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 God, he contrariwise to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 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 described, 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 cause, 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, 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 prophets 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 discipline, should 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 fumed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a peascart, 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 men 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 sermons 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.

3. [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 bearing two new prophets in these days arisen,) by any for any vice in a play." ("Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,) I moralize two meanings in one word."—Richard III. iii. i. 82.)] 4 [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.""—Hacket and Coppinger, Feb. 1597.] 5 [Namely, Cartwright, and eight 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... of bringing in that Discipline which they so often babble of," &c.] 6 [Viz. Arthirgton and Coppinger, who were evidently simple persons.] 7 [Cosin, Cons. 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 sights abroad, long and "vehement conceived prayers, bitter "and plain inverives in private, and privy (sic) depriving 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
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 church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own. And if the former of these be true,

"pension, he (Satun) foreseeeth that neither young flourishing wis will easily incline themselves to dress any enormity, have not in this confusion: and subjection Christ their Prophet, Priest and King; neither can be in this fate (whilst we judge them by the rules of God's word) esteemed the true, orderly gathered, or constituted 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 administration.

But God's commandment all that will be saved must with speed come forth of this antichristian estate; leaving the suppression of it to the magistrate to 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 willingly 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 money worth to the maintenance of this false ministry and worship, upon any commandment or under any colour whatsoever."
the latter I suppose will follow. For if above all things men be to
guard their salvation, and if out of the Church there be no salvation;
it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation,
and therefore separation from us, in that respect, both lawful
and necessary: as also that men so separated from the false and
counterfeit church are to associate themselves unto some church;
not to ours; to the popish much less; therefore to one of their own
making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, that in
our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformers'principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter
of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of
salvation: but in the church of England, the discipline, by them
accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only
denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof opposed: Ergo.
Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak,) every true church of
Christ acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ: the discipline, in
their opinion, is a part of the Gospel; and yet by our Church
resisted: Ergo. Again, the discipline is essentially united to the
Church: by which term, essentially, they must mean either an
essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must
needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, is neither there
any church. If therefore between them and the Brownists there
should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they
have been oftentimes so earnest challengers: it doth not yet appear
what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like
arguments, wherewith they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the
conclusion (for all the premises are their own); or rather ingeniously

“communion and orderly covenant,
and by confession of faith and
obedience of Christ to unite them-
selves into peculiar congregations:
whereof, as members of one body
whereof Christ is the head only,
they are to worship and serve
God according to His word, re-
membering to keep holy the Lord's
day.” And art. 42. “That if
God withhold the magistrates' al-
lowance and furtherance herein,
they may proceed together in Chris-
tian covenant and communion thus
to walk in the obedience of Christ,
even through the midst of all
trials and afflictions,” &c.] 1
offer to shew the Discipline to be

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

[The Brownists themselves
took this view so strongly as to call
the Puritan preachers mere hypo-
crites for shrinking from it. “As
for the priests and preachers of
this land; they of all other men have
bewrayed their notable hypocrisy,
that standing ere while against
the English Romish hierarchy,
and their popish abominations,
have 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

“themselves against us.... These
have long busied themselves in
seeking out new shifts and cavils
to turn away the truth, which
presseth them sore; and have
at last been driven to palpable
and gross absurdities, seeking to
daub up that ruinous antichristian
muddy wall which themselves did
donce craftily undermine. And
herein we report us to the learned
discourses of Dr. Robert Som
e and Mr. Giffard... With what
equality, yea, two of these priests
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 minis-
try.” 2 Preface to the Brownists'
“True Confession,” 1596.] 3

[This word is used in a pecu-
lar sense, borrowed from the
state of parties in France, from which
country Cramer had just returned.
See in Thuanus, lib. xiv. 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
pretense of supporting it. Davila,
who gives an account of the mate-
rials of this party, under the year
1573; and says of them, “Have
vano formato come un terzo part-
tito, che non facendo alcun fonda-
mento, ne alcuna differenza dall'
una religione all'altra, ma tutto
applicandosi alla riforma dello
stato, cominciò a nominarsi il par-
tito de' Politici, o vero de' malcon-
tenti.”]
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' living. 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 Atheists. This also is one of those 
points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and 
strain yourself 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 smatters; 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., Ek. V. ii. note i 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,
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,

judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine anything 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?

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 exorted, 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.