The First Part of Pasquil's Apology.

Wherein he renders a reason to his friends of his long silence, and gallops the field with the *Treatise of Reformation* lately written by a fugitive, John Penry.

Printed where I was, and where I will be ready, by the help of God and my muse, to send you *The May-game of Martinism* for an intermedium between the first and second part of the Apology.

Anno. Dom. 1590.

## THE FIRST PART OF PASQUIL'S APOLOGY

If it be a vanity and vexation of heart for a man to toil in his life to gather treasure, when he knows not whether he be wise or foolish that shall inherit it, we may think the sweat of our spirits to be somewhat frivolous, which write & print, when we cannot tell whether they will prove sober or frantic to whom we leave the possession of our labours. It is now almost a full year since I first entered into the lists against the faction, promising other books, which I keep in yet, because the opening of them is such an opening of waters as will fill the ears of the world with a fearful roaring. Were I but a dog, wise men would suffer me to bay in the defence of mine own master, but being a lively stone, squared and laid into God's building by the hands of many excellent workmen in the church of England, when I see the thief, and the scent of church-robbers is in my nostrils, shall I not lay out my throat to keep them off?

I know that since the beginning of all these broils in our church of England, not only the L. Archb. of Canterbury in his learned works, but many other reverend, religious, and worthy men, both at Paul's Cross and the pulpits in city and country, have with great skill and sobriety touched every string of the holy scriptures, and warbled sweetly to cast out the foul spirit of the faction with David's harp, but their madness on the contrary part hath so increased, that their attempt is still to nail our best men to the wall with the spear of slander.

By these events you may easily perceive what success they are like to have, that deal with so leaden and sandy brains. He that hazards his time and cost to teach them adventures to waken the drowsy out of a dream; their heads fall down the lower for the lifting up, and they defile us with dust when they shake themselves.

I could, for my part, be well contented to throw myself at their feet, with tears and entreaty, to stop their course, that the weak (for whom Jesus Christ hath died) may not see us run one at another like furious bulls, foaming and casting out those reproaches which hereafter we shall never be able to wipe away, and when we should join to encounter the common enemy, the first view of each other will enforce us to brawl again. But seeing sobriety will do no good, let them be well assured that if I catch such a brimse in my pen as I caught the last August, I will never leave flinging about with them so long as I find any ground to bear me. Contention is a coal; the more it is blown by disputation, the more it kindleth. I must spit in their faces to put it out.

Ever since the last Michaelmas term, many thousands of my friends have looked for me, whom I am loath to enforce to lose their longing, and though in silence I gloat through the fingers at other matters, yet am I not careless of the quarrel now in hand. The peace of Jerusalem, which the faithful are bound to pray for, is the only thing that hath brought me to this long and quiet pause, wherein I have set the example of David before mine eyes, seeking with my heart a surcease of arms, even of those that hated peace, and prepared themselves to battle when I spake unto them. The case so standing, I trust I am worthy to be held excused if I muster and train my men anew, that the enemies of God and the state where I live may be stopped of their passage and driven back, or utterly foiled in the field and overthrown.

My labour in this piece of service will be the less because the bishop of my soul, my L. Archb. of Cant., struck off the head of the serpent long agone; it is nothing but the tail that moveth now. Some small rubs, as I hear, have been cast in my way to hinder my coming forth, but they shall not profit. It is reported that a student at the law hath undertaken to be a stickler between us all; his book is not in print, and I came a day short of the sight of the copy of it. For anything I hear, he quencheth the strife with a pint of water and a pottle of fire. I little thought his leisure would have suffered him to have any more than a common kind of knowledge in matters so far removed from the course of his study, place, and calling.

They that are most conversant in the scriptures find the book to be shut with many seals; it is not for every finger to break them up. The Word is a treasure kept under many locks, which are not to be opened with every key. He only that hath the key of David hath granted out a commission to the lips of his priests to come within it. So that if I doubt of any matter there, I may not knock for it at the chamber-door of a common counsellor, but have recourse unto them whom God himself appointed to teach Jacob before any Inn of Court was reared. I can tell him that M. Bucer, Peter Martyr, and that ancient Entellus of the church of England, the B. of Salisbury, have traversed our church with as grave a gait as he, and found nothing in it to stumble at. Therefore what I say to him, I say to the rest of our reformers, whose tongues are so busy to lick out the motes of their brethren's eyes: if they have any wisdom in their vessels, let them be careful how they lend it out, lest that when the sudden shout of the coming of the bridegroom shall be given, and every virgin would be glad to trim his own lamp, there be not enough for them and others.

Some other things there are that made me look back, and measure the race I had run already before I bid any man the base again. To this I was stirred up by the dislike that some had of the jerk which I gave to Friar Savonarol; *O*, *quoth one, he was the first that invented our religion*. This fellow seems to have a pope in his belly as big as Alexander; he would make you believe that our church hath borrowed the light of her torch at a friar's taper, which is far otherwise. Our religion in England is no new excrement of the brain of man, but drawn out of the fountain of all truth, God Himself, Who spake in old time to our fathers, to Adam, to Enoch, to Noah, to Abraham, and so downward, to the patriarchs & prophets that were all under the cloud, and saw the promise afar off, which was in the latter days made manifest to us in Jesus Christ. Our faith and religion is the faith and religion of our father Abraham, fulfilling the prophecy of Zachary who told us before that all nations should take hold of the skirt of a Jew and say, *We will go with thee, we have heard that God is with thee.* Considering what was the hope of our fathers and the hope of us, what was preached to them, & what to us, our religion may say with the Son of God, *I came out of the mouth of the most Highest.* 

I took another nibbling like a minnow about Beza's *Icones*, where you shall find commendation is given to Savonarol, and the fish that was stricken with Beza's hook is Percival the Plain, but because his hand so shook when he carried his copy to the press that he crossed his accusation out again, I will sheath every weapon I had drawn in my defence. Only I will give the readers to understand that the commendations which either M. Foxe or M. Beza do give to Savonarol are to be attributed to the best parts that were in him, that is, to the glimmering he had of the face of God in so dark a time, wherein he inveighed against the pride of the court of Rome, a matter that Petrarch, the poetical priest, touched as well as he; I can show you even by the sermons that spun him a halter to stop his breath, he was no

Protestant. For in some of them he taught the popish distinction of venial and mortal sin, in some he preached merit, in some the real presence in the sacrifice of the Mass, and in the end of this sixth sermon, made in Florence, upon the finishing of Noah's ark, consider what he saith. *Io vi voglio riuelare uno secreto: che insino a qui, non ho voluto dirlo: perche non ho hauuto tanta certezza, come ho hauuto da diece hore in qua, ciascuno di voi credo che conoscesse el conte Giouanni della Mirandola, che staua qui in Firenze: et e morto, pochi giorni sono. Dicoui che l' anima sua per le orationi di frati & anche per alcune sue buone opere che fe ce in questa vita, et per altre orationi, e nel purgatorio. Orate pro eo, &c. I will tell you (saith he) a secret, which to this day I have refused to utter because I had no great certainty of the matter until within these ten hours. I think every one of you knew the County John Mirandola, which lived here in Florence, and died within these few days. I tell you that his soul, by virtue of the prayers of the friars and of some good works he did whilst he lived, together with some other prayers, is now in purgatory; pray for him.* 

See here how many blains break out of the friar in little space. A revelation concerning merit, purgatory, and prayer for the dead. Therefore, as S. Jerome commendeth Origen for his memory, labour, and sharp sight into many places of holy scripture, yet reproveth him for his errors, so I think well with M. Foxe and M. Beza of that which was good in Friar Savonarol, though I compared him with Martin for his factious head, pleading in Florence as Martin did in England for a new government at such a time as arms and invasion clattered about their ears. It may be I am of some better scent than you take me for, and, finding a Machiavellian trick in this plot of innovation, I was the more willing to lay Savonarol's example before your eyes, that having recourse unto Machiavel in whom it is recorded, you might see Machiavel's judgment upon the same. His opinion is, that when such a peaze may be drawn through the noses of the people as to bear a change, the masters of the faction are most happy; they may do what they lust without controlment.

I heard a bird sing more than I mean to say, but riddle me, riddle me, what was he that told a very friend of his he would owe never a penny in England in one half-year? His living considered, though it were fair, the sale of all he possessed would hardly do it. The time was so busy when he spake it that no such largess could be looked for at the hands of her Majesty, who had requited every pennyworth of duty with many a pound of favour long before. No fingering of Spanish coin might be mistrusted, & the philosopher's stone to turn metals into gold is yet to seek. I cannot devise which way so round sums could be so readily compassed but by the spoil of bishoprics, deaneries, and cathedral churches, which very shortly after were stoutly pushed at. Credit me, he spake somewhat nearer the point than himself was ware of, for if his soul be gone the way of the just, his debt is already cancelled. Let him go, let him go. I could tell you mysteries, but there is a whole chamber full of sentences in the land, the very painting of the walls is wisdom, whence I learned this lesson, Acerbum est ab eo laedi, de quo non poteris tuto queri, it is a shrewd matter to be wrung by him against whom a man cannot with any safety open his mouth to make complaint. Sure I am that by practices and policies the garment of Christ is torn in pieces, and the church is overtaken with such a flaw that it is high time every fugitive of the faction were hurled with Jonas into the sea. They thunder their sentence out of the clouds and, contrary to the rule of God's apostle, they take upon them to judge men before the time. Whosoever readeth the epistle and Treatise of John Penry concerning reformation shall discover this swelling and saucy humour in him against her Majesty's right honourable Privy Council.

I remember the wisdom of the land, in a grave oration delivered in the Star-Chamber, compared our nobility and men of mark to the flowers that stand about the prince's crown, garnishing & giving a grace unto it; to deface any one of them is an open injury offered to the crown itself. How Penry, or any Puritan that reacheth at the ornaments of the crown, can

be faithful or dutiful to her Majesty, I leave it to the judgment even of the meanest that is but endued with common-sense. I will let pass the grave testimony of so grave a Councillor, and set the axe of the Word to the root of this withered tree.

The great commander of the world hath appointed certain bounds and landmarks unto our lips, Exo. 22. 28, Thou shalt not rail upon the judges, nor speak evil of the ruler of the *people.* You may resolve upon this, that there is no time of the moon set for us to open the master-vein. To charge her Majesty's right honourable Privy Council with insolency, injustice, murder in the highest degree, yea more, the very killing and crucifying of Christ afresh, is nothing else but to remove the landmarks and limits by God prescribed, that never a subject hereafter might know his duty. I warrant you, the cunning Pap-maker knew what he did when he made choice of no other spoon than a hatchet for such a mouth, no other lace than a halter for such a neck. Yet is Penry become a man of law; he can frame an indictment out of the psalms against such as sit & taunt at their brethren in every corner, when the plea may be turned upon himself, in that none have given their mouth unto evil so much as he. Let me deal with him for it by interrogatories. Who had the oversight of the libel at Fawsley? John of Wales. Who was corrector to the press at Coventry? John of Wales. Who wrote the last *Treatise of Reformation*, so full of slanders, but John of Wales? Is it so, brother John, can you bite and whine? Then hear thyself indicted again by Pasquil. Thou hast railed upon the judges, and spoken evil of the rulers of the people; thou hast ascended above the clouds and make thyself like to the most High.

What sentence shall we look for against him now? I must set the trumpet of Esay to my mouth, and deliver him nothing but points of war. Thou that hast set thy throne above the stars shalt be brought down unto the grave; the princes shall sleep in glory, every one in his own house, but thou shalt be trodden as a carcass underfeet, & everyone that beholdeth thee shall say, *Is this the jolly fellow that shook kingdoms*?

Having given many hisses of the old serpent against his betters in the epistle to the *Treatise*, in the *Treatise* itself he begins to roll up his head within his scales, and would fain prove that Puritans be no traitors. Will you see his reason? Because in the treasonable attempts against her Majesty these 31 years, no one Puritan can be showed, saith he, to have had any part in them. Is this the best proof he can afford us? I am so sick in the stomach when I read it, that if some of my friends did not hold my head, I should cast every minute of an hour. Hath the toad no poison before he spits it, and the scorpion no sting in his tail before he thrusts it out? Be there no more traitors in England than be taken? And is it such a matter as cannot be found, that ever any Puritan became a traitor? Without doubt he speaks like an islandman, that imagines there be no more beasts abroad than such as graze upon the mountains of Wales at home. You that are Oxford men, enquire whether Walpoole were not a Puritan when he forsook you? And you that have travelled, answer for me whether he be not now a Jesuit in the Italian College of Jesuits at Rome, a sworn servant to the pope and Council of Trent? Read the oath in the end of the book, you that have the Council, and then resolve me whether no one instance may be given of any Puritan that in all these thirtyone years hath become a traitor? I could reckon up unto him now what excellent hope the English Cardinal conceiveth of a Puritan; he that hath such a double quartan of curiosity before he comes amongst them will prove passing treacherous, and passing superstitious, as soon as he is burnt with the sun of the Alps.

But give me leave a little to search what treason may be laid to Puritans at home. Popish traitors hold that they may excommunicate their king if he hinder the building of their church, and he being excommunicate, they say they are discharged of their obedience. If such a privy fistula do not eat into the hearts of Puritans at home, I refer you to the physicians that discovered this mischief before I was able to espy it. You shall find such a matter in the appendix to the first treatise of the *Answer to the Abstract*. They pitch

themselves upon a law of tenures for vassals & lords, and would draw it out like a wire from subjects to princes, from which they are roundly beaten by a learned civilian in the land. Above all other, read the defence of the *Answer to the Admonition*, in the whole treatise of the prince's right in matters ecclesiastical, beginning page 694. My L. Archb. of Cant. hath so bruised the faction, and cut them in the skull, that they have lien groaning and panting, breathing and bleeding, ever since; many as blind a surgeon as Penry, endeavouring to close up their wounds, hath made them wider, and left them all desperate upon their death-bed. Considering how weak his purgation is, let us examine his *Reformation*, and try whether that be any stronger.

The first petition he makes is for a preaching ministry. He comes in very late with this request; we have this already, thousands of able ministers in the church of England. Number for number, no kingdom under heaven can show the like. Nevertheless, because the reading of the Word hath his place in our church as well as preaching, it is vinegar to his teeth, and maketh him very saucy with his G. of Cant. He challengeth the Archb. for affirming reading to be preaching, wherein my reformer doth nothing but play the juggler; he packs underboard, and shows not how far forth the Archb. hath affirmed it. Preaching, saith the reverend father, is taken two ways in the holy scriptures. Generally, as it signifies every kind of instruction by the Word, Acts. 15. 21, where it is said that Moses is preached in the cities every Sabbath when Moses is read in the cities every Sabbath. Particularly, strictly, and usually, preaching is taken for expounding the scriptures, and applying the plaster unto the sore. He neither saith that reading is expounding, nor that reading is preaching in respect of him that readeth, but in respect of God's spirit, which watereth the Word, and makes it fruitful to conversion in us when it is read. For proof whereof the testimonies of S. Cyprian and Ma. Foxe are there produced, together with the example of S. Augustine, who was converted by reading the latter end of the 12. chap. to the Romans. Cyprian saith that God Himself speaks unto us when the scriptures are read, and Ma. Foxe giveth in his evidence of many that in the infancy of our church were brought out of darkness into light by reading and hearing the New Testament in the English tongue.

Penry speaks not one word of all this, because he was built but for a fly-boat, to take and leave; when the skirmish is too hot for him to tarry, he may set up his sails and run away. It is a wonder to see with how terrible an outcry he takes his heels, charging the Archb. to be a deceiver, to have his right eye blinded, and to deserve to be condemned for an heretic. Tantara, tantara, is he fled indeed? Let me send a saker after him. Is the Holy Ghost a deceiver, that saith Moses is preached when Moses is read? Is the right eye and understanding of God put out because He commands the message of Jeremy to be set down in writing, and to be read unto His people? Are Christ and the apostle to be condemned for heretics because the one stood up in the synagogue on the Sabbath day to read, the other chargeth Timothy to give attendance to reading till He come? Was the reading of the Word, when there went no preaching with it, no better than swine's blood before the majesty of God? How cometh it to pass, then, that God would have it so? And why doth He attribute an effect of preaching unto reading, Jere. 36. 2, affirming that by this means the people may hear and repent, and He may forgive them their iniquities?

I will thresh at his shoulders before I leave him; let him make his complaint to his Master Cartwright, and let him dress him, if he please, when I have done with him. It is not his empty reply of empty feeders, dark eyes, ill workmen to hasten the harvest, that shall stop my mouth. I look for scholastical grasps and answers to so grave and weighty arguments; he may not think to beguile mine appetite as women do their children that cry for meat, when they give them a bauble to play withal. As a man comparing the joy of heaven with the painfulness of fear cannot say there is fear in heaven, yet as fear is taken for a reverence and admiration of the works, the wonders, the justice, the truth and majesty of God, it is no hard manner of speech at all to say there is fear in heaven, fear in the holy angels, fear in the

bosoms of the blessed. So if you compare the exposition and application that are in preaching, as preaching is strictly taken, with the bareness of reading in respect of the person of him that readeth, you cannot say there is preaching in reading, nor that reading is preaching, without derogation unto preaching. Yet as preaching is taken in holy scriptures for every kind of instruction by the Word, the speech may be swallowed with ease enough, to say there is preaching in reading, and reading is preaching, as the *Answer to the Admonition* teacheth you.

Though they grin with the mouth, grind with the teeth, stamp with the feet, and take stones with the Jews to hurl at me, this truth shall be defended against them all. Nevertheless, I will not be their upholder which lie sleeping and snorting in their charges, unapt or unable to stand in the breach, or to run between the wrath of God and the people when the plague approacheth, for I wish with my heart that every parish had a watchman who, with the tongue of the learned, might call upon them, but this is such a matter as cannot by all the bishops in the land be brought to pass. For suppose that all they who cannot preach could be removed, where will you find sufficient men for so many places as would be void? If you go to our universities, they cannot afford you one for twenty, which matter T.C. saw well enough when he had no other shift to answer this, but to say he looked for help from the Inns of Court. No doubt many excellent learned wits and religious minds are nursed there, and suppose the gentleman whose unprinted book I spake of could find in his heart to make such an honourable change of life as to forsake the bar to plead for God, I doubt how many hundreds would follow him.

The church of the land being still unfurnished, what shall we do? I know what morsels Penry would have before he gapes; he will cry, let them be restored that are put to silence. If we should yield so much unto him (though the number of them also would not fill up the empty places), yet they must be examined by the apostle's rule of cutting and dividing the Word aright, and not one of them should be admitted that hath not a steady hand to cleave just where the joint is. Where would they stand, trow you, which, instead of sound doctrine to feed our souls, have given us the wine of giddiness to turn our brains? I will not trouble them at this time with their trial by the touchstone of *Contradicentes redarguere*, for then I should find them so ill appointed that they must be thrown over the pulpit as thick as hops. Therefore Penry began to gather his wits unto him when he limited his petition to certain bounds; he would have able men in every congregation within England, as far as possibly they might be provided. Here his wit is at the fullest, and presently it beginneth to wane again. Foreseeing the matter, though possible with God, impossible with us, it is very boldly done of him, before he knows the way of his own spirit, to judge the spirit of another man, and pronounce condemnation to a bishop, before the tribunal seat of God, where he must stand to receive sentence upon himself.

What a watch had S. Jerome before his mouth when, writing against an erroneous bishop (which neither all Warwick, nor all Wales, shall ever be able to prove by the Archb. of Canterbury), with great humility and humbleness of spirit he said that if the honour of the priesthood and reverence of the very name of a bishop did not withhold him, and but that he called to mind the apostle's answer, *I knew not that he was high priest*, he confesseth with what outcries and heat of terms he could find in his heart to inveigh against him. If so learned a father as S. Jerome, to whom Cartwright and Penry may go to school, had such a respect to the place & person of the Bishop of Jerusalem, even then, when he was suspected of the heresies of Origen and Arius & refused personally to appear in a council to clear himself, what a reverend regard ought every one of us to have of the bishops of Jesus Christ, which are and have been the very hands whereby God hath delivered His truth unto us? He that receiveth and honours them, receives and honours not them so much as Him, whose bishops undoubtedly they are. Herein, neighbour Cartwright, I challenge you of a dangerous angina in your throat; how durst you presume to make so loud a lie as to say the

B. of Salisbury, D. Jewel, calls the doctrine of the Holy Ghost wantonness? You would make us believe that, if humanity stayed you not, you could break up his grave and bite him, being dead, whom you durst not look in the face whilst he lived. That bishop hath a great many learned sons, first taught by him in his house, afterwards maintained by his purse in the university. They are all of the nature of the elephant; the more they see the blood of their master shed, the more their courage increaseth, and they break with the greater force into the battle. They have all vowed to hale thee out of thy trenches by the head and ears. Pasquil is the meanest of them.

Moreover, brother Penry, I challenge you and the whole rabble of your confederates for all your malapert, murderous, and bloody railing against the Archb. of Canterbury, one of her Majesty's right honourable Privy Council, against whom it appeareth your tongues are bent to shoot still in secret, and not to cease till Satan's quiver be spent, and no venom left for any heretic to use that shall come after you.

Assure yourself, the more you revile him, the greater will his honour be; the world sees it well enough, and such as are not able to read his works may justly imagine, by the course you take, that whom you cannot conquer by learned writings, you go about to kill with words. What is this, I pray you, but to fall grovelling to the earth in the questions and controversies scanned between us and, being down, to use the last refuge, to kick and spurn?

As for the reverend bishops of our souls, they know it, better than I can tell them, that this is the way through which the apostles of God were led, through good report and evil, as deceivers and yet true. They are no better than the prophets, which dwelt as it were in a nest of hornets. They are not so good as their Ma. Christ; they must feel the scourge of evil tongues as He hath done. And though in this dogged generation and age of ours, wherein both prelates & princes are depraved, they live every day in danger to have their skins torn, yet God for His church's sake sprinkled over all the kingdoms of the world shall give them a body of brass to withstand the enemy, and make them a pattern to other nations.

The second venue the Welshman hath bestowed upon us is a wipe over the shins of the non-residents, which, methinks, might very well be returned to the brotherhood of the faction in Warwickshire, of which I have seen more than I mean to name, mounted upon their double geldings, with their wives behind them, riding and jaunselling from place to place to feast among the gentlemen of the shire, and retire to their charge, when the whole week is wasted in pleasure, to preach to God's people upon a full stomach. These be the fellows that cannot away with a virgin priest. Go to, go to, but for choleric diseases this scorching weather, I could point you out one by one, with a wet finger. Yet because that by the length of other men's frailties every man may take the measure of himself, I will carry my mouth in my heart, and let them pass, and though there be a pad in the straw that must be roused, I have taken out this lesson from the wise: there is a time for speech, and a time for silence.

I will not fly from the cause to the person of men, but grapple with the reformer hand to hand. He gives us a volley of scriptures against non-residents, not one of them proving the matter he takes upon him. The places shall be singled out, that you may see how his wits wandered one from another when he quoted them. Rom. 10. v. 14, the apostle saith, *We cannot call upon God without a preacher*. I grant it. Now because we cannot worship Him before we have learned how to worship Him, shall we say we cannot do it when we have been taught it, except we have a preacher continually present with us? I deny it. Tis to reason thus: Mistress Penry cannot call upon God without the presence of a preacher; ergo, she cannot pray in her bed without the presence of a preacher. He coucheth that in the scriptures which the scriptures never meant.

To the next, to the next, more sacks to the mill. I. Cor. 9. v. 16, *Paul confesseth he must of necessity preach the gospel; woe is him if he do it not*. And I. Cor. 4. v. 2, *The minister must be faithful. Transeat*, for this concludeth nothing but a necessity of teaching before learning and, in them that teach, a right cut of the word, without jigs or fancies of heretical and new opinions. This tieth not a preacher to one place continually. Forward, Sir John, you must change your argument. I. Thes. 2. v. 10, *The Thessalonians were witnesses of Paul's behaviour among them*. And 2. Thes. 3. 10, *He desires to see their face*. Give me thy hand; this makes for me. When he was among them, then he was resident; when he did long personally to be with them again to teach them farther, then he was absent. O Paul, art thou guilty of the blood of the Thessalonians? If not, woe be to that wretched mouth of Wales.

These places are too short in the waist to serve his turn; he will be with us to bring anon, I doubt not. I. Peter. 5.v.2, The minister must feed his flock willingly. What of this? Ergo, he must never be away. Ho, ball, ho, I perceive the fellow is bird-eyed; he startles and snuffs at every shadow. Is his brain so bitten with the frost that no better proof will bud out of it? Yes, I warrant you, either we go to the wall now or never. Acts. 20. v. 18, 19, 20, Paul tells the church of Ephesus that he had been among them at all seasons, and taught through every house. 'All seasons', and 'every house'. How like you this? A rod for the grammar-boy, he doth nothing but wrangle about words. What a stir have we hear with 'all' and 'every'? The word 'all' is taken sometimes in the scriptures for all sorts, or all manner, as Luk. 11. v. 42. The scribes and Pharisees are said to tithe *Omne olus*, that is, all sorts and manner of herbs, mint, cumin, anise and the rest. Sometimes the word 'all' in the scriptures is taken for 'many', Rom. 5. v. 8. By the transgression of one, all are damned (as the apostle there teacheth us), but by the benefit of one, all are saved, that is 'many', for so he expoundeth himself in the next verse following, where he saith that as by the first man, Adam, there be many slain, so by Christ there be many saved. To the point now. Paul was among the Ephesians at all seasons, not that he was never absent from them, for how could he then have preached in Macedonia and other places after he had preached at Ephesus? It falleth out answerable to this distinction, that his conversation among them at all seasons, was all sorts of seasons, all manner of seasons, early and late, & many seasons. In his absence from Ephesus, it may be that he lost some of his sheep among the Ephesians, as he did among the Galatians, yet when he comes to Ephesus to see them (determining to go from thence to Jerusalem), concerning his former absence past, and his latter absence to ensue, he washeth his hands from the blood of them all, and saith he is guilty of none of them, in respect he had delivered them all the counsels of God before. People may not look to lay all upon the parson's shoulders, but they must search, and have recourse unto the scriptures, which are able to make the man of God perfect.

By the end I have given the Welshman to his 'all', he may stitch up his 'every' when it pleaseth him. John. I. v. 9, The evangelist declareth Christ to be the true light, which lighteth 'every' man that cometh into the world. Hath every man that is born the light of Christ? Happy were it then with Turks, infidels, atheists, and happy were it then with Penry, for he should see how unto this day he hath reeled up and down like a drunken man, having no scriptures at all to stay himself upon.

When the apostle saith he taught the Ephesians through every house, he makes a difference between his public preaching and private counsel, whereby when any were sick or weak, or occasion required to give them private exhortation, he went unto them to bind up the broken and bring them into the fold, not that he did this every day, or that he set his foot over every threshold that was in Ephesus. And this is performed by our ministers which, in visiting the sick and breeding of peace between man and man, have occasion sometime to go from house to house. Here the reformer, being fallen into the net, and fearing it would be somebody's chance to take him up, tumbling and struggling to get away, he curseth all those that go about to answer him, neither considering that the curse which is causeless shall not come, nor remembering the apostle's counsel, who exhorteth us all to bless, and not to curse, because we are the heirs of blessing. This is but a stone thrown up with fury into the air, and is likely to fall upon his own pate, *Motus in autorem redit*.

To be answered by distinctions, that chalk may not bear the price of cheese, nor copper be current to go for payment, he thinks to forestall or to discourage us by terming it a scornful rejecting of godly examples, and a matter altogether childish and unlearned, wherein you may behold what violence he offereth to the Holy Ghost, to the apostle Paul, and to S. Augustine. Is the Holy Ghost a scorner? Is Paul childish? Is Augustine, that famous pillar of the church, unlearned? The distinction wherewith I have shaken off his proof is taught me by the Holy Ghost and the apostle in the places cited, and by S. Augustine, *Enchirid.* cap. 13. *De correp. & Gra.* cap. 14. and 4. *Cont. Iul.* cap. 8.

Other excellent points I could press and pinch him with to the like purpose, were I not contented to strike the wing, and come down to his capacity, whom I pity to see so bare a schoolman. He hath no way now to slip out of my hands, but to take sentry in the Hospital of Warwick, with this or some suchlike shift of descant: that Paul was an apostle who had the whole field of the world to till; apostles are now ceased in the church, and every minister is tied to a particular plough-land from which he may not be absent, as Paul was from the places where he had planted. He perceiveth not in all this that I have his leg in a string still; though I suffer him to fly to make me sport, I can pull him in again when I lust. Indeed, the immediate calling of the apostles, their working of miracles, their commission to quarter out the world, is ceased, but in respect of preaching the Word, in any place of the dominion wherein the preacher liveth, though he have a particular plough-land of his own, apostles cease not, but continue still in the church, & shall do until the coming of Jesus Christ. Ephe. 4. 11. The place is plain. *He gave some to be apostles*. For how long, I pray you? Unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ. Let them take heed how they deal with this authority, for this being a place upon which they have built their presbytery, if they pull but one straw out of the nest, all their eggs are broken.

How lawful a matter it is for a minister to be from his particular plough-land when it tendeth to the commodity of the same, by his conference abroad with better learned than himself, or when it redounds to the benefit of the whole church of the kingdom wherein he liveth, or when he is called forth by the authority of his superiors, is so soundly proved in the defence of the *Answer to the Admonition* by my L. Archb. of Cant. that I rejoice to trace after him aloof, with reverence and honour unto his steps. To be short in this point, and shut it up, that I may the better withdraw the Welshman from seeking any succour of T.C. concerning the two points already handled, I will show you three pretty brawls between them, and so leave them close together by the ears.

John Penry, in his *Treatise of Reformation*, saith preaching is the only ordinary means to work faith in the people's hearts. Tho. Cartwright saith it is the most ordinary mean, and most excellent, therein confessing a less ordinary and less excellent mean than preaching is. Again, John Penry tieth the minister to a continual feeding until his master come, that his master may find him so doing, wherein he considereth not that the pastor, either preaching sometimes in another place out of his charge, continues feeding, or, conferring with the learned, provideth food to be given to this fellow-servants in due time, and therewithal, having put out his talents to use, and increased them, shall at the last enter into his master's joy. T.C. looseth the cord, and lets it out a great deal farther, for he holds that a pastor may be absent from his parish upon occasion of necessary worldly business; it may be he meaneth about purchasing, as he hath done.

Last of all, John Penry, to snatch up the cord again, and tie him shorter, telleth us that a minister may put no substitute in his room, and so consequently cannot be absent. His proof for it is in Ezekiel, where the priests are reproved for appointing others to take the charge of the sanctuary under them, a common fault of his, to allege scripture before he understandeth it. That place is not understood of every substitute, but of uncircumcised substitutes. T.C., seeing well enough, though he say nothing, that little help could be gathered out of this place, teacheth us that a pastor may provide another in his absence if he be an able man. In these three assertions, where the one of them dasheth out the other's teeth, T.C. is the wariest of the two, for he treads nicely, as one that danceth upon a line, mistrusting every foot an overturn; the Welshman leaps bluntly into the briars with a leaf on his shin, caring not much whether head or heels go foremost.

The last point of reformation to which the *Treatise* leadeth me is a desire the reformer hath that the bishops of the land should be thrown down, and the Jews' synedrion set up. And why? Because from the beginning of the New Testament to the latter end of it, there is not a word spoken of a Lord Archbishop, nor a Lord Bishop. Will he never leave to play the lubber? What a lazy, loutish kind of argument is this, to reason *ab authoritate negative*? It is condemned and hissed out of all schools of learning. Had it been a matter of salvation, I could have borne with him to hear him reason negatively from the authority of holy scriptures, and all schools of philosophers should have vailed the bonnet unto God; the case standing as it doth, I cannot but draw my mouth awry. Not satisfied with the slip he hath given the universities and laws of learning, he is as bold with the scriptures and school of angels.

Bishops, saith he, pollute the church two ways; the one is by their dealing in civil matters, the other by their superiority over inferior ministers. I might justly scorn to look upon so foul a vomit were I not persuaded that, the poison being tasted before, the drink I must give you will be the better welcome. His proofs for these two points are these. Math. 10. 24, 25, *The disciple is not above his master, &c.* Which lesson our Saviour giveth His disciples to encourage them to bear the persecution, hatred, nips, taunting, and evil speeches of the wicked, according to the pattern He had given them, inferring upon it that, if they called the master of the house Beelzebub, much more they would do so to the servant, and they must look for the like entreaty. You see there is no such matter as the reformer would force upon us. But you may imagine what a terrible burning fit he is in, by his tossing and turning from place to place to recover rest, though it torment him much the more.

From the tenth of S. Matthew, he thrusts himself into the 18. of S. John. v. 36, *My kingdom* (saith our Saviour) *is not of this world; if it were, my servants would fight for me*. There was an accusation framed against our Saviour to put Him to death, the main point whereof was this, that He affected the sceptre, and sought innovation and change of the present state, whereupon Pilate's interrogatory ministered unto Him was, *Art thou the king of the Jews?* Christ's answer unto him clears Him of it. They might see by His proceedings that He had no such pretence, for then He would have sought it by arms and invasion, as they that hunt for kingdoms do. No broils nor commotion being made by Him, or by His followers, they might perceive He was wrongfully accused to seek any subversion of the state. This is Calvin's judgment upon that place. Had he found it to make against mingling of ecclesiastical and civil authority in one person, I dare avouch he would have bent the nose of this cannon upon us presently.

But when Christ saith there, *His kingdom is not of this world*, he takes it to be spoken in respect of the transitoriness of worldly kingdoms, that must pass over the stage with all their pomp, and come to a winding up at last, when His kingdom shall have no end.

They that abused this place, to prove out of it that the cause of religion ought not to be defended by sword, though it be by sword invaded, had a little more tincture from hence to lay upon their opinion than Penry can have, yet both are from the meaning of the text. The other quotation of John. 6. v. 15 helps him as little as this. Christ's hiding himself out of the way when the people went about to make him king was because He came to suffer, not to reign, and to show them their error who thought it was in their power to make a king, the setting up of princes pertaining not unto them but unto God. To gather from thence that a minister may not deal in civil causes is to reason as I heard an ironmonger did in a pulpit the last summer: Moses refused to be the son of Pharaoh's daughter; ergo, a minister may not meddle in civil causes. Bounce, there's a gun gone off; do not the bishops quake at this? O, that I could draw him out of his hole, to print me the points which he hath preached; the spirit of the prophets being subject to the prophets, and his spirit and doctrine examined by the spirit and doctrine of the church of England, you should see me so clapperclaw him for it that he should have no joy to run into reformation before he be better learned. The pearl of the Word must not be weighed in those scales that men commonly use to weigh their iron; it is a nicer work.

Now methinks the reformer should smell, ere I go any further, that the rest of his reasons have taken water, and are rotten before they come to shore. I see not one of his proofs that will abide the hammer, they are so beaten to powder by the examples of the Old and New Testament. In the Old, you shall find that Melchisedech, Aaron, Eli, and Samuel were both priests & judges; they both offered sacrifices, and sat upon civil causes. In the New Testament, Christ, Who refused to be made King of the Jews, took upon Him to overthrow the tables of the money-changers out of the temple. Paul also requested Timothy, as a judge, to receive no accusation against an elder, but under two or three witnesses.

This authority being received from the prince under whom we live, and being exercised in the church under her, the B. of Salisbury judgeth to become ecclesiastical in that it serveth to the furtherance of the church. The matter having been so well debated and resolved upon by so reverend learned men as with great study and travail have run the race before us to teach us that come after how to use our weapons, I wonder how these seely snails, creeping but yesterday out of shops and grammar-schools, dare thrust out their feeble horns against so tough and mighty adversaries. Moreover, it is very strange to consider how many gashes the faction have given unto themselves in denying this jurisdiction unto our ministry, and seeking it unto their own, wherein they will have some of their elders to be governing and preaching elders, to handle the Word and the sword together, and whereas our bishops receive their authority from her Majesty, exercising it in her name and under her, Tho. Cartwright would have his authority to be above her in the ruling of the church, and her Majesty to be fitted unto him and to his aldermen, as the hangings to the house.

Look what a pitiful megrim it is that troubleth them in this point; the like, God wot, maketh their brains to crow in the superiority of bishops above their brethren. Are all ministers, I beseech you, of equal authority? How then commandeth Paul Titus and Timothy, and they obey him in the matters he giveth them in charge? Is he that is directed and commanded equal with him that directeth and commandeth? Their cross-blow of 'fellow-labourers' will not save their ribs, if they be no better fencers.

The Archb. and inferior minister are both equal in respect of their fight in the Lord's battles, as the general of the field and the common soldiers are, but not in respect of ordering and disposing of the fight, when every soldier is appointed to his place. This equality being hatched by Aerius, it is well proved by Ma. Doctor Bancroft in his sermon at Paul's Cross, both out of Epiphanius and S. Augustine, to have been condemned for an heresy with the consent of the whole church.

When S. Jerome hears of such a matter, he wonders at it. For the Bishop of Jerusalem, being requested to appear in a council, and refusing it, sent one Isidorus, a priest, in his stead; a bishop was looked for, a priest came, who, to cover the bishop's absence, had nothing to allege but that it was all one, and the authority of the one as great as the other, because he was a man of God that sent, and a man of God that came. *Nihil interest inter Praesbyterum et Episcopum, eadem dignitas mittentis et missi: hoc satis imperite, in portu ut dicitur naufragium.* What, saith Jerome, is there no difference between a priest and a bishop? Is the dignity of him that is sent as great as his that sendeth him? This is spoken without wit or learning, and this is even, at the first putting into harbour, to cast away the ship.

The first lifting up of a bishop, as S. Jerome noteth, was the very physic of the church against schism lest, every man drawing his own private way, the joints of God's house should be pulled one from another, and so the building fall.

The weakest sight in the world may well discern that this busy seeking of an equality among the clergy is the practice of Nahash with the men of Jabesh when they were besieged. He would admit no conditions of peace with them, except he might thrust out their right eyes, and bring a shame upon all Israel. Bishops were lifted up into the highest places of the church as the right eyes of the people of the Lord, to keep watch against schism & heresy; no peace, no truce, no silence, no agreement will be gotten at the hands of the faction except we suffer them to bore out these eyes, that a shame and reproach may be brought upon all religion.

This is the conclusion of Penry's prayer in his epistle to the *Treatise*, that the bishops may be thrust as one man out of the church, and the name of them forgotten in Israel forever. Now is the brood of hell broken loose, the church is a besieged Jabesh; the devil having whetted the sword of Spain against it, & finding open force to be nothing worth, he calls out his pioneers, and sets Martin and Penry a-work to undermine it. But here is our comfort. As the spirit of God came upon Saul, and stung him forward to put to sword and to scatter the host of Nahash in such sort that there were not two of them left together, the spirit of the Lord shall come upon her Majesty, and kindle her sacred heart with a new courage to strike home, that there may not one couple of the faction be left together in the realm of England, not so much as to bind up each other's wounds, nor one to bemoan another.

What is it else to desire this equality, but that every man might be his own judge, and teach what he will in his own charge, when he hath no bishop above him to control him? How dangerous this is in the high and hidden mysteries of the Word a man may perceive by experience in common matters, for even in things daily subject unto our senses a man's own advice is commonly the worst counsellor he can have. Solomon, who was a great deal wiser than any sect-master ever was, or will be, hath given us warning that, if a man begin once to be wise in his own conceit, there is greater hope of a fool than of him. And I dare avouch that whosoever is possessed with an overweening, or gives too much credit unto himself, needeth not to be tempted of the devil because he is a tempter and a devil unto himself.

At the delivery of the Law in Sinai, God commanded His people to be folded up, and to stand within the bars, upon pain of death; at the delivery of the gospel, our Saviour branded his sheep with these two marks, *hearing* and *following*. They must hearken to the voice of him that teacheth, and follow the trace of him that leadeth; they may neither command, nor go before. When they begin to snuff up the wind in their noses, like the wild ass in the wilderness which tireth all that follow her, when they stand upon the pinnacle of every tower & castle built in the air by their own conceit, and say to the bishops as the people did to Jeremy, *Whatsoever cometh out of our own mouth, that will we do*, then they are very easy to be deceived. And then it fareth with them as it did with the disciples of our blessed

Saviour; He appearing unto them upon the sea, they took him for a spirit and, imagining their master to be a bug, they grew very fearful of a great benefit.

Such a dazzling it is that afflicteth the eyes of our reformers; our master Jesus offereth Himself unto us in this excellent government of the church by grave and learned Lord Bishops, but they mistake it to be satanical, and tremble and quake at their own commodity.

But to come to anchor. If they be of one faith and one hope with us, let them help to twine up a threefold cord, and become of one heart with us. Let wit, which is windy, obtain the less, that charity, which edifieth, may gain the more. No doubt but our Saviour had an especial care of the unity of His church, both when He made His request unto His father that we might be one, as the father and He are one, and when He took His leave of His church with so kind a farewell, *My peace I give you; my peace I leave unto you*.

If this peace will not be had at their hands that have so long troubled the church of God among us, I cast them my gauntlet. Take it up who dares, Martin or any other that can draw out any quintessence of villainy beyond Martin; the cause shall not want a champion.

I have now galloped the field to make choice of the ground where my battle shall be planted. And when I have sent you *The May-game of Martinism*, at the next setting my foot into the stirrup after it, the signet shall be given, and the field fought. Whatsoever hath been written to any purpose of either side shall be led out into the plain; the footmen and horse, small shot and artillery, shall be placed; every troop, wing, and squadron ordered, and the banners displayed. Therewithal I will make both armies meet, and the battle join, bullet to bullet, staff to staff, pike to pike, and sword to sword. The blows dealt and the breach made upon the Puritans shall be discovered; you shall see who be fallen and who be fled, what captains are slain, and what ensigns taken.

It shall be shown how like a good general the Archb. of Canterbury hath behaved himself with his battle-axe, and how the brains of Tho. Cartwright fly this way and that way, battered and beaten out, every bone in his body pitifully broken, and his guts trailing upon the ground. Here a leg and there an arm of his followers shall be gathered up, and the carcasses of the dead, like a quarry of deer at a general hunting, hurled upon a heap. Wherein my supplication shall be to the Queen's most excellent Majesty at the end that our conquerors, returning from the chase, may, by virtue of her Highness' favour and authority, hold still the honour which they have won and well deserved in the service of God and the crown of England.

Therefore as the reformer hath made proclamation for armour and munition, desiring you to help him to a book of church discipline which he saith was written in the days of King Edward the Sixth, the authors whereof, he saith, were M. Cranmer and Sir John Cheke, the like proclamation make I in his behalf, because mine, peradventure, will come to more hands than his. Furnish him, I pray you; the better he is provided, the greater honour it will be to overthrow him. I would be glad he should have it (if there be any such), and set down what he can ere I come forth again, that I may drive all before me, and root out the very name of a Puritan from under heaven.

In which exploit, as Berzillai the Gileadite refused to court it in his age, resigning that place to his sons, as fitter for younger years, so I beseech all our bishops, doctors, and ancient men, upon whose silver heads the almond tree hath blossomed, to give up this task to me, and sit and judge of my labours. The spirit of the Lord assisting me, opportunity and other circumstances concurring with it, I trust they shall see me prick it and prance it like a cavaliero that hath learned to manage arms. From my castle and colours at London Stone the 2. of July. Anno. 1590.

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