

counsel to be impolitic, but rather to use all provident foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicity be overreached by cunning sleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are so guileful through skill, is thoroughly to be instructed in that which maketh skilful against guile, and to be armed with that true and sincere philosophy, which doth teach, against that deceitful and vain, which spoileth.

[8.] Thirdly, But many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief. And many sound in belief, have been also great philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort unto the love of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith the other sort out of love with secular knowledge. The harm that heretics did, they did it unto such as were unable to discern between sound and deceitful reasoning; and the remedy against it was ever the skill which the ancient Fathers had to descry and discover such deceit. Insomuch that Cresconius the heretic complained greatly of St. Augustine, as being too full of logical subtilties<sup>1</sup>. Heresy prevaieth only by a counterfeit show of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becometh invincible, unless it be convicted of fraud by manifest remonstrance clearly true and unable to be withstood. When therefore the Apostle requireth ability to convict heretics<sup>2</sup>, can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful, to use the principal instrument of their conviction, the light of reason? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers' writings there are sundry sharp invectives against heretics, even for their very philosophical reasonings. The cause whereof Tertullian confesseth not to have been any dislike conceived against the kind of such reasonings, but the end<sup>3</sup>. "We may," saith he, "even in matters of God

<sup>1</sup> [S. Aug. contr. Crescon. i. 16. t. ix. 397. "Quid est aliud Dialectica, quam peritia disputandi? Quod ideo aperiendum putavi, quia etiam ipsam mihi objicere voluisti, quasi 'Christianæ non congruat veritati, et ideo me doctores vestri, velut hominem dialecticum, merito fugiendum potius et cavendum, quam refellendum quod revincendumque censuerint.' "Dum cum tibi non persuaserint, nam te adversus nos etiam scribendo disputare non piguit, tu

"tamen in me dialecticam criminatus es, quo falleres imperitos, eosque laudares qui disputando mecum congregari noluerant. Sed tu videlicet non dialectica uteris, cum contra nos scribis?"]

<sup>2</sup> Tit. i. 9, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Tert. de Resur. Carnis. [c. 3. "Est quidem et de communibus sensibus sapere in Dei rebus, sed in testimonium veri, non in adiutorium falsi; quod sit secundum divinam, non contra divinam dispositionem. Quædam enim et

"be made wiser by reasons drawn from the public persuasions, which are grafted in men's minds: so they be used to further the truth, not to bolster error; so they make with, not against, that which God hath determined. For there are some things even known by nature, as the immortality of the soul to many, our God unto all. I will therefore myself also use the sentence of some such as Plato, pronouncing every soul immortal. I myself too will use the secret acknowledgment of the commonalty<sup>1</sup>, bearing record of the God of gods. But when I hear men allege, 'That which is dead is dead;' and, 'While thou art alive be alive;' and, 'After death an end of all, even of death itself;' then will I call to mind both that the heart of the people with God is accounted dust<sup>2</sup>, and that the very wisdom of the world is pronounced folly<sup>3</sup>. If then an heretic fly also unto such vicious popular and secular conceits, my answer unto him shall be, 'Thou heretic, avoid the heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God, yet thou that doest this under the name of Christ, differest from the heathen, in that thou seemest to thyself a Christian. Leave him therefore his conceits, seeing that neither will he learn thine. Why dost thou having sight trust to a blind guide; thou which hast put on Christ take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apostle have armed thee, why dost thou borrow a stranger's shield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the resurrection of the flesh.'" In a word, the Catholic Fathers did good

"natura nota sunt, ut immortalitas animæ penes plures, ut Deus noster penes omnes. Utar ergo et sententia Platonis alicujus pronunciantis, 'Omnis anima immortalis, contestantis Deum Deorum... At cum aiunt, 'Mortuum quod mortuum,' et, 'Vive dum vivis,' et 'Post mortem omnia finiuntur, etiam ipsa: tunc meminero, et cor vulgi cinerem a Deo deputatum, et ipsam sapientiam sæculi stultitiam pronunciatam. Tunc si et hæreticus ad vulgi vitia, vel sæculi ingenia confugerit, 'Discede,' dicam, 'ab ethnico, hære-

"tice; etsi unum estis omnes qui Deum fingitis; dum hoc tamen in Christi nomine facis, dum Christianus tibi videris, alius ab ethnico es. Redde illi suos sensus, quia nec ille de tuis instruitur. Quid cæco duci inniteris, si vides? Quid vestiris a nudo\*, si Christum induisti? Quid alieno uteris clypeo, si ab Apostolo armatus es? Ille potius a te discat carnis resurrectionem confiteri, quam tu ab illo diffiteri.'" ]

<sup>1</sup> ["communaltie," A. B.]

<sup>2</sup> [Isai. xliv. 20.]

<sup>3</sup> [1 Cor. iii. 19.]

unto all by that knowledge, whereby heretics hindering the truth in many, might have furthered therewith themselves, but that obstinately following their own ambitious or otherwise corrupted affections, instead of framing their wills to maintain that which reason taught, they bent their wits to find how reason might seem to teach that which their wills were set to maintain. For which cause the Apostle saith of them justly, that they are for the most part *ἀποκατάκριτοι*, men condemned even in and of themselves<sup>1</sup>. For though they be not all persuaded that it is truth which they withstand, yet that to be error which they uphold they might undoubtedly the sooner a great deal attain to know, but that their study is more to defend what once they have stood in, than to find out sincerely and simply what truth they ought to persist in for ever.

[9.] Fourthly, There is in the world no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious; yea, that principal truth, in comparison whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it some kind of light; whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wisdom mathematical, wherewith Moses and Daniel were furnished<sup>2</sup>; or that natural, moral, and civil wisdom, wherein Salomon excelled all men<sup>3</sup>; or that rational and oratorial wisdom of the Grecians, which the Apostle St. Paul brought from Tarsus; or that Judaical, which he learned in Jerusalem sitting at the feet of Gamaliel<sup>4</sup>: to detract from the dignity thereof were to injury<sup>5</sup> even God himself, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath sent out these lights whereof we are capable, even as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountain from which they rise.

But there are that bear the title of wise men and scribes and great disputers of the world, and are nothing in deed less than what in show they most appear. These being wholly addicted unto their own wills, use their wit, their learning, and all the wisdom they have, to maintain that which their

<sup>1</sup> Tit. iii. 11.<sup>2</sup> Acts vii. 22; Dan. i. 17.<sup>3</sup> I Kings iv. 29, 30.<sup>4</sup> Acts xxii. 3.<sup>5</sup> ["To injury, v. for 'to injure.'  
"Those that are in authority, and  
"princes themselves, ought to take  
"great heed how they *injury* any

"man by word or deed, and whom

"they *injury*." Danet's Comines.

"lib. iii." Nares's Glossary.

"I am strangely *injured* by the

"Archbishop." Hugh Broughton

in Strype's Whitg. iii. 367. Cf.

infra, V. xvi. 1.]

obstinate hearts are delighted with, esteeming in the frantic<sup>1</sup> error of their minds the greatest madness in the world to be wisdom, and the highest wisdom foolishness. Such were both Jews and Grecians, which professed the one sort legal, and the other secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the mystery of Christ: unto the glory of whose most blessed name, whoso study to use both their reason and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath endued them with, let them never doubt but that the same God who is to destroy and confound utterly that wisdom falsely so named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wisdom instructed to the kingdom of heaven<sup>2</sup>, not Scribes against that kingdom hardened in a vain opinion of wisdom; which in the end being proved folly, must needs perish, true understanding, knowledge, judgment and reason continuing for evermore.

[10.] Fifthly, Unto the word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it perfect, exact, and absolute in itself, we do not add reason as a supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. "The word of God is a twoedged "sword<sup>3</sup>," but in the hands of reasonable men; and reason as the weapon that slew Goliath, if they be as David was that use it. Touching the Apostles, He which gave them from above such power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them also with wisdom from above to teach that which they so did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God supernaturally endued them with from heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and silly estate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive unto their teaching. They studied for no tongue, they spake with all<sup>4</sup>; of themselves they were rude, and knew not so much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them speech and eloquent utterance.

But because with St. Paul it was otherwise than with the

rest, inasmuch as he never conversed with Christ upon earth as they did; and his education had been scholastical altogether, which theirs was not; hereby occasion was taken by certain malignants, secretly to undermine his great authority in the Church of Christ, as though the gospel had been taught him by others than by Christ himself, and as if the cause of the Gentiles' conversion and belief through his means had been the learning and skill which he had by being conversant in their books; which thing made them so willing to hear him, and him so able to persuade them; whereas the rest of the Apostles prevailed, because God was with them, and by miracle from heaven confirmed his word in their mouths. They were mighty in *deeds*: as for him, being absent, his writings had some force; in presence, his power not like unto theirs. In sum, concerning his preaching, their very byword was, *λόγος ἐξουθενημένος*, *addle speech, empty talk*<sup>1</sup>: his writings full of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations his presence not like the rest of the Apostles.

Hereupon it riseth that St. Paul was so often driven to make his apologies. Hereupon it riseth that whatsoever time he had spent in the study of human learning, he maketh earnest protestation to them of Corinth, that the gospel which he had preached amongst them did not by other means prevail with them, than with others the same gospel taught by the rest of the Apostles of Christ. "My preaching," saith he, "hath not been in the persuasive speeches of human wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God<sup>2</sup>." What is it which the Apostle doth here deny? Is it denied that his speech amongst them had been *persuasive*? No: for of him the sacred history plainly testifieth, that for the space of a year and a half he spake in their synagogue every Sabbath<sup>3</sup>, and *persuaded* both Jews and Grecians<sup>4</sup>. How then is the speech of men made persuasive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to pass, the one human, the other divine. Either St. Paul did *only* by art and natural industry cause his own speech to be credited; or else God by

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. x. 10.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.<sup>3</sup> ["Saboth," 1st ed. So in III. xi. 8, IV. xiii. 1, V. c. 70-72 (1597)passim, Saboth or Sabbath. Compare *Sabaoth*, for *Sabbath*, in Spenser and Bacon.] 1886.<sup>4</sup> Acts xviii. 4. 11.

miracle did authorize it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to the speech of the rest of the Apostles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? if the preaching of the rest had been effectual by miracle, his *only* by force of his own learning; so great inequality between him and the other Apostles in this thing had been enough to subvert their faith. For might they not with reason have thought, that if he were sent of God as well as they, God would not have furnished them and not him with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might not a great part of them being simple haply have feared, lest their assent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakness of their own wits than the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been that all believers through the preaching of other Apostles should have their faith strongly built upon the evidence of God's own miraculous approbation, and they whom he had converted should have their persuasion built only upon his skill and wisdom who persuaded them?

As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apostles did: so although the wisdom of man had not been sufficient to enable him such a teacher as the rest of the apostles were, unless God's miracles had strengthened both the one and the other's doctrine; yet unto our ability both of teaching and learning the truth of Christ, as we are but mere Christian men, it is not a little which the wisdom of man may add<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Chr. Letter, p. 43. "In all your bookes, although we finde manie good things, manie trueths and fine points bravely handled, yet in all your discourse, for the most parte, Aristotle the patriarch of philosophers (with divers other humane writers) and the ingenuous schoolemen, almost in all points have some finger: reason is highlie sett up against Holie Scripture, and reading against preaching." Hooker, MS. note. "If Aristotle and the schoolmen be such perilous creatures, you must needes think yourself an happie man, whome God hath so fairely blest from too much knowledg in them. Remember heer S. Jerome's Epistle in his own defense." (To

Magnus, t. ii. 326. He pleads precedent, scriptural and ecclesiastical, for his use of profane learning.) "Forget not Picus Mirandula's judgment of the schoolemen;" (Opp. i. 79. "Ut a nostris, ad quos postremo philosophia pervenit, nunc exordiar; est in Joanne Scoto vegetum quiddam atque discussum, in Thoma solidum et æquabile, in Ægidio tersum et exactum, in Francisco acre et acutum, in Alberto priscum, amplum, et grande, in Henrico, ut mihi visum est, semper sublime et venerandum.") "Beza's judgment of Aristotle." (For his opinion of the use of logic, see Epist. 67.) "As also Calvin's judgment of philosophy. Epist. 90, ad Buce-

BOOK III. [11.] Sixthly, Yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and  
 Ch. viii. 11, to his truth, believe we or be we as yet faithless, for our con-  
 12. version or confirmation the force of natural reason is great.  
 The force whereof unto those effects is nothing without grace.  
 What then? To our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever  
 doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in  
 Him, that man would no more do this than innocents and  
 infants do, but for the light of natural reason that shineth in  
 him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God,  
 which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade  
 reasonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience, and  
 credit, belong of right unto God. No man cometh unto God  
 to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplications and prayers  
 before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first  
 believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who  
 in such sort seek unto him<sup>1</sup>. Let men be taught this either  
 by revelation from heaven, or by instruction upon earth ; by  
 labour, study, and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration  
 of the Holy Ghost ; whatsoever the mean be they know it by,  
 if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of  
 natural reason, why should none be found capable thereof but  
 only men ; nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and  
 full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole  
 drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach Theo-  
 logy? Theology, what is it but the science of things divine?  
 What science can be attained unto without the help of natural  
 discourse and reason? "Judge you of that which I speak<sup>2</sup>," saith  
 the Apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but  
 that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear,  
 and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth.

[12.] Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things

"rum." (p. 110. "Et philosophia  
 "præclarum est Dei donum ; et qui  
 "omnibus sæculis extiterunt docti  
 "viri, eos Deus ipse excitavit, ut ad ve-  
 "ri notitiam mundo præluerent.")  
 Again, Chr. Letter, *ibid.* "Shall  
 "we doe you wronge to suspect . . .  
 "that you esteeme the preaching  
 "and writing of all the reverend  
 "Fathers of our Church, and the  
 "bookes of holy Scripture to bee at  
 "the least of no greater moment than  
 "*Aristotle and the schoolemen?*"  
 Hooker, MS. note: "I think of  
 "the Scripture of God as reverently  
 "as the best of the purified crew in  
 "the world. I except not any, no  
 "not the founders themselves and  
 "captaines of that faction. In  
 "which mind I hope by the grace  
 "of Almighty God that I shall both  
 "live and die."  
<sup>1</sup> Heb. xi. 6.  
<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. x. 15.

BOOK III. which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those  
 Ch. viii. 13. things also we believe, knowing by reason that the Scripture is  
 the word of God. In the presence of Festus a Roman, and of  
 King Agrippa a Jew, St. Paul omitting the one, who neither  
 knew the Jews' religion nor the books whereby they were taught  
 it, speaketh unto the other of things foreshewed by Moses and  
 the Prophets and performed in Jesus Christ ; intending there-  
 by to prove himself so unjustly accused, that unless his judges  
 did condemn both Moses and the Prophets, him they could not  
 choose but acquit<sup>1</sup>, who taught only that fulfilled, which they  
 so long since had foretold. His cause was easy to be discerned ;  
 what was done their eyes were witnesses ; what Moses and the  
 Prophets did speak their books could quickly shew ; it was no  
 hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and  
 believed the other. "King Agrippa, believest thou the Pro-  
 "phets? I know thou dost<sup>2</sup>." The question is how the books  
 of the Prophets came to be credited of King Agrippa. For  
 what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with us doth  
 cause the rest of the Scripture of God to be of credit.

[13.] Because we maintain that in Scripture we are taught  
 all things necessary unto salvation ; hereupon very childishly  
 it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach us the  
 sacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof  
 our whole faith and salvation dependeth<sup>3</sup>? As though there  
 were any kind of science in the world which leadeth men  
 into knowledge without presupposing a number of things  
 already known. No science doth make known the first prin-  
 ciples whereon it buildeth, but they are always either taken  
 as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted  
 already, some former knowledge having made them evident.  
 Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth, without  
 the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The  
 main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein  
 contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of  
 God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident. For  
 then all men that hear it would acknowledge it in heart, as  
 they do when they hear that "every whole is more than any  
 "part of that whole," because this in itself is evident. The

<sup>1</sup> ["acquite," A. B.] 1886. <sup>2</sup> Acts xxvi. 27.  
<sup>3</sup> [Compare II. iv. 2.] 1886.

BOOK III. other we know that all do not acknowledge when they hear it.  
Ch. viii. 14. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed  
which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. Scripture  
teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto  
the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise  
that itself is divine and sacred.

[14.] The question then being by what means we are taught this; some answer that to learn it we have no other way than only tradition; as namely that so we believe because both we from our predecessors and they from theirs have so received. But is this enough? That which all men's experience teacheth them may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God's Church<sup>1</sup>. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterwards the more we bestow our labour in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered farther reason. If infidels or atheists

<sup>1</sup> [Chr. Letter, p. 9, 10. "Have we not here good cause to suspect the underpropping of a popish principle concerning the Churches authority above the Holie Scripture, to the disgrace of the English Church?"

Hooker, MS. note. "You have already done your best to make a jarre between nature and Scripture. Your next endeavour is to doe the like betweene Scripture and the Church. Your delight in conflicts doth make you dreame of them where they are not."

Again, Christ. Letter, p. 10. "We pray you to expound, either by experience or otherwise; Whether the worde of God was received in the world, and beleaved by men, by the virtue and authoritie of the witnesses, either Prophets or Apo-

stles, or the holy Church; or that such were not esteemed for the wordes sake."

Hooker, MS. note. "I am sorie to see you in the groundes and elements of your religion so sclderly instructed."

"Fides nititur autoritate docentis.

"Docens autem confirmatam habet autoritatem personæ virtute miraculorum. Id quod omnino necessarium est propter ea quæ docet supra et præter naturalem rationem: qua omnis probatio argumentosa nititur, quæ fidem facit.

"Atque hoc Apostolus de se testatur, cum efficacem fuisse sermonem suum asserit non vi humanæ persuasionis, sed assistentis Spiritus ad opera miraculosa perficienda. Vide Tertullian. contra Gent. p. 637."]

chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavoured still to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible or greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent principle such as all men acknowledge to be true.

Wherefore if I believe the Gospel, yet is reason of singular use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: if I do not as yet believe, nevertheless to bring me to the number of believers except reason did somewhat help, and were an instrument which God doth use unto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with infidels or godless persons for their conversion and persuasion in that point?

[15.] Neither can I think that when grave and learned men do sometime hold, that of this principle there is no proof but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kind of reason may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more expressly set down, that other motives and inducements, be they never so strong and consonant unto reason, are notwithstanding uneffectual of themselves to work faith concerning this principle, if the special grace of the Holy Ghost concur not to the enlightening of our minds. For otherwise I doubt not but men of wisdom and judgment will grant, that the Church, in this point especially, is furnished with reason, to stop the mouths of her impious adversaries; and that as it were altogether bootless to allege against them what the Spirit hath taught us, so likewise that even to our ourselves it needeth caution and explication how the testimony of the Spirit may be discerned, by what means it may be known; lest men think that the Spirit of God doth testify those things.