

~~such who have been with them in the time of persecution. You would fain, if you could, confute a known truth and a manifest thing; for who would deny but that such as keep together in the time of persecution must of necessity be known among themselves, "and best judge who is fittest among them for any function<sup>1</sup>?"~~

Chapter vi. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 44, Sect. 3.

Secondly, in the apostles' time, all or the most that were Christians were virtuous and godly, and such as did sincerely profess the word; and therefore the election of their pastor might safely be committed to them: now the church is full of hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkards, whoremongers, &c.; so that, if any election were committed to them, they would be sure to take one like to themselves.

The church now full of hypocrites, &c.<sup>2</sup>

T. C. Page 34, Sect. 1.

To your second difference I answer, that indeed there be hypocrites in our churches now, and so were there then; but more now than then: I grant you that also; but there is no great danger in them, as touching the election of the minister or bishop; for that in such open and public actions, that come into the eyes of all men, there is no good man will do so sincerely<sup>3</sup>, so holily, as they will do, although it be fainedly. The hurt that they do is in closer and secreter matters. But, where you say our churches are full of drunkards and whoremongers, besides that you utter, or ever you be aware, how evil success the preaching of the gospel hath had here (for want of discipline and good ecclesiastical government), you bewray a great ignorance. For, although there be hypocrites, which bear the face of godly men in the church, whose wickedness is only known to God, and therefore cannot be discovered by men; yet in the churches of Christ there be no drunkards nor whoremongers, at least which are known: for either upon admonition of the church they repent, and so are neither drunkards nor whoremongers; or else they are cut off by excommunication (if they continue stubborn in their sins), and so are none of the church, and therefore have nothing to do in the election of the minister of the church. And methinketh you should not have been ignorant of this, that, although there

A dangerous assertion tending to the doctrine of the anabaptists.

[<sup>1</sup> Cartwright at great length endeavours to prove that there were more professors of the gospel in the apostles' times than in his own, and scoffs at Whitgift for his assertions to the contrary.—Sec. Repl. pp. 234, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> This marginal note is not in Answ. 2.]

[<sup>3</sup> Repl. 2 omits so sincerely.]

*Matt. xiii. 25.<sup>4</sup>* be tares in the flour of the church which are like the wheat, and therefore, being ground, easily meeteth<sup>5</sup> together in the loaf, yet there are no acorns which are bread for swine: and, although there be  
*Matt. xxv. 32.<sup>4</sup>* goats amongst the flock of the church, because they have some likelihood with the sheep, feeding as they do, giving milk as they do, yet in the church of Christ there are no swine, nor hogs. It pertaineth to God only to sever the tares from the wheat, and the goats from the sheep; but the churches can discern between wheat and acorns, between swine and sheep.

JO. WHITGIFT.

There be not only "hypocrites" (which deal "sincerely" in nothing, no, not "in public actions"); but there be such also as be corrupt both in religion and life, who would no doubt be as corrupt in elections (if they might have to do therein) as they are in other matters.

In saying that the church is now full of "hypocrites, drunkards, whoremongers, &c.," I derogate no more from "the good success that the preaching of the gospel hath had," than the like or greater faults did from the same in the church of Corinth and Galatia. The church is a net that gathereth together of all kind of fish, *Matt. xiii.*: it is a field wherein the devil soweth tares as fast as the husbandman good corn; and for one that profitably heareth the word of God three do the contrary; as the parable of the sower declareth: "There be many called, but few chosen;" "and the gate is wide that leadeth to perdition." Therefore it is no discredit to the gospel or to the preaching thereof, nor yet to the good government of the church, to have many wicked and ungodly persons which cannot possible be rooted out until the time of harvest. But this hath been always an anabaptistical cavil against the true church of Christ, and lawful government thereof; as Bullinger declareth, *Lib. i. Adversus Anabap.*<sup>6</sup> And undoubtedly, if this were a good argument to prove that the gospel is not preached sincerely, then Esay, Jeremy, and other of the prophets, which had preached among the people many years, and smally prevailed with them, either concerning doctrine or manners, preached not sincerely.

Drunkards and whoremongers in the visible church.

*Matt. xiii.*

*Matt. xxii.*

*Matt. vii.*

Bullinger.

[<sup>4</sup> The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

[<sup>5</sup> Meet, Repl. 2.]

[<sup>6</sup> *Insuper ut disertis verbis in evangelio docetur, zizania creverunt inter bonum semen, &c. Contra hanc sententiam Muncerus cum sua factione prorumpit in medium, &c.—H. Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Libri vi. Tigr. 1560. Lib. i. cap. ii. fol. 4. 2.]*

Whereas you say that "in the church of Christ there be no drunkards or whoremongers, at the least which are known, &c.;" either do you greatly overshoot yourself, and forget the great crimes that were known to be in the church of Corinth, or else would you secretly bring in the error of the anabaptists, which say that not to be the true church of Christ in the which there appeareth manifest crimes: for the declaration of the which error, and confutation also, I refer you to the third book of Bullinger *Adversus Anabap.*, and the ii. and iii. chapter<sup>1</sup>; where you may likewise learn what profit hath come to this and the like churches, where the gospel is professed, by the preaching of the word, though many wicked still remain in the same. I grant you that these vices when they be known ought to be punished; but if, either because those that be in authority do not their duty therein, or else those vices continue notwithstanding, therefore you will conclude that this is not "the church of Christ," I tell you plainly that you have already entered into one branch of anabaptism.

A branch of anabaptism.

It cannot be denied but that the evil are continually mixed with the good in this world, even in the most purest church; and that then they abound especially, when the gospel is in prosperity: so that this is a good cause why the election of ministers may not safely be committed to the common people<sup>2</sup>.

#### Chapter vi. The Third Division

Answer to the Admonition, Page 44, Sect. 4.

Thirdly, in the apostles' time all that professed Christ had knowledge, and were able to judge who were meet to be their pastor. Now the most be ignorant and without judgment in such matters.

The people now ignorant and not able to judge<sup>3</sup>.

T. C. Page 34, Sect. 2.

*If they had knowledge then, it was because they were taught; and that they are ignorant now, it is because they have no good ministers to teach them; and, if the churches should choose their ministers, I am sure they*

You make a digression, and answer not the reason.

[<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.* Lib. III. capp. ii. iii. foll. 79, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> Cartwright accuses Whitgift of borrowing his argument from Hosius, and maintains that the passages of scripture he refers to are misrepresented.—Sec. Repl. pp. 241, &c.]

[<sup>3</sup> This marginal note is not in Answ. 2.]

*could not choose worse than, for the most part, they have now, being thrust upon them.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

They were then diligently "taught," and they gave themselves wholly to learn, because it was a time of persecution; in the which men be commonly best disposed, and sequestered (as it were) from all worldly cares, looking continually to fall into the hands of the persecutors. Now, though they be in divers places well taught, yet, because they have not such a sense and feeling of the word in the time of prosperity as they have under the cross (when the church of Christ is purest), the election of their ministers cannot be so safely committed unto them now as it might be then. But why have you not answered my reason? for as yet that is untouched<sup>4</sup>.

#### Chapter vi. The Fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 45, Sect. I.

Fourthly, in the apostles' time there was in the church no idolaters, no superstitious persons, no papists: now<sup>5</sup> the church is full of papists, atheists, and such like: who seeth not therefore what strange ministers we should have, if the election of them were committed to their several parishes?

The church now full of papists and atheists, &c.<sup>6</sup>

T. C. Page 34, Sect. 3.

*I see that, when a man is out of his way, the farther he goeth the worse. Before you placed in the church whoremongers and drunkards, as filthy swine in the Lord's courts; now you bring in papists, idolaters<sup>7</sup>, and atheists, which are not only filthy, but also poisoned and venomous beasts. I am not ignorant of that distinction which saith, that there be in the church which are not of the church, and those are hypocrites, as is before said: but I would gladly learn of you what scripture there is to prove that idola-*

[<sup>4</sup> Cartwright rejoins: "That which you call the 'prosperity' might well be called the cross and whip of the gospel, if it drew such a tail of sin as you suppose." He goes on to say that, if such evils result, "it is through the great and unexcusable fault of all, and governors especially," and that "peace of itself is an aid to godly increase."—*Ibid.* pp. 243, &c.]

[<sup>5</sup> Not many idolaters or superstitious persons, no papists, no common and general error: now, Answ. 2.]

[<sup>6</sup> This marginal note is not in Answ. 2.]

[<sup>7</sup> Papists and idolaters, Repl. 1 and 2.]

Seniors.  
God bestoweth his gifts by means.

in the beginning of his church miraculously bestowed his gifts, so doth he now leave the same by outward means in part to be obtained, as by education, learning, instruction, reading, studying, &c.; which means being neglected, God doth of his justice permit evil magistrates and officers, which he also sometime<sup>1</sup> doth for the offences of the people; as may be seen in the most part of the kings of Juda and of Jerusalem, and almost in all christian princes and governors under the pope's tyranny. For I suppose you mean such gifts as be profitable for the church.

The absurdity of the Reply.

Surely, if this were true that you here so boldly without proof affirm, then should it not much skill what kind of men were chosen to be either pastors or magistrates; for, howsoever they were before furnished with gifts, yet, when they be once called, God will miraculously pour upon them gifts necessary, though they be the rudest and ignorantest men in a whole country. Is not this to boast of the Spirit, as the anabaptists do? But I think the reader understandeth that God now worketh by ordinary means, not by miracles. And, though it be certain that God doth endue magistrates, such as fear him, with singular gifts, yet doth he it by means, as is said; and it is not at all times so, nor in all persons, but when, where, and in whom it pleaseth him. Therefore to ground any general doctrine upon singular examples, or to stablish an external kind of government upon God's inward and secret working, to bind God unto that of necessity that he doth bestow of grace and mercy, to make that common to all which he of his infinite wisdom bestoweth upon some, is not the part of a skilful divine.

But to let all this pass; you do still *petere principium*, and take that as granted which you cannot prove, that is, that the office of seniors is an office established in the church by the commandment of God, and not to be altered; which I for my part can never grant unto you, except you have more pithy reasons to prove it than any that you have as yet uttered.

[<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, Def. A.]

Seniors.

## Chapter ii. The Seventeenth Division.

T. C. Page 144, Line 26, and<sup>2</sup> Sect. 1, 2.

*It is true that we ought to be obedient unto the civil magistrate which governeth the church of God in that office which is committed unto him, and according to that calling. But it must be remembered that civil magistrates must govern it according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, and that as they are nourishes<sup>3</sup> so they be servants unto the church, and as they rule in the church so they must remember to subject themselves unto the church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns, before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the church. Wherein I mean not that the church doth either wring the sceptres out of princes' hands, or taketh their crowns<sup>5</sup> from their heads, or that it requireth princes to lick the dust of her feet (as the pope under this pretence hath done), but I mean, as the prophet meaneth, that, whatsoever magnificence, or excellency, or pomp, is either in them, or in their estates and commonwealths, which doth not agree with the simplicity and (in the judgment of the world) poor and contemptible estate of the church, that they will be content to lay down.*

*And here cometh to my mind that wherewith the world is now deceived, and wherewith M. Doctor goeth about both to deceive himself and others too, in that he thinketh that the church must be framed according to the commonwealth, and the church-government according to the civil government, which is as much to say, as if a man should fashion his house according to his hangings, when as in deed it is clean contrary, that, as the hangings are made fit for the house, so the commonwealth must be made to agree with the church, and the government thereof with her government. For, as the house is before the hangings, and therefore the hangings which come after must be framed to the house which was before, so the church being before there was any commonwealth, and the commonwealth coming after must be fashioned and made suitable unto the church. Otherwise God is made to give place to men, heaven to earth, and religion is made (as it were) a rule of Lesbia, to be applied unto any estate of commonwealth whatsoever.*

A dangerous doctrine.

*Seeing that good men, that is to say, the church, are as it were the foundation of the world, it is meet that the commonwealth which is builded upon that foundation should be framed according to the church, and therefore those voices ought not to be heard, This order will not agree with our commonwealth, That law of God is not for our state, This form of government will not match with the policy of this realm.*

An obscure and deformed argument.

JO. WHITGIFT.

These words would be well considered, for they contain the overthrow of the prince's authority both in ecclesiastical

The overthrow of the prince's authority contained in the Reply.

[<sup>2</sup> Def. B. has not *and*.]

[<sup>3</sup> Nourishes: nurses.]

[<sup>4</sup> The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

[<sup>5</sup> Crown, Def. B.]

Seniors. and civil matters. But I will only give a brief note of them in this place, meaning to set forth this matter more at large elsewhere. When he saith that "the civil magistrate must govern according to his calling, and according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, &c.;" although the words be true, yet, if you mark upon what occasion they be spoken, you shall perceive the venom that lieth hid under them; for he doth thereby insinuate that the civil magistrate may not intermeddle with the office of the senior, that is, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for he taketh seniors to be the officers appointed by God for that purpose; which is to bereave the civil magistrate of his authority, and to give that to seniors which the pope under the like pretence doth arrogate unto himself. And therefore well and truly saith M. Gualter, in the place before recited:

Gualter. "Those men," meaning such as call for seniors when they have a christian magistrate, "do distinguish between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction in respect of the punishment of sins, and the discipline of manners. But this distinction is taken out of the pope's shop, and in the holy scriptures it is nowhere to be found. For there is the same reason of the magistrate in the new testament that was in times past in the old; forsomuch as Christ hath said that he came not to break the law, but to fulfil it. But in times past the judges and kings had power to punish those that offended; neither did the priests or prophets thrust themselves into that business but so far forth as pertained to admonitions and reprehensions, which they applied out of the word of God according to the quality of the offences. Therefore the same must be observed in the new testament; neither is it needful that the ministers of the word should have a peculiar senate, or that they should challenge unto themselves by any means those things that belong to the civil magistrate." M. Gualter's meaning is, that the ministers of the word cannot challenge the authority of punishing vice (otherwise than by admonitions and reprehensions, that is, that they cannot challenge this kind of government of a seigniorie) by the word of God; because all such authority is committed to the civil magistrate. So that, if bishops have it, they must have it from him; as it is in this church of England. And therefore well saith M. Gualter in the same place: "There may be appointed such as shall have the correction of manners, in such countries where the ordinary magistrates cannot do all

themselves; but those must be appointed by the magistrate, Seniors. and do all at his commandment, and not usurp any distinct jurisdiction from the ordinary magistrate<sup>1</sup>."

The second point to be noted is, when he saith that christian princes "must subject themselves to the church, submit their sceptres, throw down their crowns before the church, &c.;" the which kind of speech the pope himself useth, and under the same pretence hath trodden kings under his feet. And, although T. C. seems to mislike this excessive using of authority by the pope, yet would he have the same jurisdiction to remain to his seniors still, whom he understandeth by the name of the church; as appeareth in that which he spake before of these words of Christ, *Dic ecclesiæ*<sup>2</sup>, so that he would have the prince subject herself to the seniors of the church, and throw down her crown before them, that is, to be content to be ruled and governed, to be punished and corrected, to be excommunicated and absolved, by their discretion, and at their pleasure. This no doubt is his meaning; neither can it otherwise be; for, if this kind of government be once admitted, the prince must needs be of some peculiar church and congregation, and therefore subject to the seigniorie of that church, except it please Master Pastor (who is the chief), and the rest of his neighbours the parishioners, to elect the prince into the seigniorie, and make him one of them; and yet must the pastor be his superior, and have authority to call him to consultations, and to direct him in matters of discipline; and, whether he will or no, he must be ordered and ruled by the pastor and most part of the seniors. And yet now I remember

The prince made subject to seniors by the Replier.

Page 140, in the latter end.

[<sup>1</sup> Distinguunt illi inter jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam et politicam, quoad morum disciplinam et scelerum penas. At distinctio ista ex pontificum officina deprompta est, in scripturis vero sacris nusquam habetur. Etenim in novo testamento eandem magistratus rationem esse constat, quæ olim in veteri fuit, cum Christus dixerit, se non venisse ut legem dissolvat, sed ut impleat. At olim penes judices et reges fuit potestas animadvertendi in eos, qui peccaverant: neque se ei negotio sacerdotes et prophetæ admiscebant, nisi quoad admonitiones et correptiones, quas ex Dei verbo adhibebant pro delictorum ratione. Idem ergo in novo testamento observari debet, neque opus est, ut verbi administri senatum habeant peculiarem, aut ut quæ politici magistratus sunt, quacunque ratione sibi vendicent. Possunt quidem morum censores constitui, quibus in repub. majori omnino opus est, ubi ordinarii magistratus non possunt negotiis omnibus sufficere. At illi ipsi non nisi ex magistratus auctoritate creari, et ex ejusdem mandato omnia agere debent, non propriam et ab ordinario magistratu distinctam potestatem usurpare.— R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67.]

[<sup>2</sup> See before, pages 168, 9.]

Seniors. myself, the prince cannot be of the seigniory; for T. C. a little  
 Pa. 146, sect. after granteth that the seniors be no laymen, but ecclesiasti-  
 1. cal<sup>1</sup>; so that indeed the prince must be a servant, no master;  
 a subject, no prince; under government, no governor, in mat-  
 ters pertaining to the church.

And, lest any man should think that this is but my col-  
 lection (though it be most true, and I will justify it so to be),  
 I have shewed before that which M. Gualter affirmeth upon  
 the 1 Cor. v., as he also doth upon the xii. chapter of the  
 same epistle, saying, "There be some which, according to the  
 Gualter. example of the old and primitive church, would have seniors,  
 and an ecclesiastical senate, that should have authority over  
 magistrates, if they at any time do not their duty<sup>2</sup>." And  
 indeed this is one of the chief causes why our men would so  
 gladly have a seigniory, for they would gladly be in hand  
 with magistrates to make them stoop and bow down unto them.

The third point is in this, that he would have "the govern-  
 ment of the commonwealth and the commonwealth itself  
 framed to the church and the government thereof, as the  
 hangings are made fit for the house;" whereby, as it may  
 seem, he would have all monarchies overthrown, and reduced  
 either to a popular or an aristocratical estate; for these two  
 kinds of government he only alloweth of in the church; as it  
 appeareth by that which he hath thereof oftener than once or  
 twice spoken before.

How the laws of man will bear this, I know not; but I am  
 well assured the law of God will not suffer it. For Christ  
 came not to overthrow kinds of government and civil policy;  
 neither doth the gospel dissolve kingdoms; for St Peter saith,  
 1 Pet. ii. *Proinde subditi estote cuius ordinationi hu-*  
*manæ propter Dominum, sive regi, &c.:* "Submit yourselves  
 unto all manner ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether  
 it be unto the king, as to the superior." And so Paul, 1 Tim.  
 ii., doth exhort him to pray for kings; which he would not have  
 done if the state of a kingdom could not agree with the state  
 of the church.

But I will not amplify this matter. Let such consider of

[<sup>1</sup> See below, page 205.]

[<sup>2</sup> Sunt quidem nonnulli, qui ad veteris et primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplum  
 seniores sive senatum ecclesiasticum instituere volunt, qui in ipsos quoque magis-  
 tratus imperium habeat, si quando illi officium non fecerint.—Id. ibid. Hom. lxvi.  
 fol. 196.]

it to whom it doth specially pertain. This is your reason to Seniors.  
 prove that the government of the commonwealth ought to be  
 framed according to the government of the church; because  
 "there was a church before there was a commonwealth;" but  
 I deny the argument; and your similitude (of "house" and  
 "hangings") doth not prove it. All the examples in the scrip-  
 ture of commonwealths, being also the churches of God, declare  
 the contrary; neither can you shew any state altered in this  
 manner, but only among the anabaptists<sup>3</sup>.

Of like weight is your other reason, which is this: "Good  
 men, that is, the church, are as it were the foundation of the  
 world: the commonwealth is builded upon that foundation;  
 therefore the government of the commonwealth must be framed  
 according to the government of the church." This gear is too  
 subtle for everybody to understand; but the argument is with-  
 out all fashion, and it is neither true in matter nor form. For  
 how prove you that good men are the foundation of the world?  
 The first men were grievous transgressors, the most of them.  
 The evil men, in multitude and worldly prosperity, have from  
 time to time in the world overgrown them. Moreover, the  
 church visible containeth both good and bad; and so doth the  
 commonwealth; and therefore it cannot be said to be builded  
 of good men more than of evil men. To conclude, if all this  
 were true, yet doth not the argument follow. For the foun-  
 dation giveth strength, but it giveth not the whole form or  
 fashion to that which is builded upon it. For a man may make  
 alterations in his house, though he do not once move or stir the

[<sup>3</sup> "...he answereth as though I had meant that the 'form of the government  
 must be changed, and made the same with the form of the church government;' which is an open wresting of my words, seeing all know 'that to be framed  
 according to another thing is not all one as to be made the same with it;' unless  
 he that commandeth his hangings to be framed to his house commandeth that his  
 house and hangings should be made the same, or that the master which biddeth  
 his servant frame himself to him biddeth him to give commandment for com-  
 mandment, check for check, blow for blow...And, if I had had any such meaning,  
 as he surmiseth, yet our commonwealth could have received no such change by this;  
 considering that I had both declared my liking of it, and shewed how the form  
 thereof resembled the form of the church government [see Vol. I. page 390];  
 whereby also appeareth what a shameful slander it is which he surmiseth of me,  
 that I 'would have princes throw down their crowns before the seniors of the  
 church &c.' which I precisely prevented with plain words, because I knew with  
 whom I had to do. Albeit, that 'princes should be excepted from ecclesiasti-  
 cal discipline' and 'namely from excommunication,' as he here and elsewhere  
 [see below, page 210] signifieth, I utterly mislike."—The Rest of Sec. Repl.  
 pp. 64, 5.]