

glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva¹. Concerning the Defender² of which Admonitions, all that I mean to say is but this: *there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit.* But the manner of men's writing must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the same defender do think he hath; and in that persuasion they follow him, no otherwise than himself doth Calvin, Beza, and others, with the like persuasion that they in this cause had the truth. We being as fully persuaded otherwise, it resteth that some kind of trial be used to find out which part is in error.

¹ [Bishop Cooper, Adm. to the People of England, p. 160, takes the following view of the gradual advance of Puritanism. "At the beginning, some learned and godly preachers, for private respects in themselves, made strange to wear the surplice, cap, or tippet: but yet so that they declared themselves to think the thing indifferent, and not to judge evil of such as did use them." (He seems to mean Grindal, Sandys, Parkhurst, Nowel, and others, 1562.) "Shortly after rose up other," (Sampson, Humfrey, Lever, Whittingham, &c.) "defending that they were not things indifferent, but distained with antichristian idolatry, and therefore not to be suffered in the Church. Not long after came another sort," (Cartwright, Travers, Field, &c.) "affirming that those matters touching apparel were but trifles, and not worthy contention in the Church, but that there were greater things far of more weight and importance, and indeed touching faith and religion, and therefore meet to be altered in a church rightly reformed. As the Book of Common Prayer, the administration of the Sacraments, the government of the

Church, the election of ministers, and a number of other like. Fourthly, now break out another sort," (the Brownists,) "earnestly affirming, and teaching, that we have no church, no bishops, no ministers, no sacraments; and therefore that all that love Jesus Christ ought with all speed to separate themselves from our congregations, because our assemblies are profane, wicked, and antichristian. Thus have you heard of four degrees for the overthrow of the state of the Church of England. Now lastly of all come in these men, that make their whole direction against the living of bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers: that they should have no temporal lands or jurisdiction." [Cf. Bacon on Church Controversies, (1589.) Speding Life, &c. i. 86.] 1886.

² [Thomas Cartwright. Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition was sent to Parker, Oct. 21, 1572, (Str. Whitg. I. 86,) and replied to by T. C. early the next year. For Whitgift was far advanced in his Defence, June 4, 1573: (Park. II. 254:) and it was sent to Lord Burghley, 5 Feb. 1573, Cartwright's 2d Reply came out in two portions, 1575 and 1577.]

III. The first mean whereby nature teacheth men to judge good from evil, as well in laws as in other things, is the force of their own discretion. Hereunto therefore St. Paul referreth oftentimes his own speech, to be considered of by them that heard him. "I speak as to them which have understanding, judge ye what I say¹." Again afterward, "Judge in yourselves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered²?" The exercise of this kind of judgment our Saviour requireth in the Jews³. In them of Berea the Scripture commendeth it⁴. Finally, whatsoever we do, if our own secret judgment consent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is sin, although the thing itself be allowable. St. Paul's rule therefore generally is, "Let every man in his own mind be fully persuaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth⁵."

[2.] Some things are so familiar and plain, that truth from falsehood, and good from evil, is most easily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely unto all men's salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause St. Augustine⁶ acknowledgeth, that they are not only set down, but also plainly set down in Scripture; so that he which heareth or readeth may without any great difficulty understand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Christian men: which, because they are more obscure, more intricate and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the study of things divine, to the end that in these more doubtful cases their understanding might be a light to direct others. "If the understanding power or faculty of the soul be" (saith the

By what means so many of the people are trained unto the liking of that discipline.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 15.

² Ibid. xi. 13.

³ Luke xii. 56, 57.

⁴ Acts xvii. 11.

⁵ Rom. xiv. 5.

⁶ [De peccator. merit. et remiss. l. ii. § 59. t. x. p. 48, ed. Ant. 1700, where after mentioning a certain

obscure subject, he adds, "Credo, quod etiam hinc divinatorum eloquiorum clarissima auctoritas esset si homo id sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset." And the marginal note is, "Scripturæ claræ in his quæ ad salutem necessaria sunt."]

grand physician¹) "like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharpness in all, what can be more convenient than that, "even as the dark-sighted man is directed by the clear "about things visible; so likewise in matters of deeper discourse the wise in heart do shew the simple where his way "lieth?" In our doubtful cases of law, what man is there who seeth not how requisite it is that professors of skill in that faculty be our directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And even in this kind likewise the Lord hath himself appointed, that "the priest's lips should preserve "knowledge, and that other men should seek the truth at "his mouth, *because* he is the messenger of the Lord of "hosts²." Gregory Nazianzen, offended at the people's too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them to whom in such cases they should have rather submitted their own, seeketh by earnest entreaty to stay them within their bounds: "Presume not ye that are sheep to make "yourselves guides of them that should guide you; neither "seek ye to overskip the fold which they about you have "pitched. It sufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame "yourselves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge "your judges, nor to make them subject to your laws who "should be a law to you; for God is not a God of sedition "and confusion, but of order and of peace³."

[3.] But ye will say that if the guides of the people be blind, the common sort of men must not close up their own eyes and be led by the conduct of such⁴: if the priest be "partial in the law⁵," the flock must not therefore depart from the ways of sincere truth, and in simplicity

¹ Galen. de opt. docen. gen. [Εἰ δ' ἔστι μὲν, ὡς περ ὀφθαλμὸς τῷ σώματι, τοιοῦτος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ νοῦς, οὐ μὴν ἀπασιν γε ὁμοίως ὁρῶν, ἐγγωρεῖ καθάπερ βλέπων ὁξύτερον ἐπάγει πρὸς τὸ θέαμα τὸν ἀμβλύτερον ὁρῶντα, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νοημάτων, ὑπὸ τῶν φθασάντων ἰδεῖν ἐναργῶς τὸ νοητὸν ἐπάγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν θέασιν αὐτῆς τὸν ἀμβλύτατον. (qu. ἀμβλύτερον?) t. i. p. 8. Basil., 1538.]

Version, Basil, 1550, or Opp. t. i. p. 154. Paris, 1609. Τὰ πρῶτα μὴ ποιμαίνετε τοὺς ποιμένας, μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὅρους ἐπαίρεσθε· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἂν καλῶς ποιμαίνησθε· μὴ κρίνετε τοὺς κριτὰς, μηδὲ νομοθετεῖτε τοῖς νομοθέταις. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Θεὸς ἀκαταστασίας καὶ ἀταξίας, ἀλλ' εἰρήνης καὶ ταξέως. The second clause is in the Latin, "neque super terminos *eorum* elevemini:" from which evidently Hooker translated.]

² Mal. ii. 7.
³ Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua se excusat. [p. 37, of Musculus's Latin

⁴ Matt. xv. 14.
⁵ Mal. ii. 9.

yield to be followers of him for his place sake and office over them. Which thing, though in itself most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak; because the matter wherein ye think that ye see, and imagine that your ways are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar sort amongst you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but to the trial of it a great deal more appertaineth than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves thoroughly instructed and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the Apostle's sentence against "evil-speakers as touching things "wherein they are ignorant¹."

[4.] If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civil polity², (with a desire of bringing in some other kind, than that under which they already live, for of such disputes I take it his meaning was;) if it be a thing confessed, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashness, inasmuch as a great part of them consisteth in special circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the world, why they should better judge what kind of regiment ecclesiastical is the fittest? For in the civil state more insight, and in those affairs more experience a great deal must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your discipline and commend it unto the Highest not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, "that with whom the truth is they know "not³," they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof?

¹ Jude 10; 2 Pet. ii. 12.

² Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xx. § 8. ["Sane valde otiosum esset, "quis potissimus sit politiæ in eo "quo vivunt loco futurus status, a "privatis hominibus disputari: qui-

"bus de constituenda re aliqua publica deliberare non licet."]

³ The Author of the Petition directed to her Majesty, p. 3. ["I "do not now write either to pull "down bishoprics, or erect presby-

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Ch. iii. 5, 6, 7.

[5.] Weigh what doth move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your several opinions are alleged is a thing whereof the multitude never did nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly carried ; but certain general inducements are used to make saleable your cause in gross ; and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialties will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds.

[6.] The method of winning the people's affection unto a general liking of "the cause" (for so ye term it) hath been this. First, In the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof¹ ; which being oftentimes done begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holiness, to such constant reprovers of sin, as by likelihood would never be so much offended at that which is evil, unless themselves were singularly good.

[7.] The next thing hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established². Wherein, as before

"teries. With whom the truth is I
"will not determine, for I know not.
"What seemeth most probable and
"true to me, that I know. How
"the truth should come to light,
"that is the question." This writer
was Penry. Bancr. Surv. 342.]
¹ ["A certain writer for reform-
"ation . . . writeth of noblemen
"and gentlemen . . . 'Whereof
"came,' saith he, 'this division of
"such personages from others, see-
"ing all men came of one man and
"one woman? Was it for their
"lusty hawking and hunting? for
"their nimble dicing, and cunning
"carding? for their singing and
"dancing? for their open bragging
"and swearing? for their false fleer-
"ing and flattering? for their subtle
"killing and stealing? for their
"cruel polling and pilling, &c. No,
"no, there was no such thing.'
"You would be glad then, I am
"sure, to know what thing it was :
"indeed the same author doth not

"conceal it : in effect it is (though
"it be delivered in better words)
"viz. that their rebellion and
"treason against their governors
"procured them that prerogative
"with the people : 'Because,' saith
"he, 'they revenged and deli-
"vered the oppressed people out
"of the hands of their governors
"who abused their authority, and
"wickedly, cruelly, and tyrannous-
"ly ruled over them ; the people
"of a grateful and thankful mind
"gave them that estimation and
"honour.'" Bancr. Surv. p. 7,
quoting "A Treatise of Obedience,"
p. 114, of which treatise, see Strype,
An. I. i. 182, 185. It was written
by Chr. Goodman against Q. Mary,
and published at Geneva, 1558,
with a commendatory preface by
Whittingham.]

² ["The necessity of the thing
"is many ways apparent, both in
"that it hath so plentiful warrant
"from God's own word . . . and

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Ch. iii. 8, 9.

by reproving faults they purchased unto themselves with the multitude a name to be virtuous ; so by finding out this kind of cause they obtain to be judged wise above others : whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish government, which the Lord himself (they all confess) did establish, with like shew of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth, as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical, (whereof also God himself though in other sort is author,) the stains and blemishes found in our state ; which springing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or less, yea and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end complained of, what form of government soever take place.

[8.] Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of church-government, as the only sovereign remedy of all evils ; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazedness of their minds possessed with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing, (the virtue whereof they hear commended,) would help them ; but that most, which they least have tried.

[9.] The fourth degree of inducement is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that when they read the scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in the speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave essence and being to the works of nature. A thing in reason impossible ; which notwithstanding, through their misfashioned

"also in that the gospel can take no
"root, nor have any free passage,
"for want of it : and the greatness
"of your fault appeareth by this ;
"that in so doing you are the cause

"of all the ignorance, atheism,
"schisms, treasons, popery, and
"ungodliness, that is to be found
"in this land." Pref. to Demonstr.
of Discipline.]

preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God¹. When they of the "Family of Love" have it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signify any one person, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be "raised" is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality; and that when separation of them which have it from them which have it not is here made, this is "judgment:" how plainly do they imagine that the Scripture every where speaketh in the favour of that sect²? And assuredly, the very

¹ Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 5. ["It is no hard thing for a man that hath wit, and is strongly possessed of an opinion, and resolute to maintain it, to find some places of scripture, which by good handling will be woe to cast a favourable countenance upon it. Pythagoras' Schollers having been bred up in the doctrine of numbers, when afterward they diverted upon the studies of nature, fancied in themselves somewhat in natural bodies like unto numbers, and thereupon fell into a conceit that numbers were the principles of tmem. So fares it with him that to the reading of Scripture comes fore-possessed with some opinion." Hales's Golden Remains, p. 4, ed. 1658. See Diog. Laert. lib. viii. p. 220. ed. Pearson; Brucker, Hist. Phil. I. 1045, &c.]

² [The Family of Love, or Familists, as they are sometimes called, originated with Henry Nicholas of Amsterdam, and afterwards of Embden, about the middle of the 16th century: and may be considered as a kind of offshoot from the German Anabaptists. For their progress in England see Strype, Ann. II. i. 556, ii. 282. Grindal, 383, Whitg. I. 421, III. 158. Christopher Vitel, a joiner of Colchester, was one of their chief propagandists here. See "The displaying of an horrible sect of gross and wicked heretics, naming themselves the Family of Love: with the lives of the authors, &c. by J. R." (John Rogers,) "1578, London." This

writer says that H. N. had then as many as 1000 followers in England. From the number of their tracts, (he quotes about a dozen,) and from the attention which they appear to have attracted at the time, he would seem to have much underrated their numbers. Vitel replied to this pamphlet, and Rogers rejoined in 1579. (Both his pamphlets are in Bp. Atterbury's collection, in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, E. 522, 525.) The same year an elaborate and scholarlike "Confutation of certain monstrous and horrible heresies taught by H. N." was published by J. Knewstubs, of Cambridge, afterwards one of the representatives of the Puritan party at the Hampton-court conference. He states, p. 32, "By the doctrine of 'H. N. Christ is no one man, but an estate and condition in man, common unto so many as have [so] received his doctrine that they are grown thereby to perfection." And, p. 36, "H. N. his Christ is not God, but an affection or disposition in man, which, if it were good, were yet no more but godliness, not God himself." Which statements he abundantly confirms by quotations from various tracts, but refers to one which he had not seen, as being reported to contain the fullest development of the new doctrine. That work is "An Introduction to the holy understanding of the Glass of Righteousness; set forth by H. N." No printer's name nor date is given. The following passage may be taken

cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to think they even see how the word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an "elder" doth signify a layman admitted only to the office or rule of government in the Church; a "doctor," one which may only teach, and neither preach nor administer the Sacraments; a "deacon," one which hath charge of the alms-box, and of nothing else: that the "sceptre," the "rod," the "throne" and "kingdom" of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors,

as a fair specimen of it. (c. 5. No. 28.) "Behold, this same holy being of God is the true life of the Holy Ghost, which heretofore God wrought among his people Israel, and likewise among the Gentiles that feared his name. . . . 29. This same being of God is indeed the right food of the soul, and bread of life, and is descended unto us from heaven for a life to the man: and was heretofore broken and distributed to the people of Israel and the disciples of Christ, to feed on in their souls. . . . 31. This same bread which is given unto them is the true meat offering of Christ, viz. His Body: and this cup which is poured forth unto them is the true shedding of His Blood, the which is the outflowing of the holy word or Spirit of Christ, upon all believers of Christ, to everlasting life. . . . 33. Behold, that same bread or Body of Christ is the Word that became flesh and it dwelt among them. . . . 34. And the same is the New Testament, which God in those days made and appointed with His people." Compare c. 18, No. 16, &c. And c. 22, 30. "Unto all that believed was the resurrection from the dead, and everlasting life, witnessed and promised through Jesus Christ. In sure and firm hope whereof the upright believers have rested in the Lord Jesus Christ, till the appearing of His coming, which is now, in this day of the Love, revealed, out of the heavenly Being.

"With which Jesus Christ the former believers of Christ, who were fallen asleep, rested, or died in Him, are now also manifested in glory. For Christ in the appearing of his coming raiseth his deceased from the dead, to the intent they should reign with Him over all his enemies, and condemneth all the ungodly who have not liked of him."

"I remember," (says Strype, Ann. II. i. 561, writing in 1725,) "a great admirer of this sect, within less than twenty years ago, told me, that there was then but one of the Family of Love alive, and he an old man." But their principles, unfortunately, were not extinct. "I have now before me the works (or part of them) of Henry Nicholas, the Father of the Family of Love: they were given to a friend of mine by a Quaker, with this encomium: that he believed he would not find one word amiss, or one superfluous, in the whole book, and commended it, as an excellent piece. It is not unlikely that he took it for a Quaker book; for there is not his name at length, only H. N. to it; and it has quite through the Quaker phyz and mien, that twins are not more alike. And though he directs it, To the Family of Love, yet an ignorant Quaker might take that for his own family, and apply it to the Quakers." Leslie's Works, II. 609, ed. 1721.]

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and deacons¹; that by mystical resemblance Mount Sion and Jerusalem are the churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the churches which oppugn the said form of regiment. And in like sort they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the city and temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest²; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to foreshow, what the authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to her Majesty, and of such other like writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their cause.

[10.] From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the persuading of men credulous and over-capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern them not. "Dearly beloved," saith St. John, "give not credit unto every spirit³." There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending itself unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special divine excellency Revelation, the other Reason. If the Spirit by such revelation have discovered unto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; forasmuch as persuasions grounded upon reason are either weaker or stronger according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them from the greatest to the least be able for every several article to shew

¹ ["Having occasion to talk upon a time with an artisan of Kingston, about his refusal, after the purest fashion, to be examined upon his oath, because I saw how peart he was, and rapt out text upon text (full ignorantly, God knoweth,) I was so bold as to examine him in the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, demanding of him, what he thought was meant by this word, 'kingdom,' therein mentioned. Whereunto he made in effect this

"answer, without any staggering: 'We pray,' saith he, 'that our heavenly Father would at the last grant unto us, that we might have pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons in every parish, and so be governed by such elderships as Christ's holy discipline doth require.'" Bancroft, Survey, &c. c. 31.]

² [T. C. Preface to 2d Reply, fol. 1. 2.]

³ 1 John iv. 1.

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some special reason as strong as their persuasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be but that some other sinews there are from which that overplus of strength in persuasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deal, than (for the most part) sound believers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which scripture yieldeth: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of discipline, more dark and doubtful; frameth correspondently that inward assent which God's most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectual instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their persuasion, but the soundness of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that evil spirit, which is even in his illusions strong¹.

[11.] After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their persuasion concerning discipline; then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion doth thereby seal them to be God's children; and that, as the state of the times now standeth, the most special token to know them that are God's own from others is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of separation between such and the rest of the world; whereby the one sort are named The brethren, The godly, and so forth; the other, worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, with such like².

[12.] From hence, they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seek all

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 11.

² [The 22d art. of Charge against Cartwright in 1590 is, "That from time to time, since his abode in Warwick, by his practice and dealing, he hath nourished a faction, and heartburning of one inhabit-

ant there against another, severing them in his own and his followers' speeches, by the names of *The godly*, or *Brethren favouring sincerely*, and *The profane*." Fuller, C. H. b. ix. p. 200.]