examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general; whereof unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down in the first place an introduction on both sides needful to be considered: declaring therein what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of according unto each kind.

[3.] This done, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture, but those not, against which ye strive; and upon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar of your whole cause, "That Scripture ought "to be the only rule of all our actions," and consequently that the church-orders which we observe being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant unto God: I have spent the second Book in setting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build.

[4.] Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in need of government; of which government it behoveth Himself to be both the Author and Teacher: so it cannot stand with duty that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore "that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some "particular form of Polity Ecclesiastical, the Laws whereof ".admit not any kind of alteration."

[5.] The first three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our Church (for so you pretend) "corrupted "the right form of church-polity with manifold popish rites "and ceremonies, which certain reformed Churches have "banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us "such example as" (you think) "we ought to follow." This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our Church, when ye plead that they are the same which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the same which some other reformed Churches have devised.

[6.] Of those four Books which remain and are bestowed about the specialties of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our Sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction: the one, whether laymen, such as your governing Elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power; the other, whether Bishops may have that power over other Pastors, and therewith that honour, which with us they have? And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction which neither they all nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of Ecclesiastical Dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the Prince or Sovereign commander over the whole body politic: the eighth book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those preeminences royal which thereunto appertain.

[7.] Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travails, and presented under your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting-place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

VIII. The case so standing therefore, my brethren, as it doth, the wisdom of governors ye must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange and dangerous innovations which are more than likely to follow, if your discipline should take place, have for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withstand your endeavours in that way. The rather, for that they have seen already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them who concurring with you in judgment about the necessity of that discipline, have adventured without more ado to separate themselves from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in
execution\(^1\). These men's hastiness the warier sort of you doth not commend; ye wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them, in great commiseration of mind, your "poor brethren\(^2\)." They on the contrary side more bitterly accuse you as their "false brethren;" and against you they plead, saying: "From your breasts is it that we have sucked those things, which when ye delivered unto us ye termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milk of God's word\(^3\), howsoever ye now abhor as poison that which the virtue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. You sometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we had most sweet consultations\(^4\), are now

\(^1\) [See Strype, Whig. II. 191; Ann. IV. 127, 135, 157-165, 167, 202, 239, 246. Bancroft, Survey, &c. 340-349. The head of this section was Robert Browne. See this "Treatise of certain Articles given out by the Bishops\(^5\) and 3. A "Collection of certain Letters and Conferences lately passed between certain Preachers and two Prisoners in the Fleet\(^6\) (Browne and Greenwood,) all 1590. In this latter, p. 7, we find the following portion of a dialogue between Barrow and Spenser, a Puritan minister. "Bar. I pray you, sir, what is the case of the parishes of England?" Spenser, Trow you are none wicked in all the land, with whom you stand one body? for all are of your church. Will you justly also all the parishes of England?"

\(^2\) [Pref. to A Brief Discovery, after speaking of Donatism.]

\(^3\) [Pref. against Dr. Bancr. (Pref. to "A Brief Discovery of the Untruths and Slanders (against the true government of the Church of Christ) contained in a Sermon, preached the 8 of Februriae, 1558, by D. Bancroft, and since that time se: forth in print, with additions by the said Author." By Penry, 1590. The passage referred to is, "The visible Church of God, whereunto it be, hath the power of binding and loosing. . . . The crime therefore of schism, and Donatism, which M. Bancroft and the prelates would fasten upon us, doth justly cleave because our professed adversaries, because we think the statute-congregations in England to be no true Christian churches; because we have severed ourselves from them; and because without their leave and license that are in civil authority, we have secretly framed our own churches according to the platform of the word of God. For of that point between you and us there is no controversy. Alas! what would ye have us to do? At such time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teachings we heard, we read your writings; and though we would, yet able we are not to forget what zeal ye have ever professed, that in the English congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according unto their own laws) the very public service of God is fraught as touching matter with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning form, borrowed from the shop of Antichrist; hateful both ways in the eyes of the Most Holy; the kind of their government by bishops and archbishops antichristian; that discipline which Christ hath 'essentially tied,' that is to say, so united unto his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church which hath not in it the same discipline, that very discipline no less there despised, than in the highest throne of Antichrist; all such parts of the
"word of God as do any way concern that discipline no less unsoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized English pastors, than by Antichrist's factors themselves; at baptism crossing, at the supper of the Lord kneeling, at both, a number of other the most notorious badges of Antichristian recognizance usual. Being moved with these and the like your effectual discourses, whereunto we gave most attentive ear, till they entered even into our souls, and were as fire within our bosoms; we thought we might hence to be bold to conclude, that sith no such Antichristian synogogue may be accounted a true church of Christ, you by accusing all congregations ordered according to the laws of England as Antichristian, did mean to condemn those congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian church. Ye tell us now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatenings of them, who professing themselves the inhabitants of Mount Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durst not, we durst not "continue longer so near her confines lest her plagues might suddenly overtake us, before we die cease to be partakers with her sins: for so we could not choose but acknowledge with grief that we were, when, they doing evil, we "by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like thereof, or at leastwise not so earnestly to dislike, as became men "heartily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect the discipline of Christ without the leave of the Christian magistrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard thereby our estates and persons further than you which are that way more wise think necessary: but of any offence or sin therein committed against God, with what conscience can you accuse us, when your own positions are, that the things we observe should every of them be dearer unto us than ten thousand lives; that they are the perpetu "tory commandments of God; that no mortal man can dispense with them, and that the magistrate grievously sin-reth unto themselves. . . . It shall be proved in the end, that they are "the schismatics and not we. It shall appear that they are growing "to make a body of their own, "wherewith the Church of God in a "while (if they hold on their course) "can have no more to do, than in "times past it had with the schis- matical Donatists.""

"in not constraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for "doing that of his own accord, which all men should be com- "pelled to do that are not willing of themselves? When God "commandeth, shall we answer that we will obey, if so be "Caesar will grant us leave? Is discipline an ecclesiastical "matter or a civil? If an ecclesiastical, it must of necessity "belong to the duty of the minister. And the minister "(you say) holdeth all his authority of doing whatsoever "belongeth unto the spiritual charge of the house of God "even immediately from God himself, without dependency "upon any magistrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we sup- "pose, that the hearts of the people being willing to be "under the sceptre of Christ, the minister of God, into whose "hands the Lord himself hath put that sceptre, is without all "excuse if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find that "hitherto greatly ye have disliked those churches abroad, "where the people with direction of their godly ministers "have even against the will of the magistrate brought in "either the doctrine or discipline of Jesus Christ. For "which cause we must now think the very same thing of "you, which our Saviour did sometime utter concerning "falsehearted Scribes and Pharisees, they say, and do not."

Thus the foolish Barrowist deriveth his schism by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be satisfied by you from whom he hath sprung.

[2.] And if such by your own acknowledgment be persons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of small and tender growth; the changes likely to ensue throughout all states and vocations within this land, in case your desire should take place, must be thought upon.

First concerning the supreme power of the Highest, they are no small prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging the form of your discipline will constrain it to resign; as in the last book of this treatise we have shewed at large. 1

1 Math. xxiii. 3. 2 From this it would seem that the whole treatise was in a manner finished before 1594, when this preface was published.
Again it may justly be feared whether our English nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly suffer themselves to be always at the call, and to stand to the sentence of a number of mean persons assisted with the presence of their poor teacher, a man (as sometimes it happeneth) though better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the rest: from whom, be their dealings never so absurd, (unless it be by way of complaint to a synod,) no appeal may be made unto any one of higher power, inasmuch as the order of your discipline admitted no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judge to have any ordinary superior on earth, but as many supreacacies as there are parishes and several congregations.

Neither is it altogether without cause that so many do fear the overthrow of all learning as a threatened sequel of this your intended discipline. For "if the world's preservation" depend upon "the multitude of the wise," and of that sort the number hereafter be not likely to wax overgreat, "when" (that wherewith the son of Sirach professeth himself at the heart grieved) "men of understanding are" already so "little set by," how should their minds whom the love of so precious a jewel filth with secret jealousy even in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the finishing of the state thereof, choose but mislive lest this discipline, which always you match with divine doctrine as her natural and true sister, be found unto all kinds of know-

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1 [Sutcliffe de Presbyt. 134: "Le
gibus nostris antiquitis, et ho
minibus doctis ab Ecclesia clavo
(humum secum leges et divinas
et humanas administrant) dimotis,
presbyteri se ad rem accingent,
Deus bone, quales et quanti ho
mines! accedent primo Pastores
quidam (si quales apud nos sunt
sire cupiatis) adolescentul pleri
que novi, rerum imperiti, cuius errores
male credituris, aut unum servul
sint. Aderunt etiam (te etsi 90 facie
et puella) Presbyteri, viri bene barbatis
et tetrici, quorum plurima sunt
species: eorum enim nonnulli ar
tifices sunt. ut fabri, qui nobis arte
Vulcania disciplinam excudent:
coqu etiam aderunt, et aliquid-
sit in presbyterio insipido con
diment: sutores, ut pugnantes
presbyterorum sententias sacri-
stant: sine cementariis, arx haec
presbyteralis edificari non potest:
Apostolicae potestate aliquot agri-
colorum et mercatorum centuriae:
pharmacopoea vero non recte de
siderabuntur, multo enim illis opus
erit hellebori. Atque istis ita con
stituit et consurcisatis, quis non
presbyterium istiummodi omnibus
archiepiscopis, episcopis, et reli-
quibus ecclesiis Angliæ: monachos
imperatores prefert;]
2 Sap. vi. 24.
3 Eccl. xxvi. 28.

Academical Discipline disturbed.

ledge a step-mother; seeing that the greatest worldly hopes, which are proposed unto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seek utterly to extirpate as weeds, and have grounded your platform on such propositions as do after a sort undermine those most renowned habitations, where through the goodness of Almighty God all commendable arts and sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and so may they for ever continue) studied, proceeded in, and professed. To charge you as purposely bent to the overthrow of that; wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wish that yourselves did well consider, how opposite certain your positions are unto the state of collegiate societies, whereon the two universities consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take are by your laws taken away; yourselves who have sought them ye so excuse, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with, for some help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed. Your laws forbidding ecclesiastical persons utterly the exercise of civil power must needs deprive the Heads and Masters in the same colleges of all such authority as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by civil authority are subject unto them: or abroad by keeping courts amongst their tenants. Your laws making permanent equity amongst

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1 ["By studying in corners, many melancholy model-makers, and church-cobblers may be made, but not one sound divine: for scholars profit by mutual conference, disputation, exercise, mutual emulation and example, as much as by hearing and reading: but those helps they lose that teach in corners. There is but small hope that they would make learned men, or semblants that they mean any such matter, when taking away the livings of the clergy, and hope of reward from the learned, they turn men up to live upon pensions, and to stand to the courtesy of unlettered elders and deacons, that think crusts do good for learned men." Sutcliffe, False Semblant, &c. 134.]
2 [Technical words, for the three degrees academical in the several faculties: including the faculty of arts; for masters of arts are all, properly speaking, professors or readers.]
3 [Adm. 16: "The titles of otiæ universitatis, doctors, and bachelors of divinity, are not only for vain glory sought and granted, but there they are the names of course, conferred rather by the prophanes judgements of them that know not what office of the Church they belong too," &c.]
ministers a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those colleges, the seniors whereof are all or any part of them ministers under the government of a master in the same vocation, to choose as oft as they meet together a new president. For if so ye judge it necessary to do in synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongst ministers, the same cause must needs even in these collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those corporations, and by bringing the universities unto the form of the School of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministry, whereinto their founders with singular providence have by the same statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your laws bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some parish abroad call for them.¹  

[4.] Your opinion concerning the law civil is that the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this land doth not need.² Professor in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their removal: in whose studies although myself have not much been conversant, nevertheless exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were given; as well for the singular treasures of wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within ourselves, and especially for commerce with nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would persuade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof that the same is the only law whereby to determine all our civil controversies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may have their desire, who frankly broach it already that the work of reformation will never be perfect, till the law of Jesus Christ be received alone; so pleaders and counsellors may bring their books of the common law, and bestow them as the students of curious and needless arts did theirs in the Apostles’ time? I leave them to scan how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that, whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate suits of law, “this one thing will shew the “excellency of discipline for the wealth of the realm, and “quiet of subjects; that the Church is to censure such a party “who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without “reasonable cause upon a mere will and stomach doth vex “and molest his brother, and trouble the country.” For mine own part I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, even to send out your writs of surcease unto all courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them.³  

[5.] A great deal further I might proceed and descend

¹ [Decl. of Disc. trans. by T. C. p. 155]  
² Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 30. [“As for the canon law, it is no way hurtful, but good for the state of this realm, if it were abolished: being, as hereafter will appear, not necessary but dangerous to the state. . . . As for the maintaining of civilans, as the law already maketh no great necessity of them, having little other way to set them on work, but by the canon law: if such men’s studies were converted another way to more profit, in the Church and commonwealth, little or no loss or inconvenience would follow.”]

² Acts xix. 10.  
³ [Bp. Cooper’s, Adm. to the people of England, (1588.) p. 86: “The canon law must be utterly taken away, with all offices to the same belonging. . . . The use and study of the civil law will be utterly overthrown. For the civilans in this realm live not by the use of the civil law, but by the offices of the canon law, and such things as are within the compass thereof. And if you take those offices and functions away, and those matters wherewith they deal in the canon law, you must needs take away the hope of reward, and by that means their whole study.” Sutcliffe, Remonstr. to the De monstr. of Disc. p. 41: “That which is needless, is unlawful. All courts of record, as chancery and common pleas, &c shall be found needless, if the consistency of presbyters and elders were set up: which is only needful in the church or congregation of the faithful brethren, because they may determine all matters wherein any breach of charity may be; as the admonitioner saith: Ergo, all courts of record, as chancery, common pleas, &c by their reason will be found unlawful:” and see p. 178, where, Udal having said, Governors of the Church may not meddle but in matters ecclesiastical only, . . . in deciding of controversies, in doctrine and manners, as far as appertaineth to the conscience, Sutcliffe remarks: “This one limit of authority will carry all causes (though most civil in their nature and practice) out of all courts in the land unto their elderships. First, the chancery, that decideth matters of controversy by conscience, is clearly dammed up, and may go “pick paiges” (i. e. cowslips). And are any other civil courts in better case? No very, for can any controversy be betwixt man and man, but it ‘apppertaineth to conscience,’ to give the matter contended for unto him to whom “right it is due.” See also False Semblant,” &c. page 132, 133.]
Tendency of Puritan Principles exemplified in

lower. But forasmuch as against all these and the like difficulties your answer is 1, that we ought to search what things are consonant to God's will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore that your discipline being (for such is your error) the absolute commandment of Almighty God, it must be received although the world by receiving it should be clean turned upside down; herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of divine authority is used to countenance these things, which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections; on him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstandinge the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error the mind once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion concerning the lawfulness thereof is withal received and broached under countenance of divine authority.

[6.] One example 4 herein may serve for many, to show that false opinions, touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hindrances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious than the first, yea most extremely sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by casting out popish superstition, having received from their pastors a general instruction "that whatsoever the heavenly Father hath not planted "must be rooted out," proceeded in some foreign places so far that down went oratories and the very temples of God themselves. For as they chanced to take the compass or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others there sprang up presently one kind of men, with whose zeal and forwardness the rest being compared were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. These grounding themselves on rules more general; that whatsoever the law of Christ commandeth not, thereof Antichrist is the author: and that whatsoever Antichrist or his adherents did in the world, the true professors of Christ are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the earth of all manner evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance they said must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the customs and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh. 5 All their exhortations were to set light

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1 Guy de Brés contre l'Erreur des Anabaptistes, p. 3. ["La ra-
câine, source, et fondement des "Anabaptistes ou Rebaptizes de 
nostre temps: avec tres ample 
refutation des arguments prin-ci-
paux, par lesquels ils ont accou-
tumé de troubler l'Eglise de 
nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, et 
seduire les simples. Le tout re-
duit en trois livres, par Guy de 
Brés, Chez Pierre de S. Andre, 
MDXCV," small 4to, pp. 303, no 
place of publication mentioned. [Or-
iginally published 1565, Biog.Univ. 
The author was a pastor at Lille and 
Valenciennes, and with Saravia and 
three or four others was a principal 
author of "A Confession of Faith 
of the Reformed Churches of the 
Low Countries, 1591 or 1562," 
adopted by the States of Holland in 
1622. "The said Saravia says in a 
certain letter, which I myself have 
seen, that 'Guido de Brés conto-
municated this Confession to such 
ministers as he could find, de-
siring them to correct what they 
thought amiss in it; so that it 
was not to be considered as one 
man's work; but what none of 
them really approved in it ever 
designed it for a rule of faith to others, 
but only for a schismatical proof 
of what they themselves believed."
Brandt's Hist. of the Reform. in 
the Low Countries, Eng. Transl. I. 142. De Brés was hanged at 
Valenciennes by the government of 
Philip II, in 1567. Ibid. p. 250. 
Anabaptism began by his account 
in Lower Saxony, about 1521."

3 P. 4.