

have given. Wherein for further prevention of mischiefs that otherwise might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of men, it is both equal and meet that the strength of men's deeds and the instruments which declare the same should strictly depend upon divers solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that pass between God and us; because sith we need not doubt lest the treasures of his heavenly grace should without his consent be passed by forged conveyances, nor lest he should deny at any time his own acts, and seek to revoke what hath been consented unto before, as there is no such fear of danger through deceit and falsehood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of men's persons that weight in baptism which for good and just considerations in the custody of seals of office it ought to have. The grace of baptism cometh by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the ministry of baptism unto special men, it is for order's sake in his Church, and not to the end that their authority might give being, or add force to the sacrament itself. That infants have right to the sacrament of baptism we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileful and wrongful possessors of that whereunto they have right by the manifest will of the donor, and are not parties unto any defect or disorder in the manner of receiving the same. And if any such disorder be, we have sufficiently before declared that *delictum cum capite semper ambulat*¹, men's own faults are their own harms.

[20.] Wherefore to countervail this and the like mischosen resemblances with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that minister baptism wherein the mystery of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the same analogy which laws of wedlock have to our first nativity and birth. So that if nature do effect procreation notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach even of nature's law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this present world might be without blemish, may we not justly presume that grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultiness in them that transgress the order which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established in his Church?

¹ [Mr. Keble has not found the reference. It is a form of a rule common in the Roman law, *In omnibus noxa caput sequitur*. (Paul. Sent. ii. 31. § 8, 9. Dig. xlvii. tit. i. § 2. Gothofr. note l. tit. xvii. 1.) Possibly the form is Hooker's own.] 1887.

[21.] Some light may be borrowed from circumcision for explication what is true in this question of baptism. Seeing then that even they which condemn Sephora the wife of Moses for taking upon her to circumcise her son¹, a thing necessary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, considering how Moses, because himself had not done it sooner, was therefore stricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the office; whereupon, for the stay of God's indignation, there was no choice, but the action must needs fall into her hands; whose fact therein whether we interpret as some have done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not so thoroughly acquainted with the exercise of Jewish rites, it much discontented her, to see herself through her husband's oversight, in a matter of his own religion, brought unto these perplexities and straits, that either she now endure him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her own child, which she could not do but with some indignation shewed, in that she fumingly both threw down the foreskin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his religion: or if we better like to follow their more judicious

¹ Exod. iv. 24. T. C. lib. i. p. 144. [113.] "I say that the unlawfulness of that fact doth appear sufficiently, in that she did it before her husband Moses, which was a prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumcision did appertain. Besides that she did cut off the foreskin of the infant not of mind to obey the commandment of God, or for the salvation of the child, but in a choleric only, to the end that her husband might be eased and have release: which mind appeareth in her both by her words, and by casting away in anger the foreskin which she had cut off. And if it be said that the event declared that the act pleased God, because that Moses forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his sickness, I have shewed before that if we measure things by the event, we shall oftentimes justify the wicked, and take the righteousness of the righteous from them." [Ap. Whitg. Def. 517: who answers, "Moses at this time was extremely sick, and therefore could not execute that office himself. And in the Geneva Bible there is this note, that 'it was extraordinary, for Moses was sore sick, and God even then required it.' Sephora therefore did circumcise in a point of extremity, and not wilfully or of purpose; and that circumcision was a true circumcision, though it were not done ordinarily; even so baptism is true baptism, though it be sometimes ministered by such as be not ordinary ministers." T. C. rejoins, iii. 126: "That the Lord required circumcision, if there were no ordinary minister for it, doth not appear. For as it was an order of God that the male child should be circumcised the eighth day, so was it also his order that he should be circumcised by a minister." In this he contradicts his master, Calvin, from whom most of his other arguments are derived. Inst. iv. 15, 22.]

exposition which are not inclinable to think that Moses was matched like Socrates, nor that circumcision could now in Eleazar be strange unto her, having had Gersom her elder son before circumcised, nor that any occasion of choler could rise from a spectacle of such misery as doth¹ naturally move compassion and not wrath, nor that Sephora was so impious as in the visible presence of God's deserved anger to storm at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the history itself can enforce any such affection, but do only declare how after the act performed she *touched* the feet of Moses saying², "Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum," "Thou art unto me an husband of blood," which might be very well the one done and the other spoken even out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and love, to signify with hands laid under his feet that her tender affection towards him had caused her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aside, and to redeem her husband out of the hands of death with effusion of blood; the sequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain argument, that God was satisfied with that she did, as may appear by his own testimony declaring how there followed in the person of Moses present release of

¹ "Mala passis non irascimur sed compatimur." Boet. de Consol.

² Where the usual translation hath, Exod. iv. 25; "She cut away the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Thou art indeed a bloody husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then she said, O bloody husband, because of the circumcision:" the words as they lie in the original are rather to be thus interpreted, "And she cut off the foreskin of her son. Which being done, she touched his feet (the feet of Moses) and said, 'Thou art to me an husband of blood,' (in the plural number, thereby signifying effusion of blood.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time when she said, 'A husband of blood,' in regard of circumcision." [See the Targum of Onkelos *in loco*: which instead of "cast it at his feet" has רַיְבַת לְקִיְסוּתָהּ]

"obtulit coram eo." And her words are rendered, "propter sanguinem circumcissionis hujus detur" [datur?] "nobis sponsus meus." And afterwards, "Nisi propter sanguinem circumcissionis hujus, condemnatus erat ad mortem sponsus meus." To this construction Mede (i. 53.) objects that סֶפְחָה "sponsus" could hardly be applied so long after marriage: which is answered by a remark of Tirinus in Pol. Synops. that it may mean, "ego te morti destinatum redemi sanguine filii, atque ita jam secum do te mihi sponsum coemo:" nam "nuptiæ solebant olim coemptione fieri, tum apud Hebræos, tum apud Romanos." Compare Pococke, ad Port. Mos. Not. Miscell. p. 51: who seems to think the place best illustrated by the double meaning of the root סֶפַח in Arabic: viz. "1. Affinitatem contrahere," and "2. Circumcidere."]

his grievous punishment upon her speedy discharge of that duty which by him neglected had offended God, even as after execution of justice by the hands of Phinees¹ the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of sin had caused; in which so manifest and plain cases not to make that a reason of the event which God himself hath set down as a reason, were falsely to accuse whom he doth justify, and without any cause to traduce what we should allow; yet seeing they which will have it a breach of the law of God for her to circumcise in that necessity, are not able to deny but circumcision being in that very manner performed was to the innocent child which received it true circumcision, why should that defect whereby circumcision was so little weakened be to baptism a deadly wound?

[22.] These premisses therefore remaining as hitherto they have been laid, because the commandment of our Saviour Christ, which committeth jointly to public ministers both doctrine and baptism², doth no more by linking them together import that the nature of the sacrament dependeth on the minister's authority and power to preach the word than the force and virtue of the word doth on license to give the sacrament; and considering that the work of external ministry in baptism is only a preeminence of honour, which they that take to themselves and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, do but themselves in their own persons by means of such usurpation incur the just blame of disobedience to the law of God; farther also inasmuch as it standeth with no

¹ Psalm cvi. 30.

² T. C. lib. iii. p. 142. "Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to administer the sacraments which are bidden to preach the word, and that the public ministers have only this charge of the word; and seeing that the administration of both these are so linked together that the denial of license to do one is a denial to do the other, as of the contrary part license to one is license to the other; considering also that to minister the sacraments is an honour in the Church which none can take unto him but he which is called unto it as was

"Aaron: and further, forasmuch as the baptizing by private persons and by women especially confirmeth the dangerous error of the condemnation of young children which die without baptism; last of all seeing we have the consent of the godly learned of all times against the baptism by women, and of the reformed churches now against the baptism by private men; we conclude that the administration of this sacrament by private persons and especially by women is merely both unlawful and void."

BOOK V. reason that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of
 Ch. lxiii. 1. other men's deeds should make frustrate whatsoever is mis-
 conceived, and that baptism by women should cease to be
 baptism as oft as any man will thereby gather that children
 which die unbaptized are damned, which opinion if the act
 of baptism administered in such manner did enforce, it might
 be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defeating
 or making it altogether void ; last of all whereas general and
 full consent of the godly learned in all ages doth make for
 validity of baptism, yea albeit administered in private and
 even by women, which kind of baptism in case of necessity
 divers reformed churches do both allow and defend, some
 others which do not defend tolerate, few in comparison and
 they without any just cause do utterly disannul and annihila-
 te ; surely howsoever through defects on either side the
 sacrament may be without fruit, as well in some cases to him
 which receiveth as to him which giveth it, yet no disability
 of either part can so far make it frustrate and without effect
 as to deprive it of the very nature of true baptism, having all
 things else which the ordinance of Christ requireth. Where-
 upon we may consequently infer that the administration of
 this sacrament by private persons, be it lawful or unlawful,
 appeareth not as yet to be merely void.

Interroga-
 tories in
 baptism
 touching
 faith,
 and the
 purpose of
 a Christian
 life.

LXIII. All that are of the race of Christ, the Scripture
 nameth them "children of the promise¹" which God hath
 made. The promise of eternal life is the seed of the Church
 of God. And because there is no attainment of life but
 through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwise
 than being such as the Creed apostolic describeth, it followeth
 that the articles thereof are principles necessary for all men
 to subscribe unto, whom by baptism the Church receiveth
 into Christ's school.

All points of Christian doctrine are either demonstrable
 conclusions or demonstrative principles. Conclusions have
 strong and invincible proofs as well in the school of Jesus
 Christ as elsewhere. And principles be grounds which
 require no proof in any kind of science, because it sufficeth
 if either their certainty be evident in itself, or evident by the
 light of some higher knowledge, and in itself such as no

¹ [Galat. iv. 28.]

man's knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the prin-
 ciples whereupon we do build our souls have their evidence
 where they had their original, and as received from thence
 we adore them, we hold them in reverent admiration, we
 neither argue nor dispute about them, we give unto them that
 assent which the oracles of God require.

We are not therefore ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord
 Jesus Christ because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us,
 that the highest point of our wisdom is *Believe*¹. That which
 is true and neither can be discerned by sense, nor concluded
 by mere natural principles, must have principles of revealed
 truth whereupon to build itself, and an habit of faith in us
 wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. The
 mysteries of our religion are above the reach of our under-
 standing², above discourse of man's reason, above all that any
 creature can comprehend. Therefore the first thing required
 of him which standeth for admission into Christ's family is
 belief. Which belief consisteth not so much in knowledge as in
 acknowledgment of all things that heavenly wisdom revealeth ;
 the affection of faith is above her reach, her love to Godward
 above the comprehension which she hath of God.

And because only for believers all things may be done, he
 which is goodness itself loveth them above all. Deserve we
 then the love of God, because we believe in the Son of God ?
 What more opposite than faith and pride ? When God had
 created all things, he looked upon them and loved them,
 because they were all as himself had made them. So the
 true reason wherefore Christ doth love believers is because
 their belief is the gift of God, a gift than which flesh and
 blood in this world cannot possibly receive a greater³. And
 as to love them of whom we receive good things is duty,
 because they satisfy our desires in that which else we should
 want ; so to love them on whom we bestow is nature, because
 in them we behold the effects of our own virtue.

Seeing therefore no religion enjoyeth sacraments the signs
 of God's love, unless it have also that faith whereupon the

¹ Apostatae maledictum, οὐδὲν κατάληψιν κτιστῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέ-
 ῖπέρ τὸ πιστευσον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶ
 σοφίας. Naz. Orat. i. contr. Julian. 388. Paris. 1615.]
 [§ 97. t. i. 97 B.] ² Matt. xvi. 17 ; John i. 12, 13.

³ Ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ
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sacraments are built; could there be any thing more convenient than that our first admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of baptism should be consecrated with profession of belief¹, which is to the kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth infidels both from that and from all other saving grace.

[2.] We find by experience that although faith be an intellectual habit of the mind, and have her seat in the understanding, yet an evil moral disposition obstinately wedded to the love of darkness dampeth the very light of heavenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to see what doth shine before it. Men are "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God²." Their assent to his saving truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weak to persuade, but because the stream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of faith, there must abide in the will as constant a resolution to have no fellowship at all with the vanities and works of darkness.

[3.] "Two covenants there are which Christian men," saith Isidore, "do make in baptism, the one concerning relinquishment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the faith of Christ³." In like sort St. Ambrose, "He which is baptized forsaketh the intellectual Pharaoh, the Prince of this world, saying, *Abrenuncio*, Thee O Satan and thy angels, thy works and thy mandates I forsake utterly⁴." Tertullian having speech of wicked spirits, "These," saith he, "are the angels which we in baptism renounce⁵." The declaration of Justin the Martyr concerning baptism⁶ shew-

¹ " Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus templi non efficitur quod antistitem non habet veram fidem." Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4. (?)

² [2 Tim. iii. 4.]

³ Isid. (of Seville, † 636.) de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 24. [p. 612. ed. Du Breul. "Duæ sunt pactioes credentium. Prima pactio est, qua renunciatur diabolo et pompis ejus, et universæ conversationi illius. Secunda pactio est, qua se in Patrem et Filium et Sp. Sanctum credere fatetur."]

⁴ Ambros. Hexam. lib. i. cap. 4. ["Derelinquit enim et deserit, qui abluitur, intelligibilem illum Pharaoh principem istius mundi, dicens, Abrenuncio tibi, diabole, et angelis tuis, et operibus tuis, et imperiis tuis."]

⁵ Tertull. de Spectac. [c. 4. "Cum aquam ingressi Christianam fidem in legis suæ verba profiteremur, renunciasse nos diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus, ore nostro testamur."]

⁶ "Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσι

eth, how such as the Church in those days did baptize made profession of Christian belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter easy for any man to prove, that ever baptism did use to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said¹, that the baptism "which saveth" us is not (as legal purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα, "an interrogative trial of a good conscience towards God."

LXIV. Now the fault which they find with us concerning interrogatories is, our moving of these questions unto infants which cannot answer them, and the answering of them by others as in their names.

The Anabaptist hath many pretences to scorn at the baptism of children, first because the Scriptures, he saith, do nowhere give commandment to baptize infants; secondly, for that as there is no commandment so neither any manifest example shewing it to have been done either by Christ or his Apostles; thirdly, inasmuch as the word preached and the sacraments must go together, they which are not capable of the one are no fit receivers of the other; last of all, sith the order of baptism continued from the first beginning hath in it those things which are unfit to be applied unto sucking children, it followeth in their conceit that the baptism of such is no baptism but plain mockery.

They with whom we contend are no enemies to the baptism of infants; it is not their desire that the church should hazard so many souls by letting them run on till they come to ripeness of understanding, that so they may be converted and then baptized as infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God so unthankful minds as not to acknowledge it even amongst the greatest of his endless mercies, that by making us his own possession so soon, many advantages which Satan otherwise might take are prevented, and (which should be esteemed a part of no small happiness) the first

ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' (ἀφ', Bodl. MS. and A.) ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ἰπισχυῶνται, εὐχασθῆναι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἀγον-

ται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ἢν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννώμεθα. Justin. Apol. [ii. p. 93. ed. 1615. In later editions it is the first Apology.]

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 21.

Interrogatories proposed unto infants in baptism, and answered as in their names by godfathers.

thing whereof we have occasion to take notice is, how much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the baptism of infants they esteem as an ordinance which Christ hath instituted even in special love and favour to his own people; they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept as derived from the hands and continued from the days of the Apostles themselves unto this present. Only it pleaseth them not that to infants there should be interrogatories proposed in baptism¹. This they condemn as foolish, toyish, and profane mockery.

[2.] But are they able to shew that ever the Church of Christ had any public form of baptism without interrogatories; or that the Church did ever use at the solemn baptism of infants to omit those questions as needless in this case? Boniface a bishop in St. Augustine's time knowing that the Church did universally use this custom of baptizing infants with interrogatories, was desirous to learn from St. Augustine the true cause and reason thereof². "If," saith he, "I should set before thee a young infant, and should ask of

¹ "They profane holy baptism in toying foolishly, for that they ask questions of an infant which cannot answer, and speak unto them as was wont to be spoken unto men, and unto such as being converted answered for themselves and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore against the holy Scriptures. Gal. vi. 7." Admonition to the Parliament. [ap. Whitg. Def. 610.] The same defended in T. C. lib. i. p. 168. [134. And by Beza in his twelfth Epistle, Strype, Grind. 512. "Puerorum baptizandorum interrogationem non dubitamus ex eo invasisse Ecclesiam, quod episcoporum negligentia retenta sit eadem in baptismo infantium formula, quæ initio in adultis catechumenis observabatur: id quod etiam ex aliis multis quæ in baptismo papistico adhuc vigent perspicere licet. Itaque sicut chrisma et exorcismus, quantumvis vetusta, optimo jure abolita sunt, cuperemus quoque istam non

"modo supervacua sed etiam ineptam interrogationem omitti, quantumvis illam in epistola quadam Augustinus ipse aliqua interpretatione tueatur." Tract. Theol. iii. 220.]

² Aug. Epist. xxiii. [al. 98. § 7. t. ii. 266 F. "Si constituam ante te parvulum, et interrogem, utrum quum creverit futurus sit castus, vel fur non sit futurus; sine dubio respondebis, Nescio. Et utrum in eadem parvula ætate constitutus cogitet aliquid boni vel mali; dices, Nescio. Si itaque de moribus ejus futuris nihil audes certi promittere, et de præsentia cogitatione; quid est illud quod quando ad baptismum offeruntur, pro eis parentes tanquam fidedictores respondent, et dicunt illos facere quod illa ætas cogitare non potest, aut si potest, occultum est? Ad istas ergo quæstiones peto breviter respondere digneris, ita ut non mihi de consuetudine præscribas, sed rationem reddas.]"

"thee whether that infant when he cometh unto riper age will be honest and just or no, thou wouldst answer (I know) that to tell in these things what shall come to pass is not in the power of a mortal man. If I should ask what good or evil such an infant thinketh, thine answer hereunto must needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canst promise for the time to come nor for the present pronounce any thing in this case, how is it that when such are brought unto baptism, their parents there undertake what the child shall afterwards do, yea they are not doubtful to say it doth that which is impossible to be done by infants? at the least there is no man precisely able to affirm it done. Vouchsafe me hereunto some short answer, such as not only may press me with the bare authority of custom but also instruct me in the cause thereof."

Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be said for infants at the time of their baptism that they do believe, the effect of St. Augustine's answer is yea, but with this distinction¹, a present *actual habit of faith there is not* in them;

¹ "Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo." Aug. [Ep. 23. al. 98. § 10. t. ii. 268. D. "Sæpe ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquante dicamus, crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit. . . . Ipso die Dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit, cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cur loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum quibus hæc gesta sunt similitudinem nominamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus; et dicatur illo die fieri, propter sacramenti celebrationem, quod non illo die sed jam olim factum est? Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solennitates sed omni die populus immolatur, nec utique

"mentitur, qui interrogatus eum respondet immolari. . . . Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus, consepulti, inquit, sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem. Non ait, sepulturam significavimus; sed prorsus ait, consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei nonnisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Itaque parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa quæ in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tandem ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem