

occasions of secret conference with such ; this maketh them glad to use such as counsellors and directors in all their dealings which are of weight, as contracts, testaments, and the like ; this maketh them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and to think that then they are like unto Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themselves, for such men's sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it which poor beguiled souls will not do through so powerful incitements ?

[13.] In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath been bestowed to win and retain towards this cause them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex<sup>1</sup>. And although not "women laden with sins<sup>2</sup>," as

<sup>1</sup> [For example : a copy of the has the following lines in MS. Admonition to the Parliament, in the in the blank leaf at the beginning of Christ Church, Oxford, ning :

To Mrs. Catesbie my very frende.  
Read and peruse this lytle booke  
with prayer to the Lorde  
That all may yelde that therein looke  
to truthe with one accorde.  
Whiche thoughe our troubles it hathe wrought  
it shall prevayle at laste,  
And utterly confounde God's foes  
with his confoundinge blaste.  
As Pope hath falne, so muste all popes  
and popelings every one,  
So muste his lawes whereby he rulde,  
and God's worde stand alone.  
Whiche is the scepter of the might  
of Chryste our Lorde and Kynge,  
To whiche we must subject of right  
ourselves, and everye thinge.

Yo<sup>us</sup> in the Lorde,  
Io. Feilde.

Field is mentioned by Archb. Bancroft (Survey, &c. p. 42) as one of the first planners of the Admonition. He was imprisoned the year it came out, (1572,) according to Strype, (Ann. II. i. 275,) for presenting a copy of it to the parliament. Bishop Sandys complained that when Field was in Newgate the people resorted to him "as in popery they were wont

"to run on pilgrimage." (Strype, Parker, II. 268.) He was a leader of the secret Puritan synod in 1580: and is constantly mentioned as one of the most busy and important among them.

See also Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. I. 177, Oxford, 1819.]

<sup>2</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 6.

the apostle Saint Paul speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness be otherwise edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of sin and evil by such as enter into their houses, with purpose to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministered for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered did gain by the soundness of proof whereupon it doth build itself, it would not most busily endeavour to prevail where least ability of judgment is: and therefore, that this so eminent industry in making proselytes more of that sex than of the other groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the cause. Apter they are through the eagerness of their affection, that maketh them, which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends and allies the same way; apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness than in men to be bountiful towards their preachers who suffer want; apter through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected as concerning the same cause.

[14.] But be they women or be they men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to persuade them, they close up their ears, his reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of John, "We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us<sup>1</sup>:" "as for the rest, ye are of the world; for this world's pomp and vanity it is that ye speak, and the world, whose ye are, "heareth you." Which cloak sitteth no less fit on the back of their cause, than of the Anabaptists, when the dignity, authority and honour of God's magistrate is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters; their answer is, "God hath chosen the "simple<sup>2</sup>." Convince them of folly, and that so plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers

<sup>1</sup> 1 John iv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. i. 27.

of like defence: "Christ's own apostle was accounted mad: "the best men evermore by the sentence of the world have "been judged to be out of their right minds<sup>1</sup>."

[15.] When instruction doth them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully-tempered severity<sup>2</sup>, they fasten on the head of the Lord's vicegerents here on earth whatsoever they any where find uttered against the cruelty of bloodthirsty men, and to themselves they draw all the sentences which scripture hath in the favour of innocency persecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings no less proud, than those ancient disturbers to whom Saint Augustine writeth, saying<sup>3</sup>: "Martyrs "rightly so named are they not which suffer for their "disorder, and for the ungodly breach they have made of "Christian unity, but which for righteousness' sake are "persecuted. For Agar also suffered persecution at the "hands of Sara, wherein, she which did impose was holy, "and she unrighteous which did bear the burden. In like "sort, with thieves was the Lord himself crucified; but they, "who were matched in the pain which they suffered<sup>4</sup>, were "in the cause of their sufferings disjoined"... "If that must "needs be the true church which doth endure persecution,

<sup>1</sup> Acts xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. "We "fools thought his life madness." Merc. Tris. ad Æsculap. [lib. xv. fol. 43.] Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες οὐτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, οὐτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς μεμνημένοι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. cap. 16.

<sup>2</sup> [This was written before either of the executions which took place in Queen Elizabeth's reign for disturbances on puritanical grounds. For Hooker's book was sent to Lord Burghley, March 13, 1592, (Strype, Whitg. II. 300,) Barrow and Greenwood were condemned, March 23, (ibid. II. 186,) Penry in May (ib. 176). Udall who had been convicted was pardoned, at Whitgift's intercession, June 1592, (ib. 102.)]

<sup>3</sup> Aug. Ep. 50. [al. 185, § 9. t. II. 649. "Veri martyres illi sunt, "de quibus Dominus ait, Beati qui "persecutionem patiuntur propter "justitiam. Non ergo qui propter

"iniquitatem, et propter Christianæ "unitatis impiam divisionem, sed "qui propter justitiam persecutio- "nem patiuntur, hi martyres veri "sunt. Nam et Agar passa est perse- "cutionem a Sara, et illa erat sancta "quæ faciebat, illa iniqua quæ patie- "batur. Et ipse Dominus cum latro- "nibus crucifixus est: sed quos pas- "sio jungebat, causa separabat."]

<sup>4</sup> [Ibid. § 11. "Si Ecclesia vera "ipsa est, quæ persecutionem pati- "tur, non quæ facit; quærant ab "Apostolo, quam Ecclesiam signifi- "cabat Sara, quando persecutionem "faciebat ancillæ. Liberam quippe "matrem nostram, cœlestem Jeru- "salem, id est veram Dei Ecclesiam, "in illa muliere dicit fuisse figura- "tam, quæ affligebat ancillam. Si "autem melius discutiamus, magis "illa persequabatur Saram super- "biendo, quam illam Sara coer- "cendo."]

"and not that which persecuteth, let them ask of the apostle "what church Sara did represent, when she held her maid "in affliction. For even our mother which is free, the "heavenly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true Church of God, "was, as he doth affirm, prefigured in that very woman by "whom the bondmaid was so sharply handled. Although, if "all things be thoroughly scanned, she did in truth more "persecute Sara by proud resistance, than Sara her by "severity of punishment."

[16.] These are the paths wherein ye have walked that are of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that school: a custom of inuring your ears with reproof of faults especially in your governors; an use to attribute those faults to the kind of spiritual regiment under which ye live; boldness in warranting the force of their discipline for the cure of all such evils; a slight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture every where favoureth that discipline; persuasion that the cause why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit, that the same Spirit is a seal unto you of your nearness unto God, that ye are by all means to nourish and witness it in yourselves, and to strengthen on every side your minds against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

IV. Wherefore to come unto you whose judgment is a lantern of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade myself) of a politic intent or purpose, but yourselves being first overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments: on your shoulders is laid the burden of upholding the cause by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word of God ye allege divers: but so, that when the same are discussed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak

What hath caused so many of the learned sort to approve the same discipline.

of should be taught by Christ and his apostles in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time<sup>1</sup>; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.

[2.] Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had observed the selfsame orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses, wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only: for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before<sup>2</sup>. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apostles' time till this present age, wherein yourselves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of sound discipline, there never was any time safe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. "Out of<sup>3</sup> "Egesippus" ye say that "Eusebius<sup>4</sup> writeth," how although "as long as the Apostles lived the Church did remain a pure

<sup>1</sup> [Bancroft, Sermon at S. Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 10, 11, has the same affirmation and challenge almost in the same words. "A very strange matter if it were true, that Christ should erect a form of government for the ruling of his Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until his coming again; and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice for the space of 1500 years: or at the least (to take them at their best) that the government and kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown, when by all men's confessions the divinity of his Person, the virtue of his Priest-

hood, the power of his office as "He is a Prophet, and the honour of his kingly Authority was so godly, so learnedly, and so mightily established."]

<sup>2</sup> T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> [Id. *ibid.* and ii. 507-511.]

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 32. iv. 22. [Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐπιλέγει, ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθυρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδελφῷ που σκότει φωλευόντων εἴσεται τότε, τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπάρχον, παρασφθεῖρουν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιὲ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. And in b. iv. 22, he cites the very words of Hegesippus, Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρ-

"virgin, yet after the death of the Apostles, and after they "were once gone whom God vouchsafed to make hearers of "the divine wisdom with their own ears, the placing of "wicked error began to come into the Church. Clement "also in a certain place, to confirm that there was corruption "of doctrine immediately after the Apostles' time, allegeth "the proverb, that 'There are few sons like their fathers'<sup>1</sup>. "Socrates saith of the churches of Rome and Alexandria<sup>2</sup>, "the most famous churches in the Apostles' times, that about "the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian bishops, leaving "the sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or "dominion<sup>3</sup>." Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not safe to fetch our government from any other than the Apostles' times.

[3.] Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing the Apostles' times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefest thing which lay-reformers yawn for is, that the clergy may through conformity in state and condition be apostolical, poor as the Apostles of Christ were poor. In which one circumstance if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that Church which hath such store of mendicant Friars, a church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God and the good of his Church indeed that the clergy should be left even as bare as the Apostles when they had neither staff nor scrip, that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his Apostles, would I hope endue them with the selfsame affection which was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his own right virtuous contentment of heart, "as well how to want, "as how to abound<sup>4</sup>," are a most fit episcopal emprese. The Church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot stand, unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the

θένον· οὕτω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς μεταίταις. See Dr. Routh's note, Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 233.]

<sup>1</sup> Lib. Strom. somewhat after the beginning. [Ed. Potter. t. i. 322.] [Ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατέρας ὅμοιοι; from Hom. Od. ii. 276.]

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 11.

<sup>3</sup> [Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς, ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων, πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.]

<sup>4</sup> Phil. iv. 12. [For the word emprese or impress see Shakespeare, Rich. II. act III. sc. 1.]

clergy, to be in meanness of state like the Apostles; at the hands of the laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apostles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency.

[4.] But your reformation which are of the clergy (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of the clergy<sup>1</sup>) seemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think that he which will perfectly reform must bring the form of church-discipline unto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certain, nor absolutely convenient.

Concerning the first, what was used in the Apostles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of church-polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept.

Again, sith the later even of the Apostles' own times had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general proposing of the apostolical times, there is no certainty which should be followed: especially seeing that ye give us great cause to doubt how far ye allow those times<sup>2</sup>. For albeit "the loover of antichristian building were not," ye say, as then "set up, yet the foundations thereof were "secretly and under the ground laid in the Apostles' times<sup>3</sup>:" so that all other times ye plainly reject, and the Apostles' own times ye approve with marvellous great suspicion, leav-

<sup>1</sup> [T. C. iii. 219. "Those which "were baptized in their beds were "thereby made unapt to have any "place among the clergy (*as they "call them*)."]

<sup>2</sup> [Penry, Brief Discovery, &c. p. 20. "We know Diotrephes to have "been in the Church even in the "Apostles' times.... and therefore "we cannot greatly marvel, though "even in their time there had been "a divers government from this of "the Lord's appointment, which we "labour for. For even in the Apo- "stles' time the mystery of iniquity "began to work."]

<sup>3</sup> [T. C. i. 97. The word "loover" is also used, T. C. ii. 621. "How "childishe is yt, after so long tra- "vaile to prove a bishop over the

"ministers off a diocese,.... in the "ende to endeavour to prove, that "there may be superioritie? as if "any man would deny this that "graunted the other: and yt is *to "set the fondacion upon the lover*." "Louver, (from *l'ouvert*, Fr. an "opening :) an opening for the "smoke to go out at in the roof of "a cottage: in the north of Eng- "land, an opening at the top of a "dovecote. 'The ancient manner "of building in Cornwall was, to "set hearths in the midst of rooms "for chimneys, which vented the "smoke at a louver in the top.' "Carew, Survey of Cornwall. And "see Spenser's F. Q. vi. x. 42." Todd's Johnson's Dict.]

ing it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourselves unto the pattern of their times.

Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude to consider only what hath been of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemn that presently which is, and never to search upon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and judgment hath enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the Church and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, the ancients<sup>1</sup>, the better ceremonies of religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true and without exception: but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles' times that was harmless, which being now revived would be scandalous; as their *oscula sancta*<sup>2</sup>. Those feasts of charity<sup>3</sup>, which being instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man

<sup>1</sup> "Antiquitas ceremoniis atque "fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere "consuevit, quantum adstruxerit "vetustatis." Arno. p. 746. [The words are from Minutius Felix, p. 4, line 30, ed. Elmenhorst. In many former editions, and no doubt in that which Hooker used, the dialogue of Minutius is ascribed to Arnobius.]

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xvi. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words, "Peace be with you." For which cause Tertullian doth call it, *signaculum orationis*, "the seal of "prayer." Lib. de Orat. [c. 14.]

<sup>3</sup> Epist. Jud. 12. Concerning which feasts, Saint Chrysostom saith, "Statis diebus mensas faciebant "communes, et peracta synaxi post "sacramentorum communionem in- "ibant convivium, divitibus quidem "cibos afferentibus, pauperibus au- "tem et qui nihil habebant etiam "vocatis." [Καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τρι-

χιλίων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πιστευσάντων, κοινῇ πάντες εἰσιτιῶντο καὶ κοινὰ πάντα ἐκέκτηντο, οὕτω καὶ τότε ὅτε ταῦτα ἔγραψεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο, οὐχ οὐκ μὲν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ὥσπερ δὲ τις ἀπόρροια τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης ἐναπομείνασα καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα κατέβη. Καὶ ἔπειδαν συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν πένητας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους, τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν οὐ κατετίθεντο πάντα εἰς μέτρον, κοινὰς δὲ ἐποίουντο τὰς τραπέζας ἐν ἡμέραις νενομισμέναις, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ τῆς συνάξεως ἀπαρτισθείσης μετὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν ἐπὶ κοινὴν πάντες ᾤσαν εὐωχίαν, τῶν μὲν πλουτούντων φερόντων τὰ ἐδέσματα, τῶν δὲ πενομένων καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχόντων ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλουμένων καὶ κοινῇ πάντων ἐστιωμένων. iii. 416.] In 1 Cor. xi. 17, Hom. xxvii. Of the same feasts in like sort, Tertullian. "Cæna "nostra de nomine rationem sui "ostendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id "quod est penes Græcos *dilectio*. "Quantiscunque sumptibus con- "stet, lucrum est pietatis nomine "facere sumptum." Apol. cap. 39.

is there of understanding, unto whom it is not manifest how the way of providing for the clergy by tithes, the device of almshouses for the poor, the sorting out of the people into their several parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles' times could not have, (being now established,) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Christ, than if the same should be taken away for conformity's sake with the ancientest and first times?

[5.] The orders therefore, which were observed in the Apostles' times, are not to be urged as a rule universally either sufficient or necessary. If they be, nevertheless on your part it still remaineth to be better proved, that the form of discipline, which ye entitle apostolical, was in the Apostles' times exercised. For of this very thing ye fail even touching that which ye make most account of<sup>1</sup>, as being matter of substance in discipline, I mean the power of your lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Pastors in all churches. So that in sum, we may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worst, there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised.

[6.] The evidence therefore of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of such learned men, as seem by their writings to be of opinion, that all Christian churches should receive your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; so there are a number whom when ye mention, although it serve you to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by weight, yet surely they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest amongst them, with us notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought

<sup>1</sup> ["Tantum inter cæteros eminent Presbyteri isti non docentes, 'quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi:' tantumque præstare videntur reliquis, ut ipsorum nomine  
"totus hic consessus Presbyterium dicatur. Quum igitur tota illa 'moles novæ disciplinæ... hoc uno 'fundamento nitatur... &c.'" Sutcliffe de Presbyt. p. 90.]

they to be of such reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture should cause the laws of the Church of England to give place. Much less when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part through a courteous inducement have followed one man as their guide, finally that one therein not unlikely to have swerved<sup>1</sup>. If any chance to say it is probable that in the Apostles' times there were lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church, or to affirm that Bishops at the first were a name but not a power distinct from Presbyters, or to speak any thing in praise of those Churches which are without episcopal regiment, or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that calling; all these ye register for men persuaded as you are, that every Christian Church standeth bound by the law of God to put down Bishops, and in their rooms to elect an Eldership so authorized as you would have it for the government of each parish. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the favourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed<sup>2</sup>.

[7.] Yet touching some material points of your discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many divines of reformed Churches abroad. For, first, to do as the Church of Geneva did the learned in some other Churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration, in such an exigent I see not well how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other regiment than that which already was devised to their hands, that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the first almost through a kind of constraint or necessity followed by many, their concurrence in persuasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which

<sup>1</sup> ["Swerved"—and so always in 1st ed. 1594.]

<sup>2</sup> [Full evidence of this point may be seen in Whitgift's two works.]