

*A Discourse Concerning the Rise and Antiquity
of Cathedral Worship.
In a Letter to a Friend.*

by

Benjamin Calamy (1642–1686)

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A
DISCOURSE
Concerning the
Rise and Antiquity
OF
Cathedral Worship.

In a Letter to a Friend.

LONDON,

Printed, and are to be sold by *A. Baldwin* in *Warwick-lane*, 1699.

Mr. *M*'s Argument methinks carries a great deal in it. Simplicity and Gravity are the most becoming Ornaments of Divine Worship; to fancy the great God pleas'd with Theatrical Pomp, and a noisy Ostentation in paying him publick Homage, were to represent him tinctur'd with human Vanity and Folly; which fills Conversation with superficial Ceremonies and complemental Addresses, that are but mere air and shew. But as they are nauseous to Men of sense, so may it well be concluded that any thing parallel to them, needs must be the like to the All-wise and Heart-searching God. 'Tis true in Humane Conversation, Men may be very complaisant and yet hearty; and in Divine Worship they may be Ceremonious and Formal, and yet truly Devout and Serious: but Likelihood in such cases is more considerable than Possibility. Men of Brains and Thought, altho they either through the tincture of Education, may really be fond of a pompous way of Worship; or for fear of singularity, may customarily fall in with such Ritual Observances as they don't much admire, are yet sufficiently guarded against so gross a weakness, as the resting in an outside Homage would imply: but what will become of the poor Vulgar? They use their Eyes and their Ears more than their Reason, and understand not the Art of Abstraction; when therefore they find the Divine Worship so contriv'd and ordered as to give them entertainment in their own way, gratifying their senses, and tickling their Fancies, instead of elevating their Understandings, and warming their Hearts, they'l be strangely apt to rest in the former, and over-look the latter, and so the great end is lost. He that questions this, seems little to know Mankind.

For my own part, I am far from being a friend to Slovenliness, or an enemy to Decency: I abhor Irreverence in Divine Worship out of a pretence to Spirituality; and yet am for guarding against too great a Prevalence of sensual part, lest it degenerate into mere Form. And therefore cannot but fall in with that which appear'd the common sense of the Company, that it were better for our Cathedrals to imitate, than be propos'd as patterns to our Parish Churches.

That I remember, which the Doctor most harpt upon, in his Encomiums of the Cathedral way (compar'd to which he seem'd to look upon our Parish Worship as mere babbling) was Antiquity and Authority. There he had us at every turn, when he had not an Answer at hand to our Reasons. There he thought he had a safe Retreat: Thither (according to your desire) I have since pursu'd him, and can find no ground for such mighty Boasts. I have made the best search into the matter that I was able, with that assistance
which

which my poor Library would afford, and must declare that I can find no footing of the modish Worship of our Cathedrals in the Christian Church, either in the days of the Apostles, or for some after-Ages; that if my Authors don't misinform me, (and there call in who you please to be Judges) it prevail'd not till the fourth Century was drawing to a close, and came not to perfection till *Gregory* the Great's days: and was warmly oppos'd by sundry Persons of great Worth and Eminence for a long time before, at, and after the times of the Western Reformation. If I can set this in a just light, I doubt the Doctor must lower his Top-sail, and abate of his Pretensions, lest his Zeal prove too strong for his Judgment.

His Plea from the Church, when Truth lies at stake, is with me of small account. I honour the Reformation because bottom'd upon a free ventilation of Truth, to which whosoever attempts to put a stop, undermines our Foundations, and endangers a relapse into Ignorance and Superstition, from which we ought to be thankful that we are so happily escap'd. I honour our Church, but cannot think that those befriend her, who would advance her to a practical Infallibility, admitting of no Alterations and Amendments: and cannot (when I review times past) forbear esteeming her unhappy in many of her Sons that have appear'd most Dutiful, who have outdone her greatest Enemies; and in her choicest Patriots, who have prov'd real Betrayers. For over-doing is undoing, and therefore I am well satisfy'd that Arch-Bishop *Laud* with his Heat and Bigotry, was a greater Enemy to our Church, than *Tho. Cartwright* or any of his Abettors, with all their Admonitions and vehement Invectives. This I think the Event hath verify'd.

It is easy to be observ'd, when Men are once fond of a Notion, how busy they are in searching for something to defend it; how apt to turn all things almost they meet with into Proofs to serve their purpose. Take for instance, those whose Ears are fill'd with the Cathedral Chanting, and whose minds are still running on its delightful Melody and Harmony; give them the New Testament, and turn them to those places where mention is made of singing Psalms and Hymns, and they'l presently fancy themselves in the Quire, with their Singing-Boys about them; and 'tis ten to one but they can find Organs too, and other Musical Instruments: they'l think they can presently thence confute you, even tho they can find no fair Medium for an Argument. But this is a Phaenomenon that is easily resolv'd into a strong prepossession imagination.

Persons may if they please assert, that when our Blessed Saviour sang

Mat. 26. 30.

sang a *Hymn* or *Psalm* after his first Institution of the Holy Communion, he divided his Disciples for the greater Advantage, putting six on one side, and six on the other, giving them their parts to sing *Antiphonally*, while he himself was the *Praecentor*; for my part, I should put them off with a compassionate Smile, as not thinking the matter would bear an Argument. If they at the same time pretend that *Paul* and *Silas*, who sang *Praises unto God in the Stocks*, sang also like Choristers, rebounding their Parts from one to t'other, I would not bear hard upon them; 'tis pity methinks they should be envi'd the Pleasure of their profound Discoveries. When they urge St. *Paul's* Authority, I am not, I must confess, much mov'd: For tho I know he charges the *Ephesians* to *speak to themselves, in Psalms and Hymns and spiritual Songs, singing and making Melody in their Hearts to the Lord*; and the *Colossians* to *teach and admonish one another in Psalms and Hymns, &c.* yet I can't see but this charge of his may be fully comply'd with, without any alternate singing after the manner of the Quire. *Baronius* indeed informs us, that the Apostle here prescribes the Form of Ecclesiastical singing; But I think so important a matter needs better vouchers. Christians *speak to themselves, and admonish one another* in Psalms and Hymns sufficiently, by devout Psalmody in their Church-Assemblies and Private Families, while they thereby warm their own Hearts, and quicken and excite each other by their common Ardour. But for singing alternately and by turns, I can see nothing of it without Spectacles, which I am not fond of using for fear they should spoil my Eyes.

Acts 16. 25.

Eph. 5. 19.

Col. 3. 16.

Ad An. 60.
Num. 24.

The most plausible Scripture-Allegation they produce is from the Book of the *Revelation*; where the Apostle represents the four Beasts that were about the Throne above, as crying out incessantly, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, &c.* which they strengthen by a parallel Passage in the Prophet *Isaiah*, who brings them in as crying so one to another; to which cry of the Beasts, the 24 Elders give a sort of an Antiphonal Answer, saying: *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power, &c.* But we must have a better Key to the Prophetick Visions than hath yet bin found, before we can warrantably argue from them in dubious matters. I can't find but the *Apocalypse* is yet a Sealed Book, notwithstanding the great Labour and Pains of so many scores of Commentators to open and unfold it: who, as far as I can discern, know better how to overthrow one anothers Schemes and Hypotheses, than how to six with any certainty when they have done. But as to the matter in hand, 'tis no way needful to labour for an Answer. The Pas-

Rev. 4. 8, &c.
Isa. 6. 3.

sage in *Isaiah* plainly refers to the Antient Temple-Worship, which can't be admitted a Precedent for Christian Practice, till better proof is brought, that it was design'd, and is fit so to be, than is as yet to be met with. And it is withal generally agreed, that the Images in the Apocalyptic Visions are fetcht from the Law, and not from the Gospel: consequently what in them relates to Divine Worship, refers to the Jewish and not the Christian Mode of it: which takes away the force of any Argument that might hence be drawn, with reference to the practice of the Apostles or their Contemporaries, as to the using any alternate Singing in their publick Assemblies.

But if what is wanting in Scripture Proof, could be made up by Authentick Primitive Records, I should be silent. For tho I can't fall in with those who represent all the Antients as Giants, and all Moderns as Dwarfs, and confine Sense, Learning and Piety, to former Times, yet I have a just Veneration for Antiquity; and can't particularly for bear having a great regard to the Sentiments and Practice of the Primitive Christians. But the worst of it is, many of the Allegations with reference to the matter in hand, out of the early Ages of the Church, run in so visionary a strain, that it requires more Credulity than I am master of, to lay any stress upon them: and as for the rest, they are liable to so many Objections, that I see not how they can amount to any thing like sufficient Evidence.

I have indeed read, that both the Apostolick College, and a Detachment from the Celestial Hierarchy, made up the Quire at the Celebration of the Funerals of the *Blessed Virgin*, the Mother of our Lord; whose remains with a mournful Ditty both of Angels and Apostles were deposited in *Gethsemane*, where the Angels afterwards continu'd singing for three whole days together: which comes from no meaner an Author, than the famous *John of Damascus*; who I find was a great Patron of Image Worship, and therefore so much in favour with the Blessed Virgin, that when his Hand was cut off, 'twas through her Intercession miraculously join'd to his Body again. And (tho my Author informs me not, yet) I suppose this might be the hand which afterwards in a way of Gratitude, signaliz'd it self by committing to Writing, and conveying to Posterity, the foregoing Account of the Funeral Solemnity of his great Benefactrix. An admirable Story this to support the Quire! what pity 'twas it remain'd so long unknown! Had it bin publish'd to the World four or five hundred years sooner, it might have done good Service, and effectually silenc'd

Jann. Damas-
cen. Sermon. 2. de
Dorm. Deiparae.

silenc'd all Objections against the Cathedral way: but having his kept secret 730 Years, it loses its force, and all that I can say is, *Fides sit penes Authorem*. Let him look to the truth of it. The same Author elsewhere very gravely relates a pleasant Passage concerning the Original of the famous Antient Hymn call'd the *Trisagion*: The Story is this: In the time of *Proclus* the Archbishop, the People of *Constantinople* were making solemn Supplications on the account of some portentous Signs, which had a threatning Aspect While they were full of Concern and Horror, a Boy being snatcht from amongst them, was taught by the Angels to sing that celebrated Hymn, which ran thus; [[ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ]] [[ΗΜΩΣ]]. i. e. *Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, Have mercy upon us*. The Boy when return'd, related what he had bin taught by his Celestial Masters, and instructed the Multitude, who freely sang after him, and so averted the Judgments which threatned them. But such sort of Narratives are not food for my Understanding, with how confident an Air soever they are vented; tho for any thing I know there may be some in the World, to whom such a Passage as this may sufficiently evince the *Jus Divinum* of Singing-Boys.

But to be as grave as the matter will allow me, I find it positively asserted, and that a great many Ages ago, that the Church-Pomp had its first rise from Heaven: For *Ignatius the third Bishop of Antioch in Syria, after the Apostle Peter, who also convers'd familiarly with the Apostles, saw the Blessed Spirits above, upon a certain time, singing Hymns to the Sacred Trinity alternately; and deliver'd to his Church that way of Singing, which he in a Vision had observ'd the Angels using: which Tradition was afterwards spread to all the Churches*. These are the words of as Antient an Author as *Socrates* the Church-Historian. *Nicephorus* * gives the same account of the Original of Alternate Singing. So also doth *George of Alexandria*, in the Life of *St. Chrysostom, Amalarius* ¹, *Walafridus Strabo* ², and sundry others. The Great *Baronius* ³ joins this Angelick Vision of *Ignatius*, with that of the Prophet *Isaiah* foremention'd, and then triumphs in the fulness of his Proof. The learned Dr. *Beveridge* ⁴ also makes mention of this Vision, in such a way as makes it plainly appear that he lays a stress upon it, and looks upon his Cause as concern'd in it: and so did Dr. *Hammond* ⁵ before him. But Dr. *Comber* ⁶ openly espouses and defends it: *I know* (says he) *some take exceptions at the Vision of Angels, from whom he is said to learn this Method; but let it be noted, that this was an Age of Miracles, and that the Holy-Scripture represents the*

De Fide Orthodoxá, Lib. 3. cap. 10.

Socrat. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

* Lib. 13. c. 8.
¹ De Eccl. Off. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.
² De Rebus Eccl. Ch. 25.
³ Ad An. 60. N. 24.
⁴ Cod. Can. Eccl. Prim. Vind. ac Illust. L. 3. c. 5. §. 8.
⁵ In his View of the Directory or Vindication of the Liturgy, &c.
⁶ In his Original and Use of Liturgies, 80. p. 27.

the glorious Seraphims singing in this alternate manner: So that it is not unlikely that so great a Saint and Martyr might have such a Vision. Do but observe how fond these Men are of Visions! 'Tis pity but they should have their fill of them: Let them turn to the *Golden Legend*, and they'l find a thousand as pretty Tales as this. But in Answer to Dr. *Comber*, I reply, 'tis beyond all question that *Ignatius* liv'd in an Age of Miracles: but that God by miraculous Visions, after the Apostles decease, settled any thing of publick Concern in the Church, as to which they had given no direction, is too dangerous a Notion to be admitted among Articles of Faith: the Apostolical Commission was large and full; they were to fix the Church upon a stable bottom, both as to Doctrine and Practice; and to provide for the safe propagating Christianity to after Ages. Had they instituted any Artificial Singing like that of our Cathedrals in worshipping God, they might have bin safely appeal'd to about it, their Commission would have born them out, there need-ed no Visions to have establish'd and made way for it: But supposing them to have bin altogether silent, to go to supply their defects by after Visions, opens a door to great Extravagancies, and gives scope for the introduction of the weakest Dotages, should but any have the Confidence to ascribe them to a divine Original. *Ignatius* was indeed a great Saint, and famous Martyr; but it doth not thence follow that he must have such a Vision: Many a great Man hath had those things father'd upon him, of which (could he have foreseen them) he'd have discover'd his abhorrence. If this Story prove a Fiction, it reflects not upon *Ignatius*. *Socrates* is most bound to answer for it; for he first reports it: and he, if we have any regard to the Opinion of the great *Photius*, was not very accurate in his Notions, and may therefore very well be suppos'd weakly to have taken the matter upon trust from others, without canvassing the truth of the Fact. Withal, 'tis observable that he first started the Notion of this Vision in the year of Christ 440, above 300 years after *Ignatius's* Death, which alone makes it very suspicious, and weakens the Credit of it, there being no mention made of it by any of the Writers who went before him. The Doctor indeed gently touches upon the silence of *Theodoret*, (who was the elder Church-Historian of the two) and endeavours to excuse it; saying it might proceed from his taking it for granted, and supposing it was generally own'd and known. But what room is there for such a supposition, when the silence is so general? How often do our antientest Historians relate things less material, as generally

Cod. 28.

known as this could be? Why then should so famous a Vision, of such importance, be overlook'd by all of them but *Socrates*, had they either heard of it, or thought it worth inserting? Why particularly should *Eusebius* be silent, who first collected the scatter'd Fragments of Church-History? His Diligence was such, that so remarkable a Passage as this could hardly have escap'd him; and such was his readiness to put together, whatsoever he met with that had any appearance of Antiquity, that had he heard of it he would scarce have baulkt it. His silence alone (to one that knows the Man) is a sufficient Argument, that he had no notice of this Vision: if so, how could it be so generally own'd and known as the Doctor supposes?

I'd e'en advise our Cathedralists therefore to be content to ascribe their admired Service to a lower Original, and not to soar so high; to let the Angels alone, and to own it had its rise from this Earth, where it hath more Admirers than I doubt it hath in the upper Regions. Here we shall stand upon a level, and may better see our way. I'll give you a brief view of their most applauded Humane Authorities, as I find them produc'd by their most celebrated Writers.

They in the first place mightily boast of the Egyptian *Therapeute*, whose Manners and Customs are largely describ'd by *Philo*, who among a great many other peculiarities, gives this Account of them: *That they had a Quire of two sides, singing alternately; so that when one had begun to sing, the rest answer'd him, by repeating the ends of the Verses, in imitation of those at the Red Sea.* *Eusebius* will needs have these *Therapeutae* to have bin Christians, and the Disciples of *St. Mark*, who preach'd the Gospel among the *Egyptians*. In them therefore, and their Practice, both Cardinal *Baronius*, and the three foremention'd Doctors, *Hammond*, *Beveridge* and *Combor*, think they meet with an early authentick Proof of the Antiquity of the Cathedral way: The Narrative wherein this occurs, being written by *Philo* within 60 Years after the Birth of our Saviour. Now I'll suppose (tho I can as yet see no necessity to grant it) that these People did make a Christian Profession, yes am I to seek for a Proof that their Practice was binding; it being an evident revival of *Judaism*. The utmost this matter on amount to is this: that there were in *Philo's* time a numerous party in and about *Alexandria*, of the Converts of *St. Mark*, who mixt *Judaism* and Christianity together. This is not my Notion, but *Sozomen's* the Historian; and I'll give it you in his words: speak-

ing of *Philo's Therapeutae* he declares, that *he looks upon him as thereby meaning those in his Days who of Hebrews were become Christians, who yet liv'd after the Jewish manner, and observ'd their Rites.* This need not seem strange to any that know that there was in the Primitive Church, a sort of People called *Nazarenes* or *Nazarites*; who join'd Christ and *Moses*, the Law and Gospel, Baptism and Circumcision together. We have early intimations of such an inclination, in *St. Luke's* Compendium of Church-History: and those who have bin at all conversant with the Accounts given of after-times, cannot but observe how mightily this inclination prevail'd among those Hebrews who embrac'd the Principles of the Christian Faith, who were very unwilling to be dissuaded from their old Customs and Observances; of which the pompous way of their Temple-Worship was none of the least belov'd, or least considerable. Supposing these People Christians of this stamp, (and it's plain by the whole Series of *Philo's* Discourse, and *Eusebius's* after him, which give an Account of so many instances of plain *Judaism* retain'd amongst them, that they could be of no other) I can't see how much can be gain'd by them. For it can no more be groundedly concluded from their Practice, that the Antiphonal way of Singing was usual in publick Christian Worship in those days, or that the way of the Antient Temple was to be retain'd in Christian Churches; than it can from the Custom of a few *Judaizers* be infer'd, that Circumcision was to be a standing Institution even under Christianity, and a discriminating badg as formerly. But after all, it's very justly questionable, whether or no these People were Christians even of this sortment. *Scaliger* asserts, (and brings a great many Arguments to prove) that they were *Essenes*. Our Countryman *Nicolas Fuller* is of the same Judgment. The great Oracle of the French Churches, the learned *Chamier*, proves the same largely. And *Valesius* also (who was of the opposite Communion) tho he doth not think them *Essenes*, yet in his Notes upon this part of *Eusebius*, by divers Arguments proves that they were not Christians, and the like doth *Dr. Cave*: whose Judgment, where it thwarts so many Dons of the Church, is with me as valuable as any Mans. Another ingenious Person of our own Nation also, who takes a great deal of pains to confute *Valesius*, and is very zealous for having them to be Christians, yet can make no more of them than converted *Essenes*, owning that they still retain'd their old Rites and Customs. If all this weakens not the force of this Allegation, 'twould to me

Soz. Hist. Eccl.
Lib. 1. cap. 12.

Acts 15. 1, 8.

De Emend.
Temp. Lib. 6.
Miscel. 1. 1. c. 3.
Panst. Cath. T.
3. L. 20. c. 22.
§. 68, 69, 70.
&c.

In his Life of
St. Mark.

Tho. Bruno
his Dissert. de
Therapeut.
adv. H. Vales.

De vitâ con-
templat.

Hist. Eccles.
Lib. 2. cap. 16,
17.

be very strange: it hath not the face of an Argument left; for either these People were Christians, or mere *Jews*. Take which side you will, I am very indifferent; they are unfit Precedents for our Practice. If they were mere *Jews*, of the Sect of the *Essenes*, (as is asserted by sundry of the Learned) how are we concern'd in them? What have we to do with them? Which way can they satisfy us as to the Practice of the Christian Church? If they were Christians, they were but Judaizers: who corrupted our Religion by sundry unlawful and improper mixtures; were bitter enemies of the Converted *Gentiles*, and therefore very unfit Persons to be our Precedents. Their Practice should rather be us'd as a Caution to us, than urg'd as an Example for us to imitate.

Another Testimony I meet with commonly produc'd by the Idolizers of the Cathedral way, to prove its Antiquity, is a Passage in an Epistle of the younger *Pliny* to the Emperor *Trajan*, about the Primitive Christians; wherein (among other things) he tells him, *it was customary with them to meet together on a certain day before it was light, and sing together an Hymn to Christ as God: which he thus expresses; Carmenque Christo quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; the meaning whereof they will have to be this, that they sang alternately, and by turns, after the manner of the Quire. But methinks 'tis a little odd and unaccountable, that a Heathen should first take notice of this as a common Custom of the Christians, and that their own Writers for a long time after should pass it over silently, even when they were giving an Account of what related to their Worship, and often had so fair an Occasion to mention it. But waving this, I'll give you an instance of unfair dealing, in that great Patron of the Quire, the learned Dr. Comber. He urging this Passage of Pliny against his Antagonist, draws an Argument from the Phrase Carmen Dicere, in proof of the Hymns being in a set form of words, wherein I verily believe he hath the right of his side. To back his Assertion, he produces the Authority of the famous old Gerard Vossius; and presently after thus argues: Since it was sung alternately, it is certain it must be a prescribed Form; when yet he overlooks what follows but a Leaf or two after in Vossius, when he is opening the sense of Pliny's secum invicem; which he explains not by any thing of an alternation (which the Doctor thought fit to take for granted) but represents this as its meaning; that the Priest did not sing alone, but others also that join'd in Divine Worship, did by Singing stir up and*

C. Plin. Epist.
Lib. 10. Ep. 94.

Of Liturgies,
Oct. p. 23.

Vossii Com-
ment. in Ep.
Plinii de
Christianis.

and quicken one another. So easy it is for a Man to take or leave what he apprehends is for or against him.

But two Considerations, so far as I can perceive, may sufficiently clear this Passage of *Pliny*, to such as are willing to receive satisfaction. First, the signification of the word *invicem* is not universally the same. I pretend not to any great accuracy in Criticism; but as far as my insight into the *Roman* Tongue will help me to discern, am of Opinion, that the sense of this Particle varies, according as it stands in Conjunction. For as it sometimes signifies, *one after another*, and *by course*; so doth it at other times, *again*; and in other Cases it implies no more than either a *joint consent in Action*, or an *accidental coincidence of Events*. Let *Laurentius Valla* here be consulted, and others of the like Stamp, if there be leisure and inclination. The most that can fairly be made of *secum invicem*, in the Passage referred to, is this; *that they sang together, and with one consent*. And therefore commend me to Dr. *Cave*, who tho no enemy to the Quire, yet was not for supporting it by a quibbling Criticism, but fairly renders this Passage thus: *they were wont upon a set solemn Day, to meet together before Sun rise, and to sing among themselves an Hymn to Christ, as the God whom they worship'd*.

A second thing to be noted is this, That the Roman Priests us'd to sing alone in their most sacred Solemnities; none bearing a part in the Service but themselves: the *Carmen Saliare* (which was the most antient and celebrated of any) was wont to be sung by the *Priests of Mars* in their particoulour'd Coats, while they were dancing about the *Forum*; none joining with them in the Song but those of the Fraternity. The case was the same in their other Songs of the same Nature. Because therefore the Roman Priests were the only Singers in their Sacred Worship, did *Pliny* think it strange to hear that among the Christians all bore a part, and all the Assembly with joint Consent and Harmony sang their Hymn? And yet now alas among Christians (pretending to be of the best Reformed Church in the World) do we find a body of Men that are grown weary of letting all God's Worshippers bear a part in his Praise, and are better pleas'd with the Heathen Custom, of confining it barely to the Priestly Fraternity, and their Attendants. And thus the World runs round.

The next Writer that comes in our way, produc'd in proof of the Antiquity of the Cathedral Service, by its Patrons and Votaries,

De Linguae
Lat. Elegan-
tiâ, l. 2. c. 59.

In his Intro-
duction to Vol.
1. of the Lives
of the Primi-
tive Fathers.

Rosini Antiq.
Rom. l. 3. c. 20.

ries is *Tertullian*; who flourish'd about the Year of Christ 190, in whom there occurs this Passage; *What shall she sing to her Husband, or her Husband to her?* I could not, I confess, forbear smiling to find Dr. *Comber*, when speaking of *Tertullian*, so gravely asserting that it appears from him that they then sang Psalms and Hymns alternately; and referring in the Margin only to this poor Passage. I am no great admirer of such sort of Proof; however shall scan it, and see what it amounts to: "The aim of *Tertullian*, in that second Book to his Wife, was to admonish her (supposing that she surviv'd him) to take heed of marrying a *Gentile*. He urges therefore upon her the Apostle's charge, to "marry in the Lord, which believing Women could not be said "to do, who link'd themselves with Heathens. He tells her that "those who engag'd in such Marriages were to be debarr'd the "Privilege of Christian Society; for that they could not with "any convenience answer the demands of Christian Discipline, "nor forbear exposing Divine things to contempt; nor avoid "either the being infected with some idolatrous Leaven, or "at least being diverted from those Sacred Engagements that "became Christians. Among these he reckons singing the "Praises of God, which is most undoubtedly a necessary Duty, "and very advantageous, whether it be perform'd in Publick "or Private. Now says *Tertullian*, how can a Man and Wife of such opposite Principles, as are those of Heathens and Christians, which run as wide as Heaven and Earth, join together in that Divine Employment? Let the Man set himself to sing, and he'll presently vent what the Wife abhors, and would not join with him in for all the World: Let the Wife on the other side attempt to sing the Christian Psalms and Hymns, and the Husband will storm, because he'll find contempt pour'd on the Objects of his Veneration. How can there be any compliance with the foremention'd Charge of St. *Paul*, of *Teaching and Admonishing one another in Psalms and Hymns*, &c. which as it should be extended to all that are join'd in any thing of a Religious Society, so comes with a special force on such as are join'd together in so near a Relation, as that of Husband and Wife? But alas, so far are they from being capable of any Harmony in such an Engagement, that any attempts towards it would be likely to issue in Strife and Variance, and wretched Confusion. This Passage of *Tertullian* thus taken, runs smooth and even; is free from Difficulties, and needs no force, and is very apposite, and much to the purpose. But on the

[[?????]]tull. ad
[[?????]]orem, L. 2.
6.

Discourse of Liturgies,
p.
[[?????]]

the other side, it must be strain'd and forc'd, before it can be pretended to do the Quire any Service; and after all is not very pertinent. In order to the making way for any other Gloss, it must be suppos'd that 'tis either publick or private Singing between Husband and Wife, that is here intended; and either supposition hath its difficulties. If publick Singing be here refer'd to, and that in the alternate manner; then must it be suppos'd that there was a particular Address of the Husband to the Wife, and Wife to the Husband, during the Service in Christian Assemblies, which so unsutable a Conjunction as he was speaking of would prevent: But this were to assert what could not be prov'd, what we have no where any hint of, and that little to the service of the Cause to be befriended; by reason it would bring in a set of Women-Singers into the Quire, which would not be much for its Reputation. On the other hand; if it were private Singing that *Tertullian* meant, (which seems much the most likely) then, if their not being able to sing together, or to sing to each other upon occasion, for Excitation, or Exhilaration, won't satisfy as the sense, but an Argument must hence be drawn for the publick Use of the Cathedral way in those days, in order to its having any force, it must be suppos'd that every Man kept a Quire in his House, to train up his Children and Servants for Choristers for the Benefit of the Publick, and so divided them at the time of Worship into two opposite sides, himself heading one, and his Wife the other: which is so large and wild a Supposition, that by virtue of the same Figure, I dare undertake any where almost to fetch Arguments for Proof, in whatsoever Cause I espouse.

These are the principal Authorities, to prove the Use of the Cathedral way in the three first Centuries, that are produc'd by its most sensible Patrons: But were I concern'd with them, I must declare I should be asham'd to claim so great Antiquity, if I could not better prove my Title. However there are others, who are no small Friends to the Cause, who run yet lower, and urge the *Apostolical Constitutions*; wherein (under the prescrib'd Order of Divine Worship) 'tis requir'd, that *after the two Lessons, one should sing David's Hymns or Psalms, and the People should fall in with the extremes or ends of the Verses*. And this would be to the purpose indeed, were those *Constitutions* Authentick; but that they are so, is yet to be prov'd. *Du Pin* (tho a Romanist) is by evidence of Fact forc'd to declare the Author of them an *Impostor*. For that *tho he attempts to pass for Clement, the Disciple of the Apostles,*

Apost. Con-
stit. l. 2. c. 57.

Ou Pin Bibli-
[[?????]]th. des Au-
theurs Eccle-
siastiqu. Tom.
1. pag. 15.

Id. pag. 31.

Cottel. Jud. de
Const. Apost.

Jud. de Canon.
Apostol. c. 17.

Observationes
in Annot. Be-
veregii in
Can. S. Apost.

Apostles, he yet ascribes to them all in common, and each in particular, sundry regulations no way agreeing to the Apostles; as concerning Churches built in the Form of Temples, Liturgies, the Ordination of Deacons, and Deaconesses; the Benediction of Oil and Water, and the like; which he declares he's satisfi'd were unknown in those early days. And afterwards he charges them with being infected with the Arian, and sundry other Errors; gives it as his Judgment that they did not appear till the 4th Century; and that they were often reform'd; chang'd, and augmented afterwards, according to the different Customs of Times and Countries. Cottelerius also declares he's far from thinking them Apostolical; and that he looks upon them as wretchedly interpolated, since they became first extant. Nay even Dr. Beveridge owns the same: and tho he discovers a much greater value for those supposititious Writings, than any unprejudic'd Person could think they deserve; yet freely declares they are so sadly mangled, that they are quite different from what they were when they first appear'd in the World. But I have oft wondred in my own Mind, why the Doctor thinks L' Arroque unworthy of a Reply, who in his Remarks upon him hath sufficiently evidenc'd his antedating them, when he so vehemently contends for their being extant before the Council of Nice. He that at this time of the day lays any stress upon these spurious Constitutions is not to be argued with: the like I say as to Dionysius the Areopagite of the Hierarchy of the Church, and other such Authors, out of whom Passages of the like nature are often cited; they are so generally esteem'd spurious by all that have any gust of Antiquity, and are so far from deserving regard, that they are not worth the mentioning.

And now, *Sir*, let's consider how far we have advanc'd. It's requir'd by all the Rules of Reasoning, that he that affirms any thing dubious, should give good Proof of it before he can expect to gain credit to his Assertion. Those therefore who so positively affirm the Use of the Cathedral way of Worship, in the three first Centuries, must produce good Evidence; and if their proof be not cogent, there are good Grounds for a denial. The strongest Evidences that usually are produc'd, have bin consider'd and weigh'd; and (I think I may without Vanity say) prov'd weak and insufficient. Till therefore they either bring better, or better strengthen and support these, they can't reasonably refuse to allow us to withhold our Assent. The Negative is not in any Case equally capable of Proof with the Affirmative, supposing it true; and yet sometimes may be attended with strong Probabilities, the force of which is not

not easily avoided. And I think I am not destitute of Reason to assert that this is the case in the present Argument. For tho there's no possibility of demonstrating that the Cathedral Service was not so Antient as is pretended, to those who are unwilling to be convinc'd; yet are there sundry things that make it probable, that the Antiquity ascrib'd to it, is but imaginary and supposititious. And here I should desire that three things were consider'd by those who are open to Light.

First, The State of the Church in the three first Centuries is not to be forgotten. Christianity was then traduc'd, contemn'd, malign'd, and persecuted, with the utmost Subtilty and Malice, Rage and Violence. The great work of its Votaries, was to defend its Principles by the strength of their Writings; to wipe off its Reproach by the Holiness of their Lives; and to bear Testimony to its Truth and Divinity, by their chearful Sufferings. The Circumstances of Christians were in those early days so presling; so great were the hazards they daily ran, and the fatigues whereto they were expos'd, that it's scarce conceivable they should have inclination, leisure, or opportunity, to introduce so pompous a Worship as that of our Cathedrals. The privacy of their Meetings would not allow of any such Magnificence, nor their strait Confinements of such Art and State. The whole contrivance of that sort of Service shows it to be the work of Men at ease, and not under the Hatches, as it's well known Christians generally were before the days of *Constantine*.

Secondly, The silence of those Primitive Writers who would have bin most likely to have mention'd it, is not to be overlook'd. *Justin Martyr*, in his particular Account of the Christian Worship in his time, mentions their praising God heartily and chearfully, but gives not the least intimation of any Pomp or Art in that part of the Service. *Irenæus*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *Origen* are altogether silent as to the Cathedral Service. The diligent and industrious Dr. *Comber* (who takes all Occasions, jointly with Liturgies, to recommend alternate Singing after the manner of the Quire, as of equal Antiquity) would hardly have overlook'd it, could he have met with any thing in them to the purpose. *Tertullian* often mentions the singing of Psalms in the Lord's Days Solemnities, in the publick Assemblies: but not a word is produc'd from him as to the Alternate way, saving the foremention'd Passage of his, which won't much serve the Cause. The like may be said as to others their Contemporaries. Now

In Apologia
secundâ.

Tertul. de A-
nimâ cap. 9.
& Apolog. c. 2.
& cap. 39.

what Account can be given of this general Silence, were the Cathedral Service known in those early Ages? It can't be said they conceal'd it for the same reason as they did many of their Sacred Mysteries; for it would not hold in this case. What they did keep secret, and upon reserve, was with a design to heighten Veneration and prevent Contempt; (tho I must confess that is an Artifice of which I should not be over fond) But how the concealing this Pompous sort of Service could be conceiv'd likely to guard against dislike and contempt, I can't imagine: its airiness, and gaudiness, and fancifulness, would have bin much more likely to have procur'd it Respect and Approbation among both the ceremonious *Jews*, and superstitious *Gentiles*, supposing it had bin generally known and publish'd. Their Ignorance of it, and utter unacquaintedness with it, will to any one who fairly considers Circumstances, appear a much more probable Cause of their silence concerning it.

Thirdly, The solemn Dedication of Churches in those Halcyon days, which attended the Emperor *Constantine's* embracing the Christian Faith, deserves also a Remark. To have the Emperor of their side, was a surprising Blessing to the poor Christians, who had gone through so many Persecutions: they hardly knew how to contain themselves for Joy, being as it were on a sudden rais'd from the Dead. They had now an Opportunity of shewing themselves to the World to the best Advantage, and they were not backward to improve it. Among other particulars, they dedicated their publick Churches in all parts with great Joyfulness and Festivity; nothing was wanting that could be thought of that might add to the Pomp and Magnificence of those Solemnities: and had any such sort of Singing as that of the Quire, bin then ever heard of or us'd among Christians, we have a great deal of reason to suppose we should have met with it upon those Occasions; or that if it was omitted in one place, it would have bin found in another: whereas there appears not the least footstep of any such thing to be trac'd. *Eusebius* is here very large in his Accounts. In the general he tells us *that all with one Soul, and one Consent, sang Hymns to God; loudly echo'd his Praise in Psalms; heard the other divinely inspir'd Writings, and receiv'd the Symbols of our Redeemer's Passion; and that the several Presidents of the Churches made Panegyricall Orations, with all the Eloquence of Joy whereof they were capable.* But he gives not the least hint of any Antiphonal Singing, in parts, and by turns, with Musical Symphony, in a Theatrical

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 10. cap. 3.

atrical way. The Oration at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, gives an Account of the Form and Parts of that Edifice (which were very different from what had before bin usual among Christians) and sundry other particularities: but makes not the least mention of any thing like our Cathedral Service, as then in use; for which there was scope sufficient. At the Dedication of the Church at *Jerusalem*, there was (by virtue of *Constantine's* Letter) a Convention of about sixty Bishops, who were ordered upon this Occasion to adjourn thither from the City of *Tyre*; where they were met in Council about the Affair of the great *Athanasius*. The Ceremonies us'd upon that occasion were peculiarly pompous, and a famous Oration was made by *Eusebius*, which is yet extant at the close of his Ecclesiastical History: But still there's no mention of that sort of Service, which hath so ingross'd the Affections of our Cathedralists. *Finally*, The same Author gives us also a large Account of the Funerals of this Famous first Christian Emperor, tells us of the Reception of his Corps by the Clergy in a body, at the Church of the Apostles; takes notice of the mournfulness of the Solemnity, their sorrowful Praying on that Occasion, and the Praises that were universally given to the Deceased; but is altogether silent as to any such Ceremonies, as are in our Days usual, when the Relicks of Persons of Note and Eminence are deposited in our Cathedrals. Which Considerations put together, make it highly probable that the Cathedral Service came not into the Church, till after *Constantine* left the World; which was in the 337th Year of Christ.

Matters being thus far clear'd, I'll now proceed to give you the best Account I am able, of the true Rise of that way of Worship, which our Cathedralists so much extol; and in comparison whereof they reckon the Worship of those who stately wait on God like honest Christians in their Parish Churches, to be poor, mean, and beggarly. I'll omit no material Circumstances I have met with in the narrow compass of my Reading, which may either seem to make for their Cause, or help to afford any Light; and make a few Reflections as I go along, that I mayn't seem heavy, flat and tedious.

After all the stir that hath bin made, the first certain hint that can be fix'd on in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, of Cathedral Chanting, is in the Church of *Antioch*, during the Administration of *Leontius*, who was advanc'd to that See *A. C.* 347. and continued in it till the Year 356. in which interval of time, *Flavianus* (who

Cap. 4.

Eus. de Vit.
Constant. l. 4.
c. 43, 44, 45.

Cap. 70, 71.

was afterwards himself advanc'd to this See) and *Diodorus* (afterwards Bishop of *Tarsus*) divided the Quire into two Parts, and made them sing the *Psalms* of David alternately: which Custom (saith *Theodoret*) began first at *Antioch*, and thence spread it self to other places; and reach'd even to the ends of the World. *Leontius* the Bishop was an *Arian*, and subtilly undermin'd the *Nicene Faith*; of which *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* set up for zealous Defenders. They were both engag'd in a Monastick Life, and in great repute for Piety; and therefore altho (as the Historian observes) they were as yet mere Laymen, and not in Orders, yet they had a great many Followers; and their way of Antiphonal Singing, which they set up in separate Assemblies, was generally so taking, that they drew all the People from *Leontius* their Bishop, who thereupon desir'd them to bring their new fashion Service into the Church. So that this so much admir'd Service, was first set on foot in order to the enticing People from the *Arians*, to please the Mob, and keep them from running after those by whom they'd be seduc'd. But for my part I must declare I am rather for leaving those Arts and Shifts to persons of Sectarian Principles: Let Truth make its own way, I can't apprehend it any great Service to it, to gain it Proselytes by any such enticing Methods. And I very much question, whether those who are attracted merely by the pompousness of Worship, are like to prove any great Credit to the party they fall in with. However, thus stands Fact. At *Antioch* where Persons were first call'd Christians, were Christians first taught to turn the Church into a Stage. There was that way of Singing first introduc'd, which hath turn'd the Worship of God into an artificial contrivance; and which, should it universally prevail, would transform Religion into mere Mechanism. Of this *Flavianus* was the great occasion. A Man who stands branded in Ecclesiastick History, for the breach of a most solemn Oath, whereby (for the preventing a perpetual Schism in the Church of *Antioch*) he and five more stood bound, not to covet the Bishoprick of that See, and not to accept it altho elected, while *Paulinus* and *Meletius* were alive: Notwithstanding which Oath, he after the Death of *Meletius*, in opposition to *Paulinus*, (who yet surviv'd) readily accepted the Bishoprick when 'twas offer'd him: for which notorious Perjury, he was deservedly detested by all the Western Bishops. I know 'tis pleaded on his behalf, that he herein acted with the Advice and Approbation of a Synod of the Bishops of the East, who unanimously elected him, when they were met together

Theod. Hist.
Eccl. Lib. 2.
cap. 24.

Sozom. Hist.
Eccl. Lib. 7.
cap. 3. c. 11.

gether in Council at *Constantinople*. But that only proves that those who possess the chief Dignities of the Church, began betimes to act more out of Interest than a Principle of Conscience, (of which there are alas but too many instances) but proves not the lawfulness of the Fact. Our Cathedralists have no great Cause to be proud of their Founder, who in so scandalous a manner mounted the Episcopal Throne. However, tho he was loose in his Morals, yet he was very fond of Ceremonials: an unhappy Conjunction! too oft to be met with in every Age! He seems to have reckon'd his Anthems a sort of Magical Charms, proper to appease both God and Man. We meet with a remarkable instance of his reliance upon their Virtue, when he was sent as a publick Agent to the Emperor *Theodosius*. The Case was this: The City of *Antioch* had by a popular Sedition incurr'd the Emperor's Displeasure, and was afraid of the consequences. Whereupon *Flavianus* was by common Consent, deputed as their Mediator with him, to pacify his Anger, and implore their Pardon. He undertakes the Business, and thinking nothing could be more softning than his belov'd Church-Musick, ordered the usual Service to be sung before the Emperor at his Table, and for once makes a Quire of the Imperial Dining-room. The Design succeeded, the Emperor took Pity, he wept most tenderly, and the City was receiv'd into Favour. Behold here an instance of the charming Power of the Cathedral Service! How could the *Antiochians* forbear having a mighty Esteem and Reverence for their late Invention, which they found had such a melting Virtue! How easily were they persuaded that it was likely to be as moving to God, as they found it had bin to Man! What wonder then, that this City was so fond of Alternate Singing! No where do we hear so much of it as there. In the days of the Emperor *Julian*, they convey'd the Corps of St. *Babylas* the Martyr, from *Daphne* (where the Dæmon could not bear his Neighbourhood) and carri'd it through their City in Triumph, singing all the way they went with great Joy, after the manner of the Quire; the whole Company joining in this response, at every Period, *Confounded be all they that worship Graven Images*. The same sort of Reception they gave also in the Reign of *Theodosius*, to the Corps of their Bishop *Meletius*, which was deposited near that of St. *Babylas*. And many other ways did they show their fondness of it. The prevalence of Antiphonal Singing in such a City as *Antioch*, which was the Metropolis of *Syria*,

Sozom. Hist.
Eccl. 1. 7. c. 23.

Socrat. Eccl.
Hist. 1. 3. c. 18.
Theod. lib. 3. c. 10.

Soz. Hist. Eccl.
1. 7. c. 10.

Syria, a place of great resort, and of a mighty Influence, much further'd its spreading in other Parts.

Between the year of Christ 360, and 370, there was a Council held in the City of *Laodicea*, upon what Occasion is not now certainly known. Among other things 'twas then determin'd, that *there should be Canonical Singers, and that they should sing out of Written Books, and that none else should sing in the Church.* Who had the framing of these Canons, and what Bishops met in this Council, I cannot find out; but meet with this Reason assign'd by *Baronius*, for this particular Canon about Singers: *because (saith he) when the People and Clergy sang promiscuously, through the unskillfulness of the Singers it oft fell out, that by the disorderly sound of Voices, the diversity marr'd that harmonious Singing, which was congruous to the Churches Dignity: therefore it was prohibited the People in the Church; and ordered that none should sing, but those unto whom this Work was assign'd.* *Zonaras* also intimates as much, telling us that these Canonical Singers were reckon'd a part of the Clergy. But *Balsamon* (who in *Dr. Cave's* Judgment was the best skill'd in the Ecclesiastical Canons, of any that ever *Greece* produc'd) tells us in his *Scholia*, that *before the Laodicean Council, the Laity would many times in contempt of the Clergy, begin such Hymns and Songs in the Church as were crude and unusual: to obviate which practice it was ordered in that Canon, that none should begin to sing but those that were appointed, and whose Office it was: Not but that the Laity might follow them, and sing with them in the whole Service, which he declares was not intended to be thereby prohibited.* So that the true meaning of this celebrated Canon is no more than this, that the Clerks in all the Churches should read the Psalms, out of a Psalm Book; and none else should presume to begin a Hymn, or set a Tune but they. Whence it appears to me a better Evidence of the Antiquity of *Parish Clerks*, than of the extent of the Cathedral Service, on the behalf whereof 'tis commonly produc'd.

But whatever becomes of the *Laodicean* Canon, great boasts are made of the Patronage of three most celebrated Names, *viz.* *St. Basil*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Chrysostom*, who were all fond of the Quire; recommended, spread, and diffus'd the new Mode of Service, wheresoever they had an influence, and handed it down to Posterity with Encomiums. Be it so, must we therefore presently be frighten'd out of our Wits? Are they too eminent to have their Sentiments canvass'd, and their Actions scann'd? Is a thing

Concil. Laod.
Can. 15.

Baron. ad An.
60. N. 28.

Hist. Litera-
ria, Pars 1.
p. 687.

thing therefore true because they said it, therefore good and laudable because they did it? For my part I think I have them in a just Veneration, and yet cannot reach such a pitch of Complaisance. I can't be content to part with my own Eyes, for the use of other Mens, were they ever so eminent, great or good. I find the best have so many failures, that I can't satisfy my self to follow any blindfold, for fear they should lead me into a Ditch. None that are at all vers'd in Antiquity, can be ignorant, that towards the latter end of the *4th* Century, and the beginning of the fifth, through the ignorance of some, the negligence of others, the haughtiness and stiffness of others, and a spreading love of Pomp and Magnificence, a variety of Corruptions crept into the Church, which in process of time rose to a far greater height, than could have bin at first imagin'd by those who had the greatest hand in introducing them. Witness the undue admiration of Celibacy, the fondness of Reliques and Pilgrimages, the Invocation of Saints, the setting up Images in Churches, the overgreat Veneration of the Cross, and Prayers for the Dead; which about this time had their rise. Why mayn't the Service of the Quire, which gain'd so much about this time, be of this number; when, how honest and laudable soever were the intentions of its first Patrons and Abettors, it came by degrees to be so manag'd, as to render the Divine Worship perfectly ridiculous; and would, if it universally prevail'd, bid fair for the justling real Worship out of the World? However I can't pass by the three Persons mention'd without a few Remarks.

As for *St. Basil*, he had part of his Education at *Antioch*; he was there made Deacon by *Meletius*; was a continual Spectator of the pompous Worship of the Quire, which was there so much in vogue; he was us'd to it, and it suted his Genius, and thereupon he resolv'd to spread it. At the same time, being himself a great Ascetick, mighty fond of Retirement, and full of Zeal, he set up for a Patron of the Monastick Life, for which he was the first who fixt Laws and Constitutions to be propagated to Posterity: but they must have much worse thoughts of so great a Man than I can give way to, who imagine he would have bin fond either of one or t'other, could he have foreseen the Damage they'd have done to real Religion in after-times. 'Tis however observable that he was reckon'd an Innovator, and charg'd as an introducer of Novelties, in setting up
Monachism

Monachism, and being so fond of the new way of Psalmody, and so industrious in spreading it: He was even then forc'd to apologize for himself. And his Apology (in an Epistle to the *Neocæsarean* Clergy, still extant) was indeed (like the Man) very warm and vehement. "As for his forming Men into a Monastic Life, he declares he was so far from reckoning it a fault, that he thought it to be his Glory, and the great Business of his Life: and he fetches Precedents out of *Egypt* and *Palæstine*. "And as for the new way of Psalmody, at which they were offended, he declares 'twas now become a common practice in the Christian Church; the People rising before day, and going to Church; where having made their Confessions and Prayers, they proceeded to the Singing of Psalms, in which Holy Exercise, the Quire being divided into two Parts, mutually answer'd one another, the *Præcentor* beginning, and the rest following after. And tells them that if this were a fault, they must blame many pious and good Men in *Egypt* and *Libya*, and *Thebais*; in *Palæstine*, *Arabia*, *Phaenicia* and *Syria*, and many other places. They objected against him, that 'twas not thus in the time of their Bishop *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, for whom they had a great Veneration. He answers, that neither were the Litanies then us'd known in his time. But that methinks is no Argument, but that both that sort of Psalmody and the Litanies too, might be novel Inventions. "Withal, he accuses them of not following their admir'd *Gregory* in other things; and therefore charges them with straining at a Gnat, while they swallow'd a Camel, in that they in the mean time made such a noise about his Psalmody. But how could their being guilty of other faults, make them incapable of being in the right, in their opposing the Service of the Quire as a Novelty? Nay rather his inability to produce Evidence of the Antiquity of that which they oppos'd as an Innovation, (which appears from his not having done it) shows that they were herein in the right: and his diverting thence to other things, looks very like his seeking for a subterfuge. After all, *St. Basil* was a great Man; and yet 'tis well known, that tho he made so strict a profession of Humility, and had spent so much time in learning Mortification, he was as little able to bear a Contradiction as his Neighbours.

From him I pass to *St. Ambrose*, who was on a sudden translated from the Civil Tribunal to the Episcopal Throne; and who was the

the first that brought the Antiphonal way of Singing into the Western Parts, as is expressly asserted by *St. Austin*, *Isidore Hispalensis*, and sundry others. He was a considerable Man in his time, but abundantly more so on the account of his Gravity, Simplicity, and Piety, than his Depth and Solidity: he was too great an admirer of the *Greeks*, whom he follow'd blindfold. It hath long since bin observ'd of him by *St. Jerom*, that he often transcribes the Greek Fathers in his Writings; no wonder therefore if he follow'd them in Ritual matters. He had particularly a great Veneration for *St. Basil*, in imitation of whom he introduc'd the Service of the Quire at *Milan*; of which we have this Account. "When he was persecuted by the Empress *Justina*, the People watch'd all Night in the Church; and then he appointed that Psalms and Hymns should be sung, after the manner of the Oriental Countries, lest the People should pine away with the tediousness of Sorrow; and from that time forward the Custom was retain'd, and spread to all the Western Parts. But I must be excus'd if I can't lay so great a stress on this honest Father's Judgment and Practice, as some others may do: for a Visionary Inclination is with me, wherever I meet with it, a great mark of weakness. Of this we have in him a notorious Instance, in one of the most remarkable Passages of his Life; which relates to his management of the Relicks of *St. Gervasius*, and *St. Protasius*; of which he himself gives this Account: "Having built a Church in the City of *Milan*, he was desir'd to Consecrate it in the same manner as he had done the Roman Church, (*i. e.* another Church that was near the Roman Gate.) He promis'd it, provided he found any Relicks: and thereupon got some Officers to dig about the Rails that encompass'd the Tombs of *St. Felix* and *St. Nabor* the Martyrs. Digging, they found the Bodies of two proper Persons besprinkled with Blood, which with great Solemnity were carried and interr'd in the new-built Church, after having wrought a great many miraculous Cures. In his two Sermons which he preach'd upon this Occasion, (which I'd commend to the perusal of all those who reckon Things and Sentiments must, if Antient, be good of course) he tells his Hearers, that these were the Bodies of *St. Gervasius*, and *Protasius*. And tho he did not think it necessary to acquaint them how he came to know so much, yet *St. Austin* (who was at that time at *Milan*) tells us he had his Intelligence in a Vision. For my part, I'm clearly

Confess. l. 9.
c. 7.
De Eccl. Off.
l. 1. c. 7.

Ambrosii Lit.
22.

Confess. l. 9.
c. 7.

clearly for plain ground, for I find Precipices dangerous. Once admit Visions in the Case of *Relicks*, and I see no reason why they should be refus'd on the behalf of *Transubstantiation*, or any other Dotage. If we have a *sure Word of Prophecy*, let us stick to it. Should a Man bring his Visions into the Pulpit in our times, either in the Court, City, or University, he'd at once forfeit whatever Reputation he was master of. And why we should give a Letter of Licence to an Antient, and deny it to a Modern Preacher, I can't imagine. In a word, I honour the Piety of St. *Ambrose*; yet cannot but be loth to admit him a Precedent, where any thing dubious is under Consideration: for I am satisfi'd we have many an honest Country Parson, that is able to see as far as he.

The third admir'd Patron is the great St. *Chrysostom*, concerning whom 'tis to be observ'd, that he was born and bred at *Antioch*, where we have found the Cathedral Chanting was first introduc'd. He was made a Deacon there by *Meletius*, and afterwards a Presbyter by *Flavianus* (the Founder of the Service) of whom he is said to have bin a great admirer: So that he imbib'd the love of Antiphonal Singing, almost with his Mother's Milk, and was all along bred up in the Use of it: and he must be altogether unacquainted with humane Nature, who knows not the Force and Power of Education. When he was once advanc'd to the See of *Constantinople*, he soon found occasion to introduce the Antiochian Custom. Historians relate it thus: "The *Arians* in that City were grown very insolent: They kept their Conventicles out of Town, but were wont upon Saturdays and Sundays, (which were constant times for the Publick Assemblies) to come within the City; and dividing themselves into Companies, they walk'd about the Publick Portico's, singing as they went along Hymns compos'd in defence of their own Principles, one part responding to the other; adding petulant Reflections on the Catholicicks. Thus they did the greatest part of the Night, and early the next Morning they march'd through the heart of the City, singing their Antiphonal Hymns, and so went out to their own Meeting-house. St. *Chrysostom* in opposition to them, deliver'd Hymns to some of his People, to be sung in the Night in the same manner: and that the business might be manag'd with the greater Pomp and Solemnity, procur'd Crosses of Silver to be made at the Empresses Charge; and order'd that they

Socrat. l. 6.
c. 8.
Sozom. l. 8.
c. 8.

"should have lighted Torches born before them, and got *Briso* the Empresses own Eunuch, as *Praeceptor*, to walk before the Company: which was the occasion of a great Scuffle and Sedition in the City, that issu'd in the utter Expulsion of the *Arians*. But *this way of Singing thus introduc'd, was* (as *Sozomen* observes) *us'd at Constantinople from that day forward*. Which is to me a plain Argument that it was not introduc'd there before; for otherwise he'd hardly have taken such particular notice of it. However, it had not bin long there, before it was manag'd in so unseemly a manner, as made the good Man who first brought it in, perfectly asham'd: For the Singers affected such mimical Gestures, and boisterous Clamors, as turn'd the Church into a mere Stage: Whereupon he with great Vehemence, Warmth, and Gravity reproves them: "Telling them that their rude Voices, which gave an uncertain sound, rather became Theatres than the Church of God; "because they were borrow'd from thence, and were unseemly "for the Church, in which all things are to be done with Reverence, because of his tremendous Presence, who observes the "Motion of every one there: yea he declares he reckons those "rude Voices in Singing, for tokens of an uncomposed Mind; "which declare that Men are rather mad, than humbly confessing "their Sins to God, and with a becoming lowliness, begging his "Pardon for them. Which was a sort of a retractation of his former Fact, when he saw the Profaneness to which it gave occasion; and intimates an abatement of his fondness for the Cathedral Service, when he found how much Religion, and the Worship of God was like to suffer by it. We may very well conclude, that the same fervent Piety and Zeal for God, could he have known the Mischief it occasion'd in succeeding Ages, would have made him as forward to throw it out, as ever he was to bring it in. Upon the whole, there's no great room for boasting of these three Patrons; for the first was reputed an Innovator in that very respect, wherein our Cathedralists urge his Authority: The second in things of this nature, made more use of other Mens Eyes than his own: and the third in a little time saw cause to repent his forwardness in that for which they commend him; and in effect retracted it.

Thus I have given you a brief View of the first Rise of Antiphonal Singing, at *Antioch*, at *Caesarea*; and *Constantinople* in the East; and at *Milan* in the West: whence by degrees it was spread

Chrysost.
Hom. 1. de
Verb. Isaiae 1.
5. p. 128.

to other places. You may perhaps wonder, I have not in all this time brought it to *Rome*, where there was from the first Rise of Christianity, a great fondness of Pomp and Magnificence observable, and a forwardness to outdo all other Churches. But the truth of it is, I am for dealing impartially: *Rome* hath enough in all reason to answer for, it need not be charg'd falsely. Other Cities were before it in the time of admitting the Cathedral Service: but when once it was receiv'd there, it was quickly so improv'd that no time seem'd lost, while it remain'd unknown. If we'll believe the *Pontifical*, 'twas Pope *Damasus* who first ordain'd that Psalms should be sung both Day and Night by the Clergy. There is in *St. Jerom's Works* a Letter of this Pope, *wherein he desires him to send him an Account of the Grecian manner of Singing; and he gives this Reason, because it was not as yet us'd amongst them, neither was the Grace of an Hymn known in their Mouth.* *Baronius* calls the truth of this Epistle into question; but the *Pontifical* asserts, and gives Credit to it. In his time therefore, that is about the Year of Christ 380, Antiphonal Singing was brought in at *Rome* also. And there it was so cultivated, that it made mighty advances under the conduct of several Popes successively; till at length it became as hard a matter for any one to manage a Part in the Quire, as on the Stage; nay requir'd more time and pains for a Person to learn to sing the Praises of God in the Church, than to sing in a Theatre.

Should I pretend to give you an Account of the several Emendations, Augmentations, and gradual Alterations, of the Cathedral Service in the Roman hands, I should soon expatiate beyond the bounds of a Letter, and therefore I'll forbear; and only observe that in the time of *Gregory the Great*, (that is, about the Year of Christ 620) it was brought to Perfection; and thence-forward call'd *Cantus Gregorianus*, in English the *Gregorian Cant*. He sent it into our Nation by his Trusty Emissary *Austin* the Monk, who found such a stiffness among the British Clergy, that he was quite at a loss: they were not to be perswaded to forsake their own Rites of Worship, and receive the Romish Trumpery, and among others things their new model'd, and much admir'd Cathedral Service; whereupon he was the Occasion of the slaughter of twelve hundred of them at once, being resolv'd they should pay dear for their unmusical Disposition. One would think this should be but a poor encouragement to the Survivors, to dance after his Pipe! And that

Conc. T. 1.
p. 496.

Bede Hist.
Eccl. 1. 2. c. 2.

that the Remembrance of it should damp our present Clergy in their most pompous Service, and abate their fondness of the Quire, which was in this Island founded in so much Blood! Our old *Brittans* however for a good while after kept their ground; tho' *Austin* had got the better of them they would not yield: they would not conform to the Roman Custom, so much as in the time of celebrating the Paschal Solemnity; much less would they comply in changing that plain and simple manner of Divine Worship which prevail'd among them, for a Gaudy, Pompous, and Theatrical sort of Worship, which was all made up of Art and Shew. But about the year of Christ 670, Pope *Vitalian* sent *Theodore* a Grecian into *England*, to fill up the Vacant See of *Canterbury*; who by his Subtilty and Artifice outwitted the poor *Brittans*, to the full satisfaction of those who employ'd him. He held a Synod at *Hartford*, wherein the *Easter Controversy* was settled to the Pope's Mind, and the way pav'd for the introduction of the Cathedral Service with all its Pomp. To this Pope *Vitalian*, to whom our Nation is oblig'd for this Archbishop *Theodore*, must we pay our Acknowledgments also for *Organs* in Divine Worship; of which (if *Platina* be to be credited) he was the first introducer.—Some time after, when *Agatho* was in the Pontifical Chair, *Benedict*, who had built a Monastery here in *Britain*, went to *Rome* to be confirm'd in the honour of his Abbacy. He was kindly receiv'd, and the Pope sent one *John* (who was chief Singer at *St. Peters* in *Rome*, and Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Martin*) back along with him; who introduc'd into his new built Monastery, the whole Service that was us'd at *St. Peter's*, and taught his Singers the art of Chanting, in conformity to the Roman Method. This was about the year of Christ 679; which is the earliest certain date of the Cathedral Service in this our Land. Our *Brittans* had for some Ages worship'd God acceptably enough without it, and might have continued so to do had they never known it. But *Rome* had then set up for the Mother-Church, and with great zeal spread an Uniformity of Service among all her reputed Daughters; till in process of time she had made them all as bad as her self.

But *France* was not even yet conformable: Pope *Hadrian* therefore took the Advantage of the Obligation he had laid on *Charles the Great*, by making him Emperor of the West, in order to the engaging him to introduce the *Gregorian Cant* into the *Gallick Church*. About which *Baronius* gives us this memorable Passage: "In

Spelman.
Concil.

Platina in
vitâ Vitalia-
ni.

Baron. ad An.
679. N. 10.

Baron. ad An.
787. N. 106.

“In the Year 787, the Emperor kept his *Easter* with Pope *Hadrian* at *Rome*; and in those days of Festivity there arose a great “Contention between the Singers of the *French* and *Roman* sort. “The *French* pretended to sing more gravely and decently; the “*Romans* more melodiously and artificially; and each mightily “undervalu’d the other. The Emperor yielded to the Pope, and “made his own Servants truckle; and thereupon carry’d back “with him *Theodore* and *Benedict* (two expert Roman Singers) “to instruct his Countrymen. The Pope also gave him the *Roman Antiphonary*, which he promis’d should be generally us’d in “his Dominions. And upon his return into *France*, he plac’d one “of these Artists in the City of *Metz*; ordering that the Sing- “ers should from all the Cities of *France*, repair thither to him to “learn his Art of Singing, and playing on the Organs. And thus you see (in part) how the Cathedral Service spread in these Western Parts, by means of the Pope of *Rome*, who had then set up for Administrator General of the Kingdom of Christ.

I’ll forbear troubling you with the various Constitutions of several National Councils about this sort of Service, lest I trespass upon your Patience: tho if they were consulted (I find by sundry instances) they would discover a sense even among the Clergy, as bad as ’twas, of the Corruptions which prevail’d in it. But in lieu of it, I’ll give you the Censures of sundry particular Persons of Note and Eminence all along in the Church.

Dr. *Comber* in the heat of his Zeal for the Service of the Quire, positively asserts, that no Christians, before our *Dissenters* appear’d, ever found any fault with it. As for the *Dissenters*, I undertake not their Patronage; tho this I’ll venture to say for them, that the most rational and solid of them (with whom I have had any Converse) lay a greater stress on the Objections to which our *Constitution* is liable, than those that may be started against our *Mode of Worship* in our Parish Churches. But as for the Worship of our Cathedrals, there are a great many who never deserted the Communion of the Church, nor never intended it, who are as much against it as any of the *Dissenters*. And, but that I a little know the World, it would have amaz’d me, that a Man so conversant with Books as Dr. *Comber*, should pretend the Objections against it are of late Date: for alas it hath met with opposition ever since it appear’d in the World, and bin objected against in every Age. I’ll mention a few Instances of many.

The

The *Neocæsarean* Clergy (abovemention’d) excepted against it as a Novelty, when it was so industriously spread by St. *Basil*; and that not many Years after its first appearance.

St. *Austin* (when his Mind was calm) was much afraid of it. I know indeed there is a Passage of his often made use of in favour of the Quire; and it can’t be deni’d but he once commended it. For speaking of the first Introduction of Antiphonal Singing at *Milan*, at which he was present, he thus expresses himself: “How “abundantly did I weep before God, to hear those Hymns of “thine; being touch’d to the very quick by the Voices of thy “sweet Church-Song! The Voices flow’d into my Ears, and thy “Truth pleasingly distill’d into my Heart, which caus’d the Af- “fections of my Devotion to overflow, and my Tears to run “over; and happy did I find my self therein. This was his first Apprehension before he had weigh’d matters in an even ballance. But St. *Austin* was not asham’d to change his Judgment; witness his *Book of Retractations*. He at first mistook the natural work- ings of his Passions, thro the influence of Musick, for the fervent work- ings of a vigorous Devotion: (a common mistake I doubt among “the frequenters of Cathedrals!) But when he came to himself, “he saw his danger: “and thereupon censur’d himself severely, “for being so tickled with sensual Delight in Divine Worship, “and heartily blest God for being deliver’d from that Snare. He “withal expressly declares, that he often wish’d that the melo- “dious Singing of *David’s* Psalter with so much art, were re- “mov’d from his and the Churches Ears: and that he thought “the Method which he had often heard was us’d by *Athanasius* “Bishop of *Alexandria* was the safest; who caus’d him who read “the Psalm to use so little a variation of the Voice, that he “seem’d more like to one pronouncing, than singing. And “elsewhere he declares, that the same way of Singing as was “us’d in *Alexandria*, prevail’d throughout all *Africa*. St. *Austin* charges it upon himself as a great fault, that he was more mov’d with the pompous sort of Singing, than the thing sung; and that he gave more respect to musical Delights in the Church than was seemly; to which he was very prone; and which he represents as a great inconvenience of nicely manag’d artificial Con- cord in that part of Divine Worship. I wish those who profess so great a Reverence for Antiquity, could but see the force of this Objection as coming from so noted a Father as St. *Austin*, which

Confess. l. 9.
c. 6.

Conf. l. 10.
c. 33.

Ep. 119

Of Liturgies,
Oct. p. 88.

which they are so apt to slight when mention'd by one who stands upon a level with them. If I mistake not, he liv'd before our English *Dissenters* appear'd.

St. *Hierom* also (tho Friend enough in all reason to Pomp and Magnificence in Divine Worship, yet) drops a Passage that looks askew at the Artists of the Quire in his time: "Intimating that "we are not like Tragaedians, to anoint our Throat and Mouth "with sweet Modulation, that our Theatrical Tunes and Songs "may be heard in the Church; but we are to sing with Reverence.

Isidore Hispalensis (a celebrated Author in the sixth Century) says, that "the Singing of the Primitive Christians was next akin "to Reading, the variation of the Voice was so very small; and "as for that pompous way of Singing which had a little before "his time bin introduc'd into the Western Church, he says 'twas "brought in for the sake of those who were Carnal, and not on "their account who were Spiritual: that those who are not "reach'd or affected by the Words, might be charm'd by the "sweetness of the Harmony. In my Apprehension, this is not much in favour of the Quire.

Rabanus Maurus (who was a Disciple of the famous *Alcuine*) "freely declares himself against Musical Artifice, and Theatrical Singing in the Worship of God; and only for such as may "move compunction, and may be clearly understood by the "Hearers.

Thomas Aquinas (who is universally reputed the solidest of the Schoolmen) "declares against musical Instruments in divine Worship; which together with the pompous Service of the Quire, "he seems to intimate were Judaical. He says Musical Instruments do more stir up the mind to Delight, than frame it "to a right Disposition. In the Old Testament such sensitive "helps were more needful, and they were figurative of something: "but now (he says) he sees no reason for them.

John Wickleff (that early Detester of the Corruptions which had overspread the Church) declar'd against the Ecclesiastical Singing. He was altogether against the Cathedral Service, and that Ceremonious Worship, which the Popes of *Rome* in all Parts so zealously promoted. He mightily contended for the Abolition of the several Offices, and Canonical Hours, &c.

After him, among others, *Erasmus* very freely (in his wonted manner) inveighs against the Cathedral Chanting. "There is

"(says

"(says he) a sort a Musick brought into Divine Worship, which "hinders People from distinctly understanding a word almost that "is said. Nor have the Singers any leisure to mind what it is they "sing; nor can the Vulgar hear any thing but an empty sound, "which delightfully glides into their Ears. What Notions have "they (says he) of Christ, who think he's pleas'd with such a Noise? "and afterwards, We have brought (says he) a tedious and "frolicksom sort of Musick into the House of God, a tumultuous noise of different Voices, such as I think was never heard "in the Theatres, either of *Greeks* or *Romans*. For the keeping up of which, whole flocks of Boys are maintain'd at great "Charges, whose Age is spent in learning such gibble gabble; "while they are taught nothing that is good and useful; a "whole troop of lazy Lubbards are also maintain'd merely for "the same purpose. At such cost is the Church for a thing that's "pestiferous. Whereupon he wishes it were exactly calculated, "how many poor Men might be reliev'd and maintain'd out of "the Salaries of these Singers. (A very good wish; I may possibly make an Essay towards such a Calculation in my next.) "He particularly reflects upon the English for their fondness of "this sort of Service.—So that I find 'tis not of late days only, that my Countrymen are degenerated from the old *Brittans*.

Cornelius Agrippa (who was Counsellor to the Emperor *Charles* the 5th) vehemently also inveighs against the Church Musick, and says: "That 'tis so licentious, that the Divine Offices, Holy Mysteries, and Prayers, are chanted by a company of wanton Musicians, who are hir'd with a great sum of Money, not "to the Hearers Understanding, but merely for wanton tickling. "The Church being sill'd with belluine Clamours, while the Boys "whine the Descant, others bellow the Tenour, others bark the "Counterpoint, others squeak the Treble, others grunt the Base; "and they make that many sounds may be heard, but no Words "or Sentences (almost) be understood, but the Authority of "Judgment is taken away both from the Ears and Mind.

Zuinglius, (the first Reformer of the *Helvetian* Church) is very warm also upon this Point. "It is evident (says he) that the "Ecclesiastical Chanting, and the roaring in our Temples, "(which are scarce understood by the Priests themselves) is a "most foolish and vain abuse, and a most pernicious hindrance "to Piety.

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I

Hier. Epist. ad Rusticum.

De Ecclesiast. Off. l. i. c. 5.

De Institut. Cleric. l. 2. c. 48.

In 22. q. 91. a. 2. 4.

Catalog. Test. Ver. l. 18.

Comment. on 1 Cor. 14. 19.

163

De Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. 17.

Zuinglii Act. Disp. 2. p. 106.

I might mention *John Calvin* also; but that I know his Authority won't go far with those whose Conviction I would gladly promote.

But Cardinal *Cajetan* is an Unexceptionable Man; as great an Enemy as he was of the Reformers, he yet herein agrees with them; declaring, that it may be easily gather'd from 1 *Cor.* 14. "that 'tis much more eligible and agreeable to the Apostle's "Mind, that the Sacred Offices should be distinctly recited, and "intelligibly perform'd in the Church, without Musical and Ar- "tificial Harmony; than so manag'd, as that with the noise of mu- "sical Organs, and the Multitude, Clamours and Quavers, and "absurd Repetitions of affected Singers, (which seem as it were "devis'd on purpose to darken the sense) the Auditors should be "so confounded, as that no one should be able to understand "what was sung.

Polidore Virgile also (tho an *Italian*) writes to the same purpose: "Now (says he) the Chanters make a noise in the Church, and "nothing is heard there but a Voice; and others who are pre- "sent rest satisfi'd with the consent of the Crys, no way regard- "ing the meaning of the words. And so it is, that among the "Multitude, all the esteem of Divine Worship seems to rely up- "on the Chanters; altho generally no sort of Men are lighter or "more wicked, [the *Spanish Index Expurgatorius*, pag. 72. order'd these words to be left out in following Impressions] and in the "same place, speaking of the Quire, (he saith) I may say that "these are for the most part brought into our Ceremonies from "the old Heathens, who were wont to sacrifice with Symphony, "as *Livy* witnesseth, *Lib.* 9.

Nay *Lindanus* Bishop of *Ruremond*, continues even after the Re- formation in the same Tone; and bitterly complains of the "Musicians and Singers, that have possess the Church, whose "Singing is nothing else but a Theatrical confusion of Sounds, "which rather tends to avert the minds of Hearers from that "that is good, than raise them to God: and declares, that tho "he had oft bin present, and was as attentive as well he could "be to what was sung, he yet could hardly understand any thing; "the whole Service was so fill'd with Repetitions, and a confu- "sion of different Voices and Tones, and rude Clamours. And "thereupon he praises those who expell'd this sort of Musick "out of their Churches as a profane hindrance of Divine Wor- "ship, and a device of humane Vanity, rather than admitted and continued

In 1 *Cor.* 14.

De Invent. rerum, l. 6. c. 2.

Lindan. Pano- pliæ, l. 5. c. 7.

"continu'd it, for the gaining the Applause of the Light and "Frothy.

And now, Sir, what think you of Dr. *Comber's* Assertion, that none objected against the Cathedral Service, till the *Dissenters* ap- pear'd? I doubt the Doctor would not willingly have them grac'd with such Patrons as the Persons mentioned.

I know indeed 'twill be reply'd, that the forecited Censures were level'd against the Service of the Quire in the Popish Church- es: but till it can be made appear that it is even in our Protestant Churches free from the things excepted against, their Objecti- ons have an equal force. And really, tho I have bin abroad, and had Opportunity of seeing the Popish way, yet (bating the Lan- guage) I can discern little difference between their Worship and ours, as manag'd in our Cathedrals.

I'll add one Authority more, which with some possibly may out- weigh all the rest; and 'tis that of the 32 Commissioners, who were in the Reign of *H.* 8. and *Edu.* 6. appointed by Act of Parliament to examine all Canons, Constitutions, and Ordinances, Provinci- al and Synodal; and to draw up such Laws Ecclesiastical, as should be universally observ'd. The same thing was also reviv'd in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, but quickly dropt; and (saith the Reverend Bishop *Burnet*) to the great prejudice of our Church it hath slept ever since. The Persons deputed for this purpose, were *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ridley* Bishop of *London*; *Ponet* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, *Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Hooper* Bishop of *Glocester*, *Knight* Bishop of *Bath*, *Scory* Bishop of *Rochester*, Mr. *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Cox* the King's Almoner, *Parker* of *Cambridg*, *Latimer*, *Cook*, *Peter Martyr*, Sir *John Cheke*, *John a Lasco*, Mr. *Peter*, Mr. *Cecyl*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, Mr. *Taylor* of *Hadleigh*, Dr. *May*, Mr. *Traheron*, Dr. *Lyel*, Mr. *Skinner*, Justice *Hales*, Justice *Bromley*, *Goodrick*, *Gosnal*, *Stamford*, *Carel*, *Lucas*, and *Brook* Recorder of *London*. The flower of the English Nation for Sense and Learning, Sacred and Polite Literature. Tho the Design came not to Maturity, yet may we in their unfinish'd Tract, (since publish'd under the Title of *Reformatio Legum Anglicarum*) as to the several Points whereof they treat, see the Judgment of a set of as valuable Men as this Nation could perhaps ever have af- forded, for consulting together about a matter of so great Mo- ment. Now in this Discourse of theirs, when they come to treat of the Vocal and Instrumental Musick us'd in the Cathedral Ser- vice,

De Divinis Officiis. c. 5.

they declare they are for having it quite taken away. [?????]

It would almost tempt a Man to wonder with what [?????] can pretend to have so great a Veneration for our first [?????] as they do, when yet they so zealously defend, and are [?????] retaining what they thought better abolish'd and quite rem [?????]

And thus (Sir) I have finish'd the Authoritative part [?????] Argument; wherein I think I have bid fair for proving [?????] tiquity and Authority don't so far favour our Cathedralists [?????] seem to imagine. The reasoning Part remains behind. [?????] but recollect what past at our Conference, what Argument [?????] urg'd, and how Objections were answer'd, I should hope [?????] many might be convinc'd. If you'l show this to the honest [?????] I and be so kind as to let me know his Censure and Resentmen [?????] try what I can do; and at the same time endeavour [?????] Animadversions, and a further clearing of the matter. [?????]

Yours, N. N. [?????]