

BOOK IV. "and so near about us, and their orders being neither com-
 Ch. iii. 2. manded of God, nor yet such but that as good or rather
 "better may be established." It is against the word of God
 to have conformity with the church of Rome in such things,
 as appeareth in that "the wisdom of God hath thought it
 "a good way to keep his people from infection of idolatry
 "and superstition, by severing them from idolaters in out-
 "ward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do
 "things which are in themselves very lawful to be done."
 And further, "whereas the Lord was careful to sever them
 "by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not so careful
 "to sever them from any as from the Egyptians amongst
 "whom they lived, and from those nations which were next
 "neighbours unto them, because from them was the greatest
 "fear of infection." So that following the course which the
 wisdom of God doth teach¹, "it were more safe for us to
 "conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are
 "far off, than to the papists which are so near."

Touching the example of the eldest churches of God; in
 one council it was decreed, "that² Christians should not
 "deck their houses with bay leaves and green boughs, be-
 "cause the Pagans did use so to do; and that they should
 "not rest from their labours those days that the Pagans did;
 "that they should not keep the first day of every month as they
 "did." ³Another council decreed that Christians should not

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [103. and
 Eccl. Disc. fol. 100. "A quibus nos
 "tanto magis recedere et abhorrere
 "debueramus, quanto gravius pe-
 "riculum nobis ab illis quam ab
 "aliis hæreticis, quod inter eos ver-
 "samur, immineat. Qua ratione
 "etiam Dominus in Cananæos atro-
 "cius quam in reliquos idololatrias
 "sæviri voluit."]

² Tom. ii. [Ed. Surii.] Braca. 73.
 [Capitula Martini Episc. Bracar.
 A. D. 572. in Concil. t. v. 913. "Non
 "liceat iniquas observationes agere
 "Kalendarum, et otii vacare gen-
 "tilibus, neque lauro aut viriditate
 "arborum cingere domos. Omnis
 "hæc observatio paganismi est."
 This is not a decree of either of
 the councils of Braga, but one of a
 collection of oriental canons made

by Martin archbishop of Braga (the
 reformer of the Gallician church
 from Arianism) and sent to the arch-
 bishop of Lugo, then the second see
 in the province, and to his provin-
 cial council. The oriental original
 of the seventy-third canon does not
 appear.]

³ Con. Afric. cap. 27. ["Illud
 "etiam petendum," (scil. ab im-
 "peratoribus) "ut quæ contra præ-
 "cepta divina convivia multis in
 "locis exercentur, quæ ab errore
 "gentili attracta sunt, (ita ut nunc
 "a Paganis Christiani ad hæc cele-
 "branda agantur, ex qua re tem-
 "poribus Christianorum imperato-
 "rum persecutio altera fieri occulta
 "videatur) vetari talia jubeant, et
 "de civitatibus et de possessionibus
 "imposita pœna prohiberi: maxime,

"celebrate feasts on the birthdays of the martyrs, because it
 "was the manner of the heathen." "O!" saith Tertullian,
 "better is the religion of the heathen: for they use no
 "solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lord's day¹, neither
 "the Pentecost; and if they knew them they would have
 "nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid lest they
 "should seem Christians; but we are not afraid to be called
 "heathen²." The same Tertullian would not have Christ-
 ians to sit after they have prayed, because the idolaters did
 so³. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and
 of councils, in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heed hath
 been taken that the Christians should not be like the idolaters,
 no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent
 to be used or not used.

The same conformity is not less opposite unto reason; first
 inasmuch as "contraries must be cured by their contraries,
 "and therefore popery being anti-christianity is not healed,
 "but by establishment of orders thereunto opposite. The
 "way to bring a drunken man to sobriety is to carry him as
 "far from excess of drink as may be. To rectify a crooked

"cum etiam in natalibus beatissi-
 "morum martyrum per nonnullas
 "civitates, et in ipsis locis sacris,
 "talia committere non reformident.
 "Quibus diebus etiam (quod pu-
 "doris est dicere) saltationes scele-
 "ratissimas per vicos atque plateas
 "exercent, ut matronalis honor, et
 "innumerabilium fœminarum pu-
 "dor, devote venientium ad sacra-
 "tissimum diem, injuriis lascivi-
 "entibus appetatur; ut etiam ipsius
 "sanctæ religionis pœne fugiatur
 "accessus." Concil. ii. 1649. The
 exact date of this canon seems to be
 uncertain: but it clearly refers not
 to Christians having feasts of their
 own as the Gentiles had, but to the
 danger they were in of being tempted
 to join with the Gentiles in *their*
 feasts, especially when happening on
 our sacred days. It is one of several
 canons, which imply a kind of evil
 something similar to what Christians
 living in India now experience.

The following is the summary of
 it given by Aristæus: Τὰ Ἑλ-
 ληνικά συμπόσια πανέσθω, διὰ τὴν

οἰκίαν ἀσχημοσύνην, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς
 ἀφέλκεσθαι Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ἐν ἡμέ-
 ραις μνήμης μαρτύρων γίνεσθαι. Be-
 veridge, Synodicon, i. 598.]

¹ Lib. de Idololatria, [c. 14. "O
 "melior fides nationum in suam
 "sectam: quæ nullam solennitatem
 "Christianorum sibi vindicat, non
 "Dominicum diem, non Pente-
 "costen: etiam si nossent, nobiscum
 "non communicassent; timerent
 "enim, ne Christiani viderentur;
 "nos, ne Ethnicis pronunciemur, non
 "veremur." He seemeth to mean
 the feast of Easter-day, celebrated
 in the memory of our Saviour's
 resurrection, and for that cause
 termed the Lord's day.

² [T. C. i. 103.]

³ Lib. de Anima. [a mistake in
 Cartwright's reference, for "de Ora-
 "tione." c. 16. (The error is noted
 by Whitgift, Def. 480.) "Quum
 "perinde faciant nationes, adoratis
 "sigillaribus suis residendo, vel
 "propterea in nobis reprehendi me-
 "retur, quod apud idola celebra-
 "tur."]

BOOK IV. "stick we bend it on the contrary side, as far as it was at the
Ch. iv. 1. "first on that side from whence we draw it, and so it cometh
"in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect
"straightness¹. Utter inconformity therefore with the church
"of Rome in these things is the best and surest policy
"which the Church can use. While we use their ceremo-
"nies they take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our
"religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the staff
"of their ceremonies. They hereby conceive great hope of
"having the rest of their popery in the end, which hope
"causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness. Nei-
"ther is it without cause that they have this hope, considering
"that which Master Bucer noteth upon the eighteenth of St.
"Matthew², that where these things have been left, popery
"hath returned; but on the other part in places which have
"been cleansed of these things, it hath not yet been seen that
"it hath had any entrance³. None make such clamours
"for these ceremonies, as the papists and those whom they
"suborn; a manifest token how much they triumph and joy
"in these things. They breed grief of mind in a number, that
"are godly-minded and have anti-christianity in such detes-
"tation, that their minds are martyred with the very sight of
"them in the Church⁴. Such godly brethren we ought not
"thus to grieve with unprofitable ceremonies, yea, ceremonies
"wherein there is not only no profit, but also danger of great
"hurt, that may grow to the Church by infection, which
"popish ceremonies are means to breed⁵."

This in effect is the sum and substance of that which they bring by way of opposition against those orders which we have common with the church of Rome; these are the reasons wherewith they would prove our ceremonies in that respect worthy of blame.

IV. Before we answer unto these things, we are to cut off that whereunto they from whom these objections proceed do oftentimes fly for defence and succour, when the force and

That
whereas
they who
blame us

¹ [Abridged from T. C. i. 103.]
² [P. 144. ed. 1553. "His certe
"hodie debemus ut in multis locis,
"ubi diu prædicatum Evangelium
"fuit, adversa sint restituta omnia:
"quum id nusquam, ubi serio et

"pure prædicato Christo etiam ad
"ipsius verbum reformatæ ceremo-
"niæ sunt, accidisse videamus."]
³ T. C. lib. iii. p. 178.
⁴ Ibid. p. 179.
⁵ Ibid. p. 180.

strength of their arguments is elided. For the ceremonies in use amongst us being in no other respect retained, saving only for that to retain them is to our seeming good and profitable, yea, so profitable and so good, that if we had either simply taken them clean away, or else removed them so as to place their stead others, we had done worse: the plain and direct way against us herein had been only to prove, that all such ceremonies as they require to be abolished are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with less benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But forasmuch as they saw how hardly they should be able to perform this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our church under the name of being popish. The cause why this way seemed better unto them was, for that the name of popery is more odious than very paganism amongst divers of the more simple sort, so as whatsoever they hear named popish, they presently conceive deep hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name but needs it must be exceeding detestable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with strong clamour: "The Church of England is
"fraught with popish ceremonies: they that favour the cause
"of reformation maintain nothing but the sincerity of the
"Gospel of Jesus Christ: all such as withstand them fight
"for the laws of his sworn enemy, uphold the filthy relics of
"Antichrist, and are defenders of that which is popish." These are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude so many sighs; with these tunes their minds are exasperated against the lawful guides and governors of their souls; these are the voices that fill them with general discontentment, as though the bosom of that famous church wherein they live were more noisome than any dungeon. But when the authors of so scandalous incantations are examined, and called to account how can they justify such their dealings; when they are urged directly to answer, whether it be lawful for us to use any such ceremonies as the church of Rome useth, although the same be not commanded in the word of God; being driven to see that the use of some such ceremonies must of necessity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are just of the same opinion, and that they only think such ceremonies are not to be used when they are

BOOK IV.
Ch. iv. 1.
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able, or
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be devised:
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and gain-
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that cere-
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ed of God,
and yet
used in the
church of
Rome, are
for this
very cause
unprofit-
able to us,
and not so
good as
others in
their place
would be.

BOOK IV. unprofitable, or "when as good or better may be established"¹.
Ch. iv. 2. Which answer is both idle in regard of us, and also repugnant to themselves.

[2.] It is in regard of us very vain to make this answer, because they know that what ceremonies we retain common unto the church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be such that others instead of them would be worse. So that when they say that we ought to abrogate such Romish ceremonies as are unprofitable, or else might have other more profitable in their stead, they trifle and they beat the air about nothing which toucheth us; unless they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romish ceremonies which in their judgment have either no use or less use than some other might have. But then must they shew some commission, whereby they are authorized to sit as judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this case. Otherwise their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their *methinketh* unto the orders of the Church of England: as in the question about surplices one of them doth²; "If we look to the colour, black methinketh is more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comeliness in it." If they think that we ought to prove the ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themselves. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath received and held so long for good, that which public approbation hath ratified, must carry the benefit of presumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have stood up as yesterday to challenge it of defect, must prove their challenge. If we being defendants do answer, that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childish and unorderedly, to say, that we demand the thing in question³, and shew the poverty

¹ T. C. iii. p. 171. "What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles, not to be lawful to use the same ceremonies which the papists did; when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expressly added, that they are not to be used when as good or better may be established!"
² Eccles. Discip. fol. 100. [in Cartwright's Transl. 134. "Si de colore agitur, mihi quidem magis decorus niger color videtur; si autem de forma, talaris vestis honestior."
³ T. C. lib. iii. p. 176. "As for your often repeating that the

of our cause, the goodness whereof we are fain to beg that our adversaries would grant. For on our part this must be the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth rest on them. In them it is frivolous to say, we ought not to use bad ceremonies of the church of Rome, and presume all such bad as it pleaseth themselves to dislike, unless we can persuade them the contrary.

[3.] Besides, they are herein opposite also to themselves. For what one thing is so common with them, as to use the custom of the church of Rome for an argument to prove, that such and such ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inasmuch as that church useth them? Which usual kind of disputing sheweth, that they do not disallow only those Romish ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romish; that is to say, which have been devised by the church of Rome, or which are used in that church and not prescribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can use suitable unto their other positions. And therefore the cause which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in doctrine and in discipline some things as good, which yet are common to the church of Rome, is for that those good things are "perpetual commandments in whose place no other can come;" but ceremonies are changeable¹. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatsoever by the word of God is not unchangeable in the church of Rome, that church's using is a cause why reformed churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And lest we seem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, "that we are thus constrained to be like unto the Papists in Any their ceremonies;" yea, they urge that this cause, although it were alone, ought to move them to whom that belongeth to do them away, *forasmuch as they are their ceremonies*;" and that the Bishop of Salisbury doth justify this their complaint².

"ceremonies in question are godly, comely, and decent; it is your old wont of demanding the thing in question, and an undoubted argument of your extreme poverty."
¹ T. C. iii. 174.
² "And that this complaint of ours is just in that we are thus constrained to be like unto the papists in any their ceremonies, and that this cause only ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *forasmuch as they are their ceremonies*."

BOOK IV. The clause is untrue which they add concerning the Bishop of Salisbury¹; but the sentence doth shew that we do them no wrong in setting down the state of the question between us thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the church of England all such orders, rites, and ceremonies as are established in the Church of Rome, and are not prescribed in the word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to answer such proofs of theirs as have been before alleged.

That our allowing the customs of our fathers to be followed is no proof that we may not allow some customs which the church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

V. Let the church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for catholics or hold them for heretics; it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our conformity with them in such things as have been proposed is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St. Augustine² hath said, yea and we have allowed his saying, "That the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are

"the reader may further see in the Bishop of Salisbury, who brings divers proofs thereof." T. C. lib. iii. p. 177. [It may be worth observing that the Italics are Cartwright's own.]

¹ [Cartwright's margin refers to Apol. Part i. c. 2. div. 8. by mistake for div. 9. "They cry out. . . that we have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies which have been well allowed by our fathers and forefathers many hundred years past, both by good customs, and also in ages of more purity." On which Harding's remark is, "Concerning ceremonies: if ye shew us not the use of chrism in your churches; if the sign of the cross be not borne before you in processions, and otherwheres used; if holy water be abolished; if lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had; if peculiar vestments for Deacons, Priests, Bishops, be taken away; and many such other the like: judge ye, whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church." Jewel replies, "Verily, M. Harding, we hate not any of all these things. For we know they are the creatures of God. But you have so misused

"them, or rather so defiled and beraied them with your superstitions, and so have with the same mocked and deceived God's people, that we can no longer continue them without great conscience." This passage, it will be seen, refers to the ceremonies omitted, and not to those retained in the English church. Concerning the latter, although it is well known that he would not have disapproved of further concessions, (see his letters to Bullinger in Strype, Ann. i. i. 262. ii. 544.) yet it is equally certain that his views were not founded on the puritan principle of absolute unlawfulness in the use of things once abused. For in the very same year (1565-6) that he last wrote to Bullinger as above, he had refused his intimate friend, Humphrey, institution to a benefice in the diocese of Sarum, because Humphrey would not pledge himself to wear the habits. Strype, Park. i. 369. and Ann. i. ii. 133. Wordsworth, E. B. iv. 63. How far he differed with the Puritans on Church government may be seen by a paper of his in Whitg. Def. 423. and in Strype, Whitg. iii. 21. 1 App. No. x.]

² [See above, b. iii. c. xi. 15.]

BOOK IV. "to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge." Ch. vi. i. What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they being neither the people of God nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good if so be it were granted, that only the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be observed. But then should no other kind of later laws in the Church be good; which were a gross absurdity to think. St. Augustine's speech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may observe the positive constitutions of our own churches, although the same were but yesterday made by ourselves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the church of England might not by law receive orders, rites, or customs from the church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much less when we have received from them nothing, but that which they did themselves receive from such, as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea such, as either we must acknowledge for our own forefathers or else disdain the race of Christ?

VI. The rites and orders wherein we follow the church of Rome are of no other kind than such as the church of Geneva itself doth follow them in. We follow the church of Rome in moe things; yet they in some things of the same nature about which our present controversy is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of rites only, wherein they and we do follow the church of Rome. The use of wafer-cakes, the custom of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, are things not commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, things which have been of old and are retained in the church of Rome even at this very hour. Is conformity with Rome in such things a blemish unto the church of England, and unto churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this church, in the bowels whereof they have received I trust that precious and blessed vigour, which shall quicken them to eternal life, yet at the

That the course which the wisdom of God doth teach maketh not against our conformity with the church of Rome in such things.

leastwise for the singular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they strike, lest they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they plead that even such ceremonies of the church of Rome, as contain in them nothing which is not of itself agreeable to the word of God, ought nevertheless to be abolished ; and that neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches do permit the church of Rome to be therein followed.

[2.] Heretics they are, and they are our neighbours. By us and amongst us they lead their lives. But what then? therefore no ceremony of theirs lawful for us to use? We must yield and will that none are lawful, if God himself be a precedent against the use of any. But how appeareth it that God is so? Hereby they say it doth appear, in that¹ "God severed his people from the heathens, but especially from the Egyptians, and such nations as were nearest neighbours unto them², by forbidding them to do those things which were in themselves very lawful to be done, yea, very profitable some, and incommodious to be forborne ; such things it pleased God to forbid them, only because those heathens did them, with whom conformity in the same things might have bred infection. Thus in shaving, cutting³, apparel-wearing⁴, yea in sundry kinds of meats also, swine's flesh, conies, and such like⁵, they were forbidden to do so and so, because the Gentiles did so. And the end why God forbade them such things was to sever them for fear of infection by a great and an high wall from other nations, as St. Paul teacheth⁶." The cause of more careful separation from the nearest nations was the greatness of danger to be especially by them infected. Now papists are to us as those nations were unto Israel. Therefore if the wisdom of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any such indifferent ceremony.

[3.] Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleged we may still doubt, whether the Lord in such indifferent ceremonies, as those whereof we dispute, did frame his

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 89, 131. [See also p. 67.]

² Lev. xviii. 3.

³ Lev. xix. 27.

⁴ Levit. xix. 19 ; Deut. xxii. 11.

⁵ Deut. xiv. 7 ; Lev. xi.

⁶ Ephes. ii. 14.

people of set purpose unto any utter dissimilitude, either with Egyptians or with any other nation else. And if God did not forbid them all such indifferent ceremonies, then our conformity with the church of Rome in some such is not hitherto as yet disproved, although papists were unto us as those heathens were unto Israel. "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, ye shall not do, saith the Lord ; and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, shall ye not do, neither walk in their ordinances : do after my judgments, and keep my ordinances to walk therein : I am the Lord your God¹." The speech is indefinite, "ye shall not be like them : " it is not general, "ye shall not be like them in any thing, or like to them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent ceremony of theirs." Seeing therefore it is not set down how far the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure us, that it extendeth farther than to those things only, wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did against that which the law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seem a thing very probable, that God doth purposely add, "Do after my judgments," as giving thereby to understand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things, as were repugnant unto the ordinances, laws, and statutes which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example's sake named unto them, because the customs of the one they had been, and of the other they should be best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was such peradventure as had been no whit less unlawful, although those nations had never been. So that there is no necessity to think, that God for fear of infection by reason of nearness forbade them to be like unto the Canaanites or the Egyptians, in those things which otherwise had been lawful enough.

For I would know what one thing was in those nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in itself, yet forbidden only because they used it. In the laws of Israel we find it written, "Ye shall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou tear the tufts of thy beard²." These

¹ Levit. xviii. 3.

² Levit. xix. 27.