

“either thrice or but once in baptism, can be no way a thing reprobable; seeing that both in three times washing the Trinity of persons, and in one the Unity of Godhead may be signified.” So that of these two ceremonies neither being hurtful in itself, both may serve unto good purpose; yet one was devised, and the other converted, unto evil.

[4.] Now whereas in the church of Rome certain ceremonies are said to have been shamefully abused unto evil, as the ceremony of crossing at baptism, of kneeling at the eucharist, of using wafer-cakes, and such like; the question is, whether for remedy of that evil wherein such ceremonies have been scandalous, and perhaps may be still unto some even amongst ourselves, whom the presence and sight of them may confirm in that former error whereto they served in times past, they are of necessity to be removed. Are these, or any other ceremonies we have common with the church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any such as have been polluted from their very birth, and instituted even at the first unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiously at the first, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then what doth let but that the use thereof may stand without offence? The names of our months and of our days we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonour unto God they are said to have been devised at the first¹. What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, than that which sometime the ancient Fathers in this case speak? Yet those very names are at this day in use

¹ “substantia est, reprehensibile esse nullatenus potest, infantem in baptismate vel ter vel semel mergere: quando et in tribus mersionibus personarum Trinitas, et in una potest divinitatis singularitas designari.” II. 532.]

[Euseb. Emis.] Hom. xi. de Pasch. [p. 566. par. i. t. v. Biblioth. Patr. Colon.] “Idololatriæ consuetudo in tantum homines occæcaverat, ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, et diversis elementorum ac dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, et luci tenebrarum no-

men imponerent.” Beda de Ration. Temp. cap. 4. [6.] “Octavus dies idem primus est, ad quem reditur, indeque [i. eoque] rursus hebdomada inchoatur [i. semper orditur.] His nomina a planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere se creditens a Sole spiritum, a Luna corpus, a Marte sanguinem, a Mercurio ingenium et linguam, a Jove temperantiam, a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem.” Isid. Hist. lib. v. Etymol. cap. 30. [p. 938, ed. Gothofred.] “Dies dicti a diis, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam sideribus sacraverunt.”

throughout Christendom without hurt or scandal to any. Clear and manifest it is, that things devised by heretics, yea, devised of a very heretical purpose even against religion, and at their first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that custom, the inventors whereof were the Eunomian heretics. So that customs once established and confirmed by long use, being presently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held scandalous.

[5.] But concerning those our ceremonies which they reckon for most popish, they are not able to avouch, that any of them was otherwise instituted than unto good, yea, so used at the first. It followeth then that they all are such, as having served to good purpose, were afterwards converted unto the contrary. And sith it is not so much as objected against us, that we retain together with them the evil wherewith they have been infected in the church of Rome, I would demand who they are whom we scandalize, by using harmless things unto that good end for which they were first instituted. Amongst ourselves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good use, no man will say that one of us is offensive and scandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the church of Rome, they know how far we herein differ and dissent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their public writings also profess daily how much it grieveth them; so that of them there will not many rise up against us, as witnesses unto the indictment of scandal, whereby we might be condemned and cast, as having strengthened them in that evil wherewith they pollute themselves in the use of the same ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the church of England herein, and hate it because it doth not sufficiently seem to hate Rome; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kind of popish error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are scandalous through the use of abused ceremonies, is not so apparent, that it can justly be said in general of any one sort of men or other, we cause them to offend. If it be so, that now or then some few are espied, who, having been accustomed heretofore to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, are not so scourged of their former rust as to forsake their ancient persuasion which they have had, howsoever they frame themselves to

BOOK IV. outward obedience of laws and orders : because such may
Ch. xii. 6. misconstrue the meaning of our ceremonies, and so take them
as though they were in every sort the same they have been,
shall this be thought a reason sufficient whereon to conclude
that some law must necessarily be made to abolish all such
ceremonies ?

[6.] They answer, that there is no law of God which doth
bind us to retain them. And St. Paul's rule is, that in those
things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstain, we
should frame the usage of our liberty with regard to the
weakness and imbecility of our brethren. Wherefore unto
them which stood upon their own defence saying, "All things
"are lawful unto me;" he replieth, "but all things are not
"expedient¹" in regard of others. "All things are clean, all
"meats are lawful; but evil unto that man that eateth
"offensively. If for thy meat's sake thy brother be grieved,
"thou walkest no longer according to charity. Destroy not
"him with thy meat for whom Christ died. Dissolve not for
"food's sake the work of God². We that are strong must
"bear the imbecilities of the impotent, and not please our-
"selves³." It was a weakness in the Christian Jews, and
a maim of judgment in them, that they thought the Gentiles
polluted by the eating of those meats which themselves were
afraid to touch for fear of transgressing the law of Moses ;
yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the Apostle had
just cause to fear, lest they would rather forsake Christianity
than endure any fellowship with such as made no conscience
of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cause
mention is made of destroying the weak by meats, and of
dissolving the work of God⁴, which was his Church, a part
of the living stones whereof were believing Jews. Now
those weak brethren before-mentioned are said to be as the
Jews were, and our ceremonies which have been abused in
the church of Rome to be as the scandalous meats, from which
the Gentiles are exhorted to abstain in the presence of Jews,
for fear of averting them from Christian faith. Therefore, as
charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethren's
sake, which otherwise was lawful enough for them ; so it

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 12.

² [Rom. xiv. 20, 15, 20.]

³ [Rom. xv. 1.]

⁴ Rom. xiv ; xv. 1.

bindeth us for our brethren's sake likewise to abolish such
ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retain them.

[7.] But between these two cases there are great odds.
For neither are our weak brethren as the Jews, nor the cere-
monies which we use as the meats which the Gentiles used.
The Jews were known to be generally weak in that respect ;
whereas contrariwise the imbecility of ours is not common
unto so many, that we can take any such certain notice of
them. It is a chance if here and there some one be found ;
and therefore seeing we may presume men commonly other-
wise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame itself
by that which the Apostle doth prescribe to the Gentiles.

Again, their use of meats was not like unto our of cere-
monies, that being a matter of private action in common life,
where every man was free to order that which himself did ;
but this a public constitution for the ordering of the Church :
and we are not to look that the Church should change her
public laws and ordinances, made according to that which is
judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although
it chance that for some particular men the same be found
inconvenient¹ ; especially when there may be other remedy
also against the sores of particular inconveniences. In this
case therefore where any private harm doth grow, we are not
to reject instruction, as being an unmeet plaister to apply
unto it ; neither can we say, that he which appointeth teachers
for physicians in this kind of evil, is "As if a man would set
"one to watch a child all day long lest he should hurt him-
"self with a knife ; whereas by taking away the knife from
"him, the danger is avoided, and the service of the man
"better employed²." For a knife may be taken away from
a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which
have years and discretion to use it. But the ceremonies
which children do abuse if we remove quite and clean, as it is
by some required that we should, then are they not taken
from children only, but from others also ; which is as though
because children may perhaps hurt themselves with knives,

¹ Vide Harmenop. [Harmenopuli
Promptuarium Juris.] (Greek jurist
and canonist, 1320-1383. *Πι- Πρό-
χειρον νόμων* was first printed 1540,
and by Gothofr. 1587.) lib. i. tit. 1.

sect. 28. [*παραβαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ νομο-
θέται τὸ ἀπαξ ἢ τὸ δις γινόμενον.*
p. 20. ed. Gothofr.]

² T. C. lib. iii. p. 178. [156.]

we should conclude, that therefore the use of knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men also.

[8.] Those particular ceremonies, which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next Book have occasion more thoroughly to sift, where other things also traduced in the public duties of the Church whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as have at any time been brought either against the one or the other. In the meanwhile against the conveniency of curing such evils by instruction, strange it is that they should object the multitude of other necessary matters, wherein preachers may better bestow their time, than in giving men warning not to abuse ceremonies¹: a wonder it is, that they should object this, which have so many years together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning these things, and are even to this very hour so earnest in them, that if they write or speak publicly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the church of England in respect of abused ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raised contention therein about the abuse of rites and ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deal for teachers to spend time and labour in! It is through their importunate and vehement asseverations, more than through any such experience which we have had of our own, that we are forced to think it possible for one or other now and then, at leastwise in the prime of the reformation of our church, to have stumbled at some kind of ceremony: wherein forasmuch as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; sith also they further pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their souls that are at any time

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 177. "It is not so convenient that the minister, having so many necessary points to bestow his time in, should be driven to spend it in giving warning of not abusing them, of which (although they were used to the best) there is no profit." [See also i. 56, ap. Whitg. Defence, 277. The words

are, "A counsell not so convenient, that the ministers and pastors, which have so many necessary points to bestow their time on, and to inform the people of, should be driven to cut off their time appointed thereto, to teach them not to abuse these things, which if they use never so well, they can gain nothing."

taken therein; they must give our teachers leave for the saving of those souls (be they never so few) to intermingle sometime with other more necessary things admonition concerning these not unnecessary. Wherein they should in reason more easily yield this leave, considering that hereunto we shall not need to use the hundredth part of that time, which themselves think very needful to bestow in making most bitter invectives against the ceremonies of the Church.

XIII. But to come to the last point of all; the church of England is grievously charged with forgetfulness of her duty, which duty had been to frame herself unto the pattern of their example that went before her in the work of reformation. ¹For "as the churches of Christ ought to be "most unlike the synagogue of Antichrist in their indifferent "ceremonies; so they ought to be most like one unto another, "and for preservation of unity to have as much as possible "may be all the same ceremonies. And therefore St. Paul, "to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they "should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first "day of the Sabbath², (which is our Sunday,) allegeth this "for a reason³, That he had so ordained in other churches." Again, "As children of one father and servants of one family, "so all churches should not only have one diet in that they "have one word, but also wear as it were one livery in using "the same ceremonies." Thirdly, "This rule did the great "council of Nice follow⁴, when it ordained, that where "certain at the feast of Pentecost did pray kneeling, they "should pray standing: the reason whereof is added, which "is, that one custom ought to be kept throughout all "churches. It is true that the diversity of ceremonies ought "not to cause the churches to dissent one with another; but "yet it maketh most to the avoiding of dissension, that there "be amongst them an unity not only in doctrine, but also in "ceremonies. And therefore our form of service is to be "amended, not only for that it cometh too near that of the

Our ceremonies excepted against, for that some churches reformed before ours have cast out those things, which we notwithstanding their example to the contrary do retain still.

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.]

² ["Saboth," A. B.; "Sabbath," 1617. V. note p. 372.] 1886.

³ I Cor. xvi. 1.

⁴ Can. 20. The canon of that council which is here cited doth

provide against kneeling at prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after Easter on any day, and not at the feast of Pentecost only. [ii. 202, 226; iv. 450.]

BOOK IV. "Papists, but also because it is so different from that of the
Ch. xiii. 2, 3. "reformed churches¹." Being asked² to what churches ours
should conform itself, and why other reformed churches should
not as well frame themselves to ours; their answer is, "that
"if there be any ceremonies which we have better than others,
"they ought to frame themselves to us; if they have better
"than we, then we ought to frame ourselves to them; if the
"ceremonies be alike commodious, the later churches should
"conform themselves to the first, as the younger daughter to
"the elder. For as St. Paul in the members, where all other
"things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honour above the
"rest, that one is called before another to the Gospel³; so is
"it for the same cause amongst the churches. And in this
"respect he pincheth the Corinthians⁴, that not being the first
"which received the Gospel, yet they would have their several
"manners from other churches. Moreover, where the cere-
"monies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform
"themselves unto the moe. Forasmuch therefore as all the
"churches" (so far as they know which plead after this
"manner) "of our confession in doctrine agree in the abroga-
"tion of divers things which we retain, our church ought
"either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found
"to be in fault that doth not conform herself in that, which
"she cannot deny to be well abrogated⁵."

[2.] In this axiom, that preservation of peace and unity
amongst Christian churches should be by all good means
procured, we join most willingly and gladly with them.
Neither deny we but that to the avoiding of dissension it
availeth much that there be amongst them an unity as well
in ceremonies as in doctrine. The only doubt is about the
manner of their unity; how far churches are bound to be
uniform in their ceremonies, and what way they ought to
take for that purpose.

[3.] Touching the one, the rule which they have set down
is, that in ceremonies indifferent, all churches ought to be
one of them unto another as like as *possibly*⁶ they may be.
Which *possibly* we cannot otherwise construe, than that it

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 182, 183.

² [By Whitgift, Def. 481.]

³ Rom. xvi. 5, 7.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

⁵ [T. C. iii. 183.]

⁶ [T. C. i. 104.]

BOOK IV. doth require them to be even as like as they may be without
Ch. xiii. 3. breaking any positive ordinance of God. For the cere-
monies whereof we speak, being matter of positive law, they
are indifferent, if God have neither himself commanded
nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Church's dis-
cretion. So that if as great uniformity be required as is
possible in these things; seeing that the law of God for-
biddeth not any one of them, it followeth that from the
greatest unto the least they must be in every Christian
church the same, except mere impossibility of so having it
be the hinderance. To us this opinion seemeth over extreme
and violent: we rather incline to think it a just and reason-
able cause for any church, the state whereof is free and inde-
pendent, if in these things it differ from other churches,
only for that it doth not judge it so fit and expedient to
be framed therein by the pattern of their example, as to be
otherwise framed than they. That of Gregory unto Leander
is a charitable speech and a peaceable¹; "In una fide nil
"officit ecclesie sanctae consuetudo diversa:" "Where the
"faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in customs of
"the Church doth no harm²." That of St. Augustine to
Casulanus is somewhat more particular, and toucheth what
kind of ceremonies they are, wherein one church may vary
from the example of another without hurt: "Let the faith
"of the whole Church, how wide soever it have spread itself,
"be always one, although the unity of belief be famous for
"variety of certain ordinances, whereby that which is rightly
"believed suffereth no kind of let or impediment³." Calvin
goeth further, "As concerning rites in particular, let the sen-
"tence of Augustine take place⁴, which leaveth it free unto
"all churches to receive each their own custom. Yea some-
"time it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference,
"lest men should think that religion is tied to outward cere-
"monies. Always provided that there be not any emulation,
"nor that churches delighted with novelty affect to have that
"which others have not⁵."

¹ Epist. lib. i. p. 41.

² Ep. 86. al. 36, c. 9.

³ ["Sit ergo una fides universae,
"quae ubique dilatatur, Ecclesiae...
"etiamsi ipsa fidei unitas quibus-

"dam diversis observationibus cele-

"bratur, quibus nullo modo quod in

"fide verum est impeditur." t. ii. 77.]

⁴ [Ed. 54 t. ii. 124.]

⁵ Respon. ad Med. ["Responso

[4.] They which grant it true that the diversity of ceremonies in this kind ought not to cause dissension in churches, must either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or if any thing be granted, there must as much be yielded unto, as we affirm against their former strict assertion. For if churches be urged by way of duty to take such ceremonies as they like not of, how can dissension be avoided? Will they say that there ought to be no dissension, because such as be urged ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they say this, they say just nothing. For how should any church like to be urged of duty, by such as have no authority or power over it, unto those things which being indifferent it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no dissension, because, that which churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; and if any man do, he standeth in the sight of both God and men most justly blameable, as a needless disturber of the peace of God's Church, and an author of dissension? In saying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they press the church of England with so strict a bond of duty in these things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of ceremonies uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it.

[5.] For proof whereof it is not enough to allege what St. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what noblemen do in the liveries of their servants, or what the council of Nice did for standing in time of prayer on certain days: because though St. Paul did will them of the church of Corinth¹ every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to

"ad versipellem quandam medietorem, qui pacificandi specie rectum Evangelii cursum in Gallia abruptum rumpere conatus est." "Quantum ad ritus particulares, vigeat sane Augustini sententia; ut singulis ecclesiis liberum sit morem suum tenere; immo interdum utile est, ne externis caerimoniis alligetur religio, aliquid esse varietatis; modo absit æmulatio, nec alii ab aliis novitate illecti diversum ali-quid habere affectent." Tract. Theol. p. 414, Genev. 1597. The

"versipellis mediator" was Cassander, who in 1561 published a tract "De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio."

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.] "And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday,) allegeth this for a reason, That he had so ordained in other churches."

reserve it in store, till himself did come thither to send it unto the church of Jerusalem for relief of the poor there; signifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the churches of Galatia; yet the reason which he yieldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writhed. "Concerning collection for the saints, (he meaneth them of Jerusalem,) as I have given order to the church of Galatia, so likewise do ye," saith the Apostle; "that is, in every first of the week let each of you lay aside by himself, and reserve according to that which God hath blessed him with, that when I come collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you shall choose, them I may forthwith send away by letters to carry your beneficence unto Jerusalem¹." Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity throughout all churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over.

[6.] But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture, to give it some kind of countenance more than the next of livery coats afforded them². For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his servants with one weed, nor theirs to clothe themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments, as these ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the Church. And seeing churches are rather in this case like divers families than like divers servants of one family; because every church, the state whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for itself in things indifferent: therefore of the two we may rather infer, that as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in friar's-grey for that another doth wear clay-colour, so neither are all churches bound to the selfsame indifferent ceremonies which it liketh sundry to use.

[7.] As for that canon in the council of Nice, let them but

¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

² T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.] "So that as children of one father, and servants of one master, he will have all the churches not only

"have one diet in that they have one word, but also wear as it were one livery in using the same ceremonies."