

testimony, who speaking to the clergy of Antioch, telleth them that if they did suffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themselves had shed his blood; that for this purpose God hath called them to the rooms which they held in the church of Christ; that this they should reckon was *their dignity, this their safety, this their whole crown and glory*; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is administered imagine themselves called only to walk up and down in a white and shining garment.

[3.] Now whereas these speeches of Jerome and Chrysostom do seem plainly to allude unto such ministerial garments as were then in use, to this they answer, that by Jerome nothing can be gathered but only that the ministers came to church in handsome holyday apparel, and that himself did not think them bound by the law of God to go like slovens, but the weed which we mean he defendeth not; that Chrysostom meaneth indeed the same which we defend¹, but seemeth rather to reprehend than to allow it as we do. Which answer wringeth out of Jerome and Chrysostom that which their words will not gladly yield. They both speak of the same persons, namely the Clergy; and of their weed at the same time, when they administer the blessed Sacrament; and of the selfsame kind of weed, a white garment, so far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing itself to be different whereof they speak, or their judg-

ὁμῖν ἐστὶν, εἴ τινα συνειδότες τινὰ πονηρίαν, συγκαρῶσητε μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης, ὅτι τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκζητηθήσεται. κἂν στρατηγὸς τις ἦ, κἂν ὑπαρχος, κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διάδημα περικείμενος, ἀναξίως δὲ προσίη, κώλυσον. μείζονα ἐκείνου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις. σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν πηγὴν ὕδατος ἐνεχειρίσθης φυλάττειν ποιμνίῳ καθάρων, εἶτα εἶδες πρόβατον πολὺν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος φέρον τὸν βόρβορον, οὐκ ἂν εἴσασ ἐπικύψαι κατὰ, καὶ θολῶσαι τὸ ρεῖθρον¹· νυνὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος πηγὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένον, καὶ ὄρων τοὺς βορβόρου χαλεπωτέραν ἁμαρτίαν ἔχοντα καὶ προσιώντα οὐκ ἀνακατεῖς, οὐδέ

ἀπειργεῖς; καὶ τίνα ἂν σχοίης συγνώμην; διὰ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐτίμησε ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ, ἵνα τὰ τοιαῦτα διακρίνητε. τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἡ ἀξία, τοῦτο ἡ ἀσφάλεια, τοῦτο ὁ στέφανος ἅπας, οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνισκὸν καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιίητε.]

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 75. [55.] "It is true, Chrysostom maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary, for he sheweth that the dignity of their ministry was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lord's Supper, not in going about the church with a white garment."

ments concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it against Pelagius, as a thing not therefore unlawful, because it was fair or handsome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in itself, if they which wear it do nothing else but air the robes which their place requireth. The honesty, dignity, and estimation of white apparel in the eastern part of the world, is a token of greater fitness for this sacred use, wherein it were not convenient that any thing basely thought of should be suffered. Notwithstanding I am not bent to stand stiffly upon these probabilities, that in Jerome's and Chrysostom's time any such attire was made several to this purpose. Yet surely the words of Salomon are very impertinent to prove it an ornament *therefore* not several for the ministers to execute their ministry in, because men of credit and estimation wore their ordinary apparel white. For we know that when Salomon wrote those words, the several apparel for the ministers of the Law to execute their ministry in was such.

[4.] The wise man, which feared God from his heart, and honoured the service that was done unto him, could not mention so much as the garments of holiness but with effectual signification of most singular reverence and love¹. Were it not better that the love which men bear to God should make the least things that are employed in his service amiable, than that their overscrupulous dislike of so mean a thing as a vestment should from the very service of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I term it the rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be respected, because even they so account now of it, whose first disputations against it were such as if religion had scarcely any thing of greater weight.

[5.] Their allegations were then, "That if a man were assured to gain a thousand by doing that which may offend any one brother, or be unto him a cause of falling, he ought not to do it²; that this popish apparel, the surplice especially, hath been by papists abominably abused³; that it hath been a mark and a very sacrament of abomination⁴; that remaining, it serveth as a monument of idolatry, and not only edifieth not, but as a dangerous and scandalous

¹ Eccles. xlv. 7.² T. C. lib. i. p. 79. [58.]³ Page 71. [52.]⁴ Page 75. [55.]

BOOK V.
Ch. xxix. 5.

“ceremony doth exceeding much harm to them of whose
“good we are commanded to have regard¹; that it causeth
“men to perish and make shipwreck of conscience;” for so
themselves profess they mean, when they say the weak are
offended herewith²; “that it hardeneth Papists, hindereth
“the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Gospel,
“grieveth godly minds, and giveth them occasion to think
“hardly of their ministers³; that if the magistrate may
“command, or the Church appoint rites and ceremonies, yet
“seeing our abstinence from things in their own nature
“indifferent if the weak brother should be offended is a flat
“commandment of the Holy Ghost, which no authority either
“of church or commonwealth can make void, therefore
“neither may the one nor the other lawfully ordain this
“ceremony, which hath great incommmodity and no profit,
“great offence and no edifying⁴; that by the Law it should
“have been burnt and consumed with fire as a thing infected
“with leprosy⁵; that the example of Ezechias beating to
“powder the brazen serpent, and of Paul abrogating those
“abused feasts of charity, enforceth upon us the duty of
“abolishing altogether a thing which hath been and is so
“offensive⁶; finally, that God by his Prophet hath given an
“express commandment, which in this case toucheth us no
“less than of old it did the Jews⁷; ‘Ye shall pollute the
“‘covering of the images of silver, and the rich ornament
“‘of your images of gold, and cast them away as a stained
“‘rag; thou shalt say unto it, Get thee hence⁸.’”

These and such like were their first discourses touching
that church attire which with us for the most part is usual in
public prayer; our ecclesiastical laws so appointing, as well
because it hath been of reasonable continuance, and by special
choïce was taken out of the number of those holy garments
which (over and besides their mystical reference) served for
“comeliness” under the Law⁹, and is in the number of

¹ Page 72. [52.]² T. C. ii. 403.³ T. C. i. 73. [53.]⁴ Lib. i. 76. [56.] ii. 403.⁵ [Decl. of Disc. transl. by T. C. 109, and 135. Also T. C. i. 57; iii. 259. And Eccl. Disc. fol. 82, 101. “Non abluenda sed cremanda, nec
“aquæ effusione purganda sed ignis
“incendio consumenda.”]⁶ Page 78. [60.]⁷ Isa. xxx. 22.⁸ [Adm. p. 31. al. 17. T. C. iii. 257.]⁹ Exod. xxviii. 2; xxxix. 27.BOOK V.
Ch. xxix. 6.

those ceremonies which may with choice and discretion be
used to that purpose in the Church of Christ; as also for that
it suiteth so fitly with that lightsome affection of joy, wherein
God delighteth when his saints praise him¹; and so lively
resembleth the glory of the saints in heaven, together with the
beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men², that they
which are to appear for men in the presence of God as Angels,
if they were left to their own choice and would choose any,
could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such
a service.

[6.] As for those fore-rehearsed vehement allegations against
it, shall we give them credit when the very authors from
whom they come confess they believe not their own sayings?
For when once they began to perceive how many both of them
in the two universities, and of others who abroad having
ecclesiastical charge do favour mightily their cause and by all
means set it forward, might by persisting in the extremity of
that opinion hazard greatly their own estates, and so weaken
that part which their places do now give them much oppor-
tunity to strengthen; they asked counsel as it seemeth from
some abroad³, who wisely considered that the body is of far

¹ Psal. cxlix. 2.² Apoc. xv. 6; Mark xvi. 5.³ [In 1565, Sampson and Humfrey wrote to Bullinger and Gualter at Zurich, and to Beza at Geneva, on this subject. Their answers, to the effect here stated, may be found in Strype, Ann. I. ii. 505, from Bullinger, May, 1566: and in the Life of Grindal, 511, from Beza, Oct. 1567. Bullinger (p. 508.) says, “Mirum sane mihi videtur (vestra “pace, viri ornatissimi, et fratres “charissimi, dixerim) quod vobis “persuadetis, salva conscientia, vos “et ecclesias servituti vestiarie sub- “jicere se non posse; et non potius “expenditis, si re politica et indif- “ferenti uti nolitis, et perpetuo con- “tendatis odiosius, cujusmodi servi- “tuti et vos et ecclesias subjiciatis; “quod vestra statione cedentes lupis “exponitis ecclesias, aut saltem “parum idoneis doctoribus.” Beza (having first endeavoured to stir up the church of Zurich to a public in- terference, Ann. I. ii. 522.) advises

as follows: “Petitur etiam a nobis
“utrum istam in pileis et vestibus
“tum in communi usu tum in mini-
“sterii functione distinctionem pro-
“bemus . . . Respondemus igitur
“ingenue, si ita res habent ut audi-
“mus, nobis videri pessime mereri
“de Ecclesia Dei, et coram Christi
“tribunali rationem hujus facti red-
“dituros, qui sunt istius rei auc-
“tores . . . Sunt (dicet aliquis) res
“per se medice. Concedimus sane
“ita esse, si per se considerentur.
“Sed quis illas ita considerabit?
“Nam qui Papistæ sunt, quicquid
“lex civilis prætexat, sane hac ra-
“tione in sua superstitione invete-
“rata confirmantur. Qui cœperunt
“superstitiones eo usque detestari,
“ut etiam illarum vestigia cœperint
“execrari, quantopere offenduntur!
“Qui melius sunt instituti, quem
“fructum inde percipient? Anne
“vero tanti est ista distinctio, ut
“propterea tam multorum consci-
“entias perturbari oporteat, repetita
“videlicet ab ipsis manifestis et

more worth than the raiment. Whereupon for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to add, that sometimes authority "must and may with good conscience be obeyed, even where commandment is not given upon good grounds¹;" that "the duty of preaching is one of the absolute commandments of God, and therefore ought not to be forsaken for the bare inconvenience of a thing which in the² own nature is indifferent;" that³ "one of the foulest spots in the surplice is the offence which it giveth in occasioning the weak to fall and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedness," yet hereby there is no unlawfulness proved, but "only an inconveniency" that such things should be established, howbeit no such inconveniency neither "as may not be borne with⁴;" that when God doth flatly command us to abstain from things in their own nature indifferent if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not we should obey his commandment herein, unless we may do it "and not leave undone that which the Lord hath absolutely

"juratis sanæ doctrinæ hostibus istius distinctionis ratione? Quid quod ex iis qui Ecclesiastici vocantur non minima pars dicitur adhuc Papismum in pectore gestare? An isti vero in melius proficient, restituto hoc habitu, ac non potius instaurandi quoque ipsius Papismi spe cristas erigent? . . . Quid ergo, inquit fratres, nobis quibus ista obtruduntur faciendum censetis? Respondemus distinctione hic opus esse; alia enim est ministrorum alia gregis conditio. Deinde possunt ac etiam debent multa tolerari quæ tamen recte non præcipiuntur. Itaque primum respondemus, etsi nostro quidem iudicio non recte revehantur in Ecclesiam, tamen cum non sint ex earum rerum genere, quæ per se impiæ sunt, non videri nobis illas tanti momenti, ut propterea vel pastoribus deserendum sit potius ministerium quam ut vestes illas assumant, vel gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum, potius quam ita vestitos pastores audiant. Tantum, ut et pastores et greges in conscientia

"non peccent, (modo salva sit doctrinæ ipsius sive dogmatum puritas,) suademus pastoribus, ut postquam et coram Regia Majestatem et apud episcopos suas conscientias modesta quidem (sicut Christianos ab omni tumultu et seditione alienos decet) et tamen gravi, prout rei magnitudo requirit, obtestatione liberarint; aperte quidem apud suos greges ea inculcent, quæ ad tollendum hoc offendiculum pertinent, et in istorum etiam abusu emendationem, prudenter simul ac placide, prout occasionem offeret Dominus, incumbant: sed ista tamen quæ mutare non possunt ferant potius quam ecclesiam ob eam causam deserendo majoribus et periculosioribus malis occasionem Satanæ nihil aliud quærenti præbeant." Tract. Theol. iii. 219.]

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 74. [54.] et lib. iii. p. 250; Index, lib. iii. c. 8.

² ["the," so A. C. : Keble, "its," but without authority; see vol. i. p. 212, note 1.] 1886.

³ T. C. iii. 262.

⁴ Ibid. 263.

"commanded¹." Always provided that whosoever will enjoy the benefit of this dispensation to wear a scandalous badge of idolatry, rather than forsake his pastoral charge, do "as occasion serveth teach" nevertheless still "the incommmodity of the thing itself, admonish the weak brethren that they be not, and pray unto God so to strengthen them that they may not be offended thereat²." So that whereas before they which had authority to institute rites and ceremonies were denied to have power to institute this, it is now confessed that this they may also "lawfully" but not so "conveniently" appoint; they did well before and as they ought, who had it in utter detestation and hatred, as a thing abominable, they now do well which think it may be both borne and used with a very good conscience; before, he which by wearing it were sure to win thousands unto Christ ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended, now though it be with the offence of thousands, yet it may be done rather than that should be given over whereby notwithstanding we are not certain we shall gain one: the examples of Ezechias and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Esay, the strict apostolical prohibition of things indifferent whensoever they may be scandalous, were before so forcible laws against our ecclesiastical attire, as neither church nor commonwealth could possibly make void; which now one of far less authority than either hath found how to frustrate, by dispensing with the breach of inferior commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept.

[7.] But it booteth them not thus to soder up a broken cause, whereof their first and last discourses will fall asunder do what they can. Let them ingenuously confess that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alleged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter to such effect as was pretended, that which they should infer were unlawfulness, because they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our attire unlawful because in truth they concern it not, it followeth that they prove not any thing against it, and consequently not so much as uncomeliness or inconveniency. Unless therefore they be able throughly to resolve themselves that there is no

¹ Lib. iii. p. 263.

² Page 263.

one sentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth control the wearing of it in such manner and to such purpose as the church of England alloweth; unless they can fully rest and settle their minds in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to make themselves the only competent judges of decency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspicions and fears, whereof if there were at the first some probable cause when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath itself worn that out also; unless I say thus resolved in mind they hold their pastoral charge with the comfort of a good conscience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themselves bound of duty to reprove, how should it possibly help or further them in their course to take such occasions as they say are requisite to be taken, and in pensive manner to tell their audience, "Brethren, our hearts' desire is that we might enjoy the full liberty of the Gospel as in other reformed churches they do elsewhere, upon whom the heavy hand of authority hath imposed no grievous burden. But such is the misery of these our days, that so great happiness we cannot look to attain unto. Were it so, that the equity of the Law of Moses could prevail, or the zeal of Ezechias be found in the hearts of those guides and governors under whom we live; or the voice of God's own prophets be duly heard; or the example of the Apostles of Christ be followed, yea or their precepts be answered with full and perfect obedience: these abominable rags, polluted garments, marks and sacraments of idolatry, which power as you see constraineth us to wear and conscience to abhor, had long ere this day been removed both out of sight and out of memory. But as now things stand, behold to what narrow straits we are driven. On the one side we fear the words of our Saviour Christ, 'Wo be to them by whom scandal and offence cometh;' on the other side at the Apostle's speech we cannot but quake and tremble, 'If I preach not the Gospel wo be unto me.' Being thus hardly beset, we see not any other remedy but to hazard your souls the one way, that we may the other way endeavour to save them. Touching the offence of the weak therefore, we must

"adventure it. If they perish, they perish. Our pastoral charge is God's absolute commandment. Rather than that shall be taken from us, we are resolved to take this filth and to put it on, although we judge it to be so unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we pray or preach so arrayed before you, we do as much as in us lieth to cast away your souls that are weak-minded, and to bring you unto endless perdition. But we beseech you, brethren, have care of your own safety, take heed to your steps that ye be not taken in those snares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalf to Almighty God is, that the poison which we offer you may never have the power to do you harm."

[8.] Advice and counsel is best sought for at their hands which either have no part at all in the cause whereof they instruct, or else are so far engaged that themselves are to bear the greatest adventure in the success of their own counsels. The one of which two considerations maketh men the less respective, and the other the more circumspect. Those good and learned men which gave the first direction to this course had reason to wish that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad also, and that the good affection of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But if themselves had gone under those sails which they require to be hoisted¹ up, if they had been themselves to execute their own theory in this church, I doubt not but easily they would have seen being nearer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of advising men, first to wear the apparel, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them so to preach as they might be sure they could not continue, except they imagine that laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to speak as they list even against that which themselves do by constraint of laws; they would have easily seen that our people being accustomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publicly under any pretence reproved, and the men themselves worse which reprove it and use it too, it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound by making protestations in disgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are scandalous, or by using fair

¹ [So original edd. Cf. Acts xxvii. 40, A. V. "hoisted," K.] 1886.

entreaty with the weak brethren; they would easily have seen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a man openly profess that he putteth fire to his neighbour's house, but yet so halloweth the same with prayer that he hopeth it shall not burn. It had been therefore perhaps safer and better for ours to have observed St. Basil's advice¹ both in this and in all things of like nature: "Let him which approveth not his "governors' ordinances either plainly (but privately always) "shew his dislike if he have λόγον ισχυρον, strong and invincible reason against them, according to the true will and "meaning of Scripture; or else let him quietly with silence do "that which is enjoined." Obedience with professed unwillingness to obey is no better than manifest disobedience.

Of Gesture
in praying,
and of
different
Places
chosen
to that
purpose.

XXX. Having thus disputed whether the surplice be a fit garment to be used in the service of God, the next question whereinto we are drawn is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the minister should say service in the chancel, or turn his face at any time from the people, or before service ended remove from the place where it was begun². By them which trouble us with these doubts we would more willingly be resolved of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's name in vain to debase religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour about them. Things of so mean regard and quality, although necessary to be ordered, are notwithstanding very unsavoury when they come to be disputed of: because disputation presupposeth some difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must be either very simple or very forward who need to be taught by disputation what is meet.

[2.] When we make profession of our faith, we stand; when we acknowledge our sins, or seek unto God for favour, we fall down: because the gesture of constancy becometh us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our liturgy consist in the reading of the word of God,

¹ Basil. Ascet. Respons. ad Interrog. 47. [in later editions called "Regulæ fusius tractatæ." t. ii. p. 493. Paris. 1618; t. ii. p. 393. ed. Bened. Τὸν μὴ καταδεχόμενον τὰ παρὰ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἐγκριθέντα, χρή φανερώς ἢ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, εἰ τινα ἔχει λόγον ἰσχυρὸν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τῶν γραφῶν, ἢ σιωπήσαντα τὸ προστεταγμένον ποιεῖν.]
² T. C. lib. i. p. 134. [105. See hereafter, p. 141.]

and the proclaiming of his law, that the people may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his blessings are towards us; some are such as albeit they serve to singular good purpose even when there is no communion administered, nevertheless being devised at the first for that purpose are at the table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are uttered as from the people, some as with them unto God, some as from God unto them, all as before his sight whom we fear, and whose presence to offend with any the least unseemliness we would be surely as loth as they who most reprehend or deride that we do¹.

[3.] Now because the Gospels which are weekly read do all historically declare something which our Lord Jesus Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered, in his own person, it hath been the custom of Christian men then especially in token of the greater reverence to stand², to utter certain words of acclamation³, and at the name of Jesus to bow⁴. Which harmless ceremonies as there is *no*

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 203. [163.]

² [1 Admon. p. 14. ed. 1617. "Now the people sit, and now they "stand up: when the Old Testament is read, or the lessons, they "make no reverence, but when the "Gospel cometh then they all stand "up, for why? they think that to "be of greatest authority, and are "ignorant that the Scriptures came "from one Spirit." To which their marginal note is, "Standing at the "Gospel came from Anastasius the "Pope, in anno 404." But in the Apostolical Constitutions, which are quoted by S. Epiphanius, who died 403, we read, "Ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας; Lib. ii. c. 57; see Cotelerius in loc. The Decretal Epistle of Anastasius, which the Admonitioners quote, is spurious. And were it genuine, it proves nothing against the antiquity of the practice which it recommends: being in fact an admonition that the

clergy as well as others should stand "venerabiliter curvi" when the Gospels are read, "and give attentive "hearing to the words of our Lord." See Concil. ii. 1191.]

³ [The Liturgy under the name of S. Chrysostom, of which the probable date is the fourth century, (Palmer, Orig. Lit. i. 79,) directs that after the title of the Gospel has been given out, the people should respond, "Glory to Thee, O Lord, "Glory to Thee."]

⁴ [By Injunction, 1 Eliz. (ap. Collier, Eccl. Hist. t. ii. 433.) "The "customary reverences in churches "were ordered to be continued. "For instance, when the name of "Jesus was pronounced, all persons "were to bow, or shew some other "suitable mark of respect." Adm. ap. Wh. Def. 739. "When Jesus "is named, then of goeth the cap, "and downe goeth the knee, wyth "suche a scraping on the grounde, "that they cannot heare a good "while after, so that the word is