

*THE TRUE DOCTRINE  
OF THE SABBATH*

## 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY PRESBYTERIANS

Titles previously published in this series by Naphtali Press:

*A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*, by George Gillespie (1993; revised critical edition, 2013).

*Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici or The Divine Right of Church-Government*, by sundry ministers of London. Revised and edited and with introduction by David W. Hall (1995).

*Lectures on Job*, by James Durham (1995; second ed., 2003).

*Christ Crucified: Or, the Marrow of the Gospel in Seventy-Two Sermons on the Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah*, by James Durham (2001; second printing, 2007; second edition, POD, 2 volumes, 2014).

*A Practical Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, by James Durham (2002; second edition, POD, 2014).

*Sermons Preached before the English Houses of Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643–1645*, by Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie and Samuel Rutherford. Introduction by Guy M. Richard. Edited by Chris Coldwell (2011).

*The Westminster Assembly's Grand Debate*. Edited by Chris Coldwell. Introduction by Rowland S. Ward (2014).

# SABBATHUM VETERIS ET NOVI TESTAMENTI:

or

## The True Doctrine of the Sabbath

Held and Practiced of the Church of God, both before, and under the Law; and in the time of the Gospel: Plainly laid forth and soundly proved by testimonies both of holy Scripture, and also of old and new ecclesiastical writers, Fathers and Councils, and laws of all sorts, both civil, canon and common. Declaring first from what things God would have us straightly to rest upon the Lord's Day, and by what means we ought publicly and privately to sanctify the same; together with the sundry abuses of men in both these kinds, and how they are to be reformed

DIVIDED INTO TWO BOOKS BY

Nicholas Bownd

*Doctor of Divinity*

And now by him the second time perused and enlarged with an *interpretation* of sundry points belonging to the Sabbath, and a more ample proof of such things as have been gainsaid, or doubted of by some divines of our time, and a more full answer unto certain objections made against the same, with some other things not impertinent to this argument

A Critical Edition with Introduction and Analysis

Edited by Chris Coldwell

*In the Church of God everyone doth offer that which he is able: some gold, silver, and precious stones; others blue silk, and purple and scarlet, and fine linen: it is well for our part if we offer skins and goats' hair.* Jerome, Prologue, Galeatum. *He hath given all things unto God, who hath offered up himself unto him.* Jerome, To Paulinus. *My son, give me thy heart.* Proverbs 23:26.

NAPHTALI PRESS &  
REFORMATION HERITAGE BOOKS

*Sabbathum Veteris Et Novi Testamenti: or The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*  
by Nicholas Bownd. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Analysis.  
Copyright © 2015 by Chris Coldwell.

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this new edition may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews and fair use.

Naphtali Press  
P. O. Box 141084  
Dallas, Texas, 75214  
www.naphtali.com  
naphtali@naphtali.com

Reformation Heritage Books  
2965 Leonard St. NE  
Grand Rapids, Michigan, 49525  
616-977-0889 / Fax 616-285-3246  
orders@heritagebooks.org  
www.heritagebooks.org

Previous editions. *The Doctrīne of the Sabbath, plainely layde forth, and soundly proved by testīmonies both of holy Scripture, and also of olde and new ecclesiāsticall writers. Declaring first from what things God would haue us straightly to rest upon the Lords day, and then by what meanes we ought publikely and priuately to sanctifie the same: together with the sundry abuses of our time in both these kindes, and how they ought to bee reformed. Diuided into two bookes...* (Printed by the Widdow Orwin, for John Porter and Thomas Man, 1595). *Sabbathum Veteris Et Novi Testamenti: or, The True Doctrīne of the Sabbath held and praćticed of the church of god, both before, and under the law; and in the time of the goşpel: plainly laid forth and soundly proved by testīmonies both of holy scripture, and also of old and new ecclesiāstical writers, fathers and councils, and laus of all sorts, both civil, canon and common...* (Imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston, for Thomas Man and John Porter, 1606).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bownd, Nicholas, -1613, author.

[Doctrine of the Sabbath]

Sabbathum Veteris Et Novi Testamenti, Or, The True Doctrine Of the Sabbath Held And Practiced Of The Church Of God, Both Before, And Under The Law, And In The Time Of The Gospel : Plainly Laid Forth And Soundly Proved By Testimonies Both Of Holy Scripture, And Also Of Old And New Ecclesiastical Writers, Fathers And Councils, And Laws Of All Sorts, Both Civil, Canon And Common / by Nicholas Bownd ; edited by Chris Coldwell.

pages cm

"A Critical Edition with Introduction and Analysis."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-60178-399-8 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Sunday--History of doctrines--16th century--Early works to 1800. 2. Sunday--History of doctrines--17th century--Early works to 1800. 3. Sabbath--History of doctrines--16th century--Early works to 1800. 4. Sabbath--History of doctrines--17th century--Early works to 1800. I. Coldwell, Christopher, editor. II. Title. III. Title: Sabbathum Veteris Et Novi Testamenti. IV. Title: True Doctrine Of the Sabbath.

BV111.3.B68 2015

263'3--dc23

2015006194

*THE TRUE DOCTRINE  
OF THE SABBATH*

## Abbreviations of Common References

ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> , ed. James Donaldson, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, and Alexander Roberts. 10 volumes (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1885).
Calvin, <i>Commentaries</i>	<i>Calvin's Commentaries</i> , 45 volumes (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1844–1856; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1953–).
CO	<i>Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia</i> , 59 volumes, in <i>Corpus Reformationum</i> , volumes 29–87.
CR	<i>Corpus Reformationum</i> , ed. G. Baum, Ed Cunitz, Eduard Reuss, and Alfred Erichson. 87 volumes (Brunsvigæ: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834–1900).
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, Philippe Labbe, Gabriel Cossart, and Niccolo Coleti (Florence and Venice: Zatta, 1759–1798).
NPNF1	<i>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series</i> , ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886–1890).
NPNF2	<i>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series</i> , ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1890–1900).
<i>Catholic Doctrine</i>	Thomas Rogers, <i>The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England</i> . Edited by J. J. S. Perowne (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1854).
Rogers, MS letter to Bownd	Thomas Rogers. “Copy of Thomas Roger’s refutation, April 29, 1598, of Nicholas Bownd’s Doctrine of the Sabbath, 1595 [MS], 1607?” Folger Shakespeare Library. X.d.547. Transcript in “Thomas Rogers’ Letter to Nicholas Bownd, April 29, 1598,” <i>The Confessional Presbyterian</i> , 10 (2014), 152–167.
Rogers, 1599 MS sermon	“Master Rogers’ sermon preached at Bury the 10 Dec. 1599,” Townsend Papers, vol. 1, MS 38492, fol. 104, The British Library, London. Cf. John H. Primus, <i>Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath</i> (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1989), 86–87.
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca</i> , ed. J. P. Migne. 166 volumes (Petit-Montrouge: Apud J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne. 217 volumes (Petit-Montrouge: Apud J.-P. Migne, 1844–1855). Citations are from the original Migne printing; the Garnier reprint may vary.
Zanchi, the fourth commandment.	Girolamo Zanchi. <i>Hieronymi Zanchij traclationum theologicarum volumen librum de operibus creationis proxime sequens: et primam traclatus de redemptione partem continens</i> . Neostadij Palatinatus: Harnisiorum, 1597. In <i>Opera</i> (1605; 1613; 1619), tome 2.
r	In paginations, recto (right hand page).
v	In paginations, verso (left hand page).

## CONTENTS

Contents of <i>The True Doctrine of the Sabbath</i> .....	ix
Foreword .....	xix
Introduction .....	xxi
Results of the Elizabethan Settlement.....	xxii
The Bownds and Richard Greenham .....	xxvii
Richard Greenham .....	xxix
Nicholas Bownd.....	xxxii
The Ministry of Nicholas Bownd.....	xxxiv
The Market Day of the Soul.....	xxxv
The Works of Nicholas Bownd.....	xxxvi
Conformity and Presbyterianism.....	xl
Bownd's Advocacy/Rejection of Presbyterianism .....	xliv
Thomas Rogers.....	xlvii
The Works of Thomas Rogers .....	xlviii
Thomas Rogers, Proponent of Conformity .....	liii
Thomas Rogers and the Bury Exercise .....	lvii
Thomas Rogers versus Nicholas Bownd .....	lxi
Assessing Rogers' Claims, Whitgift's and Popham's Suppression ....	lxvi
Rogers' 1598 Letter to Bownd.....	lxix
Time table of events.....	lxxvii
Objections to the Propagandist Theory.....	lxxxix
Nicholas Bownd Proves Rogers' Letter is Genuine.....	lxxxiv
Conclusion.....	lxxxv
Analysis .....	lxxxix
Contents of Bownd's <i>Doctrinē of the Sabbath</i> .....	lxxxix
Detractions and Defects of <i>Doctrinē of the Sabbath</i> .....	xc
The Scholarship of <i>Doctrinē of the Sabbath</i> .....	xciii
Bownd's Sources for Books.....	xcvii
Criticisms of Bownd's <i>Doctrinē of the Sabbath</i> .....	cii
Greenham and Bownd: Ceremonial Aid to the Commandment.....	cvi
Bownd: Innovative or Unoriginal; Significant or Unneeded? .....	cvii
Prefatory Epistles, 1595–1606	
Earl of Essex Coat of Arms.....	[2]
Dedication (1595).....	3
To the Reader (1595).....	4
Book One (1606): Dedication .....	7
To the Studious and Diligent Reader .....	10
Commendation by Alexander Bownd.....	12
Andrew Willet to the Reader.....	16
Book Two (1606): Dedication .....	22

William Jones to the Author.....	26
Commendation by Walter Allen.....	32
Book One: The Ancient Institution and Continuance of the Sabbath....	35
Book Two: The Sanctification of the Sabbath .....	285
Bibliography.....	449
Author Index .....	466
Scripture Index.....	471
Subject Index.....	475
Commendations .....	482



## Contents of *The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*

### Book One: The Ancient Institution and Continuance of the Sabbath

<b>1. The Difference of the Fourth Commandment.....</b>	<b>36</b>
How this commandment differs from all the rest.....	36
The first commandment has one reason joined to it.....	37
And the third commandment has one.....	37
The second commandment has two reasons joined to it.....	37
The fourth commandment has three [reasons joined to it] .....	38
The fourth difference of this command from all the rest.....	39
<b>2. The Sabbath ought to be continued.....</b>	<b>40</b>
The Church of God did keep the Sabbath from the beginning, before it	
was pronounced upon Mount Sinai.....	42
An Objection Answered .....	44
It may be proved that the Jews before the[ir] coming out of Egypt did	
keep the Sabbath.....	46
The Gentiles by the light of nature kept some days holy .....	55
The Gospel has not taken away the observation of the Sabbath.....	57
The two ends of ordaining the Sabbath show the continuation of it.....	58
A day of rest is necessary.....	59
It is necessary that a day should be sanctified .....	60
If there were no Sabbath, God's worship would be altogether neglected.....	64
<b>3. Sundry Objections against the Sabbath Propounded and Answered.....</b>	<b>65</b>
It is dangerous to reason against a known truth.....	65
Objection 1: The Sabbath belonged only to the Jews .....	66
Objection 2: The Sabbath was ceremonial and therefore now taken away.....	67
A difference between the moral and ceremonial law .....	69
Objection 3: The fourth commandment is partly moral and partly	
ceremonial.....	70
Some place the ceremony in the observation of a day .....	72
Others in the seventh day.....	72
Some place the ceremony in that seventh day which the Jews kept.....	73
Some place it in the rest of the day.....	74
Others in the precise strictness of that rest.....	74
They say that bodily rest was a sign of resting from sin .....	75
A difference between a sign and a ceremonial.....	76
And of our eternal rest in heaven .....	77
Objection 4: The Sabbath is a continual resting from sin .....	81
Answer 2. To rest from sin is the fruit of the true keeping holy of the	
Sabbath.....	82
As also it is of keeping the day of fast.....	82

And it must be the fruit of all true religion .....	83
Objection 5: Christ has taken away the Sabbath in the Goſpel.....	84
We must use reſt and all God's creatures to further us in His service .....	86
<b>4. The Day to be Kept as the Sabbath.....</b>	<b>88</b>
The Sabbath ought to be upon the seventh day and upon no other.....	88
For God has ſanctified that day alone .....	88
How needful it was that God should appoint out the day .....	90
The heathen did not keep the seventh day, and therefore were ignorant of the creation of the world.....	91
And so should we be of the redemption if we keep not this seventh day .....	92
The seventh day muſt not be changed.....	94
A commendation of this number seven .....	95
Why the seventh day muſt be kept rather than any other.....	96
The seventh day commanded both under the Law & the Goſpel.....	98
The fourth command includes the Jewish Sabbath and ours .....	99
It belongs only to God to ſanctify any creature.....	101
<b>5. The Change of the Day from the Seventh to the Firſt .....</b>	<b>103</b>
Why we keep another seventh day, and not that which was from the beginning .....	103
It was changed in the Apoſtles' time .....	104
It was changed by the Apoſtles themſelves .....	108
The Lord's Day is no human conſtitution .....	112
The name of the day was changed and called the Lord's Day.....	115
The Sabbath is not of the nature of new moons & Jewish feaſts.....	116
Then alſo were changed the miniſters & miniſtry of the law.....	118
Why the Apoſtles changed the Sabbath of the Jews into this day that we now keep, rather than any other .....	119
Because Chriſt did riſe from the dead on that day.....	120
Therefore this day was appointed and none but this day could be ordained.....	127
The Lord's Day begins at the morning and not at the evening .....	130
This day muſt never be changed but continue unto the end of the world ....	131
<b>6. The Name of the Day Changed .....</b>	<b>136</b>
The name of the Sabbath was changed into the name of the Lord's Day, which alſo muſt be retained.....	136
Therein conſiſts part of the honor of this day.....	142
It is not to be called the Queen's day, King's or Emperor's day .....	142
The Dominical Day.....	144
This name the Lord's Day is more honorable than that of the Sabbath .....	145
<b>7. The Firſt Part of the Commandment is Reſting .....</b>	<b>146</b>
Division of the text into the commandment and the reaſons of it.....	146
The firſt thing in the command is to reſt upon the seventh day .....	146
As the very name of the Sabbath imports .....	147

A very exact and precise rest must then be kept.....	148
As appears in that the word <i>rest</i> is so particularly & so often urged.....	149
The Sabbath of years answerable to the Sabbath of days.....	151
The conclusion .....	151
<b>8. The Reasons for Resting on the Sabbath Day .....</b>	<b>152</b>
The chief cause of resting: that we might wholly attend upon God's worship .....	152
A less principle cause is the retaining of our bodily strength .....	153
The Jews were bound to it more specially for a memorial of the deliverance out of Egypt.....	155
The like is to be said of the rest of the moral commandments .....	156
From what particular things we are commanded to rest .....	158
From gathering and preparing manna .....	159
From doing anything about building the tabernacle.....	161
In the time of sowing and harvest .....	163
There is more cause why men should rest upon the Sabbath in harvest than any other time of the year.....	164
The Pope's law restrains men from working in harvest.....	166
The zeal of Nehemiah in suppressing work in harvest.....	167
No fairs to be kept upon the Lord's Day.....	172
Nehemiah represses all fairs and buying and selling of victuals upon the Sabbath .....	173
The godly laws of this realm also forbid them.....	173
We must rest from whatsoever hinders us from God's service .....	175
As from the works of our callings.....	176
As the laborer, artificer, husbandman.....	177
No buying and selling of wares on the Sabbath Day .....	178
Inholders and alehouse keepers.....	180
No common carriers should travel upon the Lord's Day .....	180
Which is too common an abuse in our time .....	180
All travelers, as drovers, packmen, etc., must then rest .....	181
An objection answered .....	181
Schoolmasters and scholars; lawyers and clients.....	182
The bailiffs, sergeants, apparitors .....	183
The physician .....	184
Judges and justices.....	185
Yet these works of men's callings are in themselves good, necessary and lawful; but not upon this day .....	187
The circumstances of time, place, etc., change the nature of our actions .....	187
1. Example. [Magistrates] .....	187
2. Example. [Alms giving] .....	187
3. Example. [Sleeping].....	188
4. Example.....	188

<b>9. All Degrees of Men are Commanded to Rest.....</b>	<b>189</b>
All degrees of men, both high and low, are commanded to rest upon	
the Lord's Day .....	189
As the magistrate and governor .....	190
And all that are in subjection; servants especially.....	191
Reasons to persuade masters to give rest to their servants upon the	
Sabbath day .....	192
The cattle must rest upon this day .....	193
And the strangers that are of another religion .....	195
The ground also had her Sabbath and rest.....	197
We must not compel others to work for us, and so to do our business	
by them.....	198
As tailors and shoemakers; and servants.....	198
Objection.....	199
Many do thus abuse their servants.....	199
But the masters are guilty of their sins .....	199
The commandment of superiors does not excuse the inferior in	
working for them upon the Lord's Day .....	200
Objection.....	200
Magistrates are bound to restrain the people by the law from	
working upon this day .....	201
The great zeal of Nehemiah in this behalf is a worthy example to	
follow.....	203
What good success God gave him in it.....	204
The conclusion .....	205
<b>10. Six Days Work Sufficient &amp; The Sabbath Day's Journey .....</b>	<b>205</b>
Objection. If men should thus rest from all work, how should they live?.....	205
Question. A Sabbath day's journey .....	208
<b>11. All Bodily Labor is not Forbidden .....</b>	<b>212</b>
All bodily labor is not forbidden upon this day .....	212
As that which directly pertains to the service of God.....	213
As going to church though it is far off, to preach or hear God's Word .....	215
And ringing of bells to call men to the church .....	216
And to prepare necessary and convenient food for everyone .....	217
Wherein the Jews had as much liberty as we .....	218
Wherein we must take heed that we abuse not our liberty in making	
solemn feasts this day .....	220
Whether we may go to such feasts or not, which are made by others .....	222
Marriage dinners upon this day are inconvenient; and some unlawful.....	222
The feasts or ordinary diets of noblemen and great personages upon	
this day.....	224
And of knights, esquires and great gentlemen.....	224
<b>12. Works of Necessity and Mercy on the Sabbath.....</b>	<b>225</b>

And whatsoever the present time requires may be done, though not to God's service .....	225
[An] example hereof .....	226
Example 2 .....	228
Example 3 .....	230
Many things of necessity must be done to the cattle on this day .....	231
Thus mercy is preferred above sacrifice .....	232
To preserve God's creatures is a work of the Sabbath.....	233
What works are necessary and therefore lawful upon this day, and what are not.....	235
Objection.....	236
Take heed that we bring not a necessity upon ourselves which God lays not on us.....	238
And therefore remembering the Sabbath beforehand .....	238
1. An example hereof.....	239
2. Another example.....	239
3. Another example.....	240
Sir. John Popham, Knight.....	240
We must leave our business unfinished that we might keep the Sabbath.....	241
4. Another Example. Every man in six days may do all his work.....	244
Therefore not to rest upon the Sabbath is a great sin .....	246
A conclusion of works of necessity.....	249
Works of necessity upon the Lord's Day must not be done for gain but for mercy and pity.....	249
Objection 1. answered .....	251
2. Objection .....	253
13. Christians as Strictly Bound by this Law as were Jews .....	254
We in this and in all other of the moral commandments are as strictly bound as the Jews were.....	254
Objection. If we are thus strictly bound to rest, we are still in as great a bondage as the Jews were under the law .....	255
Answer. We are not to rest for those ends and purposes for which they did.....	256
2. We also have more liberty than they in the manner of sanctifying the day .....	256
3. And we are set free from all the childish rudiments annexed unto this day.....	257
4. And from the observance of many other Sabbaths they had .....	258
God's punishments upon breakers of the Sabbath.....	258
Many slain and hurt at Paris Garden upon the Sabbath .....	263
14. Resting From Lawful Recreations.....	267
Upon the Lord's Day we ought to rest from all honest recreations & lawful delights.....	267

Bring no hawks, nor bows and arrows into the church .....	269
Objection answered .....	269
Much more from all unlawful pastimes .....	270
No disguised or unseemly behavior is to be used in the church .....	274
It is not unlawful to use recreations; we only restrain men from them on this day .....	275
We must rest also from speaking and hearing of worldly matters .....	276
As from making of bargains .....	276
And from taking of accounts .....	277
And from talking of our recreations .....	277
And from having our minds occupied about the same .....	278
Objection. If the commandment is this strait, who may abide it? .....	281
We may think and speak of worldly things that are necessary .....	282
A conclusion of all that has gone before, with an application of it to ourselves .....	282

#### Book Two: The Sanctification of the Sabbath

1. The Second Part of the Command: Sanctifying the Day .....	286
The second part of the commandment is to sanctify the day of rest .....	286
It is then sanctified when we bestow it upon God's worship .....	286
Which also sanctifies all other creatures used therein .....	290
As the water, bread and wine in the sacraments .....	291
To worship God upon this day is the most principal thing in the commandment .....	293
Therefore we ought to remember the Sabbath to this end especially .....	297
And to this end we ought to rest from all other things .....	300
2. There is to be a Precise Keeping of the Sabbath .....	300
The sanctification of this day is very precisely urged in the Scriptures .....	300
Holy assemblies were commanded to be kept upon these days .....	304
And then the daily service of God was doubled .....	305
In the time of the gospel these meetings are and ought to be upon the Lord's Day .....	307
3. Public Worship on the Sabbath .....	309
Therefore upon this day we ought to come to church and be occupied in all the parts of God's worship .....	309
4. Public Worship: The Ordinances Thereof .....	312
There ought to be the preaching of the Word upon this day in all places .....	313
All men ought to resort to those places where the Word is preached .....	318
And not carelessly tarry at home as many do .....	321
Where the Word is not preached, or men come not to it: this day cannot be hallowed as it ought .....	322
The ministers that cannot, or will not preach, are special causes of unhallowing this day .....	323

We must be present also at the reading of the Word, common prayer, and administration of the sacraments from the beginning to the end .....	324
And not content ourselves with some piece of them .....	325
God would have us to serve Him publicly in the church .....	326
A commendation of preaching of the Word which there is to be had.....	327
There is the public reading of the Scriptures .....	328
There also are the sacraments, which were wont to be administered every Lord's Day.....	332
There is the benefit of common prayer .....	335
The great sin of those that neglect the church on the Lord's Day .....	336
The example of Christ frequenting the Temple .....	337
We stand in great need of God's public service .....	337
Which if we neglect, we must needs perish .....	337
The practice of the ancient churches upon the Lord's Day.....	338
<b>5. Public Worship: From the Heart for our Salvation .....</b>	<b>341</b>
All these parts of God's service must be performed with our whole hearts, and not only outwardly, and of a custom .....	341
And so as by them we may be furthered in our salvation .....	343
Which is the end of the Sabbath, and of all God's worship in it.....	344
Here we have cause to repent us of our unprofitable coming to the church .....	346
The ministers in many places are the cause why the people do not profit.....	348
<b>6. Public Worship: Collections for the Poor.....</b>	<b>349</b>
Upon the Lord's Day the poor ought publicly to be provided for.....	349
But no collection is to be made in the time of divine service.....	353
<b>7. The Sabbath is a Whole Day .....</b>	<b>355</b>
The Sabbath is a whole day, and not some part of it .....	355
Contrary to the opinion and practice of some Protestants .....	358
The Sabbath consists of twenty-four hours, day and night.....	360
<b>8. Private Worship: Preparing for Public Worship .....</b>	<b>364</b>
In the first part of the day we ought to prepare ourselves for the public assemblies .....	364
The want of which preparation, is the cause that the Word is so unprofitably heard of a great many .....	365
How we ought to prepare ourselves before we come to the church.....	366
There is great cause to pray before we come to the ministry of the Word .....	367
To have our understanding enlightened .....	367
And the affections of our hearts reformed.....	368
And our memories confirmed and our lives framed to the obedience of it..	368
We ought to read the scriptures, privately at home .....	368
<b>9. Private Worship: Meditating &amp; Conferring on God's Word .....</b>	<b>370</b>
We must use private meditation upon that which we have heard and read ..	370
What meditation is and how untoward naturally we are thereunto .....	370

The great good that may redound unto us by godly meditation.....	372
How unprofitable men are to themselves and others for want of meditation.....	373
Both the teachers themselves.....	373
And also the hearers .....	373
A similitude to that end.....	374
An example to teach the simpler sort how to meditate .....	375
We ought privately to confer and talk of God's Word one with another.....	375
Eſpecially upon the Lord's Day .....	377
Which yet is greatly neglected.....	377
What is the cause that there is no more talk and conference about the Word of God .....	378
What fruit we might get by ſuch conferences, and what we loſe by neglecting them .....	379
Conference greatly helps a man's memory .....	379
1. Objection. Some are aſhamed to talk of the ſcriptures.....	380
2. Objection. Others think that it belongs only to the miniſter, and not to the common people .....	381
3. Objection. Our ignorance ought not to keep us from conferring with others .....	381
The great benefit of mutual conference.....	382
The people ought to confer with the miniſter, and he with them, and they one with another.....	382
4. Objection. Which they may do though they can ſay but I [aye], or no, or aſk a queſtion .....	383
10. Private Worſhip: Meditating on God's Works .....	384
We ought to meditate upon and confer about the works of God, by which He manifeſts Himſelf unto us.....	384
The ſervants of God have greatly profited in faith and obedience by the conſideration of His creatures.....	388
The meditation of God's works will teach us to profit by all things and in all eſtates .....	392
But all ſorts do greatly fail in it.....	394
11. Private Worſhip: Singing of Psalms.....	396
There ought to be ſinging of Psalms in the church, and in men's houſes .....	396
To this end is there ſuch variety of Psalms agreeing with all times, and all men's eſtates .....	396
What eſtate and condition of ours is moſt fit for the ſinging of Psalms.....	397
What ſhould be the end of all our mirth .....	398
Singing of Psalms is moſt fit for the Sabbath day .....	399
Singing of Psalms teſtifies and increaſes ſpiritual joy .....	400
The ſinging of Psalms is greatly decayed in all places and amongſt all ſorts of men.....	400



What is the cause why singing of Psalms is so decayed .....	402
To sing Psalms is good, pleasant and comely .....	406
What makes it comely .....	406
<b>12. Works of Mercy.....</b>	<b>408</b>
The works of mercy are to be practiced upon this day .....	408
So did Christ usually heal all kind of diseases upon the Sabbath .....	410
To make peace between others and ourselves, is a special work of this day.....	414
We ought also to visit them that are in misery.....	415
That the sight of it might move us to pity them .....	416
Men's hearts are hardened because they see not the misery of others .....	416
We ought especially to do the spiritual works of mercy to men's souls .....	418
There is no man, but he may do some work of mercy upon the Sabbath.....	419
<b>13. The Keeping of the Sabbath to be Urged by Superiors.....</b>	<b>420</b>
All superiors ought to be careful that their inferiors do keep holy the day, as well as themselves.....	420
They ought not to leave it to their discretion as a thing indifferent, but compel them thereunto.....	421
So have the servants of God done in time past in their several families, as Joshua the Judge .....	422
David the King .....	422
Esther the Queen .....	423
Cornelius the Captain .....	424
But in our time it is for the most part wholly neglected.....	424
It is a great sin to be careful that the servants should do their own business, and to have no care that they serve God .....	425
Especially in great households where there are many servants, this care is greatly neglected among serving men .....	425
Objection. In a great family many servants must needs be absent .....	426
The governors of families should take order that they and their whole household might come to church together .....	427
The disordered coming of many in our time.....	428
There is as great reason that the servants should make haste to come, as the governors .....	428
In a family one must call upon another, that they may come together .....	429
Which is neglected for want of zeal, and so their coming is scattered and confused.....	429
The duty of governors in this behalf to their family .....	430
The want of this care in households is the cause of much wickedness, rebellion, and disorder in their families.....	431
Objection. If men did look so straitly to their servants, they should soon be rid of them.....	431
Of none but wicked servants .....	432

Great men having good orders in their families, have kept many servants ...	432
Joshua .....	432
David .....	432
Abraham .....	432
Cornelius .....	433
Objection. The times then were better, and there were more good servants .....	433
Answer. No but men had then more care of their servants.....	433
Princes ought to make laws for the sanctifying of the Sabbath, and all inferior magistrates see the same diligently put in execution.....	433
Which is one principal end of their authority .....	435
So did Constantine the Emperor .....	436
They ought not to permit any toleration for the mass, or any false religion.....	436
The want of execution of ecclesiastical laws in our time, and the hurt thereof.....	438
The great good that redounds to the commonwealth by having good laws for God's worship, and by the due execution of the same .....	439
This makes subjects to obey of conscience, and for want of it they are soon ready to rebel.....	439
14. Conclusion.....	442
A conclusion with an application of all to ourselves and others .....	442
Showing how lamentably the Sabbath is profaned of a great many.....	442

## FOREWORD

WITH ALL THE Puritan and Presbyterian books expounding upon the fourth commandment which have been published or reprinted in the last four hundred years, it may be reasonably questioned why it is important to bring yet another work on the nature of the Lord's Day into print again, particularly when few Christians today either believe, understand or appreciate the true doctrine of the Christian Sabbath. The answer is simple enough. Nicholas Bownd's books were the first scholarly, lengthy treatment articulating the Puritan Sabbatarian position, and he can fairly be said to have set the mold for the standard argument. The basic tenets he defended are enshrined in that last great set of Reformed symbols, the Westminster Standards. So while he certainly did not invent the doctrine, Bownd can in a sense be called the father of the later Puritan works expounding the fourth commandment. Consequently, his work is of significant historical importance and a new edition is at the very least warranted to aid the study of it. And personally, if for no other reason, I believe a good modern edition of this great work is appropriate out of simple gratitude for the author's labors in the face of the difficulties of the times and the rather singular persecution he faced.

This project to bring Nicholas Bownd's *True Doctrine of the Sabbath* to print in a modern version dates back over twenty years. The source was a poor University Microfilms, Inc. (UMI) photocopy of an equally poor microfilmed example of Bownd's 1606 revised edition. This required considerable proof reading, and the original having all the problems of a late sixteenth century text made for a tedious job of editing. It was easier to keep shifting focus to other less difficult projects. However, as it turned out in the providence of God, the project needed this delay in order for new research to come to light, revealing more than had previously been in print about Nicholas Bownd. In addition, the editor's "tool kit" required expanding in order to handle such an old text with the attending necessary research, which other projects afforded over the intervening years. Finally, when the push to get this project on a track to completion was undertaken in the last year or so, a final hurdle presented itself. The discovery of the letter Thomas Rogers wrote to Bownd in 1598 cast all in new light, requiring a late course change and a complete revision of the approach to the text of the book.

For the last nineteen years the intent was to bring Bownd's 1606 edition to print. However, it became clear that Bownd had made at least one revision based upon a criticism Rogers had made in a 1599 sermon against Sabbatarianism. Using phrases from the surviving notes of that sermon, a few quick searches revealed that while never naming him at any point, all of the main criticisms Rogers made were addressed in the revision. In addition, the

description of the 1598 letter, which had never been transcribed, indicated it contained references to Bownd's 1595 edition. So even before obtaining a copy and transcribing the letter, it was clear that the 1606 text had to be carefully collated with the 1595 edition in order to discover changes directly attributable to Rogers' criticisms. With a revised critical text noting the additions (herein denoted by large {braces} in the text and in the margins), it became clear that many of the 1606 revisions were made in order to address criticisms made in both Rogers' 1599 sermon and 1598 letter. This discovery led to a considerable investigation of the dispute between Bownd and Rogers (known as the first Sabbatarian controversy in English literature), which resulted in a lengthy but hopefully informative introduction to this volume, now finally completed after all these years.

The text, keyed in the margins to the 1606 edition, has been revised, as far as possible without marring the author's work, to reflect contemporary spelling, punctuation, and usage. Chapter divisions have been added. Words or insertions supplied by the editor are in [square brackets]. While a few less clear antiquated words or spellings are replaced with the modern equivalents after the first usage (e.g. "entreating [in treating]" etc.), generally changes to clearly archaic spellings are done "silently." Scripture quotations are italicized, as well as Latin words and some emphasis. While the original use of italics for all manner of emphasis created many difficulties (see the Analysis), I have attempted to untangle and trace all of Bownd's references. An annotated bibliography is provided noting the library collections available to Bownd, as well as author, subject and Scripture indices.

My thanks go to James J. Cassidy for obtaining copies of some pages from an example of the 1606 edition owned by Princeton Seminary; to Sherman Isbell, David T. King, Matthew Winzer, Wayne Sparkman, Ruben Zartman and Wes Bredenhof for help with some of Bownd's citations; to J. P. Wallace, Rich Leino and Bruce Buchanan for aid on some unclear Greek text; to Paige Britton and Arnie Robertstad for proof-reading the introductory material; to Dr. Andrew Mason for information on the rectors of St. Andrews in Norton and the photographs of Bownd's parish church; to Stephen Dilday for the translation of the Latin material; and to the staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library for information regarding and copies of the MS of Thomas Rogers' 1598 letter, and for copies of the frontispiece and author's preface from their copy of Bownd's 1595 edition. Others are thanked in place.

Now, especially with thankfulness to the Lord for the faithfulness displayed by Nicholas Bownd in defending the biblical Sabbath, and for the completion of this long overdue project, Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books present this new edition of *The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*.

Chris Coldwell  
March 4, 2015

## INTRODUCTION

THE REFINEMENT OF English Sabbatarianism in the latter decades of the sixteenth century produced one of the central features of Puritan piety,<sup>1</sup> which would later be firmly embedded in Presbyterian and Nonconformist doctrine via *The Westminster Standards* (1647), *The Savoy Declaration* (1658) and *Baptist Confession of Faith* (1677).<sup>2</sup> The Westminster Confession states (21.7, 8),

As it is the law of nature, that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so, in His Word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men, in all ages, He hath particularly appointed one day in seven, for a Sabbath, to be kept holy unto Him (k): which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week (l), which, in Scripture, is called the Lord's Day (m), and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christian Sabbath (n).<sup>3</sup>

This Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe an holy rest, all the day, from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments, and recreations (o), but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of His worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy (p).<sup>4</sup>

Preaching, teaching, and the writings of late Elizabethan Puritans, particularly those of East Anglia<sup>5</sup> and “the intellectual center of English

---

1. The Introduction and subsequent Analysis with some additions and excisions, are based upon earlier versions. For the Introduction, see “Anti-Sabbatarian Scold: Thomas Rogers’ Letter to Nicholas Bownd, April 29, 1598,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 10 (2014) 113–170. For a bibliography of material referenced, see *ibid.*, 250. Hereafter “Anti-Sabbatarian Scold.”

2. The LBCF and Savoy have minor wording differences in both paragraphs. Cf. *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646), *The Savoy Declaration* (1658), and *The London Baptist Confession* (1577), in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation, Volume 4: 1600–1693*, ed. James T. Dennison, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014) 259–260, 481, and 559.

3. Scripture references: <sup>k</sup>Exod. 20:8, 10–11. Isa. 56:2, 4, 6–7. <sup>l</sup>Gen. 2:2–3. 1 Cor. 16:1–2. Acts 20:7. <sup>m</sup>Rev. 1:10. <sup>n</sup>Exod. 20:8, 10 with Matt. 5:17–18.

4. Scripture references: <sup>o</sup>Exod. 20:8. Exod. 16:23, 25–26, 29–30. Exod. 31:15–17. Isa. 58:13. Neh. 13:15–19, 21–22. <sup>p</sup>Isa. 58:13. Matt. 12:1–13.

5. East Anglia comprises the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Nearby Essex was the home of the Dedham conference, the records of which record the first debate over refinements in English Sabbatarianism. See *Conferences and Combination Lectures*

Puritanism,”<sup>6</sup> Cambridge University, were influential in the spread and acceptance of this Puritan conception of the Lord’s Day or Christian Sabbath. No work was more important in this regard than Nicholas Bownd’s *Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595; enlarged ed. 1606), which also became the focus of the first Sabbatarian controversy in English literature. Though there would be a wider reaction a generation later, it is now clear that this first controversy was not some general anti-Sabbatarian backlash. No other Sabbatarian books or authors at that time were adversely affected. The contention was created and pursued only against Bownd by the careerist conformist minister, Thomas Rogers, who claimed to have had Bownd’s book suppressed by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. While the easily provoked Rogers conceitedly viewed himself as the gatekeeper for acceptable English doctrine, this pursuit of his neighbor minister was apparently part of a quest for promotion. Rogers ultimately failed; yet he had a direct impact on the first scholarly work promoting English Sabbatarian views.

#### RESULTS OF THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

The promising Reformation in England during the reign of the boy king Edward VI from 1547 to 1553 came to a horrifying halt under the Roman Catholic Queen Mary (1553–1558). After her bloody reign was ended, Mary’s half-sister Elizabeth came to the throne, and the national religion was established again as Protestant with the Acts of Supremacy of 1558 and of Uniformity in 1559—the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. “For the most part, the country adjusted itself to these successive ‘settlements’ with a resilience which historians have found remarkable.”<sup>7</sup> The state of affairs was quite mixed and tenuous, being bound up with Elizabeth’s political concerns in ruling a unified nation (the very viability of which was in question), the expectation that she would marry (protestant or papist?), her initial rejecting of the reforms under her brother and desiring the church of her father Henry VIII, and the press from Protestants for a yet more truly Reformed church than had been seen under Edward VI.<sup>8</sup>

There can be little doubt that when religion was altered in 1559, only a minority of the nation, clergy and laity, would have considered themselves to be protestants, or would have known what that meant. All the rest, insofar as they conformed to the new order of things, were not unfairly described as ‘cold statute protestants.’ The credibility gap between what people were supposed to believe and practise and where

---

in *The Elizabethan Church, 1582–1590*, edited by Patrick Collinson, John Craig, and Brett Usher (Woodbridge, U.K.: The Boydell Press, 2003).

6. Craig R. Thompson, *Universities in Tudor England* (The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1959; repr. 1979) 23.

7. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967; repr. Trinity Press, 1971) 23.

8. *Ibid.*, 25–26, 29, 30, 35–36

they actually found themselves, as religious persons, took years, in some parts of the country, decades, to bridge.<sup>9</sup>

The Elizabethan Settlement was “a compromise in the lively political sense that it was the outcome of manœuvres in which both the queen and the protestants were forced to yield some ground.”<sup>10</sup> The settled religion would be but “halfly Reformed;” protestant, but retaining many of the superstitious ceremonies and hierarchical polity of the former religion which would be imposed due to Elizabeth’s unwavering insistence for absolute conformity to her uniformity: “obedience and order were the touchstones of Elizabeth I’s religious policy. She was famously uninterested in opening ‘windows into men’s souls.’ Obedience was all; men’s consciences were not to be meddled with.”<sup>11</sup> She desired no further reforms and viewed her settlement as the final word.<sup>12</sup>

This forced settlement resulted in a “curious concoction” of parties. On the one extreme, there were Roman Catholic recusants who refused to conform or go to the now protestant churches. A larger group conformed outwardly while harboring the old religion, hidden within the national majority that was content to change religion like the French fashion to suit their monarch. At the other extreme, there were the truly Reformed. These were “highly committed and fully informed protestants” who “stood out as so many sore thumbs, a minority group, often obnoxious to the majority, and identifiable to themselves as ‘the godly’”<sup>13</sup>—the Puritans, to use the originally pejorative smear given them by those who would persecute them.<sup>14</sup>

To accomplish the conformity craved by the queen, it was required,

of each bishop and archdeacon to conduct regular visitations that tested the degree to which parishes conformed to the Act of Uniformity.

9. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxiii–xxiv.

10. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 35.

11. John S. Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500–1610* (Ashgate, 2001) 26.

12. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 29–44.

13. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxi, xxiii–xxiv.

14. The general usefulness of the term Puritan and Puritanism to classify those participating in the early days of the movement to continue the reformation of the Church of England is here assumed. For disagreement with the helpfulness of the terms see *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, volume 1, ed. Francis J. Bremer (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2006) xiii; Patrick Collinson, *From Cranmer to Sanicroft: Essays on English Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Continuum International Pub. Group, 2007) 101–128; Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson, *Practical Divinity: The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham* (Ashgate: 1998) 121–126; John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: the portrait of an Elizabethan pastor* (Mercer U. Press, 1998) 6; Edward Martin Allen, “Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism,” Ph.D Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 2008, 38–39. Primus notes the historian’s concern about anachronism and lack of precision, but concedes early ‘godly’ such as Richard Greenham, may be generally called Puritan.

Articles were drawn up by ecclesiastical authorities seeking information from and about parish clergy and churchwardens concerning a variety of issues.... In theory, there were few areas of the life of the parish that escaped the probing of ecclesiastical authority, and the articles and injunctions passed down to the dioceses, cathedrals and colleges bear ample testimony to the vigorous effort made on the part of the Church to implement their policy of reformation.<sup>15</sup>

The true believers of Reformation principles sought a more godly and truly Reformed church and society. The main obstacle was the scarcity of preaching. The newly minted protestant clergy from the days of Henry VIII and bloody Mary were no longer Catholics only because the queen so declared. These were ‘dumb clergy’ who did not and could not preach, nor could “the second- and third-rate material which the early Elizabethan bishops were still obliged to ordain.”<sup>16</sup> It would take until the reign of Charles I before university graduates could normally supply and fill the parishes. Both conformist bishops and nonconformist Puritans knew the only hope of ensuring and establishing an enduring protestant church and nation was to fill the parishes with a competent preaching ministry.

Addressing an audience of Norfolk gentlemen, justices of the peace gathered for the quarter sessions, John More, the ‘Apostle of Norwich,’ harangued them:<sup>17</sup> ‘If ye will be saved, get you preachers into your parishes, ... bestow your purses to maintain them. We shall begin to be riche in the Lord Jesus’... the Elizabethan MP Job Throckmorton told the house of commons that if he were to be asked what was the ‘bane’ of the Church and Commonwealth, he would answer ‘the dombe ministerie, the dombe ministerie, yea, yf I were asked a thowsande times, I must say, the dombe ministerie.’<sup>18</sup>

The ignorant clergy required ‘post-graduate’ studies to train them for pulpit ministries, and meantime the people would benefit from more preaching by some means. The English Reformers were familiar with the “prophesyings” of the Reformed churches in Europe. John Hooper had no doubt found the practice when in Zürich,<sup>19</sup> and later the Marian exiles had seen prophesyings while on the continent.<sup>20</sup> At root these were meetings of the clergy for

15. Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics*, 25–26.

16. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxvii–xxviii.

17. John More, *Three Godly and Fruitful Sermons* (Cambridge, 1595), 66–69. This was published under Bownd’s oversight. He had married More’s widow and become his ‘literary executor.’

18. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxvii.

19. *Ibid.*, xxviii–xxix.

20. On these exercises known as “prophesying” see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 168–207.



instruction and conference while affording an opportunity for parishioners to hear sermons as well. These began to spring up early in Elizabeth's reign and reached a peak in the 1570s. However, the queen viewed preaching with alarm and saw these prophesyings as unnecessary and a threat. A few preachers per shire seemed sufficient to her—Elizabeth preferred a ministry that was simply able to read the Scriptures and homilies to the people. When events came to a head in 1576, she ordered the suppression of the prophesyings and Archbishop Grindal essentially lost his position for refusing to do so. The godly ministers and preachers mourned the suppression, but it seems more than likely that the meetings continued in secret, and many simply morphed into public exercises countenanced by the local bishop. These exercises were the combination lectures, held several times a month or weekly in places such as market towns like Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, in which Nicholas Bownd and Thomas Rogers participated in the 1580s. That particular lecture gathered on Mondays and was well attended. It seems to have been a popular event, and it may have been the success of the lecture that led to the founding of perhaps the first parochial library in England in about late August of 1595, housed at St. James in Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>21</sup>

The general form of these exercises was a public sermon attended by area preachers and parishioners, followed by a conference of the ministers, after which the clergymen went to dinner.<sup>22</sup> The Bury St. Edmunds lecture "was an exercise in biblical exegesis and expository preaching."<sup>23</sup> Collinson describes the ministers of Suffolk of the period who gathered for this weekly lecture.

The Suffolk clergy were indeed a remarkable society, one of the first groups of English clergy to have realized the reformed ideal of the pastoral ministry, and to have achieved it in concert, as "brethren and fellow ministers," "the reverend, wise and godly learned fathers and brethren."<sup>24</sup> Most of the first generation had been contemporaries at Cambridge, no less than thirty at St Johns, where [John] Knewstub was twice a candidate for the mastership.... They were inveterate attenders of one another's sermons, especially at the administrative centre of Bury St Edmunds, with its regular Monday combination lecture and its 'then famous school,' from which Knewstub sent the young Richard Sibbes to Cambridge.... Many of them were comfortably off and died possessed of silver and pewter, four-poster beds and feather bedding, and sizeable libraries. They bred large families.... Many wrote books, in

21. Craig, 116–121. See the list of books from the 1599 inventory in Appendix III, 205–212.

22. The ministers attending the Bury St. Edmunds Monday lecture dined at Michel's. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 169.

23. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, cviii.

24. Collinson is citing Bownd's dedicatory epistles in *Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595), and *Holy Exercise of Fasting* (1604).

which there is sometimes evidence of familiarity with recent theological literature from the Continent, as well as with the Tremellius Bible, the most scholarly of the Reformation versions.<sup>25</sup>

With the passing of moderate influences of such men as Grindal, the hierarchy's power shifted to those "who were glad to adopt as their own the queen's view that the status quo must be strictly and equally maintained against both papists and puritans."<sup>26</sup> There had been less ambitious and more restricted attempts to force conformity, but with the ascendancy of John Whitgift there was a full assault on all nonconformity within his purview. The narrow and academically minded archbishop, focusing solely on serving his queen's goals, was oblivious to the damage he could do to the churches by depriving them of their ministers. There was no right of conscience; only obedience to an Erastian settlement bent on total conformity to the monarch's will. His move ultimately proved a near disaster for his party.<sup>27</sup>

In 1583 John Whitgift was made archbishop of Canterbury, and Whitgift was a hammer of puritans who set out to deal with the problem once and for all. Yet, troubled as they were with demands to subscribe to Whitgift's code of conformity, the three articles (the royal supremacy, the articles of religion, the prayer book), and with frequent summonses to the courts, very few of our ministers can be said to have been martyrs to Episcopal tyranny, and most remained more or less immune in their ministries. The loose and untidy textures of the Elizabethan church and society ... saw to that.<sup>28</sup>

As untidy as the process was, Whitgift's "first round"<sup>29</sup> against the Puritan ministers was not so quickly over as not to cause hardship. The seeming brief subscription required by Whitgift was tailored to weed out all nonconformists.

The rub lay in the second article. Nonconformist ministers could accept

25. Patrick Collinson, *Godly People* (The Hambledon Press, 1983) 451–452. Bownd cites Tremellius twenty-seven times in his Sabbath books.

26. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 201.

27. "His [Whitgift's] subscription formula was the product of a tidy, schoolmasterly mind which could tolerate no deviation from a rigidly conceived standard of clerical obedience. For the sake of what was surely an unattainable degree of uniformity, he made it more difficult to deal effectively with the hard core of extremists and placed his own Episcopal order in grave danger. In the long run, the Whitgiftian policy, continued in their generations by Bancroft and the Laudians, was as much responsible as any Puritan excess for destroying the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and its fully national character." Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 246–247.

28. *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, xxv.

29. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, "The First Round," 249–262.

the royal supremacy, and those articles of religion which related to faith and sacraments, and not to other matters such as the consecration of bishops.... But to assent to the ordering of bishops, priests and deacons, and to the legality of the Prayer Book, was unacceptable both to Presbyterians and more moderate nonconformists. Professor Collinson has provided a thorough account of the subscription crisis of 1583–84, and here all we need note is that after pressure from privy councilors and other influential laymen, Whitgift was forced to accept either subscription to a modified version of the second article or a protestation glossing the minister's consent to the article. Though some were deprived or suspended, and others coerced into submission while still regarding the Prayer Book as unlawful, the majority were not dragged into conformity.<sup>30</sup>

Whitgift delivered his demand for conformity October 29, 1583, and began culling the various counties of those unable to subscribe for conscience's sake—upward of four hundred ministers.<sup>31</sup> On December 28, 1583, the subscription was ordered in Norwich diocese. "The ministers of Norfolk and Suffolk conferred separately and each sent to Bishop Freke their own schedules of those doubtful points which restrained them from subscribing."<sup>32</sup> The objections of sixty-four of the Suffolk ministers are recorded in an MS collection in the Williams' Library.<sup>33</sup> Among the signers were both Nicholas Bownd and Thomas Rogers. However, of the two only Rogers appears on the list of sixty names actually suspended on January 22–23, 1583/84.

#### THE BOWNS AND GREENHAMS

Nicholas Bownd was the son of Dr. Robert Bownd and his wife Katherine.<sup>34</sup> The elder Bownd may be the Robert Bownd recorded to have been a fellow at Corpus Christi, Oxford, leaving in 1551 to practice medicine.<sup>35</sup>

30. Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000) 131. Cf. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 243–272.

31. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 253.

32. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 252.

33. Some of this collection was published, including a list of Suffolk ministers resolved not to subscribe along with their reasons, and a list of those subsequently suspended. Cf. Albert Peel, *The Seconde parte of a register: being a calendar of manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London*. 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1915) 1.242–243.

34. The name is spelled Bownde, Bownd, Bound and Bond(e). Here Bownd is used.

35. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891) 147. Assuming Robert was about twenty years old when he became fellow, that places his birth about the year 1517. Katherine may have been some years younger than Robert. Assuming she married in her mid twenties and that Alexander born in 1648 was her oldest, she may have been born as early as the early 1620s. However she could have been

Dr. Bownd<sup>36</sup> was physician to the fourth Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard.<sup>37</sup> While the Howards generally remained Roman Catholic, the duke apparently was ambivalent. While raised in and professing the Reformed religion during Edward's reign, he was later caught up in Roman Catholic plots which finally resulted in his execution for treason. The martyrologist John Foxe (1516/17–1587) was Howard's tutor during the imprisonment of his father (the third Duke of Norfolk), and also a friend. After the Marian Exile Foxe lived for ten years in the duke's London house. Edward Dering served at one point as Howard's chaplain (c.1540–1576). Both these men were strong nonconformists, and it is certainly possible that Dr. Bownd was of similar metal. Whatever were the doctor's religious convictions, the elder Bownd's wife and children would go on to be associated with some of the leading "godly" (or Puritan) advocates of the Elizabethan church.<sup>38</sup> The Bownd children were Alexander (c.1548–1622),<sup>39</sup> Ann (1550?/54?–after 1612), Nicholas (c.1552–1613), Thomas (c.1556–1586), and Richard (c.1557–1603). Alexander (who we know attended grammar school at Eton), and Nicholas both went to Cambridge (King's and Peterhouse respectively) and entered the ministry. Thomas died in 1586 at Cambridge; he had proceeded B.D. that year.<sup>40</sup> Richard, who was expelled for some reason from Peterhouse College, would become a physician like his father.<sup>41</sup> Ann, the

---

older if older children had died at early ages for which we have no record or younger if she was a second wife. The latter case raises the possibility at least that some of the Bownd children were her step-children ("widowers not infrequently married younger women; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640*, [Cambridge University Press, 1987; paperback 1990, rpr. 1994] 140). For a transcript of Katherine's will, see "Anti-Sabbatarian Scold," 167–168.

36. "On a square piece of black touch in the Wall. 'Here lyeth Richard Bound, Doctor of Physicke, the sonne of Robert Bound, Doctor and Physician to the late Duke of Norfolk. He departed this life at the age of 46, & left behind his elder brothers Alexander and Nicholas, Doctors in Divinity, Aug 8, 1603.'" *The Topographer, containing a variety of original articles, illustrative of the local history and antiquities of this kingdom*, Numb. XXIV For March, 1791. Being Number III. of Vol. IV. "Short Account of Louth, in Lincolnshire," page 164. Cf. Allen, 2–3.

37. Howard was the Queen's second cousin and by 1568 was the richest man in England.

38. Allen, "Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism," 2–3.

39. The birth years of the Bownd lads, which are unknown, are estimates based upon their matriculation dates, for which there are records in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. According to Lawson and Silver, educational practice at the time was for children to attend a 'petty school' until age seven or eight and the best 'witted' would be prepared to go on to university at age fourteen or fifteen (John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* [1973; 2013] 112). Others put the age of matriculation at Cambridge at sixteen and that seems to have been the general case with the Bownds.

40. Thomas Bownd was buried at Saint Bene't's, Cambridge, October 10, 1586. Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Thomas Bound, 1.363–364.

41. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, volume 1 (1922) 186. Bownd's friend Humphrey Tindall (Tyn-dall), to whom he dedicates book two of *True Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1606), may have helped

## ANALYSIS

NICHOLAS BOWND'S *Doctrine of the Sabbath* was first published in 1595.<sup>1</sup> It is a work of 286 pages with four pages of front matter and a trailing two page "table of the principall matter," the main content of which is divided into two books with many side-headings, some serving as subdivisions, and others the equivalent of footnotes. There are major breaks in the flow and wording that indicate new major sections, but there are no chapter divisions.<sup>2</sup> This is also true of the 1606 edition enlarged due to Thomas Rogers' criticisms.<sup>3</sup> The first edition had a dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Essex Robert Devereux, and a short epistle to the reader. The second edition in addition to the insertion of new text has significantly more elaborate front matter (to Thomas Rogers' dismay). For book one there is a dedicatory epistle to the Bishop of Norwich John Jegon, an epistle to the reader, commendatory verse in Latin by Bownd's brother Alexander with a title remindful of the passing of brother Thomas years before and the recent death of Richard,<sup>4</sup> and a Latin commendatory epistle by Andrew Willet. Book two is prefaced by a dedicatory epistle to Humphrey Tyndall (Tindal) (d.1614), Dean of Ely (1591–1614) and Master of Queens' College, Cambridge, a commendatory epistle in Latin by William Jones, a fellow minister in Suffolk, and Latin commendation in verse by Walter Allen, who with John Knewstubb was one of the leaders of the Suffolk ministers.<sup>5</sup>

### CONTENTS OF BOWND'S *DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH*

While a significant amount of text is added with few excisions in the 1606 edition, the two major sections/books in both versions remained the same.

The first half of the book is theological while the second half is a detailed discussion of the spiritual exercise of Sabbath keeping. The clues to the influence of Bownde's book are found in the relationship between both parts of the book. The theological treatment of the fourth commandment of the Decalogue in the first half of the book prepares

---

1. See p. xxi, note 1. Cf. "Nicholas Bownd's *Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti: or the True Doctrine of the Sabbath*," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 10 (2014) 234–244; bibliography, 254.

2. The breaks and other clues denote the book's origin in Monday lectures given at Bury St. Edmunds circa 1585–86. For this edition 14 chapter divisions are made for each book.

3. See infra, lxxvi, lxxxiv–lxxxvii. The 479 page 1606 edition has 22 pages of front matter.

4. Alexander Boundus S. *Theologiæ Doct̃or ad fratrem unicum & charissimum*. While at Eton Alexander contributed nine epigrams to "Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563. Elizabeth Goldring et al., *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources* (Oxford, 2013) 322.

5. Allen died in 1602. In *Librum D. N. Boundi De Doctrina de Sabbatho Gualteri Aleni Pothumus*.

the way for the practical treatment of the Sabbath exercises in the second half of the book.<sup>6</sup>

As Allen notes, the first book sets out to prove the morality and abiding nature of the fourth commandment. Book One covers “the {Ancient}<sup>7</sup> Institution and Necessary Continuance of the Sabbath {With the Practice of the Church of God herein before and after the Law, and in the Time of the Gospel}; and from what Several Things all sorts of Men are Commanded Straitly to Rest in {Thought, Word, and Deed} upon that Day.” The first book covers what can be identified as fourteen major topics (with many subdivisions). 1. The difference of the fourth commandment from the other nine. 2. The Sabbath ought to continue because it dates to creation, is not taken away by the gospel, and a day of rest for worshipping God is still necessary. 3. Covers some objections to the notion that the Sabbath continues. 4. What day is to be kept as the Sabbath. 5. The change of the day from the seventh in the week to the first. 6. The change of the name for the day to the Lord’s Day. 7. Bownd’s argument finally gets to the division of the commandment itself and the first part dealt with for the rest of book one is the rest commanded for the Sabbath day. 8. Reasons for resting on the Sabbath and from what particular things man is to rest. 9. All degrees of men of high or low rank or status are to rest. 10. Six days for our callings is sufficient and the Sabbath day’s journey. 11. All bodily labor is not forbidden. 12. Works of necessity and mercy. 13. Christians are as strictly bound by the fourth commandment as were the Jews. 14. Resting from lawful recreations and the conclusion.

The second half of *Doctrine of the Sabbath* sets out the spiritual exercises or the means of grace that are to take up the Lord’s Day, that medium or “mean of the means” crucial to the exercise of Bownd’s practical divinity, which he likely learned at Cambridge and/or from his stepfather Richard Greenham.<sup>8</sup> Book Two covers the second part of the fourth commandment to sanctify the Sabbath day, “declaring the several parts of God’s worship, {with other duties of charity} whereby we ought {in soul and body,} publicly, and privately, to sanctify and keep holy the Lord’s Day, {from morning to morning,} with other{s} and by ourselves.” Thirteen sections and a conclusion are identifiable. 1. The second part of the fourth commandment that the day be sanctified and set aside for the worship of God. 2. A precise keeping is urged for this sanctification in Scripture. 3. Assemblies are to be held for public worship. 4. The ordinances of public worship. 5. Public

6. Edward Martin Allen, “Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism.” Ph.D. Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 2008, 41–42.

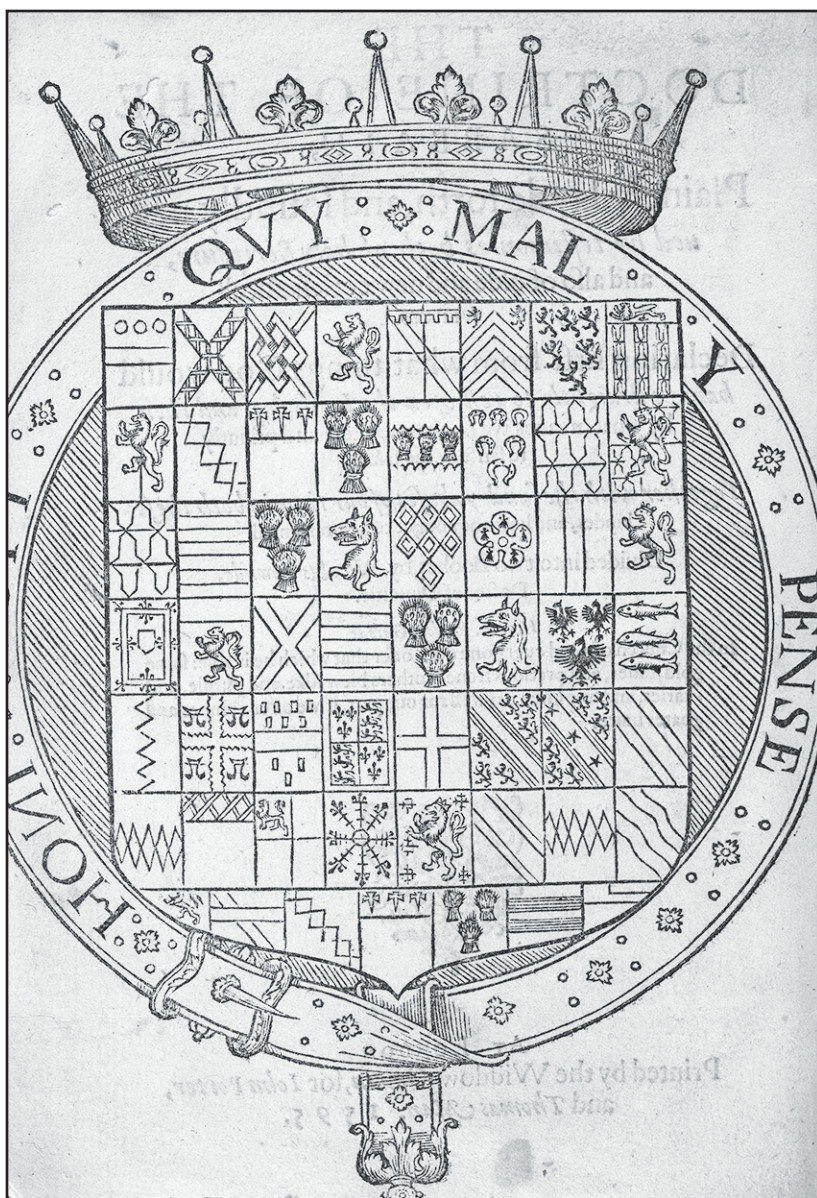
7. The words in braces were added to the title for the 1606 edition.

8. See the previous introduction on Nicholas Bownd. Cf. John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: the portrait of an Elizabethan pastor* (Mercer University Press, 1998), 150–177.

*THE TRUE DOCTRINE  
OF THE SABBATH*

Prefatory Epistles, 1595–1606





Frontispiece (1595). *Honi soyt* (page trimmed) *quy mal y pense*. "Evil unto him who thinks evil of it." Motto of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. Nicholas Bownd (d. 1613). *The doctrine of the sabbath, plainely layde forth, and soundly proued by testimonies both of holy scripture, and also of olde and new ecclesiasticall writers...* (London: Printed by the Widdow Orwin, for Iohn Porter, and Thomas Man, 1595. Leaf A1 verso: Earl of Essex coat of arms. Folger Shakespeare Library Shelfmark: STC 3436. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.



## DEDICATION (1595)

*To the Right Honorable my very good Lord, Robert Devereux,<sup>1</sup> Earl of Essex & Ewe, Vicount of Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, etc. Master of the Queen Majesty's horse, Knight of the most noble order of the garter, and one of her majesty's most honorable privy council, the increase of all true honor and favor with God and men.*

### RIGHT HONORABLE,

If there were so many good reasons to move your honor graciously to accept these my labors, as I have just causes to induce me to prefer them to your honor; then I should have good hope, that as they have most willingly come from me, so they should have a good countenance at your honor's hands. For besides your late honorable favor extended unto me requires this and all other duties of me,<sup>2</sup> whereby I might show myself thankful to your honor for the same; even so the desire also that I have, that this truth of God might come forth with the best credit, has moved me in the conscience of mine own tenuity to become humble su[i]tor in the behalf thereof for your honorable gracious protection. Wherein if I have intruded myself further than I ought, and pressed nearer to your honor, than it becomes me, craving your honorable pardon for this my boldness, I beseech your honor to accept either my fervent desire to tender all duties unto you, or my great care to purchase best favor for this work, or both, which have compelled me hereunto.

And herein I am so much the more importunate with your Honor, not for myself, but for this part of God's holy truth, that it might be countenanced as one of your honor's favorites, because as we be fallen into these evil days, wherein too many are ready unadvisedly to set themselves against whatsoever they dislike, and therefore the best causes are driven to seek patronage where it may do them most good. So the Lord having enlarged your honorable name, above a great many, which as a precious ointment flowing from yourself, comfortably refreshes and perfumes a great number, this part of God's truth also might enjoy the common benefit of it with other, to be overshadowed thereby, and by that means have entertainment there, where otherwise happily it should be finally regarded.

And so it becoming for your honor's sake a welcome guest unto them,

---

1. [Robert Devoreux (1565–1601). The ambitious and ultimately disgraced favorite of Queen Elizabeth was executed February 25, 1600/1601. The suppression of Bownd's 1595 book, or the aborted second edition circa 1598, if either occurred as claimed by Thomas Rogers, was not due to the content, but almost surely due to this dedication and the large reproduction of the Earl's coat of arms. See facing page, and page lxvii.]

2. [While there is no record of it, this may mean Bownd had become chaplain to Devereux, or the earl had performed some other favor. See the Introduction, xxxiv, xlii.]

it might deliver unto them in the name of God as sent by your honor, that message of His that it contains, to the honor of His name, to whom all honor is due, from whom all honor comes, whom truly to honor is the greatest honor. Thus ceasing any further to interrupt your honor from your weighty affairs, my prayer unto God is long to preserve your honor, zealous of the glory of God, faithful to her majesty, profitable to the whole realm, and comfortable to your own soul; most humbly with all dutifulness taking my leave,

*Norton in Suff[olk], June 1595.*

Your honor's most humble at commandment always in the Lord,  
*Nicholas Bownd*

### TO THE READER (1595)

*Godly and Christian Readers, and namely to the reverend, wise, and godly learned Fathers and brethren, Ministers and Preachers of the Gosþel, grace and peace be multiplied*

RIGHT REVEREND and well beloved in the Lord,

When as about nine years since I was solicited to publish my sermons upon the ten commandments, by certain of my godly brethren auditors then of the same, I had many reasons that prevailed to dissuade me from that enterprise, and especially because I thought it superfluous in such great variety of learned writers, of that matter especially; wherein I have been since more confirmed by all those who of later times have travailed in that kinde. And moreover, besides mine own insufficiency for so great a matter, I was of opinion, that he that bends himself unto writing, had need to have some relaxation from preaching, unless he be of great gifts, and marvelously fitted for both, and therefore being necessarily tied unto the one, I durst not undertake the other; yet their importunity prevailed thus far with me, as to make trial what I could do in this commandment which I had then in hand: whereunto also I was the rather induced, because it contained that argument, which as it is of all other most excellent, so it was least of all dealt in by any, largely, and of purpose. Having then within a few months, at my best leisure finished this treatise, as divers of my fellow ministers (in whose hands it has been) are sufficient witnesses and by them further encouraged to communicate it unto all men: I yielded thereunto, slowly indeed because I knew a reverend, godly and learned father,<sup>3</sup> who for the most part of his lifetime, greatly travailing in this matter by his

3. M. Robert [sic] Greenham. [All original notes were marginal. Richard Greenham married Nicholas Bownd's mother in August of 1573. See Introduction, page xxix.]

own reading, meditation, and conference, with sundry learned men, had long before finished a great volume, and waited but his opportunity to furnish it to the press, though I never read one leaf of that book, whom I did for just cause so highly reverence, that I was unwilling to prejudice any of his godly proceedings, especially in this thing, wherein I knew he had travailed above most of his time. And thereupon suspending my purpose for a time, when I had imparted unto him what I had done, he gave me this advice, to take his book, and to compare it with mine own, and to make one of them both; which I refusing, as being unmeet for such a purpose, and not knowing how I should well sort out to the reader such variety of matter, as was like to arise out of them both, nor cunningly to fit the one to the other, as it were to put a new piece of cloth to an old garment, determined wholly to suppress mine own, expecting the coming forth of his in time: whereunto also I solicited him by writing, and that also was my just defense to those that still called upon me, for the coming forth of mine own. In which expectation I continued, until most untimely, I understood to my great grief,<sup>4</sup> and to the unspeakable loss of the Church of God, that he was fallen asleep in the Lord. And then I revived my former purpose and revised mine own labors, in which having at the first contented myself with the bare proofs out of the scriptures, which I then thought sufficient, especially for that auditory, to whom they were first meant, did now compare the several positions therein contained with the doctrine of former times, and other churches, as I found the same set down in the writings of the fathers, Greek and Latin, new and old, so many as I had, or could conveniently get, and as I had time to read them—whom I finding to agree with me in the same points, or rather myself with them, was thereby the rather confirmed therein, and thought that by their testimony and consent, as it were by the pillar of truth, I might sustain and defend the same against all those that should oppugn or gainsay it.

Thus having so many learned men on my side, managing the same cause with me, or rather myself fighting under their colors, have at the last brought forth this treatise unto the view of the world, and have adventured it unto the censures and speeches of all men: wherein as I have sought the glory of God in the publishing of His truth, so I pray the same Lord, to maintain, defend, and bless the same, so far forth as it is His truth. And here (dearly beloved in the Lord) as I have simply, and as it were with a naked

---

4. [Greenham left his pastorate at Dry Drayton and ministered in London at Christ Church from 1591–1594. He died and was buried April 25, 1594 at Christ Church, London. Nicholas was a grown man when Greenham became his stepfather, who likely was not much more than a decade older than he was. While it is not clear how close the two men were, this expression of grief may indicate the two men had a close bond. Bownd's ministry echoed the practical divinity of his stepfather, in which he may have been schooled at Greenham's Dry Drayton rectory school when Nicholas missed university for one year due to his health. See Introduction, xxix, xxxii–xxxiii, xxxv.]

breast declared unto you, the causes of my beginning and proceeding in this work, and that I have not rashly, and on the sudden fallen into these opinions, and thrust forth myself into the world, so I most humbly crave of you this favor, that all prejudice and sinister affections being laid aside, all things might be weighed in an even balance, before they be refused, as not having their just weight, even there where they might carry some show of untruth, according to the canonical rule of the Apostle, much more that all frivolous wranglings, contentions, gainsaying, ambitious desire to overcome, and perverse drawing of things to a wrong sense, being forborne, where I seem to err (as I acknowledge myself subject unto it) I might charitably and Christianly be admonished by your godly wisdoms, that so I might also either by better proofs second the truth, or else upon more mature deliberation retract mine error, if there be any. For I do most willingly submit myself unto the Church of God, by it in all things to be censured and reformed, according to His Word. Which I do so much the more earnestly entreat at your hands, because besides the conscience of my great insufficiency to deal in so weighty a matter before so many hundreds, as the Lord in our time has raised up fit for every purpose, I am not ignorant that this argument of the Sabbath is full of controversy, above many other points of divinity, wherein many learned, and godly men dissent one from another: which as I was persuaded of at the first, so now of late, since I attempted the publishing of this book, I have found it to be true by a most unwilling experience, even among those who for their great variety of all learning deserve singularly to be admired. And though it were to be wished, that we should be like-minded, being of one accord, and of one judgment; yet seeing we are men, and have but our measure of knowledge, and that in every thing, and so may easily dissent; in that whereunto we are come let us proceed by one rule, and if any be otherwise minded, God shall reveal the same unto him. Thus commending myself unto your prayers, and these my labors unto your favorable good liking, I bid you most heartily farewell in the Lord, who keep us always His and one another's in Christ.

*Norton in Suffolk, June 27, 1595, next after the year of God's heavy and unknown judgments by sundry tempests continued and renewed, of boisterous winds, great rain, and outrage of waters, fearful thunders and lightnings, pinching dearth, and untimely fruits, to the destruction and loss of men, cattle and goods.*

Your dutiful brother and fellow servant in the Gospel of Christ,  
*Nicholas Bownde*

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY (BOOK ONE, 1606)

*To the Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Honorable Lord Doct̃or John Jegon,<sup>5</sup> Lord Bishop of Norwich, the continuance and daily increase of all true honor and favor with God and men.*

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, and right honorable Lord, I have presumed the second time to commend my labors unto your fatherly acceptation, and honorable protection: but in another kind of argument. The former was of the holy exercise of fasting;<sup>6</sup> a duty which is extraordinary, required but at some seasons, and peculiarly belonging but unto some persons, according as the times of humiliation were then, for the heavy hand of God universally stretched out over this land in a most fearful manner by the pestilence and that for a long season. This latter is of the doctrine of the Sabbath, showing unto all men what is their ordinary and perpetual duty unto God this way; of which this is the sum, treated, and more largely handled, and proved in the two several books:

1. First of all, that the observations of the Sabbath is not a bare ordinance of man, or a mere civil or ecclesiastical constitution, appointed only for polity; but an immortal commandment of almighty God, and therefore binds men's consciences.

2. The same was given to our first parents, Adam and Eve; and so after carefully observed, both [by] them and their posterity, the holy patriarchs and Church of God, before and under the law, until the coming of Christ.

3. And it was revived in Mount Sinai, by God's own voice to the Israelites, after they came out of Egypt, with a special note of remembrance above all the rest; and fortified with more reasons than they, and particularly applied unto all sorts of men by name; all which shows how careful the Lord was that everyone should straightly keep it.

4. The ceremonies of the law, which made a difference between Jew and Gentile, though the gospel has taken away, since *the partition wall was broken down by Christ* (Eph. 2:14); yet this commandment of the Sabbath abides

---

5. [John Jegon (1550–1618), was consecrated bishop of Norwich February 20, 1603. He took a lighter hand with the clergy and supported their preaching ministries. Even though Thomas Rogers apparently tried to get Bownd in trouble with Jegon's predecessor, William Redman, the Norton minister seems to have tried to maintain good relations with his bishops. Jegon apparently expunged the charge "schismatically affected," when he surveyed the diocese in 1603, but it is not clear whether this was a judgment left by Redman from Rogers' troublemaking. Bownd's ministry appears to have been unaffected by the mischief. See the previous Introduction.]

6. Anno Dom. 1604. [*The Holy Exercise of Fasting: described largely and plainly out of the word of God, etc. In certain Homilies or Sermons* (1604).]

still in its full force, as being moral and perpetual, and so binds for ever all nations and sorts of men, as before.

5. The apostles by the direction of God's Spirit (leading them into all truth) did change that day (which before was the seventh from creation, and in remembrance of it) into the eighth; even this which we now keep in honor of the *Redemption*. And therefore the same day ought never to be changed, but still to be kept of all nations unto the world's end; because we can never have the like cause or direction to change it.

6. So that we are in keeping holy of a day, for the public service of the Lord, precisely bound not only to the number of seven (and it is not in our power to make choice of the sixth or eighth day); but even on this very seventh day, which we now keep, and to none other.

7. On which day we are bound straightly to rest from all the ordinary works of our calling, every man in his several vocation; because six days in the week are appointed for them, and the seventh is sanctified and separated from the others, to another end; even for the public service of God, and that by God Himself.

8. Much more, then, in it ought we to give over [*relinquish*] all kinds of lawful recreations and pastimes, which are less necessary than the works of our calling, and whatsoever may take up our hearts to draw them from God's service; because this law is spiritual, and binds the whole man, as well as any other. Most of all ought we to renounce all such things, as are not lawful at any time.

9. Yet in cases of necessity God has given great liberty unto us, to do many things for the preservation and comforts not only of the beasts and dumb creatures, but especially of man. Not only when he is weak and sick, but being healthful and strong, both in the works of our callings, and also of recreations, without which necessity we are persuaded that men ought ordinarily to cease from them.

10. And herein more specially the governors of the Church and Commonwealth have great liberty above all others, who in such cases may upon this day do many things for the good of both, not only for war, but for peace; and may prescribe unto others, and the people ought therein to obey them. And as in other things they ought not busily to inquire a reason of all their commandments; so in this they ought to presume with reverence so much of their good consciences, that they know more cause of the things which they command and do, than themselves do, or is meet for them curiously to inquire.

11. The same day of rest ought ordinarily to be spent altogether in God's service, especially in frequenting the public assemblies, where the Word of God is plainly read and purely preached, the sacraments rightly administered, and prayer made in a known tongue to the edifying of the people; where also they ought to attend upon these things from the beginning to the ending.

12. The rest of the day ought to be spent by every man himself alone, or with others (as his family or neighbors) in all private exercises of religion, whereby he may be more prepared unto, or reap greater fruit from the public exercises: as in private prayer, reading of the scriptures, singing of psalms, meditating upon, or conferring about, the Word and works of God—and that either in their houses, or abroad in the fields.

13. And as every man particularly is bound to the observation of this commandment, so more specially masters in their families, magistrates in their precincts, and princes in their realms ought to provide for this, as much as in them lies; and hereby to look to all that are committed to their charge, and to compel them at the least to the outward observation of the *rest*, and the sanctifying of it, as well as of any other commandment, as of not committing murder, adultery, theft, and such like.

14. Lastly, though no man can perfectly keep this commandment, either in thought, word or deed, no more than he can any other; yet this is that perfection that we must aim at; and wherein, if we fail, we must repent us, and crave pardon for Christ's sake. For as *the whole law is our schoolmaster to lead us to Christ* (Gal. 3:24); so is every particular commandment, and namely this of the Sabbath. And therefore we are not to measure the length and breadth of it by the over-scant rule of our own inability, but by the *perfect reed of the Temple* (Ezek. 40:3); that is, by the absolute righteousness of God himself, which only can give us the full measure of it.<sup>7</sup>

In handling of all which propositions there fall out (I confess) some other questions about the Sabbath (and that of necessity) scholastically and probably disputed of on both sides, some of them undetermined. All which I most willingly subject unto the judicious and learned censures of the most *reverend fathers* and grave divines of the Church in these united kingdoms under the name of Great Britain, and more particularly the former book unto your lordship's pen,<sup>8</sup> either to allow, or cancel by the scriptures. Who for your great place and learning have more than once heretofore been *moderator and determiner* of the divinity disputations,<sup>9</sup> and that in the *greatest assemblies* of the most famous and flourishing University of Cambridge, and whom now the Lord has made overseer and judge of all the learning and manners of the ministers in Suffolk and Norfolk; and therefore who not only is able sufficiently to decide all controversies here handled, but also to whom by a certain peculiar right it belongs to censure whatsoever is here uttered. And so praying God to bless your government more and more to the enlarging of the bounds of the gospel in these parts, and to

7. [This point made at the very beginning of the new edition is no doubt to address the scurrilous charge by Thomas Rogers made in his sermon and letter to Bownd. "10. ... if we keep not the Lord's day we shall perish say the Sabbatarians." Rogers, 1599 MS sermon. See *infra*, lxii, lxxiv, 58, 201, 205, 216, 254, 283–284.]

8. [This is a reference to the fact that book one is dedicated to Jegon.]

9. At the commencements being Vice-chancellor.



the countenancing of all the faithful preachers of the same, and to the suppressing of all the enemies thereof both open and secret, I pray God to give you long life, with good direction, constant endeavor, and happy success in all things to these ends, most humbly taking my leave.

*Norton, Suffolk, October 30, 1606.*

Your lordship's most humble at commandment in the Lord,  
*Nicholas Bownd*

### TO THE STUDIOUS AND DILIGENT READER

WHEN AS MORE THAN eleven years past I had first published this treatise of the Sabbath,<sup>10</sup> I was in good hope that I had made an end of my labors in that argument; until such time as all the books of the first impression being quickly dispersed into the hands of men, I was solicited about two years after both by the printer and some others unto a second edition; of whom though some are fallen asleep in the Lord, yet for the worthy memory of one of them, I have inserted his testimony, which then he gave unto my labors.<sup>11</sup> And so I condescended unto them at last, and within a few months sent them my book with some additions; which not long after it came safely into their hands (I know not through whose default) miscarried, as an untimely birth, and so hitherto has been suppressed.<sup>12</sup> Whereupon I thought myself much more discharged from undertaking this burden anymore; especially seeing that in some few years after there were published three several profitable treatises successively by three men in the same truth; that so, *in the mouth of two or three witnesses* the whole doctrine of the Sabbath might be established (2 Cor. 13:1).<sup>13</sup>

10. [*The Doctrine of the Sabbath, plainly layde forth and soundly proved*, etc. (1595)]

11. [Bownd is referring to the Latin piece by Walter Allen prefacing book two.]

12. [Both the 1595 and 1606 imprints of Bownd's books were for John Porter and Thomas Man. The latter was known as the "familiar" of Richard Bancroft and it may be Man was a witting or unwitting player in the suppression of this edition, perhaps early in 1598 about the time of Thomas Rogers' letter to Bownd. See the Introduction, lxiii.]

13. [Two of these are likely George Widley, *Doctrine of the Sabbath, handled in Four Severall Bookes or Treatises* (London, 1604) and Richard Greenham, *Treatise of the Sabboth*, in *Works* (London, 1599). The third may be Robertus Loeus, *Effigatio veri Sabbathismi* (1605), but it contains criticisms of sabbatarian doctrine. Two other candidates could be works on the ten commandments, though Bownd's language would seem to rule these out as not being exclusively treatments of the fourth commandment. These are George Estey, *Exposition upon the Tenne Commandements* (London: 1602) and John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A Treatise or Exposition upon the Ten Commandements* (London: 1603). The latter was an unauthorized edition; it was later published with permission. The Estey, Widley and Loeus were licensed by the Stationers, November 2, 1601, June 27, 1604 and June 5, 1605 respectively (Alber, 3.194, 266, 291). The first edition of Greenham's works including item 20 "of the Sabothe" was entered



*THE TRUE DOCTRINE  
OF THE SABBATH*

The First Book

Showing the {Ancient} Institution and  
Necessary Continuance of the Sabbath

{With the Practice of the Church of God herein before and after the Law, and in the Time of the Gospel}; and from what Several Things all sorts of Men are Commanded Straitly to Rest in {Thought, Word, and Deed} upon that Day.

*Exodus 20:8-11. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maid, nor thy beast, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made the heaven and the earth, and the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day. Wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.*

---

## 1. THE DIFFERENCE OF THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

---

- 1606 text As in the first commandment the substance of God's worship is set down—  
page 1 {namely that we, knowing and acknowledging the only true God to be our  
God, are bound but to love Him, and fear Him, and put our trust in Him  
above all, etc.};<sup>1</sup> and in the second, the outward manner of it—{which must  
be not after our own fantasies, but in those things which He has prescribed  
2 in His Word}; and in the third, the end |2| {both of that, and all our actions,  
even the glory of His name}; so here {in the fourth, the special day and}  
time, when and how long this should be, {not only or so much privately,  
but most of all} openly and publicly thus practiced {of the whole Church,  
and of every man, from time to time unto the world's end}. In giving of  
which commandment, the Lord uses such manner of words and matter as  
might most stir us up to the careful keeping of it; for in the practice of it  
consists the practice of all the other, and in the neglect of it is the neglect  
of all religion. Our natural corruption and rebellion therefore against this  
commandment above all the rest, especially appears in that the Lord stirs  
us up to it so many ways; yea, in the first pronouncing of it.

### HOW THIS COMMANDMENT DIFFERS FROM ALL THE REST

1. For first {of all}, whereas in the other commandments He contents Himself with bare commanding this, or forbidding that; yet to this He puts an especial mark, saying *Remember*. That is, 'think of it beforehand.' For indeed the want of remembering it in due time is many times one cause that it is no better observed when it comes. And in Deuteronomy (Deut. 5:12), Moses, repeating the law, forgets not this word, but another of like importance, saying, *Observe*, or 'look unto' *the Sabbath to sanctify it*; and further adds, *As the Lord thy God commandeth thee*, referring them to the first giving of it, yea, even in this marking.

2. Secondly, in all the other commandments, when He simply forbids a sin, it is to be understood that He commands the contrary virtue, though not expressed. And when He wills the good to be done, He forbids the contrary evil, though it is not named, as we have seen in expounding the other commandments.<sup>2</sup> {As for example, when He forbids us to kill, He commands us to preserve the life of all men; and when He commands us to

---

1. [Insertions: Large braces { } indicate text added to the 1606 second edition, ignoring minor variations in spelling and punctuation, etc. If the insertion involved some removal or rewriting of the 1595 text, this will be detailed in a footnote. Square brackets note editorial insertions, definitions, footnotes, etc. *Scripture citations*: When not giving his own sense or paraphrase, the author's citations are from the Geneva Bible. Spelling is updated without notice.]

2. [This is one of several examples in the text bearing out Bownd's statement that his 1595 work was originally part of a series of sermons on all ten commandments, presumably

honor our parents, He forbids all contempt of their persons, and disobedience to their commandments, and so of the rest.} Yet in this not only the good is plainly commanded, *Keep holy the Sabbath day*; but the evil under one kind [3] is expressly forbidden: *In it thou shalt do no manner of work*. {And this is that which Zanchius well observes, when he says, *Hoc præceptum de Sabbath aperte affirmatum est & negatum*: “This commandment of the Sabbath is expressly affirmative and negative, above all the rest.”} <sup>3</sup>

3. Thirdly, it differs from all other commandments in that the Lord has joined more reasons to it than to any other, because our nature is most against the observation of it.

#### THE FIRST COMMANDMENT HAS ONE REASON JOINED TO IT

For whereas some commandments have no reason at all joined unto them, and especially in the second table,<sup>4</sup>—as: *Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal*, etc.—yet in the first table (in which we are as blind as beetles) every commandment has some reason annexed unto it. As in the first, *I the Lord thy God which brought thee out of*, etc., where because of that merciful covenant that He has made with us, to bless us in all things eternally (which as He first made it in Christ, so He confirms it in our miraculous redemption wrought by Him, whereof the deliverance out of Egypt was a type and a figure), therefore He requires that we should serve Him with all that we have, and none but Him, and so that *we should take Him only to be our God*.

#### AND THE THIRD COMMANDMENT HAS ONE

In the third commandment there is one reason used, namely, that the Lord will most assuredly and severely punish all them that do dishonor His name; and therefore we are charged not at any time to impair His credit, but rather most highly to advance it, as the very end wherefore we were first created, {and for which His whole worship is ordained}.

#### THE SECOND COMMANDMENT HAS TWO REASONS JOINED TO IT

Yet the second commandment is more fortified, and has as it were a double

---

delivered at the Bury St. Edmunds combination lecture about 1586, possibly earlier, depending upon when he began lecturing, frequency, etc. See the Introduction, xliii, liv, Preface (1595), 4.]

3. Zanch. in 4. præcept. [*“Hoc verò de Sabbato, aperte affirmativum est & negativum.”* Girolamo Zanchi, Reformed divine (1516–1590), *Opera Omnia*, 8 vols. in 3 (1605; 1613; Geneva: Samuel Crispini, 1619) col. 651. For the work in question, see tome 2 containing parts 4–6, “De primi hominis lapsu, de Peccato, & de Lege Dei, cap. 28; Opus solidum, primam tractatus de redemptione partem continens,” chapter 19, “Quartum Præceptum.” Hereafter “the fourth commandment.” For more information on citations from Zanchius, see the Analysis, ci.]

4. In which our nature is not so corrupt, as having the light of it shining more clearly within us, for the preservation of the society of mankind in commonwealths.‡ [Some parenthetical clauses and extended comments in excessively long sentences have been moved from the text to footnotes, denoted by a double dagger (§).]

bar; I mean, two reasons, as against the which the vanity of our reason, and the crookedness of our heart has yet more appeared, in so cunningly devising, and willingly embracing so many kinds of false religion, neither  
 4 conceiving nor liking that true manner of [4] God's service, which he has prescribed in His holy Word. And therefore, as He required that neither in an image, nor in anything else devised by us, we should serve Him, but according to His own wisdom and will made known unto us in His written Word; so {He has persuaded us thereunto by these reasons, namely: (1) That} He first will plentifully reward in mercy, even to the thousandth generation of them that shall in love thus serve Him according to His commandment. (2) And secondarily, howsoever passing over many other sins, yet as a loving and jealous husband, {He} will prosecute to the full the punishment of that spiritual adultery, whereby the hatred of God appears, in that the heart is stolen away from Him by a false worship and religion.

THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT HAS THREE [REASONS JOINED TO IT]

But yet in this fourth commandment the Lord goes beyond all that has been spoken, and binds us up with a *three-fold cord that can hardly be broken* {Eccl. 4:12}. For He sets down three reasons, not only to commend unto us the excellency, and to show the necessity of keeping it; but also to give us to understand how rebellious and corrupt our nature is here especially. As it is indeed; for many are not persuaded that there should be any day at all kept, {as the Family of Love, and such kind of Libertines.}<sup>5</sup> Others do not agree upon the day, which it should be, {whether the sixth, eighth, or ninth, as the heathen, both Romans and Grecians. Yet some of our own time do think that any of them may be indifferently observed: yea, the twelfth or thirteenth, so that [*as long as*] they are established by law, and are received of the Church. And the papists did think that this is altogether in the power of the Church, "to appoint how many, and what days should be kept holy."<sup>6</sup> Some {also} prefer other days before the seventh,<sup>7</sup> or at least make them equal with it: {as the same Church of Rome, when they have a more solemn kind of service in their superstition, and count it also a greater sin to travel or to work upon some of their festival or saints' days, than upon the seventh day, which is the Lord's Sabbath. To be short,}

5. [Or *Familists*. A sect founded in 1552 by Henry Nicholas, which among other errors, was characterized by a "tendency to mystic contemplation, and the belief that, through love, men would become absolutely absorbed in and identified with God, in a subjective sense." *Libertines*. Sixteenth century "Pantheistic and Antinomian sect." McClintock and Strong.]

6. Covar., lib. 4. cap. 19. tom. 2. [Diego de Covarruvias/Covarrubias y Leyva, Spanish jurist and Bishop of Segovia. (1522–1577), "De festorum dierum apud Christianos celebratione, deque eorum origine," *Variarum resolutionum ex jure pontificio regio et caesareo libri IV* (1561; *Opera*, tome 2, 1583) 158r–160v; cf. 158v, §5. On the looseness of Bownd's quotations and citations see the Foreword, xx, and Analysis, xci.]

7. ["prefer other days before it..." 1595.]

they that are otherwise minded, yet are not established in the precise resting, and |5| strait [*strict*] ceasing from so many things as God requires: {to wit, the carnal professors of the gospel, and Protestants of state, and some others also of greater sincerity;} much less do they<sup>8</sup> agree upon the public and private manner of sanctifying and keeping it holy.

Therefore, the Lord does not only command it, but also (1) first shows us the equity of it, in that *He has given us six days to be occupied in for ourselves*; and therefore it is good reason that we should rest upon the seventh from our own works, to attend upon His business, as it were. (2) Secondly, we should do it so much the rather, because He has gone before us in His own example, who therefore *rested upon the Sabbath day, when He had created the whole world in six*, that we thereby might the rather be allured unto that order, which He {then at the first did establish, as Moses sets down in the beginning of Genesis (Gen. 2:3)};<sup>9</sup> namely, that we should rest upon the seventh day from our own works, as God did from His, and so be like unto our Creator (Heb. 4:10). (3) Thirdly, and most especially, that we should do thus, because God has bestowed a special blessing upon this day distinct from the rest, even the blessing of sanctification. And therefore it is not lawful for us to use it to any other end, but to this holy and sanctified end, for which God in the beginning created it.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE FOURTH DIFFERENCE OF THIS COMMAND FROM ALL THE REST

4. Last of all, whereas all the other commandments are given forth in such manner of words, as bind only ourselves—*Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, Thou shalt not steal*, etc., though I grant that more is implied, and they not only bind us to look to ourselves, but to so many also as are committed to our charge (the Lord having given us authority over them, that we might see them practice all the laws of both tables so much as lies in us); yet I say, thus [*this*] much is not expressed in the delivery of them. But in this commandment in express words God speaks to us, and charges us with the care not only of ourselves, but others also, saying, *Thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy manservant, thy maidservant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates*. |6| {And as the Lord did in thus many words first pronounce it from heaven; so Moses also does thus faithfully, as a matter of great importance, repeat it in the book of Deuteronomy; or rather as a prophet with more ample and full words expounds it, saying, *Thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maid, nor thine*

8. ["much less do men..." 1595.]

9. ["allured unto that order, which He was purposed to establish, namely..." 1595.]

10. ["Therefore it is not lawful for us to use it unto anie other ende, but ~~unto~~ unto 'this holie and sanctified ende, for which God' himself 'created it'" (Book 1, page 4, 1595 ed.) Thomas Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 7r (transcription, p. 155). See the Introduction for more background on the significance of the impact of Roger's letter on Bownd's 1606 edition. This letter predates Rogers' 1599 sermon (see note, page 46).]

*ox, nor thine ass, neither any of thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates: that thy manservant and thy maid may rest as well as thou* (Deut. 5:14).} Thus we see how many ways this commandment is charged upon us by the Lord; how straitly he requires it at our hands; and how in the very giving of it, all things are joined unto it by God himself, that might commend it unto us with greatest credit and care of obedience.

---

## 2. THE SABBATH OUGHT TO BE CONTINUED

---

It remains that we should see what are the special things contained in it. But first of all it is needful to prove unto you that the Sabbath ought still to be continued with us; because without this persuasion, all doctrine or exhortation tending to the true manner of sanctifying it, falls to the ground and is unfruitful.

First of all, therefore, it appears in the story of Genesis that it was from the beginning, and that *the seventh day was sanctified at the first, so soon as it was made* (Gen. 2:3). For Moses thus writes of the first seventh day that ever was, that God *blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His holy work, which the Lord God had created and made*. And therefore if Adam and his posterity had continued in their first righteous estate, they should have kept that day holy above the rest, seeing the Lord sanctified it for their sakes. And though it was then so indeed, that they should have been occupied in some honest calling, and work upon the six days (according as it is said to Adam, that *the Lord put the man into the garden of Eden, that he might dress it and keep it*, Gen. 2:15); yet notwithstanding, upon the seventh day they should have ceased from all worldly labor, and given themselves to the meditation of God's glorious works; and have been occupied in some more immediate parts of His service, according to the former commandment. {And this is that which the learned |7| have observed from the words of Moses, when he joined these two together, *That the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it*, namely, that the latter expounded the former, even "that He commanded us to keep it holy."<sup>11</sup> Seeing then it was blessed from the beginning, we were even then also commanded to keep it holy. For as Junius observes upon the same words, "Besides the common blessing, which it had with the other days, by the law of nature, it had a special blessing of holiness."<sup>12</sup> Whereupon he afterwards concludes, "that

---

11. Vatabl. in Gen 2:3; Exod. 20:11. [Antiquated abbreviations and references to books of the Bible are replaced with standard abbreviations without notice. Cf. Francois Vatable, *Biblia sacra, Hebraice, Græce, & Latine: Latina interpretatio duplex est* (1587) 4, 42.]

12. Junius in Gen. 2:3. [François Du Jon (Franciscus Junius), ΠΡΩΤΟΚΤΙΣΙΑ, *Seu Creatio-nis a Deo Factæ, ... In Tria Prima Capita Geneseos Prælectiones Francisci Junii* (Commelinus,

God did then command it to be kept holy." Therefore also we may be assured that from the beginning they knew it, and did carefully observe it, and not willfully break it.}

And that we might understand indeed that *the law of sanctifying the Sabbath is so ancient as the day itself*, the prophet Moses in Genesis does of purpose use the same words, which the Lord God Himself does in pronouncing it (as it is set down in Exodus); namely, *that He blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, and that in it God rested from all His work which He had created and made* (Gen. 2:3).<sup>13</sup> To teach us assuredly, that this commandment of the Sabbath was no more than first given, when it was pronounced from heaven by the Lord, than any other {of} the moral precepts; nay, that it has so much antiquity as the seventh day has being.<sup>14</sup> For so soon as the day was, so soon was it sanctified; that we might know that, as it came in with the first man, so it must not go out but with the last man,<sup>15</sup> "and as it was in the beginning of the world, so it must continue to the ending of the same."<sup>16</sup> And as the first seventh day was sanctified, so must the last be. {<sup>17</sup>And this is that which one says, that "the Sabbath was even from the beginning of the world;"<sup>18</sup> where (the latter words expounding the former) he shows that when God did first sanctify it, then also He commanded it to be kept holy. And therefore look how ancient the sanctification of the day is, the same antiquity also is the commandment of keeping it holy; for they two are all one.

---

1589) 61 (hereafter *In Geneseos Prælectiones*); *Opera*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Caldorianis, 1607) 1.27; (Geneva: 1613) 1.27.]

13. [... which He made." 1595.]

14. Peter Martyr in Gen. 2. [*Loci Communes*, (1576); *The Common Places*, trans. Anthony Marten (London 1583) 374–375. Edward Martin Allen observes that it appears Bownd (albeit often loosely) cites Vermigli's comments on Genesis 2:3 from the translation by Marten ("Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism" {A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Center for Advanced Theological Studies in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2008} 222 n75; hereafter Allen). See also Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Primum Librum Mosis, Qui Vulgo Genesis Dicitur, Commentarii doctissimi* (Zurich, 1569; also 1579) 8v–9r.]

15. ["For so soone as the seventh daie was, so soon was it sanctified, that wee might knowe that as it came in with the first man, so must it not goo out but with the last" (book one, page 6). In section 1 of his citations from Bownd, Rogers calls attention to pages 6 and 7 of the 1595 edition, and Bownd has added several additions here. Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 7r (transcription, p. 155); cf *Catholic Doctrine*, page 315.]

16. Bullinger in Rom. 4:5. [Cf. "Sabbatum enim ipsum non ab ipso Mose, ut ceremoniale, sed à patribus sive ab ipsa potius prima mundi origine, ex traditione dei accepimus." "Proinde quantum attinet salutem hominis, perpetuum est." Heinrich Bullinger, *In omnes Apostolicas epistolas* (Tiguri: apud Christophorum Froschouerum, 1558) 108.]

17. ["last be: and as God bestowed this blessing upon it in the most perfect estate of man, so must it be reserved with it, till he be restored to his perfection again." 1595.]

18. Hospinian, *de orig. templ.* lib. 2. cap. 14. [*Sic?* Cf. Rudolph Hospinian, *De origine progressu, ceremoniis et ritibus festorum dierum Iudæorum* (1592), book 1, chap. 3, *De Origine & Progressu Sabbathi diei apud Iudæos*, 10v. "Mosem autem ad septimam ab initio mundi diem sacrum hoc tempus..." The reference to *De Templis de Origine* book 2, ch. 14, appears to be in error.]



And hereupon some have been moved to think “that this commandment  
 8 [8] should be placed first of all in the Decalogue, because it is most ancient, and was first given out in express words.”<sup>19</sup> Which though it be an error of theirs, because the Lord pronounced them from heaven, and wrote them in two tables of stone in this order that we have received them; yet they agree with us in this, even that it was first expressly commanded, namely from the beginning. As Daneau says:

Hereupon also it came to pass that though the Gentiles had their holidays upon other days of the week, yet the Jews did observe the seventh, which they had by tradition from their forefathers: unto whom the Lord had already revealed that he was pleased with the seventh day, in the which he did rest himself; *though now at the last he pronounced it upon mount Sinai, and gave it out in express words with the rest.*<sup>20</sup>

**THE CHURCH OF GOD DID KEEP THE SABBATH FROM THE BEGINNING, BEFORE IT WAS PRONOUNCED UPON MOUNT SINAI**

And that we might not doubt that the sanctifying of this day was so ancient, one of purpose moving this question, *Quando* etc., “When did God sanctify it?” answers: “... not only by His decree and will” (as purposing to do hereafter):

... but in very deed from the beginning, because (as a great number do think, and as it is very probable) He commanded the first man (Adam and Eve) to sanctify it; and therefore in the sixteenth of Exodus, Moses repeats this most ancient sanctification of the Sabbath, saying, Today is the Sabbath of the Lord (Exod. 16:25).<sup>21</sup>

Where though he speaks doubtfully of it, saying, “it is very probable,” yet he grants that a great number do steadfastly hold it; and himself in another place shows that he was fully persuaded of it.

And we for our part shall be so much the more fully persuaded of this } undoubted truth,} if we consider how the Church of God upon the consideration of the first institution of the Sabbath, did retain by tradition the true knowledge and practice of this commandment, as well as any other part of the Word, from Adam unto the coming of the Israelites into the wilderness, passing over the Red Sea from out of Egypt, before the giving of the law. As appears in Exodus, when Moses—exhorting them upon this new

19. Daneau, *Ethic. Christian.*, lib. 2. cap. 10. [Lambert Daneau, *Ethices Christianae libri 3* (Geneva: Eustache Vigno, 1577) 166r; (1582) 160r.]

20. Idem, *ibid.* [The last portion appears to be Bownd’s commentary/expansion upon Daneau from Exodus 31:17-18, Daneau having cited 31:17 subsequently. Cf. *Ethices christianae* (1577) 166r; (1582) 160r; (1588) 148v; (1601) 148v.]

21. Zanchius, *de redempt.* lib. 1. cap. 19. [Zanchius, the fourth commandment, col. 655.]



occasion of gathering and preparing manna to the sanctifying of the Sabbath still, notwithstanding that, as [9] they had done before, and therefore to rest now from both, says, *Bake that today which you will bake, and seethe that which you will seethe, and all that remaineth lay it up to be kept till the morning for you*, Exod. 16:23—first speaks of the Sabbath immediately following, as of a known thing unto them, in the former part of the verse, *tomorrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord*. Upon which bare notice of the Sabbath next ensuing, he could not have so forcibly required the resting from work, if it had not been a thing that they were long acquainted with.

Besides, in this same place, he persuades them unto it with the same reason that the Lord used in promulgating of it, and almost in the same words; saying that, that which is there generally spoken of all works, *in it thou shalt do no manner of work*, is here applied to the particular occasion of gathering and preparing manna, saying, *six days shall you gather it, but in the seventh day is the Sabbath* (Exod. 16:26), to show us also that they knew the equity of this commandment from the beginning. {For he says, seeing that they might gather it six days together, and prepare it for themselves, therefore they should neither gather, nor dress it upon the seventh; even as we now, seeing we have liberty to work in our callings six days, ought to rest upon the seventh from them, to attend upon the service of God, as they were bound to do.} Moreover, when some did break this commandment (so reasonable and so well known) in seeking for manna, Moses, reproving them at the word of the Lord, says in the words following: *Behold how the Lord hath given you the Sabbath* (speaking of the time past), *therefore He giveth the sixth day, bread for two days: tarry therefore every man in his place* (Exod. 16:29). Last of all, Moses testifies of the people in the 30<sup>th</sup> verse, that *afterward they rested every Sabbath* (as some do read it),<sup>22</sup> and as yet the law was not given.

22. Tremellius, Junius. [On Exodus 16:30. Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, Sive, Libri Canonici* (1593) 1.71; cf. *Biblia sacra: Vet. Testamenti sive libri canonici* (1602) 83. Junius, *Opera*, “Libri II. Mosis, qui Exodus,” v. 1 (1607; 1613) 300. This first work is the Latin Bible produced by Tremellius and Junius, of whom the latter subsequently oversaw three revisions. Bownd makes heavy use of both authors in his second edition, and is clearly aware of the revisions through at least that of 1596 (see the note on page 160). “The first edition of the Old Testament was published by Andreas Wechel in Frankfurt am Main in five volumes, which appeared between 1575 and 1579.... The Old Testament was almost immediately reprinted in London in 1579 to 1580, with Tremellius’ Latin rendering of the New Testament constituting a sixth part. Thereafter, Tremellius’ and Junius’ Old Testament went through a significant number of reprintings in locations throughout Europe, including Frankfurt, London, Geneva, Hanau and Amsterdam. Following Tremellius’ death, Junius made sufficient revisions to the text and additions to the annotations to merit releasing them as revised editions. Thus a ‘second version’ appeared in 1590, a ‘third’ in 1596 and a ‘fourth’ in 1603. With the exception of the original Frankfurt edition, every edition included a version of the New Testament. The first London edition, which used Tremellius’ translation from Syriac, was exceptional; every subsequent edition had Beza’s translation from the Greek and Tremellius’ translation from the Syriac printed together in parallel columns, or else joined Tremellius’

## AN OBJECTION ANSWERED

{ {And whereas some that are otherwise minded, do think that Moses in the beginning of Genesis speaks of the Sabbath figuratively, that is by the way of anticipation, namely, by occasion of the other six days (before it was |10| so ordained); because that when he wrote the scripture, it was then so known, and kept; and not as it was from the beginning—for answer, though I deny not but that the scripture thus often speaks of things as though they had been so before,—as when it is said of Abraham, that they removed unto a mountain eastward from Bethel (Gen. 12:8), this place Bethel was not then so called, when Abraham thus traveled; for it was then called Luz, and had not this name till above a hundred years after, when Jacob so called it, upon occasion of that [which] it is set down in his story (Gen. 28:19). Yet because it was so called when Moses wrote the story of Abraham, he calls it by that name which it then had, and not by that which it had when the thing was done [which] he speaks of; wherein (I grant) he uses this figure of *prolepsis*. As the like also may be said of another place mentioned in the book of Judges, called Bochim (Judges 3:1 [*sic* 2:1]); where it is said that *an Angel of the Lord came up from Gilgal to Bochim*; in which text it is evident that this place was not so then called, when the Angel of the Lord came there; but afterwards upon occasion of that [which] fell out there by the speech of the angel; namely, that all the people fell a weeping, and so *of their weeping was called Bochim* (v. 5). Yet the writer of the book takes that name in the first place, which it had when he wrote, wherein also he speaks figuratively—because they were so then, when things were so written; yet in this place of Genesis (2:3) it is not so. For there he intreats [*treats; handles; discusses*] of the sanctification of the Sabbath; not only because it was so when he wrote that book, but especially because it was so even from the creation; of which creation he purposely intreats [*treats*] in that place.

For this is that which is well observed of a learned man intreating [*in treating*] of the works of creation, and namely of the days that were made:

Moreover in the beginning of the world these natural days were divided into holy days, and work days. Work days were the six days of the week, in which God would have men work, and that according to His example. But the seventh day of the week was holy, in which He would have men |11| rest from worldly business, and attend upon His worship; and this He repeated in the law afterwards, which He gave unto his people.<sup>23</sup>

---

Old Testament with Beza's New Testament." Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: the life and writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub, 2007) 147, 179.]

23. Zanchius, *de operibus dei*. part. 2. lib. 6. cap. 1. [*De operibus Dei intra spacium sex dierum creatis* (Neostadii Palatinorum: Typis Matthæi Harnisii, 1591; Hanover, 1597; Neostadi, 1602). Cf. *Opera Omnia*, tome 1, part 3 (1619), "De operibus Dei intra sex dies creatis, libri 15," part 2, book 6, chap. 1, "V. De dierum distinctione," col. 440. Hereafter "De operibus Dei creatis."]

So that by the judgment of this learned father, from the beginning it was known that the seventh day should be hallowed, as upon the six others they knew they should work, and therefore Moses in the beginning speaks of it accordingly; so that when God gave His law unto them, He did not then first make it known to them, but renewed the memory of that unto them, which they knew before.

And this is that also which a little after he observes out of this word,

*Remember:* whereby God would have them to look backward and forward. Backward, because it was given to Adam and the Fathers in remembrance of the creation in six days, and God's rest upon the seventh. Forwards, that we might always remember it beforehand to keep it holy.<sup>24</sup>

And indeed 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 the express word, when God *sanctified* it. And therefore in this general and solemn proclaiming of the law they should specially *remember* this, which was not now first pronounced by voice and express word from God (as were all the rest), but rather renewed, as being given out before. For though this is 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, [this] the Lord Himself set down in express words, when He sanctified and blessed it at the first, as Moses says, *So God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it* (Gen. 2:3). And it must needs be that the Jews had from the beginning the knowledge of this diversity of days; for the heathen had the knowledge of it in part by the light of nature, as they had also God's worship; but as the Church of God had the sure direction from God above all others, of the means that were acceptable unto Him, so also of the time, or else they should not have differed from them. And seeing the Sabbath was especially distinguished from other days, that on it God might openly and purely be |12| worshipped, even that true God 12 which made all things in six days, and rested the seventh—as we have many examples of the patriarchs, that by their sacrifices and prayers they did openly worship this true God, even from the beginning, before the law was given—so we need not therefore doubt but that they did also publicly observe this day, which was specially appointed for this purpose (Gen. 4:4; 8:20; 12:7, etc.). }

24. [Zanchius, on the fourth commandment, col. 653. Bownd is summarizing Zanchi, and contrary to the indication, this is not a subsequent reference to *de operibus dei* (tome 1), but the citation is found in the subsequent work on the fourth commandment (tome 2), and rather than a little after (a phase that Bownd uses with wide latitude), it is to text at the bottom of column 653 (the previous reference being to column 655). This may be an indication that Bownd was using the 1605 edition of Zanchi's works rather than the earlier single titles.]

And therefore under correction, I think it not true, that is avouched by a learned man of later time, when he says, *Convinci non potest* etc.: “It cannot be proved that the Sabbath or rest of the seventh day was kept before the giving of the law, either from Adam before the flood unto Noah, or after the flood unto Moses, or of Abraham and his posterity.”<sup>25</sup> For as another learned and more ancient Father and Bishop says, *Iam hic ab initio*, etc, [“]Here now even from the beginning God has insinuated this doctrine unto us, teaching us,[”] *In circulo hebdomadis diem unum*: [“]that in the compass of a week, one whole day<sup>26</sup> is to be put apart for a spiritual rest unto God.[”]<sup>27</sup>

**IT MAY BE PROVED THAT THE JEWS BEFORE THE[IR] COMING OUT OF EGYPT DID KEEP THE SABBATH<sup>28</sup>**

{ {And for the practice of it, first of all, the former history of Exodus 16 does sufficiently show that it was kept before the law was pronounced in Mt. Sinai. Secondly, this being one of the ten commandments of the moral law, we are persuaded that they came in all at once, and therefore as we doubt not, but that *Adam being created according to the image of God in knowledge*, was no more ignorant of this, than of any other, especially when it was in express words delivered unto him. Lastly, we will not offer Adam and all the ancient patriarchs before the law this wrong, as to think them

25. Musculus, *Loc. Com.*, præcept. 4. [Wolfgang Musculus, *Loci Communes* (1560) 101; (1567) 173. Rogers turns this rejection by Musculus into an affirmative in the mouth of Bownd. “Then wee beleeeve that the seventh daie, and none but it, was sanctified before ‘the giving of the law; even of Adam himself; ‘and from Adam before the flood until Noah; and after the flood of al {the?} Patriarches until Moses” (Book one, page 6, 7, 52, 1595 ed.). Again, Rogers focused significant attention on pages 6 and 7 (1595 ed.) in his first section of citations and it is interesting that several additions have been made throughout this portion of the text in the second edition, including the next large section running to page 55. MS letter, 7r (155).]

26. [“And our doctrine is this, that wee sanctifie, and keep-holie not one day of seven in everie week (as some are of opinion that wee should) but everie seventh daie unto the worlds ende” (book 1, page 6, 9, 34 *sic* 33). “For this ‘is natural, moral, and perpetual” (book 1, page 7). Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 7r (transcription, 155).]

27. Chrysostom *in* Gen. 2 [*sic* 1]. Homil. 18 [*sic* 10]. [There was no indication in the original that this was a quotation. Cf. Migne, *PG* 53, col. 89. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*, 1–17 {The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 74} (The Catholic University of America Press, 1992) 139.]

28. [“3. not possible to be proved that the Jews before the coming out of Egypt kept a Sabbath;...” Thomas Rogers, 1599 MS sermon against Sabbatarianism. “Master {Thomas} Rogers’ sermon preached at Bury the 10 Dec. 1599,” Townsend Papers, vol. 1, MS 38492, fol. 104. The British Library, London. A legible portion of these notes taken by a hearer is given in John H. Primus’ *Holy Time* (86–87) and cited in the Introduction (see p. lxii). Primus writes that in this sermon Rogers coins the first use of the term Sabbatarianism for the views of Bownd and others whom he vehemently opposed. Rogers had previously written Bownd a letter (see note, page 39), which predates this sermon by nearly 17 months. Indications in the letter are that a sermon/communication, or some type of criticism Rogers made to authorities who may have suppressed a planned 1598 edition, made Bownd complain to their bishop, which provoked Rogers to counter-complain and write his scolding letter. See Introduction, lxix.]

to be of so ill a conscience, as neither to teach this law to their posterity, nor practice it themselves; but rather (as becomes us) we so reverently think of them, that as they were mirrors to the world in their time both for religion and godliness of life, so also in observing precisely this day, wherein all the exercises of religion were openly to be practiced.

And lest we should seem to be of another mind, because there is no mention of any such practice before the going of the [13] Israelites out of Egypt, we must remember, that that which the evangelist says of the doings of Christ (*that if all things were written, the world could not contain the books*, John 21:25), is also true of the practice of His Church, and that in all ages many more things were done, than are set down. Unless we also doubt whether before the giving of the law all the rest of the ten commandments were observed, because we have not so express words for some, as for others. Therefore I think that, that must needs be too confident an assertion to say, "it is not possible to be proved, that the Jews before their coming into Egypt kept a Sabbath." For though some think (as has been said before) that the Sabbath was not appointed to be kept till the days of Moses, yet we may answer them, as Christ does the Jews, *It was not of Moses, but of the fathers* (John 7:22). For the moral duty of this commandment *was written in their hearts* (Rom. 2:15), even that there should be some day appointed for the service of God, as well as the restraint of murder, adultery, theft, etc. So that the holy men commended unto us in the scriptures did as certainly observe this commandment, as any other.

And for the practice of it, though it is not set down in express words until their coming out of Egypt; yet we need not doubt of it, seeing both the heathen by their holy days did show the effect of this law to be written in their hearts, and the faithful, before the law was given, did practice those things which are commanded upon the Sabbath day; as *they called upon the name of God: and did offer up sacrifices; and did build altars, and prepare places for the public worship of God, and instructed their families in the fear of God* (Gen. 4:4; 4:26; 13:4; 18:19). Which duties though they are not proper unto that day, yet they are chiefly to be referred thereunto, seeing God has sanctified and set apart that day to that intent. And the use of that commandment was as necessary to the fathers before the law, as since, if we respect the ceasing from labors for the worship of God; and therefore if they kept it not, either the Lord was partial in not giving it unto them (which to imagine is blasphemy), or they unfaithful and [14] disobedient in not using it, and enemies also to their posterity, which we cannot admit without great wrong unto them.

And this is that which Master Beza affirms of Job, and of his family, who lived in the days of Moses, or before him: *Quoties celebrat*, etc. He says:

As often as his children had made an end of feasting one another in

their several houses, he sanctified them, and offered burnt offerings according to the number of them. But yet notwithstanding there is no doubt, but that the daily worship of God was diligently observed otherwise in this most holy family. *Septimus saltem dies quisque*, etc. At the least wise every seventh day was carefully sanctified, as God from the beginning of the world had appointed.<sup>29</sup>

Where he says that God from the beginning did appoint the seventh day to be kept holy, and he doubts not but that the holy men did most devoutly keep it with their families. Whereunto agrees that which is written of the ecclesiastical polity of the Jews, even before the law, who had not only places, but days which they observed for His worship.

*Quod ad tempus attinet:* As for the time, it seems that the seventh, or Sabbath day, was even from the beginning of the world appointed for the public assemblies, and for a holy rest, as it may be gathered from thence, that Moses expressly speaks of this rest before the giving of the law in Mount Sinai (Exod. 16:5, 26). And besides, this day, and the whole order and manner of keeping it, was well known unto the fathers. And lastly, where Moses says that God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it (Gen. 2:3), the meaning is, not only that He did magnify and give a special commendation to that day, but He did choose, separate, and dedicate it to His special service.<sup>30</sup>

For these words of Moses, though they contain a simple narration of that that was done, and do not indeed directly affirm that the day was then commanded to be kept holy; yet undoubtedly they must needs imply as much. For seeing it is said, *God sanctified*, and this sanctifying is to exempt unto a holy use to be performed of us, not of Him that sanctifies (that we might sanctify that in doing, which God sanctified in ordaining); therefore, when  
 15 He sanctified, He appointed, and in appointing [15] commanded the resting upon and keeping of the seventh day.

For as Jerome says, *Ut nomen Dei*, etc. “Even as the name of God is hallowed of men, which in and of itself is holy, when they desire and seek that it might be hallowed in them; so the Sabbath is hallowed of them, which is holy in itself, when they account and keep it holy;”<sup>31</sup> and when (as Augustine

29. Bez. *paraphr.* in *Job* 1:5. [Hereafter abbreviated author names are expanded without notice. Cf. *Jobus Theodori Bezae partim commentariis partim paraphrasi illustratus* (Genève: Jean Le Preux, 1589) 10, 21; and *Job expounded by Theodore Beza: partly in manner of a commentary*, ... (Cambridge: John Legatt, 1589) on verse 1 {B6}, on verse 5 {C7}.]

30. Bertram, *De Republica Judaica (de Polit. Judaic.* c. 2). [Cornelius Bonaventura Bertram, *De Politia Judaica* (Geneva, 1574) 19; (Geneva, 1580) 18.]

31. Jerome, *contra Pelag.* lib. 3. [While included in the italicized quotation in the 1606 text, the text in italics would appear to be Bownde’s commentary/conclusion, as they are not in



says) “they bestow it upon holy works, and those that are ordained unto the worship of God; as all the works of the saints done in faith are said to be holy, yet thereafter a special manner are called holy, which properly appertain unto the worship of God.”<sup>32</sup>

And the nature of this word, *Remember*, imports thus much [*as much; so much*], that this law was not only graven in the hearts of our forefathers, as were all others, but in express words enjoined unto Adam and Eve in paradise, and manifestly practiced of the Israelites in the wilderness (Exod. 16); and that therefore in this common promulgating of the law, they should especially remember this, which is not now newly given, but rather renewed, as being given before. And indeed this commandment alone was given in express words.

And that it might fully appear that the whole law was written in the hearts of the fathers, as Paul says, we have examples of the practice of every one of them, long before the law was given (Rom. 2:15). For in the first commandment, when God said unto Abraham, *I am God all sufficient, walk before me upright* (Gen. 17:1); it is evident that they knew the meaning of this, *I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me*. And for the second, when Jacob going up to Bethel did cleanse himself from all remnants of idolatry (Gen. 35:2); they could not be ignorant that God would not be worshipped in any graven image, but after the manner that He prescribed in His Word. And how we ought to sanctify the name of God, the knowledge thereof appears sufficiently in the religious care that they had

---

the text of Jerome. Cf. *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos*, book 3, §15. Migne, *PL* 23, col. 585. *NPNF2*, v. 6, 480. See the Introduction regarding Bownd’s source citing.]

32. Augustine, *locut. in Num.* Lib. 3. [This reference seems to intend *Locutiones in Heptateuchum*, “Locutiones in Numeros,” but Numbers is covered in book 4, and book 3 is on Leviticus. The Rev. Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J., Professor of Theology at Fordham University, who has translated this work on the Heptateuch for the series Augustine for the Twenty-First Century, forthcoming from New City Press, does not find anything close to this citation in those books. His attempts to find ‘retroversions’ of Bownd’s English in an Augustine database also did not turn up any other work as a more likely candidate. Given that the Jerome immediately preceding contained a mix of Jerome and Bownd’s commentary, it may be this ‘quotation’ is a mix of a little Augustine with Bownd’s interpolations/commentary (see the Analysis regarding his source citing, xci). One possibility is Bownd has brought out some ideas from a passage at the end of book 2 on Exodus. In the editions of Plantinus (1576) and Froben (1528; 1556), the text appears on the same page as the beginning of book 3 with the page header of Liber III (tom. 3, p. 51, p. 83 & col. 117 respectively). A 1569 Froben printing was donated to the Parish Library of St James, Bury St. Edmunds in late 1595 (see bibliography). As this reference is new for the 1606 edition, that text would have been available to Bownd to consult. “Quid autem dicat opera sancti, non evidenter apparet, utrum sancti sacerdotis, quoniam et de stola vel de stolis ejus hæc dicuntur; an sancti Dei, in cujus cultum hæc fiebant; an opera sancti, sicut dicebatur Sanctum et Sanctum sanctorum.” “Now, what he calls the works of the holy does not evidently appear, whether of the holy priest, since these things are said concerning his garment or garments; or of the Holy God, for whose worship these things were made; or of the works of the holy place, just as it was called the Holy Place and Holy of Holies.” (*Locutiones in Heptateuchum*, “Locutiones in Exodo,” Exod. 35:35).]

in taking of their oaths: both Abraham with Abimelech, and also Jacob with Laban (Gen. 21:23; 31:53).

Now for the fifth commandment, what duties children owe their parents, the practice of Jacob does sufficiently declare in being ruled by the advice  
 16 of his parents in the choice of his [16] wife, and the duties that his children yielded to him in his life and death (Gen. 28:2; 5:1 *sic* 35:5<sup>2</sup>). The story of the same children shows sufficiently also how murder was then hated, and condemned of all sorts. The great continence of Joseph towards his mistress, and the punishment threatened to Abimelech in keeping of Sarah, Abraham's wife (Gen. 39:10; 20:3), do sufficiently declare how by the light of nature adultery was condemned. Concerning theft, Laban's quarreling with Jacob for his idols that were stolen, and Joseph's accusing of his brethren for the silver cup that was carried away, show plainly that it was always accounted unlawful (Gen. 31:30; 44:5). And last of all, Abimelech, the King of Gerar, [in] his just reprehension that he made both unto Abraham, and afterwards to his son Isaac, for bearing false witness in obeying [*commanding*] their wives (Gen. 20:9; 26:9), do show that they had knowledge of that law also.

Which things being considered, we are so far from thinking that they were ignorant of the observation of the Sabbath, as we are fully persuaded that they knew it much better than any of the former; not only because of that common light of nature, which in this they had, as well as in all the former, together with that public practice of the several parts of God's worship most proper unto that day, as we have seen before; but especially because that this was in express words delivered unto our first parents in paradise, where otherwise by the light of nature they could never have found it out. And therefore in the public pronouncing of the law, unto this added only, and to none other, is this word, *Remember*, prefixed; as speaking to them of a thing that was given unto them. And it must needs be so; for seeing that from the beginning of the creation man was bound to serve God, and was placed in paradise, a most excellent place to that end; how could he and his posterity serve God aright, unless they had as well known the time of His service, as the manner of it?

And this is that which others have long ago acknowledged; as the Helvetians, speaking of the necessity of this, that there must needs be always days and times for the public service of God, which shall be known to the  
 17 whole [17] Church. They say: *Quanquam religio*, etc. "Although religion be not tied unto days and times; yet it cannot be planted and used anywhere, without a just distinction and ordination of times."<sup>33</sup> Whereunto agreed

33. Confess. Helvet. cap. 24. [Cf. Jean François Salvart, *Harmonia Confessionum fidei orthodoxarum et reformatarum Ecclesiarum* (Geneva: Petrum Santandreanum, 1581) section 16, p. 174; English trans., Peter Hall, *The Harmony of Protestant Confessions* (1842) 382. Cf. The Second Helvetic Confession (1566), Chapter 24 Of Holy Days, Fasts, and the Choice of Meats, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation*, Volume 2 1552–1566 (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2010), 872.]



the Saxon Church, who in their confession, speaking also of the necessity of some certain days to be appointed for the worship of God, say, "That nature by reason teaches order in all things, and it is apparent that it is of God; for men cannot live without order; as in private families there must needs be a distinction of times, for labor, rest, meat, and sleep."<sup>34</sup> Whereupon they infer, *Fuit igitur semper inde usque ab initio generis humani, etc.* "There was always even from the beginning of mankind an order for public meetings; there was some distinction of times, and places, and of other rites." And what other distinction could there be, I pray you, than that which was set down by God Himself? that six days they should labor in their callings, and in the seventh day should serve Him; even as He did not only make the whole world, and rested the seventh, but also blessed it and sanctified it?

Upon which words Peter Martyr observes, that:

... the observation of the Sabbath did not begin when the law was given in Mount Sinai, but was celebrated long before that time; for when He blessed the seventh day, He bestowed something upon it, and this chiefly, that therein men should rest, and apply themselves to the service of God.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, seeing by his judgment men knew from the beginning that this day was sanctified, we must not think them so irreligious as to neglect it.

And Athanasius, speaking upon occasion of the great difference that was between the writings of the philosophers and the prophets, and namely that the one was often contrary to the other, as those that taught but man's doctrine; but the prophets did not dissent, either in foretelling of things to come, or in their doctrine; as being the prophets of the same God, speaking by the same Spirit, and delivering the same word, and one also teaching another; then he infers this general saying: *Quæ Moses docuit, eadem illa Abraham observavit, Noe cognita habibat*, etc. "The things which Moses taught, the same did Abraham observe, and Noah [18] also knew very well."<sup>36</sup> 18  
And then he shows it by some particulars, that the fathers by traditions did

34. Confess. Saxon. art. 20. [Cf. *Harmonia Confessionum fidei*, §16, 192–193; *The Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, 402. The "Repetition and Exposition of the Augsburg Confession," or Saxon Confession, was drawn up in 1552 by Melancthon. "De Traditionibus, id est ritibus in Ecclesia institutis, autoritate humana," *Confessio doctrinæ saxonicarum Ecclesiarum Synodo Tridentinæ oblata Anno Domini MDLI* (Basileæ: Oporini, 1552; [Nürnberg?], 1552) 94.]

35. Martyr in Gen. 2:3. [*Common Places* (1583) 374; *In Primum Librum Mosis* (1569; 1579) 8v.]

36. Athanasius in Matt. 11:27 [sic]. ["And thus what Moses taught, that Abraham observed; and what Abraham observed, that Noah and Enoch acknowledged..." *De Decretis, or Defence of the Nicene Definition*, NPNF2, vol. 4, §5, 153. "Quæ enim Moses docuit, eadem ab Abrahamo observata sunt, quæ porto Abraham observavit eadem Noe & Enoch agnouerunt..." *Opera* ({Heidelbergæ:} ex officina Commeliniana, 1600; Gesuiti: Collegio Romano, 1601) 403. None of the six references Bownd makes is found in the Homily on Matthew. This first comes from *De Decretis*. In the five other instances the reference should have been noted as *De Sabbatis*

know and observe many of these things, which Moses did write of long after, and that the knowledge of them was not delivered first by him, but from Adam, and so to the rest, who received them himself of God. As he says, “Noah knew the difference of clean and unclean beasts, when he entered into the ark. And Abel was not ignorant of the first fruits, when he brought his offering unto God, for he had learned them of Adam, who had learned them of God” (Gen. 7:2; 4:4). Which as it is true of other things, then most of all of the Sabbath, which was of the greatest moment, and on which these things should be used; namely, the offering up of clean beasts, and the first fruits. And therefore some have thought (as said before) that this commandment should be placed first in order, because it is most ancient; which opinion of theirs, though the text of scripture does sufficiently confute, yet their reason is true, to wit, that this commandment was first delivered by lively voice, namely to Adam and Eve in paradise.

And a little after he [Daneau] adds:

*Etsi more [iam] quodam*, etc. Although the Heathen did after a manner keep holy some days, yet the seventh day was always observed of the Jews; that had they from the tradition of their fathers, unto whom God Himself did reveal, both that sacrifices were acceptable unto Him, and that He was well pleased with the seventh day, because therein He rested Himself.<sup>37</sup>

So that God did not only reveal a certain holy day unto them, but the seventh day, and that day which they kept, which was the seventh from creation; and so it continued by tradition among them before the law was given, even from the creation.

Of which Master Zanchius speaks more fully and plainly, and leaving other men to the liberty of their own judgment, sets down his own opinion ingeniously and freely, in treating of these words of Moses, “The Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.” That is, he says:

19 He did separate it from the beginning to a holy rest, when as other days of the week were appointed to the affairs of this world. For seeing that He did rest Himself upon the seventh day from [19] the works of creation, and there was nothing more remaining to be done, therefore He would have this seventh day, by resting from other works, to be consecrated unto a work of another kind. And what could that be else, but that He did declare unto Adam and Eve, all things that He had done, and to what end He had created them, and what happiness was prepared

---

*et Circumcisione*. There are three references to the *Homiliam de Semente*, one of which is also actually found in *De Sabbatis et Circumcisione*.]

37. Daneau, *Ethic. Christian.*, lib. 2. cap. 10. [(1577) 166r; (1582) 160r.]

for them in heaven; how they ought to worship Him, and other things which did appertain both to their duties, and to their everlasting happiness? I doubt not therefore (I will tell you my opinion, without the prejudice of others), I doubt not, I say, but that the Son of God taking upon Him the shape of a man, was occupied that whole seventh day in most holy colloquies with Adam; and that He did also fully make Himself known unto Adam and Eve, and did reveal the manner and order which He had used in creating of all things, and did exhort them both to meditate upon those works, and in them to acknowledge their Creator, and to praise Him. And that by His own example He did admonish them to occupy themselves especially in this exercise of godliness, setting all other business aside; and also that they would so instruct and teach their children.

To be short, I doubt not, but that in that seventh day He did teach them all divinity; and did hold them occupied in hearing of Him, and in praising and giving thanks to God their Creator for so many and so great benefits. And unto this interpretation of this text I am led by these two reasons:

[(1.)] Whereof the first is taken from the sanctification of the Sabbath, which God has prescribed in the law; and that is that men forsaking all worldly business should give themselves to the contemplation of the works and benefits of God, and to the knowledge, and praising, and worshipping of God; and also that they neglecting the affections and works of their own flesh, should suffer God to work in them by His Holy Spirit. Therefore such was the sanctification of the seventh day (as concerning mankind) of which Moses speaks here.

[(2.)] Another reason is, because that Adam ought to understand this sanctification of such a day, therefore it is probable that the Son of God did open this unto Adam and Eve both in plain words, and also by His own example. For even God also is said to rest upon that [20] day, and in Exodus (Exod. 20:11) He does exhort unto the sanctification of the Sabbath by His own example; therefore He did sanctify it with Adam and Eve. This is my opinion of the sanctification of the seventh day, which God rested from all His work that He had made: namely, that Christ did spend that whole day in instructing our first parents, and in exercising them in the worship of God, and in admonishing them, that they should teach the same things unto their posterity.<sup>38</sup>

20

38. Zanchius, *de operibus creat.*, [part three,] lib. 1. cap. 1. [*Opera* (1619) "De operibus Dei creatis." tome 1, col. 539.]

Thus far Master Zanchius: in which he shows, that not only God did even from the beginning command our first parents to keep holy this day, but also that they were bound from that time to teach it to their posterity. And so we may be sure that they did, and so the day was continually kept in the Church, and of the people of God; although the heathen in the posterity of Ham and others did altogether neglect it, as they did also the pure worship of God, long before the flood. Which if it may seem to be but his own private opinions, then let us hear the judgment of Master Junius, who writing of these very words of Moses, says, *Duo sunt observanda*, etc.

There are two things to be observed in this text. First what God did ordain upon the seventh day, and then what was the cause of that ordinance of His. That which He ordained consists of two parts: one, that God blessed the seventh day; the other, that He sanctified it; and that by the former He means, that He did appoint it that it should be a blessed day; by the other that He did command that this blessed day should be kept holy of man, and be spent in holy exercises. [...] The second part of the verse sets out the cause why God did bless that day, and would have it to be sanctified on the earth; namely, because He did rest upon that day from all His work, which He had most magnificently finished in the six days before.<sup>39</sup>

Where we see how he says that God from the beginning did command men to keep holy the seventh day; and it must needs be so. For seeing the cause of this was from the beginning, namely, that God rested in it from all His works; therefore the thing itself must needs be as ancient, even that we should be commanded to keep it holy for the remembrance of  
21 the creation. [21]

And this is that also which Master Zanchius observes upon this word of the fourth commandment, *Remember*; where he renders two reasons of this addition, and that we might always remember it.

*Sed accredit alia causa*, etc. But there is another cause, for by it God would signify that this precept of sanctifying the Sabbath day, was not then first prescribed by Him unto the people; for it was delivered from the beginning of the world unto Adam and to the rest of the fathers in remembrance that the world was created in six days, and of that rest which God Himself so kept upon the seventh day. And therefore it is not simply said, Sanctify you the Sabbath, but, Remember to sanctify it. So that this word looks forward and backward: backward, because it shows that this day was dedicated unto the worship of God from

39. *Junii prælect. in Gen. 2:3* [Junius, *In Geneseos Prælectiones* (1589) 61, 62; *Opera*, 2 vols. (1607; 1613) 1.27.]

the creation of the world; forward, because it admonishes us that we should never forget it.<sup>40</sup>

And a little after, expounding these words, “The Lord sanctified the seventh day,” he says,

... that the meaning of them is, that God did from the beginning of the world choose out that day from the rest of the week, and did consecrate it to Himself, that first of all Himself might rest in it from the works which He had made, and then also that men might rest from theirs, and wholly attend upon God’s divine worship.

Thus we see that his judgment is clear, that the law of the Sabbath was well known in the Church of God, and practiced of the holy fathers long before the law was given. And of this judgment also for the most part are all the Greek and Latin fathers; and yet I do not deny that some are otherwise minded.

But Zanchius alleging the example of God for the sanctification of the Sabbath, in not raining manna upon that day, but twice so much upon the day before, says, *Ibi Moses repetit hanc vetustissimam de Sabbatho sanctionem, dicendo, Sabbathu est hodie ipso Jebouia.*<sup>41</sup> So that he says that the sanction of that law was most ancient, and did not then begin, and that Moses did but then repeat it, not then first make it known. And again:

Man was made to worship God; for as when all other things were created, on the sixth day God made man, to signify that all things were made for man. So when man was made, [22] then by and by He sanctified the seventh day, and commands that He should be worshipped in it, that we might know that we are made to worship God.

22

So that from the beginning God commanded Adam and Eve to sanctify the Sabbath, and their posterity, that all might know the end of their creation to be the worship and service of God. }

#### THE GENTILES BY THE LIGHT OF NATURE KEPT SOME DAYS HOLY

Unto all which may be added, for proof that this commandment is natural, moral, and perpetual, that<sup>42</sup> which was practiced among the Gentiles, and all the heathen, concerning the keeping holy of certain days, though altogether ignorant of the law of Moses. For though it was so that they

40. Zanchius, the fourth commandment. [tome 2, part 4, col. 653.]

41. Zanchius, *ibid.* [“Exod. 16, ubi etiam repetit Moses hanc vetustissimam Sabbati sanctionem, dicendo, *Sabbatum est hodie ipso lehovæ.* (1619) 655, bottom. 1613: *vetustissima.*]

42. [... be added that, for proof ... perpetual, that I say may be added, which.... 1595.]

knew not the institution of the seventh day, much less did they keep it, yet some days by a common consent they severed from their worldly affairs, and dedicated them to the service of their gods. Nay, though they did altogether so hate the only true holy day, that neither would they observe it themselves, and also *mocked the Jews for observing it*—{as the prophet complains, speaking of the desolation of Jerusalem; *The adversaries saw her, and did mock at her Sabbaths* (Lam. 1:7);<sup>43</sup>}—yet of themselves they erected other days, which they appointed to a holy and religious use. Which evidently declares that the law of the Sabbath was so deeply graven in the heart of man at the first by God Himself, that howsoever the print of it was by the fall of Adam, and by sin growing in the posterity,<sup>44</sup> greatly mangled and defaced, so that it could not be read; yet it was not so wholly erased out, but that some deformed scratches, and (as it were) scars of it did appear. And therefore though they could not attain to the knowledge of the day, much less to the true manner of sanctifying it, without the Word; yet that there should be a day differing from others in use, sequestered from the common affairs of the world, and consecrated to the worship of God, this was that which did evidently and most clearly show itself to them, whether they would or not.

Herein I agree with the Schoolman, who says:

- 23 ... that the commandment of sanctifying the Sabbath is partly |23| moral: moral in as much as man does appoint a certain time of his life to attend upon heavenly things. For there is a natural inclination in man to depute a certain time for every necessary thing, as for the receiving of his meat, for sleep, and for other such things. And therefore he does according to the direction of natural reason, appoint a certain time for his spiritual refreshing, whereby his soul is refreshed in God.<sup>45</sup>

And as in the second commandment, though they knew not the true service of God (as being without His Word), yet that He should some ways outwardly be worshipped, that they were fully assured {of}, as appears by their superstition and idolatry. So the very day that God had blessed to this end they understood not, neither could do without the law; yet that there ought to be some day they held undoubtedly, as is manifest by their practice, when they had sanctified so many to themselves, {as appears by the multitude of holy days among the Grecians and Romans.}

43. [Lam. 3:7, 1595. Only such errors in the 1595 as noticed in the collation are noted.]

44. ["posterity, was (I say), greatly..." 1595.]

45. Thomas Aquinas, 2a 2æ question 122, art. 4. [Question 122 of the Precepts of Justice, Article 4, Whether the Third {i.e. Fourth} Precept of the Decalogue, Concerning the Hallowing of the Sabbath, Is Fittingly Expressed? Three quarters of the references to the *Summa Theologica* have errors, which may simply be attributable to faults by the compositor of the type. Cf. Allen, 183.]

## THE GOSPEL HAS NOT TAKEN AWAY THE OBSERVATION OF THE SABBATH

And that *this Sabbath day*, which has that commendation of antiquity and consent which we have heard, ought to still stand in its proper force,<sup>46</sup> and that it appertains to us Christians now, most evidently appears by that authority and credit which it receives from the gospel and New Testament also; in which it is so highly commended unto us (that I might not in this place speak of the manifold other testimonies that it has in the Old). And by name we may see, how our Savior Christ and all His apostles establish it by their practice; for they upon the Sabbath ordinarily enter into the synagogues of the Jews, and preach unto the people, doing such things upon those days, as appertain to the sanctifying of them, according to the commandment.

**OBJECTION.** Against which, lest we might except that our Redeemer *Christ Jesus being made under the law* (as the apostle says, Gal. 4:4) came to fulfill the whole law for us, and therefore He indeed submitted Himself unto the observation of the least ceremony thereof all His life long, till at His death He cried out, *It is finished, when the veil of the Temple rent in twain from* |24| *the top to the bottom* (Matt. 27:51; John 19:30), to show that all types and figures were abrogated and taken away, and therefore that His observing of the Sabbath makes no more for the certainty of it, than His observing of circumcision, keeping the Passover, and offering up of sacrifices, do make for their continuance now under the gospel—**ANSWER**—we must further consider that the apostles themselves, long after Christ's death, and after they had received the Holy Ghost, *even the Spirit of truth, that should lead them into all truth* (John 16:13), do by their practice and writings show that the Sabbath stood upon a surer ground than the whole ceremonial law, and therefore could not with it be taken away.

Paul and Barnabas (as it is in the Acts 13:14) *coming into Antioch, went into the synagogue upon the Sabbath day, and sat down, and after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation to the people, say on: then Paul stood up, and beckoned with the hand, and said, Men of Israel, etc., going on forward with that notable sermon that is set down there, and when he had ended (as it is in the same chapter): The Gentiles besought them, that they would preach those words unto them the next Sabbath day* (Acts 13:42–44), which also they did. *And the next Sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the Word of God.* Moreover, the same apostle at Thessalonica, *went into the synagogue of the Jews, and three Sabbath days disputed with them by the scriptures* (Acts 17:2).

And this he did not once or twice, but continually and ordinarily, showing the ordinary continuance of the Sabbath, and the sanctifying of it, as the evangelist precisely notes, saying, *Paul as his manner was, went in*

46. [Cf. Rogers, *Catholic Doctrine*, page 89, 315. Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 7v (trans., 155).]




unto them, and three Sabbath days disputed with them by the scriptures. Now, though we are to presume that Paul neither taught, nor practiced anything contrary to the rest of the apostles, but that they agreed in one uniform order of doctrine and government of the Church (as who had received of one and the self same Spirit), and therefore this might be sufficient to show their consent herein; yet notwithstanding we may read how in the  
 25 last books of the Bible, and by the [25] last apostle (I mean who lived longest), the same thing is confirmed—where he is so far from teaching that the Sabbath for the space of 60 years<sup>47</sup> after Christ was taken away (about what time it is thought that he wrote the book), that he plainly avouches the continuance of it in the Church, by this new and honorable name, *the Lord's Day* (Rev. 1:10). Where he of purpose, noting the time that he received those revelations in it, calls it by that name that was best known to the Church at that time (otherwise he should not so fitly expressed his mind to those to whom he wrote); which day thus called, all writers do agree upon it, new and old (yea, the papists themselves), to be the very Sabbath which we observe.

Thus it is sufficiently proved that the Sabbath was none of those ceremonies which were justly abrogated at the coming of Christ,<sup>48</sup> as being appointed of God for no further time; but that it continued in the practice of the Church when all others ceased; yea, was kept faithfully in the Church by all them, who had with one consent shut out all the rest. And that it is so commanded in the *first book* of holy scripture, where is shown what was from the beginning; that it wants not its due praise in the *last books* of the same, where is a prophecy of things to be fulfilled unto the end; and therefore we must hearken unto the truth of this doctrine so much the rather, lest that fearful judgment do fall upon us, which the Lord Jesus Himself threatened to bring upon them that shall diminish anything contained in this book, and therefore which shall in whole or in part take away this day which is so honored there, when he says, *If any man shall diminish of the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things which are written in this book* (Rev. 22:19).<sup>49</sup>

THE TWO ENDS OF ORDAINING THE SABBATH SHOW THE CONTINUATION OF IT  
 But that I might not seem tedious unto you, we shall further hear, in one

47. ["97 years" 1595. Bownd corrected this to 60 for his second edition, having in the first for the number of years put the traditional date assigned for the writing of John's Revelation.]

48. [Cf. Rogers, *Catholic Doctrine*, page 89.]

49. ["Hee therefore that wilbe saved must they thinke of the Sabbath daies; and that so much the rather, 'least that fearful judgment'  do fall upon him, which the L{ord} Jesus himselfe threatned to bring upon' them 'that shall diminish anie thing contained in the booke' of S. Johns revelation; 'and therefore which shal in whole, or in part, take awaie this daie, which is so honored there'" (book one, page 11). Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 8r (trans., 156). See p. 9, n1.]



word, that the Sabbath still binds us, and that it ought to stand in its greatest force, that ever it had, and that we have as great need of it as ever any people had in the world; and that our posterity shall have it so [26] likewise, and therefore cannot be without it; if we consider the principal ends 26 of the first instituting and ordaining of it by God unto Adam in paradise: *commanding him to rest upon that day, and to keep holy the day of rest.*

#### A DAY OF REST IS NECESSARY

And first of all *to rest*, because he was not of an infinite nature, though perfect, and therefore could not be occupied wholly about many, I do not say contrary, but sundry and divers [*several*] things at once, as about the business of this world and the worship of God. Wherefore being bound by his calling *to dress and keep the garden*, and yet charged *to keep holy the seventh day* (Gen. 2:15; 2:3); meditating upon the wisdom and mercy of God appearing, as in all the creatures, so especially in himself; and thus *beholding the invisible things of God in them* (Rom. 1:20), giving thanks to God for them, praying for the continuance of them, teaching them to his posterity, etc., it was needful that the seventh day should be unto them (as it was indeed) *a Sabbath day*, that is, *a day of rest*; resting from all his other necessary business, that so he might with his whole heart and mind attend upon these, as the worship of God requires; which he could not do, so long as in any part he should be occupied about the other.

Now, if the [most] perfect man that ever was could not do this, and therefore stood in need of this liberality of God, in giving him *a day of rest*; how shall not we be too foolish in thinking that we (we, I say) that have not only lost all the excellent graces that Adam was furnished with, but also instead of them great corruption has overwhelmed us, so that our minds are dull in conceiving the goodness of God in His Word and works, and our hearts void of the true sense and feeling of it, yet we should be able to have all our worldly business still in our hands, and in our heads, not resting from them any day, and therewithal so have the same understanding and wit of ours, so conceiving and desiring by prayer the mercy of God, in the Word, in the sacraments, and in all other things as God requires, *with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength, and with all our thought* (Luke 10:27)? Or rather must we not needs confess as the truth [27] is, that 27 being more bound to the service of God than Adam was (in respect of our sin), yet are less able to perform it than he in any tolerable measure, when we have done all that we can, and therefore have more need of *a day of rest* than he, that nothing might hinder us?

For if the bird (that she might fly) must flutter with her wings, and deliver herself from all things that might stay her; shall we think that it makes no matter, if we come not to God's service with minds and

affections freed from all lets [*hindrances*], in which we must in our spirits be lifted up higher, than it is possible for any bird flying to attain unto?<sup>50</sup>

And does not woeful experience tell us, that when we have freed our hands from worldly matters never so much, yet we cannot so soon free our minds from them? And being once free, they will yet renew themselves within us, without any present occasion, by reason of our corruption, even in the Church, and will justle [*push*] out (as it were) the meditation of God's service many times? Whereof God's children do complain? How unruly then would they be, if there were not *a day of rest* from the occasions of them? And how should we ever be occupied in the Word and in prayer, and the other parts of God's worship, with any good acceptation to God, and comfortable practice to ourselves, if we should never a day *rest* in body from the labors of this world, that in mind and heart we might be free from contagions, studies, delights, and desires of the same? So that we are not only not to think the Sabbath to be needless (as many atheists, profane and ignorant men do), but also we are to be persuaded, that we ourselves should always have been ignorant, profane, and atheists, not serving God at all, but continually drowned in the things of this world, by reason of the works in the six days; or, at least, dissembling, counterfeit and hypocritical, serving God rather in ceremony and show, than in that manner of sincerity and truth which He requires, if God had not in respect of our weakness at the first appointed *a day to rest* in, from all things that might any way stay and hinder us in it, and now in regard of the same weakness, [28] but much more because of the sin which is within us, had [He] not commanded the same to be continued for our further good. And so I may say with Master Gualter,

Because we are distracted with divers business, *necessie fuit*, it was necessary that some time should be appointed free from all cares and business, to which we should employ ourselves wholly in soul and body, about those things which do make for the service of God, because in it (as it is truly said) *Animum requirit non dimidiatum sed intergrum* [*sic integrum*], God requires not half but the whole soul and mind.<sup>51</sup>

#### IT IS NECESSARY THAT A DAY SHOULD BE SANCTIFIED.

And (that I might remember my former promises of being short in so large a matter) we may briefly consider the necessity of continuing the Sabbath unto all ages, if we remember that the Lord would have *Adam to sanctify and keep holy* one several day in the week by itself; that by those holy means of

50. Musculus, *Loc. Com.*, *præcept.* 4. [*Loci Communes* (1560) 94; (1567) 160.]

51. Gualter in Acts 13, Homil. 88. [Rudolf Gualther, *In Acta Apostolorum per Divum Lucam descripta*, Homiliae CLXXV (1557; Zürich: 1586) 168v. The second quote is from Musculus, *ibid.*]

set upon him, and take all the rest, or a great part of it away from him. Were this not an intolerable thing?

#### A CONCLUSION OF WORKS OF NECESSITY

Therefore, I conclude this point with the words of Peter Martyr, who says:

That God might have assigned many days, or all for His worship; but seeing He knew that we were commanded to eat our bread in the sweat of our face, He gave us six days for that purpose, and required of us but one day in the week, wherein leaving off from other works, we should apply ourselves only unto Him.<sup>483</sup>

And the conclusion of all this,<sup>484</sup> that seeing the Lord of his great liberal- }  
ity, even upon that day wherein He requires our rest most precisely, has not  
cast us into that bondage that we should do nothing at all; but has left us  
that freedom that in needful things we may labor;<sup>485</sup> it stands us in hand  
so much the more carefully to look to ourselves, that we be sure that the  
things we go about could not have been done before, nor deferred any lon-  
ger; and therefore were necessary to be done at that time. Which when we  
are thoroughly persuaded of by God's Word, then may we in faith and a  
good conscience take them in hand; knowing that the Lord exempts us, as  
it were, at the present, from the general law of resting, and by some special  
occasion calls us to work; and therefore we do it, as unto him.

#### WORKS OF NECESSITY UPON THE LORD'S DAY MUST NOT BE DONE FOR GAIN BUT FOR MERCY AND PITY

In which consideration, we ought not to take anything for our worldly  
labors upon the Sabbath, and we should not make a gain of our travail  
upon that day, if necessity drives us unto it.<sup>486</sup> For we do it not as a work

483. Martyr, Gen. 2:3. [*Common Places* (1583) 375; *In Primum Librum Mosis* (1569; 1579) 9r.]

484. ["Thus we may conclude this point..." 1595.]

485. ["Wee acknowledg 'that in needful thinges we maie labor' (book one, page 121, 1595 ed.): but 'wee must be sure that the thinges we go about could not have bine done before,' 'deferred anie longer'" (ibid.). Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 8v, and cited again, 9r.]

486. ["No man maie reape anie benefit for his worldlie consaile {counsel} or labor, neces-  
sarilie given or taken upon the Sabbath; neither is to 'make a gaine of his travaile upon'  
this 'daie, if necesitie drive' him thereunto (book one, page 122, 1595 ed.): that 'the physition  
or chirurgian, and such as attend upon the sick, or be anie waies employed about him,'  
must 'take nothing for their paines taken upon the Sabbath' (page 123): that Th'apothecarie,  
though hee take monie for his sake, yet must his labor be free upon the Sab. daie (page 123).  
'The like must be understood (in our iudgment) of al other works of necessitie'" (page 123).  
"If the Lawier, Counselor, or Sergeant wil needes travaile' upon the L. daie 'about his clients  
cause; yet must hee 'do it onlie for Gods sake; 'at least wise' hee must 'dedicate it unto the  
poore, and taking it with th'one hand; he is to 'give it' away 'with th'other'" (Rogers, MS letter  
to Bownd, 9v-10r (transcription, 159-160).]

of our calling, from the which we must cease; nor as that by the which we get our living (with which we must not meddle), but only because some of the creatures do stand in need of our help, for whose preservation the day of rest is appointed, and therefore in pity and compassion unto them, we yield them our labor and do it as a *deed of mercy*, and unto the Lord.

242 { {Daneau having shown that the works of mercy upon |242| the Sabbath are to be performed even to the beasts, and much more then unto men; he propounds this very question we have in hand, and asks, *Virum merces ex his operibus capi debeat*, “whether that a man may take a reward for the works that are done upon the Sabbath; as the apothecary and chirurgion [*surgeon*], if they give some medicine to one that is wounded; or whether the lawyer may take his fee for his counsel upon that day.”<sup>487</sup> Concerning which, I do not take these two examples to be of like necessity; for he that is sick or wounded must have present help, and it may be that the danger did befall him but even now, and so help could not be ministered any sooner; and if the patient were under their hands before, yet physic and help is to be applied every day. But it is not so with the client, for his cause is not to be handled upon the seventh day, and therefore the other six days may suffice, and men are not commonly so hastily called into the courts without sufficient warning, that they should be driven to seek counsel upon the Sabbath day. But let us hear his own answer:

*Posse, quatenus damnum accipit*: They may take something so far forth, as they sustain any damage themselves; but not for any labor or pains that they take. As for example, the apothecary may take the full price of his medicine, but not for his pains, as upon other days. And the advocate may take for his paper and ink, but not for his counsel and writing.

Of which judgment, if others were with him, the lawyers should not greatly be troubled upon this day; their fee would be so small for paper and ink; and other men that upon this day, under the color of helping others do take great pains, and sometimes more than they should, could not so greatly enrich themselves thereby, as they do. As Master Zanchius also well observes. For in treating upon these words of the commandment, *In it thou shalt do no manner of work*, he asks this question: “From what works must we rest?” And he makes this answer:

243 It appears not only by the opposition of the works of the six days, but by the Hebrew word הַצַּבֵּר, which being translated, “Thou shalt not work;” |243| signifies properly, “Thou shalt not serve,” that is, labor as a servant does. For He speaks of those outward works, which pertain to

487. Daneau, *Ethic. Christian.*, lib. 2. cap. 10. [“... *virum merces ex his operibus capi percipique debeat*...” (1577) 168v; (1582) 162v.]

the sustentation of this present life, when He says, “Six days shalt thou labor.” And it is more clearly set down by Moses; where He does not simply say, “Thou shalt do no work,” but no servile work. Moreover, the other word מְלָאכָה, translated “work,” which Moses here uses in this commandment, does not simply signify work, but that kind of work which is taken in hand to get riches; for man servants and maid servants do not work but for reward and gain; and not for the profit and credit of their masters, as children do for their parents whom they serve.<sup>488</sup>

So that by this judgment, he that does anything upon the Sabbath, either to men or to his cattle, must not therein respect his own profit, but the good of the creatures; else it is no work of mercy, but his own work; and generally nothing upon that day is to be done for gain.

#### OBJECTION 1. ANSWERED

But here then it may be demanded what we should think of the continual labors of the painful preachers and faithful ministers of the Word of God, who may seem not only to take reward for that they do upon the Sabbath, but altogether to live upon the labors of that day. For answer unto which, first of all, I say that it is not altogether true, for they study and take great pains at their book, by reading, meditation, and prayer, all the week long before; and do thus continually such as be as they ought. Secondly, I say with the apostle, that *the Lord has ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel* (1 Cor. 9:14); as he proves at large, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians and ninth chapter. And so it is lawful for them even for their preaching to receive so much, as shall *sufficiently maintain themselves, their wives, and children, as well as the apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas* (v. 5.). But yet if any should go up and down the country preaching for gain, they should break the Sabbath; or if tarrying at home, they should look to their own profit, and not to the good of the people, and think that if they had no [244] great a living they would take less pains. 244

Besides, their labor upon the Sabbath tending directly to the worship of God, and the salvation of men's souls, it is altogether divine, and most proper unto that day. So are not the works of other men's callings, for these are the Lord's servants after a special manner: as *Moses and David in respect of their offices are so called* (Deut. 34:5; Ps. 28:1 [*sic?* Ps. 36:1?]). Moreover, consider what Zanchius says further touching this matter, in the above named place; where he gives another observation tending to this end out of this word, *Thy: Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work*. He says,

God calls that our work, which we do for our own sakes, that is, for our own gain and profit; and this does properly belong to servants. So

488. Zanchius, [fourth commandment, col. 661.]

He forbids all servile works, that is, which are done for gain, and pertain to this world, and therefore truly ours. These are permitted to be done upon the six days, but He forbids that they should be done upon the seventh.<sup>489</sup>

Thus we see how God forbids things to be done for gain, or for any worldly respect upon the Sabbath; but not for His worship; for a little after he adds:

Whatsoever labor is taken in hand for the service of God is not to be accounted servile, but honest, liberal, and holy. For a servile work is not so called of the labor and pains which they take like servants; but of the mind and end that they propound unto themselves therein like unto servants. For the priests in the temple took great pains in killing the sacrifices, in flaying, washing, seething, and offering of them up, and in distributing the parts of them.<sup>490</sup>

Whosoever then will labor upon this day under any pretence, as if the carriers will needs travel, let them do it for nothing; and so let the market men, and the drovers and others that travel to fairs, let them sell all things so much the cheaper. And they will soon give over their Sabbath days' labor. Otherwise, it is *thy work, and a servile work*, and so not to be done; which also makes all labor in harvest to be servile, because it is for gain.

For as Oecolampadius says: *Opus qualicunque, specio sanctitatis*. "All labor, whatsoever it carries of holiness, if a man therein respects his own profit, it is a servile work, and [245] he therein breaks the Sabbath."<sup>491</sup> And therefore though that constitution of Gregory IX be not in all points sound, when he says, "Let men and cattle rest upon the Lord's Day, unless urgent necessity compel them, *vel nisi gratis fiat*, or unless it be done freely for the poor, or for the Church;"<sup>492</sup> because the free doing of a thing will not excuse it,

489. Zanchius, *ibid.* [661. "Opus nostrum vocat, quod facimus nostri causa, hoc est, propter nostrum lucrum, & mercedem, & commodum: hoc autem proprium est servorum. Servilia ergo hæc opera, quæ scilicet lucri nostri causa sicut, & ad seculum hoc pertinent, eoque; verè nostra, concedit fieri intra sex dies: cauet verò, ne fiant die septimo, id est, die festo."]

490. Zanchius, *ibid.* [Col. 665, last full paragraph. "Et sunt opera non nostra, sed Dei; quia ad cultum Dei destinata, etiamsi sint laboriosa & molesta. Quid enim magis servile videbatur, quam quod in veteri lege sacerdotes & Levitæ in die Sabbati occidebant victimas, lavabant, coquebant, offerebant, sternebant mensam, distribuebant, aliaque servilia & laboriosa opera in templo, inque die Sabbati præstabant? Inter servilia tamen non numerabantur; quia ad cultum Dei, non ad profanos usus pertinebant. Quicquid igitur laboris subitur die festo propter cultum Die, illud minime servile esse dicendum est, sed liberale & sanctum: neque enim servile opus à labore servorum denominatur: sed à sine & animo, quo servi laborant."]

491. Oecolampadius, *Isa. 58:13*. [*In Isaiam prophetam commentariorum lib VI* (Basileæ: Andream Crakander, 1525.) 281r. "opus, autem qualemcumque sanctitatis speciem præ se tulerit, si proprium in illo commodum spectes, servile est, & sabbatum domini violat."]

492. *Cen. 13. c. 6. [Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ (1569), 632. "vel nisi pauperibus vel ecclesiæ gratis fiat."]*

when there is no necessity, or when it is not a work proper unto this day; yet it seems that herein he aimed at the truth, when he requires that that which is done should not be for gain, but of love to the poor, and to the Church of God, and therefore freely.

And this is that indeed which commonly men do pretend when they are charged with their needless travailings; that it was a good deed to help such a one in misery; and it did lie upon his undoing; and he could not but do it *for very pity*; and a great deal more they can say for themselves. Therefore let it appear by their doings that nothing moved them *but pity*; and that of very conscience to relieve the necessity of others, they were moved unto it, by not only not receiving, *but not looking for any reward of men* (Luke 6:35); no more than you do for the alms which you give, and for visiting the sick and imprisoned; that so it may be counted as a holy work indeed, when you do it, not respecting your own profit in it, but only the good of others. Therefore let the physician, or surgeon, and such as attend upon the sick, or are any ways employed about him, take nothing for their pains upon the Sabbath; but let them do it freely, that it may be *a gift*, and not accounted as a work of their calling, but a *deed of love* (2 Cor. 9:5); and the apothecary though he receive money for his stuff, yet let his labor be free. The like must be understood of all other works of necessity.<sup>493</sup> And therefore if the lawyer, counselor, or sergeant will needs travail then about his client's cause; let him do it only *for God's sake*, and not be occupied about it, as a worldly thing, and a *matter of gain*; for that is proper to the six days, in which God would have them *in the sweat of their face to eat their bread* (Gen. 3:19). |246|

246

## 2. OBJECTION

But if they say, it may be the men, with and for whom we deal, stand in no such need of our liberality; nay they would think scorn of it; and they may better give us a pound, than we them a penny—**ANSWER.** Then yet at leastwise dedicate it to the poor, and taking it with the one hand, give it with the other;<sup>494</sup> that you may have *{the testimony of a good conscience, the Spirit of God bearing you witness}*<sup>495</sup> {Rom. 9:1}, that your work was only *for the Lord*, as this day is appointed out wholly for His service; and that no private commodity of your own moved you unto it, for the Lord has given you the six days to make provision for yourself. For otherwise we shall make no difference between the six days and the seventh; the works of the one and of the other; if we shall in all of them alike be conversant in the same things, with the same mind, and for the same end and purpose.

493. [See previous note 486. Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 9v–10r (transcription, 159–160).]

494. [See note 486. MS letter to Bownd, 9v–10r (159–160).]

495. [No italics (a common fault in the 1595). Not every instance of these kinds of variances in the two editions is noted.]



Therefore that I might end this matter, we do see that, excepting these *cases of necessity*, in which the Lord would have us thus cheerfully to be occupied, as about the works of mercy, and His service only, from whence no gain is to be looked for (though *godliness indeed be great gain, and he that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and look what he layeth out, it shall be repaid him.* 1 Tim. 6:6; Prov. 19:17), we are bound most straitly [*strictly*] in this commandment to rest. And that the Lord looks for a rare and singular kind of rest,<sup>496</sup> even such a one as we have heard of out of His Word; and that He will not dispense with us in any wise (but as it has been shown), and therefore that we ought to have a principal respect and regard unto it, as to the thing that most nearly concerns us. And in this one point, though I am not ignorant that I have a great cloud of adversaries against me, who are otherwise minded and cannot be thus persuaded (as indeed many things in this commandment are greatly controverted, yea among the learned, as in any one that I know), yet I desire them in the fear of God, that as they will observe the rule of the apostle, who would have *us swift to hear, slow to speak, and slow to wrath* (James 1:19); they would indifferently, and (as it were) in an even balance, weigh such things as have  
 247 been [247] already alleged for the proof or it, before they begin to give out their censures against it.

---

### 13. CHRISTIANS AS STRICTLY BOUND BY THIS LAW AS WERE JEWS

---

{WE IN THIS AND IN ALL OTHER OF THE MORAL COMMANDMENTS ARE AS STRAITLY BOUND AS THE JEWS WERE}

{ And methinks there is great reason why we Christians should take ourselves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lord's Day, as the Jews were upon their Sabbath.

1. For seeing it is one of the moral commandments, it binds us as well as them; for they are all of equal authority, and bind all men alike. Therefore when as in the other nine commandments we do truly judge ourselves to be as much restrained from anything in them forbidden, and as precisely bound to do anything in them commanded, as ever the Jews were, and in all those we put no difference between ourselves and them—as in keeping ourselves from images, from blasphemy, from murder, theft, adultery, and such like—why should we then imagine that in this one the Lord has

496. ["§3. The Sabbath daies rest, al precise" (marginal heading). "Furthermore it is necessarie t'everlasting Salvation that everie man do knowe rightlie the manner howe to sanctifie or keepe holie the Sab. daie. Nowe wee beleeve that the rest upon this daie must be 'a rare and singular kinde of rest'.." (book one, page 124, 1595 ed.). See page 9, note 7. Rogers, MS letter to Bownd, 8r (tran., 156–157). "9. The Queen bindeth us by her days but she bindeth us not, our dominicans do bind and fetter us." Also #10, 1599 MS sermon, See Introduction, lxii; and *Holy Time*, 87.]



unto whom (even so many as fear God), let me say, as they did at the council of Paris: *Salubriter admonemus*:

We do admonish all the faithful for the salvation and good of their souls, that they would give due honor and reverence unto the Lord's Day; because the dishonor of it is both contrary unto Christian religion, and does without all doubt bring destruction to the souls of all that continue it.<sup>264</sup>

And there is great reason of it. For seeing that day is appointed |478| for all 478 the parts of God's worship, "He that despises the Sabbath, makes no great account of the true religion," as Master Bullinger very wisely notes.<sup>265</sup> And therefore the Sabbath is many times put for the practice of all religion; and the prophets, when they complain of the decay of all religion, say "that the Sabbaths are polluted," as he also observes in the same place. According to which rule, if we will judge of the religion of men, we shall find that amongst a great many it is very little, or none at all, because they have not that due care of the Sabbath that they should. And thus says Master Calvin,

... that the prophet Jeremiah, in many places, rebuking the Jews for breaking of the Sabbath, speaks unto them as if they had in general broken the whole law, and not without cause. For he which sets at naught the Sabbath day, has cast under foot all God's service, as much as is in him. And if the Sabbath day be not observed, all the rest shall be worth nothing.<sup>266</sup>

---

Urbicus, speaking after this manner, as if there were one Lord of the Sabbath, and another of the Lords day? (Ep. 86) if he had not esteemed Him for the author of the Lord's day, who was author of the Sabbath; the contrary whereof, he thought Urbicus judged, Augustine would never have blamed him for that: which yet the premises do testify he did, And he that shall look over that Epistle, shall see that he in round words doth acknowledge, that there is one Lord of the Sabbath and Lords day." Thomas Young, *Dies Dominica* (1639); English trans. *The Lord's Day* (1672) 170–171.]

264. Council, Paris. lib. 3. cap. 5. [Paris VI (829). Cf. Mansi, vol. 14, col. 597.]

265. Bullinger, Jeremiah, concis. 65. ["Qui enim aspernatur sabbatum, non magni pendit religionem veram." Cf. On Jeremiah 17, Concio LXV, in *Jeremias fidelissimus et laboriosissimus dei propheta* (Tiguri: apud Christophorum Froschouerum, 1575) 121r.]

266. Calvin, Deut. 5, Sermon 34. ["And for this cause the prophet Ezech. reproves the Jews that they kept not the Sabbath. For this is said unto them as if they had in general broken the whole law, and not without cause. For he which sets at naught the Sabbath day, has cast under foot all the service of God as much as in him is. And if the Sabbath day be not observed, all the rest shall be worth nothing, as is spoken by the prophet Isaiah...." *Ten Commandments*, 31v–32r. Bownd has written Jeremiah for Ezekiel, and the first part of the quotation is a paraphrase/summary or perhaps he had in mind a subsequent passage of the sermon, "And therefore we may conclude, that they pervert all the service of God, according to that we have already alleged out of Ezekiel: and as it is also spoken hereof in Jeremy" (33r). Cf. *Sermons on Deuteronomie*, 201, 202.]

Now besides, seeing the end of all is that the fruit of God's worship might appear in our godly conversation to the glory of His name, and our eternal salvation, even as it was ordained of God at the first to keep Adam in his integrity; if we by the grace of God escape all these horrible profanations of this day, and have attained unto some tolerable care of keeping holy the day; then let us see what we are bettered thereby, and what is the fruit of our profession therein. For then may we have comfort that we use it aright, when there proceeds that good of it thereby for which God ordained it, and which we see it brings forth in many others.

And therefore I may say with Master Bucer, if we do truly and religiously serve God upon the Lord's Day above all others, "*Declarent hoc mores*: Let our manners show it; let the holiness of our life testify it; let our works prove it. For who will believe that he has been present at the assemblies of the church, and has heard the Word of God, with a sincere heart, and a true faith; who bestows the rest not only of that day," as he says, "but of his life, not only more vainly, but more wickedly?"<sup>267</sup>

479 Let us therefore in the fear of God, and as we have a care of our [479] own souls, repent us earnestly of that, that is past; and pray unto Him that in all time to come, we might make more conscience of observing the Lord's Day in all the parts of His worship publicly and privately. And that we may bring forth the fruit of them all more plentifully, all the days both of the week following, and of our whole life; to the glory and praise of His holy name, the unspeakable comfort and endless salvation of our own souls, the good example of His Church, the stopping of the mouths of the wicked, and the leaving of them without excuse. And that in and by our only Lord, Redeemer, and Mediator, Jesus Christ, through the operation of His Holy Spirit; to which blessed Trinity in unity, for His {first} grace upon me in finishing this work, {and for this latter in perusing and enlarging it,} and for all other [of] His mercies, be ascribed as most due, all honor, glory, and praise, both now and evermore, Amen.

{πάντοτε δόξα Θεῷ}

FINIS.

267. Bucer in Mat. 12:11. [Cf. Bucer, *In sacra quatuor evangelia emarrationes perpetuae secundum et postremum* (Geneva: 1553), 113r.]

*BIBLIOGRAPHY*  
& *INDICES*



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Abbreviations

ANF. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Arthur Cleveland Coxe. 10 volumes. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1885.

Calvin's *Commentaries*, 45 volumes. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1844–1856; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983.

CCSL. *Corpus Christianorum: series Latina*. Turnholti [Belgium]: Typographi Brepols, 1954.

CO. *Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia*, 59 volumes, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, volumes 29–87.

CR. *Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. G. Baum, Ed Cunitz, Eduard Reuss, and Alfred Erichson. 87 volumes. Brunsvigae: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834–1900.

NPNF1. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. First Series*. Edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886–1890.

NPNF2. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1890–1900.

PG. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*. Edited by J. P. Migne. Petit-Montrouge: Apud J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866.

PL. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*. Edited by J. P. Migne. J.-P. Migne, 1844–1855.

†Previously cited in *The doctrine of the sabbath, plainly layde forth* (1595). Bownd had a working library, but there is no record what he may have owned. See Analysis, xcvi.

‡Works which appear on the 1599 Inventory for the Parish Library of St. James, Bury St. Edmunds (Craig). The library did not take form until late August, after Bownd was finished with his first edition by late June of 1595. See Craig below.

§Works which may have been found in the Perne collection at Peterhouse circa 1594–1606 (Perne). Bownd could have found most of his sources here and could have had access when the collection was opened as he was awarded his D.D. in 1594. See Leedham-Green below.

\*Works listed in the 1583 inventory for Cambridge University Library (CUL1583). See Leedham-Green and McKitterick below.

¶Works listed in the 1586 Inventory for Thomas Bound (TBound). Nicholas' younger brother died in 1586. See Leedham-Green below.

•Works listed in the library of Emmanuel College inventory (Emmanuel). Most titles possibly held by the Emmanuel College Library could be found in the Perne collection or the CUL. Unless otherwise noted, titles were present sometime between 1584 and 1597. See Bush, Jr. below.

### Editorial References in *Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*.

Allen, Edward Martin. "Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism." Ph.D Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 2008.

Ambrose. Archbishop of Milan. *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*. Translated by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2005.

———. *De fuga saeculi* (*Flight From the World*), PL 14.

———. *Funeral Orations*, The Fathers of the Church, volume 22. The Catholic University of America Press, 1953; repr. 2004.

- Andrewes, Lancelot. *The Morall Law Expounded*, 1. Largely, 2. Learnedly, 3. Orthodoxly. London: Michael Sparke, et al, 1642.
- . *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and other minor works*. Oxford: John Henry Parker, [1854].
- Aquinas, Thomas. *Commentary on the Four Gospels Collected out of the Works of the Fathers*. Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1874.
- Arber, Edward (ed.). *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.* London/Birmingham: Privately Printed, 1875–77, 1894.
- Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. *S. Augustines Manuell, or, Little booke of the contemplation of Christi*. 1575.
- . *Meditationes, Soliloquia, et Manuale*. Lugduni, 1587; Coloniae Agripinae: Sumptibus Arnoldi Mylij, 1604.
- . *Certaine select prayers, gathered out of S. Augustines meditations, which he calleth his priuate talke with God. Also his Manuell, or booke of the contemplation of Christi*. 1577.
- . *A Right Christian Treatise, entituled S. Augustines Praiers*. Edited and translated by Thomas Rogers. 1581.
- . *Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*, The Fathers of the Church, volume 38. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1959.
- Austin, Kenneth. *From Judaism to Calvinism: the life and writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub, 2007.
- Bayly, Lewis. *The Practice of Piety*. 1612?; 1719.
- Bede the Venerable. *Homilia VIII on John 15*. In *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede*, volume 5, edited by J. A. Giles. London: Whittaker & Co., 1843.
- . *In Lucæ evangelium expositio*. Works 10; CCSL 120; PL 92.
- . *In Marci evangelium expositio*. Works 10; CCSL 120; PL 92.
- Beza, Theodore. *Sermons upon the Three Chapters of the Canticle of Canticles*. 1587.
- †Bownd, Nicholas. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath, Plainely Laid Forth*. London: Printed for the Widdow Orwin, for John Porter and Thomas Mann, 1595.
- . *Sabbathum Veteris Et Novi Testamenti: or The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*. London: Felix Kyngston, for Thomas Man and John Porter, 1606.
- Bradford, John. *Godly Meditations vpon the Lords Prayer, the Beleefe, and Ten Commandements*. 1597. Cf. *The Writings of John Bradford*. Edited by Aubrey Townsend. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1848.
- Brook, Benjamin. *Lives of the Puritans*. 3 vols. Soli Deo Gloria. 1994.
- Bush, Sargent Jr. and Carl J. Rasmussen. *The Library of Emmanuel College Cambridge 1584–1637*. Cambridge UP, 1986; 2005.
- Cicero. Roman statesman (106–43 BC). *De Natura Ceorum Academica with an English Translation by H. Rackham*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967.
- Collinson, Patrick, John Craig, and Brett Usher. *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church, 1582–1590*. Church of England Record Society, volume 10. Woodbridge, U.K.: The Boydell Press, 2003.

- Collinson, Patrick. "The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism." In *Studies in Church History: Papers Read at the first winter and summer meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Edited by C. W. Dugmore and Charles Duggan. Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964.
- . *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1967.
- . *Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*. London, 1983.
- Craig, John. *Reformation, Politics and Polemics, The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns 1500–1610*. Ashgate, 2001.
- “Donors to the Parish Library of St James, Bury St Edmunds, 1595–99.” In Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics*, Appendix 5, [213]–219.
- ‡“The Parish Library of St. James, Bury St. Edmunds, as it was in 1599: A Transcription of the Inventory and Identification of the Books.” In Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics*, Appendix 5, [204]–212.
- . “‘The Cambridge Boies’: Thomas Rogers and the ‘Brethren’ in Bury St. Edmunds.” In *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from His Students*. Edited by Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger. Aldershot, 1998.
- Davis, C. H. *The English Church Canons of 1604: With Historical Introduction and Notes*. London: H. Sweet, 1869.
- Dennison, James T. *The Market Day of the Soul: The Puritan Doctrine of the Sabbath in England, 1532–1700*. University Press of America, 1983; new ed. Soli Deo Gloria Publications, 2001; repr. Reformation Heritage Books, 2008.
- Dyer, George. *The Statutes of Queen Elizabeth for the University of Cambridge (12th Elizabeth, A. D. 1570)*. London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1838.
- Gilfillan, James. *The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History*. Edinburgh: Elliot and Maclaren, 1861.
- Greenham, Richard. “Grave Counsels.” In *Works*. 1599.
- . “A Treatise on the Sabbath.” In *Works*. 1599.
- . “Authur [sic] Hildersham’s Commonplace Book of the Sayings of Richard Greenham 1581–1584.” In *Practical Divinity: The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham*. Edited by Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson. Ashgate: 1998.
- Heylyn, Peter. “The History of the Sabbath.” In *The Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts of Peter Heylyn*. 1636.
- Jurgens, W. A. *The Faith of the Early Fathers: St. Augustine to the end of the patristic age*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1970.
- Knewstubb, John. *Lectures upon the twentieth chapter of Exodus*. 1577.
- Leedham-Green, Elisabeth. *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor’s Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986.
- . §“Andrew Perne.” In *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 1.419–479.
- . “MS 405” [Library title list circa before 1610]. In *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 1.604–641.
- . ¶“Thomas Bownd.” In *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 1.363–364.

- \*Ledham-Green, Elisabeth and David McKitterick. "A Catalogue of Cambridge University Library in 1583." In *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*. Edited by James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite. The British Library, 1997.
- Mai, Angelo. *Novæ Patrum bibliothecæ, Tomus Primus continens Sancti Augustini novos ex codicibus Vaticanis Sermones*. Rome, 1852.
- Nelson, Alan H. *Early Cambridge Theatres: College, University and Town Stages, 1464–1720*. Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Parker, Kenneth. *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War*. Cambridge UP, 1988.
- Primus, John H. *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1989.
- . *Richard Greenham: The Portrait of an Elizabethan Pastor*. Mercer UP, 1998.
- Rogers, Richard. *A Garden of Spiritual Flowers*. 1609; 1630.
- Rogers, Thomas. "Copy of Thomas Roger's refutation, April 29, 1598, of Nicholas Bownd's Doctrine of the Sabbath, 1595 1607?" Folger Shakespeare Library. X.d.547. Cf. Transcript in "Thomas Rogers' Letter to Nicholas Bownd, April 29, 1598," *The Confessional Presbyterian*, 10 (2014), 152–167.
- . *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*. Edited by J. J. S. Perowne. Parker Society. Cambridge, 1854.
- . "Master Rogers' sermon preached at Bury the 10 Dec. 1599," Townsend Papers, vol. 1, MS 38492, fol. 104, The British Library, London.
- . *Miles Christianus or A iust apologie....* 1590.
- Searle, William George. *The History of the Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard in the University of Cambridge Part II. 1560–1662*. Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 1871.
- Servius, Maurus Honoratus, and Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen. *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1881–1902.
- Smith, Henry. *The Sermons of Mr. Henry Smith*. 1866.
- . *Sixte sermons*. 1592
- Tanner, J. R., ed. *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, being a supplement to the Calendar with a record of University offices, honours and distinctions to the year 1910*. 1917.
- Towers, Suellen Mutchow. *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England*. Studies in Modern British Religious History. Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2003.
- Young, Thomas. Scottish Presbyterian minister and theologian (c.1587–1655). *Dies Dominica*. 1639. English: *The Lord's Day*. 1672.

**Works Cited in *Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*.** Editions are not necessarily those Nicholas Bownd may have consulted. The symbols denote editions possibly available to the author (see above).

[§\*‡•] Ambrose. Archbishop of Milan (c.340–397). §*Opera*. N.d. Perne (1108P). \**Opera*. Basel, 1567. CUL1583 (187–188). ‡*Opera*. Basel, 1567. St. James Library (donated



- by Henry Hammond, Nov. 2, 1595; Craig, 206, 215). •*Opera*, 1567. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 155).
- . [§\*] *In Psalmum CXVIII [119] Expositio*. PL 15. English: *Homilies of Saint Ambrose on Psalm 118 [119]*. Translated by Íde M. Ní Riain. Halcyon Press, Dublin, 1998.
- [§\*†] Apostolic Constitutions. *De Constitutionibus Apostolicis*. Venice, 1563; ANF, vol. 7. §*Decreta Apostolorum grece* 4° (?). Perne (1598). •*Apostolic Canons*. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 147).
- [§\*‡•†] Aquinas, Thomas. Medieval philosopher and theologian (1224–1274). *Summa Theologica*. Cf. *Summa Theologica*. Rome: 1888. Online: <http://www.corpusthomiasticum.org/iopera.html>. §*Summa*. N.d. Perne (287P, 291P). \**Summa* (in MS). CUL1583 (205). ‡*Summa*. Venice, 1585. St. James Library (Craig, 207). ¶*Summa Thomae Aquinatis 2. volumnibus*. N.d. TBound. •*Summa*, 1597. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 205).
- [§\*‡•] Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (c.296/298–373). *Opera*. Heidelbergæ: ex officina Commeliniana, 1600; Gesuiti: Collegio Romano, 1601. §*Opera*. N.d. Perne (1129P). \**Opera*. Paris, 1572. CUL1583 (187). ‡*Opera*. Paris: 1581. St. James Library (donated by John Bye with Alexander Gooche, Nov. 23, 1595). •*Opera*, 1564. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 148).
- . [§\*‡•] *De Decretis, or Defence of the Nicene Definition*. NPNF2, volume 4.
- . [§\*‡•] (Dubia). *In Homiliam de Semente Admonitio*. PG 28.
- . [§\*‡•] (Dubia). *De Sabbatis et Circumcisione*. PG 28.
- [§\*‡•] Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. (354–430). *Opera*. Froben, 1556; 1569. Plantinus, 1576. §*Opera*. N.d. Perne (1079, 1137, 1142). \**Opera*. Paris, 1571. CUL1583 (185–186). ‡*Opera*. Basel, 1569. St. James Library (donated by Leonard Tillot, Nov. 3, 1595, Craig, [204], 217). •*Opera*, 1569; *In Psalmorum*, 1497. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 155–156; *Opera* is conjecture; both titles are now missing).
- . [§\*‡•†] *Ad Casulano*. Epistola. XXXVI (alias 86). PL 33; NPNF1, vol. 1; *The works of Saint Augustine: a translation for the 21st century*, volume 11, *Letters 1–99*, vol. 1. Translation and notes by Roland J. Teske. Hyde Park: New City Press, 2001.
- . [§\*‡•†] *Ad Inquisitiones Januarii, Liber Secundus, seu*. Epistola LV. PL 33. NPNF1, vol. 1.
- . [§\*‡•†] *Confessions*. NPNF1, vol. 1.
- . [§\*‡•] *Contra Adimantum Manichæi*. PL 42.
- . [§\*‡•] *Contra Faustum Manichæum*. PL 42.
- . [§\*‡•] *De Civitate Dei*. Migne, PL 41. NPNF1, vol. 2.
- . [§\*‡•†] *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. PL 36–37. NPNF1, vol. 8.
- . [§\*‡•] *De Genesi ad litteram, imperfectus liber*. PL 34.
- . [§\*‡•] *On Genesis: Two Books on Genesis against the Manichees and on the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: An Unfinished Book*. Translated by Roland J. Teske. The Fathers of the Church, v. 84. The Catholic University of America Press, 1991.
- . [§\*‡•] (Pseudo). *Hypomnesticon, seu libri vulgo Hypognosticon*. PL 45.
- . [§\*‡•] *Lectures on John*. NPNF1, vol. 7.

- . [§\*‡•] *Locutiones in Heptateuchum*. In *Opera*. Froben, 1556; 1569. Plantinus, 1576.
- . [§\*‡•] *Questiōum in Pentateuchem*. PL 34.
- . [§\*‡•†] *Sermons de verbis Apostoli*. PL 38.
- . [§\*‡•] (Spurious). *Sermones de Tempore*. PL 39.
- Bartholomaeus de Saligniaco (Barthélemy de Salignac, 1554–1612). *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae et Regionum Finitimarum*. Magdeburgi, 1587.
- [§\*‡•] Basil of Caesarea. §*Opera*. N.d. Perne (III4P, III5P). \**Opera*. N.d. CUL1583 (188). ‡*Opera*. Basel, 1565. St. James Library (Craig, [205]). •*Opera*, Greek, 1532; Latin, 1540. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 148).
- . [§\*‡•] *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*. PG 30. English: *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, translated by Nikolai A. Lipatov. Texts and studies in the history of theology, volume 7. Mandelbachtal; Cambridge: Edition cicero, 2004.
- . [§\*‡•] *Homilia in Psalmum Primum*. PG 29.
- Beard, Thomas. Puritan theologian (d. 1632). *The Theatre of Gods Judgements: or, A collection of histories out of sacred, ecclesiasticall, and prophane authours, concerning the admirable iudgements of God vpon the transgressours of his commandements*. 1597; repr. 1648.
- [§\*•†] Bede the Venerable. English historian and theologian. (672/73–735). *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede*. Edited by J. A. Giles. London: Whittaker & Co., 1843–1844. §*Opera*, 4 vols. N.d. Perne (II32P). \**Opera*, 8 vols. Basel, 1563. CUL1583 (191). •*Opera*. Emmanuel (Bush, Jr., 205; 1597, added as late as 1621).
- . [§\*•] *Expositio Actuum apostolorum*. Works 13. CCSL 121. PL 92.
- . [§\*•] *In Lucæ evangelium expositio*. Works 10. CCSL 120. PL 92.
- . [§\*•†] *In Marci evangelium expositio*. Works 10. CCSL 120. PL 92.
- . [§\*•†] *In primam partem Samuhelis*. Works 8. CCSL 119. PL 91.
- [§] Béroald [Brouard], Matthieu. Professor of Philosophy at Geneva (d. 1576). *Chronicum, Scripturæ sacrae auctoritate constitutum*. Geneva: Anton Chuppinum, 1575. §Perne (438P, bound with Beza, *Lex moralis*; 2218P, bound with *Promptuarium virtutum et vitiorum*).
- . *Chronologia hoc est Supputatio temporum ab initio mundi ex eclipsibus & obseruationibus astronomicis & sacrae scripturae firmissimis testimonijs, demonstrate*. Basileæ: Thomam Guarinum, 1577.
- [§] Bertram, Cornelius Bonaventura. Professor of Hebrew at Geneva and Lausanne (1531–1594). *De Politia Iudaica*. Geneva: 1574; 1580. §Perne (2073; 2074).
- [§†] Beza, Theodore. French Protestant theologian and Reformer (1519–1605). *In Canticum canticorum Solomonis homiliae Theodori Bezae*. Geneva: Jean Le Preux, 1587. §*In Cantica*. N.d. Perne (440).
- . [§\*] *Jesu Christi, D. N. Novum Testamentum, Gr. et Lat. Theodoro Beza interprete*, 3rd ed. Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1580. §Perne (cmp. 2497; 2504, 2505). \**Novum testamentum græce. Latin*. N.d. CUL1583 (167).
- . *Jobus Theodori Bezae partim commentariis partim paraphrasi illustrates*. Genève: Jean Le Preux, 1589. English: *Job expounded by Theodore Beza: partly in*

- Men's hearts are hardened because they see not the misery of others 416-418
- Worship, Private**
- Meditation. *See* Meditation
- Preparation for public worship 364-368
- Great cause to pray before we come to the Ministry of the Word to have our understanding enlightened, affections reformed, memories confirmed, lives framed to the obedience of it* 367-368
- Scripture to be read privately at home* 368-370
- Want thereof the cause many do not profit from the Word* 365-366
- We ought to prepare ourselves before we come to the church* 364, 366
- Singing of Psalms 396-408
- Commendation of by Basil, Augustine and Tremellius* 403-406
- Estate and condition most fit for singing of Psalms* 397-398
- Good, pleasant and comely* 406-408
- Most fit for the Sabbath day* 399-400
- Ought to be in the church, and in men's houses* 396
- Practice greatly decayed and why* 400-403
- Testifies and increases spiritual joy* 400
- The end of all our mirth* 398-399
- To this end there is such variety of Psalms agreeing with all times and estates of men* 396-397
- Worship, Public**
- God would have us to serve Him publicly in the church 326-327
- Ministers in many places are the cause why the people do not profit from the worship service 348-349
- Must be present for the whole service and not be content with but a piece of it 324-326
- Ordinances of 312-338
- Prayer* 335-336
- Preaching* 313-324
- Commendation of* 327-328
- Ministers that cannot, or will not preach, are special causes of unhal-  
lowing this day 323-324
- Ought to be on Lord's days 313-318
- People ought not carelessly tarry at home 321-322
- People ought to resort to those places where the Word is preached 318-321
- Where the Word is not preached, or men come not to it: this day cannot be hallowed as it ought 322-323
- Reading of the Word* 328-332
- Scraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper* 104, 332-335
- Singing of Psalms.* *See* Worship, Private
- Poor, collections for 349-355
- Not to be taken during services* 353-355
- Practice of the ancient churches upon the Lord's Day 338-341
- Repent for unprofitable coming to the church 346-347
- Sin to neglect the church on the Lord's Day 336-337
- Our great need of God's public service, which we neglect at great peril* 337-338
- Must be from the heart to further our sal-  
vation; the end of God's worship 341-346

## COMMENDATIONS

“After four centuries of rest, Nicholas Bownd’s famous book on the Sabbath has re-Bownded. Attractively printed, this work is a critical edition of the 1595 version and the expanded 1606 edition. Coldwell has painstakingly collated and meticulously annotated the two so as to allow Bownd’s classic Puritan doctrine of the Lord’s Day Sabbath to be published afresh. Lovers of the Scriptures as interpreted by the Westminster Standards will rejoice. May all glory redound to the Eschatological Lord of Sabbath rest, as it did four centuries ago.”

James T. Dennison, Jr., author of *The Market Day of the Soul: The Puritan Doctrine of the Sabbath in England, 1532-1700*; and Academic Dean and Professor of Church History and Biblical Theology, Northwest Theological Seminary, Lynnwood, Washington.

“Those with an interest in developments leading up to the formulation of the Sabbath doctrine taught in the Westminster standards will benefit from this careful documentation and analysis of the views of Nicholas Bownd.”

Richard B. Gaffin, Jr., author of *Calvin and the Sabbath*; Professor of Biblical and Systematic Theology, Emeritus, Westminster Theological Seminary.

“Nicholas Bownd’s work, *The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*, occupies a hugely significant place among Puritan works on polemical and practical divinity. For its scope, detail, and erudition, this work on the Sabbath is unparalleled in the Puritan tradition—indeed, perhaps even in the Christian tradition. Particularly illuminating are Bownd’s “spiritual exercises,” which clearly had an influence upon the later Puritan attitudes regarding the practical implications of Sabbath-keeping and worship. As an added bonus to the content of this book, the editorial work on this book is first-class, and makes for far more enjoyable and easier reading than a simple re-print.”

Mark Jones, co-author of *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life*, and Minister at Faith Vancouver Presbyterian Church (PCA).

“It is astonishing that the Puritan Nicholas Bownd’s famous work on the Sabbath, which greatly influenced later Puritanism and the Westminster Assembly, and by extension, Western Christendom for centuries, has not been printed in a critical edition with modern typeface long ago. Not reprinted since 1606, this classic work emphasizes the fourth commandment’s morally binding character, the divine institution of the entire Sabbath as the Lord’s Day set apart to worship God, and the cessation of non-religious activities that distract from worship and acts of mercy. I am so grateful that it is back in print, and pray that it will do much good to restore the value and enhance the joy of the Lord’s Day for many believers around the world.”

Joel R. Beeke, co-author of *Meet the Puritans and A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life*, and president of Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan.