it springeth be made manifest? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wise men to be then most orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their first original; seeing that our whole question concerneth the quality of ecclesiastical laws, let it not seem a labour superfluous that in the entrance thereunto all these several kinds of laws have been considered, inasmuch as they all concur as principles, they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner. By means whereof it cometh to pass that the force which they have is not observed of many.

[2.] Easier a great deal it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should do of law: the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all, the other such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a law is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon him. But if we will give judgment of the laws under which we live; first let that law eternal be always before our eyes, as being of principal force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutiful estimation of all laws, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that laws apparently good are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of that high everlasting law; even as the book of that law hath saith concerning itself, “By me kings reign, and by me “princes “decreet justice.” Not as if men did behold that book and accordingly frame their laws; but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth and (as it were) readeith itself to the world by them, when the laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodness of laws made, nevertheless sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discern not, should not this breed a fear in our hearts, how we speak or judge in the worse part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to Him, towards whom we profess all submission and awe? Surely there must be very manifest iniquity in laws, against which we shall be able to justify our contumelious invectives. The chiefest root whereof, when we use them without cause, is ignorance how laws inferior are derived from that supreme or highest law.

[3.] The first that receive impression from thence are natural agents. The law of whose operations might be haply thought less pertinent, when the question is about laws for human actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concern men, the rules and axioms of natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our salvation than our persuasion concerning the law of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of love towards his Church, than the knowledge of that mystical union, whereby the Church is become as near unto Christ as any one part of his flesh is unto other? That the Church being in such sort his he must needs protect it, what proof more strong than if a manifest law so require, which law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other law doth the Apostle for this allege, but such as is both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other things natural; “No man hateth his own flesh, but doth “love and cherish it.” The axioms of that law therefore, whereby natural agents are guided, have their use in the moral, yea, even in the spiritual actions of men, and consequent in all laws belonging unto men howsoever.

[4.] Neither are the Angels themselves so far severed from us in their kind and manner of working, but that between the law of their heavenly operations and the actions of men in this our state of mortality such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one, for the other’s more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge

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1 Arist. Phy. lib. i. cap. 1. τὸ ἔλθεν καὶ τὸ ἐπισκευαζέω διακόνοις περὶ πᾶσας τὰς μεθόδους, καὶ ἔστω αὐτή ἡ στοιχεία, ἐκ τού ταύτα γονεῖς τὸν γὰρ ὁδόν γεγραμμένον ἐκαστῷ, ὅταν τὰ αὐτία γνωρίζωμεν τὰ πρότερα, καὶ τὰς ἁρχής τὰς πρώτοις, καὶ μερικός των στοιχείων.
2 Arist. Ethic. x [c. 10.] Τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς μέγασθον. Intelligit de legum qualitatem judicium.
3 Prov. viii. 15.
4 [The context leads to the suspicion that Hooker wrote "the love of "Christ." But the original edition reads "lawe," and the list of errata at the end, which is carefully made, appears by, the author himself, offers no correction: neither does Dr. Spenser's edition, at least the reprint of it in 1632.—Spenser's ed. 1604, reads as the first ed. "lawe." It is no doubt the right reading.—1886.]
5 Eph. v. 29.
themselves “fellow-servants” with the sons of men, but
that both having one Lord, there must be some kind of law
which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience
being perfecter is to us weaker both a pattern and a spur? Or
would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth
unto saints as they are linked together in the bond of spiritual
society, so often make mention how Angels therewith are
delighted, if in things publicly done by the Church we are
not somewhat to respect what the Angels of heaven do? Yea,
so far hath the Apostle Saint Paul proceeded, as to signify, that
even about the outward orders of the Church which serve but
for comeliness, some regard is to be had of Angels, who
best like us when we are most like unto them in all parts of
decent demeanour. So that the law of Angels we cannot judge
altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God.

[5.] Our largeness of speech how men do find out what
things reason bindeth them of necessity to observe, and what
it guideth them to choose in things which are left as arbitrary;
the care we have had to declare the different nature of laws
which severally concern all men, from such as belong unto men
either civilly or spiritually associated, such as pertain
to the fellowship which nations, or which Christian nations,
have amongst themselves, and in the last place such as con-
cerning every or any of these God himself hath revealed by
his Holy Word: all serveth but to make manifest, that as
the actions of men are of sundry distinct kinds, so the laws
thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men
operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural,
some politic, some finally ecclesiastical: which if we measure
not each by his own proper law, whereas the things them-
selves are so different, there will be in our understanding
and judgment of them confusion.

As that first error sheweth, whereon our opposites in this
cause have grounded themselves. For as they rightly main-
tain that God must be glorified in all things, and that the
actions of men cannot tend unto his glory unless they be
framed after his law; so is it their error to think that the
only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf

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is the sacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally,
as when we breathe, sleep, move, we set forth the glory of
God as natural agents do, albeit we have no express purpose
to make that our end, nor any advised determination therein
to follow a law, but do that we do (for the most part) not
as much as thinking thereon. In reasonable and moral
actions another law taketh place; a law by the observation
whereof we glorify God in such sort, as no creature else
under man is able to do; because other creatures have not
judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by
them, and therefore in that they do they neither can accuse
nor approve themselves. Men do both, as the Apostle
teacheth; yea, those men which have no written law of God
to shew what is good or evil, carry written in their hearts
the universal law of mankind, the Law of Reason, whereby they
judge as by a rule which God hath given unto all men for
that purpose. The law of reason doth somewhat direct
direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but [how to glorify
God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an
everlasting Saviour] this we are taught by divine law, which
law both ascertainteth the truth and supplieth unto us the
want of that other law. So that in moral actions, divine
law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man’s life;
but in supernatural it alone guideth.

Proceed we further; let us place man in some public
society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this
case there is no remedy but we must add yet a further law.
For although even here likewise the laws of nature and
reason be of necessary use, yet somewhat over and besides
them is necessary, namely human and positive law, together
with that law which is of commerce between grand societies,
the law of nations, and of nations Christian. For which
cause the law of God hath likewise said, “Let every soul be
“subject to the higher powers.” The public power of all
societies is above every soul contained in the same societies.
And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all
that are under it; which laws in such case we must obey,
unless there be reason shewed which may necessarily enforce
that the law of Reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary.

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1 Aps. xix. 10.  2 1 Pet. i. 12; Ephes. iii. 10; 1 Tim. v. 21.
3 1 Cor. xi. 10.
4 Psalm cxlviii. 7, 8, 9.  5 Rom. i. 21.  6 Rom. ii. 15.  6 Rom. xiii. 1.
Because except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations overruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourselves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass that we are at this present day so rent with mutual contentions, and that the Church is so much troubled about the policy of the Church? No doubt if men, had been willing to learn how many laws their actions in this life are subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died the very day they were first brought forth.

[6.] It is both commonly said, and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, for that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled; and yet in society with others none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands.1 Yea, I am persuaded, that of them with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose better amongst men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so unfrangible unto societies wherein they live is, for that they discern not aught what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is there question either concerning the regiment of the Church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions in our own church? Of all these things they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some show of probability, and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practise; the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined they weigh not. Thus by following the law of private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance.

[7.] For the better inuring therefore of men's minds with

1 ἂν μὲν τοῖς ἱερασίαις προῖ έτερων ἄνυστοιοι. Arist. Ethic. τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διάνοιᾳ χρήσιν, εν διὶ τοῖς λόγῳ, καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ, καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ.

2 Job xxxiv. 3. Psalm cxliv. 15, 16.

3 Chr. Letter, p. 13: "If from sound and sincere virtues (as you are joy and felicitie ariseth, and that we all of necessitie stand bound unto all partes of morall dutie in regards of life to come, if of God requirith, more at the handes of men unto happiness, then such a naked beleefe, as Christ calleth the worke of God: alas what shall we poore sinful wretches do. &c." Hooker, MS. note: "Repent, and believe." And again, Chr. Letter, ib.: "Tell us... whether there been not other sufficient causes to induce a Christian to godlines and honestie of life, such as is the glory of God our Father; his great mercies in Christ; his love to us; example to others, but that we must do it to merit or to make perfitt tha which Christ hath done for us." Hooker, MS. note: "Your godfathers and godmothers have much to answere unto God for not seing you better catechized. A thing necessarie as you graunt that by good workes we shold seeke God's glory, shew ourselves thankful for his mercyes in Christ, answer his loving kindnes to warde us, and give other men good example. If then these things be necessarie unto eternal life, and workes necessarie to be done for these ends, how should workes bee but necessarie unto the last end, seing the next and nestest cannot be attained without them? And is there neither heaven nor hell, neither reward nor punishmem hereafter, to be respected here in the leading of our lives? When the apostile doth deterre from sinne, are his arguments only these? only these his reasons when he stirreth unto workes of righteousnes? See Euseb. Emisenus where he speaketh of Dorcas hir garments made for the poor. [De Init. Quadrat. Bibi. Patr. Colon. 2618, v. 55.] Orationibus, inquit, et eleemosynis purgatuar peccata: per utramque ergo rem, sed maxime per eleemosynam, Dei misericordia requirenda est. Opor-
BOOK 1.

Ch. xvi. 7.

"bet itaque ut sibi res utraque com-
sentiat: illa rogat, hic imperat: "
"illa quadammodo judicis audi-
tiam deprecatur, hic gratiam pro-
meretur; illa ostium pulsat, hic-
quia nolit, illa desiderium, hic-
dsiderii procurat effectum: illa-
supplicat, sed supplicio nem ista-
commendat. Sic laudabilis Tabi-
thi, qui in Actibus Apostolorum-
dentes, conveniunt Deum: testi-
rubis bonis vitae diem claudens,
evolante anima corpus reclinum-
cum jam omnibus et operationis-
ne et vice renuntiasset officis, fientes-
accurrat vidue, pauperes adgre-
gantur tunicas et vestes quas-
faciebat illis Dorcas celo ostent-
dentes, conveniunt Deum: testi-
monia meritorum clamant: de-
functa operatrix, voc operum-
bona: qua in seculo gesserat-
seculum: consequuntur in alium-
seculum; consequuntur et revol-
vuntur; redire de loco mortis-
ad vitam praestirat. Iaque in-
dumenta pauperulis hic ostent-
untur, illic operatur: his adhuc-
presente usum, illic jam tribuunt-
premium: quam mire et pretiosa-
merita largitatis! Hic adhuc uten-
tum algentes humanum quod ad fidem,
Iiam inquit animantium, etiam illic largitatis animam-
retigerabant. Unde et nos,
charissimi, animas nostras morti-
num rectius pius operibus suscitamus.

Dabunt ubique dubio attem-
vitam, qua aliquoties etiam tem-

porariam reddidunt." Who was
author of this Homily is uncertain;
evidently not Eusebius of Emesa.
It might be Salvin, Orcherus of
Lyons, or some other Father of the
Gallican Church in the second or
fifth century. See Cave, Hist. Lit.
i. 157, and E. P. B. vi.)

On this whole subject Hooker says,
"Looke S. Augustins booke,
"De Fide et Operibus," (of which
the following is a specimen: "Hoc
est enim evangelizare Christum,
non tantum dicere quae sunt cre-
denda de Christo, sed etiam quae
observanda ei qui accedit ad com-
pagum corporis Christi; immo vero
uncta dicere quae sunt credenda de
Christo, non solum cujas sit filius,
unde secundum divinitatem, unde
secundum carnem genitus, quae
perpessa et quare, quae sit virtus
resurrectionis ejus, quod donum
"Spiritus promit sed dediterique fide-
libus; sed etiam qualia membra,
quibus sit caput, quererat, institutat,
diligas, liberet, atque ad aternam
"vitam; hic adhuc operatur: hic adhuc
"cum dictunt, aliqualdum brevis
"atque constrictius, aliqualdum latius
"et uberrimis, Christus evangelizat;
"et tamen non solmate ad fidem,
"erum etiam ad quod mores de-
"lum pertinent, non pretermittitur.
"t. vi. 172. F. c. ix. see also c. x-
xiv.)

[See 5 Eliz. c. 5. § 14, 15; 27
Eliz. c. 11; 35 Eliz. c. 7. § 22.]

authors of confusion in the Church, our private discretion,
which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here
submit itself to be that way guided, which the public judg-
ment of the Church hath thought better. In which case that
of Zonoras concerning fasts may be remembered. "Fasting
"are good, but let good things be done in good and con-
"venient manner. He that transgresseth in his fasting the
"orders of the holy fathers," the positive laws of the Church
of Christ, must be plainly told, "that good things do lose the
"grace of their goodness, when in good sort they are not
"performed."

And as here men's private fancies must give place to the
higher judgment of that Church which is in authority a
mother over them; so the very actions of whole churches have,
in regard of commerce and fellowship with other churches,
been subject to laws concerning food, the contrary unto which
laws had else been thought more convenient for them to
observe; as by that ordre of abstinence from strangled and
blood may appear; an ordre grounded upon that fellowship
which the churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews.

Thus we see how even one and the selfsame thing is under
divers considerations conveyed through many laws; and that
to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men
were to confound the admirable order, wherein God hath
disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from
other.

[8.] Wherefore that here we may briefly end: of Law there

in this can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the
bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven
and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care,
and the greatest as not exempted from her power, both angels
and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each
in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent,
admiraling her as the mother of their peace and joy.

[1] [Kaiwv μὴ ἡ προτίτιοιν τὴν καλὴν γνῶσιν. Ἐν δὲ τις μετατράπηκται ἡ πατίτων ἐξ οἰκο-
βίαν προτίτιοι, ἔκλεισαν] ὅτι ὧν καὶ τὸ καλὸν, ἕτοι μὴ καλὸν γίνεσθαι.


Spenser's ed. 1604 to "both."

Probably Hooker has here respect to
the schismatical fasts which were
practised by many of the Puritans.

1886.