that thereby we, which cannot move ourselves, may be drawn, but
amiably drawn. If the grace of God did enforce men to goodness,
nothing would be more unpleasant unto man than virtue: whereas
contrariwise, there is nothing so full of joy and consolation as the
conscience of well-doing. It delighteth us, that God hath been so
merciful unto us as to draw us unto himself, and ourselves so happy,
as not to be obstinately bent to the way of our own destruction.
Yet what man should ever approach unto God, if his grace did no
otherwise draw our minds than Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians¹
imagined? They knew no grace but external only, which grace
inviteth, but draweth not: neither are we by inward grace carried
up into heaven, the force of reason and will being cast into a dead
sleep. Our experience teacheth us, that we never do any thing
well, but with deliberate advice and choice, such as painfully
seteth the powers of our minds on work: which thing I note in
regard of Libertines and Enthusiasts, who err as much on the
one hand, by making man little more than a block, as Pelagians
on the other, by making him almost a god¹ in the work of his
own salvation.

In all such sentences as that which St. John’s Revelation hath,
I stand at the door and knock, the Pelagian’s manner of construc-

tion, was, that to knock is the free external offer of God’s grace; to
open, is the work of natural will by itself, accepting grace and so
procuring or deserving whatsoever followeth. But the Catholic
exposition of that and all such sentences was, that to stand and
knock is indeed a work of outward grace, but to open cometh not
from man’s will without the inward illumination of grace; where-
upon afterwards ensueth continual augmentation thereof; not be-
cause the first concurrence of the will itself with grace, much less
without, doth deserve additions after following; but because it is
the nature of God’s most bountiful disposition to build forward
where his foundation is once laid. The only thing that Catholic
Fathers did blame, was the error of them who ascribed any laudable
motion or virtuous desire tending towards heavenly things to the
naked liberty of man’s will², the grace of God being severed from it.

¹ “Quid est attrahere, nisi pra-
“dicare, nisi Scripturarum conso-
“diamentibus excitare, incrementationibus
deterre, desideranda proponere,
“intentare metuenda, judicium com-
“minare, premium pollliceris?” Faust.
de lib. Arbitr. lib. i. c. 17. [In Bibl.

² [So Lord Bacon; “deater qui-
“dam.” Medit. Sacre, de Haeres.
Works. x. 323. Lond. 1803. But
see also Davison on Prophecy, p.
478. ed. 1824.]

₃ “Nude libertati arbitrii remota
c. 8. [ad calc. Cassian. ed. Atrebatii

₄ “bitrii: ut boni salubresque conatus
“nequeant quidem proficere nisi
“Deus adjuviet; possint tamen,
“etiam non a Deo inspirantur,
“incipere.”]

[2 Cor. xii. 9.]

[Deut. xxxi. 15.]

[vide rationes quibus peccat
“tores seducti delinquunt,” Philo
Jud. p. 109. τά̃τα γάρ, τὸ̃ τοῦ̃ ἄγα
καὶ τοῦ̃, και εἰς θρόνον ἐκ
τοῦ̃ ἄγα καὶ ὄψιν καὶ ἀκοήν
cessarium Dei fateris auxilium,
“ipsos tamen laudables motus ap-
petentusque virtutum, remota gratia
“Dei, nude libertati adscribunt ar-

[4.] In a word therefore, the manner of God’s operation through
grace is, by making heavenly mysteries plain to the dark under-
standing of man, and by adding motive efficacy unto that which
there presenteth itself as the object of man’s will. Howbeit, many
things which the Scripture hath concerning grace will remain obscure,
unless we also consider with what proportion it worketh. That
which was spoken to the Apostle St. Paul did not belong unto him
only, but to every communicant of grace. “My grace,” saith Christ,
“is sufficient for thee.” Grace, excluding possibility to sin, was
neither given unto angels in their first creation, nor to man before
his fall; but reserved for both till God be seen face to face in the
state of glory, which state shall make it then impossible for us to
sin, who now sin often, notwithstanding grace, because the provi-
dence of God bestoweth not in this present life grace so nearly
illuminating goodness, that the will should have no power to decline
from it. Grace is not therefore here given in that measure which
taketh away possibility of sinning, and so effectually moveth the
will, as that it cannot.

[5.] “Behold,” saith Moses, “I have set before you good and evil,
“life and death.” Now when men are deceived and choose evil
instead of good, where shall we say the defect resteth? May we
plead in our own defence, that God hath not laid the way of life
plain enough to be found, or that good things are so lapped up
within clouds, that we have no possible means whereby to discern
their goodness? Who seeth not how vain, and unto God himself
how injurious, it were, thus to shift off from ourselves the blame of
sin¹, and to cast it where it hath no place? We cannot therefore

(Arras) 1628, p. 889. The passage
objected to in Cassianis is, “In his
omnia et gratia Dei et libertas
nostri declaratur arbitrii; et quia
etiam suis interdum motibus homo
ad virtutem appetitus possit ex-
tendi, semper vero a Domino in-
digete adjuvatur.” Prosper answers,
“Et ubi est, quod regulari defini-
tione praemissum est. Non solum
actuum, verum etiam cogitationum
bonarum a Deo esse principium,
qui et incipit quia bona sunt et ex-
sequitur et consummatum in nobis?”
“Ecce hic etiamis bonis creatis ne-
cessarium Dei fateris auxilium,
“ipsos tamen laudableres motus ap-
petentusque virtutum, remota gratia
“Dei, nude libertati adscribunt ar-

[BITRI:]
Calvin distinguishes natural Truth from supernatural. In defence of evil plead obscurity of that which is good. For there is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough whereby to manifest itself, if reason were diligent to search it out. So that our ignorance we must impute to our own slough [sic]: we suffer the gifts of God to rust, and but use our reason as an instrument of iniquity: our wits we bend not towards that which should do us good: yea oftentimes the cause of our error is, for that we study to deceive ourselves. Wisdom is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek after her: she preventeth them, and strives rather to offer herself, than to answer their desires: whoso waveth unto her betimes, shall sustain no tedious labour; whoso watcheth for her, shall be soon without care. Sap. vi. 12.

[6.] Is our reason then by diligence, although unassisted with God’s grace, yet able of itself to find out whatsoever doth concern our good? Some things there are concerning our good, and yet known even amongst them to whom the saving grace of God is not known4. But no saving knowledge possible, without the sanctifying spirit of God. You will have me tell you which way you should perceive by my writings that thus I think5: and I fear, that if I shew you the way you will not follow it: read them with the same mind you read Mr. Calvin’s writings, bear yourself as impartial in the one as in the other: imagine him to speak to which I do: lay aside your unkindling mind, change but your spectacles, and I assure myself that all will be clearly true: if he make difference, as all men do, which have in them his dexterity of judgment, between natural and supernatural truth and laws1, I know that against him you will never thereupon infer, that he holdeth not the grace of God necessary unto the search of both, so far forth as they serve to our soul’s everlasting good.

[7.] To find out supernatural laws, there is no natural way, because they have not their foundation or ground in the course of nature. Such was that law before Adam’s fall, which required abstinence from the tree of knowledge touching good and evil. For by his reason he could not have found out this law, inasmuch as the only commandment of God did make it necessary, and not the necessity thereof procure it to be commanded, as in natural laws it doth. Of like nature are the mysteries of our redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ, which presupposeth the fall of Adam, and was in that respect instituted, nor would ever have been imagined by any wit of man or angel3, had not God himself revealed the same to both. But concerning such laws and truths as have their ground in the course of nature, and are therefore termed by all men laws of nature, [they?] were necessary for Adam although he had kept, and are for us which have lost, the state of that first perfection, necessary also even in themselves. These truths and laws our first parents were created able perfectly both to have known and kept; which we can now neither fully attain without the grace of God assisting us in the search, nor at all observe availably to our salvation, except in the exercise thereof, both grace do aid, and mercy pardon our manifold imperfections. I cannot help it, good sir, if in your angry mood will spurn at all these things, and reject them either as subtle, or as frivolous and idle matter. My meaning in them is sincere, and I thought them pertinent: to you it appeareth they seem otherwise: yet, till you be able to prove them erroneous, other defects may be forgiven if it please you: for you must think that yourself in all things cannot write to every man’s contentment, though you write well.

[8.] But in the closing up of all, if it is your pleasure that I should declare, how this discourse may stand with St. Paul’s meaning, where he saith that the wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God, because it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be: That which here you call a discourse4, is but two poor sentences5;
Twofold Need of Grace, since the Fall.

that spirit which converteth man's heart to the liking of God's truth, must needs be here as formal adversaries to him, and as far from subjection to his law as before. Yet in these cases not only the carnal and more brutish sort of men, but the wittiest, the greatest in account for secular and worldly wisdom, Scribes, Philosophers, profound disputers, are the chiefest in opposition against God: such in the primitive Church were Julian, Lucian, Porphyry, Symmachus, and other of the like note, by whom both the natural law of God was dis obeyed, and the mysteries of supernatural truth derided.

I conclude therefore, the natural aptness of man's will to take or refuse things presented before it, and the evidence which good things have for themselves, if reason were diligent to search it out, may be soundly and safely taught without contradiction to any syllable in that confession of the Church, or in those sentences of holy Scripture by you alleged, concerning the actual disability of reason and will, through sin, whereas God's especial grace faileth.

And lest ignorance what I mean by the name of grace should put into your head some new suspicion, know that I do understand grace so as all the ancient Fathers did in their writings against Pelagius. For whereas the grace of Almighty God signifieth either

1 [See especially among his Epistles, lib. x. 54, the memorial adressed to Theodoreus and Valentinian for the restoration of the altar of Victory. It may be read in St. Ambrose's works, 1. ii. 828. ed. Bened. and St. Ambrose's answer, p. 833.]

2 Vide Thomam, i. 2. qu. 109, art. 2. "De Gratia. Deus respectu boni actus eliciendi a liberoru arbitrario potest infundere trplex auxilium. 1. Auxilium universale sicut causa prima inuit in secundam, qui inuenit insecutionem secundae causae secundum materiam causae secundae. Alter enim recipitur in causa naturali, alter in causa libera. In causa naturali sicut inuit, quod coope ratur ei determinate ad unum: cause m. libre cooperatur ad oppositum secundum quod ea sese determinat; quare hoc auxilium est necessarium in omni acti liberti arbitrii tam bono quam malo. 2. Auxilium speciale infuit ad actum morali bonum, et est ne cessarium tempore corruptae naturae, proper declinationem causae satanam in viribus animarum, ex culpa originali, non autem erat necessarium in natura integra, proper tranquilitatem que erat in viribus animarum, ex justitia originali, unde tempore illo sufficiens univ ersale auxilium ad eliciendos bonos actus moraliter: Potentia motiva actus in sano et inimico.

3 Auxilium speciale supernaturale necessarium est ad eliciendum me ritorium et condignum felicitate, vel potius se fuisse locum amorum, ad actum Deo acceptabilem et gra tiorem inter quos principalis actus est credere, fides autem non per se tanquam qualitas, sed ratione objectae Christi, et ipsa redditur acceptabilis, et reddit alios actus omnes. Solus enim Christus usus meruit felicitatem quam nos in ipsa obinitem ex gratuito favore Dei, non propter operum dignitatem. Remanerant quidem opera, sed gratiose non propter ipsorum dignitatem. Cum
his undeserved love and favour; or his offered means of outward instruction and doctrine; or thirdly, that grace which worketh inwardly in men's hearts; the scholars of Pelagius denying original sin did likewise teach at the first, that in all men there is by nature ability to work out their own salvation. And although their profession soon after was, that without the grace of God, men can neither begin, proceed, nor continue in any good thing available unto eternal life, yet it was perceived that by grace they only meant those external incitements unto faith and godliness, which the Law, the Prophets, the Ministers, the works of God do offer; that is to say the second grace, whereby being provoked and stirred up, it is, as they supposed, in our own power to assent to seek after God, and to labour for that, which then in regard of such our willingness, God willingly doth bestow, so that partly holpen by his grace, but principally through the very defect ['desert' or 'effect'] of our own travail we obtain life.

[11.] Touching natural sufficiency without grace, Pelagius generally was withstood, and the necessity of that third kind of grace which moved the heart inwardly, they all maintained against Pelagius. Only in this, there were a number of the French especially, who went not so far, as to think with St. Augustine 1 that God would bestow his grace upon any, which did not first procure and obtain it by labour proceeding from that natural ability which yet remaineth in all men. Hilary therefore, informing St. Augustine what the French churches thought thereof, declareth 2 their steadfast belief to have been, that in Adam all men were utterly lost, and that to deliver them which never could have risen by their own power the way of obtaining life is offered: that they which desire health, and believe that they may be cured, do thereby obtain augmentation of faith, and the whole effect of safety. For in that it is said, 'believe “and live,” the one of these is required at our hands, and the other so offered, that in lieu of our willingness, if we perform what God requireth, that which He offereth is afterwards bestowed. That freedom of will we have so far only, as thereby to be able without grace to accept the medicine which God doth offer. But, saith he, we worthily adore and condemn them which think that in any man there is remaining any spark of ability to proceed but the least step further than this, to the recovery of health.

[12.] Now although they did well maintain that we cannot finish our salvation without the assistance of inward grace; yet because they held that of ourselves by assenting to grace externally first offered, we may begin and thereby obtain the grace which perfectedh our raw and insufficient beginnings, the French were herein as Demipelagians by St. Augustine, Prosper, Fulgentius, and sundry others gainseyed, at length also condemned by the Arausian Council, 3 as the Council of Milevis 4 had before determined against that first opinion of Pelagius which the French themselves did condemn. So that the whole question of grace being grown amongst the ancient unto this issue, whether man may without God seek God, and without grace either desire or accept grace first offered, the conclusion of the catholic part was No, and therefore in all their writings, the point still urged is grace, both working inwardly, and preventing the very first desires, or motions of man to goodness. Which unless we every where diligently mark, there is no man but may be abused by the words whereby Pelagians and Demipelagians seem to magnify the grace of God, the one meaning only external grace, the other internal, but only to perfect that which our own good desires without grace have begun. The diviner sort of the heathens themselves saw, that their own more eminent perfections in knowledge, wisdom, valour, and other the like qualities, for which sundry of them were

1 [Namely, the second council of Orange, held A.D. 529, at which Cæsarius of Arles presided: the occasion of it being the work of Faustus Regiensis, quoted above, p. 540. See Concil. iv. 1666.]
2 [The second council of Milevis in Numidia, at which St. Augustin assisted, who appears to have drawn up the canons there enacted; the eight first relate to the Pelagian controversy, and are armed with an anathema; which is not the case with those of Orange, mentioned above. Concil. ii. 1537. A.D. 416.]
Three Senses of the word Grace. Sanctifying Grace.

had in singular admiration, did grow from more than the ordinary influence which that supreme cause instillett into things beneath. No nervaile then in the school of Christ to hear from the mouth of a principal instructor, "not I, but the grace of God which is with me." Now amongst the heathens, which had no books whereby to know God besides the volumes of heaven and earth, that small vital odor which (as Prosper noteth) breathed upon them to the end they might live, became notwithstanding the odor of death; so that even by those visible testimonies, it might be plainly perceived, how the letter killeth where the Spirit quickeneth not.

But of heathens what should we speak, sith the first grace saveth not the Church itself by virtue of the second without the third. Saving grace is the gift of the Holy Ghost, which lightenth inwardly the minds, and inflameth inwardly the hearts of men, working in them that knowledge, approbation, and love of things divine, the fruit whereof is eternal life. In grace there is nothing of so great difficulty as to define after what manner and measure it worketh.

Thus of the three kinds of grace; the grace whereby God doth incline towards man, the grace of outward instruction, and the grace of inward sanctification, which two work man's inclination towards God, as the first is the well-spring of all good, and the second the instrument thereof to our good, so that which giveth effect to both in us, who have no cause at all to think ourselves worthy of either, is the gracious and blessed gift of his Holy Spirit. This is that baptism with heavenly fire, which both illuminateth and enflameth. This worketh in man that knowledge of God, and that love unto things divine, whereupon our eternal felicity ensueth. This is the grace which God hath given to insatiable desires, to bestow down those lusts, which can in no sort moderate themselves, to quench lawless fervours, to vanquish headstrong and unruly appetites, to cut off excess, to withstand avarice, to avoid riot, to join love, to strengthen the bonds of mutual affection, to banish sects, to make manifest the rule of truth, to silence heretics, to disgorge miscreants, and inviolably to observe the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"This grace" (saith Hilary) "remaineth with us till the world's end, it is the stay of our expectation, the things that are done by the gifts thereof are a pledge of our hope to come. This grace therefore we must: desire, procure, and for ever entertain, with belief and observation of God's laws." For let the Spirit be never so prompt, if labour and exercise slacken, we fail. The fruits of the Spirit do not follow men, as the shadow doth the body, of their own accord. If the grace of sanctification did so work, what should the grace of exhortation need? It were even as superfluous and vain to stir men up unto good, as to request them when they walk abroad not to lose their shadows. Grace is not given us to abandon labour, but labour required lest our sluggishness should make the grace of God unprofitable. Shall we betake ourselves to our ease, and in that sort refer salvation to God's grace, as if we had nothing to do with it, because without it we can do nothing? Pseligus urged labour for the attainment of eternal life without necessity of God's grace: if we teach grace without necessity of man's labour, we use one error as a nail to drive out another. David, to shew that grace is needful, maketh his prayer unto God, saying, "Set thou, O Lord, a watch before the door of my lips:" and to teach how needful our travail is to that end, he elsewhere useth exhortation, "Refrain thou thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile." Solomon respecting the use of our labour giveth counsel, "Keep thy heart with all the custody and care that may be." The Apostle, having an eye unto necessity of grace, prayseth, "The Lord keep your hearts and understandings in Christ Jesus."

1 De Voc. Gent. ii. 4. in Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. v. part. 3. p. 175.
2 Caelum ergo cunctaque celestia, mare et terra, omniaque in ea eis sunt, consono specie; sua ordinacionisque concenuto protesta, bantor gloriam Dei, et prudicitio perpetua majestatem sui locabantur auctoris; et tamen maximus numerus hominum, qui al qvicis, quasi voluntatis sui,ius bulare permittus est, non intellexit, nec secutus hanc legem est, et odor vitae, qui spirat ad vitalam factum est ei odor mortis ad mortem; ut etiam in illis visibilibus testimoniiis disceretur, quod litera occidente, spiritus autem vivificat.
4 This is apparently a reference to the Christian Letter, p. 11.
5 Tertull. Novatian de Trinitate, c. 29. "Hic est qui inklepit biles cupiditates coercet, immaculatas libidines frangit, illicitas ardores extinctit, flagrantes impetus vincit, ebrietates rejecit, avaritias repellit, luxuriosas comessationes fugit; caritates nectit, afectiones in donorum operationibus futurae in due bini aeternitatem, hic splendor animorum est."
7 Ps. cxxii.
8 Ps. xxiv. 13.
9 Prov. iv.
10 Philipp. iv.