apostolical tradition, but indeed rather from the Authority of holy Church. And whereas courts of Law, or Law days, had formerly been prohibited on this day that so men might in peace and concord go to Church together; the several Councils, that of Friburg, Anno 895, and that of Erpford, Anno 932, though then the times were at the darkest, ascribe it not to any Law or Text of Scripture, but only to the ancient Canons. *Secundum sanctorum statuta patrum*, saith the first, Can. 26. *Secundum Canonicam institutionem*, saith the second, Cap.2. And howsoever some have said that Alexander, Pope of Rome, of that Name the third, refers the keeping of the Lord's day to Divine Commandment, yet they that look upon him well can find no such matter. He saith indeed that both the Old and New Testament depute the seventh day to the rest of man; but for the keeping of it holy, both that and other days appointed for God's public service, *ecclesia decreverit observanda*: that he ascribes alone to the Church's order. *Decret. l.2. ti.9. de feriis .cap.3.* The like may be affirmed also of restraint from labor, that it is grounded only on the authority of the Church and of Christian Princes; how ever in some Regal and Imperial Edicts, there be some show or color added from the Law of GOD.

(5) I say some show or color added from the Law of God. For as before I said, it is not utterly impossible but that those Princes might make use of some pretense or show of Scripture, the better to incline the people, to yield obedience unto those restraints which were laid upon them. The Synod held at Mascons, and that in Auxerre, both before remembered, expressly had prohibited all works of husbandry on this day; the former having added for enforcing of it not only Ecclesiastical censures, but corporal and civil punishments. But yet this was not found enough to wean the people from their works, their ordinary labors used before upon that

day; and it is no marvel. The Jews were hardly brought unto it, though they had heard GOD thundering from the holy mountain that they should do no manner of work upon their Sabbath, it being added thereunto that whosoever should offend therein, he should die the death. And certainly it was very long before that either Prince or Prelate, or both joined together, with all their power and policy could prevail upon them, either to lay aside their labors or forbear their Law days; as may appear by several Edicts of Emperors, Decrees of Popes, and Canons of particular Councils, which have successively been made in restraint thereof. The Synod of Chalons, Anno 662, wherein were 44 Bishops, and amongst them S. Owen Archbishop of Roane <Rouenne?>, concluded as had been before, [non nova condentes, sed vetera renovantes] that on the Lord's day no man should presume to sow or plough, or reap, *vel quicquid ad ruris culturam pertinet*, or deal in any thing that belonged to husbandry; and this on pain of Ecclesiastical censure and correction. But when this did no good, Clothaire the third of France (for he I think it was who set out that Law), beginning with the Word of God and ending with a threat of severe chastisement, doth command the same. *Die domenco nemo servilia opera praesumat facere, quia hoc lex prohibet, & Sacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit*, as before was said. "If any do offend herein, in case he be a bondman, let him be soundly bastinadoed; in case a freeman, let him be thrice admonished of it; if he offend again, the third part of his patrimony was to be confiscated; and finally, if that prevailed not, he was to be convented before the Governor, and made a Bondslave." So for the realm of Germany, a Council held at Dingulosinum in the lower Bavaria, Anno 772, (the Town is now called Dengolfel, not far from Lindaw) did determine thus. "*Festo die Solis, otio divino intentus, prophanis negotiis abstineto*, upon the Sunday (so they call it) let every man abstain from profane employments, and be intent upon God's worship. If any man shall work his Cart this day, or busy himself in any such like work, *jumenta ejus publica sunt*, his Team shall presently be forfeited to the public use. And if stubbornly they persist to provoke God's anger, be they sold for Bond-men." So, Aventine reports the Canon. And somewhat like to this was ordered by Theodorus King of the Bavarians, *viz. Si quis die dominico, etc.* "If any man, upon the Lord's day, shall yoke his Oxen, and drive forth his Wagon, *dextrum bovem perdat*, his right hand Ox shall be forthwith forfeit; if he make Hay or carry it in; if he mow Corn or carry it in, let him be once or twice admonished; and if he amend not thereupon, let him receive no less than fifteen stripes." Yet notwithstanding all this care, when Charles the Great being King of

France, had mastered Germany, which was 789 or thereabouts; there had been little reformation in this point amongst them. Therefore that Prince first published his own Regal Edict, grounding himself *secundum quod in lege praecepit dominus*, upon the Prescript of God's Law; and there commands that all men do abstain from the works of Husbandry. Which Edict since it speaks of more particulars at that time prohibited, we will speak more thereof anon. That not prevailing, as it seems, he caused five several Synods to be assembled at one time, Anno 813 at Mainz, at Rheims, at Tours, at Chalons, and Arles: in all of which it was concluded against the Husbandman; and many others more, as we shall see in the next Section. And yet we find some grudging still of the old disease; as is apparent by a Synod held at Rome, Anno 826 under Eugenius the second, chap.30; another in the same place, Anno 853, under Leo the fourth, Can.30; the like in that of Compeigne, held by Alexander the third, what time he lived an exile in the Realm of France. So for restraint of Law-days, or Courts of judgment, those chiefly that determined of men's lives, it was not brought about in these Western parts without great difficulty. Witness, besides the several Imperial Edicts before remembered, Conc. Mogunt. Anno 813, Can.37; Rhemens. Can. 35; Turonens.Can.40; Arelatens Can.16; being four of those Councils which were called by Charles, as before was said; as also that of Aken, Anno 836.Can.20. And though it was determined in the Roman Synod under Leo the 4th that no suspected person should receive judgment on that day, a clause being added in the Canon, *legibus infirmari iudicium eo die depromptum*, that all Acts sped upon that day, were void in Law; yet more than 300 years after it was so resolved of, was Alexander the third, in Council of Compeigne before remembered, enforced particularly to revive it, and then and there to set it down, *Ne aliquis ad mortem vel ad poenam iudicetur*, that no man should upon that day be doomed to death, or otherwise condemned unto bodily punishment. So difficult a thing it was to wean the people from their labors and other civil business unto which they had been accustomed; there being nothing to enforce or induce them to it but human authority.

(6) On the same reason, as it seems, Leo Philosophus Emperor of Constantinople, did make use of Scripture, when in conformity with the Western Churches, he purposed to restrain the works of Husbandry on that day, which till his time had been permitted. The Emperor Constantine had ordained, as before was shown, that all Artificers, and such as dwelt in Cities, should on the Sunday leave their Trades; but by the same Edict gave

license to the Husbandman to pursue his business, as well upon that day as on any other. But contrary, this Leo, surnamed Philosophus (he began his reign Anno 886) grounding himself, for so he tells us, on the authority of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles (but where he found that warrant from the Holy Ghost and from the holy Apostles, that he tells us not), restrained the Husbandman from his work, as well as men of other callings.

Nicephorus mistakes the man, and attributes it to the former Leo, whom before we spake of in our 4th Chapter. Quo tempore primus etiam Leo constutione lata, ut dies dominicus ab omnibus absque labore omni, per otium transigeretur, festusque & venerabilis esset, quemadmodum & divis Apostolis visum est, praecepit. At this time did the Emperor Leo first set out his Law, "That the Lord's day should be of all men spent in rest, without any labor, that it should be an holy and a festival day as it seemed good to the Apostles." Where the last clause, together with the substance of the Edict, makes the matter plain that he mistook the man, though he hit the business, the former Leo using no such motive in all his Edict. But take it from the Emperor himself, who having told us first "that the Lord's day was to be honored with rest from labor," adds next, that he had seen a Law (he means that of Constantine), quae non omnes simul operari prohibendos, nonnullosque uti operentur, indulgendum censuit, which not having restrained all works but permitted some, did upon no sufficient reason dishonor that so sacred day. Then followeth, Statuimus nos etiam, quod Sp. Sancto ab ipsoque institutis Apostolis placuit, ut omnes in die Sacro, etc. a labore vacent. Neque Agriculae, etc. "It is our will, saith he, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles by him directed, that on that sacred Day whereon we were restored unto our integrity, all men should rest themselves and surcease from labor; neither the Husbandmen nor others putting their hand, that Day, to prohibited work. For if the Jews did so much reverence their Sabbath, which only was a shadow of ours; are not we which inhabit Light and the Truth of Grace, obliged to honor that day which the L O R D hath honored, and hath therein delivered us both from dishonor and from Death? Are not we bound to keep it singularly and inviolably, sufficiently contented with a liberal grant of all the rest; and not encroaching on that one, which GOD hath chosen for his service? Nay, were it not a wretchless slighting and contempt of all Religion, to make that Day common; and think that we may do thereon, as we do on others." So far this Emperor determines of it first, and disputes it afterwards, I only note it for the close, that it was near 900 years from our Savior's Birth, if not quite so much, before restraint of

Husbandry on this day had been first thought of in the East: and probably being thus restrained did find no more obedience there, than it had done before in the Western parts.

(7) As great a difficulty did it prove to restrain other things in these times projected, although they carried it at the last. The Emperor Constantine had before commanded, that all Artificers in the Cities should surcease from labor on the Lord's day; as well as those whom he employed in his Seats of justice, and questionless he found obedience answerable to his expectation. But when the Western parts became a prey to new Kings and nations, and that those Kings and Nations had admitted the laws of Christ, yet did they not conceive it necessary to submit themselves to the laws of Constantine, and therefore followed their employment as before they did. And so it stood until the time of Charles the Great, who in the year 789 published his Regal Edict in this form that followeth. Statuimus, secundum quod & in lege dominus praecepit, etc. "We do ordain, according as it is commanded in the Law of GOD, that no man do any servile work on the Lord's day. [This in the general had been before commanded by his Father Pepin in the Council holden in Friuli; but he now explicates himself in these particulars.] That is to say "that neither men employ themselves in works of Husbandry, in dressing of their Vines, ploughing their Lands, making their Hay, fencing their grounds, grubbing or felling Trees, working in Mines, building of Houses, planting their Gardens; nor that they plead that day, nor go forth on hunting; and that it be not lawful for the women to weave, or dress Cloth, to make Garments, or Needle-work, to card their Wool, beat Hemp, wash clothes in public, or shear Sheep; but that they come unto the Church, to divine Service, and magnify the Lord their God for those good things which on that Day he hath done for them." After considering with himself that Fairs and Markets on this day were an especial means to keep men from Church, he set out his Imperial Edict, *De rundinis concedendis*, as to prohibit Fairs and Markets, as my Author tells me. Nor did he trust so far to his own Edict as not to strengthen it (as the times then were) by the authority of the Church, and therefore caused those five Councils before remembered to be assembled at one time, in four of which it was determined against all servile works and Law-days, as also *ut mercatus in iis minime sit*, that no Markets should be kept upon them; *Concil. Mogunt. Can.37 Ne mercata exercean*, *Rhemens. Can. 35.* and so in those of Tours, 40. and Arles 16. That of Chalons which was the fifth, did only intimate that whereas the Lord's day had been much neglected,

the better keeping of the same was to be established authentica constitutione, by some Authentical constituion of the Emperor himself. But whatsoever care this Emperor took to see his will performed, and the Lord's day sanctified, it seems his successor Ludovicus was remiss enough; which being found, as found it was, the people fell again to their former labors, ploughing and Marketing and Law-days, as before they did. The Council held at Paris, Anno 829 which was but sixteen years after the holding of the aforesaid Synods, much complains thereof, and withal adds that many of the Prelates assembled there knew both by fame and by their own proper knowledge, Quosdam in hoc die ruralia opera exercentes, fulmine interemptos, "that certain men following their Husbandry on that day had been killed with Lightning; and others with a strange convulsion of their joints, had miserably perished; whereby say they, it is apparent that GOD was very much offended with their so great neglect of that holy day." Rather with their so great neglect of their Superiors; in that nor Declaration of their King, nor Constitution of the Church, could work so far upon them, as to gain obedience in things conducing to God's service. Had working on that day been so much offensive in the sight of God, likely it is we might have heard of some such judgments in the times before; but being not prohibited, it was not unlawful. Now being made unlawful, because prohibited, GOD smote them for their frequent workings at times which were designed to another use; not in relation to the day, but their disobedience. Therefore the Council did advise that first of all the Priests and Prelates, then that Kings, Princes, and all faithful people would do their best endeavor for the restoring of that day to its ancient luster, which had so foully been neglected. Next they addressed themselves particularly to Ludovick and Lotharius, then the Roman Emperors: Ut cunctis metum incutiant, that by some sharp injunction they would strike a terror into all their Subjects, that for the times to come none should presume to plough, or hold Law- days, or Market, as of late was used. This probably occasioned the said two Emperors, 853 to call a Synod at Rome under Leo the fourth, where it was ordered more precisely than in former times, Vt die Dominica nullus audeat mercationes, nec in cibariis rebus, aut quaelibet opera rustica facere, "That no man should from thenceforth dare to make any Markets on the Lord's day, no not for things that were to eat; neither to do any kind of work that belonged to Husbandry." Which Canon being made at Rome, confirmed at Compeigne, and afterwards incorporated, as it was, into the body of the Canon Law (whereof see Decretal.l.2.tit.9. de feriis cap.2;) became to be admitted without further question in most parts

of Christendom; especially when the Popes had attained their height, and brought all Christian Princes to be at their devotion. For then the people who before had most opposed it, might justly have said, Behold two Kings stood not before him, how then shall we stand? Out of which consternation all men presently obeyed, Tradesmen of all sorts being brought to lay by their labors; and amongst those, the Miller, though his work was easiest, and least of all required his presence. *Nec aliquis a vespera diei Sabbati, usque ad vesperam diei dominicae, ad molendina aquarum vel ad aliqua alia molere audeat.* So was it ordered in the Council of Angeirs, (of which see Bothellus) Anno 1282, wherein the Barber also was forbidden to use his Trade.

(8) Yet were not those restraints so strict as that there was no liberty to be allowed of, either for business or pleasure! A time there was for both, and that time made use of: there being in the Imperial Edicts, and Constitutions of the Church, yea and the Decretals of the Popes, many reservations whereby the people might have liberty to enjoy themselves. They had been else in worse condition than the Jews before. In the Edict of Charles the Great before remembered, though otherwise precise enough, there were three several kinds of carriages allowed and licensed on the Lord's day: i.e. *Hortalia carra, vel victualia, vel si forte necesse erit corpus cujuslibet ducere ad Sepulchrum;* that is to say, carriage of gardening ware, and Carts of victuals, and such as are to carry a dead Corpse to burial. So faith in the Edict, as it is reported by the Magdeburgians, Cent.8.cap.6. But in Bochellus I have met with another reading. "For he, instead of *tria carraria opera*, which we have rendered three kinds of Carriages; doth read *carnalia opera*, three kinds of secular or carnal businesses: and then instead of *carra hortalia*, Carts of gardening ware: *carra hostilia*, which I conceive to be *opera hostilia*, actions belonging to the wars in time of hostility. This last perhaps more probable, because it is forbidden in the Law itself, *Ne quis hortum laboret*, that men forbear gardening upon the Sunday." So Theodolphus Aurelianensis, who lived about the year 836, having first put it down for a positive Rule that the Lord's day ought with such care to be observed. *Vt praeter orationes & missarum sollenia, & ea quae ad vescendum pertinent, nil aliud fiat;* "that besides Prayer, and hearing Mass, and such things as belong to food, there is directly nothing that may be done: admits of an exception or reservation. *Nam si necessitas fuerit navigandi vel itinerandi, licentia datur.* "For if (saith he) there be a necessary occasion, either of setting sail, or going a journey; this may be

allowed of, in case they pretermitt not Mass and Prayers.” This I find extant as a Canon of the 6. General Council holden in Constantinople; but since both this and all the rest of the same stamp (there are nine in all), are thought not to belong of right unto it, I have chose rather to refer it to this Theodolphus, though a private man, amongst whose works I find it in the great Bibliotheca Patrum Tom.9. Thus in a Synod held at Coy, within the Realm and Diocese of Oviedo, Anno 1050, it was decreed, That all men should repair to Church on the Lord’s day, and there hear Matins, Mass, and other the canonical hours; as also, *Opus servile non exerceant, nec sectentur itinera*, that they should do no servile work, nor take any journey. Yet with exceptions four or five, namely unless it were for devotions’ sake, or to bury the dead, or to visit the sick; or finally *pro secreto regis, vel Saracenorum impetu*, on special business of the King’s, or to make head against the Saracens. The King was much beholding to them that they would take such care of his State affairs; more than some Princes might be now, in case their business were at the disposing of particular men. So had it been decreed by several Emperors, yea and by several Councils too; which for the East parts was confirmed by Emanuel Cominenus, the Eastern Emperor, Anno 1174. *, “that all access to the Tribunal should be quite shut up; that none of those who sat in judgment should sit on any cause that day. Yet this not absolutely, but *, etc. unless the King shall please on any new emergent cause, as many times business comes unlooked for, to appoint it otherwise. Thus also for the works of labor, fishing had been restrained on the Lord’s day as a toilsome Act; and on the other holy days as well as that; yet did it please Pope Alexander the third (he entered on the chair of Rome, Anno 1160), to order by his Decretal that on the Lord’s day and the rest, it might be lawful unto those who dwelt upon the Coast, *Si halecia terre inclinarint, eorum captioni, ingruente necessitate, intendere*, to set themselves unto their fishing, in case the Herring came within their reach and the time was seasonable. Provided that they sent a convenient portion unto the Churches round about them, and unto the poor. Nay even the works of handycrafts were in some sort suffered. For whereas in the Council of Laodicea it was determined that men should rest on the Lord’s day, *, from all their handy work, and repair to the Church. Balsamon tells us in his Glosse, that so it was resolved amongst them, *, not absolutely; but *, if with convenience they could. For still, saith he (he lived in Anno 1191), in case men labor on that day, *, either because of want or any other necessity, they are held excusable. Lastly, whereas Pope Gregory the 9th had on the Sundays and the holy

days commanded *ut homines & jumenta omnia quiescant*, that there should be a general restraint from labor, both of man and beast; there was a reservation also, *Nisi urgens necessitas instet, vel nisi pauperibus, vel ecclesiae, gratis fiat*; unless on great necessity, or some good Office to be done unto the poor, or to the Church.

(9) Nor were there reservations and exceptions only in point of business, and nothing found in point of practice; but there are many passages, especially of the greatest persons and most public actions, left upon record to let us know what liberty they assumed unto themselves, as well on this day as the rest. And in such only shall I instance, as being most exemplary, and therefore most conducing to my present purpose. And first we read of a great battle, fought on Palm-Sunday, Anno 718 between Charles Martell, Grandmaster of the household to the King of France, and Hilpericus the King himself; wherein the victory fell to Charles: and yet we read not there of any sin, to fight that day. Upon the Sunday before Lent, Anno 835, Ludovick the Emperor, surnamed Pius, or the godly, together with his Prelates, and others which had been present with him at the assembly held at Theonville, went on his journey to Metz; nor do we find that it did derogate at all from his name and piety. Upon the Sunday after Whitsontide, Anno 844, Ludowick, son unto Lotharius the Emperor, made his solemn entrance into Rome, the Roman Citizens attending him with their Flags and Ensigns; the Pope and Clergy staying his coming in S. Peter's Church, there to entertain him. Upon a Sunday, Anno 1014, Henry the Emperor, *duodecim senatoribus vallatus*, environed with 12 of the Roman Senators, came to S. Peter's Church, and there was crowned together with his wife by the Pope then being. On Easter day, in *ipsa die paschalis solennitatis*, Anno 1027, Conrade the Emperor was solemnly inaugurated by Pope John; Canutus King of England, and Rodolph King of the Burgundians, being then both present, and the next Sunday after began his journey towards Germany. Upon Palm Sunday, Anno 1084, Wivert, Arch-bishop of Ravenna, was solemnly inthronized in the Chair of Rome: and the next Sunday after, being Easter day, Henry the third *Imperiali dignitate sublimatus est*, was crowned Emperor. On Passion Sunday, Anno 1148 Lewis the King of France afterwards Canonized for a Saint, made his first entry into Jerusalem with all his Army; and yet we read not any where, that it was laid in bar against him, to put by his Sainting; as possibly it might be now, were it yet to do. What should I speak of Councils on this day assembled, as that of Chartres, Anno 1146 for the recovery of the holy

Land; of Tours, on Trinity Sunday, as we call it now, Anno 1164 against Octavian the Pseudo-Pope; that of Ferrara, upon Passion Sunday, Anno 1177 against Frederick the Emperor; or that of Paris, Anno 1226, summoned by Stephen then Bishop there, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, for the condemning of certain dangerous and erroneous positions at that time on foot. I have the rather instanced in these particulars, partly because they happened about these times, when Prince and Prelate were most intent in laying more and more restraints upon their people, for the more honor of this day; and partly because being all of them public actions, and such as moved not forwards but by divers wheels, they did require a greater number of people to attend them. And howsoever Councils, in themselves, be of an ecclesiastical nature; and that the crowning of a King in the Act itself, be mixed of sacred and of civil; yet in the train and great attendance that belongs unto them, the pomp, the triumphs, and concourse of so many people, they are merely secular. And secular although they were, yet we may well persuade ourselves, that neither Actor or Spectator thought themselves guilty, any wise, of offering any the least wrong to the Lord's day, though those solemnities, no question, might without any prejudice have been put off to another time. No more did those who did attend the Princes before remembered, in their magnificent entries into Rome, and Metz; or the other military entrance into Jerusalem, which were mere Secular Acts, and had not the least mixture, either of Ecclesiastical or sacred Nature.

(10) For Recreations in these times, there is no question to be made but all were lawful to be used on the Lord's day which were accounted lawful upon other days and had not been prohibited by authority: and we find none prohibited but dancing only. Not that all kind of dancing was by Law restrained; but either the abuse thereof, at times unseasonable, when men should have been present in the Church of God; or else immodest, shameless dancings, such as were those, against the which the Fathers did inveigh so sharply in the Primitive times. In reference to the first, Damascen tells us of some men who only wished for the Lord's day, ut ab opere feriatu vitiis operam dent, that being quitted from their labors, they might enjoy the better their sinful pleasures. "For look into the streets (saith he) upon other days, and there is no man to be found; Die Dominico egredere, atque alios cithara canentes, alios applaudentes, & saltantes, etc. But look abroad on the Lord's day, and you shall find some singing to the Harp, others applauding of the Music; some dancing, others jeering of their

Neighbors, alios denique luctantes reperies; and some also Wrestling. It followeth; *Praeco ad Ecclesiam vocat? omnes segnitie torpent, & moras nectunt; Cithara aut tuba personuit? omnes tanquam aliis instructi currunt.* Doth the Clerk call unto the Church? they have a feaver-lurdane, and they cannot stir: Doth the Harp or Trumpet call them to their Pastimes? they fly, as they had wings, to help them." They that can find in this a prohibition, either of Music, Dancing, public Sports, or man-like Exercises, such as Wrestling is, on the Lord's day, must certainly have better eyes than Lynceus, and more wit than Oedipus. Plainly they prove the contrary to what some allege them; and show most clearly that the Recreations then remembered were allowed of publicly; otherwise none durst use them, as we see they did in the open streets. Only the Father seems offended that they preferred their Pastimes before their Prayers; that they made little or no haste to Church, and ran upon the spur to their Recreations; that where God's public service was to be first considered in the Lord's day, and after, on spare times, men's private pleasures; these had quite changed the course of nature and loved the Lord's day more for pleasure than for devotion. This is the most that can be made from this place of Damascen; and this makes more for Dancing, and for Recreation, that it doth against them in case they be not used at unfitting hours. Much of this nature is the Canon produced by some to condemn Dancing on the Lord's day, as unlawful utterly: Which being looked into, condemns alone immodest and unseemly Dancings, such as no Canon could allow of upon any day, of what name soever. A Canon made by Pope Eugenius, in a Synod held at Rome, Anno 826, what time both Prince and Prelates did agree together to raise the Lord's day to as high a pitch as they fairly might. Now in this Synod there were made those Canons which concern this Day: the first, prohibitive of Business, and the works of Labor; the second, against Process, in Causes criminal; the third, *ne mulieres Festia diebus vanis ludis vacent*, that women do not give themselves on the holy days unto Wanton Sports: and is as followeth. *Sunt quidam, & maxime mulieres, qui Festis & sacris diebus,* etc. "Certain there are, but chiefly women, which on the holy days and Festivals of the blessed Martyrs, upon the which they ought to rest, have no great list to come to Church as they ought to do; *sed balando, & surpia verba decantando,* etc. but spend the time in Dancing, and in shameless Songs, leading and holding out their Dances as the Pagans used, and in that manner come to the Congregation. These, if they come unto the Church with few sins about them, return back with more; and therefore are to be admonished by the Parish Priest that they must only come to the Church to

say their Prayers; such as do otherwise destroying not themselves alone, but their Neighbors also. Now in this Canon, there are these three things to be considered: First, That these women used not to come unto the Church with that sobriety and gravity which was fitting, as they should have done, but Dancing, Singing, Sporting, as the Pagans used, when they repaired unto their Temples; Secondly, That these Dancings were accompanied with immodest Songs, and therefore as unfit for any day as they were for Sunday: and thirdly, That these kind of Dancings were not prohibited on the Lord's day only, but on all holy days. Such also was the Canon of the third Council of Toledo, Anno 589, which afterwards became a part of the Canon Law; though, by the over-sight of the Collector, it is there said to be the fourth: and this will make as little to the purpose as the other did. It is this that followeth: *Irreligiosa consuetudo est, quam vulgus per sanctorum Solennitates & Festivitates agere consuevit. Populi qui Divina Officia debent attendere, saltationibus turpibus invigilant, Cantica non solum mala canentes, sed et am-Religiosorum Officiis perstrepunt. Hoc enim ut ab omni Hispania [the Decrete reads ab omnibus Provinciis] depellatur, Sacerdotum ac Iudicum, a Sancto Concilio curae committitur.* "There is an irreligious Custom taken up by the common people, that on the Festivals of the Saints, those which should be attent on the Divine Service give themselves wholly to lascivious and shameless Dances; and do not only sing unseemly Songs, but disturb the Service of the Church. Which mischief, that it may be soon removed out of all the Country, the Council leaves it to the care of the Priests and Judges." Such Dances, and employed to so bad a purpose, there is none could tolerate; and yet this generally was upon the holy days, Saint's days I mean, as well as Sundays: Whereby we see the Church had no less care of one than of the other.

(11) And so indeed it had, not in this alone, but in all things else; the holy days, as we now distinguish them, being in most points equal to the Sunday, and in some superior. Leo the Emperor, by his Edict, had shut up the Theater, and the Cirque or Show-place, on the Lord's day. The like is willed expressly in the first general Council holden at Constantinople, Anno 692, for the whole Easter Week. *Nequaquam ergo his diebus, equorum cursus, vel aliquod publicum fiat spectaculum;* That neither Horse-Races in the Cirque, or any other public Shows, be performed therein. So the Canon hath it. The Emperor Charles restrained the Husbandman and the Tradesman from following their usual work on the Lord's day. The Council of Meaux, [Meldease in the Latin Writers] Anno 840, doth the same for the

said Easter Week, and in more particulars: it being ordered by that Synod that men forbear, during the time above remembered, ab omni opere Rurali, Fabrili, Carpentario, Gynaeeo, Coementario, Pictorio, Venatorio, Forensi, Mercatorio, Audientiale, ac Sacramentis exigendis; from Husbandry, the Craft of Smiths, and Carpenters, from Needle-work, Cementing, Painting, Hunting, Pleadings, Merchandize, Casting of Accounts, and from taking Oaths. For matters of another nature, Benedictines had but three Messe of Pottage upon other days: die vero Dominico, & in praecipuis Festivitatibus; but on the Lord's day, and the principal Festivals, a fourth was added; as saith Theodomare the Abbot, in an Epistle to Charles the Great. So also Law-Suits and courts of Judgment were to be laid aside and quite shut up on the Lord's day, as many Emperors and Councils had determined severally. The Council held at Friburg, Anno 895 did resolve the same of holy days, or Saint's days, and the time of Lent. Nullus omnino secularis diebus Dominicis, vel Sanctorum in festis, sen Quadragesimae, aut jejuniorum, placitum habere, sed nec populum illo praesumat coercere:

“Let not the Secular Judge presume to hold any Plea, or Law-day, either upon the Lord's day, or in the time of Lent, or any time of public fast; nor force the people on the same to be assembled, as the Canon goeth. The very same with that of the Council of Erford, Anno 932.cap.2. But what need private and particular Synods be produced as witnesses herein, when we have Emperors, Popes, and Patriarchs to affirm the same. To take them in the order in which they lived: Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anno 858, thus reckoneth up the Festivals of especial note, viz. “Seven days before Easter, and seven days after Christmas, Epiphany, *, the Feasts of the Apostles, and the Lord's day. And then he adds, *, that on those days, they neither suffer public Shows, nor Courts of Justice.” Emanuel Cominenus next, Emperor of Constantinople, Anno 1174. *, etc. “We do ordain, saith he, that these days following be exempt from labor, viz. the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Holy-Rood day (and so he reckoneth all the rest, in those parts observed), together with all the Sundays in the year; and that in them there be not any access to the Seats of Judgment. The like, Pope Gregory the ninth, Anno 1228, determineth in the Decretal; where numbering up the holy days, he concludes at last, That neither any Process hold, nor Sentence be in force, pronounced on any of those days, though both parts mutually should consent unto it. Consentientibus etiam partibus, nec Processus habitus teneat, nec Sententit quam contingit diebus

hujusmodi promulgari. So the Law resolves it. Now lest the Feast of Whitsontide might not have some respect, as well as Easter, it was determined in the Council held at Engelheim, Anno 948, That Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday in the Whitsun-Week, non minus quam dies Dominicus solenniter honorentur, should no less solemnly be observed, than the Lord's day was. So when that Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, had planted the Faith of Christ in Pomerania, and was to give account thereof to the Pope then being, he certifieth him by his Letters, Anno 1124, That having christened them, and built them Churches, he left them three injunctions for their Christian carriage. First, That they eat no flesh on Fridays; secondly, That they rest the Lord's day, ab omni opera malo, from every evil work, repairing to the Church for religious duties; and thirdly, Sanctorum solennitates cum vigiliis omni diligentia observent, that they keep carefully the Saint's days, with the Eves attendant. So that in all these outward matters we find fair equality; save that in one respect, the principal Festivals had preeminence above the Sunday. For, whereas Fishermen were permitted, by the Decretal of Pope Alexander the third, as before was said, Diebus Dominicis & aliis Festis, on the Lord's day and other holy days to fish for Herring in some cases; there was a special exception of the greater Festivals. Praeterquam in majoribus anni solennitatibus, as the order was. But not to deal in generals only; Isidore, Arch-bishop of Seville, in the beginning of the seventh Century, making a Catalogue of the principal Festivals, begins his List with Easter, and ends it with the Lord's day, as before we noted in the fifth Section of this Chapter. Now lest it should be thought that in sacred matters and points of substance, the other holy days were not as much regarded as the Lord's day was; the Council held at Mentz <Mainz>, Anno 813, did not appoint it thus: That if the Bishop were infirm, or not at home, Non desit tamen diebus Dominicis, & Festivitatibus, qui Verbum Dei praedicet, juxta quod populus intelligat; yet there should still be some to preach God's Word unto the people, according unto their capacities, both on the Lord's day and the other Festivals. Indeed, why should not both be observed alike; the Saint's days being dedicated unto God, as the Lord's day is; and standing both of them on the same authority: on the authority of the Church, for the particular institution; on the authority of God's Law, for the general Warrant. It was commanded by the Lord, and written in the heart of man by the Pen of Nature, that certain times should be appointed for God's public worship: the choosing of the times was left to the Church's power, and she designed the Saint's days as she did the Lord's; both his, and both allotted to his

service only. This made Saint Bernard ground them all, the Lord's day and the other holy days, on the fourth Commandment; the third in the Account of the Church of Rome. *Spirituale obsequium Deo praebetur in observantia Sanctarum Solennitatum, unde tertium Praeceptum contextitur: Observa diem Sabbati, i.e. in Sacris feriis te exerce.* "There is, saith he, a spiritual service due to God in the observation of the holy solemnities, from whence the third Commandment was given: Observe the Sabbath day, i.e. exercise thyself in the holy Festivals, as thou oughtest to do." So Saint Bernard in his third Sermon, *Super salve Regina.* (12 The Lord's day, and the holy days, or Saint's days, being of so near a kin; we must next see what care was taken by the Church, in these present Ages, for hallowing them unto the Lord. The times were certainly devout; and therefore the less question to be made but that the holy days were employed as they ought to be: in hearing the Word of God, receiving of the Sacraments, and pouring forth their prayers unto him. The sixth General Council, holden at Constantinople, appointed That those to whom the Cure of the Church was trusted, should on all days, *, especially on the Lord's day, instruct the Clergy and the people out of the holy Scriptures in the ways of godliness. I say the Clergy and the people; for in these times, the Revenue of the Church being great, and the Offerings liberal, there were, besides the Parish Priest, who had Cure of Souls, many assisting Ministers of inferior Orders which lived upon God's holy Altar. Somewhat to this purpose of preaching every Sunday, yea, and Saint's days too, in the Congregation, we have seen before established in the Council at Mentz, Anno 813. So for receiving of the Sacrament: whereas some would that it should be administered every day, *singulis in anno diebus*, as Bertram hath it, *lib. de corp. & sangu. Christi: Rabanus Maurus*, who lived 824, leaves it as a thing indifferent; advising all men notwithstanding, in case there be no lawful let, to communicate every Lord's day. *Quotidie Eucharistiae communionem percipere nec vitupero nec laudo, omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum hortor, si tamen mens in affectu peccandi non sit*, as his words there are. And whereas this good custom had been long neglected, it was appointed that the Sacrament should be administered every Lord's day, by the Council at Aken, Anno 836. *Ne forte quo longe est a Sacramentis quibus est redemptus, etc.* "Lest, saith the Council, they which keep so much distance from the Sacraments of their redemption, be kept as much at a distance from the fruition of their salvation." As for the holy days, or Saint's days, there needed no such Canon to enjoin on them the celebration of the Sacrament, which was annexed to them of course. So

likewise for the public Prayers, besides what scatteringly hath been said in former places, the Council held at Friburg, Anno 895 hath determined thus: *Diebus Dominicis & Sanctorum Festis, vigiliis & orationibus insistendum est, & ad missas cuilibet Christiano cum oblationibus currendum*; “That on the Lord’s day and the Festivals of the Saints, every Christian was to be intent upon his devotions, to watch and pray, and go to Mass, and there make his offering. It’s true, the Service of the Church being in the Latin; and in those times that Language being in some Provinces quite worn out; and in some others grown into a different Dialect from what it was; that part of God’s worship which was public Prayer served not so much to comfort and to edification, as it should have done. As for the outward adjuncts of God’s public service: on the Church’s part, the principal was that of Music which, in these Ages, grew to a perfect height. We showed before that vocal Music in the Church is no less ancient than the Liturgy of the Church itself: which, as it was begun in Ignatius’ time, after the manner of Plain-song, or a melodious kind of pronunciation, as before was said; so, in S. Austin’s time, it became so excellent, that it drew many to the Church; and consequently, many to the Faith. Now, to that vocal Music which was then in use, and of which formerly we spake; it pleased the Church, in the beginning of these Ages, to add Instrumental: the Organ being added to the Voice, by Pope Vitalian, Anno 653, almost 1000 years ago, and long before the aberration of the Church from its pristine piety. And certainly it was not done without good advice: there being nothing of that kind more powerful than Melody, both Vocal and Instrumental, for raising of men’s hearts and sweetening their affections towards God; Not any thing, wherein the Militant Church here on Earth, hath more resemblance to the Church in Heaven Triumphant, than in that sacred and harmonious way of singing praise and Allelujas to the Lord our God, which is, and hath of long been used in the Church of Christ.

(13) To bring this Chapter to an end: in all that hath been said, touching the keeping of the Lord’s day, we find not any thing like a Sabbath, either in the practice of the Church, or Writings of particular men; how-ever these last Ages grew to such an height, in restraint of labors on this day, that they might seem to have a mind to revive that part of the fourth Commandment, Thou shalt do no manner of work upon it. For where they tell us of this day, as before was said, that it was taken up by custom on the authority of the Church; at most, on Apostolical tradition; this makes it plain, that they intended no such matter as a Sabbath day; though, that the

Congregation might assemble in the greater numbers, and men might join together in all Christian duties with the greater force, it pleased the Church, and principal Powers thereof, to restrain men from corporal labors and bind them to repair to the House of God. Or, if they did intend the Lord's day for a Sabbath day; it's plain they must have made more Sabbaths than one day in seven; those holy days which universally were observed in the Christian Church being no otherwise to be kept, than the Lord's day was; and those increasing in these Ages to so great a number that they became a burden to the common people. Nor it is likely, that, being once free from the bondage of the Jewish Sabbath, they would submit themselves unto another of their own devising; and do therewith, as the Idolaters of old with their wooden gods, first make them, and then presently fall down and worship them. Rather, they took a course to restrain the Jews from sanctifying their Sabbath and other Legal Festivals as before they used. Statutum est de Iudaeis, in the 12th Council of Toledo, Anno 681. Ne Sabbata, caeterasque Festivitates ritus sui, celebrare praesumant: "It is determined of the Jews, that they presume no more to celebrate their Sabbath, and the other Festivals of their Religion. And not so only: Sed ut diebus Dominicis & ab opere cessent; But that they should refrain from labor on the Lord's day also. Of any Sabbath to be kept in the Christian Church, some few might dream perhaps, such filthy dreams as Saint Jude speaks of: but they did only dream thereof; they saw no such matter. They which had better Visions could perceive no Sabbath but, in this life, a Sabbath, or a rest from sin; and in the life to come, a Sabbath, or a rest from misery. Plainly, Rupertus so conceived it; as great a Clerk as any, in the times wherein he lived; which was in the beginning of the twelfth Century. Nam sicut signum Circumcisionis incarnationem, etc. "For, saith he, the sign of Circumcision fore-shewed the incarnation of our Lord and Savior; the offering of the Paschal Lamb, his death and passion: Sic sabbatismus ille requiem annunciabat, quae post hanc vitam posita est sanctis & electis: So did the Sabbath signify that eternal rest, which after this life is provided for the Saints and elect of God. And more than this: Spiritualis homo non uno die Hebdomadis, sed omni tempore Sabbatizare satagit; The true spiritual man keeps not his Sabbath once a week, but at all times what ever, every hour and minute. What then? Would he have no day set apart for God's public service? no: but not the Sabbath. Because (saith he) we are not to rejoice in this World that perisheth, but in the sure and certain hope of the Resurrection; therefore we ought not to rest the seventh day, in sloth and idleness: but we dispose ourselves to Prayers, and

hearing of the Word of God upon the first day of the Week, on the which Christ rose: *Cum summa cura providentes, ut tam illo quam caeteris diebus feriatu semper simus a servili opere peccati.* Provided always, that upon that, and all days else, we keep ourselves free from the servile acts of sin." This was the Sabbath which they principally looked for in this present life; never applying that name to the Lord's day in any of those Monuments of Learning they have left behind them. The first who ever used it to denote the Lord's day (the first that I have met with in all this search), is one Petrus Alfonsus (he lived about the times that Rupertus did:), who calls the Lord's day by the name of the Christian Sabbath. *Dies Dominica, dies viz. Resurrectionis, quae suae salvationis causa extitit, Christianorum Sabbatum est.* But this no otherwise to be construed than by Analogy and resemblance; no otherwise than the Feast of Easter is called the Christian Passover; and Whitsontide, the Christian Pentecost. As for the Saturday, the old Sabbath day, though it continued not a Sabbath, yet it was still held in an high esteem in the Eastern Churches: counted a Festival day, or at least no Fast, and honored with the meetings of the Congregation. In reference to the first, we find how it was charged on the Church of Rome, by the sixth Council of Constantinople, Anno 692, That in the holy time of Lent, *, they used to fast the Saturday: which was directly contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, as they there allege. This also was objected by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, against Pope Nicholas of Rome, Anno 867 and after that, by Michael of Constantinople, against Leo the ninth, Anno 1053. Which plainly shows that in the Eastern Churches they observed it otherwise. And in relation to the other, we find that whereas in the principal Church of Constantinople the holy Sacrament was celebrated only on the greater Feasts, as also on the Saturdays and the Sundays, [Sabbatis & Dominicis] and not on other days, as at Rome it was: Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, Anno 1054, enriched it with Revenue, and bestowed much fair Place upon it; that so they might be able every day to perform that Office. Which proves sufficiently that Saturday was always one, in all public duties, and that it kept even pace with Sunday. But it was otherwise of old in the Church of Rome, where they did laborare & jejunaere, as Humbertus saith in his defense of Leo the ninth against Nicetas. And this with little opposition or interruption, save that which had been made in the City of Rome in the beginning of the seventh Century, and was soon crushed by Gregory then Bishop there, as before we noted. And howsoever Urban, of that name the second, did consecrate it to the Weekly Service of the Blessed Virgin, and instituted in the Council

held at Clermont, Anno 1095, that our Lady's Office [Officium B. Mariae] should be said upon it; Eandemque Sabbato quoque die, praecipua devotione, populum Christianum colere debere; and that upon that day all Christian folk should worship her with their best devotions; yet it continued still, as before it was, a day of Fasting and of Working. So that in all this time, in 1200 years, we have found no Sabbath; nor do we think to meet with any in the times that follow, either amongst the School-men, or amongst the Protestants, which next shall come upon the Stage.

CHAPTER 6

WHAT IS THE JUDGEMENT OF THE SCHOOL-MEN AND OF THE PROTESTANTS; AND WHAT THE PRACTICE OF THOSE CHURCHES, IN THIS LORDS DAY BUSINESSE.

(1) That in the judgement of the Schoole-men, the keeping of one day in seven, is not the moral part of the fourth Commandement. (2) As also that the Lords day is not founded on Divine Authoritie, but the Authoritie of the Church. (3) A Catalogue of the holy days drawne up, in the Councill of Lyons : and the new doctrine of the Schooles, touching the naturall sanctitie of the holy dayes. (4) In what estate the Lords day stood, in matter of restraint from labor, at the Reformation. (5) The Reformatours finde great fault, both with the said new doctrine, and restraints from labor on the Lords day. (6) That in the judgement of the Protestant Divines, the sanctifying of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandement. (7) As also that the Lords day hath no other ground on which to stand, than the Authority of the Church. (8) And that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other. (9) What is the practice of the Roman, Lutheran, and chiefly the Calvinian Churches on the Lords day, in matter of devotion, rest from labor, and sufference of lawfull pleasures. (10) Dancing cryed downe by Calvin, and the French Churches; not in relation to the Lords day, but the sport it selfe. (11) In What estate the Lords day stands in the Easterne Churches : And that, the Saturday is observed by the Ethiopians, as the Lords day is.

(1) WE are now come unto an Age wherein the Learning of the World began to make a different show from what it did: to such a period of time in which was made the greatest alteration in the whole fabric of the Church that ever any time could speak of. The School-men, who sprung up in the beginning of the thirteenth Age, contracted Learning, which before was diffused and scattered, into fine subtleties and distinctions; The Protestants, in the beginning of the sixteenth, endeavoring to destroy those Buildings which with such diligence and curiosity had been erected by the School-men; though they consented well enough in the present business, so far as

it concerned the institution either of the Lord's day or the Sabbath. Of these, and what they taught and did, in reference to the point in hand, we are now to speak; taking along with us such other things of special note as happened in the Christian World, by which we may learn any thing that concerns our business. And first, beginning with the School-men; they tell us generally, of the Sabbath, that it was a Ceremony; and that the fourth Commandment is of a different nature from the other nine: That whereas all the other Precepts of the Decalogue are simply Moral, the fourth, which is the third in their account, is partly Moral, partly Ceremonial. *Morale quidem quantum ad hoc, quod homo deputet aliquod tempus vitae suae, ad vacandum divinis, etc.* "Moral it is, in this regard, that men must set apart some particular time for God's public service, it being natural to man to destinate particular times to particular actions: as for his Dinner, for his Sleep, and such other actions. *Sed in quantum in hoc Praecepto determinatur speciale tempus in signum Creationis Mundi, sic est Praeceptum Ceremoniale.* But in as much as that there is a day appointed in the Law itself, in token of God's Rest, and the World's Creation; in that respect the Law is Ceremonial." And Ceremonial too they make it, in reference to the Allegory, our Savior's resting in the Grave that day; and in relation to the Analogical meaning of it, as it prefigureth our eternal Rest in the Heaven of Glories. Finally, they conclude of the fourth Commandment that it is placed in the Decalogue, in quantum est Praeceptum Morale, non in quantum est Ceremoniale; only so far forth as it is Moral, and not as Ceremonial: that is, that we are bound by the fourth Commandment to destinate some time to God's public service, which is simply Moral; but not the seventh day, which is plainly Ceremonial. Aquinas so resolves it for all the rest: his judgment in this point (if Doctor Prideaux' note be true, as I have no reason but to think so), being universally embraced, and followed by all the School-men, of what Sect soever. So that in him we have them all; all of them consonant in this point, to make up the harmony, however dissonant enough in many others. But yet, that this consent may appear the more full and perfect, we will take notice of two others, men famous in the Schools and eminent for the times in which they lived. First, Bonaventure, who lived in the same time with Aquinas, and died the same year with him, which was 1274, hath determined thus: *Intelligendum est quod Praeceptum illud habet aliquid, quod est mere morale, etc.* "It is to be conceived, saith he, that in the fourth Commandment there is something which is simply Moral, something again that is plainly ceremonial, and something mixed. The sanctifying of a day is Moral; the sanctifying of a seventh day,

ceremonial: rest from the works of labor being mixed of both.” Quod praecipit Deus sanctificationem, est Praeceptum morale! Est & in hoc praecepto aliquid ceremoniale, ut figuratio diei septimae. Item continetur aliquid quod est partim morale, partim ceremoniale, ut cessatio ab operibus. Lastly, Tostatus, Bishop of Avila in Spain, hath resolved the same: Aliquid est in eo juris naturalis, aliquid legalis: that in the fourth Commandment there is something natural and something legal; that it is partly moral and partly ceremonial. Naturale est quod dum Deum colimus, ab aliis absteineamus, etc. “Moral & natural it is that for the time we worship God, to abstain from every thing of what kind soever which may divert our thoughts from that holy action.” But that we should design, in every week, one day unto that employment; and that the whole day be thereto appointed; and that in all that day a man shall do no manner of work: those things he reckoneth there to be ceremonial.

(2) So for the Lord’s day, it is thus determined by Aquinas that it depends on the authority of the Church, the custom and consent of God’s faithful servants, and not on any obligation laid upon us by the fourth Commandment. *Dies Dominicae observantiae in nova lege, succedit observantiae Sabbati, non ex vi praecepti legis, sed ex constitutione Ecclesiae & consuetudine populi Christiani.* What followeth thereupon? Et ideo non est ita arcta prohibitio operandi, in die Dominica, sicut in die Sabbati. “Therefore, saith he, the prohibition of doing no work on the Lord’s day is not so rigorous and severe, as upon the Sabbath: many things being licensed on the one which were forbidden on the other; as dressing meat and others of that kind and nature.” And not so only, but he gives us a dispensatur facilius in nova lege, an easier hope of dispensation under the Gospel in case upon necessity we meddle with prohibited labors, than possibly could have been gotten under the Law. The like Tostatus tells us, though in different words; save that he doth extend the prohibition as well to all the feasts of the Old Testament as all the holy days of the new; and neither to the Sabbath nor the Lords day only. *In veteri lege major fuit strictio in observatione festorum, quam in nova lege.* How so? *In omnibus enim festivitatibus nostris quantacunque sint, etc.* “Because, saith he, in all our Festivals how great soever, whether they be the Lord’s days, or the Feasts of Easter, or any of the higher rank, it is permitted to dress meat, and to kindle fire, etc. “As for the grounds whereon they stood, he makes this difference between them: that the Jews’ Sabbath had its warrant from divine Commandment; but that the Lord’s day, though it came in the place

thereof, is founded only on ecclesiastical constitution. *Colebatur Sabbatum ex mandato Dei, cujus loco successit dies Dominica, & tamen manifestum est, quod observatio diei dominicae, non est de jure divino, sed de jure humano Canonico.* “The Sabbath was observed, saith he, by the Lord’s Commandment, unto the place whereof the Lord’s day succeeded; yet notwithstanding it is manifest that the observing of the Lord’s day is not instituted by the Law of God, but the Canon Law, or constitution of the Church.” This is plain enough, and this he proves, because the Church hath still a power *mutare illum diem, vel totaliter tollere*, either to change the day, or take it utterly away, and to dispense touching the keeping of the same; which possibly it neither could, nor ought to do, were the Lord’s day of any other institution than the Church’s only. They only have the power to repeal a Law, which had power to make it. *Qui habet institutionem, habet destitutionem*, as is the Bishop’s plea in a *Quare Impedit*. As for the first of these two powers, that by the Church the day may be transferred, and abrogated, Suarez hath thus distinguished in it: *verum id esse absolute, non practice*: that is, as I conceive his meaning, that such a power is absolutely in the Church; though not convenient now to be put in practice. According to that of S. Paul, which probably was the ground of the distinction, *All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient*. This is the general tendency of the Roman Schools, that which is publicly avowed and made good amongst them. And howsoever Petrus de Anchorana, and Nicholas Abbot of Palermo, two learned Canonists; as also Angelus de Clavasio, and Silvester de Prierate, two as learned Casuists; seem to defend the institution of the Lord’s day to have its ground and warrant on divine authority; yet did the general current of the Schools, and of the Canonists also, run the other way. And in that current still it holds, the Jesuits and most learned men in the Church of Rome following the general and received opinion of the Schoolmen; whereof see Bellarm. *de cultu Sancti*.l.3.c.II; Estius in *3.Sent.dist.37.Sect 13*; but specially Azorius, in his *Institut. Moral. part.2.cap.2*; who gives us an whole Catalogue of them which hold the Lord’s day to be founded only on the authority of the Church. Touching the other power, the power of dispensation, there is not any thing more certain than that the Church both may and doth dispense with such as have therein offended against her Canons. The Canons in themselves do profess as much, there being many *casus reservati*, as before we said; expressed particularly in those Laws and Constitutions which have been made about the keeping of this Day and the other Festivals; wherein a dispensation lyeth if we disobey them. Many of these we specified in the

former Ages; and some occur in these whereof now we write. It pleased Pope Gregory the ninth, Anno 1228 to inhibit all contentious suits on the Lord's day and the other Festivals; and to inhibit them so far, that judgment given on any of them should be counted void, etiam consentientibus partibus, although both parties were consenting. Yet was it with this clause, or reservation; nisi vel necessitas urgeat, vel pietas suadeat; unless necessity enforced, or piety persuaded that it should be done. So in a Synod holden on Valladolit [apus vallem Oleti] in the parts of Spain, Anno 1322 a general restraint was ratified that had been formerly in force: quod nullus in diebus Dominicis & Festivis, agros colere audeat, aut manualia artificia exercere praesumat, "that none should henceforth follow Husbandry, or exercise himself in Mechanic Trades upon the Lord's day or the other holy days." Yet was it with the same Proviso, nisi urgente necessitate, vel evidentis pietatis causa, unless upon necessity, or apparent piety or charity; in each of which, he might have license from the Priest, his own Parish-Priest, to attend his business. Where still observe, that the restraint was no less peremptory on the other holy days than on the Lord's day.

(3) These holy days, as they were named particularly in Pope Gregory's Decretal; so was a perfect list made of them in the Synod of Lyons, Anno 1244, which being celebrated with a great concourse of people from all parts of Christendom, the Canons and Decrees thereof began forthwith to find a general admittance. The holy days allowed of there were these that follow, viz. the feast of Christ's Nativity, Saint Stephen, S. John the Evangelist, the Innocents, S. Silvester, the Circumcision of our L O R D, the Epiphany, Easter together with the week precedent and the week succeeding, the three days in Rogation week, the day of Christ's Ascension, Whitsunday with the two days afer, S. John the Baptist, the Feasts of all the twelve Apostles, all the Festivites of our Lady, S. Lawrence, all the Lord's days in the year, S. Michael the Archangel, All Saints, S. Martin's, the Wakes or Dedication of particular Churches, together with the Feasts of such topical or local Saints which some particular people had been pleased to honor with a day particular amongst themselves. On these and every one of them, the people were restrained, as before was said, from many several kinds of work, on pain of Ecclesiastical Censures to be laid on them which did offend unless, on some emergent causes either of charity or necessity, they were dispensed with for so doing. In other of the Festivals which had not yet attained to so great an height

the Council thought not fit, perhaps by reason of their numbers, that men should be restrained from labor; as neither that they should be encouraged to it, but left them to themselves to bestow those times as might stand best with their affairs and the Common-wealth. For so the Synod did determine, *Reliquis festivitibus quae per annum sunt, non esse plebem cogendam ad feriandum, sed nec prohibendam.* And in this state things stood a long time together, there being none that proffered opposition, in reference to these restraints from labor on the greater Festivals; though some there were that thought the Festivals too many on which those burden of restraints had unadvisedly been imposed on the common people. Nicholas de Clemangis complained much, as [of] some other abuses in the Church, so of the multitude of holy days which had of late times been brought into it. And Pet. de Aliaco Cardinal of Cambray, in a discourse by him exhibited to the Council of Constance, made public suit unto the Fathers there assembled that there might be a stop in that kind hereafter; as also that excepting Sundays and the greater Festivals, *Liceret operari post auditum officiam*, it might be lawful for the people, after the end of Divine Service, to attend their businesses; the poor especially, as having little time enough on the working days, *Ad vitae necessaria procuranda*, to get their livings. But these were only the expressions of well-wishing men. The Popes were otherwise resolved, and did not only keep the holy days which they found established, in the same state in which they found them; but added others daily, as they saw occasion. At last it came unto that pass, by reason of that rigorous and exact kind of rest which by the Canon Law had been fastened on them, that both the Lord's day and the other Festivals were accounted holy, not in relation to the use made of them, or to the holy actions done on them in the honor of God; but in and of themselves considered, they were avowed to be *vere aliis sanctiores*, truly and properly invested with a greater sanctity than the other days. Yet so far did they go at last, that it is publicly maintained in the Schools of Rome, *Non sublatam esse, sed mutatam tantum [in novo Testamento] significationem & discretionem dierum*; that the difference of days and times, and the mysterious significations of the same which had before been used in the Jewish Church, was not abolished but only changed in the Church of Christ. Aquinas did first lead this Dance, in fitting every legal Festival with some that were observed in the Christian Church; laying this ground, that ours succeeded in the place of theirs. *Sabbatum mutatur in diem Dominicum; similiter aliis solennitatibus veteris legis novae solennitates succedunt*: "The Sabbath was translated into the Lord's day, accordingly to other the

solemnities of the old Law, there succeeded new;” as his words there are. Upon which ground of his were raised the doctrines now remembered, no question; and howsoever other men might think all days alike in themselves considered, yet those of Rome will have some holier than the rest even by a natural and inherent holiness.

(4) And in this state things stood, both for the Doctrine and the practice, until such time as men began to look into the errors and abuses in the Church of Rome with a more serious eye than before they did, the Canonists being no less nice in the point of practice than were the Schoolmen, and the rest exorbitant in point of Doctrine. Whose niceties, especially in matter of restraint, we have most fully represented to us by Tostatus: one that had run through all the parts of Learning at that time on foot, and was as well studied in the Canon as in the Schools. He then determineth of it thus: *Itinerando pro negotiis peccatum esse mortale, etc.* He that doth travail on the holy days (for in that general name the Lord’s day, and other Festivals, are comprehended) about worldly business, commits mortal sin; as also if he Trade or Traffic in the place wherein he liveth. But this hath two exceptions, or reservations: First, if the business by him done be but small and light, *Quae quietem Sabbati non impediunt*, such as are no great hindrance to the Sabbath’s rest, and secondly, *Nisi hoc sit in causa pia*, unless it were on some devout and pious purpose. To read unto, or teach a man; to deal in actions of the Law, or determine suits, or to cast accounts, *Si quis doceret ut lucretur*, if it be done for hire, or for present gain, become servile works and are forbidden; otherwise <not forbidden> if one do it gratis. If a Musician wait upon a Gentleman, to recreate his mind with Music, and that they are agreed on a certain wages, or that he be hired only for a present turn, he sins, in case he play or sing unto him on the holy days: but not if his reward be doubtful, and depends only upon the bounty of the parties who enjoy his Music. A Cook which on the holy days is hired to make a feast, or to dress a dinner, doth commit mortal sin, *sed non pro toto mense aut anno*, but not if he be hired by the month or by the year. Meat may be dressed upon the Lord’s day or the other holy days; but to wash dishes on those days was esteemed unlawful, *Et differri in diem alteram*, and was so to be deferred till another day. Lawyers, that do their Client’s business for their wonted fee, were not to draw their Bills, or frame their answers, or peruse their Evidences on the holy days; *Secus si causam agerent pro miserabilibus personis, etc.* But it was otherwise if they dealt for poor indigent people, such as did sue in

forma Pauperis, as we call it: or in the causes of a Church, or Hospital, in which the Popes had pleased to grant a dispensation. A man that traveled on the holy days to any special shrine or Saint, did commit no sin, Si autem in redeundo, peccatum est mortale; but if he did the like in his coming back, he then sinned mortally. In any place where formerly it had been the custom neither to draw water nor to sweep the house, but to have those things ready on the day before; the custom was to be observed: where no such custom is, there they may be done. Actions of long continuance, if they were delightful, as if one played three or four hours together on a Musical Instrument, were not unlawful on the holy days; yet possibly they might be sinful, Ut si quis hoc ageret ex lascivia, as if one played only out of wantonness, or otherwise were so intent upon his Music that he went not to Mass. Artificers which work on the holy days for their own profit only are in mortal sin, unless the work be very small. Quia modicum non facit solennitatem dissolui, because a little thing dishonors not the Festival: De minimis non curat lex, as our saying is. Contrary, Butchers, Vintners, Bakers, Costermongers, sinned not in selling their commodities, because more profit doth redound to the Common-wealth, which cannot be without such commodities, than to them that sell; yet this extended not to Drapers, Shoemakers, or the like, because there is not such a present necessity for new clothes, as meat. Yet where the custom was that Butchers did not sell on the holy days, but specially not upon the Lord's day: that commendable custom was to be observed; though in those places also, it was permitted to the Butcher that on those days, at some convenient times thereof, he might make ready what was to be sold on the morrow after, as kill and skin his bestial which were fit for sale; in case he could not do it with so much convenience [non ita congrue] at another time. To write out or transcribe a Book, though for a man's own private use, was esteemed unlawful, except it were exceeding small, because this put no difference between the holy days and the other; yet was it not unlawful neither, in case the Argument were spiritual, nor for a Preacher to write out his Sermons, or for a Student to provide his Lecture for the day following. Windmills were suffered to be used on the holy dyas, not Watermills: because the first required less labor and attendance than the other did. This is the reason in Tostatus, though I can see no reason in it; the passage of the water being once let run, being of more certainty and continuance than the changeable blowing of the wind. But to proceed, Ferry-men were not to transport such men in their Boats or Wherries, as did begin their journey on an holy day, unless they went to Mass or on such occasions; but such as had begun their

journey, and now were in pursuit thereof, might be ferried over, Quia forte carebunt victu, because they may perhaps want victuals if they do not pass. To repair Churches on the Lord's day and other holy days, was accounted lawful, in case the Workmen did it gratis and that the Church were poor, not able to hire Workmen on the other days; not if the Church were rich and in case to do it. So also to build Bridges, repair the Walls of Towns and Cities, or other public edifices, on those days, was not held unlawful, Si instent hostes, in case the enemy be at hand; though otherwise not to be done, where no danger was. These are the special points observed and published by Tostatus. And these I have the rather exactly noted, partly that we may see in what estate the Lord's day and the other holy days were in the Church of Rome, what time the reformation of Religion was first set on foot; but principally to let others see how near they come in their new fancies and devices, unto the niceties of those men whom they most abhor.

(5) Thus stood it, as before I said, both for the Doctrine and the practice, till men began to look into the errors and abuses in the Roman Church with a more serious eye than before they did; and at first sight they found what little pleased them in this particular. Their doctrine pleased them not, in making one day holier than another; not only in relation to the use made of them, but to a natural and inherent holiness, wherewith they thought they were invested. Nor did their practice please much more, in that they had imposed so many burdens of restraint upon the consciences of God's people, and thereby made that day a punishment, which was intended for the ease of the laboring man. Against the doctrine of these men and the whole practice of that Church, Calvin declares himself in his Book of Institutions; And therewith taxeth those of Rome, Qui Iudaica opinione populum superioribus seculis imbuerunt, "who in the times before possessed the people's minds with so much Judaism that they had changed the day indeed, as in dishonor of the Jew, but otherwise retained the former sanctity thereof; which needs must be, saith he, if there remain with us (as the Papists taught) the same opinion of the mysteries and various significations of days and times, which the Jews once had. And certainly, saith he, we see what dangerous effects have followed on so false a doctrine, those which adhere to their instructions having exceedingly out-gone the Jews, Crassa carnalique Sabbatismi superstitione, in their gross and carnal superstitions about the Sabbath." Beza his Scholar and Acates, sings the self-same Song, that howsoever the assemblies of the Lord's day were of Apostolical and divine tradition, Sic tamen ut Iudaica cessatio ab

omni opere non observaretur, quoniam hoc plane fuisset judaismum non abolere, sed tantum, quod ad diem attinet, immutare; “yet so that there was no cessation from work required, as was observed among the Jews. For that, saith he, had not so much abolished Judaism, as put it off and changed it to another day. And then he adds that thus cessation was first brought in by Constantine, and afterwards confirmed with more and more restraints by the following Emperors; by means of which it came to pass that that which first was done for a good intent, viz. that men being free from their worldly business, might wholly give themselves to hearing of the Word of God, In merum Judaismum, degenerarit, degenerated at the last into downright Judaism.” So for the Lutheran Churches Chemnitius challengeth the Romanists of superstition, Quasi Dominicae diei & reliquis diebus festis, per se, peculiaris quaedam insit sanctitas, because they taught the people that the holy days, considered only in themselves had a native Sanctity. And however for his part he thinks it requisite that men should be restrained from all such works as may be any hindrance unto the sanctifying of the Day, yet he accounts it but a part of the Jewish leaven; Nimis scrupolose diebus festis prohibere operas externas, quae vel quando, non impediunt publicum ministerium; “so scrupulously to prohibit such external Actions which are at all no hindrance to God’s public service.” Bucer goes further yet, and doth not only call it a superstition but an apostasy from CHRIST, to think that working on the Lord’s day, in itself considered, is a sinful thing. Si existimetur operari in eo die, per se, esse peccatum, superstitio, & gratiae Christi, qui ab elementis mundi nos suo sanguine liberavit, negatio est; as his own words are. Then adds, “that he did very well approve of the Lord’s day meetings, Si examitur e cordibus hominum opinio necessitatis, if men were once dispossessed of these opinions that the day was necessary to be kept; that it was holier in itself than the other days; and that to work upon that day was in itself sinful.” Lastly, the Churches of the Switzers possess in their Confession that in the keeping of the Lord’s day, they give not the least hint to any Jewish superstitions. Neque enim alteram diem altera sanctiorem esse credimus, nec otium Deo, per se, probari existimamus. “For neither (as they said) do we conceive one day to be more holy than another; or think that rest from labor, in itself considered, is any way pleasing unto GOD.” By which we plainly may perceive what is the judgment of Protestant Churches in the present point.

(6) Indeed it is not to be thought that they could otherwise resolve and determine of it, considering what their doctrine is of the day itself; how different they make it from a Sabbath day: which doctrine that we may perceive with the greater ease, we will consider it in three propositions, in which most agree:

1. That the keeping holy one day of seven, is not the Moral part of the fourth Commandment, or to be reckoned as a part of the Law of Nature;
2. That the Lord's day is not founded on Divine Commandment, but only on the authority of the Church; and
3. That the Church hath still authority to change the day, and to transfer it to some other.

First for the first, it seems that some of Rome, considering the restraints before remembered and the new doctrine thence arising, about the natural and inherent holiness which one day had above another, had altered what was formerly delivered amongst the Schoolmen; and made the keeping of one day in seven to be the Moral part of the fourth Commandment. This Calvin chargeth them withal, whatsoever was ceremonial in the fourth Commandment, which was the keeping of the Jews' seventh day, had been long since abrogated: *Remanere vero quod morale est, nempe unius diei observationem in hebdomade*, "but that the moral part thereof, which was the keeping of one day in seven, did continue still. With what else is it, as before we said, than in dishonor of the Jews, to change the day, and to affix as great a sanctity thereunto as the Jews ever did." As for his own part he professeth that howsoever he approved of the Lord's day meetings, *Non tamen numerum septenarium ita se morari, ut ejus servituti ecclesias astringeret*; yet stood not he so much for the number of seven as to confine the Church unto it." If Calvin else- where be of another mind, and speak of keeping holy one day in seven as a matter necessary (which some say he doth); either they must accuse him of much inconstancy and forgetfulness, or else interpret him, with Ryvet, as speaking of an ecclesiastical custom not to be neglected, *non de necessitate legis divinae*, and not of any obligation laid upon us by the Law of God. Neither is he the only one that hath so determined. Simler hath said it more expressly: *Quod dies una cultui divino consecratur, ex lege naturae est; quod autem haec sit septima, non actava, nona, aut decima, juris est divini, sed ceremonialis*: "That one day should be set apart for God's public worship is the Law of nature; but

that this day should be the seventh, and not the eighth, ninth, or tenth, was of divine appointment; but as ceremonial. Aretius also in his *Common Places*, distinguished between “the substance of the Sabbath, and the time thereof; the substance of it, which was rest and the works of piety, being in all times to continue; *tempus autem, ut septimo die observetur, hoc non fuit necessarium in ecclesia Christi*; but for the time, to keep it on the seventh day always, that was not necessary in the Church of Christ.” So also Francisc. Gomarus, that great undertaker against Arminius, in a Book written purposely, *De origine & institutione Sabbati*, affirms for certain that it can neither be made good by the Law of Nature, or Text of Scripture, or any solid argument drawn from thence, *Unum e septem diebus ex vi praecepti quarti ad cultum Dei necessario observandum*, that by the fourth Commandment, one day in seven is of necessity to be dedicated to God’s service. And Ryvet, as profess an enemy of the Remonstrants, though for the antiquity of the Sabbath he differeth from the said Gomarus; yet he agreeth with him in this: not only making the observance of one day in seven to be merely positive, as in our first part we observed; but lays it down for the received opinion of most of the Reformed Divines, *Unum ex septem diebus, non esse necessario eligendum, ex vi praecepti, ad sacros conventus celebrandos*; the very same with what Gomarus affirmed before. So lastly for the Lutheran Churches, Chemnitius makes it part of our Christian liberty, *quod nec sint alligati nec debeant alligari ad certorum, vel dierum vel temporum observationes, opinione necessitatis, in Novo Testamento, etc.* “That men are neither bound, nor ought to be, unto the observation of any days, or times, as matters necessary, under the Gospel of our Savior: though otherwise he account it for a barbarous folly not to observe that day with all due solemnity, which hath for so long time been kept by the Church of God.” Therefore in his opinion also, the keeping of one day in seven is neither any moral part of the fourth Commandment, or parcel of the Law of Nature. As for the subtle shift of Amesius’ finding, that keeping holy of one day in seven is positive indeed; *Sed immutabilis plane institutionis*, but such a positive Law as it is absolutely immutable; and doth as much oblige, as those which in themselves are plainly natural and moral: it may then serve, when there is nothing else to help us. For that a positive law should be immutable in itself; and in its own nature, be as universally binding, as the moral law; is such a piece of learning, and of contradiction, as never was put up to show in these latter times. But he had learnt his lirry <lyric?> in

England, here; and durst not broach it but by halves, amongst the Hollanders.

(7) For the next Thesis, that the Lord's day is not founded on divine Commandment, but the authority of the Church: it is a point so universally resolved on, as no one thing more. And first we will begin with Calvin, who tells us how it was not without good reason that those of old appointed the Lord's day, as we call it, to supply the place of the Jewish Sabbath. *Non sine delectu, Dominicum, quem vocamus diem, veteres in locum Sabbati subrogarunt, as his words there are.* Where none, I hope, will think that he would give our Savior Christ, or his Apostles such a short come off, as to include them in the name of Veteres only: which makes it plain, that he conceived it not to be their appointment. Bucer resolves the point more clearly, *Communi Christianorum consensu Dominicum diem publicis Ecclesiae conventibus ac requieti publicae, dictatum esse, ipso statim Apostolorum tempore: viz. "That in the Apostles' times, the Lord's day by common consent of Christian people was dedicated unto public rest and the assemblies of the Church. And Peter Martyr, upon a question asked, why the old seventh day was not kept in the Christian Church; makes answer, That upon that day, and on all the rest, we ought to rest from our own works, the works of sin. Sed quod is magis quam ille, eligatur ad externum Dei cultum, liberum fuit Ecclesiae per Christum, ut id consuleret quod ex re magis judicaret: nec illa pessime judicavit, etc. "That this was rather chose than that for God's public service, that, saith he, Christ left totally unto the liberty of the Church, to do therein what should seem most expedient; and that the Church did very well in that she did prefer the memory of the resurrection before the memory of the creation. These two I have the rather thus joined together, as being sent for into England in King Edward's time, and placed by the Protector in our Universities, the better to establish reformation at that time begun; and doubt we not, but that they taught the self-same Doctrine (if at the least they touched at all upon that point) with that now extant in their writings. At the same time with them lived Bullinger, and Gualter, two great learned men. Of these, the first informs us, *Hunc diem, loco Sabbati, in memoriam resurgentis Domini delegisse sibi Ecclesias, that "in memorial of our Savior's Resurrection, the Churches set apart this day, in the Sabbath's stead, whereon to hold their solemn and religious meetings."* And after, *Sponte receperunt Ecclesiae illam diem, non legimus eam ullibi praeceptam, "that of their own accord, and by their own authority, the**

Church made choice thereof for the use aforesaid; it being no where to be found that it was commanded." Gualter more generally, that the Christians first assembled on the Sabbath day, as being then most famous and so most in use; but when the Churches were augmented, Proximus a Sabbato dies, rebus sacris destinatus, the next day after the Sabbath was designed to those holy uses. If not before, then certainly not so commanded by our Savior Christ; and if designed only, then not enjoined by the Apostles. Yet Beza though herein he differ from his Master, Calvin, and makes the Lord's day meetings, Apostolica & verae divinae traditionis, to be indeed of Apostolical and divine tradition; yet being a tradition only, although Apostolical, it is no commandment. And more than that, he tells us in another place that from Saint Paul's preaching at Troas, and from the Text, 1 Corinthians 16.2; Non inepte colligi, it may be gathered not unfitly, that then the Christians were accustomed to meet that day, the ceremony of the Jewish Sabbath beginning by degrees to vanish. But sure the custom of the people makes no divine traditions; and such conclusions, as not unfitly may be gathered from the Text, are not Text itself. Others there be who attribute the changing of the day to the Apostles; not to their Precept, but their practice. So Mercer, Apostoli in Dominicum converterunt, the Apostles changed the Sabbath to the Lord's day. Paraeus attributes the same, Apostolicae Ecclesiae, unto the Apostolical Church, or Church in the Apostles' time: Quomodo autem facta sit haec mutatio in Sacris Literis expressum non habemus; "but how, by what authority such a change was made, is not delivered (as he confesseth) in the Scripture. And John Cuchlinus, though he call it consuetudinem Apostolicam, an Apostolical custom; yet he is peremptory, that the Apostles gave no such Commandment: Apostolos Praeceptum reliquisse, constanter negamus. So Simler calls it only consuetudinem tempore Apostolorum receptant, a custom taken up in the Apostles' time. And so Hospinian: "Although, saith he, it be apparent that the Lord's day was celebrated in the place of the Jewish Sabbath, even in those times of the Apostles; Non invenitur tamen vel Apostolos, vel alios, Lege aliqua & Praecepto, observationem ejus instituisse; yet find we not that either they, or any other, did institute the keeping of the same by any Law or Precept, but left it free." Thus Zanchius: Nullibi legimus Apostolos, etc. "We do not read, saith he, that the Apostles commanded any to observe this day; we only read, what they and others did upon it, Liberum ergo reliquerunt: which is an argument that they left it to the Church's power." To those, add Ursin in his exposition on the fourth Commandment: Liberum Ecclesiae reliquit alios dies eligere,

that it was left unto the Church to make choice of any day, and that the Church made choice of this, in honor of our Savior's Resurrection. And so Aretius in his *Common Places: Christiani in Dominicum transtulerunt*; that by the Christian people, the Sabbath was translated to the Lord's day. Gomarus, and Rybet, in the Tracts before remembered, have determined further, viz. That in the choosing of this day, the Church did exercise as well her Wisdom, as her Freedom: her Freedom, being not obliged unto any day by the Law of God: her Wisdom, *Ne majori mutatione Judaeos offenderet*; that by so small an alteration, she might the less offend the Jews, who were then considerable. As for the Lutheran Divines, it is affirmed by Doctor Bound, That for the most part they ascribe too much unto the liberty of the Church, in appointing days for the assembly of the people; which is plain confession. But for particulars; Brentius, as Doctor Prideaux tells us, calls it *Civilem Institutionem*, a Civil Institution, and no Commandment of the Gospel. Which is no more indeed, than what is elsewhere said by Calvin when he accounts no otherwise thereof than, *ut remedium retinendo ordini necessarium*, as a fit way to retain order in the Church. And sure I am, Chemnitius tells us that the Apostles did not impose the keeping of this day as necessary, upon the Consciences of God's people, by any Law or Precept whatsoever: *sed libera fuit observatio ordinis gratia*; but that for order's sake, it had been voluntarily used amongst them, of their own accord.

(8) Thus have we proved, that by the Doctrine of the Protestants, of what side soever, and those of greatest credit in their several Churches, eighteen by name, and all the Lutherans in general, of the same opinion: That the Lord's day is of no other institution than the Authority of the Church. Which proved, the last of the three Theses, That still the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to some other, will follow of itself on the former grounds: the Protestant Doctors before remembered, in saying that the Church did institute the Lord's day, as we see they do; confessing tacitly, that still the Church hath power to change it. Nor do they tacitly confess it, as if they were afraid to speak it out; but some of them in plain terms affirm it as a certain truth. Zuinglius, the first reformer of the Switzers, hath resolved it so, in his Discourse against one Valentine Gentilis, a new Arian Heretic. *Audi mi Valentine, quibus modis & rationibus, Sabbatum Ceremoniale reddatur*: "Harken now, Valentine, by what ways and means the Sabbath may be made a Ceremony: if either we observe that day which the Jews once did, or think the Lord's day so

affixed unto any time, *ut nefas sit illum in aliud tempus transferre*, that we conceive it an impiety, it should be changed unto another; on which, as well as upon that, we may not rest from labor, and harken to the Word of God: if perhaps such necessity should be, this would indeed make it become a Ceremony.” Nothing can be more plain than this. Yet Calvin is as plain when he professeth, That he regarded not so much the number of seven, *ut ejus servituti Ecclesias astringeret*, as to enthrall the Church unto it. Sure I am, Doctor Prideaux reckoneth him as one of them who teach us that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to some other: And that John Barclaie makes report, how once he had a Consultation, *de transferenda Dominica in Feriam quintam*, of altering the Lord’s day unto the Thursday. Bucer affirms as much, as touching the Authority; and so doth Bullinger, and Brentius, Ursine, and Chemnitius, as Doctor Prideaux hath observed. Of Bullinger, Bucer, Brentius, I have nought to say, because the places are not cited; but take it, as I think I may, upon his credit. But for Chemnitius, he saith often that it is *libera observatio*, a voluntary observation; that it is an especial part of our Christian liberty, not to be tied to days and times in matters which concern God’s service; and that the Apostles made it manifest by their example, *Singulis diebus, vel quocunque die*, That every day, or any day, may by the Church be set apart for Religious Exercises. And as for Ursine, he makes this difference between the Lord’s day and the Sabbath, “that it was utterly unlawful to the Jews, either to neglect or change the Sabbath, without express Commandment from God himself, as being a Ceremonial part of divine worship: but for the Christian Church, that may design the first, or second, or any other day to God’s public service; so that our Christian liberty be not thereby infringed, or any opinion of necessity or holiness affixed unto them: *Ecclesia vero Christiana primum, vel alium die, tribuit Ministerio, salva sua libertate, sine opinione cultus vel necessitatis*; as his words there are. To these, add Dietericus, a Lutheran Divine who, though he makes the keeping of one day in seven to be the Moral part of the fourth Commandment, yet for that day, it may be *dies Sabbati, or dies Solis, or quicunque alius, Sunday, or Saturday, or any other, be it one in seven*. And so Hospinian is persuaded: *Dominicum diem mutare & in alium transferre licet*, etc. “That if the occasions of the Church do require, the Lord’s day may be changed unto any other, provided it be one of seven; and that the change be so transacted that it produce no scandal or confusion in the Church of God.” Nay, by the Doctrine of the Helvetian Churches, every particular Church may destinate what day they please to Religious

Meetings, to public Prayers, Preaching the Word, and ministering the Sacraments. For so they give it up in their Confession: *Deligit ergo quaevis Ecclesia sibi certum tempus ad preces publicas, & Evangelii praedicationem, nec non Sacramentorum celebrationem.* And howsoever, for their own parts, they kept that day which had been set apart for those holy uses, even from the time of the Apostles; yet, that they conceived it free, to keep the Lord's day, or the Sabbath; *Sed & Dominicum, non Sabbatum, libera observatione, celebramus.* Some Sectaries, since the Reformation, have gone further yet, and would have had all days alike as unto their use; all equally to be regarded: and reckoned that the Lord's day, as the Church continued it, was a Jewish Ordinance; thwarting the Doctrine of Saint Paul, who seemed to them to abrogate that difference of days which the Church restrained. This was the fancy, or the frenzy rather of the Anabaptist, taking the hint perhaps from something which had been formerly delivered by some wiser men; as in the times before, of the Petrobrusians and (if Waldensees wrong him not) of Wycliffe also.

(9) Such being the doctrine of those Churches, the Protestant, and those of Rome, it is not to be thought but that their practice is according: Both make the Lord's day only an Ecclesiastical constitution, and therefore keep it so far forth, as by the Canons of their Churches, they are enjoined. These what they are at Rome, and those of her obedience, we have seen already; and little hath been added since. It hath not been of late a time to make new restraints; rather to mitigate the old, to lay down such which were most burdensome and grievous to be borne withal. And so it seems they do, Azorius the Jesuit being more remiss in stating and determining the restraints imposed on the Lord's day and the other holy days, than Tostatus was, who lived in safer times by far than these now present; nor is their Discipline so severe as their Canon, neither. So that the Lord's day there, for ought I could observe when I was amongst them, is solemnized much after the same manner as with us in England: repairing to the Church, both at Mass and Vespers, riding abroad or walking forth to take the air or otherwise to refresh themselves, and following their honest pleasures at such leisure times as are not destinate to the public meetings; the people not being barred from traveling about their lawful business, as occasion is, so they reserve some time for their devotions in the public. Which is indeed agreeable to the most ancient and most laudable custom in the Church of God. Now for the Protestant Churches, the Lutherans do not differ much from that which we have said before, of the church of Rome; and therefore

there is nothing to be said of them. But for the rest which follow Calvin, and think themselves the only Orthodox and reformed Churches, we will consider them in three several circumstances: first, in the exercise of Religious duties; secondly, in restraint from Labors; and thirdly, in permission of Recreations. And first, for the exercise of Religious duties, they use it in the morning only; the afternoon being left at large for any and for every man to dispose thereof as to him seems fitting. So is it in the Churches of high Germany, those of the Palatinate, and all the others of that mold. For I have heard from Gent. of good repute, That at the first reception of the Lady Elizabeth into that Country, on Sunday after Dinner the Coaches and the Horses were brought forth; and all the Prince's Court betook themselves unto their pleasures, Hunting or Hawking, as the season of the year was fit for either. Which, when it seemed strange at first to those English Lords and Gentlemen which did attend the Princess thither, answer was made, it was their custom so to do; and that they had no Evening-Service, but ended all the public duties of the Day with the Morning Sermon. Nor is this Custom only, and nor more but so: there is a Canon for it, in some places; it must be no otherwise. For in the first Council of Dort, Anno 1574 it was decreed, *Publicae Vespertinae preces non sunt introducendae, ubi non sunt introductae; ubi sunt, tollantur*: "That in such Churches where public Evening Prayer had not been admitted, it should continue as it was; and where they were admitted, they should be put down." So Doctor Smith relates the Canon (if so irregular a Decree may deserve that name) in his *Collat. Doctr. Cathol. & Protest. cap.68. Art.I.* And so it stood till the last Synod of Dort, Anno 1618, what time, to raise the reputation of the Palatine Catechism, being not long after to be admitted into their Canon, it was concluded that Catechism-Lectures should be read each Sunday in the after-noon; not to be laid aside, *propter auditorum infrequentiam*, for want of Auditors. Now to allure the people thither, being before staved off by a former Synod, it was provided that their Ministers should read howsoever, *Coram paucis auditoribus, immo vel coram suis famulis tantum*. Though few were present, or none but their domestic servants; in hope by little and little to attract the people. And secondly it was resolved on, to implore the Civil Magistrate, *Ut opera omnia servilia, seu quotidiana, etc. quibus tempus pomeridianum diebus Dominicis maxime in pagis, plerunque transigi soleret*; "That by their Edicts they would restrain all servile works, the works of ordinary days; and especially, Games, Drinking-Matches, and other profanations of the Sabbath, wherewith the after-noon, or Sundays, chiefly in smaller towns

and Villages, had before been spent; that so the people might repair to the Catechizing. By which we also may perceive that there was no restraint on Sundays in the after-noon, from any kind of servile Works or daily labors; but that men might and did apply themselves to their several businesses, as on other days. As for the greater Towns, there is scarce any of them wherein there are not Fairs and Markets, Kirk-Masses as they use to call them, upon the Sunday: and those as much frequented in the after-noon, as were the Churches in the fore-noon. A thing from which they could not hold, not in Dort itself, what time the Synod was assembled. Nor had it now been called upon, as it is most likely, had not Amesius, and some others of our English Malcontents, scattered abroad Bound's Principles amongst the Netherlands, which they had sown before in England. And certainly they had made as strong a Faction there, before this time; their learned men beginning to bandy one against the other, in the debates about the Sabbath; but that the livelihood of the States, consisting most on trade and traffic, cannot spare any day, Sunday no more than any other, from venting their commodities and providing others. So that in general, the Lord's day is no otherwise observed with them (though somewhat better than it was twelve years ago) than an half-holiday is with us: the morning though not all of that, unto the Church; the after-noon, to their employments. So for the French and German Churches, we may perceive by their Divines, Calvin and Beza, and Martin Bucer, who do so highly charge the Romanist for the restraint of working on the Lord's day; that they were well enough content to allow the same. And for the Churches of the Switzers, Zuinglius avoweth it to be lawful, *Die Dominico peractis sacris laboribus incumbere*, "On the Lord's day after the end of Divine Service, for any man to follow and pursue his labors; as commonly we do, saith he, in the time of harvest." Indeed the Polish Churches formerly decreed in two several Synods, the one at Cracow Ann. 1573; the other at Petricow, An. 1578; *Vt Domini in suis ditionibus prohibeant Dominicus diebus nundinas, annuas, & Septimanales*; "That Lords of Manors (as we call them) should not permit on the Lord's day, either Fairs or Markets, in any of the Towns unto them belonging: *Neque iisdem diebus colonos suos ullos laboribus aut vecturis onerent, nor on those days employ their Tenants in carriages or such servile labors.*" But this was rather done to please the Lutherans amongst whom, and those of the Communion of the Church of Rome under whom they live, than out of any principle or example of those Churches whom they chiefly followed. For recreations last of all, there is no question to be made but that where working is

permitted, and most kind of business, a man may lawfully enjoy himself and his honest pleasures; and without danger of offense pursue those pastimes by which the mind may be refreshed and the spirits quickened. Already have we told you what the custom is in the Palatine Churches. And for the Belgic, besides it was before declared from the Synod of Dort, touching the usual spending of that day in Games and drinking matches; their four great Doctors, Polyander, Ryvet, Thysius, and Waleus make recreation to be part of the Sabbath's rest: *Et inter fines Sabbati esse*, and to be reckoned as a principal intent thereof. Even in Geneva itself, the mother Church unto the rest, as Robert Johnson tells us in his enlargement of Boterus. "All honest Exercises, shooting in Pieces, Long- bows, Cross-bows, etc. are used on the Sabbath day, and that in the morning both before and after Sermon: neither do the ministers find fault therewith, so they hinder not from hearing of the Word at the time appointed." Indeed there is no reason why they should find fault; the practice so directly rising, upon their principles.

(10) Dancing indeed they do not suffer, either in Geneva, or the French Churches (though not prohibited for ought I can learn, in either Germany or any of the Lutheran Kingdoms); but this not in relation to the day, but the sport itself, which absolutely they have forbidden on all days whatever. Calvin took great offense thereat (of so austere a life would he have the people) and kept a great ado about it in Geneva where he lived amongst them, as he doth thus relate the story to his Friend Farellus. Corneus, and Perinus, two of special power and quality in that City, together with one of the Syndics (which is one of the four chief Officers of the Commonwealth), one of the Elders named Hemrichus, and some others of their Friends, being merry at an invitation, fell to dancing. Notice hereof being given to Calvin, by some false brother, they were all called into the Consistory, excepting Corneus and Perinus; and being interrogated thereupon, *Impudenter Deo & nobis mentiti sunt*, they lied, saith he, most impudently unto God and us. (Most Apostolically said.) At that, saith he, I grew offended, as the indignity of the thing deserved; and they persisting in their contumacy, *Censui et jure-jurando ad veri confessionem adigerentur*, I thought it fit to put them to their oaths about it. So said, so done; and they not only did confess their former dancing, but that that very day, they had been dancing in the house of one Balthasat's Widow. On this confession he proceeded unto the censure, which certainly was sharp enough for so small a fault (for a fault it was, if he would have it); the

Syndic being displaced, the Elder turned out of his office, Perryn and his Wife both clapped in prison and all the rest, pudore confusi, put to open shame. This was in Anno 1546. And afterwards, considering how much he disliked it, their Ministers and Preachers cryed down dancing as a most sinful and unchristian pastime, and published divers Tracts against it. At last in Anno 1571 it was concluded in a Synod held at Rochel, and made to be a part of their public discipline, viz. That All Congregations should be admonished by their Ministers, seriously to reprehend and suppress all Dances, Mummeries, and Enterludes; as also that all Dancing-Masters, or those who make any dancing meetings, after they have been oft admonished to desist, ought to be excommunicate for that their contumacy and disobedience. Which rigidness of theirs, as it is conceived, considering how the French do delight in dancing, hath been no small impediment unto the general entertainment of the reformed Religion in that Kingdom. So great is their delight therein, and with such eagerness they pursue it when they are at leisure from their business, that as it seems, they do neglect the Church on the holy days, that they may have the more time to attend their dancing. Upon which ground it was, and not that dancing was conceived to be no lawful sport for the Lord's day, that in the Council of Sens, An. 1524; in that of Paris, Anno 1557; in those of Rheims, and Tours, Anno 1583; and finally in that of Bourges, Anno 1584 dancing on Sundays, and then the other holy days, hath been prohibited; prohibited indeed, but practiced by the people, notwithstanding all their Canons. But this concerns the French, and their Churches only: our Northern Nations not being so bent upon the sport as to need restraint. Only the Polish Churches did conclude in the Synod of Petricow before remembered, that Tevern-meetings, drinking-matches, Dice, Cards, and such like pastimes, as also Musical Instruments and dances, should on the Lord's day be forbidden. But then it followeth with this clause, Praesertim eo temporis momento quo concio & cultus divinus in templo peragitur, "especially at that instant time when men should be at Church to hear the Sermon and attend God's worship." Which clearly shows that they prohibited dancing and the other pastimes then recited, no otherwise than as they were a means to keep men from Church. Probably also they might be induced unto it by such French Protestants as came into that Country with the Duke of Anjou, when he was chosen K. of Poland, Anno 1574, which was 4 years before this Council.

(11) As for the Churches of the East, being now heavily oppressed with Turkish bondage, we have not very much to say. Yet by that little which we find thereof, it seems the Lord's day keeps that honor which before it had; and that the Saturday continues in the same regard wherein once it was: both of them counted days of feasting and both retained for the assemblies of the Church. First that they are both days of feasting, or at the least exempted from their public Fasts, appears by that which is related by Christopher Angelo, a Grecian whom I knew in Oxford, *, "that on the Saturday and Sunday, which we call the Lord's day, they do both eat Oil and drink wine, even in Lent itself; whereas on other days they feed on pulse and drink only water. Then that they both are still retained for the assemblies of the Church, with other Holy days, he tells us in another place, where it is said, *, etc. "That for the Lord's day, and the Saturday, and the other Festivals, they use to go unto the Church on the Eve before, and almost at midnight; where they continue till the breaking up of the Congregation." For the Aegyptian Christians, or Coptics, as we call them now, it is related by G. Sandys, "that on the Saturday presently after midnight, they repair unto their Churches, where they remain well nigh until Sunday at noon; during which they neither sit, nor kneel, but support themselves on Crutches; and that they sing over the most part of David's Psalms at every meeting, with divers parcels of the old and new Testament." He hath informed us also of the Armenians, another sort of Eastern Christians, that coming into the place of the Assembly on Sunday in the afternoon, "he found one sitting in the midst of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a Bible in the Chaldean tongue; that anon after came the Bishop in an Hood or vest of black, with a staff in his hand; that first he prayed, and then sung certain Psalms assisted by two or three; after, all of them singing jointly, at interims praying to themselves; the Bishop all this while with his hands erected, and face towards the Altar. That Service being ended, they all kissed his hand, and bestowed their Alms, he laying his other hand on their heads and blessing them; finally that bidding the succeeding Fasts, and Festivals, he dismissed the Assembly." This the behavior of these Eastern Christians in the public places of assembly. As for the residue of the day, which is not destinate to religious meetings, they neither bar themselves thereon, either from necessary business, or lawful pleasures; but freely give themselves to dancing in the open streets, and other meetings of good Neighborhood, in all things using it as a festival day, not as a Sabbath. And this not only in small Towns and petty Villages, where their behavior might be perhaps the more remiss; but

in their very principal Cities, even in Constantinople itself, the supreme of all, under the eye and with the knowledge of their Superiors in the Lord; as I have credibly been informed by a worthy Gentleman who spent much time therein, and other places of those parts, in the public service of this Kingdom. The Muscovites, being near unto the Greeks, and once within the jurisdiction of the Partriarch of Constantinople, partake much also of their customs. They count it an unlawful thing to fast the Saturday, which shows that somewhat is remaining of that esteem in which once they had it; and for the holy days, Sundays as well as any other, they do not hold themselves so strictly to them but that the Citizens & Artificers, immediately after Divine services, betake themselves unto their labors and domestic businesses. And this, most probably, is the custom also of all the Churches of the East, as holding a communion with the Church of Greece, though not subordinate thereunto; from the which Church of Greece, the faith was first delivered unto these Muscovites, as before was said; and with the faith, the observation of this day and all the other holy days, at that time in use. As for the Country people, as Gaguinus tells us, they seldom celebrate or observe any day at all, at least, not with that care and order as they ought to do; saying, that it belongs only unto Lords and Gentlemen to keep holy days. Last of all, for the Habassines <Abyssinians>, or Ethiopian Christians, though further off in situation, they come as near unto the fashions of the ancient Grecians. Of them we are informed by M. Brerewood, out of Damiani, “that they reverence the Sabbath, keeping it solemn equally with the Lord’s day.” Scaliger tells us that they call both of them by the name of Sabbaths; the one the first, and the other, the latter Sabbath: or in their own language, the one Sanbath Sacristos, that is Christ’s Sabbath; the other, Sanbath Judi, or the Jews’ Sabbath. Bellarmine thinks that they derived this observation of the Saturday or Sabbath, from the Constitutions ascribed to Clemens; which indeed frequently do press the observation of that day, with no less fervor than the Sunday. Of this we have already spoken. And to this Bellarmine was induced the rather, because that in this Country they had found authority, and were esteemed as Apostolical. *Audio Ethiope his constitutionibus uti, ut vere Apostolicis, & ea ac causa in erroribus versari, circa cultum Sabbati, & dies Dominicae.* But if this be an error in them, they have many partners, and those of ancient standing in the Church of God as before was shown. As for their service on the Sunday, they celebrate the Sacrament in the morning early, except it be in the time of Lent; when fasting all the day, they discharge that duty in the Evening, and

then fall to meat, as the same Scaliger hath recorded. So having looked over all the residue of the Christian World, and found no Sabbath in the same, except only nominal, it is now time we turned our course, and set sail for England, where we shall find as little of it as in other places, until that forty years ago, no more, some men began to introduce a Sabbath thereunto, in hope thereby to countenance and advance their other projects.

CHAPTER 7.

IN WHAT ESTATE THE LORDS DAY STOOD IN THIS ISLE OF BRITAIN, FROM THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION, TO THE REFORMATION.

(1) What doth occurre about the Lords day, and the other Festivals, amongst the Churches of the Brittans. (2) Of the estate of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in the Saxon Heptarchie. (3) The honors done unto the Sunday, and the other holy dayes, by the Saxon Monarchs. (4) Of publike actions, Civill, Ecclesiasticall, mixt, and Military, done on the Lords day, under the first sixe Norman Kings. (5) New Sabbath doctrines broached in England in King Johns Reigne; and the miraculous originall of the same. (6) The prosecution of the former businesse; and ill successe therein, of the undertakers. (7) Restraint of Worldly businesse on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, admitted in those times, in Scotland. (8) Restraint of certaine servile Workes, on Sundayes, holy dayes, and the wakes, concluded in the Councill of Oxon, under Henry 3. (9) Husbandrie and Legall processe, prohibited on the Lords day first, in the Reigne of Edward 3. (10) Selling of Woolls, on the Lords day, and the solemne Feasts, forbidden first by the said King Edward: as after, Faires and Markets generally, by King Henry 6. (11) The Cordwainers of London, restrained from selling their Wares on the Lords day, and some other Festivals, by King Edward the fourth, and of the Recreations in those times permitted upon the same. (12) In what estate the Lords day stood, both for the doctrine, and the practice, in the beginning of the reigne of King Henry the 8. (13) The doctrine of this Church, in the present businesse, towards the latter end of the said Kings Reigne.

(1) AND now at last we are for England, that we may see what hath been done amongst ourselves in this particular; and thereby be the better lessoned what we are to do. For as before I noted, the Canons of particular Churches, and Edicts of Particular Princes, though they sufficiently declare what their practice and opinion was in the present point; yet are no general Rule, nor prescript to others which lived not in the compass of their Authority. Nor can they further bind us, as was then observed, than as they

have been since admitted into our Church or State, either by adding them unto the body of our Canon, or imitating them in the composition of our Acts and Statutes. Only the Decretals of the Popes, the body of their Canon Law, is to be excepted: which being made for the direction and reiglement of the Church in general were by degrees admitted, and obeyed, in these parts of Christendom; and are, by Act of Parliament, so far still in force as they oppose not the Prerogative Royal, or the Municipal Laws and Statutes of this Realm of England. Now that we may the better see how it hath been adjudged of here, and what hath been decreed or done touching the Lord's day and the other holy days: we will ascend as high as possible we can, even to the Church and Empire of the Brittons. Of them indeed we find not much, and that delivered in as little; it being said of them by Beda that in the time of Constantine they did dies festos celebrare, observe those holy days which were then in use: which, as before we said, were Easter, Whitsuntide, the feasts of Christ's Nativity, and his Incarnation, every year; together with the Lord's day, weekly. And yet it may be thought that in those times the Lord's day was not here of any great account, in that they kept the feast of Easter after the fashion of the Churches in the Eastern parts, decima quarta luna, on what day of the week soever; which certainly they had not done, had the Lord's day obtained amongst them that esteem which generally it had found in the western Churches. And howsoever a late writer of Ecclesiastical history endeavor to acquit the Brittons of these first Ages from the erroneous observation of that feast, and make them therein followers of the Church of Rome; yet I conceive not that his proofs come home, to make good his purpose. For where it is his purpose to prove by computation that the erroneous observation came not in amongst the Brittons till 30 years before the entrance of S. Austin and his associates into this Island; and for that end hath brought a passage out of Beda, touching the continuance of that custom; it's plain that Beda speaks not of the British, but the Scottish Christians. *Permansit autem apud eos [the Scottish-Irish Christians, as himself confesseth] hujusmodi observantia Paschalis tempore non pauco, hoc est usque ad annum Domini 717 per anno 150:* which was (as he computes it somewhat near the point), but 30 years before the entrance of that Austin. Now for the Scots, it is apparent that they received not the faith till the year of Christ 430 (not to say any thing of the time wherein they first set footing in this Island, which was not very long before); and probably might about that time, of which Beda speaks, receive that custom of keeping Easter from the Brittons, who were next neighbors to them, and a long time lived mingled with them. But

for the Brittons it is most certain that they had longer been accustomed to that observation; though for the time thereof, whether it came in with the first plantation of the Gospel here, we will not contend as not pertaining to the business which we have in hand. Suffice it that the Brittons anciently were observant of those public festivals which had been generally entertained in the Church of God; though for the time of celebrating the feast of Easter, they might adhere more unto one Church than unto another. As for the Canon of the Council of Nice, which is there alleged, Baronius rightly hath observed out of Athanasius, that notwithstanding both that Canon, and the Emperor's Edicts thereupon: *tamen etiam postea, Syros, Cilices, & Mesopotamios, in eodem errore permansisse*, the Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians, continued in their former error. And why not then the Brittons, which lay farther off; as well as those that dwelt so near the then Regal City?

(1) Proceed we next unto the Saxons, who as they first received the faith from the Church of Rome; so did they therewithal receive such institutions as were at that time generally entertained in the Roman Church: the celebration of the Lord's day, and the other festivals, which were allowed of and observed, when Gregory the Great attained the Popedom. And here to take things as they lie in order, we must begin with a narration concerning Westminster, which for the prettiness of the story I will here insert. Sibert the first Christian King of the East Saxons having built that Church, unto the honor of God and memory of Saint Peter, invited Mellitus Bishop of London on a day appointed, unto the consecration of it. The night before S. Peter coming to the further side crosseth the ferry, goes into the Church, and with a great deal of celestial musick, light, and company, performs that office for the dispatch of which Mellitus had been invited. This done, and before wafted back to the further side, he give the ferry-man for his fare a good draught of fishes, only commanding him to carry one of them, which was the best for price and beauty, for a present from him to Melitus in testimony that the work was done to his hand already. Then telling who he was, he adds that he and his posterity, the whole race of fishermen, should be long after stored with that kind of fish: *tantum ne ultra piscari audeatis in die Dominica*, provided always that they fished no more upon the Sunday. Aldredus so reports the story. And though it might be true, as unto the times wherein he lived, (which was in the declining of the twelfth Century) that fishing on the Lord's day was restrained by law; yet sure he placed this story ill, in giving this injunction

from Saint Peter in those early days when such restraints were hardly settled; if in a Church new planted, they had yet been spoke of. Leaving this therefore as a fable, let us next look on Beda, what he hath left us of this day in reference to our Ancestors of the Saxons' race: and many things we find in him worth our observation. Before we showed you how the Sunday was esteemed a festival, that it was judged heretical to hold fasts thereon. This ordinance came in amongst us with the faith itself. St. Chadd, having a place designed him by King Oswald to erect a monastery, did presently retire unto it in the time of Lent; In all which time, Dominica excepta, the Lord's day excepted, he fasted constantly till the evening, as the story tells us. The like is told of Adamannus, one of the monastery of Coldingham, now in Scotland (but then accounted part of the Kingdom of Northumberland), that he did live in such a strict and abstemious manner, ut nil unquam cibi vel potus, excepta die Dominica, & quinta Sabbati perciperet; that he did never eat nor drink, but on the Sunday, and Thursday only. This Adamannus lived in Anno 690. Before we showed you with what profit music had been brought into the Church of God, & hither it was brought, it seems with the first preaching of the Gospel. Beda relates it of Paulinus, that when he was made Bishop of Rochester, which was in An. 631, he left behind him in the North one James a Deacon, cantandi in Ecclesia perstissimu, a man exceeding perfect in Church music, who taught them there that form of singing divine service which he learnt in Canterbury. And after in the year 668, what time Archbishop Theodorus made his Metropolitcal visitation, the Art of singing service, which was then only used in Kent (for in the North it had not been so settled, but that it was again forgotten) was generally taken up over all the Kingdom. Sonos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Ecclesias discere coeperunt, as that Author hath it. Before we showed how Pope Vitilianus, anno 653, added the Organ to that vocal music which was before in use in the Church of Christ. In less than 30 years after, & namely in the year 679 were they introduced by Pope Agathe into the Churches of the English; and have continued in the same well near 1000 years, without interruption. Before we showed you how some of the greater festivals were in esteem before the Sunday; and that it was so even in the primitive times. And so it also was in the primitive times of this Church of England; it being told us of Queen Etheldreda, that after she had put herself into a monastery, she never went unto the Bathes, praeter imminentibus solenniis majoribus, but on the approach of the greater festivals, such as were Easter, Pentecost, and

Christmas (for so I think he means thereby Epiphany), as also, that unless it were on the greater festivals she did not use to eat above once a day. This plainly shows that Sunday was not reckoned for a greater festival; that other days were in opinion & esteem above it; and makes it evident withal that they conceived not that the keeping of the Lord's day was to be accounted as a part of the Law of nature, or introduced into the Church by divine authority, but by the same authority that the others were. For Laws in these times made, we meet with none but those of Ina, a West-Saxon King, who entered on his reign an. 712: A Prince exceedingly devoted to the Church of Rome, and therefore apt enough to embrace anything which was there concluded. By him it was enacted in this form that followeth: *Servus si quid operis patravit die Dominico, ex praecepto Domini sui, liber esto, etc.* "If a servant work on the Lord's day by the appointment of his master, he was to be set free & his master was to forfeit 30 shillings: but if he worked without such order from his master, to be whipped, or mulcted. *Liber si hoc die operetur injussu Domini sui, etc.* So if a free-man worked that day without directions from his master, he either was to be made a Bond-man, or pay 60 shillings." Now was the Church waiting to declare her pleasure, it being ordred in a Synod at Clove-shooe, called by Cutbert Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Anno 747. *Vt dies Dominicus legitima veneratione a cunctis celebretur, etc.* That the Lord's day be observed with all due solemnity, and that it be dedicated only to the worship of God. Nor did they take this care of the Lord's day only. For then and there it was decreed that not alone on that day, *eo die, Sed per alias festivitates majores*, but on the other greater festivals the people should assemble to hear God's Word, etc. And in the Canons of Egbert Arch-bishop of York, it was also ordered, *omnibus festis & diebus Dominicis*, that as well on all the holy days as the Lord's day, the Priests should Preach unto the people. As for the doctrine of these times, we may best judge of that by Beda. First for the Sabbath, that he tells us, *ad Mosis usque tempora caeterorum dierum similis erat*, was merely like the other days until Moses' time; no difference at all between them, therefore not instituted and observed in the beginning of the world, as some teach us now. Next for the Lord's day, that he makes an Apostolical Sanction only, no divine commandment, as before we noted; and how far Apostolical sanctions bind, we may clearly see by that which they determined in the Council of Jerusalem. Of these two specialties, we have spoke already.

(3) This is the most we find in the Saxon Heptarchy; and little more than this we find in the Saxon Monarchy. In this we meet with Alured first, the first that brought this Realm to order, who in his laws *cap. de diebus festis & solennibus*, reckoneth up certain days in which it was permitted unto free-men to enjoy their festival liberty, as the phrase there is: *servis autem & iis qui sunt legitima officiorum servitute astricti, non item*; but not to slaves, and such as were in service unto other men, viz. the twelve days after Christ's Nativity, *dies ille quo Christus subegit diabolum* the day wherein our Savior overcame the devil; the festival of Saint Gregory, seven days before Easter, and as many after; the festival day of Saint Peter and Paul, the week before our Lady day in harvest; All-Hallowtide, and the four wednesdays in the Ember-week. Where note how many other days were privileged in the self-same manner as the Lord's day was; in case that be the day then spoke of, wherein our Savior overcame the Devil, as I think it is: as also that this privilege extended unto free-men only, servants and bond-men being left in the same condition as before they were, to spend all days alike in their masters' business. It also was by him enacted, *Neminem sceleris reum. (Si qua vitari possit) in festivitate diei Solis morte afficiendum, etc.* "That no malefactor should be put to death upon the Sunday, but should be kept in durance until the festival be over, and then executed:" which Law was afterwards confirmed by King Canutus. This Alured began his reign anno 871, and after him succeeded Edward, surnamed the Elder in the year 900, who in a league between himself and Gunthrun K. of the Danes in England, did publicly, on both sides, prohibit as well all marketings on the Sunday, as other kind of work whatsoever on the other holy days. *Dacus si die Dominico quicquam fuerit mercatus, reipsa, & Oris praeterea 12 mulcator; Anglus 30 solidos numerato, etc.* "If a Dane bought any thing on the Lord's day, he was to forfeit the thing bought & to pay 12 Orae (Every Ora being the fifteenth part of a pound,) an Englishman doing the like to pay 30 shillings. A freeman if he did any work, *die quocunq; feste*, on any of the holy days, was forthwith to be made a Bondman, or to redeem himself with money; a bond-slave to be beaten for it, or redeem his beating with his purse. The master also whether that he were Englishman or Dane, if he compelled his servants to work on any of the holy days, was to answer for it. Athelstan who succeeded Edward, an. 942, did decree the same, or confirm it rather. So when it had been generally received in other places to begin the Sunday-service on the Eve before, it was enacted by King Edgar, surnamed the peaceable, who began his reign, ann. 959, *diem Sabbati, ab ipsa die Saturni, hora*

pomeridiana tertia, usq in lunaris diei ailuculum, festum agitari that the Sabbath should begin on Saturday, at 3 of the clock in the afternoon, (& not as Foxe relates it in his Acts and Monuments, at nine in the morning) and so hold on till day break on Monday. Where, by the way, though it be dies Sabbati in the Latin, yet in the Saxon copy, it is only Healde, the holy day. After this Edgar's death, the Danes so plagued this realm, that there was nothing settled in it, either in Church or State, till finally they had won the Garland and obtained the Kingdom. The first of these Canutus, an heroic Prince; of whom it is affirmed by Malmesbury, omnes leges ab antiquis regibus, & maxime sub Etheldredo latas, that he commanded all those laws to be observed which had been made by any of the former Kings (and those before remembered amongst the rest, of which see the 42 of his Constitutions), especially by Etheldred his predecessor; and that upon a grievous mulct, to be laid on such who should disobey them. These are the laws which afterwards were called King Edward's, non quod ille statuerit, sed quod observarit, not because he enacted them, but that he caused them to be kept. Of these more anon. Besides which Laws so brought together, there were some others made at Winchester by this King Canutus; and amongst others, this, that on the Lord's day there should be no marketing, no Courts, or public meetings of the people for Civil business; as also that all men abstain from hunting, and from all kinds of earthly work. Yet there was an exception too, nisi flagitante necessitate, in cases of necessity, wherein it was permitted both to buy and sell, and for the people to meet together in their Courts. For so it passeth in the Law: Die Dominico mercata concelebrari, populive conuentus agi, nisi flagitante necessitate, plarissime vetamus; ipso praeterea die sacrosancto a venatione, & opere terreno prorsus omni, quisque abstineto. Not that it is to be supposed, as some would have it, that he intended Sunday for a Sabbath day. For entering on the Crown ann. 1017, he did no more than what had formerly been enacted by Charles the Great, and several Councils after him; none of which dreamed of any Sabbath. Besides it is affirmed of this Canutus by Otho Frisingensis that in the year 1027, he did accompany the Emperor Conrade at his coronation on an Easter day; which questionless he would not have done, knowing those kind of pomps to be merely civil, and to have in them much of ostentation, had he intended any Sabbath when he restrained some works on Sunday. But to make sure work of it, without more ado, the Laws by him collected, which we call St. Edward's, make the matter plain: where Sunday hath no other privilage than the other feasts; and which is more, is ranked below them. The Law is thus entitled, De

temporibus & diebus pacis Domini Regis; the text, as followeth. Ab adventu Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniae, pax Dei & Ecclesiae, per omne regnum, etc. From Advent to the Octaves of Epiphany, let no man's person be molested, nor no suit pursued; the like from Septuagesima to Low-Sunday; and so from holy Thursday to the next Sunday after Whitsontide. Item omnibus Sabbatis ab hora nova usq ad diem Lunae, etc. the like on Saturdays from three in the afternoon until monday morning; as also on the Eves of the Virgin Mary, S. Michael, S. John the Baptist, all the holy Apostles; of such particular Saints whose festivals are published in the Church on Sunday mornings; the Eve of All Saints in November, from 3 of the clock till the solemnity be ended. As also that no Christian be molested, going to Church for his devotions, or returning thence; or traveling to the dedication of any new erected Church, or to the Synods, or any public chapter meeting." Thus was it with the Lord's day, as with many others in S. Edward's Laws; which after were confirmed and ratified by King Henry the second, after they had long been neglected.

(4) Now go we forwards to the Normans, and let us see what care they took about the sanctifying of the Lord's day, whether they either took or meant it for a Sabbath. And first beginning with the reign of the first six Kings, we find them times of action, and full of troubles, as it doth use to be in unsettled states: no Law recorded to be made touching the keeping of this day; but many actions of great note to be done upon it. These we will rank for order's sake, under these 5. heads: 1 Coronations, 2 Synods Ecclesiastical, 3 Councils of Estates, 4 Civil business, and 5 Battles and assaults; which we shall sum up briefly, in their place and time. And first for Coronations, which as before I said, are mixt kinds of actions, compound of sacred and of civil; William surnamed Rufus, was crowned at Canterbury by Archbishop Lanfranck, the 25th of Septem. being Sunday, An. 1087. So was King Steven, the 21st of December, being Sunday too, An. 1135. On Sunday before Christmas day was Henry the second crowned at London, by Archbishop Theobald, Anno 1155, and on the Sunday before Septuagesima, his daughter Joane, was at Palermo crowned Queen of Sicily. Of Richard the first it is recorded, that hoisting sail from the Barbestet in Normandy, he arrived safely here upon the Sunday before our Lady day in Harvest; whence setting towards London, there met him his Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earles, and Barons, Cum copiosa militum multitudine, with a great multitude of Knightly rank; by whose advice and counsel he was crowned on a Sunday, in September following, Anno 1189,

and after crowned a second time on his return from thralldom and the holy Land, Anno 1194, on a Sunday too. The royal and magnificent form of his first Coronation, they who list to see may find it most exactly represented in Rog. de Hoveden. And last of all King John was first inaugurated Duke of Normandy by Walter Archbishop of Roane, the Sunday after Easter day, An. 1200, and on a Sunday after crowned K. of England, together with Isabel his Queen, by Hubert, at that time Archbishop of Canterbury. For Synods next, Anno 1070 a Council was assembled at Winchester by appointment of K. William the first, and the consent of Alexander then Pope of Rome, for the degrading of Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury; and this upon the Sunday next after Easter. And we find mention of a Synod called by Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1175, the Sunday before holy thursday: *Ad quod concilium venerunt fere omnes Episcopi & Abbates Cantuariensis dioeceseos*; where were assembled almost all the Bishops and Abbats of the whole Province. For Councils of Estate, there was a solemn meeting called on Trinity Sunday, Anno 1143 in which assembled Maud the Empress and all the Lords which held her party; where the Ambassadors from Anjou gave up their account, and thereupon it was concluded that the Earl of Gloucester should be sent thither to negotiate is sister's business. So in the year 1185, when some Ambassadors from the East had offered to King Henry the second, the Kingdom of Jerusalem: the King designed the first Sunday in Lent for his day of answer. Upon which day there met at London the King, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons of the Realm of England; as also William King of Scotland, and his brother David, with the Earls and Barons of that country; *Et habito inde cum deliberatione concilio, etc.* and then and there upon mature deliberation, it was concluded that though the King accepted not the title, yet he would give his people leave to put themselves into the action and take up the Cross. For civil business of another nature, we find it on record that on the fourth Sunday in Lent next following, the same King Henry Knighted his Son John and sent him forthwith into Ireland, Knighthood at those times being far more full of ceremony than now it is. Which being but a preparation to War and Military matters, leads us into such battles as in these times were fought on Sunday. Of which we find it in our Annals, that in the year 1142, upon a Sunday being Candlemas day, King Stephen was taken prisoner at the Battle of Lincoln; as also that on Holy-Cross day next after, being Sunday too, Robert Earl of Gloucester, Commander of the adverse forces, was taken prisoner at the Battle of Winchester. So read we that on Sunday

the 25th of August, Anno 1173 the King of France besieged and forced the Castle of Dole in Britain, belonging to the King of England; as also that on Sunday the 26th of September, Anno 1198 King Richard took the Castle of Curceles from the King of France. More of this kind might be remembered, were not these sufficient to show how anciently it hath been the use of the Kings of England to create Knights and hold their Councils of Estate on the Lord's day, as now they do. Were not the others here remembered sufficient to let us know that our progenitors did not think so superstitiously of this day as not to come upon the same unto the crowning of their Kings, or the public Synods of the Church; or if need were, and their occasions so required it, to fight as well on the Lord's day as on any other. Therefore no Lord's day Sabbath hitherto, in the Realm of England.

(5) Not hitherto indeed. But in the Age that followed next, there were some overtures thereof, some strange preparatives to begin one. For in the very entrance of the 13th Age, Fulco, a French Priest and a notable hypocrite, as our King Richard counted him and the story proves, lighted upon a new Sabbatarian fancy; which one of his associates, Eustatius Abbat of Flay, in Normandy, was sent to scatter here in England; but finding opposition to this doctrine, he went back again. The next year after, being 1202, he comes better fortified, preaching from Town to Town, and from place to place, *Ne quis forum rerum venalium diebus Dominicis exerceret*, that no man should presume to Market on the Lord's day. Where by the way we may observe that notwithstanding all the Canons and Edicts before remembered, in the fifth Chapter of this Book, and the third Section of this Chapter, the English kept their Markets on the Lord's day as they had done formerly, as neither being bound to those which had been made by foreign States, or such as being made at home, had long before been cut in pieces by the Sword of the Norman Conqueror. Now for the easier bringing of the people to obey their dictates they had to show a warrant sent from God himself, as they gave it out. The title this: *Mandatum sanctum Dominicæ diei quod de coelo venit Hierusalem*, etc. "An holy Mandate touching the Lord's day, which came down from Heaven, unto Jerusalem, found on S. Simeon's Altar in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified for the sins of all the world: which lying there three days and as many nights, struck with such terror all which saw it, that falling on the ground, they besought God's mercy. At last, the Patriarch, and Akarias the Archbishop (of I know not whence) ventured to take into their hands that dreadful Letter, which was written thus." Now wipe your

eyes, and look a while on the Contents, which I shall render with as much brevity, as the thing requires. *Ego Dominus qui praecepi vobis ut observaretis diem sanctum Dominicum, & non custodistis eum, etc.* “I am the Lord which hath commanded to keep holy the Lord’s day; and you have not kept it, neither repented of your sins, etc. I caused repentance to be preached unto you, and you believed not. Then sent I Pagans amongst you, etc. and because you did not keep the Lord’s day holy, I punished you a while with famine, etc. Therefore I charge you all, that from the ninth hour on the Saturday, until Sun-rising on the Monday, no man presume to do any work, but what is good; or if he do, that he repent him of the same. Verily I say and swear unto you by my Seat and Throne, and by the Cherubim that keep my Seat, that if you do not hearken to this my Mandate, I will no more send to you any other Epistle; but I will open the Heavens, and rain upon you stones, and wood, and scalding water, etc. This I avow, that you shall die the death, for the Lord’s day and other festivals of my Saints, which you have not kept: and I will send amongst you beasts with the heads of Lions, and the hair of women, and the tails of Camels; and they shall eat you and devour you.” There is a great deal more of this wretched stuff, but I am weary of abusing both my pains and patience. Only I cannot choose but wish that those who have enlarged their Lord’s day Sabbath to the same extent, would either show us some such letter, or bring us any of the miracles which hereafter follow; or otherwise be pleased to lengthen out the festivals of the Saints in the self-same manner as by this goodly Script they are willed to do.

(6) But to proceed, the said Eustathius thus furnished, and having found but ill success the former year in the Southern parts, where he did *Angliae Praelatos predicatione sua molestare*, disturb the Prelates by his preachings, as my Author hath it; he went up to Yorke. There did he preach his doctrines, and absolve such as had offended; conditioned, that hereafter they did show more reverence unto the Lord’s day, and the other holy days, doing no servile works upon them; *Nec in diebus Dominicis exercerent forum rerum venalium*, particularly that on the Lord’s day they should hold no Markets. The people hereunto assented, and promised they would neither buy nor sell on the Lord’s day, *Nisi forte cibum & potum praetereuntibus*, excepting meat and drink to passengers. Whereby it seems that notwithstanding all this terror, men were permitted yet to travel on the Lord’s day, as they had occasion. This coming to the notice of the King and Council, my men were all fetched up; such specially *qui in diebus*

Dominicis forum rerum venalium dejecerant, which had disturbed the Markets, and overthrown the Booths and Merchandise on the Lord's day: and made to fine unto the King for their misdemeanor. Then they were fain to have recourse to pretended miracles. A Carpenter making a wooden pin, and a woman making up her web, both after three on Saturday in the afternoon, are suddenly smitten with the Palsey. A certain man of Nafferton, baking a Cake on Saturday night and keeping part until the morrow, no sooner brake it for his breakfast but it gushed out blood. A Miller of Wakefield, grinding Corn on Saturday after three of the clock, instead of Meal, found his bin full of blood, his Mill-wheele standing still of its own accord. One or two more there are of the same edition. And so I think is that related in the Acts and Monuments, out of an old Book entitled *De Regibus Angliae*; which, now I am fallen upon these Fables, shall be joined with them. "King Henry the 2nd, saith the Story, being at Cardiff in Wales, and being to take horse, there stood a certain man by him having on him a white coat, and being bare-foot, who looked upon the King, and spake in this wise; Good old King, John Baptist and Peter straightly charge you, that on the Sundays throughout all your Dominions, there be no buying or selling nor any other servile business (those only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink), which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thing thou takest in hand thou shalt happily finish. Adding withal, that unless he did these things, and amend his life, he should hear such news within the twelve-month as would make him mourn till his dying day." But to conclude, what was the issue of all this, this terrible Letter, and forged miracles? That the Historian tells us with no small regret, informing us that notwithstanding all these miracles, whereby God did invite the people to observe this day: *Populus plus timens regiam potestatem, quam divinum*, the people fearing more the King's power than God's, returned unto their Marketing as before they did.

(7) I say that the Historian tells it with no small regret; for in that passionate discontent, he had said before, that inimicus humani generis, the Devil envying the proceedings of this holy man, so far so possessed the King and the Princes of darkness (so he calls the Council), that they forthwith proceeded against them who had obeyed him. Which makes me think that this Eustathius was a familiar of the Popes, sent hither for the introducing of those restraints which had been formerly imposed on most parts of Christendom, though here they found no entertainment. The Popes had found full well how ill their jostlings had succeeded hitherto, with the

Kings of England of the Norman race; and therefore had recourse to their wonted arts, by prodigies and miracles to ensnare the people, and bring them so unto their bent. And this I do the rather think, because that in the following year, Anno 1203 there was a Legate sent from Rome to William King of Scots, with several presents, and many indulgences. *Quae quoniam grato accepit animo, eodem concilio approbante decretum est, etc.* “Which he accepting very kindly, it pleased him with the approbation of his Parliament at that time assembled to pass a Law, that Saturday from twelve at noon should be counted holy; and that no man should deal in such worldly businesses as on the Feast-days were forbidden. As also that at the sounding of the Bell, the people should be busied only about holy actions, going to sermons, hearing the Vespers or the Evensong: *idque usque in diem lunae facerent*, and that they should continue thus until monday morning; a penalty being laid, on those who should do the contrary.” So passed it then, and in the year 1214, some eleven years after it was enacted in a Parliament at Scone under Alexander the third, King of the Scots, that none should fish in any waters, *A die Sabbati post vespervas usque ad diem lune post ortum solis*, from Saturday after Evening Prayer, until Sun-rising on the Monday. That after was confirmed in the first Parliament of King James the first, and is to this day called the Saturdays Slop. So easily did the Popes prevail with our now friends of Scotland that neither miracle, nor any special packet from the Court of Heaven was accounted necessary.

(8) But here with us in England it was not so, though now the Popes had got the better of King John, that unhappy Prince; and had in Canterbury an Archbishop of their own appointment, even that Stephen Lancton, about whom so much strife was raised. Which notwithstanding, and that the King was then a Minor, yet they proceeded here with great care and caution; and brought the holy days into order, not by command or any Decretal from Rome, but by a Council held at Oxford, Anno 1222 where amongst the other Ordinances tending unto the government of the Church, the holy days were divided into these three ranks. In the first rank were those, *quae omni veneratione servanda erant*, which were to be observed with all reverence and solemnity; of which sort were *omnes dies Dominici, etc.* all Sundays in the year, the Feast of Christ’s Nativity, together with all others now observed in the Church of England; as also all the Festivals of the Virgin Mary, excepting that of her Conception, which was left at large; with divers which have since been abrogated. And for conclusion, *festum dedicationis cujuslibet Ecclesiae in sua parochia*, the Wakes, or feasts of

dedication of particular Churches in their proper Parishes, are there determined to be kept with the same reverence and solemnity as the Sundays were. Nor was this of the Wakes, or feasts of dedication any new device; but such, as could plead a fair original from the Council held in Mentz, Anno 813 if it went no higher. For, in a Catalogue there made of such principal feasts as annually were to be observed, they reckon dedicationem Templi, the Consecration Feast, or Wake, as we use to call it; and place it in no lower rank, in reference to the solemnity of the same, than Easter, Whitsontide, and the rest of the greater festivals. Now, in those times, the Wakes, or feasts of dedication, were either held upon the very day on which, or the Saint's day to which, they had first been consecrated. But after, finding that so many holy days brought no small detriment to the Common-wealth, it came to pass that generally these Wakes, or feasts of dedication, were respited until the Sunday following, as we now observe them. Of the next rank of Feasts in this Council mentioned, were those which were by Priest and Curate to be celebrated most devoutly, with all due performances; *minoribus operibus servilibus, secundum consuetudinem loci, illis diebus interdictis*; all servile works, of an inferior and less important nature, according to the custom of the place, being laid aside. Such were Saint Fabian, and Sebastian, and some twenty more, which are therein specified, but now out of use: and amongst them, the festival of Saint George was one; which after, in the year 1414, was made by Chicheley, then Archbishop, a *Majus duplex*, and no less solemnly to be observed than the Feast of Christmas. Of the last rank of Feasts were those in quibus post *Misum*, *opera rusticana concedebantur, sed antequam non*; wherein it was permitted, that men might after Mass pursue their Country businesses, though not before: and these were only the Octaves of Epiphany, and of John the Baptist and of Saint Peter, together with the translations of Saint Benedict and Saint Martin. But yet it seems, that on the greater Festivals, those of the first rank, there was no restraint of Tillage and of Shipping, if occasion were and that necessity did require; though on those days, Sundays, and all before remembered, there was a general restraint of all other works. For so it standeth in the title, *Haec sunt festa, in quibus, prohibitis aliis operibus, concedentur opera Agriculturae, & Carrucarum*. Where, by the way, I have translated *Carrucaram*, Shipping: the word not being put for Plough or Cart, which may make it all one with the word fore-going; but for Ships and sailing. *Carruca*, signifieth a Ship of the greater burthen, such as to this day we call Carrects; which first came from hence. And in this sense, the word is to be found in an

epistle written by Gildas: *Illis ad sua remeantibus emergunt certatim de Carruchis, quibus sunt trans Scyticam vallem avecti.* So then, as yet, Tillage and Sailing were allowed of on the Sunday; if, as before I said, occasion were, and that necessity so required. Of other passages considerable in the Reign of King Henry the third, the principal to this point and purpose are at his own Coronation, in Whitsunday, anno 1220, two years before this Council, which was performed with great solemnity and concourse of people. Next, his bestowing the Order of Knighthood on Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, accompanied with forty other Gallants, of great hopes and spirit, on Whitsunday too, Anno 1245. And last of all, a Parliament assembled on Mid-Lent Sunday, *Parliamentum generalissimum*, the Historian calls it, the next year after.

(9) This was a fair beginning; but they stayed not here. For after, in a Synod of Archbishop Islip's (he was advanced unto that See, Anno 1349), it was decreed, *de fratrum nostrorum consilio*, "with the assent and counsel of all the Prelates then assembled, That on the principal Feasts hereafter named, there should be generally a restraint through all the Province, *ab universis servilibus operibus etiam Reipubl. utilibus*, even from all manner of servile works, though otherwise necessary to the Common-wealth." This general restraint, in reference to the Sunday, was to begin on Saturday night, *ab hora diei Sabbati Vespertina*, as the Canon goes, not a minute sooner: and that upon a good reason too, *ne judaicae superstitionis participes videamur*, lest if they did begin it sooner, (as some now would have us) they might be guilty of a Jewish superstition. The same to be observed in such other Feasts, *quae suat habent Vigilias*, whose Eves had formerly been kept. As also that the like restraint should be observed, upon the Feast of Christmas, Saint Stephen, Saint John, etc. and finally, on the Wakes, or Dedication Feasts, which before we spake of. Now, for the works before prohibited, though necessary to the Common-wealth; as we may reckon Husbandry, and all things appertaining thereunto; so probably we may reckon Law-days, and all public Sessions in Courts of Justice; in case they had not been left off in former times, when as the Judges general being of the Clergy, might in obedience to the Canon Law forbear their Sessions on those days, the Lord's day especially. For, as our Sages in the Law have resolved it generally, that day is to be exempt from such business, even by the Common Law, for the solemnity thereof, to the intent that people may apply themselves to prayer and God's public service. Particularly, Fitz-Herbert tells us, That no Pleas shall be holden Quindena

Paschae, because it is always on the Sunday, but it shall be holden Crastino Quiridenae Paschae, on the morrow after. So Justice Dyer hath resolved, That if a Writ of Scire Facias, out of the Common Pleas, bear Test on a Sunday, it is an error, because that day is not dies juridicus in Banco. And so it is agreed amongst them, That on a Fine levied with Proclamations, according to the Statute of King Henry the seventh, if any of the Proclamations be made on the Lord's day, all of them are to be accounted erroneous Acts. But to return unto the Canon, where before we left: however that Archbishop Langton formerly, and Islip at the present time, had made these several restraints from all servile labors; yet they were far enough from entertaining any Jewish fancy. The Canon last remembered, that of Simon Islip, doth express as much. But more particularly and punctually we may find what was the judgment of these times, in a full declaration of the same in a Synod at Lambeth, what time John Peckham was Archbishop, which was in Anno 1280. It was thus determined: *Sciendum est quod obligatio ad feriandum in Sabbato Legali expiravit omnino, etc.* "It is to be understood, that all manner of obligation of resting on the Legal Sabbath, as was required in the Old Testament, is utterly expired with the other Ceremonies. And it is now sufficient in the New Testament, to attend God's service upon the Lord's days and the other holy days, *ad hoc Ecclesiastica autoritate deputatis*, appointed by the Church to that end and purpose. The manner of sanctifying all which days, *non est sumendus a superstitione Iudaica, sed a Canonicis institutis*, is not to be derived from any Jewish superstition, but from the Canons of the Church." This was exact, and plain enough; and this was constantly the Doctrine of the Church of England. Johannes de Burdo, who lived about the end of King Henry the sixth, doth almost word for word resolve it so, in his *Pupilla oculi*, part. 10. c. 11. D. For Public actions in these times, the greatest and most notable were the Coronation of King Edward the first, upon the Sunday after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, together with Eleanor his Queen, Anno 1275; the Knighting of King Edward the third, *cum multis aliis juvenibus generosis*, with many other young Noblemen, by the Earl of Lancaster; and afterwards, his Coronation on the same day too, being Sunday, and then Candlemas Eve, Anno 1327.

(10) Yet find we not in these restraints, that Marketing had been forbidden, either on the Lord's day or the other holy days; and, indeed, it was not: That came in afterwards, by degrees; partly, by Statutes of the Realm; partly, by Canons of the Church; not till all Nations else had long laid them

down. < For, in the 28th of King Edward the third, cap. 14, it was accorded and established, That SHEWING OF WOOLS SHALL BE MADE AT THE STAPLE EVERY DAY OF THE WEEKE, EXCEPT THE Sunday AND THE solemne Feasts IN THE YEERE. This was the first restraint in this kind, with us here, in England; and this gives no more privilege to the Lord's day than to the solemn Festivals. Nor was there more done in it for almost an hundred years; not till the time of Henry the sixth, Anno 1444; what time Archbishop Stafford decreed throughout his Province, ut Nundinae & Emporia in Ecclesiis, aut Coemiteriis <cemeteries>, diebusque Dominicis atque Festis, praeter quam tempore messis, non teneantur, "That Fairs and Markets should no more be kept in Church, and Church yards, or on the Lords' days, or the other holy days, except in time of Harvest only." If in that time they might be suffered, then certainly in themselves they were not unlawful on any other, further than as prohibited by the higher Powers. Now, that which the Archbishop had decreed throughout his Province, Catworth, Lord Major of London, attempted to exceed within that City. For in this year, saith Fabian (Anno 1444), an Act was made by authority of the Common Council of London, That upon the Sunday should no manner of thing within the Franchise of the City be bought or sold, neither Victual, nor other thing; nor no Artificer should bring his Ware unto any man to be worn or occupied that day; as Taylors' Garments, and Cordwayners' Shoes; and so likewise all other Occupations. But then it followeth in the Story, The Which Ordinance held but a While; enough to show by the success, how ill it doth agree with a Lord Major to deal in things about the Sabbath. Afterwards, in the year 1451, which was the 28th of Henry's Reign, it pleased the King in Parliament to ratify what before was ordered by the Archbishop, in this form that followeth: CONSIDERING THE ABOMINABLE INJURIES AND OFFENCES DONE TO Almighty God, AND TO HIS Saints, ALWAYS AYDERS AND SINGULAR ASSISTANTS IN OUR NECESSITIES, BY THE OCCASION OF Faires and Markets UPON THEIR HIGH AND principall Feasts; AS, IN THE Feast OF THE Ascension OF OUR Lord, IN THE DAY OF Corpus Christi, IN THE DAY OF Whitsunday, Trinitie Sunday, AND OTHER Sundayes; AS ALSO IN THE HIGH Feast OF THE Assumption OF OUR Blessed Lady, THE DAY OF All Saints, AND ON Good Friday; ACCUSTOMABLY AND MISERABLY HOLDEN AND USED IN THE REALME OF England, etc. OUR SOVERAIGNE LORD THE KING, etc. HATH ORDAINED, THAT ALL MANNER OF Faires AND Markets ON THE SAID principall Feasts, AND Sundayes, AND Good Friday, SHALL CLEARLY CEASE, FROM ALL SHEWING OF ANY Goods AND Merchandises,

NECESSARIE Victuall ONELY EXCEPT (which yet was more than was allowed in the Citie-Act), UPON PAIN OF FORFEITURE OF ALL THE Goods AFORESAID TO THE LORD OF THE Franchise OR Libertie, WHERE SUCH Goods BE OR SHALL BE SHEWED, CONTRARIE TO THIS Ordinance; THE foure Sundayes IN Harvest EXCEPT. Which clause or reservation sheweth plainly, that the things before prohibited were not esteemed unlawful in themselves; as also, that this Law was made in confirmation of the former Order of the Arch-bishop, as before was said. Now on this Law, I find two Resolutions made, by my Lords the Judges. First, Justice Brian, in the 12th of King Edward the fourth, declared, That no sale made upon a Sunday, though in a Fair or Market overt (for Markets, as it seemeth, were not then quite laid down, though by Law prohibited) shall be a good sale, to alter the property of the goods.

And Ploydon, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was of opinion, That the Lord of any Fair or Market kept upon the Sunday, contrary to the Statute, may therefore be indited for the King or Queen, either at the Assizes, or general Jail-delivery, or Quarter Sessions, within that County. If so, in case such Lord may be indited for any Fair or Market kept upon the Sunday, as being contrary to the Statute: then by the same reason may he be indited for any Fair or Market kept on any of the other holy days in that Statute mentioned.

(11) Nor stayed it here. For in the year 1465, which was the fourth year of King Edward the fourth, it pleased the King in Parliament to enact as followeth: OUR SOVERAIGNE LORD THE KING, ETC. HATH ORDAINED AND ESTABLISHED, THAT NO Cordwainer or Cobler, WITHIN THE CITIE OF London, OR WITHIN THREE MILES OF ANY PART OF THE SAID CITIE, etc. DOE UPON ANY Sunday IN THE YEERE, OR ON THE Feasts OF THE Ascension, OR Nativitie OF OUR Lord, OR ON THE Feast OF Corpus Christi, SELL OR COMMAND TO BE SOLD ANY Shooes, Huseans, (i.e. Bootes) OR Galoches; OR UPON THE Sunday, OR ANY OTHER OF THE SAID FEASTS, SHALL SET OR PUT UPON THE FEET OR LEGGES OF ANY PERSON, ANY Shooes, Huseans, OR Galoches; UPON PAIN OF FORFEITURE AND LOSSE OF TWENTIE SHILLINGS, AS OFTEN AS ANY PERSON SHALL DOE CONTRARIE TO THIS Ordinance. Where note that this restraint was only for the City of London and the parts about it; which shows that it was counted lawful in all places else. And therefore there must be some particular motive, why this restraint was laid on those of London only; either their insolencies, or some notorious neglect of God's

public service; The Gentle Craft had otherwise been urgently handled, that they, of all the Trades-men in that populous City, should be so restrained. Note also, that in this very Act, there is a reservation or INDULGENCE FOR THE INHABITANTS OF S. Martins le Grand, TO DOE AS FORMERLY THEY WERE ACCUSTOMED, THE SAID ACT OR STATUTE NOTWITHSTANDING. Which very Clause did after move King Henry the eighth to repeal this Statute, that so all others of that Trade might be free as they or, as the very words of the Statute are, THAT TO THE HONOUR OF ALMIGHTIE GOD, ALL THE KINGS SUBJECTS MIGHT BE HEREAFTER AT THEIR LIBERTIE, AS WELL AS THE INHABITANTS OF Saint Martins le Grand. Yet here it is to be observed that howsoever men were thus restrained from following certain businesses on the Lord's day, they were for all that suffered to enjoy their lawful pleasures on the same; such pleasures specially, as might tend to increase of manhood, and did not draw men on to unthrifty courses. For, in a Statute made in the 12th year of Richard the second, IT WAS ACCORDED AND ASSENTED, THAT NO Servant OF Husbandry, OR Labourer, NOR SERVANT OF Artificer, OR Victualler, SHALL FROM HENCEFORTH BEARE ANY BUCKLER, SWORD, NOR DAGGER, UPON FORFEITURE OF THE SAME, ETC. BUT SUCH Servants AND Labourers SHALL HAVE Bowes AND Arrowes, AND USE THE SAME THE Sundayes And holy-dayes, AND LEAVE ALL PLAY AT Tennis, OR Foot-ball, AND OTHER GAMES CALLED Coytes, Dice, Casting of the Stone, Kailes, AND OTHER SUCH IMPORTUNE [OR UNTHRIFTIE] GAMES: THE Sheriffes, Majors, Bayliffes, AND Constables, HAVING POWER TO ARREST ALL DOERS AGAINST THIS STATUTE, Cap.6. This Statute, in the 11th of King Henry the fourth, Cap. 4, was again confirmed, it being there WILLED, THAT IT BE FINNELY HOLDEN AND KEPT: and afterwards it seems, set on foot again by King Edward the fourth. For by the Proeme of the Statute, 17th of this King Edward the fourth, cap.3, it seemeth THAT MANY IN THAT TIME, DID SPEND THEIR holy dayes, IN Dice, Quoites, Tennis, Bowling, AND THE LIKE UNLAWFULL GAMES, FORBIDDEN (as is there affirmed) BY THE LAWES OF THE REALME. Which said unlawful Games are thereupon prohibited, under a further penalty in the Statute mentioned. By which it is most manifest that the prohibition was not only in reference to the time, Sundays, or any other holy days; but chiefly to the Games themselves, which were unlawful at all times: as tending TO THE IMPOVERISHING of some, AND THE PERNICIOUS EXAMPLE OF DIVERSE others OF THE KINGS LIEGE PEOPLE. So that the Recreations by the Law prohibited, were only of a riotous and unthrifty nature; and thereupon

forbidden by King Edward the fourth, at all times indifferently; Dancing, and other pastimes of that harmless quality, being meanwhile permitted and pursued accordingly; as we shall see at large in the next Section. For public actions in these times, the greatest were the Coronation of King Henry the fifth on Passion Sunday, Anno 1413, together with the Battles of Towton and Barnet; one, on Palm-Sunday; and the other, on Easter day; the greatest Fields that ever were fought in England.

(12) Now, for the Doctrine and practice of these present times, we cannot take a better view than in John de Burgo, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge about the latter end of King Henry the sixth. First, doctrinally he determineth, as before was said, that the Lord's day was instituted by the authority of the Church; and that it is no otherwise to be observed than by the Canons of the Church we are bound to keep it. Then, for the name of Sabbath, that the Lord's day, & quaelibet dies statuta ad divinam culturam, and every day appointed for God's public service may be so entitled, because in them we are to rest from all servile works; such as are Arts Mechanic, Husbandry, Law-days, and going to Markets, with other things, quae ab Ecclesia determinantur, which are determined by the Church. Lastly, that on those days, insistendum est orationibus, etc. we must be busied at our prayers, the public service of the Church, in Hymns, and in spiritual Songs, and in hearing Sermons. Next, practically, for such things as were then allowed of, he doth sort them thus. First, generally, Non tamen prohibentur his diebus facere quae pertinent ad providentiam necessariorum, etc. We are not those days restrained from doing such things as conduce to the providing of necessaries either for ourselves, or for our neighbors; as in preserving of our persons, or of our substance, or in avoiding any loss that might happen to us. Particularly next, si jacentibus, etc. In case our Corn and Hay in the fields abroad be in danger of a tempest, we may bring it in, yea, though it be upon the Sabbath. Butchers and Victuallers, if they make ready on the holy days what they must sell the morrow after, either in open Market or in their Shops; in case they cannot dress it on the day before; or being dressed, they cannot keep it, non peccant mortaliter, they fall not by so doing into mortal sin. Vectores mercium, etc. Carriers of Wares, or Men, or Victuals, unto distant places; in case they cannot do it upon other days, without inconvenience, are to be excused. Barbers and Chirurgions <surgeons>, Smiths or Farriers <horse-shoers>, if on the holy days they do the works of their daily labor, especially propter necessitatem eorum quibus serviunt, for the necessities

of those who want their help, are excusable also, but not in case they do it chiefly for desire of gain. Messengers, Posts, and Travelers, that travel, if some special occasion be, on the holy days; whether they do it for reward or not, non audeo condemnare, are not at all to be condemned. As neither Millers, which do grind either with Water-Mills or Wind-Mills, and so can do their work without much labor; but they may keep the custom of the place in the which they live, not being otherwise commanded by their Ordinaries: secus si tractu jumentorum multuram faciunt; but if it be an Horse-Mill, then the case is altered. So buying and selling on those days, in some present exigent, as the providing necessary Victuals for the day, was not held unlawful: dum tamen exercentes ea non subtrahunt se Divinis Officiis, in case they did not thereby keep themselves from God's public service. Lastly, for Recreations, for dancing on those days, he determines thus: "That they which dance on any of the holy days, either to stir themselves or others unto carnal lusts, commit mortal sin; and so they do (saith he) in case they do it any day. But it is otherwise if they dance upon honest causes, and no naughty purpose; and that the persons be not by Law restrained. Choreas ducentes, maxime in diebus festis, causa incitandi se, vel aleos, ad peccatum mortale, peccant mortaliter: & similiter si in profestis diebus hoc fiat: secus si hoc fiat ex causa honesta, & intentione non corrupta, & a persona, cui talia non sunt prohibita: as he at large resolves the matter. Which his determination, compared with that before remembered, out of the Statute-Laws of Richard the second, King Henry the fourth, and King Edward the fourth, make the matter plain that in these times all honest Recreations were permitted on the Lord's day and the other holy days, which either might enable the body, or refresh the mind.

(13) As for the times of King Henry the eighth, we cannot have a better warrant for the Doctrine then, than by two public Writings in those times set out. The Prelates and other learned men of the English Clergy had, in the latter end of that Prince's Reign, set forth a Book, which they entitled, The institution of a Christian man; containing the exposition or interpretation of the Common Creed, the seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, etc. This Book they published in the year 1537, subscribed it with the names of all the Bishops then of chief note, and dedicated to the King; "submitting it to his most excellent wisdom, and exact judgment, by him to be recognized, over-seen, and corrected, if he found any word or sentence in it, meet to be changed, qualified, or further expounded, for the plain setting forth of his most virtuous desire and

purpose in that behalf (for at his instance and command it was undertaken). Some six years after that, Anno 1543, the Work attaining to good credit, and having been both seen and well liked by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Nether House of Parliament; it was set out again by the King's Commandment, under the Title of, A necessarie Doctrine and erudition for any Christen man, with an Epistle of the King's, To all his faithfull and loving Subjects: "Wherein it is affirmed, to be a true declaration of the true knowledge of God and his Word; with the principal Articles of Religion, whereby men may uniformly be led and taught in the true undersanding of that, which is necessary for every Christen man to know, for the ordering of himself in this life, agreeable unto the will and pleasure of Almighty God." Now in this Book, which is the very same, almost, with that first published by the Clergy, and had been well allowed of, as before is said, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the House of Commons, it is thus determined: AS TOUCHING THIS Commandement, THERE IS A NOTABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS AND THE OTHER NINE. FOR, AS S. Austin SAITH, ALL THE OTHER NINE BE MERELY Morall Commandements, AND BELONGED IN THE TIME OF THE Old Testament, BUT ALSO BELONG NOW TO ALL Christen PEOPLE, IN THE New Testament. BUT THIS PRAECEPT OF THE Sabbot, AS CONCERNING REST FROM BODILY LABOUR, THE seventh day, IS Ceremoniall, AND PERTAINED ONLY TO THE Jewes, IN THE Old Testament, BEFORE THE COMMING OF CHRIST, AND PERTAINETH NOT TO US Christen PEOPLE, IN THE New Testament. NEVERTHELESSE, AS CONCERNING THE Spirituall Rest, WHICH IS FIGURED AND SIGNIFIED BY THIS CORPORALL REST, THAT IS TO SAY, REST FROM ALL CARNALL WORKES OF THE FLESH, AND ALL MANNER OF SINNE; THIS PRAECEPT IS Morall, AND REMAINETH STILL AND BINDETH THEM THAT BELONG UNTO Christ: AND NOT FOR EVERY seventh day ONELY, BUT FOR ALL DAYES, HOURES, AND TIMES. FOR AT ALL TIMES WE BE BOUND TO REST FROM FULFILLING OUR OWNE CARNALL WILL AND PLEASURES, ETC. FURTHERMORE, BESIDES THIS spirituall Rest, WHICH CHIEFELY AND PRINCIPALLY IS REQUIRED OF US, WE BE BOUND BY THIS PRAECEPT, at certaine times, TO CEASE FROM BODILY LABOUR, AND TO GIVE OUR MINDES entirely and holly UNTO GOD; TO HEARE THE Divine Service, APPROVED, USED, AND OBSERVED IN THE CHURCH; AND ALSO THE Word of God; TO ACKNOWLEDGE OUR OWNE SINFULNESSE UNTO GOD, AND HIS GREAT MERCIE AND GOODNESSE TO US; TO GIVE THANKES UNTO HIM FOR HIS BENEFITS; TO MAKE PUBLIKE AND common prayer FOR ALL THINGS NEEDFULL; TO VISIT THE SICKE, AND TO INSTRUCT EVERY MAN

HIS CHILDREN AND FAMILY IN VERTUE AND GOODNESSE, AND SUCH OTHER LIKE WORKES. WHICH THINGS ALTHOUGH all Christen PEOPLE BE BOUND UNTO BY THIS COMMANDEMENT, YET THE Sabbots day, WHICH IS CALLED THE Saturday, IS NOT NOW PRESCRIBED AND APPOINTED THEREUNTO, AS IT WAS UNTO THE Jewes; BUT IN STEAD OF THE Sabbote day, SUCCEEDETH THE Sunday, IN THE MEMORIE OF Christis RESURRECTION, AND ALSO MANY OTHER holy and festivall dayes, WHICH THE CHURCH HATH ORDAINED FROM TIME TO TIME; WHICH BE CALLED holy dayes, NOT BECAUSE ONE DAY IS MORE ACCEPTABLE TO GOD THAN ANOTHER, BUT BECAUSE THE Church HATH ORDAINED, THAT UPON THOSE DAYS WE SHOULD GIVE OUR SELVES holely, WITHOUT ANY IMPEDIMENT, UNTO SUCH holy workes AS HE BEFORE EXPRESSED; WHEREAS, UPON OTHER DAYES, WE MAY DOE AND APPLY OUR SELVES TO BODILY LABOUR, AND BE THEREBY MUCH LETTED FROM SUCH holy AND spirituall WORKES. Now, lest it might be thought that nothing else was lawful to be done on the holy days, but that which is before remembered; it pleased them to explain themselves, and to add as followeth: viz. That MEN MUST HAVE A SPECIALL REGARD, THAT THEY BE NOT OVER-SCRUPULOUS, OR RATHER superstitious, IN ABSTAINING FROM BODILY LABOUR ON THE holy day. FOR NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THAT IS AFORE SPOKEN, IT IS NOT MEANT, BUT WEE MAY UPON THE holy day GIVE OUR SELVES TO LABOUR, FOR THE SPEEDIE PERFORMANCE OF THE NECESSARIE AFFAIRES OF THE PRINCE AND Common- wealth, AT THE COMMANDEMENT OF THEM THAT HAVE RULE AND AUTHORITIE THEREIN: AND ALSO IN ALL OTHER TIMES OF NECESSITIE; AS FOR SAVING OF OUR CORNE AND CATTELL, WHEN IT IS LIKE TO BE IN DANGER, OF LIFE TO BE DESTROYED, IF REMEDIE BE NOT HAD IN TIME. FOR THIS LESSON OUR Savior TAUGHT US IN HIS HOLY Gospel, AND WEE NEED NOT HAVE ANY GRUDGE OR SCRUPLE IN CONSCIENCE, IN CASE OF SUCH NECESSITIE, TO LABOUR ON THE holy dayes; BUT RATHER WE SHOULD OFFEND, IF WE SHOULD FOR SCRUPULOSITIE NOT SAVE, THAT GOD HATH SENT FOR THE SUSTENANCE AND RELIEFE OF HIS PEOPLE. AND YET, IN SUCH TIMES OF NECESSITIE, IF THEIR BUSINESSE BE NOT VERY GREAT AND URGENT, MEN OUGHT TO HAVE SUCH REGARD TO THE holy day, THAT THEY DOE BESTOW SOME CONVENIENT TIME, IN HEARING Divine Service, AS IS AFORESAID. So that we see that by the public Doctrine of those times, there was not any thing either determind or allowed of in the present business, but what was very consonant unto the Doctrine of the Fathers, and resolutions of the Learned in the former times; and what was

seconded by the Martyrs in this Church of England, and those most excellent Princes which next followed; to which now we hasten.

CHAPTER 8.

THE STORIE OF THE LORDS DAY, FROM THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION, IN THIS KINGDOME, TILL THIS PRESENT TIME.

(1) The Doctrine of the Sabbath, and the Lords day, delivered by three severall Martyrs, conformably to the judgement of the Protestants, before remembered. (2) The Lords day, and the other holy dayes, confessed by all this Kingdome, in the Court of Parliament, to have no other ground, than the authoritie of the Church. (3) The meaning and occasion of that Clause in the Common Prayer-Booke, Lord have mercie upon us, etc. repeated at the end of the fourth Commandement. (4) That by the Queenes Injunctions, and the first Parliament of her Reigne, the Lords day was not meant for a Sabbath day. (5) The Doctrine in the Homilies delivered, about the Lords day, and the Sabbath. (7) The first originall of the New Sabbath Speculations, in this Church of England; by whom, and for what cause, invented. (8) Strange and most monstrous Paradoxes, preached on occasion of the former Doctrines; and of the other dangerous effects thereof. (9) What care was taken of the Lords day, in King James his Reigne; the spreading of the former Doctrines; and of the Articles of Ireland. (10) The Jewish Sabbath set on foot: and of King James his declaration about lawfull sports, on the Lords day. (11) What Tracts were writ and published in that Princes time, in opposition to the Doctrines before remembered. (12) In what estate the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, have stood in Scotland, since the reformation of Religion in that Kingdome. (13) Statutes about the Lords day, made in the Reigne of our dread Sovereigne, now being; and the misconstruing of the same: His Majestie reviveth and enlargeth the declaration of King James. (14) An exhortation to obedience unto his Majesties most Christian purpose, concludes this Historie.

(1) **THUS** are we safely come to these present times, the times of reformation wherein what ever had been taught or done in the former days, was publicly brought unto the Test; and if not well approved of, laid aside,

either as unprofitable or plainly hurtfull. So dealt the Reformators of the Church of England as with other things, with that which we have now in hand, the Lord's day, and the other holy days: keeping the days, as many of them, as were thought convenient for the advancement of true godliness and increase of piety; but paring off those superstitious conceits and matters of opinion which had been entertained about them. But first; before we come to this, we will, by way of preparation, lay down the judgments of some men in the present point; men of good quality in their times, and such as were content to be made a sacrifice in the Common Cause. Of these, I shall take notice of three particularly, according to the several times in the which they lived. And first, we will begin with Master Fryth, who suffered in the year 1533, who in his Declaration of Baptism thus declares himself: "Our fore-fathers (saith he) which were in the beginning of the Church, did abrogate the Sabbath, to the intent that men might have an ensample of Christian liberty, etc. Howbeit because it was necessary that a day should be reserved in which the people should come together to hear the Word of God, they ordained instead of the Sabbath which was Saturday, the next day following which is Sunday. And although they might have kept the Saturday with the Jew, as a thing indifferent; yet they did much better." Some three years after him, Anno 1536, being the 28th of Henry the 8th, suffered Master Tyndall; who in his answer to Sir Thomas More hath resolved it thus: "As for the Sabbath we be Lords over the Sabbath, and may yet change it into Monday, or into any other day, as we see need; or may make every tenth day holy only, if we see cause why. Neither was there any cause to change it from the saturday, but to put a difference between us and the Jews; neither need we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it." Last of all, Bishop Hooper, sometimes Bishop of Gloucester, who suffered in Queen Mary's reign, doth in a Treatise by him written on the ten Commandments, and printed in the year 1550, go the self-same way. "We may not think (saith he) that God gave any more holiness to the Sabbath, than to the other days. For if ye consider Friday, Saturday, or Sunday, in as much as they be days, and the work of God, the one is no more holy, in the which we must apply and give ourselves unto holy works. To that end did he sanctify the Sabbath day, not that we should give ourselves to illness, or such Ethnical pastime as is now used amongst Ethnical people: but being free that day from the travails of this world, we might consider the works and benefits of God, with thanksgiving; hear the Word of God, honor him and fear him; then to learn who and where be the poor of Christ, that want our help." Thus they: and

they amongst them have resolved on these four conclusions: First, That one day is no more holy than another, the Sunday than the Saturday or the Friday, further than they are set apart for holy uses. Secondly, That the Lord's day hath no institution from divine authority, but was ordained by our fore-fathers in the beginning of the Church, that so the people might have a day to come together and hear God's Word: thirdly, That still the Church hath power to change the day, from Sunday unto Monday, or what day she will. And lastly, That one day in seven, is not the Moral part of the fourth Commandment: for M. Tyndall saith expressly, that by the Church of God, each tenth day only may be kept holy, if we see cause why. So that the marvel is the greater that any man should now affirm, as some men have done, that they are willing to lay down both their lives and livings in maintenance of those contrary Opinions which in these latter days have been taken up.

(2) Now that which was affirmed by them, in their particulars, was not long afterwards made good by the general body of this Church and State, the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all the Commons met in Parliament, Anno the fifth and sixth of King Edward the sixth; where, to the honor of Almighty God, it was thus enacted: FOR AS MUCH AS MEN BEE NOT AT ALL TIMES SO MINDFULL TO LAUD AND PRAISE GOD, SO READIE TO RESORT TO HEARE GODS HOLY WORD, AND TO COME TO THE HOLY COMMUNION, ETC. AS THEIR BOUNDEN DUTY DOTHTH REQUIRE: THEREFORE, TO CALL MEN TO REMEMBRANCE OF THEIR DUTIE, AND TO HELP THEIR INFIRMITIE, IT HATH BEEN WHOLESOMELY PROVIDED, THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME certaine times and dayes appointed, WHEREIN THE Christians SHOULD CEASE from all kind of labor, AND APPLY THEMSELVES ONLY AND WHOLLY UNTO THE AFORESAID holy works PROPERLY PERTAINING TO TRUE RELIGION, etc. WHICH WORKES AS THEY MAY WELL BE CALLED Gods Service SO THE times ESPECIALLY APPOINTED FOR THE SAME, ARE CALLED holy dayes: NOT FOR THE matter OF THE nature EITHER OF THE time OR day etc. FOR SO ALL dayes and times ARE SANCTIFIED AND HALLOWED: that is to say, SEPARATED FROM ALL prophane uses, AND DEDICATED NOT UNTO ANY SAINT OR CREATURE, BUT ONLY UNTO God, AND HIS TRUE WORSHIP. NEITHER IS IT TO BE THOUGHT, THAT THERE IS ANY certaine time OR definite number of dayes, PRESCRIBED IN holy Scripture; BUT THE appointment BOTH OF THE time AND ALSO OF THE number of dayes, IS LEFT BY THE authoritie of Gods Word UNTO THE libertie of Christs Church, TO BE DETERMINED AND

ASSIGNED ORDERLY IN EVERY COUNTRY, BY THE DISCRETION OF THE Rulers And Ministers THEREOF, AS THEY SHALL JUDGE MOST EXPEDIENT, TO THE TRUE SETTING FORTH OF Gods GLORY, AND EDIFICATION OF THEIR PEOPLE. Nor is it to be thought, that all this Preamble was made in reference to the holy days or Saint's days only; whose being left to the authority of the Church, was never questioned; but in relation to the Lord's day also, as by the Act itself doth at full appear; for so it followeth in the Act: BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED ETC. THAT ALL THE dayes HEREAFTER MENTIONED SHALL BE KEPT AND COMMANDED TO BE KEPT holy dayes, AND NONE OTHER: THAT IS TO SAY, all Sundayes IN THE YEERE, THE FEASTS OF THE Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, OF THE Epiphanie, OF THE Purification (with all the rest now kept, and there named particularly), AND THAT NONE OTHER DAY SHALL BE KEPT AND COMMANDED TO BE KEPT HOLY DAY, AND TO ABSTAINE FROM LAWFULL BODILY LABOUR. Nay, which is more, there is a further Clause in the self-same Act, which plainly shows that they had no such thought of the Lord's day as that it was a Sabbath, or so to be observed as the Sabbath was; and therefore did provide it, and enact by the authority aforesaid, THAT IT SHALL BE LAWFULL TO EVERY Husbandman, Labourer, Fisherman, AND TO ALL AND EVERY other person and persons, OF WHAT ESTATE, DEGREE, OR CONDITION HE OR THEY BE, UPON THE holy dayes AFORESAID in Harvest, OR AT ANY OTHER TIMES IN THE YEERE, WHEN necessitie shall so require, TO LABOUR, RIDE, FISH, OR WORKE ANY KIND OF WORKE, AT THEIR FREEWILS AND PLEASURE: ANY THING IN THIS ACT UNTO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING. This is the total of this Act; which if examined well, as it ought to be, will yield us all those propositions or conclusions before remembered, which we collected from the writings of those three particular Martyrs. Nor it is to be said that it is repealed and of no authority. Repealed indeed it was, in the first year of Queen Mary; and stood repealed in Law, though otherwise in use and practice all the long Reign of Queen Elizabeth: but in the first year of King James was revived again. Note here that in the self-same Parliament the Common Prayer Booke, now in use, being reviewed by many godly Prelates, was confirmed and authorized: wherein so much of the said Act as doth concern the names and number of the holy days is expressed, and as it were incorporate into the same. Which makes it manifest that in the purpose of the Church, the Sunday was no other wise esteemed of than another holy day. Note further that the Parliament had declared no more than what had formerly been set forth by the King himself, Injunctions by him published Anno

1547, in the first entrance of his Reign, which being verbatim (in this point) set out by Queen Elizabeth, I shall defer until we come unto her time. So that both by Ecclesiastical, Regal, and Parliamentary authority, the Lord's day was confessed to be of very different nature from the former Sabbath.

(3) But to proceed, this Statute, as before we said, was made in Anno 5th and 6th of Edward the sixth: And in that very Parliament the Common Prayer-Booke was confirmed, which still remains in use amongst us; save that there was AN ALTERATION OR ADDITION OF CERTAIN LESSONS TO BE USED ON EVERY Sunday OF THE YEERE; THE FORME OF THE Letanie <litany> ALTERED AND CORRECTED; AND TWO SENTENCES ADDED IN THE DELIVERY OF THE Sacrament UNTO THE COMMUNICANTS. Now in this Common Prayer-Booke thus confirmed, in the fifth and sixth years of King Edward the 6th it pleased those who had the altering and revising of it, that the Commandments, which were not in the former Liturgy allowed of in the second of the said King's Reign, should now be added, and accounted as a part of this; the people being willed to say after the end of each Commandment, Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law. Which being used accordingly, as well upon the hearing of the fourth Commandment as of any others, hath given some men a color to persuade themselves that certainly it was the meaning of the Church that we should keep a Sabbath still, though the day be changed; and that we are obliged to do it by the fourth Commandment. Assuredly they who so conclude, conclude against the meaning of the Book, and of them that made it. Against the meaning of the Book: for if the Book had so intended that that ejaculation was to be understood in a literal sense according as the words are laid down in terminis, it then must be the meaning of the Book that we should pray unto the Lord to keep the Sabbath of the Jews, even the seventh day precisely, from the World's Creation; and keep it in the self- same manner as the Jews once did; which no man, I presume, will say was the meaning of it. For of the changing of the day there is nothing said, nor nothing intimated; but the whole Law laid down in terminis, as the Lord delivered it. Against the meaning also of them that made it; for they that made the Book, and reviewed it afterwards and caused these passages and Prayers to be added to it; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ridley, Bishop of London; and certain others of the Prelates then and there assembled, were the same men by whose advice and counsel the Act before remembered, about keeping holy days, was in the self-same Parliament drawn up and perfected. They which confirmed the Book by them so

contrived, the self-same Lords and Commons which had consented thereunto. And he by whose most supreme power it was authorized; the very same which in his regal Injunctions five years before, and those continuing still in force, had absolutely determined of the Lord's day, that it was not founded on the fourth Commandment. And is it possible we should conceive so ill of those reverend, wise, and sacred persons, as that they would erect a Sabbath in the one Act, and beat it down so totally in the other; to tell us in the Service-Booke, that we are bound to keep a Sabbath, and that the time and day of God's public worship, is either pointed out in the fourth Commandment, or otherwise ordained by Divine Authority; and in the self-same breath, to tell us, that there is neither certain time, nor definite number of days prescribed in Scripture, but all this left unto the liberty of the Church? I say, as formerly I said, it is impossible we should think so ill of such reverend persons; nor do I think that any will so think hereafter, when they have once considered the non sequitur of their own conclusions. As for the Prayer there used, we may thus expound it according to the doctrine and the practice both, of those very times: viz. That their intent and meaning was to teach the people to pray unto the Lord, to incline their hearts to keep that Law, as far as it contained the Law of Nature and had been entertained in the Christian Church; as also to have mercy on them for the neglect thereof, in those holy days which by the Wisdom and Authority of his Church had been set apart for GOD'S public Service. Besides, this Prayer was then conceived, when there was no suspicion that any would make use thereof to introduce a Jewish Sabbath; but when men rather were inclined to the contrary error, to take away those certain and appointed times, Lord's days, and other holy days, which by the wisdom of the Church had been retained in the Reformation. The Anabaptists were strongly bent that way, as before we showed; and if we look into the Articles of our Church, we shall there find what special care was taken to suppress their errors in other points, which had took footing, as it seems, in this Church and Kingdom. Therefore the more likely is it that this Clause was added to crush their furious fancies in this particular, of not hallowing certain days and times to God's public Service. Yet I conceive withal that had those reverend Prelates forseen how much their pious purpose would have been abused, by wresting it to introduce a Sabbath which they never meant, they would have cast their meaning in another mold.

(4) Proceed we to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, that so much celebrated Princess, and in the first place, we shall meet with her Injunctions, published the first year of her Empire: in which the Sunday is not only counted with the other holy days, but labor at some times permitted, and which is more, enjoined upon it. King Edward her beloved Brother had formerly declared his will and pleasure in the self-same words; which she did new revive and publish in this form that followeth: ALL THE QUEENES FAITHFUL AND LOVING SUBJECTS SHALL FROM HENCEFORTH CELEBRATE AND KEEPE THEIR holy day ACCORDING TO GODS HOLY WILL AND PLEASURE: that is, IN HEARING THE WORD OF GOD READ, AND TAUGHT: IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIKE PRAYERS; IN KNOWLEDGING THEIR OFFENCES UNTO GOD, AND AMENDMENT OF THE SAME: IN RECONCILING OF THEMSELVES CHARITABLY TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS, WHERE DISPLEASURE HATH BEEN; IN OFTENTIMES RECEIVING THE COMMUNION OF THE BODIE AND BLOOD OF Christ; IN VISITING THE POORE, AND SICKE; USING ALL SOBERNESSE, AND GODLY CONVERSATION. This seems to be severe enough; but what followeth next? YET NOTWITHSTANDING, ALL Parsons, Vicars, and Curates SHALL TEACH AND DECLARE TO THEIR PARISHIONERS, THAT THEY MAY, WITH a safe and quiet Conscience, AFTER THEIR Common Prayer, IN THE TIME OF Harvest, LABOUR UPON THE holy and festivall dayes, AND SAVE THAT THING WHICH GOD HATH SENT; AND IF FOR ANY scrupulositie OR grudge of Conscience, MEN SHOULD SUPERSTITIOUSLY ABSTAIN FROM WORKING ON THESE DAIES, THAT THEN THEY SHOULD GRIEVOUSLY OFFEND AND DISPLEASE GOD. This makes it evident that Queen Elizabeth in her own particular, took not the Lord's day for a Sabbath; or to be of a different nature from the other holy days; nor was it taken so by the whole Body of our Church and State, in the first Parliament of her Reign; what time it was enacted THAT ALL AND EVERY PERSON AND PERSONS INHABITING WITHIN THIS REALME, AND ANY OTHER OF THE QUEENES DOMINIONS, SHALL DILIGENTLY AND FAITHFULLY, HAVING NO LAWFULL OR REASONABLE EXCUSE TO BE ABSENT, ENDEVOUR THEMSELVES TO RESORT TO THEIR PARISH CHURCH, OR CHAPPELL, ACCUSTOMED; OR UPON REASONABLE LET THEREOF, TO SOME USUALL PLACE WHERE Common Prayer SHALL BE USED IN SUCH TIME OF LET, UPON EVERY Sunday, AND OTHER DAYES ORDAINED AND USED TO BE KEPT AS holy dayes, AND THEN AND THERE TO ABIDE ORDERLY AND SOBERLY, DURING THE TIME OF Common Prayer, Preaching, OR OTHER SERVICE OF GOD. Nor was it only so enacted and no more but so; but in the sequel of the Law, the self-same penalty is imposed

on them which come not to the Church on the holy days, which is inflicted upon those which neglect the Sundays. For so it followeth in the Statute before remembered: That EVERY PERSON SO OFFENDING, shall not alone be subject unto the CENSURES OF THE CHURCH, but shall FORFEIT FOR EVERY SUCH OFFENCE TWELVE PENCE, TO BE LEVIED TO THE USE OF THE POORE OF THE SAME PARISH BY THE Church-wardens OF THE SAME, etc. Which were it executed as it ought, the holy days might in little time regain that credit which they now have lost. This Law is still in force, and still like to be; and by this Law the Sundays and the holy days are alike regarded. Nor by the Law only, but by the purpose and intent of holy Church, who in her public Liturgy is as full and large for every one of the holy days as for the Sunday, the Litany excepted only. For otherwise, by the rule and prescript thereof, the same Religious Offices are designed for both, the same devout attendance required for both; and whatsoever else may make both equal. And therefore by this Statute, and the Common Prayer-Booke, we are to keep more Sabbaths than the Lord's-day Sabbath, or else none at all.

(5) Next look we on the Homilies, part of the public Monuments of the Church of England, set forth and authorized, Anno 1562, being the 4th of that Queen's Reign. In that entitled, Of the place and time of Prayer, we shall find it thus: AS CONCERNING the time IN WHICH GOD HATH APPOINTED HIS PEOPLE TO ASSEMBLE TOGETHER SOLEMNLY, IT DOTHTH APPEARE BY THE fourth Commandement, etc. AND ALBEIT THIS Commandement OF GOD DOTHTH NOT binde Christian people SO STRAITLY TO OBSERVE AND KEEPE THE UTTER CEREMONIES OF the Sabbath day AS IT DID THE Jewes, AS TOUCHING THE FORBEARING OF WORKE AND LABOUR IN THE TIME OF GREAT NECESSITY, AND AS TOUCHING THE PRECISE KEEPING OF THE SEVENTH DAY, AFTER THE MANNER OF THE Jewes: (FOR WEE KEEPE NOW THE FIRST DAY, WHICH IS OUR SUNDAY, AND MAKE THAT OUR SABBATH, THAT IS our day of rest, IN HONOUR OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, WHO AS UPON THAT DAY ROSE FROM DEATH, CONQUERING THE SAME MOST TRIUMPHANTLY.) YET NOTWITHSTANDING WHATSOEVER IS FOUND IN THE Commandement APPERTAINING TO the Law of Nature, AS A THING MOST GODLY, MOST LUST, AND NEEDFULL FOR THE SETTING FORTH OF GODS GLORY, OUGHT TO BE RETAINED AND KEPT OF ALL GOOD Christian people. AND THEREFORE BY THIS Commandement WE OUGHT TO HAVE A TIME, as one day in the weeke, WHEREIN WE OUGHT TO REST YEA FROM OUR LAWFULL AND NEEDFULL

WORKS. FOR LIKE AS IT APPEARETH BY THIS Commandement, THAT NO MAN IN THE SIX DAYES OUGHT TO BE SLOTHFULL AND IDLE, BUT DILIGENTLY TO LABOUR IN THAT STATE WHEREIN GOD HATH SET HIM, EVEN SO GOD HATH GIVEN EXPRESSE CHARGE TO ALL MEN, THAT UPON THE Sabbath day, WHICH IS NOW OUR Sunday, THEY SHOULD CEASE FROM ALL WEEKELY AND WORKEDAY LABOUR: TO THE INTENT THAT LIKE AS GOD HIMSELFE WROUGHT SIX DAYES AND RESTED THE SEVENTH, AND BLESSED AND SANCTIFIED IT, AND CONSECRATED IT TO QUIETNESSE AND REST FROM LABOUR; EVENSO GODS OBEDIENT PEOPLE SHOULD USE the Sunday HOLILY, & REST FROM THEIR common and daily businesse, AND ALSO GIVE THEMSELVES WHOLY TO HEAVENLY EXERCISES OF GODS TRUE RELIGION AND SERVICE. SO THAT GOD DOTH NOT ONELY COMMAND THE OBSERVATION OF THIS holy day; BUT ALSO BY HIS EXAMPLE DOTH STIRRE AND PROVOKE US TO THE DILIGENT KEEPING OF THE SAME, ETC. THUS IT MAY PLAINELY APPEARE THAT GODS WILL AND COMMANDEMENT WAS TO HAVE A SOLEMNE TIME AND STANDING DAY in the weeke, WHEREIN THE PEOPLE SHOULD COME TOGETHER, AND HAVE IN REMEMBRANCE HIS WONDERFULL BENEFITS, AND TO RENDER HIM THANKES FOR THEM, AS APPERTAINETH TO LOVING, KINDE, AND OBEDIENT PEOPLE. THIS EXAMPLE and Commandement OF GOD, the godly Christian people beganne to follow IMMEDIATELY after the Ascension of our LORD CHRIST, AND BEGANNE TO CHOOSE THEM a standing day of the weeke to COME TOGETHER IN: YET NOT THE seaventh day, WHICH THE Jewes KEPT, BUT THE Lords day, THE DAY OF THE LORDS RESURRECTION, THE DAY AFTER THE SEAVENTH DAY, WHICH IS THE first day of the weeke, etc. SITHENCE <since> WHICH TIME, GODS PEOPLE HATH ALWAYS IN ALL AGES, WITHOUT ANY GAINSAING, USED TO COME TOGETHER ON THE Sunday, TO CELEBRATE AND HONOUR THE LORDS BLESSED NAME, AND CAREFULLY TO KEEP THAT DAY IN HOLY REST AND QUIETNESSE, BOTH MAN, AND WOMAN, CHILDE, SERVANT AND STRANGER. So far the Homily, and this is all thereof which is doctrinal. The residue consists in reprehension of two sorts of men: one of the which, IF THEY HAD ANY BUSINESSE TO DOE, THOUGH there were no extreme need, WOULD NOT SPARE the Sunday, BUT USED ALL DAYES ALIKE; the holy dayes and worke-dayes ALL AS ONE; the other so consumed the day IN GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESSE, AND SUCH FLESHLY BUSINESSE, that as it is there said, THE LORD WAS MORE DISHONOURED AND THE DEVILL BETTER SERVED on the Sunday, THEN UPON ALL THE DAYES IN THE WEEKE BESIDES.

(6) This saith the Homily, and this hath often been alleged, as well to prove a Lord's day Sabbath, to be allowed of by the Doctrine of the Church of England; as at this present time, to justify the disobedience of those men who have refused to publish the Prince's pleasure in point of recreations. But this, if well examined, will as little help them, as Lord have mercy upon us, in the Common Prayer Booke. For first it is here said, that there is no more of the fourth Commandment to be retained and kept of good Christian people, than whatsoever is found in it appertaining to the Law of Nature. But we have showed before, that there is nothing in the fourth Commandment of the Law of nature, but that some time be set apart for God's public service: the Precept, so far forth as it enjoins one day in seven, or the seventh day precisely from the World's creation, being avowed for ceremonial by all kind of Writers. Secondly it is said, not that the Lord's day was enjoined by Divine authority, either by Christ himself or his Apostles; but chosen for a standing day to come together in by godly Christian people, immediately after the Ascension of our Lord Christ. If chose by them, then not enjoined by the Apostles: if not till after the Ascension of our Savior Christ, then not at all by him commanded. Thirdly, whereas they chose themselves a standing day in the week to come together in, they did not this by any obligation laid upon them by the fourth Commandment, but only by a voluntary following of God's example, and the Analogy or equity of God's Commandment; which was (they do not say which is) that he would have [amongst the Jews] a solemn time and standing day in the week, wherein the people should have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and render thanks to him for the same. For it is said that this Example and Commandment of God, the godly Christian people began to follow after Christ's Ascension: so that it seems they might have chosen whether they would have followed it or not. Fourthly, when they had chose this day which we now observe, for their public meetings, they did not think themselves obliged by the fourth Commandment to forbear work and labor in time of great necessity, or to the precise keeping of the same after the manner of the Jews; both which they must have done, had they conceived the keeping of one day in seven to be the moral part of the fourth Commandment, and to oblige us now, no less than it did them formerly, as some men have taught us. Now whereas some have drawn from hence these two Conclusions: First, that according to this Homily we ought to keep one day in seven, by the fourth Commandment; and secondly, that we must spend it wholly in religious exercises. I would fain know how those conclusions can be raised from the former premises. It's

true, the Homily hath told us that by the 4th Commandment we ought to have a time, as one day in the week, wherein we ought to rest from our needful works. Where note, that there is not said that by the fourth Commandment we ought to have one day in the week, which is plain and peremptory; but that we ought to have a time as one day in the week, which was plainly arbitrary. A time we ought to have by the fourth Commandment, as being that part of it which pertains to the Law of Nature; but for the next words, as one day in the week, they are not there laid down as imposed on us by the Law; but only instanced in, as settled at that time in the Church of God. So where it is affirmed in another place that God's will and commandment was to have a solemn time and standing day in the week, we grant indeed that so it was; and that the Godly Christian people in the Primitive times were easily induced to give God no less than what he formerly commanded. But had the meaning of the Homily been this, that we were bound to have a standing day in the week by the fourth Commandment; they would have plainly said, It is God's will and pleasure that it should be so, and not have told us what it was in the times before. It's true, the Homily hath told us that we should rest ourselves on Sunday from our common business, and so give ourselves wholly to heavenly exercises of God's true Religion and service. Where note it is not said, that we should spend the day wholly in heavenly exercises; for then there were no time allowed us to eat and drink, which are mere natural employments; but that we give ourselves wholly, that is our whole selves body and soul, to the performance of those heavenly exercises which are required of us in the way of true Religion and God's public service. It is accounted, as we have formerly made plain, to be the ceremonial part of the fourth Commandment, *Quod fiat semel in qualibet hebdomada; & quod fiat in una die tota, ista observatio; & quod per totam diem abstinenceatur ab operibus servilibus*: first, the determining of the day, to be one in seven; next, that this one day wholly be so employed; and last of all, that all that day there be an absolute cessation from all servile works. Therefore the spending wholly of one day in seven, being ceremonial, comes not within the compass of the Homily; which would have no more of the fourth Commandment to be kept amongst us than what is appertaining to the Law of Nature. Now it pertains to the Law of Nature, that for the times appointed to God's public worship, we wholly sequester ourselves from all worldly businesses; *naturale est quod dum Deum colimus, ab aliis absteineamus*, as Tostatus hath it: and then the meaning of the Homily will be briefly this, that for those times which are appointed by the Church for

the assembly of God's people, we should lay by our daily business and all worldly thoughts, and wholly give ourselves to the heavenly exercises of God's true Religion & service. But to encounter them at their own weapon, it is expressly said in the Act of Parliament about keeping holy days, that on the days & times appointed, as well the other holy days as the Sunday, Christians should cease from all kind of labor, and only and wholly apply themselves to such holy works as appertain to true Religion: the very same with that delivered in the Homily. If wholly in the Homily must be applied unto the day, then it must be there <if in one place, then in the other>: and then the Saint's days, and the other holy days, must be wholly spent in religious exercises. When once we see them do the one, we will bethink ourselves of doing the other. And this I take to be the mind and meaning of that Homily; sure I am yet is most agreeable unto the doctrine of those times, and the men that made it. For had it been their purpose to advance the Sunday into the room and and dignity of the Jewish Sabbath, as some now gather from the same, they must directly have opposed the Queen's Injunctions, wherein it is no otherwise esteemed of than the other holy days; and labor on the same permitted in time of Harvest. And not so only, but they must have confuted those Acts of Parliament, 5th and 6th of Edward the 6th and 1st Eliz. before remembered; In the first of which the Sunday and the other holy days are publicly avowed to have no other ground than the Authority of the Church; and in the 2nd diligent attendance in the Church, both on the one and on the other, is required alike, and the penalty inflicted on all those which offend therein. Nay they must needs run cross, against the service of the Church, which hath appointed no less solemn forms of Prayers upon the other holy days than upon the Sunday, had they intended to advance the Sunday to so high a pitch as some men imagine. As for the residue of that Homily, which consists in popular reproofs and exhortations, that concerns not us in reference to the point in hand. The Homilies, those parts thereof especially which tend to the correction of manners and reformation of abuses, were made agreeable to those times wherein they were first published. If in those times men made no difference between the working day and holy day, but kept their Fairs and Markets, and bought and sold, and rowed and ferried, and drove and carried, and rode and journeyed, and did their other business, on the Sunday as well as on the other days, when there was no such need but that they might have tarried longer; they were the more to blame, no doubt, in trespassing so wilfully against the Canons of the Church, and Acts of Parliament, which had restrained many of the things

there specified. The Homily did well to reprove them for it. If on the other side, they spent the day in ungodliness and filthiness, in gluttony, and drunkenness, and such like other crying sins as are there particularly noted, the Prelates of the Church had very ill discharged their duty had they not took some course to have told them of it. But what is that to us, who do not spend the Lord's day in such filthy fleshliness (what ever one malicious Sycophant hath affirmed therein), or what is that to dancing, shooting, leaping, vaulting, May-games, and meetings of good Neighborhood, or any other recreation not by law prohibited, being no such ungodly and filthy acts as are therein mentioned?

(7) Thus upon due search made, and full examination of all parties, we find no Lord's day Sabbath in the Booke of Homilies: no not in any writings of particular men, in more than 33 years after the Homilies were published. I find indeed that in the year 1580, the Magistrates of the City of London obtained from Queen Elizabeth that Plays and Enterludes should no more be Acted on the Sabbath day within the Liberties of their City. As also that in <15>83, on the 14th of January being Sunday, many were hurt, and eight killed outright by the sudden falling of the Scaffolds in Paris-garden. This shows that Enterludes and Bear-baitings were then permitted on the Sunday, and so they were a long time after, though not within the City of London: which certainly had not been suffered, had it been then conceived that Sunday was to be accounted for a Sabbath; at least for such a Sabbath as some now have made us. But in the year 1595, some of that faction which before had labored with small profit to overthrow the Hierarchy and government of this Church of England, now set themselves on work to ruinate all the orders of it; to beat down at one blow all days and times which by the Wisdom and authority of the Church had been appointed for God's service; and in the stead thereof to erect a Sabbath of their own devising. These Sabbath speculations and Presbyterian directions, as mine Author calls them, they had been hammering more than ten years before, though they produced them not till now; and in producing of them now, they introduced, saith he, A more than either Jewish or Popish superstition into the Land, to the no small blemish of our Christian profession, and scandal to the true servants of God, and therewith doctrine most erroneous, dangerous, and Antichristian. Of these, the principal was one Doctor Bound, who published first his Sabbath Doctrines Anno 1595, and after with additions to it and enlargements of it, Anno 1606. Wherein he hath affirmed in general over all the Book, that the Commandment of

sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is natural, moral, and perpetual; that where all other things in the Jewish Church were so changed that they were clean taken away, as the Priesthood, the Sacrifices, and the Sacraments; this day, the Sabbath, was so changed that it still remaineth, p. 91, that there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straightly bound to rest upon the Lords's day as the Jews were on their Sabbath; for being one of the moral Commandments, it bindeth us, as well as them, being of all equal authority, p. 247. And for the Rest upon this Day, that it must be a notable and singular Rest, a most careful, exact, and precise Rest, after another manner than men were accustomed, p. 124. Then for particulars; no buying of Victuals, Flesh or Fish, Bread or Drink, 158; no Carriers to travel on that Day, 160; nor Packmen, or Drovers, 162; Scholars not to study the liberal Arts; nor Lawyers to consult the Case, and peruse men's Evidences, 163; Sergeants, Apparitours, and Sumners, to be restrained from executing their Offices, 164; Justices not to examine Causes, for preservation of the Peace, 166; No man to travel on that Day, 192; That Ringing of more Bells than one, that Day, is not to be justified, p. 202; No solemn Feasts, to be made on it, 206; nor Wedding Dinners, 209; with a permission notwithstanding to Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen (he hoped to find good welcome for this Dispensation), p. 211. All Lawful Pleasures, and honest Recreations, as Shooting, Fencing, Bowling (but Bowling, by his leave, is no lawful Pleasure for all sorts of people), which are permitted on other days, were on this Day to be forborne, 202; No man to speak or talk of Pleasures, p. 272; or any other worldly matter, 275. Most Magisterially determined; indeed, more like a Jewish Rabbin than a Christian Doctor. Yet Jewish and Rabbinical though his Doctrine were, it carried a fair face and show of Piety, at the least in the opinion of the common people; and such, who stood not to examine the true grounds thereof, but took it up on the appearance; such, who did judge thereof, not by the workmanship of the Stuff, but the gloss and color. In which, it is most strange to see how suddenly men were induced not only to give way unto it, but without more ado, to abet the same; till in the end, and that in very little time, it grew the most bewitching Error, the most popular Deceit, that ever had been set on foot in the Church of England. And verily I persuade myself, that many an honest and well-meaning man, both of the Clergy and the Laity, either because of the appearance of the thing itself, or out of some opinion of those men who first endeavored to promote it, became exceedingly affected towards the same; as taking it to be a Doctrine sent down from

Heaven for increase of Piety. So easily did they believe it, and grew at last so strongly possessed therewith, that in the end they would not willingly be persuaded to conceive otherwise thereof, than at first they did; or think they swallowed down the Hook, when they took the Bait. An Hook indeed, which had so fastened them to those men who love to fish in troubled waters, that by this artifice, there was no small hope conceived amongst them to fortify their side and make good that cause, which till this trim Deceit was thought of, was almost grown desperate. Once, I am sure, that by this means the Brethren, who before endeavored to bring all Christain Kings and Princes under the yoke of their Presbyteries, made little doubt to bring them under the command of their Sabbath Doctrines. And though they failed of that applauded parity which they so much aimed at, in the advancing of their Elderships; yet hoped they without more ado to bring all higher Powers what ever into an equal rank with the common people, in the observance of their Jewish Sabbatarian rigors. So Doctor Bound declares himself, p. 171. "The Magistrate, saith he, and governor in authority, how high soever, cannot take any privilege to himself, whereby he might be occupied about worldly business, when other men should rest from labor." It seems they hoped to see the greatest King and Princes make suit unto their Consistory for a Dispensation; as often as the great Affairs of State, or what cause soever, induced them otherwise to spend that Day, or any part or parcel of it, than by the new Sabbath Doctrine had been permitted. For the endearing of the which, as formerly to advance their Elderships, they spared no place or Text of Scripture where the word Elder did occur; and without going to the Heralds, had framed a Pedigree thereof, from Jethro, from Noah's Ark, and from Adam finally. So did these men proceed in their new Devices, publishing out of the holy Writ both the antiquity and authority of their Sabbath day. No passage of God's Book unransacked, where there was mention of a Sabbath, whether the Legal Sabbath, charged the Jews, or the spiritual Sabbath of the Soul from sin, which was not fitted and applied to the present purpose; though, if examined as it ought with no better reason than *Paveant illi, & non paveam ego*, was by an ignorant Priest alleged from Scripture to prove that his Parishioners ought to pave the Chancell. Yet, upon confidence of these proofs, they did already begin to sing *Victoria*, especially by reason of the entertainment which the said Doctrines found with the common people. For, thus the Doctor boasts himself in his second Edition, anno 606 as before was said, Many godly learned both in their Preachings, Writings, and Disputations did concur with him in that argument; and that the lives

of many Christians in many places of the Kingdom, were framed according to his Doctrine, p. 61. Particularly, in the Epistle to the Reader, That within few years, three several profitable Treatises successively were written, by three godly learned Preachers [Greenhams was one, whose ever were the other two], that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, the Doctrine of the Sabbath might be established. *Egregiam vero laudem, & spolia ampla!*

(8) But whatsoever cause he had thus to boast himself in the success of his new Doctrines; the Church, I am sure, had little cause to rejoice thereat. For what did follow hereupon, but such monstrous paradoxes, and those delivered in the Pulpit, as would make every good man tremble at the hearing of them? First, as my Author tells me, it was preached at a Market Town in Oxfordshire, That to do any servile work or business on the Lord's day was as great a sin as to kill a man, or commit adultery. Secondly, preached in Somersetshire, That to throw a Bowl on the Lord's day, was as great a sin as to kill a man. Thirdly, in Norfolk, That to make a Feast or dress a Wedding Dinner on the Lord's day, was as great a sin as for a Father to take a knife and cut his child's throat. Fourthly, in Suffolk, That to ring more Bells than one on the Lord's day was as great a sin as to commit murder. I add what once I heard myself, at Sergeants Inne in Fleet-street, about five years hence, That temporal death was at this day to be inflicted, by the Law of God, on the Sabbath-breaker; on him who on the Lord's day did the works of his daily calling: With a grave application unto my Masters of the Law, That if they did their ordinary works on the Sabbath day, in taking Fees and giving Counsel, they should consider what they did deserve by the Law of God. And certainly, these and the like conclusions cannot but follow very closely on the former Principles. For, if the fourth Commandment be plainly Moral, obliging us as straitly as it did the Jews; and that the Lord's day be to be observed according to the prescript of that Commandment: it must needs be that every willful breach thereof is of no lower nature than Idolatry, or blaspheming of the Name of GOD, or any other deadly sin against the first Table; and therefore, questionless, as great as Murder, or Adultery, or any sin against the second. But to go forwards where I left: my Author whom before I spake of, being present when the Suffolk Minister was convented for his so lewd and impious Doctrine, was the occasion that those Sabbatarian Errors and Impieties were first brought to light and to the knowledge of the State. On which discovery, as he tells us, this good ensued, That the said Books of the Sabbath were called in, and forbidden to be printed and made common.

Archbishop Whitgift, by his Letters and Visitations, did the one, Anno 1599. And Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice, did the other, Anno 1600, at Burie in Suffolk. Good remedies indeed, had they been soon enough applied; yet not so good as those which formerly were applied to Thacker and his fellow, in the aforesaid Town of Burie, for publishing the Books of Browne against the Service of the Church. Nor was this all the fruit of so bad a Doctrine. For by inculcating to the people these new Sabbath speculations, teaching That that day only was of God's appointment; and all the rest observed in the Church of England a remnant of the will-worship in the Church of Rome: the other holy-days in this Church established were so shrewdly shaken that till this day they are not well recovered of the blow then given. Nor came this on the by, or besides the purpose, but as a thing that specially was intended from the first beginning; from the first time that ever these Sabbath Doctrines peeped into the light. For Doctor Bound, the first sworn servant of the Sabbath, hath in his first edition thus declared himself; That he sees not-where the Lord hath given any authority to his Church, ordinarily and perpetually to sanctify any day, except that which he hath sanctified himself, "and makes it an especial argument against that godness of the Religion in the Church of Rome, that to the seventh day they have joined so many other days, and made them equal with the seventh, if not superior thereunto, as well in the solemnity of Divine Offices as restraint from labor." So that we may perceive by this, that their intent from the beginning was to cry down the holy days as superstitious, Popish Ordinances, that so their new-found Sabbath being placed alone (and Sabbath now it must be called), might become more eminent. Nor were the other, though more private effects thereof, of less dangerous nature; the people being so ensnared with these new devices, and pressed with rigors more than Jewish, that certainly they are in as bad condition as were the Israelites of old when they were captivated and kept under by the Scribes and Pharisees. Some I have known, (for in this point I will say nothing without good assurance) who in a furious kind of zeal, like the mad Prophetess in the Poet, have run into the open streets, yea, and searched private houses too, to look for such as spent those hours on the Lord's day in lawful Pastimes, which were not destinate by the Church to God's public service; and having found them out, scattered the Company, brake the Instruments, and if my memory fail me not, the Musician's head too; and which is more, they thought that they were bound in Conscience so to do. Others that will not suffer either Baked or Roast to be made ready for their Dinners on their Sabbath day,

lest by so doing they should eat and drink their own damnation, according to the Doctrine preached unto them. Some, that upon the Sabbath will not sell a Pint of Wine, or the like Commodity, though the Wine was made by God, not only for man's often infirmities, but to make glad his heart, and refresh his spirits; and therefore no less requisite on the Lord's day, than on any other. Others, which have refused to carry Provender to an Horse on the supposed Sabbath day; though our Redeemer thought it no impiety on the true Sabbath day indeed, to lead poor Cattle to the water: Which was the motive, and occasion, of Mr. Brerewood's learned Treatise. So, for the Female Sex; Maid-servants I have met with, some two or three, who though they were content to dress their Meat upon the Sabbath, yet by no means would be persuaded either to wash their Dishes or make clean their Kitchen. But that which most of all affects me is, That a Gentlewoman at whose house I lay in Leicester, the last Northern Progress, Anno 1634 expressed a great desire to see the King and Queen, who were then both there. And when I proffered her my service to satisfy that loyal longing, she thanked me, but refused the favor because it was the Sabbath day. Unto so strange a bondage are the people brought that, as before I said, a greater never was imposed on the Jews themselves, what time the Consciences of that people were pinned most closely on the sleeves of the Scribes and Pharisees.

(9) But to go forwards in my Story: it came to pass, for all the care before remembered, that having such a plausible and fair pretense as sanctifying a day unto the Lord, and keeping a Commandment that had long been silenced; it got strong footing in the Kingdom, as before is said: the rather because many things, which were indeed strong avocations from God's public service, were as then permitted. Therefore it pleased King James, in the first entrance of his Reign, so far to condescend unto them as to take off such things which seemed most offensive. To which intent he signified his Royal pleasure, by Proclamation dated at Theobalds, May 7, 1603, That WHEREAS HE HAD BEENE INFORMED, THAT THERE HAD BEENE IN FORMER TIMES A GREAT NEGLECT IN KEEPING THE Sabbath day; FOR BETTER OBSERVING OF THE SAME, AND FOR AVOIDING OF ALL IMPIOUS PROPANATION OF IT, HE STRAITLY CHARGED AND COMMANDED, THAT NO Beare-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes, common Playes, OR OTHER LIKE DISORDERED OR UNLAWFULL EXERCISES, OR PASTIMES, BE FREQUENTED, KEPT, OR USED AT ANY TIME HEREAFTER, UPON ANY Sabbath day. Not that his purpose was to debar himself of Lawful

Pleasures on that day, but to prohibit such disordered and unlawfull Pastimes whereby the Common people were withdrawn from the Congregation; they being only to be reckoned for Common Playes, which at the instant of their Acting, or representing, are studied only for the entertainment of the Common people, on the public Theaters. Yet did not this, though much, content them. And therefore in the Conference at Hampton Court, it seemed good to D. Reynolds (who had been made a party in the cause) to touch upon the profanation of the Sabbath (for so he called it), and contempt of his Majesty's Proclamation made for the reforming of that abuse; of which he earnestly desired a straiter course for reformation thereof; to which he found (as the Compiler of it tells us) a general and unanimous assent. Nor was there an assent only, and nothing done. For presently in the following Convocation, it pleased the Prelates there assembled to revive so much of the Queen's Injunction, before remembered, as to them seemed fitting; and to incorporate it into the Canons then agreed of; only a little alteration, to make it more agreeable to the present times, being used therein. Thus then they ordered in the Canon, for due celebration of Sundays, and holy days, viz. ALL MANNER OF PERSONS WITHIN THE CHURCH OF England, SHALL FROM HENCEFORTH CELEBRATE AND KEEPE THE Lords day, COMMONLY CALLED Sunday, AND OTHER holy dayes, ACCORDING TO GODS HOLY WILL AND PLEASURE, AND THE ORDERS of the Church of England, PRESCRIBED IN THAT BEHALFE, I.E. IN HEARING THE WORD OF GOD READ AND TAUGHT, IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIKE PRAYERS, IN ACKNOWLEDGING THEIR OFFENCES TO GOD, AND AMENDMENT OF THE SAME, TO RECONCILING THEMSELVES CHARITABLY TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS, WHERE DISPLEASURE HAD BEEN, IN OFTENTIMES RECEIVING THE COMMUNION OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST, USING ALL GODLY AND SOBER CONVERSATION. The residue of said Injunction, touching work in Harvest, it seemed fit unto them not to touch upon; leaving the same to stand or fall by the Statute of King Edward the sixth, before remembered. A Canon of an excellent composition. For, by enjoining godly and sober conversation, and diligent repair to Church, they stopped the course of that profaneness which formerly had been complained of. And by their ranking of the holy days in equal place and height with Sunday, and limiting the celebration of the same unto the Orders in that case prescribed by the Church of England, showed plainly their dislike of those Sabbath Doctrines which had been lately set on foot; to the dishonor of the Church, and diminution of her Authority, in destinating other days to the service of God than their new

Saint Sabbath. Yet did not this, the Church's care, either so satisfy their desires or restrain the follies of those men who had embraced the new Sabbath Doctrines; but that they still went forwards to advance that business, which was now made a part of the common Cause; no Book being published by that party, either by way of Catechism, or Comment on the ten Commandments, or Moral Piety, or systematical Divinity, of all which these last times have produce too many; wherein the Sabbath was not pressed upon the Consciences of God's people with as much violence as formerly with authority upon the Jews. And hereunto they were encouraged a great deal the rather; because in Ireland, what time his Majesty's Commissioners were employed about the settling of that Church, Anno 1615, there passed an Article which much confirmed them in their Courses, and hath been often since alleged to justify both them and their proceedings. The Article is this: The first day of the Week, which is the Lord's day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God; and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both private and public. What moved his Majesty's commissioners to this strict authority, that I cannot say: but sure I am that till that time, the Lord's day never had attained such credit as to be thought an Article of the Faith, though of some men's fancies. Nor was it like to be of long continuance, it was so violently followed; the whole Book being now called in, and in the place thereof, the Articles of the Church of England confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdom, Anno 1634.

(10) Nor was this all the fruit neither of such dangerous Doctrines, That the Lord's day was grown into the reputation of the Jewish Sabbath: but some that built on their foundations, and ploughed with no other than their Heifers, endeavored to bring back again the Jewish Sabbath as that which is expressly mentioned in the fourth Commandment; and abrogate the Lord's day for altogether as having no foundation in it, nor warrant by it. Of these, one Thraske declared himself, for such, in King James his time; and therewithal took up another Jewish Doctrine, about Meats and Drinks: as, in the time of our dread Sovereign now being, Theophilus Braborne, grounding himself on the so much applauded Doctrine of the morality of the Sabbath, maintained that the Jewish Sabbath ought to be observed; and wrote a large Book in defense thereof, which came into the World 1632, for which their Jewish Doctrines, the first having received his Censure in the Star- Chamber, Anno 1618 was set on the Pillory at Westminster, from

thence whipped to the Fleet, and there put in Prison; and about three years after, writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies, and Schismatical Opinions. The other was proceeded with, in the High-Commission; and hath since altered his Opinion, which he renounced in the open Court, being misguided only by the Principles of some noted men to which he thought he might have trusted. Of these I have spoke together, because the ground of their Opinions, so far as it concerned the Sabbath, were the very same; they only making the conclusions which of necessity must follow from the former premises; just as the Brownists did before, when they abominated the Communion of the Church of England on the Puritan Principles. But to proceed. This of itself had been sufficient to bring all to ruin; but this was not all. Not only Judaism did begin, but Popery took great occasion of increase, “by the preciseness of some Magistrates and Ministers in several places of this Kingdom, in hindering people from their Recreations on the Sunday, the Papists in this Realm, being thereby persuaded, that no honest mirth or recreation was tolerable in our Religion.” Which being noted by King James, in his progress through Lancashire; it pleased his Majesty to set out his Declaration, May 24, Anno 1618, the Court being then at Greenwich, to this effect, “That for his good people’s lawful recreations, his pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreations; such as Dancing, either men or women, Archery for men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; nor from having of May-games, Whitson-Aes, or Morris-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine Service: and that women should have leave to carry Rushes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old custom: withal prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on the Sundays only, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes; and at all times, in the meaner sort of people, by Law prohibited, Bowling.” A Declaration which occasioned such noise and clamor, and many scandals spread abroad, as if these Counsels had been put into that Prince’s head by some great Prelates, which were then of most power about him. But in that point they might have satisfied themselves that this was no Court-doctrine; no new- Divinity, which that learned Prince had been taught in England. He had declared himself before, when he was King of the Scots only, to the self- same purpose; as may appear in his Basilicon Doron, published Anno 1598. This was the first Blow in effect which had

been given, in all his time, to the new Lord's-day Sabbath, then so much applauded.

(11) For howsoever, as I said, those who had entertained the Sabbatarian Principles, spared neither care nor pains to advance the business; by being instant in season, and out of season, by public Writings, private Preachings, and clandestine insinuations, or whatsoever other means might tend to the promotion of this Catholic cause: yet find we none that did oppose it in a public way, though there were many that disliked it. Only one M. Loe, of the Church of Exeter, declared himself, in his *Effigiatio veri Sabbatismi*, Anno 1606, to be of different judgment from them; and did lay down indeed the truest and most justifiable Doctrine of the Sabbath of any Writer in that time. But being written in the Latin Tongue, it came not to the people's hands: many of those which understood it, never meaning to let the people know the Contents thereof. And whereas, in the year 1603, at the Commencement held in Cambridge, this Thesis, or Proposition, *Dies Dominicu nititur Verbo Dei*, was publicly maintained by a Doctor there, and by the then Vice-chancellor so determined; neither the following Doctors there, or any in the other University, that I can hear of, did ever put up any Antithesis in opposition thereunto. At last, some four years after his Majesty's Declaration before remembered, Anno 1622, Doctor Prideaux, his Majesty's Professor for the University of Oxon did, in the public Act, declare his judgment in this point, *de Sabbato*; which, afterwards, in the year 1625, he published to the World, with his other Lectures. Now, in this Speech, or Determination, he did thus resolve it: First, That the Sabath was not instituted in the first Creation of the World, nor ever kept by any of the ancient Patriarchs who lived before the Law of Moses: therefore, no Moral and perpetual Precepts, as the others are, Sect. 2. Secondly, That the sanctifying of one day in seven is Ceremonial only, and obliged the Jews; not Moral, to oblige us Christians to the like observance, Sec.3. & 4. Thirdly, That the Lord's day is founded only on the Authority of the Church, guided therein by the practice of the Apostles: not on the fourth Commandment which, in the seventh Section, he entitleth 2. Scandalous Doctrine; nor any other Authority in holy Scripture, Sect. 6. & 7. Fourthly, That the Church hath still Authority to change the day; though such Authority be not fit to be put in practice, Sect.7. Fifthly, That in the celebration of it, there is no such cessation from the works of labor required of us, as was exacted of the Jews: but that we lawfully may dress Meat, proportionable unto every man's estate; and do such other things as

be no hindrance to the public Service appointed for the day, Sect. 8. Sixthly, That on the Lord's day all Recreations whatsoever are to be allowed, which honestly may refresh the spirits and increase mutual love and neighborhood amongst us: and that the Names whereby the Jews did use to call their Festivals (whereof the Sabbath was the chief) were borrowed from an Hebrew word which signifies to Dance, and to make merry, or rejoice. And lastly, that it appertains to the Christian Magistrate to order and appoint what Pastimes, on the Lord's day, are to be permitted, and what prohibited: not unto every private person, much less to every man's rash Zeale, as his own words are, Who out of a schismatical Stoicism, (debarring men from lawful Pastimes) doth incline to Judaism, Sect.8. This was the sum and substance of his resolution, then: which, as it gave content unto the founder and the better part of the Assembly; so it did infinitely stomach <offend> and displease the greater numbers, such as were formerly possessed with the other Doctrines; though they were wiser than to make it a public Quarrel. Only it pleased M. Bifeild of Surrey, in his Reply to a Discourse of M. Brerewood's, of Gresham College, Anno 1631, to tax the Doctor, as a spreader of Wicked Doctrine; and much to marvel with himself, how either he durst be so bold to say; or having said it, could be suffered to put it forth, viz. That to establish the Lord's day on the fourth Commandment were to incline too much to Judaism: This, the said M. Bifeild thinks to be a foul aspersion on this famous Church. But in so thinking, I conceive that he consulted more his own opinion and his private interest, than any public maintenance of the Church's cause, which was not injured by the Doctor, but defended rather. But to proceed, or rather, to go back a little. About a year before the Doctor thus declared his judgement, one Thom. Broad, of Gloucestershire, had published something in this kind: wherein, to speak my mind thereof, he rather showed that he disliked those Sabbath Doctrines, than durst disprove them. And before either, M. Brerewood, whom before I named, had writ a learned Treatise about the Sabbath, on a particular occasion therein mentioned; but published it was not, till after both, Anno 1629. Add here, to join them all together, that in the Schools at Oxon, Anno 1628, it was maintained by Doctor Robinson, now Archdeacon of Gloucester; viz. *Ludos Recreationis gratia, in die Dominico, non esse prohibitos, Divina Lege: That Recreations on the Lord's day were not at all prohibited by the Word of God. And so it hath been since defended, in the Public Act there, with the consent and approbation of the University, Anno 1634. Sanctificationi diei Dominicae non repugnare, quae fiunt corporis recreandi causa; That honest*

Recreations did not derogate from the due sanctifying of the Lord's day: The Respondent being M. Tho. Lockey, one of the Students of Christ-Church.

(12) As for our neighbor Church of Scotland: as they proceeded not at first with that mature deliberation, in the reforming of that Church, which had been here observed with us; so did they run upon a Course of Reformation, which after was thought fitting to be reformed. The Queen was young, and absent in the Court of France; the Regent was a desolate Widow, a Stranger to that Nation and not well obeyed. So that the people there, possessed by Cnoxe <Knox?> and other of their Teachers, took the Cause in hand; and went that way which came most near unto Geneva, where this Cnoxe had lived. Among the first things wherewithal they were offended, were the Holy days. These, in their Book of Discipline, Anno 1560, they condemned at once; particularly, the observation of Holy days entituled by the names of Saints; the Feasts of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, the Purification, and others of the Virgin Mary: all which they ranked amongst the abominations of the Roman Religion, as having neither Commandment nor assurance in the Word of God. But having brought this Book to be subsigned by the Lords of Secret Counsel, it was first rejected; some of them giving it the Title of Devote Imaginations, whereof Cnoxe complains. Yet notwithstanding, on they went, and at last prevailed (for in the middle of the Tumults, the Queen Regent died), and did not only put down all the Holy days, the Lord's day excepted; but when an uproar had been made in Edinburgh about a Robin-Hood, or Whitson-Lord, they of the Consistory excommunicated the whole multitude. Now, that the Holy days were put down, may appear by this; That in the year 1566, when the Confession of the Helvetian Churches was proposed unto them, they generally approved the same; save that they liked not of those Holy days which were there retained. But whatsoever they intended, and howsoever they had utterly suppressed those days which were entituled by the names of particular Saints; yet they could never so prevail, but that the people would retain some memory of the two great and principal Feasts of Christ's Nativity, and Resurrection. For in the year 1575, Complaint was made unto the Regent; how in Dunfreis they had conveyed the Reader to the Church, with Taber and Whissell <drum and whistle>, to read Prayers all the Holy days of Zule, or Christmas. Thereupon, Anno 1577, it was ordained in an Assembly of the Church, "That the Visitors should admonish Ministers, preaching or ministering the Communion, at Pasche, or Zule, or other like

superstitious times, under pain of deprivation, to desist therefrom." Anno 1587, it was complained of to his Majesty, That Pasche and Zule were superstitiously observed in Fife and about Dunfreis; and in the year 1592, the Act of the Queen Regent, granting license to keep the said two Feasts, was by them repealed. Yet find we by the Bishop of Brechin, in his discourse of the Proceedings at the Synod of Perth, "That notwithstanding all the Acts Civil, and Ecclesiastic, made against the superstitious observation and profane abuse of Zule day, the people could never be induced to labor on that day. And wheresoever Divine Service was done that day, as in Towns which have always Morning and Evening Prayers, they were perceived to resort in greater numbers on that day, than on any other, to the Church." As for King James, of happy memory, he did not only keep the said great Festivals from his youth, as there is said; but wished them to be kept by all his subjects, yet without abuse. And in his Basilicon Doron, published Anno 1598, thus declares himself: That, without superstition, Plays and lawful Games may be used in May, and good Cheer at Christmas. Now, on the other side, as they had quite put down those days which had been dedicated by the Church to religious meetings; so they appointed others, of their own authority. For in their Books of Discipline, before remembered, it was thus decreed, viz. "That in every notable Town, a day, besides the Sunday, should be appointed, weekly, for Sermons: that, during the time of Sermon, the day should be kept free from all exercise of labor, as well by the Master, as by the Servant: as also, that every day [in the said great Towns] there be either Sermon, or Prayers, with Reading of the Scriptures." So that, it seemeth, they only were afraid of the name of Holy days, and were contented well enough with the thing itself. As for the Lord's day in that Kingdom, I find not that it had attained unto the name or nature of a Sabbath day, until that Doctrine had been set on foot amongst us in England. For in the Book of Discipline set out, as formerly was said, Anno 1560, they call it by no other name than Sunday; ordaining, That upon four Sundays in the year, which are therein specified, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered to the people: and in the year 1592, an Act of King James the third, about the Saturday, and other Vigils to be kept holy from Evensong to Evensong, was annulled and abrogated. Which plainly shows that then they thought not of a Sabbath. But when the Sabbath doctrine had been raised in England, Anno 1595, as before was said, it found a present entertainment with the Brethren there; who had before professed in their public writings to our Puritans here, that both their causes were most

nearly linked together, and therupon they both took up the name of Sabbath, and imposed the rigor. Yet so, that they esteem it lawful to hold fasts thereon. Quod saepissime in Ecclesia nostra Scoticana factum est; and use it often in that Church, which is quite contrary unto the nature of a Sabbath. And on the other side, they deny it to be the weekly festival of the Resurrection. Non sunt dies Dominici festa Resurrectionis, as they have resolved it; which shows as plainly that they build not the translation of their Sabbath upon the same grounds as our men have done. In brief by making up a mixture of a Lord's day Sabbath they neither keep it as the Lord's day nor as the Sabbath. And in this state things stood until the year 1618, what time some of the ancient holy days were revived again in the Assembly held at Perth; in which, among some other rites of the Church of England which were then admitted, it was thus determined, viz. "As we abhor the superstitious observation of festival days by the Papists; and detest all licentious and profane abuse thereof, by the Common sort of Professors: so we think that the inestimable benefits received from God, by our Lord Jesus Christ his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost, was commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the world and may be also now. Therefore the Assembly ordains, that every Minister shall upon these days have the Commemoration of the aforesaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent Texts of Scripture and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation thereunto, and rebuke all superstitious observation, and licentious profanation thereof." A thing which much displeased some men of contrary persuasion: first, out of fear that this was but a Preamble to make way for all the other holy days observed in England. And secondly, because it seemed that these five days were in all points to be observed as the Lord's day was, both in the times of the Assembly, and after the dissolving of the same. But pleased or displeased, so it was decreed; and so still it stands. As for the Sabbath itself, however in the greater Towns they do observe it very precisely, according as our men would have it: yet in the Villages and smaller places of the Country, they keep it not with that solemnity as the Common people do with us. For in many of those Villages and the like places, they have not only no public meetings at the Church in the afternoon; but spend the whole time either in their businesses or their pleasures, as occasion is: whereof I have been well assured by sundry natives of that Kingdom, of good faith and credit.

(12) But to return again to England. It pleased his Majesty now reigning (whom God long preserve), upon information of many notable misdemeanors on this day committed, in his first Parliament to enact THAT FROM THENCE-FORWARDS THERE SHOULD BE NO MEETINGS, ASSEMBLIES, OR CONCOURSE OF PEOPLE, OUT OF THEIR PARISHES, ON THE Lord's day, FOR ANY SPORTS OR PASTIMES WHATSOEVER; NOR ANY Beare-baitings, Bull-baitings, Common Playes, Enterludes, OR ANY OTHER unlawfull Exercises OR Pastimes, used BY ANY PERSON OR PERSONS, IN THEIR OWNE PARISHES: EVERY OFFENCE TO BE PUNISHED BY THE FORFEITURE OF 3.s.4.d. This being a Probation Law, was to continue till the end of the first Session of the next Parliament; And in the next Parliament, it was continued till the end of the first Session of the next, which was then to come. So also was another Act made, in the said last Session, wherein it was enacted THAT NO Carrier, Waggoner, Waine-man, Carre-man, OR Drover, TRAVAILE THENCE=FORWARDS ON THE LORD'S DAY, ON PAIN, THAT EVERY PERSON AND PERSONS SO OFFENDING, SHALL LOSE AND FORFEIT 20.S. FOR EVERY SUCH OFFENCE: AND THAT NO Butcher, EITHER BY HIMSELFE, OR ANY OTHER BY HIS PRIVITIE AND CONSENT, DOE KILL OR FELL ANY VICTUALL ON THE SAID day; UPON THE FORFEITURE AND LOSSE OF 6.S.8.D. Which Statutes being still in force, by reason that there hath not been any Session of Parliament since they were enacted; many, both Magistrates and Ministers, either not rightly understanding, or wilfully mistaking the intent and meaning of the first; brought Dancing, and some other lawfull recreations under the compass of unlawfull Pastimes, in that Act prohibited: and thereupon disturbed and punished many of the King's obedient people, only for using of such sports as had been authorized by his Majesty's Father, of blessed memory. Nay, which is more, it was so publicly avowed, and printed, by one who had no calling to interpret Laws except the provocation of his own ill spirit; That Dancing on the Lord's day was an unlawful Pastime, punishable by the Statute I. Carol. I which intended (so he saith) to suppress Dancing on the Lord's day, as well as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes, and Common Playes, which were not then so rife and common as Dancing, when this Law was made. Things being at this height, it pleased his excellent Majesty, "Observing; as he saith himself, how much his people were debarred of Recreations, and finding in some Counties, that under the pretense of taking away abuses, there had been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes; to ratify and publish the Declaration of his

Majesty's Father, before remembered: adding, That all those Feasts, with others, should be observed; and that all Neighborhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful Exercises, be therein used. Commanding all the Justices of the Assize, in the several Circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful Recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience unto his Majesty and his Laws: and further, that publication thereof be made by order from the Bishops, through all the Parishes of their several Dioceses, respectively." Thus did it please his excellent and sacred Majesty to publish his most pious and religious purpose, of opening to his loyal people that liberty of the days, which the Day allowed of; and which all Christain States and Churches, in all times before had never questioned: withal, of shutting up that door, whereat no less than Judaism would in fine have entered, and so in time to have overran the fairest and most beautiful Church at this day in Christendom. And certainly it was a pious and Princely Act, nothing inferior unto that of Constantine, or any other Christian King or Emperor before remembered: it being no less pious, in itself considered, to keep the holy-days free from superstition, than to preserve them from profaneness; especially considering that permission of lawful pleasures is no less proper to a Festival, than restraint from labor. Nay, of the two it is more ancient. For in his time, Tertullian tells us that they did *diem solis Latitiae indulgere*, devote the Sunday partly unto Mirth and Recreation, not to Devotion altogether; when in an hundred years after Tertullian's time, there was no Law or Constitution to restrain men from labor on this day, in the Christian Church. (14 [sic]) Yet did not his most excellent Majesty find such obedience in some men, and such as should have been examples unto their flocks, as his most Christian purpose did deserve; there being some so settled in the opinion of a Sabbath day, a day not heard of in the Church of Christ 40 years ago, that they chose rather to deprive the Church of their pains and ministry, than yield unto his Majesty's most just Commands. For whose sakes specially, next to my duty unto God, my Sovereign, and the Church my Mother, I have employed my time and studies to compose this History; that they may see therein, in brief, the practice of God's Church in the times before them, and frame themselves to do thereafter; casting aside those errors in the which they are, and walking in the way which they ought to travel. Which way, when all is done, will be *via Regia*, the King's highway; as that which is most safe, and of best assurance, because most traveled by God's people. Our private paths do lead us often into error, and sometimes also

into danger. And therefore I beseech all those who have offended in that kind, to lay aside their passions, and their private interests, if any are that way misguided; as also not to shut their eyes against those truths which are presented to them, for their information: that so the King may have the honor of their due obedience; the Church the comfort of their labors, and conformable Ministry. For to what purpose should they hope, to be ennobled for their sufferings, in so bad a cause, which neither hath the Doctrine of the Scripture, to authorize it; or practice of the Church of God, the best Expositor of the Scripture, to confirm and countenance it? or to be counted constant to their first Conclusions, having such weak and dangerous premises to support the same; since constancy not rightly grounded, is at best but obstinacy, and many times doth end in heresy. Once again therefore I exhort them, even in God's Name, whose Ministers they are, and unto whom they are to give up an account of their employment; and in the King's Name, whom as God's Deputy they are bound to obey, not for wrath only, but for conscience's sake; and in the Church's name, whose peace they are to study above all things else; and their own names lastly, whom it most concerns, that they desist, and go not forwards in this disobedience, lest a worse mischief fall upon them. For my part, I have done my best, so far to give them satisfaction in the present point, (so far forth as the nature of an History would permit;) as they might think it no disparagement, to alter their opinions, and desert their errors, and change their resolutions: since in so doing, they shall conform themselves unto the practice of God's Church, in all times and Ages. The greatest victory, which a man can get, is to subdue himself, and triumph over sin, and error. I end, as I began, in S. Augustin's language. Quibus hoc nimium, vel quibus parum est, mihi ignoscant; quibus satis est, non mihi, sed Domino mecum congratulantes, gratias agant. Let such as shall conceive this Treatise, to be too little, or too much, excuse my weakness: And as for those, whom it may satisfy in the smallest measure, let them not unto me, but to God, with me, ascribe all the honor; to whom belongs all praise, and glory, even for evermore.

Say not, my hand this Worke to end hath brought, Nor, this my vertue hath attain'd unto: Say rather thus; this God by me hath wrought; God's Author of the little good I doe.

FINIS.

PUBLISHERS NOTES

CONTACTING AGES SOFTWARE

For more information regarding the AGES Digital Library, whether it be about pricing structure, trades for labor or books, current listings, policies — or if you wish to offer suggestions — please write us at...

AGES SOFTWARE • PO BOX 1926 • ALBANY OR 97321-0509

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE DIGITAL LIBRARY?

The Library consists of books and other literature of enduring value to the Christian community. Our goal since the beginning has been to “make the words of the wise available to all — inexpensively.” We have had in mind the student, teacher, pastor, missionary, evangelist and church worker who needs a high quality reference library, one that is portable, practical and low in cost.

ON WHAT BASIS WERE THEY SELECTED?

Volumes in the Library have been added based on several criteria: usefulness, user request, breadth of content or reputation. This has meant that the collection is eclectic and may include works that contain positions with which we at AGES Software do not agree. This paradox is consistent with our design, however: any useful library consists of books on a wide variety of subjects and sometimes includes information for reference purposes only. The AGES Digital Library hopefully will reflect — as its components are released — the necessary breadth and depth for a solid personal library.

HOW WERE THESE VOLUMES PREPARED?

Most of the books and documents have been scanned or typed from works that have entered the public domain. Some have been reproduced by special arrangement with the current publisher or holder of the copyright. They have been put in a format that can be readily used by computer users everywhere.

ARE THESE EXACT COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL WORKS?

Usually not. In the process of preparing the Library, we at AGES Software have taken the liberty to make certain edits to the text. As we discovered errors in spelling, certain archaic forms, typographical mistakes or

omissions in the original we have done our best to correct them. Our intention has been to remove anything that might obscure the meaning or otherwise detract from the usefulness of a book for the modern reader. We have, however, attempted to retain the essential content and thoughts of the original — even when we found ourselves in disagreement.

WHY IS THE DIGITAL LIBRARY COPYRIGHTED?

While much of the content is in the public domain, the transcription, form and edits of these works took many people many hours to accomplish. We ask each purchaser to respect this labor and refrain from giving away copies of this or any volume of the Library without written permission from AGES Software. Our policy, however, is to work with each individual or organization to see that the price of Digital Library volumes not be a hindrance in their reaching the hands of those who need them. If price is an obstacle, please contact us at the address above and present your situation.