

BOOK V. Appendix II. [3.]
 moderation was used. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin: in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed. 1. That whereas T. C. and others his great masters had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God¹, he contrariwise to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage². 2. Which conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and descried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause³, acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4. contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

[3.] A further degree of outrage was in fact. Certain prophets⁴ did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that undone which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline⁵, should

Dang. Pos. b. iii. c. 1, for an account of the establishment of the first English presbytery at Wandsworth, Nov. 20, 1572. The following chapters to the 15th relate similar proceedings down to 1592.]

¹ [Especially Travers, in the conclusion of his book, "De Discipl. Eccles.,"]

² [In the MS. "Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England," quoted E. P. V. c. ii. § 2. note 1 on page 21, is the following: "It is time there were an ende or surseance made of this unmodest and deformed manner of writing lately intertained: where-

"by matters of religion are handled in the stile of the stage." Comp. Bp. Cooper, Adm. 96. "Histrionical mocks and scoffs, too immodest for any vice in a play." ("Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity, | I moralize two meanings in one word."—Richard III. 3. 1. 82.)]

³ [Banc. Dang. Pos. iv. 12. "I have heard reported, that upon the coming forth of Martin's Epistle, M. Cartwright should say, 'Seeing the bishops would take no warning, it is no matter that they are thus handled.'"]

⁴ [Hacket and Coppinger, Feb. 1591.]

⁵ [Namely, Cartwright, and eight

be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means: and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a pease-cart¹, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter, "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of these men² it is meet to speak with all commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now, if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. *Whose associates were they before their entering into this frantic passion? whose sermons³*

others, whose names may be seen in Strype, An. iv. 103; or in Neal, Hist. of the Puritans, i. 524. They were imprisoned Sept. 1590, chiefly for continuing to practise their discipline.

¹ [Cosins' "Conspiracy for pretended Reformation," p. 56. "After they both had thus come, (with mighty concourse of the common multitude, as to such a novelty of hearing two new prophets in these days arisen was likely,) with an uniform cry into Cheapside near unto the Cross, and there finding the throng and press of people to increase about them . . . they got them up into an empty cart which stood there, and out of that choice pulpit (for such a purpose) made their lewd and traitorous preaching unto the people: wherein . . . (so near as I could learn from so common an auditory, and in so confused an action) they reading something out of a paper, went more particularly over the office and calling of Hacket: how he represented Christ, by partaking a

"part of his glorified body: by his principal Spirit, and by his office of severing the good from the bad with his fan in his hand . . . and of bringing in that Discipline which they so often babble of," &c.]

² [Viz. Arthington and Coppinger, who were evidently simple persons.]

³ [Cosin, Consp. p. 2. "These two having itching ears . . . made choice to hear and follow such preachers as were thought fittest to feed their humours: which preachers with their sad looks, frequent sighs abroad, long and vehement conceived prayers, bitter and plain invectives in private, and privy (*sic*) depraving in public, of the laws and polity ecclesiastical, . . . may seem so to have inflamed these two persons, as that they thought this Discipline a worthy subject whereupon they should spend most of their actions and cogitations." In p. 3, he quotes a letter from Hacket to Wigginton, who, as it seems, had been instrumental in converting

BOOK V. *did they frequent? whom did they admire?* 2. Even when they were entering into it, *Whose advice did they require?*¹ and when they were in, *whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayers did they request?* But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they rather content to stand aloof and see the end of it, and loath to quench the Spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book².

[4.] A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built³. Here come the

him; in which he expresses his desire "to communicate his spirit at "large" to Wigginton; and adds, "Make my sound heart known to "Master Cartwright, Master Snape, "Master Udall, Master Lord, &c." 3 March, 1590-1.]

¹ [Cosin, Consp. p. 10. "Coppinger . . . had signified to two of "his familiar acquaintance (whom "he had requested to fast and pray "with him for success in obtaining "a widow) that 'God had shewed "him great favour, by revealing "such a secret mystery unto him "as was wonderful, . . . viz. that he "knew a way how to bring the "Queen to repentance, to cause all "her council and nobles to do the "like out of hand, or else detect "them to be traitors that refused." p. 9. "William Hacket came to "London, Wigginton introduced "Coppinger to him, as being a "man who had a message to say "to his sovereign, concerning some "practice intended against her; "from dealing wherein, the preach- "ers in London had wonderfully "discouraged him." p. 11. "The "manner and other circumstances "of the first revealing of this pre- "tended mystery, Coppinger him- "self declareth in a letter written "the 4th of February last, unto "T. C. in prison." The substance of the letter is such as to make it

strange that Cartwright should not at once have declined receiving communications from such a person. Cosin adds, p. 15. "For resolution also herein, by the help of his "diligent fellow-labourer John ap "Henry *alias* a Penry, he solicited "the reformed preachers of some "foreign parts." And p. 20. "Ar- "thington at one of his examina- "tions confessed that Penry sent a "letter unto him forth of Scotland, "wherein he signified that reforma- "tion must shortly be erected in "England . . . Now it is sure that "Penry conveyed himself privily in- "to England, and was lurking about "London at the selfsame time when "these other prophets arose in "Cheapside." See also Ded. to Whitg. p. 5. note 1. But Cartwright in his Answer to Sutcliffe, 1596, affirms that he refused to receive the letter, or to see Coppinger: and that he discouraged his proceedings in every possible way. Personally indeed he seems to be exculpated. But the argument from the tendency of his doctrine may appear to some all the stronger.]

² [Dangerous Positions, b. iv. c. 5-14.]

³ [Bp. Cooper's Admon. to the People of England, 1589. p. 29. "If the state of the clergy shall "be made contemptible, and the "best reward of learning a mere

Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors the reformers were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists hath [have?] taken possession of them. For if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false. For upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand. 1. *That because we have no church¹, they are to sever themselves from us².* 2. *That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own³.* And if the former of these be true,

"pension, he (Satan) foreseeeth that
"neither young flourishing wits
"will easily incline themselves to
"godly learning, neither will their
"parents and friends suffer them to
"make that the end of their travail.
"To bring this to pass, he worketh
"his devices by sundry kinds of
"men. 1. By such as be papists
"in heart, but yet can clap their
"hands and set forward this pur-
"pose, because they see it the
"next way either to overthrow the
"course of the gospel, or by great
"and needless alteration to hazard
"and endanger the state of the com-
"monwealth. Of the second sort
"are certain worldly and godless
"epicures, which can pretend reli-
"gion, and yet pass not which end
"thereof go forward, so they may
"be partakers of that spoil which
"in this alteration is hoped for.
"The third sort, in some respect
"the best, but of all other most
"dangerous, because they give op-
"portunity and countenance to the
"residue, and make their endea-
"vours seem zealous and godly.
"These be such which in doctrine
"agree with the present state, and
"shew themselves to have a desire
"of perfection in all things, and
"in some respect, indeed, have no
"evil meaning, but through inordi-
"nate zeal are so carried, that they
"see not how great dangers by such
"devices they draw into the church
"and state of this realm."]

¹ [Brownists' "True Confession," 1596. art. 31. "That these ecclesi-
"astical assemblies, remaining in
"confusion and bondage under this

"antichristian ministry, courts, ca-
"nons, worship, ordinances, &c.
"without freedom or power to re-
"dress any enormity, have not in
"this confusion and subjection
"Christ their Prophet, Priest and
"King; neither can be in this es-
"tate (whilst we judge them by the
"rules of God's word) esteemed the
"true, orderly gathered, or consti-
"tuted churches of Christ, whereof
"the faithful ought to become or
"stand members, or to have any
"spiritual communion with them
"in their public worship and ad-
"ministration."]

² [Ibid. art. 32. "That by God's
"commandment all that will be
"saved must with speed come forth
"of this antichristian estate, leaving
"the suppression of it to the magis-
"trate to whom it belongeth. And
"that both all such as have received
"or exercised any of these false
"offices or any pretended function
"or ministry in or to this false and
"antichristian constitution, are will-
"ingly in God's fear to give over
"and leave those unlawful offices;
"and that none also, of what sort
"or condition soever, do give any
"part of their goods, lands, money,
"or moneyworth to the maintenance
"of this false ministry and worship,
"upon any commandment or under
"any colour whatsoever."]

³ [Ibid. art. 33. "That being
"come forth out of this anti-chris-
"tian estate unto the freedom and
"true profession of Christ, besides
"the instructing and well guiding of
"their own families, they are will-
"ingly to join together in Christian

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"communion and orderly covenant, and by confession of faith and obedience of Christ to unite themselves into peculiar congregations; wherein, as members of one body whereof Christ is the only head, they are to worship and serve God according to His word, remembering to keep holy the Lord's day." And art. 42. "That if God withhold the magistrates' allowance and furtherance herein, they yet proceed together in Christian covenant and communion thus to walk in the obedience of Christ, even through the midst of all trials and afflictions," &c.]

¹ [T. C. ii. Reply, p. 1. "We offer to shew the Discipline to be

"a part of the Gospel, and so to have a common cause." Comp. E. P. III. ii.]

² [The Brownists themselves took this view so strongly as to call the Puritan preachers mere hypocrites for shrinking from it. "As for the priests and preachers of the land; they of all other men have bewrayed their notable hypocrisy, that standing erewhile against the English Romish hierarchy, and their popish abominations, have now so readily submitted themselves to the beast, and are not only content to yield their canonical obedience unto him, and receive his mark, but in most hostile manner oppose and set

[ingenuously?]¹ to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for aught I see) the most unanswerable. You may notwithstanding say that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be salved as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

[5.] Another set of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics², who perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority, and that this later can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is τὸ ἴδιον, their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things

"themselves against us . . . These have long busied themselves in seeking out new shifts and cavils to turn away the truth, which presseth them so sore; and have at last been driven to palpable and gross absurdities, seeking to daub up that ruinous antichristian muddy wall which themselves did once craftily undermine. And herein we report us to the learned discourses of Dr. Robert Some and Mr. Giffard . . . With what equity now can these priests so blaspheme and persecute us for rejecting the heavy yoke of their tyrannous prelates, whom they themselves call antichristian and bishops of the Devil? for forsaking their priesthood, which they have complained is not the right ministry?" Preface to the Brownists' True Confession, 1596.]

¹ [Cf. p. 285 supra.]

² [This word is used in a peculiar sense, borrowed from the state of parties in France, from which country Cranmer had just returned. See in Thuanus, lib. xliv. c. 11. (1568.) the substance of a letter from the Prince of Condé to Charles IX., in which he complains that the house of Guise and their partisans gave this name to all those who although attached to the old religion refused to go all lengths with them under pretence of supporting it. Davila, b. v. gives an account of the materials of this party, under the year 1573; and says of them, "Havevano formato come un terzo partito, che non facendo alcun fondamento, nè alcuna differenza dall'una religione all'altra, ma tutto applicandosi alla riforma dello stato, cominciò a nominarsi il partito de' Politici, ovvero de' malcontenti."]

which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are,
 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy
 always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to
 buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among
 ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring
 cathedral churches and bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against
 abuses in the Church they have carried their own corrupt dealings
 in the civil state more covertly. For, such is the nature of the
 multitude, they are not able to comprehend many things at once, so
 as being possessed with dislike or liking of any one thing, many
 other in the mean-time may escape them without being perceived.
 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit
 in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men
 of learning, and specially of the clergy, which are employed in the
 chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly ad-
 mitted to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-
 governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

[6.] A third sort of men there is, though not descended from the
 reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them,
 namely, the cursed crew of Atheists¹. This also is one of those
 points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and
 strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection, as in
 that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This
 is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the
 world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the
 parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the
 fifth book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions
 of help and furtherance which by the reformers have been yielded
 unto them, are as I conceive, two; senseless preaching, and dis-
 gracing of the Ministry; for how should not men dare to impugn
 that which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is
 maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I con-
 ceive of Atheism. 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and
 of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to
 contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth.
 They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part,
 but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of
 argument, as by scoffing. Which humour of scoffing and turning
 matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as
 we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by "the seat of

¹ [See E. P., Bk. V. ii. 2. note 1 on page 21.]

"scorners," nor what the Apostles by foretelling of "scorners to
 "come:" our own age hath verified their speech unto us. Which
 also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists them-
 selves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such
 men the later days of the world should afford; which could not be
 done by any other spirit save that whereunto things future and
 present are alike. And even for the main question of the resur-
 rection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold
 that men should in the later times say, "Where is the promise of
 "his coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other
 points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is
 superfluity of wit without ground of learning and judgment.

A second cause of Atheism is sensuality, which maketh men
 desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life:
 among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this
 life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true)
 without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to anni-
 hilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can
 have no part; and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion
 must needs be very great. They labour therefore not that they
 may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may
 be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be
 imagined more base than that man should strive to persuade him-
 self even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind,
 that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal and corruptible with
 the body? Against which barbarous opinion their own Atheism is
 a very strong argument. For were not the soul a nature separable
 from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely
 spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul
 were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not so much as to
 dispute against heaven and against God, if there were not in it some-
 what heavenly, and derived from God.

[7.] The last which have received strength and encouragement
 from the reformers, are Papists; against whom although they are
 most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great
 advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach
 and dissension of those which are confederates against him? Wherein
 they are to remember, that if our communion with papists in some
 few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how
 much more doth this division and rent among ourselves; especially
 seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in
 matter of faith and salvation? Which over-reaching speech of theirs,

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because it is so open to advantage both for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did somewhat overflow.

[8.] From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large: the parts whereof may be these: 1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of episcopal, erection of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose. For what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts' desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders therefore presently authorized, their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: so in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment, or of innovation, and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, "Why, may not men speak against abuses?" Yes, but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also because it is unto the common people,

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judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, [and] for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, those very exceptions which they take, are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuse as impious: which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained. Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, "This must give place, because a better may be devised;" and in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in device with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered; the others are already manifest and open to all.

[9] But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged) they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state. For personal faults, what can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both states men have always been and will be always men, sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. As for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves, when they inveigh against *non-residence*; do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself continually remaining in the south? *He that hath an office let him attend his office.* When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of infinite [infinity?] of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher (Pol. lib. ii. cap. 9.¹) it is forbidder as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in parliament, and all courts of justice, are used? Were it hard to argue, even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony: against the passover, as being ridiculous; shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

¹ [Cap. ii. p. 210. ed. Victorii. εὐδοκιμεί παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐν φαῦλον δ' ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλείους ἀρχὰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν, ὅπερ γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἔργου ἀριστ' ἀποτελεῖται.]

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To conclude: You may exhort the clergy, (or what if you direct your conclusion not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both universities?) you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand: for it oftentimes falleth out, what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach Christ crucified; in regard whereof not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base: whereas now, by the heat of contention and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to preach "Christ crucified," the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but passions being allayed, are vain and childish.