

rently these inconveniences : the commonwealth doth lose the benefit of serviceable men which might be trained up in those rooms ; it is not easy for one man to discharge many men's duties well ; in service of warfare and navigation were it not the overthrow of whatsoever is undertaken, if one or two should engross such offices as being now divided into many hands are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition ?

Nevertheless be it far from the mind of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations princes either ought of duty to revoke all such kind of grants though made with very special respect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their offices with speech to this or the like effect : " Forasmuch as " you A.B. by the space of many years have done us that " faithful service in most important affairs, for which we " always judging you worthy of much honour have therefore " committed unto you from time to time very great and " weighty offices, which offices hitherto you quietly enjoy ; " we are now given to understand that certain grave and " learned men have found in the books of ancient philosophers " divers arguments drawn from the common light of nature, " and declaring the wonderful discommodities which use to

" you wittingly took upon you a " charge which in your own con- " science you knew was impossible " for you to discharge : you profane " the Lord's most sacred name, in " praying hypocritically before him : " you have not since repented you " of these iniquities, but have con- " tinued obstinate in the same ; and " therefore inasmuch as you for " your part without any good con- " science have gotten you a place " in the ministry ; I for my part " moved by a good conscience, and " for the same my conscience' sake, " to discharge my duty to the Lord, " have summoned you publicly law- " fully and rightly to dispossess " you of that place, and depose " you from that function, whereof " though publicly yet unlawfully " and unrightly you are possessed : " neither ought you or any other to " think me rash light or unconstant

" in so doing. For I tell you plain " that herein I will both say and " do that thing which the noble " and wise emperor sometimes both " said and did in a matter of far " less weight than this : ' Quod " inconsulto fecimus, consulto re- " vocamus : ' That which we unad- " visedly have done, we advisedly " revoke and undo.' And, sir, for " your part, it is very necessary " and expedient for you that we " depose you indeed, because ' tanto " graviora sunt tua peccata quanto " diutius infelicem animam deti- " nent alligatam : ' So much more " grievous are your sins, by how " much longer they have your un- " happy soul fettered with their " bolts.' To do this or the like " were in my simple understanding " a noble and famous practice of " a good and godly Bishop."]

" grow by dignities thus heaped together in one : for which " cause at this present moved in conscience and tender care " for the public good we have summoned you hither, to " dispossess you of those places and to depose you from those " rooms, whereof indeed by virtue of our own grant, yet " against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, " or any other, to think us rash, light, or unconstant, in so " doing. For we tell you plain that herein we will both say " and do that thing which the noble and wise emperor some- " times both said and did in a matter of far less weight than " this, ' Quod inconsulto fecimus consulto revocamus, ' That " which we unadvisedly have done we advisedly will revoke " and undo.' "

Now for mine own part the greatest harm I would wish them who think that this were consonant with equity and right, is that they might but live where all things are with such kind of justice ordered, till experience have taught them to see their error.

[15.] As for the last thing which is incident into the cause whereof we speak, namely what course were the best and safest whereby to remedy such evils as the Church of God may sustain where the present liberty of the law is turned to great abuse, some light we may receive from abroad not unprofitable for direction of God's own sacred house and family. The Romans being a people full of generosity and by nature courteous did no way more show their gentle disposition than by easy condescending to set their bondmen at liberty. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the commonwealth was bestowed for the most part as an ordinary reward of virtue, some few now and then also purchasing freedom with that which their just labours could gain and their honest frugality save. But as the empire daily grew up so the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honoured and virtue not cared for, neither did any thing seem opprobrious out of which there might rise commodity and profit, so that it could be no marvel in a state thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenuous sort were become base, the baser laying aside all shame and face of honesty did some by robberies, burglaries, and prostitutions of their bodies gather wherewith to redeem liberty ; others obtain the same at the

hands of their lords by serving them as vile instruments in those attempts which had been worthy to be revenged with ten thousand deaths. A learned, judicious, and polite historian having mentioned so foul disorders giveth his judgment and censure of them in this sort¹: "Such eye-sores in the "commonwealth have occasioned many virtuous minds to "condemn altogether the custom of granting liberty to any "bondslave, forasmuch as it seemed a thing absurd that a "people which commanded all the world should consist "of so vile refuse. But neither is this the only custom "wherein the profitable inventions of former are depraved "by later ages, and for myself I am not of their opinion "that wish the abrogation of so grossly used customs, which "abrogation might peradventure be cause of greater incon- "veniences ensuing, but as much as may be I would rather "advise that redress were sought through the careful provi- "dence of chief rulers and overseers of the commonwealth, 'by whom a yearly survey being made of all that are manu- "mised, they which seem worthy might be taken and divided "into tribes with other citizens, the rest dispersed into colo- "nies abroad or otherwise disposed of that the commonwealth "might sustain neither harm nor disgrace by them."

The ways to meet with disorders growing by abuse of laws are not so intricate and secret, especially in our case, that men should need either much advertisement or long time for the search thereof. And if counsel to that purpose may seem

¹ Dionys. Halicar. Rom. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 24. [Ἐτύγχανον τῆς ἐλευθερίας οἱ μὲν πλείστοι προίκα, διὰ καλοκάγαθίαν . . . ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες λύτρα κατατιθέντες ἐξ ὀσίων καὶ δικαίων ἐργασιῶν συναχθέντα· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει . . . οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ληστείας, καὶ τοιχωρυχίας, καὶ πορνείας, καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πονηροῦ πόρου χρηματισάμενοι, τούτων ἀνοῦνται τῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς εἰσι 'Ρωμαῖοι' οἱ δὲ, συνίστατορες καὶ συνεργοὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις γενόμενοι . . . μυρίων ἄξια διαπεπραγμένοι θανάτων' εἰς τούτους μέντοι . . . ἀποβλέποντες οἱ πολλοὶ δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ προβέβληται τὸ ἔθος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον ἡγεμονικῇ πόλει, καὶ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἀξίωση τόπου, τοι-

οὐτους πολίτας ποιῆσθαι. ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα διαβάλλειν ἔθη, καλῶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπινοηθέντα, κακῶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐπιτριβόμενα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν νόμον οὐκ οἶομαι τούτων δεῖν ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ τι μείζον ἐκτραγῆ τῷ κοινῷ δι' αὐτοῦ κακόν. ἐπανορθοῦσθαι μέντοι φημὶ δεῖν τὰ δυνατὰ . . . καὶ μάλιστα μὲν τοὺς τιμητὰς ἀξιώσασαιμ ἂν τούτου τοῦ μέρους προνοεῖν. εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοὺς ὑπάτους' . . . οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλευθέρους γινομένους ἐξετάσουσι . . . ἐπειθ' οὐδὲ μὲν ἂν εὐρωσιν ἀξίους τῆς πολέως δυνατας, εἰς φύλας καταγράψωσι . . . τὸ δὲ μιᾶρον καὶ ἀκάθαρτον φύλον ἐκβάλλωσιν . . . εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα τῷ πράγματι θέντες, ἀποικίαν.]

needful, this Church (God be thanked) is not destitute of men endued with ripe judgment whensoever any such thing shall be thought necessary. For which end at this present to propose any special inventions of mine own might argue in a man of my place and calling more presumption perhaps than wit.

[16.] I will therefore leave it entire unto graver consideration, ending now with request only and most earnest suit: first that they which give ordination would as they tender the very honour of Jesus Christ, the safety of men and the endless good of their own souls, take heed lest unnecessarily and through their default the Church be found worse or less furnished than it might be:

Secondly that they which by right of patronage have power to present unto spiritual livings, and may in that respect much damnify the Church of God, would for the ease of their own account in the dreadful day somewhat consider what it is to betray for gain the souls which Christ hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the sacred bond of fidelity and solemn promise given at the first to God and his Church by them, from whose original interest together with the selfsame title of right the same obligation of duty likewise is descended:

Thirdly that they unto whom the granting of dispensations is committed, or which otherwise have any stroke in the disposition of such preferments as appertain unto learned men, would bethink themselves what it is to respect any thing either above or besides merit; considering how hardly the world taketh it when to men of commendable note and quality there is so little respect had, or so great unto them whose deserts are very mean, that nothing doth seem more strange than the one sort because they are not accounted of, and the other because they are; it being every man's hope and expectation in the church of God especially that the only purchase of greater rewards should be always greater deserts, and that nothing should ever be able to plant a thorn where a vine ought to grow:

Fourthly that honourable personages, and they who by virtue of any principal office in the commonwealth are enabled to qualify a certain number and make them capable of favours

BOOK V. or faculties above others, suffer not their names to be abused
Ch. lxxxii. 16. contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholesome laws
by men in whom there is nothing notable besides covetous-
ness and ambition :

Fifthly that the graver and wiser sort in both universities, or whosoever they be with whose approbation the marks and recognizances of all learning are bestowed, would think the Apostle's caution against unadvised ordinations not impertinent or unnecessary to be borne in mind even when they grant those degrees of schools, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindnesses bestowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a testimony given to the Church and commonwealth concerning men's sufficiency for manners and knowledge, a testimony upon the credit whereof sundry statutes of the realm are built, a testimony so far available that nothing is more respected for the warrant of divers men's abilities to serve in the affairs of the realm, a testimony wherein if they violate that religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and do thereby induce into error such as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in question, let them look that God shall return back upon their heads and cause them in the state of their own corporations to feel either one way or other the punishment of those harms which the Church through their negligence doth sustain in that behalf :

Finally and to conclude, that they who enjoy the benefit of any special indulgence or favour which the laws permit would as well remember what in duty towards the Church and in conscience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by using to their own advantage whatsoever they see tolerated ; no man being ignorant that the cause why absence in some cases hath been yielded unto and in equity thought sufferable is the hope of greater fruit through industry elsewhere ; the reason likewise wherefore pluralities are allowed unto men of note, a very sovereign and special care that as fathers in the ancient world did declare the preeminence of priority in birth by doubling the worldly portions of their first-born, so the Church by a course not unlike in assigning men's rewards might testify an estimation had proportionably of their virtues, according to the

ancient rule apostolic, " They which excel in labour ought to excel in honour¹ ;" and therefore unless they answer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unless sincerely they bend their wits day and night both to sow because they reap, and to sow as much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of such benignities they formally bind themselves, let them be well assured that the honey which they eat with fraud shall turn in the end into true gall, forasmuch as laws are the sacred image of his wisdom who most severely punisheth those colourable and subtle crimes that seldom are taken within the walk of human justice².

[17.] I therefore conclude that the grounds and maxims of common right, whereupon ordinations of ministers unable to preach, tolerations of absence from their cures, and the multiplications of their spiritual livings are disproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful universally and without exception ; that the laws which indefinitely are against all these things, and the privileges which make for them in certain cases are not the one repugnant to the other ; that the laws of God and nature are violated through the effects of abused privileges ; that neither our ordinations of men unable to make sermons nor our dispensations for the rest, can be justly proved frustrate by virtue of any such surmised opposition between the special laws of this Church which have permitted and those general which are alleged to disprove the same ; that when privileges by abuse are grown incommodious there must be redress ; that for remedy of such evils there is no necessity the Church should abrogate either in whole or in part the specialties before-mentioned ; and that the most to be desired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands which may give passage unto any abuse³.

¹ [1 Tim. v. 17.]

² For the main hypothesis or foundation of these conclusions, let that before set down in the ninth, be read together with this last, the eighty-first paragraph.

³ [The Bodl. MS. adds : *Finis. liber quintus.* The 1st edition has

these words: "To the Reader. Have patience with me for a small time, and by the helpe of Almighty God I will pay the whole. Faults escaped in the printing of this part, especially these ensuing need amendment." Then follow eight errata.] 1887.

APPENDIX TO BOOK V

No. I.

Fragments of an Answer to the Letter of certain English Protestants¹.

[1.] * * * * that God is², from whose special grace they proceed. Wherefore cursed³, I say, be that man which believeth not as the Church of England, that without God's preventing and helping grace we are nothing at all able to do the works of piety which are acceptable in his sight. But must the will cease to be itself because the grace of God helpeth it? That which confoundeth your understanding in this point is lack of diligent and distinct consideration, what the will of man naturally hath; what it wanteth through sin; and what it receiveth by means of grace. Aptness, freely to take or refuse things set before it, is so essential to the will, that being deprived of this it looseth the nature, and cannot possibly retain the definition, of will: "Voluntas⁴, nisi libera sit, non est voluntas." To actuate at any time the possibility of the will in that which is

BOOK V.
Appendix I.

[1.]

¹ [For an account of these Fragments, published for the first time in 1836, see the preface to the first volume. Archdeacon Cotton, to whom the readers of Hooker are indebted, not only (in conjunction with Dr. Elrington) for the discovery and verification of these and other fragments, but also for the labour of preparing them for the press, states that "they are in the hand of an amanuensis, the same who copied the 'Sermon on Pride,' which they immediately follow, the folios being bound up in the volume in the exact order in which they are here given."]

² [The passage in the Christian Letter, to which Hooker is here addressing himself, is p. 11, art. 5. "Of freewill. The Church of England professeth this ground of faith, 'Without the grace of God (which is by Christ) preventing

"us, that we will, and working together while we will, we are nothing at all able to do the works of piety pleasing and acceptable unto God.' You to our understanding write clean contrarie: namely, 'there is in the will of man naturallie that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuse anie particular object whatsoever, being presented unto it.']

³ [i. e. Anathema. In the same sense Jackson, Works, iii. 788. "His curse be upon him who will not unfeignedly acknowledge the absolute infiniteness as well of His power as of His goodness." vol. xi. p. 376. Oxf. edit.]

⁴ [S. Aug. de Lib. Arbitr. iii. 8. "Voluntas nostra nec voluntas esset, nisi esset in nostra potestate. Porro quia est in potestate, libera est nobis." t. i. p. 613 F.]

BOOK V. evil, we need no help, the will being that way over-inclinable of
Appendix I. itself: but to the contrary so indisposed through a native evil habit¹
[2.] that if God's special grace did not aid our imbecility, whatsoever we
do or imagine would be only and continually evil. So that, except
we either give unto man, as the Manichees did, two souls, a good
and a bad; or make him in all his resolutions to be carried by fatal
necessity; or by some other new invention abrogate all contingency
in the effect of man's will; or deny him by creation to have had the
faculties of reason and will; or hold him through sin translated out
of the very number of voluntary agents, and changed into some
other creature; or to be able to define the power of the will, and
not to mingle therein that indifferency before mentioned: how
should we separate from Will natural possibility and aptness to
shun or follow, to choose or reject, any eligible object whatsoever?
You peradventure think aptness and ableness all one: whereas the
truth is, that had we kept our first ableness, grace should not need;
and had aptness been also lost, it is not grace that could work in us
more than it doth in brute creatures. Which distinction Hilary
doth well express, saying², that even as the body is apt to those
operations which yet it exerciseth not unless the help of such causes
concur as are required to set it on work; the eyes which are apt
to see all things, are unable to behold any, being either dimmed by
some accident in themselves, or else compassed with outward dark-
ness; *ita et animus humanus, nisi per Fidem donum Spiritus*
hauserit, habebit quidem naturam Deum intelligendi, sed lumen
scientie non habebit. Lib. ii. De Trinit.

[2.] That axiom³ of the providence of God in general, whereby he
is said to govern all things amiably according to the several condi-
tion and quality of their natures, must needs especially take place
in ordering the principal actions whereunto the hand of his grace
directeth the souls of men. Prescience, predestination, and grace,
impose not that necessity, by force whereof man in doing good hath
all freedom of choice taken from him. If prescience did impose any
such necessity, seeing prescience is not only of good but of evil,

¹ Gen. vi. 5.

² [De Trin. ii. 35. p. 806 D. E. ed. Bened. "Ut enim natura humani corporis cessantibus officii sui causis erit otiosa; nam oculis, nisi lumen aut dies sit, nullus ministerii erit usus; ut aures, nisi vox sonusve reddatur, munus suum non recognoscent: ut nares, nisi odor fragrauerit, in quo officio

"erunt nescient; non quod his deficiet natura per causam, sed usus habetur ex causa: ita et animus, &c."]

³ [Wisdom of Sol. viii. 1. διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα χρηστῶς. Tho. Aquin. Summa cont. Gent. iv. 56. "Sicut cæteris rebus, ita homini Deus providet secundum ejus conditionem."]

then must we grant that Adam himself could not choose but sin; and that Adam sinned not voluntarily, because that which Adam did ill was foreseen. If predestination did impose such necessity, then was there nothing voluntary in Adam's well-doing neither, because what Adam did well was predestinated. Or, if grace did impose such necessity, how was it possible that Adam should have done otherwise than well, being so furnished¹ as he was with grace? Prescience, as hath been already shewed, extendeth unto all things, but causeth nothing. Predestination appointeth nothing but only that which proceedeth from God, as all goodness doth. Predestination to life, although it be infinitely ancients than the actual work of creation, doth notwithstanding presuppose the purpose of creation; because, in the order of our consideration and knowledge, it must first have being that shall have happy being. Whatsoever the purpose of creation therefore doth establish, the same by the purpose of predestination may be perfected, but in no case disannulled and taken away. Seeing then that the natural freedom of man's will was contained in the purpose of creating man, (for this freedom is a part of man's nature;) grace contained under the purpose of predestinating man may *perfect*, and doth, but cannot possibly *destroy* the liberty of man's will. That which hath wounded and overthrown the liberty, wherein man was created, as able to do good as evil, is only our original sin, which God did not predestinate, but he foresaw it, and predestinated grace to serve as a remedy. So that predestination in us also which are now sinful, doth not imply the bestowing of other natures than creation at the first gave, but the bestowing of gifts, to take away those impediments which are grown into nature through sin. Freedom of operation we have by nature, but the ability of virtuous operation by grace; because through sin our nature hath taken that disease and weakness, whereby of itself it inclineth only unto evil. The natural powers and faculties therefore of man's mind are through our native corruption so weakened and of themselves so averse from God, that without the influence of his special grace they bring forth nothing in his sight acceptable, no not the blossoms or least buds *that tend to the fruit of eternal life*. Which powers and faculties notwithstanding retain still their natural manner of operation, although their original perfection be gone, man hath still a reasonable understanding, and a will thereby framable to good things, but is not thereunto now able to frame himself. Therefore God hath ordained grace, to countervail this our imbecility, and to serve as his hand,

¹ [See Bishop Bull's English Works, iii. 305-360.]