for them, who in such sort are already ordained to life, and unpro-
fitable for them which are not; whereby it appeareth that as yet it
was not clear in St. Augustin’s books whether the grace and prede-

tination which he taught would enforce an absolute necessity of
belief and salvation, such as the Schoolmen call necessitatem con-
squen
ti
tis; which indeed would have taken away freewill, and made
all instructions and exhortations superfluous. This gave occasion of
writing afterwards many treatises, whereby (as commonly in such
cases it falleth out) some were mervallous well pleased, some waxed
fi
cer and bold to contradict. Not long after the rising of these
flames, St. Augustin dieth without any equal in the Church of
Christ from that day to this. This defence Prosper undertook and
sustained with all constancy for the space of thirty-six years 4 fol-

In which time, being aided by Pope Celestin 1 and Leo 4
he much weakened the Pelagian heresy, and lived not only to see

Pelagianism after St. Augustin: Faustus:

the open recantation of Julian 1 then best learned on that part,
against whom before St. Augustin had written, but also to frame
and to set down with his own hand those Canons which being
agreed upon by the Arausian Synod, 5 St. Augustin’s opinion
touching grace prevailed for ever after, and the contrary was clean

[38.] Prosper’s successor 6 was one Faustus, not in wit and industry,
nor eloquence inferior unto Prosper, only behind him in soundness
of faith. He therefore refelleth Pelagius 4 as touching sufficiency
of nature in itself without grace, to the end that with less suspicion
he might notwithstanding defend with Pelagius the grace is not
given without the merit of present labour, and endeavour to obtain
the same. But the wound, which Pelagius in both had receiv’d,
was incurable. Pu
gentius 9 therefore after Prosper’s death, op-
pugnate whatsoever Faustus either wrote or did, in that cause

empestate Julianus Aedelenensis
junior S. Augustini Pelagiani erroris
assertor, quem ducum amissi
episcopatus interemperans cupido
exagitabat, multimocca arte fallendi
in eundem spem preferens, modo
Itus [molitur?] in communione
Ecclesiae ireprese; sed his insidios
Sixtus papado ac Leonis hostia
vigilanter octuvat nihilum adi-
tum pestiferis consubis patere
permissit; et ita omnes catholicos
defectione fallacis bestiae gaudere
kissimam heresin apostolicus gla-
dius detruncasset.” In Bibl. Patr.
Col. t. v. pars iii. 193.

[2] Anno 430. [This date in the
Dublin Transcript seems to have
strayed from its place: it being the
date of St. Augustin’s death, men-
tioned above; whereas the second
council of Orange was held A.D.
529. From the ninth to the twenty-
fourth of which are called the Arau-
sian Canons are dicta of St. Au-
gustin on the subjects of grace and
free-will, which had been mostly
extracted by Prosper in his Sen-
tences, and may therefore with much
probability be supposed to have been
adopted by that council from him.
See Concil. ii. 1099. ed. Har-
duin.]

[3] [That is, in the bispohoric of
Riez: but Tillemont seems to have
demonstrated that Prosper never
was Bishop of Riez, and Propert
pour servir à l’Histoire Écclésiás-
tique, t. xvi. p. 27.]


[5] In the rest of the treatise.

[6] Priorem volant obedientiam
quam gratiam, ut initium salutis
ex quo quod Salvator [qui salvatur,
non ex quem sit e qui “salvat.”
Prop. ap. Aug. x. 782.
Mr. Gibbons states, that this un-
finished sentence is written on the
line “Prosper’s successor,” &c. in
the D. MS. and remarks that the
reading to which Hooker refers may
allude to St. John vii. 17.

[7] Bishop of Ruspa in Africa from
A.D. 508, to A.D. 515. Vit. Fulg.
c. 30, in Bibl. Patr. Colon. vi. 11 g.
Basnage, Annales. iii. 618. 11:
tracts on this controversy were,
1. De Incarnatione et Gratia: writ-
ten A.D. 520, in the name of sixty
bishops of Africa, then exiled to
Sardinia by the Arian Vandals.
2. Seven books against Faustus:
written in his second exile, A.D.
522, and now lost. The first of
the three Books to Monimus: the
subject of which is “God’s twofold
Predestination; the date uncertain.”]
against St. Augustine; by means whereof their doctrine could not prevail, as otherwise it might have done. But in the matter of 

grace, they were utterly overthrown. Nevertheless 1 being loath that the world should think they had for no just cause contended, whereas they had amongst them one Lucidus a priest, very earnest in defence of absolute predestination, and thereby fallen into divers absurdities, which St. Augustine, the master whom he pretended to follow, had never held; him when Faustus had brought to be of another mind, they assembled a Synod 2, whereat some twenty and six Bishops met together, gave their sentence against his opinions, and took the recantation of Lucidus, submitting his former judgment to the order of this their Synod, and pronouncing 3 accused openly. 1. all such as either with Pelagius save man by man’s mere labour, or as others by predestination though labour want: 2. all such as hold, that no man perisheth but for original sin only: 3. or, that God’s foreknowledge presseth down into hell: 4. or, that God is wanting to all them which perish, rather than that they want to themselves: 5. or, that vessels of contumely cannot rise to be vessels of honour, though they would: 6. or, that Christ did not die for all men, neither would have all men saved. Wherein it clearly appeareth, that the first of these rehearsed articles condemneth Pelagianism only so far forth as Faustus approved it not: the rest of

the articles would closely insinuate, that Lucidus by following St. Augustine’s doctrine against Pelagius in that point, (where Faustus was himself a Pelagian,) had fallen into those absurdities and follies, which now he forsakes. But by this we see how the question about both grace and predestination, being first set on foot by St. Augustine, was afterwards both followed with and against him, as men’s capacities and other accidents gave occasion at that time. But surely his judgment of predestination was far enough from such phrenetical opinions, as, in that Fathers’ synod, Lucidus did renounce.

1. Predestination, as St. Augustine himself taught it, doth no way diminish the great necessity of labour required at our hands: nor 2. import that original sin is the only cause of destruction or expulsion [sic]; nor 3. that God’s foreknowledge is a cause why any man doth perish: nor 4. that the grace of God is withheld from any man but justly and deservedly: 5. nor that any man in whom [sic] desire and endeavour to be saved, can be a vessel of contumely and wrath: nor 6. that Christ did ever purpose and determine to exclude any from the benefit of his death, but whom their own incurable wickedness doth worthy exclude.

[39.] To proceed therefore with the rest: we have seen the general inclination of God towards all men’s everlasting happiness notwithstanding sin: we have seen that this natural love of God towards mankind, was the cause of appointing or predestinating Christ to suffer for the sins of the whole world: we have seen that our Lord, who made himself a sacrifice for our sins, did it in the bowels of a merciful desire that no man might perish: we have seen that God nevertheless hath found most just occasion to decree the death and condemnation of some: we have seen that the whole cause, why such are excluded from life, resteth altogether in themselves: we have seen that the natural will of God being inclined towards all men’s salvation, and his occasioned will having set down the death

1 [Ibid. 809. “Damno vobiscum sensum illum, qui dicit humanae obediendi laborem divinam gratiam non esse jugendum. . . . Qui dicit quod post accepisset legitimum baptismum in Adam moritur qui cumque deliquerit . . . . Qui dicit quod prescipientia Dei hominum violenter compellat ad mortem . . . Profiteor etiam zeternos ignes et infernales flammas facies capitali . . . bus praeparatas: quia perseverantes humanas culpas merito se quitur divina justitia; quam justum incurront qui hie concordia crederint . . . Libens fateretur Chris . . . tum etiam pro perditis advenisse, quia eodem nolente perierunt . . . Si Christum hic taurum remediamo attulisse dicimus, qui redempti sunt, videbimus absolvere non re demptos, quos pro redemptione contempta constat esse pune nidos.” The fifth head does not occur, either in the councils or in the Bibliotheca Patrum.]
but of some in such consideration as hath been shewed; it must needs follow, that of the rest there is a determinate ordinance, proceeding from the good pleasure of God, whereby they are, and have been, before all worlds, predestinated heirs of eternal bliss. We have seen that in Christ the Prince of God’s elect all worthiness was foreseen; that in the elect angels there was not foreseen any matter for just indignation and wrath to work upon; that in all other God foresees iniquity, for which an irrevocable sentence of death and condemnation might most justly have past over all. For it can never be too often inculcated, that touching the very decree of endless destruction and death, God is the judge from whom it cometh, but man the cause of which it grew. Salvation contrariwise and life proceedeth only both from God and of God. We are receivers through grace and mercy, authors, through merit and desert, we are not, of our own salvation. In the children of perdition, we must always remember that of the Prophet, Thy destruction, O Israel, is of thyself, lest we teach men blasphemously to cast the blame of all their misery on God. Again, lest we take to ourselves the glory of that happiness, which if he did not voluntarily and freely bestow, we should never be made partakers thereof; it must ever in the election of saints be remembered, that to choose is an act of God’s good pleasure, which presupposeth in us sufficient cause to avert, but none to deserve it. For this cause, whereas St. Augustine had sometimes been of opinion that God chose Jacob and hated Esau, the one in regard of belief, the other of infidelity, which was foreseen, his mind he afterwards delivered thus: “Jacob I have loved; behold what God doth bestow freely: ‘I have hated Esau,’ behold what man doth justly deserve.”

[40.] It remaineth therefore that we come now unto those things about ourselves, which by God’s own appointment are means of bringing his desire, and our Saviour’s merit, finally to that effect, which they both covet. Christ is a mean unto God for us. But this sufficeth not, unless there be also the means of application which God requireth, the decree of whose good pleasure, touching man’s salvation, includeth both the one and the other. Christ in himself hath that cup of life, which is able to do all men good. Sed si non bititur, non medetur, saith Prosper 1, if we taste not, it healeth not. There are

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1 Hos. iv. 6; viii. 8; ix. 15; xiii. 9.
they spent their labour in vain? or why the Apostles were hindered by the Spirit, when they meant to have preached in Asia: why stayed, when their purpose was towards Bithynia for the same intent; and yet that grace not denied altogether unto those countries, but deferred only? what should we answer touching these things, but that God hath made of one blood 2 all mankind, to dwell upon the face of the whole earth, and hath assigned the times which were ordained before, together with the seasons, bounds, and limits, as of all things, so of grace itself, which whenssoever it least shineth, ministereth always if not sufficient light to guide in the way of life, yet competent to give men that introduction, which clearer light would make complete, but that too much love of one kind of darkness or other hath been the world's perpetual impediment, and to some a cause, not only of having the offer of [more?] grace withdrawn clean, but the very former possession of less also taken from them.

That thus it stood with the Jewish nation, that all those spiritual favours of grace which God had bestowed upon them were voluntary: that his choice of the Jews before others hereunto was free, and on their part without desert: that he in his promise made to their fathers remained steadfast, but the true construction thereof they did not conceive, because they were obstinate and would not understand: finally, that whereas the light, which their fathers would have greatly rejoiced to see, had presented itself to them, and was rejected; if God did now depart from them being thus repelled, and were content to be found of the Gentiles, who sought not him, but he them; as the one had no cause to grudge, so neither had the other any to boast: all this the Apostle proveth in the ninth, the tenth, and eleventh to the Romans. At the length, in consideration that they sometimes were a people, whom God so wonderfully did affect; a people, to whom he had given so many privileges, honours, preeminences, above the rest of the whole world; a people, with whose forefathers he had made so many covenants and leagues of mercy: a people, for whose advancement so mighty nations had been quelled; a people, for whose defence the angels had taken arms, the sun and moon been stayed in their course: a people, that had filled heaven with so many Patriarchs, Prophets, Saints, Martyrs; a people, that had been the well-spring of life to all nations: a people, the top of whose kindred sitteth at the right hand of God, and is the author of salvation unto all the world:

1 Acts xvi. [6.]
these things considered in such sort, as we may think an apostolic spirit did consider them after long discourse against them; the question is moved, Hath God then cast off his people? Not his people eternally chosen. Be it far from us so to think. But is there no hope that the very nation itself shall recover what it now hath lost? Have they stumbled to the end they might fall? God forbid. Nay, their fall hath occasioned salvation to arise unto the Gentiles, and the Gentiles not unlikely to be a mean of restoring salvation unto them again. That as now they are losers to our gain, so in time our gain may be their abundance. And as we, being sometimes unbelievers, have at the length obtained mercy; so they at the length may find mercy, although they be now unbelievers, and thus God, who is all-merciful, become merciful towards all. 1

"O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his footsteps how im—possible to be traced out!"

This may suffice touching outward grace, whereby God inviteth the whole world to receive wisdom, and hath opened the gates of his visible Church unto all, thereby testifying his will and purpose to have all saved, if the let were not in themselves.

[42.] The inward mean, whereby his will is to bring men to eternal life, is that grace of his Holy Spirit, which hath been spoken of already at large, in the article that concerneth free-will. Now from whom this inward grace is either withheld altogether, or withdrawn, such, being left to themselves, wax hard and obdurate in sin. Touching the manner of their obduration, it hath been ever on all sides confest, that the malice of man’s own heart doth harden him, and nothing else. Therefore in the Psalm it is said 4, harden not your own hearts. In Jeremy, Thou hast stricken them, but they have not sorrowed; thou hast consumed them, and they have refused to receive correction: they have made their faces harder than stones. And in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans 5, Thou, according to thine own hardness and heart impenitent, hearest up to thysel wurth. But some difference there is, by reason that all have not alike defined after what sort God himself worketh in this action. It cannot be denied that they take occasion at the very goodness of God to strengthen themselves in malice. His mercy towards Abel hardened Cain: and his mercy towards Israel, the Egyptians; 6 yea, the mercy which is shewed towards them hardeneth them.

I saw the prosperity of the wicked, saith David, they are not troubled nor plagued like others, they have more than heart can wish; therefore they are proud, cruel, blasphemous, they set their mouths even against heaven. Pharaoh in misery confesseth sin, whereupon God in lenity withdrawing his plague, sin and hardness of heart return, both in him and his: whereby it hath been by some inferred, that God hath no other hand in the obduration of such, but only so far forth as their malice doth abuse his lenity, and turn it unto their own evil. St. Augustine and others considering more deeply, that God himself had said touching Pharaoh, I have hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might work these my miracles amongst them, conceived, that God did hereby somewhat more than only foretell what hurt the Egyptians would take occasion to do themselves, by the very good which he intended to do for them. It seemed therefore probable, that God who eternally had foreseen what Pharaoh was, and what himself did purpose to work concerning Pharaoh, declared to Moses 7 that which was in Pharaoh’s heart, namely, an obstinate will, that the people should not go whither God required. And concerning him thus far to Moses also God did reveal 8 what his own determinations were. At first, that

1 [Rom. xi. 33] 2 Ps. xcv. 7. 3 Jerem. v. 3. 4 Exod. i. 12. 5 [Ps.] lxixi. [3-39]. 6 Exod. ix. 34; x. 1. 7 [Fustus de Lib. Arbitr. ii. c. 1. Hac ratione Pharaonem, dicit Dominus, obdurabo, dum eum mihis in decem plagis, quas a Mose exoratus removero, insultare permitt. . . . Sic interdum familiariter etiam apud homines hujus eiocu vena mirum assumimus, sic interdum contumacibus famulis expremamus manu satisfacit nosquam, et ut dicentes: 'Ego patienista mea te pessimum fecisti.' &c.] 8 [Ex. iv. 21. [De Praedest. et Gratia, suspecti auctoribus liber, c. vi. in App. ad Aug. x. 33. 'Qui pie 'quarera salutatem desiderant invenire, illum locum ejusdem Scripturae relegat, ubi primo Moysi in rubo ignis apparuit, et ibi inveniet rotam hoc, quod indurasse Deus cor Pharaonis praeeditit, non ad operationem Dei, sed ad præseniam pertinere. Loquens enim Dominus de rubo sic dicit: Ego autem scio quod non dimittet vos Pharao rex Ægypti, nisi per magnum magnum. Sed extendens manum meam, percutiam Ægyptios in omnibus mirabilibus quos faciam, et postea dimittet vos.' Hac prima vox Dei est, qua futuram voluntatem, Pharaonis, siccum providere, indicat.] [Ibid. 'Postea jam inter ipsos miraculorum imbris dixisse legi-tur, 'Ego autem indurabo cor Pharaonis, ne dimitatur populum.' 'Ubi jam aperte intelligitur primam iterassentiam. Quid est enim, indurabo, nisi non noliam? Apparet enim in alios manantia justitia, in alia gratia profuente, Scriptura ipsis sententiam formans completam, qua dicit Deus Pha-raoni, 'In hoc ipsis excutivat te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam,' &c. Utente enim Deo bene etiam malis, induratione Pharaonis, flagella Ægypti, tot ac tantum miracula, cura, &c., quid aliud gestum est, quam ut Dei virum. . . ad humani generis notitiam perveniret? . . . Pharaonem non esse mutam, et illam omnem geri- . . . aliqua illa Deus providentia sue luce prescivit. Sed perturorum