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Reformation Without Tarry- ing for Any.

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A TREATISE OF REFORMATION WITHOUT TARRYING FOR ANIE, AND OF
THE WICKEDNESSE OF THOSE PREACHERS WHICH WILL NOT
REFORME TILL THE MAGISTRATE COMMAUNDE
OR COMPELL THEM.

MIDDELBURGH, 1582.

SEEING in this Booke wee shewe the state of Christians, and haue laboured also in good conscience to liue as Christians, It is maruailed & often talked of among manie, why we should be so reuiled and troubled of manie, & also leaue our countrie. *Porsooth* (say the enimies) *there is some hidde thing in them more thē plainly appeareth: for they beare euill will to their Princes Queene ELIZABETH and to their countrie, yea they forsake the church of God, & cōdemne the same, and are cōdemned of all, and they also discredit & bring into contempt the Preachers of the Ghospel.* To aunswere them, we say, That they are the men which trouble Israel, and seeke euill to the Prince, and not we. And that they forsake and condemne the Church and not we. First concerning our faithfulnessesse to our Prince and Countrie, and what our iudgement is of the ciuil authoritie, we aunswere as appeareth in this Treatise. For their other accusations and slaunders of forsaking and condemning the Church, &c. if our doings will not stoppe their mouthes, nor this booke which followeth of the state of Christians, we purpose by the grace of God, to shewe in an other booke, which shall hereafter come foorth, whether we or they be the rebellious children and a false

seed. But for the Magistrate, howe farre by their authoritie or without it, the Church must be builded and reformation made, and whether anie open wickednesse must be tollerated in the Church because of them, let this be our aunswere. For chieffie in this point they haue wrought vs great trouble, and dismayed manie weakelings from imbracing the truth. We say therefore, and often haue taught, concerning our Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, that neither the Pope, nor other Popeling, is to haue anie authoritie either ouer her, or ouer the Church of God, and that the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, whose kingdome ought vtterlie to be taken away. Agayne we say, that her Authoritie is ciuill, and that power she hath as highest under God within her Dominions, and that ouer all persons and causes. By that she may put to death all that deserue it by Lawe, either of the Church or common Wealth, and none may resiste Her or the Magistrates vnder her by force or wicked speeches, when they execute the lawes. Seeing we graunt and holde thus much, howe doe they charge vs as euill willers to the Queene? Surelie, for that wee holde all those Preachers and teachers accursed, which will not doe the duties of Pastors and teachers till the Magistrates doe force them thereto. They saye, the time is not yet come to builde the Lordes House [Hag. 1.], they must tarie for the Magistrates and for Parliamentes to do it. They want the ciuill sworde forsooth, and the Magistrates doe hinder the Lordes building and kingdome, and keepe away his gouernement. Are they not ashamed thus to slaunders the Magistrate? They haue runne their owne swordes vpon the Wall and broken them, and nowe woulde they snatche vnto them the Magistrates swordes. In deede can the Lordes spirituall gouernement be no waye executed but by the ciuill sworde, or is this the iudgement that is written [Psal. 149.], Such honour shall be to all his Saintes? Is this to binde the Kinges in chaines, and the Nobles with Fetters of Iron, by the highe actes of GOD in their mouthes, and a two edged sworde in their handes? Those bandes and chaines, which is the spirituall power of the Church, they haue broken from them selues, and yet woulde they haue Magistrates bounde with them, to beginne Discipline. They would make the Magistrates more then Goddes, and yet also worse then beastes. For they teache that a lawefull Pastour must giue ouer his charge at their discharging, and when they withhold the Church gouernement, it ought

for to cease, though the Church goe to ruine thereby. Beholde nowe, doeth not the Lordes kingdome giue place vnto theirs? And doe they not pull downe the heade Christe Iesus [Col. 1. 18], to sett vppe the hande of the Magistrate? yea and more then this, for they firste proclaime the names and tytles of wicked Bishoppes and popishe officers, and the Lordes name after: Seeing also the Bishoppes must discharge the lawfull Preachers, and stoppe their mouthes, though the Lorde God haue giuen them a charge for to speake, and not to keepe silence. The Lorde hath exalted Christe Iesus [Phil. 2], and giuen him a name aboue euerie name, that all thinges should bowe and serue vnto him, and yet haue they exalted the power of wicked Bishoppes aboue him. Beholde a great and most wholesome riuer, and yet their puddle water is preferred before it. Except the Magistrates will goe into the tempest and raine, and bee weather beaten with the haile of Gods wrath, they muste keepe vnder the roafe of Christes gouernement. They must bee vnder a Pastorall charge: They must obeye to the Scepter of Christe, if they bee Christians. Howe then shoulde the Pastor, which hath the ouersight of the Magistrate, if hee bee of his flocke, bee so ouerseene of the Magistrate, as to leaue his flocke, when the Magistrate shall uniuertie and wrongfullie discharge him. Yet these Preachers and teachers will not onelie doo so, but euen holding their charge and keeping with it, will not guide and reforme it aright, because the Magistrates doo forbidde them forsooth. But they slaunders the Magistrate, and because they dare not charge them as forbidding them their dueties, they haue gotten this shift, that they doo but tarie for the Magistrates authoritie, and then they will guide and reforme as they ought. Beholde, is not all this one thing, seeing they lift vppe the throne of the Magistrates, to thrust out the kingdome of Christe? For his gouernement or Discipline is wanting (saye they) but wee keepe it not awaye. And who then? For moste of them dare not charge the Magistrates, but onelie closelie, and with manie flatterings, that they might still be exalted by the Magistrates. They leaue their owne burthen, and criue out that it is not caried by faulte of the Magistrate. So they make them enimies, because they saye they withhold the Church gouernement: euen enimies doo they make them to the Lordes kingdome and righteousnesse: and why then do they not wage that spirituall battell against them, whiche is

to cut them of from the Church? For the Scepter and kingdome of Christ is not of this worlde, to fight with dint of sworde, but it is a right Scepter, which subdueth the people vnder vs, and the Nations vnder our fecte. [Psal. 47., Psal. 45.] Hee iudgeth the wicked, and by the rebuke of his worde, he filleth all places with the slaine, and smiteth the Heades ouer great countries. [Psal. 110.]

Now then if the Magistrates be enimies vnto the Lords kingdome, why are not these men better warriars to vpholde the same? For they giue vp the weapons of their warfare into the enimies handes, and then say, they can not doo withall. By their weapons I meane those wherof Paule doeth speake, [2 Cor. 10.] that they are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe holdes, and so forth: These weapons haue they giuen from the, for they haue not the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen to binde and lose, [Mat. 18., Iohn 20] and to retaine or pronounce remitted the sinnes of men, seeing they graunt much open wickednesse incurable among them, and also auouche that it must needes be suffered. Yea they haue giuen vp these keyes to the Magistrates or to the Spirituall Courtes, and therefore haue no right to call them selues the Church of God, or lawfull Pastors thereof. Christ is at the right hande of God, gone vp into heauen saith Peter [1. Pet. 3.] to whom the angels and powers and might are subiecte, howe then shoulde his kingdome tarie for the Magistrate, except they thinke that they are better able to vpholde it then he. Yea we must presse vnto his kingdome not tarying for anie, as it is written in Luke [Luke 16.], & againe in Matthew [Mat. 11.], the kingdome of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it vnto them by force. In the throng which is made to escape a burning, would they tarie for the Magistrate to make them a waye, and should they not rather if they could, make a way for the Magistrate? They see that the kingdome of God is with strife (?) and great labor, and yet they will haue it with ease and the ciuill sworde must get it them. Ierusalem (saith the Prophete) [Dan. 9.] and the streetes and Wall thereof, shall be built euen in a troublous time, and to tarie till it be built without troubles, is to looke for a conquest without going to battell, and for an ende and rewarde of our laboures which would neuer take paines. My kingdome, saith Christe, is not of this world, and they would shift in both Bishoppes and Magistrates into his spirituall throne to make

it of this worlde; yea to stay the Church gouernement on them, is not onely to shift but to thrust them before Christ. Yet vnder him in his spirituall kingdome are [1. Cor. 12.] first Apostles, secondlie Prophetes, thirdlie, teachers &c. Also helpers and spirituall guides: But they put the Magistrates first, which in a common wealth in deede are first, and aboue the Preachers, yet haue they no ecclesiasticall authoritie at all, but onely as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians. Therefore hath God made these teachers fooles, and these spirituall professors as madde men. For woe vnto you, ye Priestlic preachers and Doctours hypocrites, which are a snare to the people, and fill vp their measure of iniquitie, while ye pretende the Magistrates authoritie. For will anie man else giue ouer his calling, or abridge the full execution thereof, when the Magistrates forbid them, will they cease the teaching or due guiding of their housholdes and charge for their discharging, and should the labourers in Gods spirituall husbandrie giue ouer and cesse. For it is Gods husbandrie [1. Cor. 3.] and not theirs, the Church is his building and not theirs. They are but members thereof if they be Christians, and are not anie way to stay the building, neither is it to tarie or wait vpon them. But these wicked preachers eate vp and spoyle the Lords haruest them selues, and then set open the gapp, as though the Magistrates brake in like wild bores, and spoiled the haruest. They say, beholde we haue a Christian Prince, and a mother in Israel: but can they be Christians, when they make them to refuse, or withstand the gouernement of Christ in his Church, or will not be subiect vnto it. If they therefore refuse and withstande, howe should they be taried for? If they be with them, there is no tarying: and if they be against them, they are no Christians, and therefore also there can be no tarying. For the worthie may not tarie for the vnworthie, but rather forsake them, as it is writtē [Actes 2.], Saue your selues from this frowarde generation: and cast not pearles before Swine, nor holy things vnto dogges [Matth. 8.]: and rebuke not a skornor sayeth the wise man [Prouerb. 9.], least he hate thee: and inquire who is worthie, sayeth Christ [Mat. 10.]. He that will be saued, must not tarie for this man or that: and he that putteth his hande to the plowe, and then looketh backe, is not fit for the kingdome of God [Luke 9.]. Therefore woe vnto you ye blinde guides, which cast away all by tarying for the Magistrates. The

Lorde will remember this iniquitie, and visite this sinne vpon you. Ye will not haue the kingdome of God, to go forward by his spirit, but by an armie & strength for sooth [Zacha. 4.]: ye will not haue it as Leauen hidde in three peckes of meale, till it leauen all [Matt. 13.], but at once ye will haue all aloft, by ciuill power and authoritie: you are offended at the basenesse and small beginnings, and because of the troubles in beginning reformation, you will doe nothing. Therefore shall Christ be that rocke of offence vnto you, and ye shall stumble and fall, and shall be broken, and shall be snared, and shal be taken. You wil be deliuered from the yoke of Antichrist, to the which you doo willinglie giue your neckes, by bowe, and by sworde, and by battell, by horses and by horssemen [Hosea 2.], that is, by ciuill power and pompe of Magistrates: by their Proclamations and Parliametes: and the kingdome of God must come with obseruation [Luke 17.], that men may say, Loe the Parliament, or loe the Bishoppes decrees: but the kingdome of God should be within you. The inwarde obedience to the outwarde preaching and gouernement of the Church, with newnes of life, that is the Lordes kingdome. This ye despise. Therefore shall ye desire to see the kingdome of God, and shall not see it, and to enioye one day of the Sonne of man, and ye shall not enioye it. For ye set aloft mans authoritie aboue Gods, and the Preacher must hang on his sleeue for the discharge of his calling. In the 32. of Iob, doth not Elihu holde his authoritie, and durst not account of mannes authorising, though learned, wise and aged, yea the Elders or Fathers of the Church, neither would he spare either Iob or them, or submitte him selfe to them in respecte of his calling. I will receiue no mans person, saith he, and I will vse no title (or preface) before man, for I knowe not to vse tytles, If I vse them a little, he would take me awaye that made me. But these men name them selues, some the Bishoppes Chaplaines, some my Lordes Chaplaines, and some the Queenes Chaplaines, and call them their Masters, to whom their calling and ministerie must serue at commaundement. Thus the Lordes spirituall message must be beautified with these tytles of men, (*The right Honorable my Lorde, &c. who is my very good Lorde and Maister,*) Yet Christe him selfe saith [Mat. 11.], that the Preachers nowe in his kingdome, haue greater authoritie than Iohn Baptist, and Iohn Baptist greater then the Prophetes before him. Therefore if Ieremie was set

ouer the Nations & ouer the Kingdomes, to plucke vp and to rade out, and to destroye and throwe downe, to builde and to plante [Ierem. 1.]. Then haue we also an authoritie against which if the Kings and Nations doo sett them selues, we maye not be afraide of their faces, nor leaue our calling for them. Howe long therefore will these men take the inheritance from the right heire, and giue it unto the seruaunt? For the spirituall power of Christe and his Church, and the Keyes of binding and losing, they take from Christe, and giue to the Magistrate. The Magistrates haue the ciuill sworde, and least they should strike them therewith, they giue them the Ecclesiastical also. Hoe say they, If we were Prophetes, or if we were Apostles, then shoulde we preache though the Magistrate forbidde us, but wee are but bare Pastors or Preachers, and therefore we must feare their frowning and threates, and keepe silence therat. But let them speake, Had not the Magistrates, as tall and the same power ouer Apostles, as ouer other Pastoures, or were Apostles more exempted from their obedience to Magistrates, then other Preachers? For let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, saith the scriptures [Rom. 13.]. Therefore as they coulde not displace, nor discharge Apostles from their office & calling, no more can they doo lawfull Pastours and Preachers: for whether it be right in the sight of God, to obeye men rather then God, let all men iudge [Actes 4.]. But to this they aunswere, that Peter saied this, being an Apostle: But in deede muste Apostles onelie followe their calling, though menne doo discharge them, and may not other doe it likewise? For as God hath distributed to euerie man the gifte (saith the Scripture) [1. Cor. 7.] as the Lorde hath called euerie one, so let him walke, and so ordained Paule in all the churches. If then the Magistrate will commaunde the Souldiour to be a Minister, or the Preacher to giue ouer his calling, and change it for an other, they ought not to obeye him, for they haue not the gifte, and God hath called them this way rather then that. Yet if the Magistrate call one of a lower calling to an higher, to the which he is fitt and prepared, he ought to obeye, for God hath calleth [*sic*] him thereto. And in all thinges wee must firste looke, what is the Lordes will and charge, and then what is the will of man. For we are bought for a price, saith Paule, [1. Cor. 7.] and we may not be seruauntes to the vnlawfull comaundings of men. And this freedome haue all Christians, that they consider what is lawfull and what is profitable,

what they may doo and what is expedient [1. Cor. 6.], and in no case bee brought vnder the power of anie thing, as Paule teacheth vs [1. Cor. 10.]. What soeuer doth most edifie, that must we chuse, and auoide the contrarie; and what soeuer is most expedient, that must be done, and so we must applie our selues all vnto all, that notwithstanding we holde our libertie. For if either Magistrate or other would take that from vs, wee must not giue place by yeelding vnto them, no, not for an houre [Galat. 2.], and this libertie is the free vse of our callings and giiftes, as we see most agreeing to the worde of God, and expedient for his glorie. Therefore the Magistrates commaundement, must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetie, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So the it is an abuse of my giifte and calling, if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach, yea & woe vnto me, if I preache not, for necessitie is laied vpon me, and if I doe it unwillinglie, yet the dispensation is committed vnto me [1. Cor. 9.]. And this dispensation did not the Magistrate giue me, but God by consent and ratifying of the Church, and therefore as the Magistrate gaue it not, so can he not take it away. In deede if God take it away for my wickednesse and euill deserte, he may remoue me from the Church, and withholde me from preaching: but if God doo it not, and his worde doeth approue me, as most meete for that calling, I am to preache still, except I be shut vp in prison, or otherwise with violence withheld from my charge. For the Magistrate so vsing me cannot be a Christian, but forsaketh the Church: and howe then should my office in the Church depende on him which is none of the Church? And the welfare of the Church must be more regarded and sought, then the welfare of whole Kingdomes and Countries, as it is written [Isa. 43.]: Because thou wast precious in my sight, and thou wast honourable and I loued thee, therefore will I giue man for thee, and people for thy sake. And againe he saith, I gaue Egypt for thy ransome, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. The Lorde shall therefore iudge these men, and cut them of both heade & tayle, braunch and rushe in one day. The auncient and the honorable men, which take on them to put downe the Lordes authoritie, and to stoppe the mouthes of his messengers, they be the heade, and the wicked teachers which exalte men aboue God, they are the tayle. They are afrayde of the face of the Magistrate, & do flatter and currie fauour with them, and they would haue vs also to

doo the like. But ye the Lords faithfull seruantes trusse vppe your loines as Ieremie [Iere. 1.], which in your charges haue greater authoritie than Ieremie, as we proued before. Arise and speake vnto them, all that I commaunde you, sayeth the Lorde. For I, beholde I haue made you as defenced cities, and yron pillers, & walles of brasse, against the whole lande, against the Kinges and against the Princes, against the Priestes and against the people. For they shall fight against you, but they shall not preuayle, for I am with you to deliuer you euen to the ende of the worlde. Therefore yee vanishe in vanitie yee wicked Preachers: for knowe ye not, that they which haue their full and sufficient authoritie and calling, are not to tarie for a further authorising. And hath not euerie lawfull Pastor or Preacher his full authoritie? Are they not to teach the whole will of God, and guide accordinglie, and haue they not then their whole authoritie? For herein was Paule free from the bloode of all menne [Actes 20.], because he had kept nothing backe, but hadde shewed them all the counsell of God. But (say they) Paule taught them in deede the whole counsell of God, and so maye wee, but we may not gouerne: we may tell the Magistrates, that gouernement is wanting, but we may not take vppon us, to be reformers. In deede, did not Paule both in worde and deede testifie his faithfulnessse, did he not in practise as well as in wordes, fulfill his calling? For (sayeth he) you knowe my maner of life: and addeth further, that in seruing the Lorde, he kept backe nothing that was profitable. [Act. 20. 18, 19, 20.] Howe then shoulde hee keepe backe the gouernement of the Church, whiche is all in all. And in the 35. verse, he setteth himselfe for example, for I haue sheweth you all thinges, saith hee, howe that so labouring, ye ought to supporte the weake. Noting that hee sheweth in worde and example, not that onelie, but all thinges else, for due guiding of the Church. And therefore let them not flee to their odde distiction of ordinarie ond [and] extraordinarie, as though Paule might guide the Churche without taryng for the Magistrate and wee may not. For Paule set downe himselfe for an example: and in the 28. verse, and in the 31. he applieth all vnto them, that they shoulde followe him, that they shoulde wache night and daye in teaching and guiding the flocke as he did. Yea they must not onelie preache, but teache them the practise. They muste obserue and doo all thinges which Christ hath commaunded. [Matth. 28.] And the Lorde

did not onelic shewe them the Tabernacle, but badde them make it [Exod. 25.]. But these menne will not make it at all, because they will tarie for the Magistrate. Christe is before vs and his Apostles: as Moses a figure of Christe was before them, and yet we must tarie for the Magistrates. And for what Magistrates? For those of our charge, trowe ye, or for those which are none of our charge? Muste wee not in all thinges looke duelic to our charge, and let them goe which are none of our charge? For wee shall not giue accomptes vnto God for them which are out of our charge. For we must take heede to our selues, sayeth the Scripture [Act. 20.], and to all the flocke whereof the holie Ghoste hath made vs ouerseers. But these men teach, that we must let our charge alone, and lay from vs the gouernement thereof, for their sakes which are none of our charge. Shal not these men be hurled out of their place and charge, whiche thus doo mocke with the Lord, and dallie with their charges? Yea the Lord shall take them away with a swifte destruction, and menne shall clappe their handes at them and hisse them out of their places. Faerie Preacher must runne to the Queene and to the Counsaill forsooth, as though they were of their charge, and the Magistrates must plant & reforme al Churches at once. If they be of their flockes, why should they tarie for the? vlesse they will haue the sheepe to force the sheepehearde vnto his dutie. In deede the Magistrate may force him, but it is his shame to tarie till he be forced. Be ashamed therefore ye foolish shepheardes, and laye not a burthen on the Magistrates, as though they should do that in building the Lordes kingdome, which the Apostles and Prophetes coule not doo. They coule not force Religion [Song 8.], as ye woulde haue the Magistrate to do, and it was forbidden the Apostles to preache to the vnworthie, or to force a planting or gouernement of the Church [Mat. 10.]. The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strenght [Zach. 4, Hosea 2.], as be the kingdomes of this worlde. Neither durst Moses, nor anie of the good Kings of Iuda force the people by lawe or by power to receiue the church gouernement, but after they receiued it, if then they fell away, and sought not the Lorde, they might put them to death. For the couenaunte was firste made, as it is written [2. Chro. 15.], they made a couenant to seeke the Lord God of their fathers, with all their harte, and with all their soule. And then followe the next wordes which are to be vnderstoode of the which made the couenaunt, for of

them which so sware vnto the Lorde, whosoener did not seeke the Lorde God of Israel, should be slaine, whether he were small or great man or woman. And therefore did the whole congregation of Israel gather them together, to warre against the children of Reuben and Gad, because they seemed to forsake the couenant [Ioshu. 22]. Yet woulde not Hezekiah fight against Israel, though they laughed him to skorne and mocked at his doings [2. Chro. 30.], for they had not receiued the couenaunt, but their forefathers, and they were nowe called to the couenaunt againe, which the Lorde had disannulled with their forefathers: as it is written [2. Chro. 15.], that for a long season Israel had bin without the true God, and without Prieste to teache, and without lawe. Nowe therefore let the wise vnderstande these things, and the Lorde be mercifull, and deliuer vs from these vnreasonable and euill men. For there is no ende of their pride and crueltie which ascende vp and sit in the Magistrates chaire and smite the people with a continuall plague, and such of them as haue not yet gotten the roume, do crie for Discipline, Discipline, that is for a ciuill forcing, to imprison the people, or otherwise by violence to handle and beate them, if they will not obeye them. But the Lorde shall bring them downe to the dust, and to the pitt, as abhominable carkasses, which would be aboue the cloudes, yea which dare presume into the throne of Christe Iesus, and vsurpe that authoritie and calling in his Church, which is opposed and contrarie to his kingdom and gouernement. This shall appeare afterwarde: In the meane time let them knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte. They shall come vnto Zion and inquire the way to Ierusalem [Ierem. 50.], not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: yea as the hee goates shall they be before the flocke, for the haste they haue vnto Zion, and they them selues shall call for the couenaunt, saying, Come and let vs cleaue faste vnto the Lorde in a perpetuall couenaunt that shall neuer be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes kingdome: as it is written againe [Ierem. 51.], Remember the Lorde a farre of, and let Ierusalem come into your mindes, for they see the fierce wrath of the Lorde, where the Lordes kingdome is not, and they flee from the same going and weeping as they goe, as the Prophete saieth [Iere. 51.], because he hath bin angrie so long. But nowe they haue escaped his displeasure, they goe on and stande not still

till they appeare before the Lorde in Zion [Psal. 84]. Yea and the Lords people shall come willinglie in the day of his assemblies, euen his armies in holie beautie [Psal. 110]. Yet the frowarde wilbe frowarde still, for (say they) Moses and the kinges of Iuda did reforme the Church, and they were taried for, therefore we also must tarie for our Magistrates. Beholde nowe howe the shame of their faces doeth testifie against them, which dare against their consciences, make our Magistrates prophetes with Moses, yea high Priestes as he was and figures of Christ, as both he was and the Kings of Iuda also. How boldelie also dare they peruert the truth, affirming that some which ought to reforme, did it not, because they would tarie for Moses or for the Kinges of Iuda. For did Zacharie (say they) or the Prophet Haggai, builde of them selues, and not rather call on the ciuill Magistrates and tarie for them? But they knowe not (as men that are willinglie ignorant) that their building of the Temple stode in outwarde furniture of timber, stone, cariage, and therefore had neede of the helpe of Zerubabel the Prince: but our spirituall prouision, as the gifstes, callings, and graces of the Church neede not anie worldlie preparation in such outwarde ceremonies. Therefore we aunswere, that Zerubabel being a figure of Christ, as appeareth in Zacharie the 4. he was to be chiefe in the worke. Neither were they in that worke as ciuill Magistrates nowe a dayes, but as Spirituall guides, representing Christe and his spirituall kingdome. Neither did Haggai or Zacharie tarie for the Magistrates, but went before them, for in the name of God they commaunded them to builde, and the text sayeth further [Ezra 5.], that they ioyned with them and helped them. So that neither by worde nor deede they taried and were behinde: yea when the King (whose subiectes they were) commaunded them to cease, they refused to giue over the building. This appeareth in Ezra 4. 23. and in Ezra 5. 1. And before also [Hag. 1. 2., Hag. 2. 15.], because they ceased and lingered the building, for that the Magistrates were against them, they were sharpelie reprovod of Haggai, and it was a most grievous curse vnto them. Yet dare these menne laye sinne vpon the Prophetes, as taryng & lingering for the Magistrates. And wherefore? Forsooth they did not hewe timber, and carie stones first of all to further the worke. But in deede, were they not firste when they commaunded and the other obeyed, and when they ioyned with them & helped them? For otherwise might Salomon

also not to be saied to builde the Temple, but to tarie for others, because he him selfe brought not the stones, neither hewed them, but commaunded others (as the text sayeth) [1. Km. 5. 17] and they obeyed and brought great stones, and costlie stones to make the foundation of the house. But if Zacharie or Haggai had taried, it proueth not that we must tarie for our Magistrates. For both Iehoshua the high Prieste, and Zerubabel the Prince, were figures of the high priest-hood and principdome of Christe, and also had an ecclesiastical gouernement ouer the Church, which our Magistrates haue not. And further also, euerie lawfull Preacher at this time hath that authoritie of building Gods Church equall with Zerubabel and Iehoshuah, or rather superior, for they are compared with them, as the 11. of the Reuelation, and the 4. of Zacharie will testifie, and in the 11. of Mathewe, and the 3. of the Corinthians the seconde Epistle, they are preferred afore them. We knowe that Moses might reforme, and the Iudges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates: yea they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuillie, and as ciuill Magistrates, that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the Church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outwarde Iustice, to maintaine the right welfare and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment, & ciuil forcing of mē. And therefore also because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge: that is concerning the outward prouision & outward iustice, they are to look to it, but to cōpell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical gouernement by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as is proued before, neither yet to the Church. Let vs not therfore tarie for the Magistrates: For if they be christiās thei giue leaue & gladly suffer & submit thē selues to the church gouernemēt. For he is a christian which is redeemed by Christ vnto holines & happines for euer & professeth the same by submitting him self to his lawes & gouernmēt. And if they be not christians, should the welfare of the church or the saluatiō of mens soules, hang on their courtesie? But they aske how we proue that Moses & the kinges of Iudah & the Iudges before thē, were figures of Christ. They know it true, & dare not

denie it, & yet to quarrel & trille with the truth, they must haue it proued. Yea they charge vs as Anabaptistes & denying Magistrates, because we set not vp them, nor the Magistrates about Christ Iesus and his glorious kingdome. How often haue we proued by word & writing these matters. For the Scepter shal not depart fro Iuda, saith the Scripture [Gene. 49.] nor a law giuer fro betwene his feete, vntil Shiloe come. By these wordes Iacob did prophesie, that one should take the spiritual kingdom & be Lord thereof, namely Christ Iesus, and euer more one of the tribe of Iuda & house of Dauid, should foreshew the same as in figure, & sit also in the throne of iudgement, to declare it more liuelie, and that the throne of Dauid and the raigne of his children did so signifie, the Scripture declareth, as it is written [Isa. 16.] In mercie shall the throne be established, & he shal sit vpon it in stedfastnes in the Tabernacle of Dauid, iudging and seeking iudgement and hasting iustice. And againe it is written [Psal. 45.], In steade of thy fathers shal thy children be, whom thou shalt make Princes throughout all the earth. And this is spoken of the posteritie of Salomon, which as figures of Christ, were Lords of the world, though their dominio in worldly wise was not so large. For all that Psalm is to magnifie the kingdome of Christ which is his church, which was prefigured by Salomon & his posteritie, and by the marriage of Salomon, which shadowed the church & the childre thereof. And againe it is writtē [Isa. 9.], that Christ shall sit vpo the throne of his father Dauid, & vpon his kingdom, to order it & to stablish it with iudgement and with iustice for euer. Wherefore was it called the throne of Dauid & his kingdom, but because in a cotinual course it shadowe out the kingdom of Christ till his coming. Therefore also are Dauid, Salomon, Iehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Iosiah, and others, set downe in the Scripture as figures. Yea and the euill kings of Iuda, though not in their wickednesse, yet in that authoritie and calling whiche they shoulde haue rightlie vsed were figures.

For they all had their entrance at the East gate of the Temple, at the which the people might worshippe, but not goe in [Ezek. 46.]: they might pray for the people, and by their sacrifices attonement might be made: as it is writtē [Psal. 20.], Let him remember all thine offerings, and turne thy burnt offerings into Ashes. And againe, Saue Lorde, let the King heare vs in the daye that we call. Yea all those Kings were to looke to

the Temple, to the building and restoring thereof when it was decayed, as did Iehosh, Iosiah, Hezekiah, and others.

Let them looke the 4. of Zacharie, the thirde of Hosea, and 5. verse, the 33 of Ieremie, and manie other places, especiallie in the Psalmes, and they shall finde Dauid and his children after him, in the throne of iudgement to foreshewe the coming of Christ. And if the high Priestes and Kings of Iudah in their spiritual ministracion were glorious [Zacha. 4.], because they figured Christ Iesus, & for the glorie of their office were copared to two Oliue trees, and two golden Candlestickes [Reuel. 11.], Then also must their ministracion be glorious, to whom God shall giue power in these latter dayes to be his witnesses. For they also stande before the God of the earth, as it is written Reuel. 11. And if anie man, whether Magistrate or other, would hurt them, the fire of their message proceedeth out of their mouthes, and deuoureth their enimies. Therefore is their authoritie of God and not of man, and much lesse doeth it depende on man, or on the Magistrate. For vpon what man did the authoritie of Moses depende? yet Paule affirmeth [2. Cor. 3.], that the ministracion of the spirite committed to all faithfull teachers at this time, exceedeth in glorie the ministracion by Moses and the Prophetes before time. Yea the Church hath more authoritie concerning Church gouernement then Magistrates, as it is written [Isa. 45.], They shall followe thee, and shal goe in Chaines: they shall fall downe before thee, and make supplication vnto thee. For who knoweth not, that though Magistrates are to keepe their ciuill power about all persones, yet they come vnder the censure of the Church, if they be Christians, and are openlie to humble them selues in vnfained repentaunce, when they haue openlie and grieuouslie trespassed. They are in deece to keepe their Royal dignitie, yet keeping that they are to abase them selues vnto God before the face of the Church. For all powers shall serue and obeye Christ, saith the Prophete [Isa. 60.]: and that kingdome and nation which will not also serue his Church (for so is the text) shall perishe, and the Nation shall be vtterlie destroyed. And the daughters of Tyrus, saith the Psalmist [Psal. 47.], with the riche of the people, shall do homage before thy face with presentes. And further it is writtē in Isai: Euerie tounge that shal rise against thee in iudgement, shalt thou condemne, this is the heritage of the Lords seruantes, and their rightousnes is of me, saith the Lorde [Isa. 54.]. But all this would the

aduersaries shift of, with this aunswere, that concerning outwarde policie we must tarie for the Magistrate: See howe they grope for the wall, as menne without eyes. For when wee speake of spirituall power and authoritie in the Church, doo we speake of ciuile policie, trowe ye? So then they condemne them selues least wee should doo it, that the spirituall power and Ecclesiasticall reformation, must proceede without tarying, but to redresse things ciuile, the ciuile Magistrate must meddle, and none is to take his authoritie from him. For we knowe that when Magistrates haue bin most of all against the Church and the authoritie thereof, the Church hath most flourished. Woe to you therefore ye blinde Preachers and hypocrites: for ye sprede a vaile of darkenes vpon the people, and bring vpon them a cursed couering, because by your policie you hide them vnder the power of Antichrist, and keepe from their eyes the kingdome of Christe. The Lordes kingdome must waite on your policie forsooth, and his Church muste bee framed to your ciuill state, to supplie the wantes thereof: and so will ye change the Lordes gouernement, and put your deuises in stead thereof: but his shalbe alwayes the same, when yours shall change with your wittes, his lawes shall alwayes abyde whē yours shal turne in your hoodes, his hath the same offices, but yours haue newe and renewed offices [Ex. 25, 29, 46, Mat. 28, 20., 1 Tim. 6, 13.]. Goe to therefore, and the outwarde power and ciuill forcings, let vs leaue to the Magistrates: to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice, belongeth to them: but let the Church rule in spirituall wise, and not in worldlie maner: by a liuelie lawe preached, and not by a ciuill lawe written: by holinesse in inwarde and outwarde obedience, and not in straightnesse of the outward onelie. But these handsome Prelates, would haue the Mase and the Scepter in their handes, and then hauing safetic and assurance by a lawe on their sides, they would make a goodlie reformation.

Beholde the Lorde hath scene this their villanie, and he hath made them despised and vile in the sight of the people. They haue refused knowledge, and the Lorde hath refused them, they shall beare no more the name of his message.

Of their wicked aunswere, that they can not remedie things, and therefore they will tolerate.

Beholde, the Lorde hath cast dunge on their faces, euen the dunge of their solemne feastes [Mala. 2.], as of their Christ-masse, and Easter, and Whitsuntide, and of all their traditions,

receyued from Baal. For in their solemne meetings, then doeth their iniquitie most woefullie appeare. And they haue saide plainlie (as in the dayes of Malachie) [Mala. 1.] the table of the Lorde is not to be regarded. For though hogges and Dogges come thereto, yet who can redresse it: or why should the Communion be counted polluted vnto vs? Thus they pollute my name saith the Lorde, and yet they say Wherein haue we polluted thy name? In that ye suffer such wickednesse amongst you, saith the Lorde, and say also that it is sufferable, and can no way be remedied. O goodlie teachers, which eate vp the sinne of the people, and deuoure seeлие soules whyle they wil tolerate forsooth: For by tolleration, they make vlawfull things lawfull: and by a protestation they iustifie all iniquitie. In deede they be euill say they, but yee must beare with them, for there is no remedie. So not onlie they practise and vse them them selues, and drawe on others by their wicked example, but also commaunde and teache all men the like, yea hate and persecute all those which stande not with them. O notable Protestantes, whiche both witsesse euil & do the same. Darkenes hath certainlie couered vs, and grosse darkenesse hath filled vs, that we could not hitherto espie this great follie. For no wickednesse is tollerable, except for the hardnes of mennes hartes, we yeelde them vp to their wickednesse. For the Lordes way sayeth the Scripture [Isa. 35.], is holy, and no polluted shall passe by it. And againe it is written [Isa. 60.], That the Lordes people (he speaketh of the Church) shal be all righteous, that is, no open wickednesse shal so shew it selfe in the Church, that it shoulde be incurable. For either the parties which offende, shalbe separate, or else they shalbe reclaymed by due admonition. And therefore the Church is called the house of the liuing God, the pillar and grounde of trueth [1. Tim. 3.]. For by the due order therein, Religion and holinesse is vphelde, and all heresies, euill maners, and wicked examples put awaye. If then anie open wickednesse must needes be suffered, it is suffered in those which are none of the church: as it is written [1. Cor. 5.], What haue I to doo to iudge them which are without, doe yee not iudge them which are within? for God iudgeth them which are without. Knowe ye not (saith the Scripture) that a little leauen leaueneth the whole lump. Howe then shall we suffer but a little wickednesse, whiche indeede is not little if it can not be remedied. Yea Paule [1. Cor. 7.] would

not bee brought into bondage of the least thing that is, and it is horrible iniquitie to be seruauntes to men, that is, when we are bought for so great a price to glorifie God as his free men, that we should be made seruauntes to menne to suffer their wickednesse. Goe to therefore yee tolerating Preachers, this you get by your tolerating, to haue no name amonge the righteous, nor to be of the bodie of the Church. For Ierusalem is called a citie of trueth, and the mountaine of the Lorde, the holie mountaine [Zacha. 8.]. But ye are ynholie, in that ye saye, some pollutions can not bee clenسد awaye, but muste needes be suffered among you. And this is a certaine trueth, that where anie open disorder is incurable, there is not the Lords Zion, to the which he is turned to dwell therein: that is, they are not the Lordes Church, ouer whom he doeth raigne to shewe his kingdome and gouernement. For the Lordes kingdome is not as mannes, and his rule in his church is not the rule of man. Man is not able to reforme al things, and in the common wealthes manie thinges are suffered. But in the Church, though hypocrites which are called the tares, can not bee rooted out, yet no open disorder shall so sprede it selfe, that it can not be remedied. Else should not the Church be called the pillar and ground of trueth, the Lordes resting place, his holie habitation, his kingdome and glorious renoune. Therefore doth Paule call [1. Cor. 3.] that parte of church gouernement, which is to separate the vngodlie, the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ. For thereby are the Kings bounde with chaines, and the Nobles with fetters of yron [Psal. 149.], that they may execute vpon them, the iudgement that is written, Such honor bee to all his Saintes. And in deede this is a great honour we haue, as Paule sayeth [2. Cor. 10.], that though we walke in the fleshe, yet we warre not after the fleshe. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe houldes, casting downe the imaginations, and euerie high thing, that is exalted against the knowledge of God, & bringing into captiuitie euerie thought to the obedience of Christ. So then there is nothing which the Lorde will not breake, if it be against his glorie, neither anie wickednes which the gouernement of his Church is not able to put downe. For the Scepter of Christ is a right Scepter [Psal. 45.], hee will keepe in awe his people in this life, and put aparte from them the vnrule: he shall be Iudge among the Heathen, and fill all with dead bodies, and smite

the heades ouer great Countries [Psal. 110.], and after this life he hath made readie the last vengeance against all disobedience, when the obedience of his people is fulfilled. Howe then dare these menne teache vs, that anie euill thing is tolerable in the Church, as though the church gouernement could not remedie it; yea and so tolerable, that all men should be brought into bondage thereby: yea into so foolishe bondage, that they should protest a thing to be euill, and so thinke they are excused to practise the same.

Robert Browne's "Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for anie" was published at Middelburgh in Holland in 1582, during Browne's two years' exile there. In the same year were published "A Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all True Christians" and "A Treatise upon the 23. of Mattheu." These three treatises of Browne's are sometimes found together, bound as one. This is the case in the copy in the Congregational Library in Boston, used for this leaflet, transcribed by the kindness of Mr. W. H. Cobb, the librarian, and by his own hand; but Dr. Dexter's impression was that the treatises were issued separately as fast as printed, although with the intention of making one book of them, the three being unified by one purpose. "These books, aside from any little local currency which they may have had, were sent over in sheets into England, where they were bound and circulated by warm sympathizers there; where they arrived at the dignity of drawing a special proclamation from the queen; and where, before Browne trod again his natal soil, two men had been hanged for dispersing the same."

The common principle of these works was the principle of Congregationalism, or Independency,—the theory of church government adopted by the Pilgrim Fathers, who were long called Brownists in England, and which finally became the polity of Cromwell and most of the leading men of the Commonwealth. Robert Browne may properly be called the first Independent; and so close were the relations in that day of civil and ecclesiastical organization that the reforms which he inaugurated have as great political as religious significance. "Robert Browne, I must think," says Dr. Dexter, "is entitled to the proud pre-eminence of having been the first writer clearly to state and defend in the English tongue the true—and now accepted—doctrine of the relation of the magistrate to the church"; namely, that, so long as men conduct themselves properly in society and respect the rights of others, the magistrate has nothing to do with their creed. "The magistrates," said Robert Browne, "have no ecclesiastical authority at all, but only as any other Christians, if so be they be Christians." "The church planted or gathered," so he defines the church, describing in the word the polity of early New England and of the English Commonwealth, "is a company or number of Christians or believers, which by a willing covenant made with their God are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion." The congre-

gations based upon the teaching of Browne knew nothing of a separate clerical order. The ministers were of the brethren, like all others of the congregation. Thus Brownism, or Congregationalism, became everywhere the soil and seed of democracy. "Browne had no idea of being a democrat or that he was teaching democracy. His conception of church government was of the absolute monarchy of Christ over his church. But then he conceived of Christ the king as reigning through as many regents as there are individual subjects of his kingdom who fulfil the conditions of their high office and live near to him and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. So he backed round into the East, sailing with his face set like a flint ever toward the glowing West!"

Browne's life and teaching were both presented to the world for generations almost exclusively by his enemies, and they suffered greatly at their hands. It was reserved for Rev. Henry Martyn Dexter to make a thorough study of Browne's career and works, and do full justice to his memory. The student is referred to the chapter on Browne in Dr. Dexter's "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature," that inexhaustible mine of information upon the history of early Puritanism. Its references to the whole literature of the subject are exhaustive.