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BUT ON GOD, WHO HAS MERCY." - ROMANS 9:16

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## Of Free will.

This term Free will (as far as I recall) is not found in the holy scriptures. However, what it signifies must not be disregarded lightly. For it is widely debated, and remains a great controversy to this day, as it always has been among scholars and theologians. Even the Philosophers, when speaking of the soul, never made mention of it; instead, they used the term αὐτεξούσιος (autexousios). For in the mind, they only considered the understanding and the will; some added the memory. Cicero, an eminent author of the Latin language, never mentioned Liberum arbitrium; but in his work De fato, he once

or twice referred to *Liberam voluntatem*, which has the same meaning. The Greeks called it *αὐτεξούσιον* (*autexousion*), a word composed of *αὐτός* (*autos*) and *ἐξουσία* (*exousia*), signifying a person to be at their own liberty and under their own power, unable to be constrained.

In this manner, free will may be attributed to God, who cannot be compelled, as he has a will that cannot be turned. Likewise, the good angels cannot sin or be turned away from God, whom they constantly behold. They are said to possess free will in this sense, and so are the devils. The term *αὐτεξούσιον* (as far as I know) is not found in the holy scriptures. The Latin word *Arbitrium* consists of two words: *Arbitrium* and *Liberum*. To arbitrate is to esteem, to perceive, to form an opinion, to judge; and *Liberum*, as we have already said, is for a person to be at their own liberty. Thus, free will seems to be when the appetite is carried of its own accord towards that which the understanding or power of knowledge reveals to it. It indeed resides in the will, but it originates in the understanding, for it is necessary that the thing be first judged and esteemed before either avoiding or pursuing it follows.

Augustine often said that it is a faculty of both reason and will. Damascene also said that free will both judges and acts. Judgment belongs to the understanding, but desire belongs to the will. Reason or understanding takes the place of an advisor, while the will desires, undertakes, or refuses.

Therefore, we may thus define free will: It is a certain faculty of the will; which, while it follows the part of knowing, it of its own accord refuses or desires something. When I say faculty, I understand nothing else but power: lest anyone think that I mean here some quality; as though it were a habit added. Although Barnard said that

free will is a free habit of his own mind. Therefore, it is a power of the will, not as will absolutely, as we now discuss it (for we seek happiness, and we cannot do otherwise:) but it is said to be a power of the will, as choice proceeds from it. Those things that we choose, we choose for another thing: not by themselves, but by a certain counsel that went before. For we choose not, except those things that were considered: but it is necessary that this consideration be done by the understanding part. This is the definition of the cause, which, if it will not satisfy, we will bring another: which is from the Master of the Sentences, in the second book of Sentences, the 25th distinction. He says that free will is a power of reason and will, whereby good is chosen when God's grace assists, or evil when his grace ceases.

The Master thought it fitting to add grace, lest he should seem to agree with the Pelagians. But yet for all that, he names no justifying grace, but a preventing grace, which may knock at the mind, and may stir up both: then if we assent to the word of God, there follows regeneration. These things I think sufficient to know the nature of free will. But the objects into which this will is directed must be distinguished. These are of two kinds. Some are of a baser sort, which are subject to the senses and human reason, and they do not exceed our capacity, nor do they need a supernatural light: such as, whether I teach or not; whether I stay or not; whether war is undertaken or not. These things are subject to our senses, and by reason, we may discern them on either side. There are other things higher, of which we cannot even dream: such as, to believe in Jesus Christ, to obey the commandments of God, to trust in him, to love him with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the strength, to be obedient to the law through good impulses and guidance of the Spirit of God. These are very high things, as Paul said; The natural man does not perceive the things of the Spirit of God. Again, "The

things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for those who love him," God has revealed them to us by his Spirit, etc.

This distinction being made, another follows, which pertains to the state and condition of humans. Adam, before he sinned, had his state. Afterward came a miserable corruption, before people were regenerated, while they still lived in utter darkness. The third state is in regeneration itself. The fourth state is after regeneration, when people are born anew and upheld by grace. The fifth is that of the blessed, when they are in the kingdom of heaven. I have no need to dispute about all these states. Regarding the state of the first man, we have few references in the holy scriptures. We only know that God made man righteous and that he fell by his free will. It is unnecessary at this time to discuss the latter state, as it does not serve our purpose much. Therefore, three states remain to be considered: before man is regenerated, how it stands with him in regeneration, and when he is now regenerated. David, when he was given a choice by the prophet Gad, was in that third state: he was now regenerate and had returned into favor. But to clarify the matter further, we must speak of other things.

Now, I say that men not yet regenerated have partly free will concerning those good things subject to the senses, within the capacity of man. Experience teaches that I can stand or sit, go my ways hence or stay still; for this is naturally done in us, as sinews, muscles, and members are moved by thoughts. There are greater motions therein, but in the will or reason, there is a certain power of restraint.

Hypocrites often do this: they also have evil inclinations, but being led by the desire for glory, they suppress them through reason,

judging that they cannot attain the glory of God through common affections. However, this cannot always be done. Therefore, I said that they do not fully have it, because the vehemence of the motions and affections is such that reason cannot always constrain them. It should be noted that these initial thoughts or first assaults are not within our control when they arise and first burst forth; they are stirred up. Nor is reason itself always within our control to restrain. Hence Ambrose (as Augustine often quotes) said, "Our heart is not in our own power." I understand this to mean "always," because sometimes it is in our power. There may be such a great perturbation of fear that those who had resolved to stand firm in battle may flee, as reason cannot suppress them. This happened to the Canaanites under Joshua: when they intended to destroy the Israelites, they could not stand before Joshua because God, according to his promises, struck fear into them. Thus, there is partly liberty in these matters, and partly not. Nor is it the same in every age; for children and fools are more moved like brute beasts than moved by reason.

If it is asked whether, by this partial freedom granted, people can do those things which may agree with the law of God, I say that we can, in a manner of speaking, use that word, but only if it is properly understood, as the scripture speaks. Paul, to the Romans, says, "The Gentiles do by nature those things which pertain to the law." For there is no nation so savage or barbarous that is not touched by some sense of right, justice, and honesty. However, if the law of God is properly and truly understood, in this liberty, people cannot do those things that are in line with the law. Because the law does not only require outward actions, but it chiefly demands good inward motivations, that we should love God with all our heart, soul, and strength. That commandment is the soul and spirit of other precepts. Therefore, whoever obeys other precepts must do so with all their heart, soul, and strength, loving God, and with that mindset,

abstaining from robberies, fornications, and other such things for God's sake, whom they love with all their heart. We might say that, by this liberty, our actions may align with civil and economic laws, which consider outward deeds and are not greatly concerned with the will.

And when Paul says that the law is appointed for the wicked, the ungodly, and murderers, it should not be inferred that we can fulfill the law. For although one might say that the law is not appointed for just men (because they, being regenerate and free from the danger of damnation, have no law to accuse or condemn them, except that they are not yet perfectly regenerated), it cannot be concluded that people, by this liberty we speak of, can fulfill the law. For that law, being so appointed, may have many other purposes than fulfilling it; namely, that people may acknowledge their sins and the weakness of their own strength, see what they ought to have done, be stirred up to better things, and come to Christ. Augustine, in his book "De gratia & libero arbitrio," in the second chapter, seems to teach that our free will consequently follows the very precepts; otherwise, the precepts would be unprofitable. To this, I say that the law, being presented in this way, implies a free will concerning man made in his first state of perfect nature, and likewise concerning regenerate men, that they may obey with an imperfect obedience but not with a perfect one. But what can be concluded from the commandments concerning men not yet born anew? Mans strength and power cannot thereby be proved, but that they have a will may be proved; which, being moved by grace, they shall have some power to obey or perform their duty, since it is not contrary to them to be renewed, being of such a nature that they may be regenerated by God, and at least obey him with an imperfect obedience.



Furthermore, if outward things are considered, there is some liberty, but this is not fulfilling the law, which especially requires the inward motivations that proceed from faith and inspiration of the Spirit of God. Therefore, I grant some kind of liberty in this regard, because experience teaches that it exists; not because I am compelled by that argument to admit that if the law cannot be kept by a free will, magistrates shall punish offenders in vain, and the laws were given in vain. For if this argument were valid, it would conclude that we, while not yet regenerated, also have free will towards supernatural things, since even to those who are not regenerated, God has given laws regarding these things and punishes them if they transgress. I therefore grant that concerning outward things, we partly have this liberty, but I could not be persuaded by these arguments alone unless there were other factors at play. For the magistrate himself, if presented with an open robber or thief who knowingly and willingly commits a wrongful act, will punish them. The magistrate will not then inquire whether they had a free will or were moved by passion in such a way that reason could not resist. And even people not yet regenerated, without faith, hope, and charity, if they were to die, God would punish them; he would not consider whether they could have had these qualities in that state or not. And God himself punished original sin; he does not inquire at our birth whether we may be without it. Augustine, in his book of confessions, says that infants at that age have their vices and sins, for they are tainted with envy. These are sins even though they have no power to resist those impulses, nor do they have the reasoning to do so.

The powers of free will are not to be gathered out of the law and commandments of God. I admit that when something is commanded, free will is involved, since whether we obey or resist, we do so with the will. For we do not assent or dissent with our nostrils, fingers, or other body parts, but with our judgment. However, it is

not thereby proven that we are able to do as much as is commanded of us. Therefore, although I am not convinced by this reasoning to affirm this freedom, I grant the same, being convinced by experience; not every experience, but that which has testimony from the holy scriptures, which do not deceive.

In the first chapter of Romans, it is discussed those who were not renewed, who are said to have known the invisible things of God (meaning the Godhead and eternity) through the created world. This is affirmed by David; "The heavens declare the glory of God," etc. And in the same epistle, it is stated that the Gentiles, who do not have the law, naturally do those things that are contained in the law. And as for actions to be done, they were said to have had knowledge of equity. For "When they should have known the righteousness of God, and that those who do such things are worthy of death, they not only do those things but also approve of those who practice them, and thus are made inexcusable." For they cannot claim ignorance since they knew that they did not even attain to that small thing they were capable of. Nor can they rightly excuse the weakness of their strength, seeing they themselves made a way for it through the sin of Adam, in whom all men sinned. Also, Christ said, "If you love only those who love you, what reward have you?" And no one doubts that generally, good manners are to be praised, and regarding friendship is a righteous thing, for those who betray or harm their friends are despised. Also, in the seventh chapter of Matthew, the Lord says, "If you, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children," etc. Nor do I think it is to be doubted that the natural affection of parents towards their children, wishing well unto them, is good, for those who despise their own children or treat them very cruelly are greatly despised.

Moreover, Paul, when he was still an enemy of God and persecuted the church, excelled in outward justice above many of his peers, as he testifies to the Galatians. And to the Philippians, he shows that he was blameless and faultless according to the righteousness of the law. Also, the histories of the pagans show many instances where Scipio, Pompey, Caesar, Cato, and Cicero spoke, decreed, and executed things beneficial to their countries and public welfare, even though they were strangers to Christ. Thus, it appears, both from the holy scriptures and from the writings of the pagans, that something must be granted to this liberty, although distinctions must be made therein, as it does not seem to be granted equally to all. The differences may be according to bodily temperament, education, country, exercises, and the like.

It is also worth mentioning that these notable acts mentioned in history of the unbelievers happened by some motion and peculiar instinct of God, who desired such examples to be extant so that commonwealths and kingdoms might be preserved. And to prevent everything from descending into chaos, some were adorned with excellent qualities so they could do good to others by keeping them in their duty. Therefore, just as we acknowledge that the spirit of prophesying and other graces are sometimes given by God to wicked men, so likewise, without a justifying grace, God might bestow, in addition to the common influence, some spirits of fortitude, chastity, severity, and the like. This is the free will which I believe should be acknowledged, yet it is accompanied by remarkable weaknesses and limitations. Firstly, in the understanding, there is great darkness and blindness, so that it scarcely understands what is to be done. And in the will, there is great lack of strength to resist lusts. Moreover, since there is a perpetual conflict between the higher and lower parts, it cannot be avoided that men sometimes falter in courage, and those who fight thus cannot avoid wounds, which are often fatal.

Herein lies the infirmity of the body, which is both corrupted and burdensome to the soul, and often the cause of why we cannot accomplish those things which we deemed necessary. For it is true, as Paul said of the regenerate, that "They feel another law in the members, striving against the law of the mind, and leading them captive whither they would not." And also, "If the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, so that they do not do what they would." Again, "If they do not do the good thing they desire, but the evil which they hate, what more grievous things do we think happen in those who are not regenerate?"

Moreover, let us consider the natural end that philosophers have designated, that men should live according to reason and excellent virtue, and let us see how few have achieved it, thereby learning the weakness of man's strength, even in those things which do not exceed the capacity of man's reason. Another necessity to be considered is the one to which men in this state are subject: the necessity of sin. Because whatever they do without the grace of God and faith, it is necessarily sinful, for "They are the children of wrath." And since they do not believe in Christ, the wrath of God remains upon them; therefore, they cannot do any good thing that pleases God, for God regards men more than their gifts. They are evil trees, thus they can bear no fruit except evil. And Paul calls those his Jewish good works not only dung but also loathsome because they were offensive to him. Furthermore, that which is of the flesh cannot be anything but flesh, and it needs no proof that unregenerate men are of the flesh. Indeed, in the book of Genesis, the sixth and eighth chapters declare that the imaginations of men, from their infancy, are evil.

Moreover, the works done by the regenerate lack their proper end because they are not referred to God, so they cannot love God above

all things, which truly means to refer all things to Him. Therefore, all their works are corrupt and thus sinful, as they are without faith. For "Whatever is not of faith is sin." The things commanded by God, if compared to the state we are now discussing, are impossible, although they may be performed by the regenerate through a certain newly begun obedience. Augustine acknowledged this necessity of sinning in his book "On Nature and Grace," Chapter 66, where he wrote, "Of the corruptions of nature, not of the condition of nature, there is a certain necessity of sinning." Therefore, we cry out to the Lord, "From necessities, O Lord, deliver us." And in the same place, Chapter 67, he teaches that certain things done out of necessity are to be disallowed, where a man would do rightly and cannot. But he will have these things not only to be sins but also punishments of sins. And in the second disputation against Fortunatus the Manichee, he wrote that "The first man did not remain in free will, and thereby we fell headlong into necessity." And in the book "On Nature and Grace," Chapter 46, he says, "Not all necessity conflicts with the will, for we would happiness, neither can it be otherwise." Even the God of justice himself has no more will than necessity. The same author, in his third book "On Free Will," Chapter 18, which is also mentioned in the first of his retractions, Chapter 9.

In the book "On Nature and Grace," Chapter 66, Augustine speaks of man not regenerate: He is evil and cannot be good, either because he does not see what is to be done, or if he does see it, he cannot do what he knows he ought to do to be good. And undoubtedly, it is received that it was possible for the first man not to die, just as it was possible for him not to sin. And when we are in the kingdom of heaven, it will come to pass that it shall not be possible for us to sin, and not possible for us to die. The same father also, in his treatise "On the Spirit and the Letter," wrote that since free will is not effective except unto sin, it must relate to the present state of men.

And in the Mileuitane Council, those were condemned who said that the grace of justification is given so that what is required by free will might be more easily performed, as if indeed free will could accomplish this by itself, but somewhat arduously. This necessity is also shown in the Holy Scriptures: "The wisdom or sense of the flesh is enmity against God and is not subject to the law, nor can it be." And in the same chapter: "That which was impossible to the law, inasmuch as it was weak because of the flesh." Therefore, those who are not regenerate are under this necessity of sinning, which must be understood generally, not of particular sins, for it is not necessary that they should rather commit this sin than that. There is also another necessity, which pertains to the providence of God and the predictions of the prophecies. Moreover, this necessity is not absolute but conditional or, as they call it, consequential. I will speak more on this later when I discuss the topic of predestination, but for now, I will touch on it no further.

It is also to be considered that in the variety of men's wills, there is an interchange of affections, so that one overpowers another, and this happens in turns, with the more vehement prevailing. Moreover, there is a distinction in affections, with some being more honest and others less so. In this, the will has some freedom, as sometimes it yields to the one sort and sometimes to the other. Additionally, we must not forget that the will itself, by its nature, is blind and follows nothing other than what is shown by the mind or understanding. Knowledge is also to be divided into senses, reason, or faith, and the will will assent to knowledge according to its vehemence; it is not within its power to be more inclined by one sort than another. Some say that the power of the will is to constrain the mind or reason and that it is inclined to the better sort of reasons and counsels, not allowing itself to be swayed from them. But whether this is a good thing, the will itself does not know, except inasmuch as reason has

taught it. Therefore, I know of no more immediate remedy than to call upon God, that by His spirit, He will make the thoughts and counsel in the will more powerful, those that may pertain more to our salvation and His glory. It is His prerogative to kindle and enlighten the same, so that our will, above all else, may be moved. For we all know that the will rules and commands men's actions, but since it is between knowledge and affections, we debate whether it is within the power thereof, which sort should move it more vehemently.

Undoubtedly, when it is overcome by sins, it becomes the servant of them. For Peter says that "Every man is servant to him of whom he is overcome." And to the Romans, it is written that "We become the servants of him to whomsoever we give ourselves as servants to obey." Again, "Whereas you were the servants of sin, you were freed from righteousness." Christ also said, "If Christ has made you free, then you shall be free." Therefore, it follows that men are falsely termed free when they are not yet regenerate. Besides all these things, there is the tyranny of the devil, which holds men captive before they belong to Christ. For Christ said that "The strong-armed man keeps his house and withholds the spoils captive until there comes one stronger than he, who takes away those things." And in the second epistle to Timothy, the second chapter, it is written that "They who speak against the truth are held captive by Satan at his will." Also, it is a common saying that "The will is like a horse, which at one time has the spirit of God and grace to sit upon it, but at other times the devil," and is sometimes stirred up by him, and sometimes is governed by grace; therefore, its liberty is impaired by its manifold bondage. It is a wonder that since its liberty is so small, especially in this state, it is rather called free than bond. Considering these things, Luther called this *Arbitrium* rather bond than free. If one were in prison, tightly bound with fetters and manacles, could he rightly say

that he is free because he might stir his head and lift up his eyes? Doubtless, our will can freely refuse spiritual gifts while we are in this state; it can also choose things contrary to them, but it cannot claim or desire the good things themselves.

And since it is so feeble, as it can only perform certain outward things, and that of the baser sort; there have been some who in this state attributed to it the merit of congruity; that is to say, that if they should do what lies in them to do, they should, after a sort, deserve grace, although not of condignity (as they speak), yet at the least of congruity. Let these feigned devices go; Grace, if it should be given because of works, then it should be no grace. However, I speak these things in such a way as not to slacken the reins on sins and wickedness: for even they themselves who are not regenerate, if they do not perform those outward things which they can, they shall be far more grievously punished. But if anyone complains that by this means free will is too much weakened, I say it is not so: but while it is debased, as it is indeed, many benefits are gathered thereby. First, that those who shall know these things are not puffed up, nor are they proud of their own strength, but are more earnestly stirred up to desire the help of God when they perceive themselves to be so weak. And when they shall afterward be regenerated, and shall perceive from how many evils they are delivered, they will be more earnestly moved to give thanks to their deliverer. These things the Pelagians did not observe, who thought that before regeneration they might by their own merits deserve grace; and therefore, by exalting themselves more than was fitting, they both undid themselves and disturbed the church.

There might also be added another subjection; namely, that God uses our minds as instruments, for "The heart of the king is in the hand of God; he turns it whichever way he wills." So Nebuchadnezzar, when



he was at the crossroads, stood in doubt about which way he should turn, and perhaps would have attacked the Moabites or Ammonites. He consulted by lots, and God guided them, directing him towards the Jerusalemites, who were to be punished for their deserts, as we have it in Ezekiel. And in other prophets, it is said that these monarchs are in the hand of God, like an axe and wood. But because this use of God does not bring strength into our minds, therefore a liberty, such as it is, towards these things which we now speak of, is not utterly taken away. Therefore I grant it, and I have confirmed the same out of the holy scriptures. Wherefore the knowledge moral, civil, and economical stands and remains firm for all men. Nevertheless, to some, I may seem to be deceived herein: because I have said that the name of Free Will is not found in the Latin translation of the divine scriptures, nor the Greek word "ἐκούσιον". Certainly, I did not say this of the thing, but of the words; and what I said then, I affirm again. But that "ἐκούσιον", or "liberum arbitrium" is not found in the holy scriptures, I did not say. Yet, if it be asked whether these words are all one, I answer that they do not seem to be.

And undoubtedly Damascene, in the second book, when he discusses free will and other things within us, mentions "βούλησις," but he defines "βούλησις" where he discusses "προαίρεσις," [of will]. I will add the reason why they differ, because "βούλησις" belongs to the general word of quality; for it is an affect and property of the will: but "προαίρεσις" is an action. And how quality and action differ in themselves, all men know. That "προαίρεσις" is an action, the same author shows in defining it. He says, that "προαίρεσις" is "προαίρεσις;" that is, Two things being proposed to choose, and prefer the one before the other. Furthermore, the same author, where he speaks of the will of the Lord, says that the word "βούλησις", that is, will, agrees with that, which undoubtedly is

"αὐτεξούσιον", that is, self-power, and not "προαίρεσις", that is, free election. For that requires consultation, which signifies a former ignorance, and that cannot be ascribed unto God. Furthermore, as we have it in Aristotle, the third book of his Ethics, the word "προαίρεσις", is occupied about the end; but "βούλησις" about those things, which belong unto the end. Besides this, to "προαίρεσις" belong those things which can be done by us: but the will pertains to those things, which cannot be done by us; as when we would one wrestler to overcome another, and a ship to hold its right course. These things are in our power to will, but not to choose: for the will of its own accord and power would sometimes will things impossible, such as not to die. But election is occupied only about things that are possible: wherefore they differ, so that "προαίρεσις" extends more largely; seeing it not only agrees with "βούλησις", but also with "αὐτεξούσιον": yet it is not the general word of them.

But if you will say that from "βούλησις" is inferred "προαίρεσις": I will grant it, although the words do not signify one thing. And I confess that the thing itself is found in the holy scriptures, although the word is not there extant: just as "προαίρεσις", concerning the word itself, is not in holy scriptures; although the thing itself is there concluded and proved. Since these words are not indeed all one, I might rightly say that the one is not in the holy scriptures, though the other is found there. Nor have I alone affirmed this, but Oecolampadius (a learned man, and very friendly to our church of Zurich) wrote this upon the prophet Isaiah, when he discusses these words; "If ye be willing, and do hearken unto me, &c." For he says; This place the Pelagians, and many also of the fathers, abuse for affirming free will, saying; "If ye be willing, and if ye be not willing; Therefore our choice is free." And to this purpose they draw a testimony out of Jeremiah, the 21st chapter; "Behold, I lay before you the way of life and death." So it is also in the 15th chapter of

Ecclesiasticus, and in the 30th of Deuteronomy. To which we answer: Truly, if the contention is about the name, to say that Voluntas, that is, will; and Liberum arbitrium, free choice; or "αὐτεξούσιον", self-power (which name I have not yet found in the scriptures) is all one; since the church's manner is not to contend, we permit them to use those names: since charity is more precious to us than little words. For who does not know that the willing sort both sin and do well? But if, under the pretence hereof, the glory and mercy of God are derogated, it is better to speak contrary to men than to be made partakers of blasphemy, etc.

And a little after: However, they are not (as I have said) to be lamented for this cause, as though they were kept in barbarous servitude; for God makes good men to be partakers of his freedom, and They are truly free when the Spirit of God works in them, who is more rightly said to further than to take away the will: whose worthiness the apostle commending, says; Whoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For, the better our works, the more purely they proceed from God. And in good things, not the least thought or endeavor comes elsewhere but from God. And straight after; To God is the glory, to us is only confusion due. But shall you not most truly say that those are servants, who being destitute of the Spirit of God, which intervenes, that they should not fall, are carried headlong by their own fault, whithersoever their sensuality leads them? O miserable freedom, that we have liberty to sin! For God leaves us the power to sin, and such, that by nature we can turn ourselves from him. And by and by after; Why do we boast of the freedom of will, whom the scripture reproveth to be servants of sin? In John 8; Whoever commits sin is the servant of sin.

And there a little after: Wherefore, even he that says; If you are willing, he it is that stirs the will in us, and works: and whatever it is,

It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy. And a little after: For such are we in our own nature, after that Adam sinned; as being left unto ourselves, we grow slothful, and become deaf to the voice of the Lord, we fall into sin: and whereas, not to will, is by itself a damnable thing; we being destitute of the Spirit of God, are compelled, and there also make God to be angry, whose word we contemn. The demonstration of this sentence is also taught by Jeremiah, in the 15th chapter; Be converted, and I will turn, etc. And a little after this Augustine judged, saying; Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt, etc. By these words we gather that we are not to contend for the word, and that Free Will, or free choice may be granted; so it be the same thing as will, so that there is not attributed to it a freedom unto spiritual things. We also account will not to be free, except it be by grace; otherwise, that it is a bound will. It is also assured, which I have set down, that these words Free Will, and αὐτεξούσιον, are not found in the holy books.

That αὐτεξούσιον is had and taught among the philosophers, I did not deny: but I said, that they place in our mind the understanding and will, and perhaps the memory. Not that they place Free Will, as a fourth or fifth power of the mind; but they attribute αὐτεξούσιον unto the will. But whether these two words Free and Will, are Latin words, I never called it into question: but a compound word of these two Liberum, arbitrium, I said is not extant in Cicero. And the same thing I now confirm. And I might further add, that it was not used by Caesar, nor by Terence, nor by the men of that age. And thus much shall suffice for a defense of those things, which I spoke in the beginning [of this place.] Now I come to the matter, and I search, as concerning a will not yet regenerate, how it is towards divine and celestial things. All men admit that those things cannot by themselves either be understood or desired by those who are not regenerate. And they affirm that it is needful that the Spirit of God,

through the word, be present, admonish, exhort, and persuade. For, as the sense cannot apprehend universal things; so our mind, while it is corrupted, cannot attain unto supernatural things.

But whether it suffices to have them suggested unto us by the Spirit of God, the word, and the promises, some affirm it is. I deny it. For unless these powers are amended, we cannot by any means understand and embrace divine and celestial things. Neither is it in our power that those things, which are set before us, should please. Wherefore it is necessary that certain things should be set forth unto us by a strength, efficacy, and power, so that the understanding may be thoroughly enlightened, and the will strengthened, that it yield not unto naughty desires and drawings aside, whereby it is called away from spiritual things. Which being done, it consents unto the words and promises of God, whereupon follows justification, towards which assent it deals actually, and itself wills and consents unto those things which are laid before it. But towards that power of God, vehemency, and efficacy, whereby it is healed and changed, [it deals] passively: for it receives these things, and by Him they are in it. Neither should this seem an absurd thing, for the scriptures say that we are drawn: which denotes a certain passion and disposition. It is also said that God stands at the door and knocks. Wherefore those knockings and motions are received in the mind.

However, for all that, we do not make hereby a sect of believing Enthusiasts. For the Enthusiasts are reprov'd, who say that they suffer I know not what inspirations and instigations unto things evil and forbidden, being repugnant to the word of God. But we appoint such an efficacy of God as may incline minds unto the promises and sayings of God, and may stand together with the word of God: although in many, there is made only a lightening, or an imitation and suggestion without a change, seeing that efficacy and vehemency

of spirit is not given unto all men, neither can all men be made capable of heavenly gifts, which God himself dispenses, distributes, and tempers as it shall seem good to him. Whereupon there arise two kinds of callings: for one is common; but the other is according to the determinate purpose [of God], whereof we will speak at large when the place serves. And those whom God endues with his gift and strength, he (as it has been said) constrains not, nor uses violently; so as he should corrupt his will or choice, called Arbitrium; but rather makes it perfect: even as a form adorns and accomplishes the matter, but destroys it not.

This power of God in our conversion, Huldricus Zwingli (a godly and learned man, and who deserves well of the church) has noted upon the epistle unto the Romans, expounding these words; "It is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believes." And he says: "For when we could by no means be saved by our own power and strength, it was needful to be saved by the power of God. This power he gave unto us by Christ, who restored unto life all men that were dead in Adam." This place takes away the freedom of the will and the power of man's strength, etc. Which saying I understand as touching supernatural things, which exceed our capacity. The same Zwingli, in his book *De vera & falsa religione*, in the chapter *De Deo*, thus writes: "But the faithful (for so do they commonly use to call the believers, or godly, or true worshippers of God) in this one thing be faithful; for that they believe one true, only, and omnipotent God, and him only do trust. Moreover, how it happens that the godly do in this wise judge of God, and do not after the manner of the Gentiles ascribe every unknown power unto God, it is easy for a godly man to show. It is done, both by the power and grace of him, in whom a man believes. For, as touching the disposition and nature of man, so far forth as he is a natural man, the godly differ nothing from the ungodly. Therefore, in the error concerning gods, that might happen

to every man, which happens to this or that man; unless there were a more certain noble power, which should call unto itself, and fast bind unto it man's mind, which in nature differs nothing from them that do err most of all. And here do the first veins of faith and godliness open themselves."

And certainly, we must understand that the Pelagians seemed, after a sort, to grant the grace of God, and they confessed those suggestions of the Holy Ghost, illuminations, and such like; but this gift and efficacy of the Spirit, changing our minds, they neither acknowledged nor attained unto. This Augustine reproves in his treatise of the grace of Christ against Pelagius and Coelestinus, in the seventh chapter, saying, "But behold what he has added unto us, we being doubtful in this expectation. For God (says he) aids us by his doctrine and revelation, while he opens the eyes of our heart, while he shows us of things to come, that we should not be held of things present, while he lays open the sleights of the devil, while he enlightens us with the manifold and unspeakable gift of the heavenly grace." Afterward, finishing his sentence as it were with a certain conclusion, "He that says thus (says he) does he seem unto she to deny grace? Or whether does he confess the free will of man, and the grace of God?" Further, in the eighth chapter, Augustine says, "Hereby, therefore, it plainly appears that he confesses this grace, whereby God shows and reveals what we ought to do; not whereby he gives and aids us to do, seeing the knowledge of the law is rather a help unto this: if the help of grace be wanting, by means whereof comes a breach of the commandment, etc."

Moreover, in the tenth chapter, Pelagius is brought in, speaking thus, "He works in us to will that which is good, to will that which is holy, while, by the greatness of the glory to come, and promise of rewards, he kindles us which be given to earthly lusts, loving (after the

manner of brute beasts) those things only which be present unto us; while by the revelation of wisdom he stirs up our amazed will to the love of God; while he persuades us to all things that are good: which thing thou fears not elsewhere to deny, etc." But in the same tenth chapter, Augustine refutes him in these words, "Yet we do not principally desire that outward, but this inward grace, he must needs at length confess, whereby the greatness of the glory to come is not only promised, but also believed and hoped for; and is not only revealed in wisdom, but is also even loved; and whereby every good thing is not only suggested, but also thoroughly persuaded: for all men have not faith." The same Augustine, in his book of grace and free will, the sixteenth chapter, "For it is certain that we do keep the commandments if we will; but because the will is prepared by the Lord, we must make petition unto him, that we may will so much as is sufficient, and in willing we may do it."

Certainly, it is that we will when we be willing; but he it is that causes us to will that which is good. Of whom it is said, which a little before I affirmed, that the will is prepared by the Lord. Of whom it is said, "His steps shall be directed by the Lord, and he shall order his way." Of whom it is said, "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do." Certainly, it is that when we do, we do it; but he causes that we do, by giving most effectual strength to the will. Who said, "I will cause that ye shall walk in my commandments, etc." The same Augustine, against the two epistles of Pelagius to Boniface, the third book, the ninth chapter, "What is it then (says he) that they conclude, where they rehearse those things, which themselves hold? They say that they confess that grace also helps every good purpose, but yet that it does not put an endeavour of virtue into him that resists, etc." This also would Augustine have caused the Pelagians to grant, that God puts an endeavour of good things, even into them that resist: the which cannot be done, unless our mind be converted, and that of an



evil and corrupted will it become good. This is that change which the Holy Ghost works in us. Hereby are we mollified when we be hard and stubborn. The same father said that when God hardens, it is nothing else but that he will not mollify: because, unless it be done by him that we be mollified, we continue still in our hardness.

The Holy Ghost brings it to pass that we are made ready scholars of God when of ourselves we are incapable of divine things. Solomon, as we have it in the third book of the Kings, the third chapter, desired of God an understanding heart, or such a heart as would easily be taught. This is it which is said in the Gospels, that we be taught of God, which thing was promised by the prophets. God is the true master who not only instructs and teaches but also brings to pass that we do learn; but that are not outward masters able to do; for God gives ears to hear, eyes to see, and a heart to understand. Wherefore, Christ in the Gospel said, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Unless this be done in us, we seeing shall not see, nor hearing shall not hear; neither shall we perceive with the heart. It is written in Deuteronomy, the 29th chapter, "He hath not given you eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor a heart to perceive; namely, those things which in the wilderness God did among you, and the words which he spoke." And why this ought to be done in us, the excellency of divine things do declare unto us. For as the apostle Paul says, "The eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Wherefore it is written in the 1st to the Corinthians, "The natural man perceives not the things which be of the spirit of God, neither can he [know them,] for they be foolishness unto him." The reason is afterward added why a natural man cannot understand or desire these things: because they be spiritual things. And if they be spiritual things, they are only judged by the spirit.

And in the second epistle to the Corinthians, he says that we are not sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves because our sufficiency is of God. But if so be we cannot so much as think of those things, how shall we be able to understand or desire them; which is a far greater and more difficult matter than to think? Wherefore, if the Spirit of God shall propound unto us, either the law, or the promises, or the words of the Holy Scripture, and that no change comes; we will not be moved: because we are neither sufficient nor apt unto those things. It behooves that a conversion go before, which may be called a certain disposition. The same do the Papists attribute unto human strength and unto our power; as though we can dispose it unto grace and unto faith. However, this must be utterly ascribed unto the Spirit of God, not unto man's strength and will; as we have declared. Also it might rightly be called the health of the mind: of which healing, Augustine, in his book *De spiritu & litera*, has oftentimes made mention. As touching sins, we first of all affirm that the nature of man is corrupted and defiled. Further, we perceive that evil acts do break out. So on the other side we must affirm that there is first some healing of the mind that goes before; afterward, that there follows a consent of faith, a confidence and love towards God, and an embracing of his word.

But if such a conversion or medicine have not gone before, we will fly from God. This was very well showed in Adam, the first man, as in a certain type or figure; who, when he was fallen after the breach of God's commandment, into corruption and spiritual death, he hiding himself fled from God. And the apostle Paul, although he had heard and read many things in the prophets concerning Christ, yet nevertheless was he turned from him and made havoc of the church: because (as he himself said unto the Romans) "The wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God, and is not subject to the law of God, neither yet can it be." And because it is manifest that this is the gift of

God, hereof are the prayers of the saints, who say, "Lighten mine eyes, lest they see vanity: Give me understanding, that I may learn or know thy commandments." And Paul unto the Ephesians prayed God "To lighten the eyes of their understanding, that they might know what was the hope of their calling." And as touching the will, David prayed, "Incline mine heart unto thy testimonies." Again, "A clean heart create in me, O God." And Solomon his son prayed God, that he would give unto the people an understanding heart. Seeing therefore that the saints do pray on this wise, what do they crave? What do they pray for? That God will show his word, or that his spirit may knock; howbeit, this he doth by himself, and that always: as these men say. But if they have it in their own power, why do they pray? Let them themselves do it, seeing they have it in their own power.

Nevertheless, since prayer is made rightly of the saints, it is a token unto us that this is required of God, to the intent he may change our hearts. This argument did Augustine diverse times use. Wherefore, in his book *De libero arbitrio*, the 14th chapter, thus he writes: "For if faith proceeds only of a free will, and is not given of God; to what purpose do we pray for them, which will not believe, that they may believe? Which we should do altogether in vain, unless we did very rightly believe, that wills also, which be perverse and contrary unto faith, may be turned of the omnipotent God to believe. No doubt, but the free will of man is egged forward, when it is said; 'This day, if ye hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' But unless that God could also take awake the hardness of the heart, he would not say by the prophet; 'I will take from them their stony heart, and give them a fleshy heart.'" The same father, against the two epistles of Pelagius unto Boniface, the first book, and 19th chapter: "For to what purpose hath the Lord commanded us to pray for them which persecute us? Do we desire this, to the intent the grace of God may be recompensed

to them for their good will; or not rather, that their evil will may be turned unto good? Even as we believe, that Saul was not then in vain prayed for by the saints, whom he persecuted; that his will might be turned unto the faith which he destroyed, and that his conversion came from above, it appeared by a manifest oracle? How many enemies of Christ are daily upon the sudden, by the secret grace of God, drawn unto Christ?"

And in the same place, in the 20th chapter, he declares how true it is that God converts and changes the wills of men, and says; "This is true, we gather it not by the conjecture of man, but we discern it by most evident authority of the scriptures. It is read in the book of the Chronicles; 'And verily the hand of God was in Judah, that he might give them one heart, to do the commandment of the king and princes, according to the word of the Lord.' Also the Lord says by the prophet Ezekiel; 'I will give them another heart, and a new spirit will I give them; and I will pull out of their flesh their stony heart, and I will give them a fleshy heart, that they may walk in my commandments, and keep my judgments to do them.' Now what is it that Hester that Queen prays, and says? 'Give me an eloquent speech, and make my words clear before the lion, and turn his heart unto the hatred of them that be our enemies.' And to what end does she speak these words in her prayer unto God, if God do not work the will in the hearts of men? And so undoubtedly it came to pass as she prayed: for that king, as a fierce bull, at the first sight beheld her, and his cruelty was turned into lenity. Finally, a place in the Acts of the apostles, the 16th chapter must be weighed, as touching Lydia, the woman which sold purple, whose heart God opened that she might give ear unto those things which were spoken by Paul. Many doubtless were present, but it was particularly said to that woman, that God opened her heart."

Which place Conradus Pellicanus (a very learned and holy man) being my predecessor, thus expounds it: "And this repentance comes not of nature, but of grace, whose heart (says he) the Lord opened, that she might understand those things which were said by Paul. For in the Gospel none may trust to his own strength, but in the gift of God, not in our own presumption. Wherefore let us, hearing the promises of the Gospel, mistrust the strength of our flesh; and let us desire God, that he will open our hearts, that he will give the gift of the Holy Ghost, to believe with the heart, and to fulfill indeed that which we hear should be done; which thing we read came to pass in this woman that sold purple. And the history of Samuel, the first book, the tenth chapter, teaches it, where it is written; that They whose heart God had touched followed king Saul. And hereunto belong those things, which Ezekiel spoke; that He would take away the stony heart; and would give a fleshy heart. Unto the Philippians also, Paul taught; that It is God which works in us, both to will and to perform, and that not at our, but at his good pleasure. And unto the Ephesians it is written; that We by grace are saved, through faith, and that not of ourselves."

By which word, our working together; namely, that which is active, is removed: indeed, not as touching the consent of faith, but as touching that change by grace, of which we now speak. And it is added, that "It is the gift of God." And in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, it is written; "All men have not faith," because that healing or medicine of the spirit is not given to all men: whereupon it comes, that all men consent not to the promises of God. Again; "Who believe according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, raising him from the dead." By which words is showed, that it is one and the self-same power, whereby our will is changed and converted to believe, and whereby Christ is raised up

from the dead. And Pellicanus, expounding this place, says: "And in such sort does God and our father declare his power and goodness in us; because he, by a certain secret and unspeakable power, has so transformed us from the old institution, as setting all other things aside, we put our trust in him alone; and contemning those things which we see, do hope for of him, those things which we see not, etc." These things agree with those, which be written by the same apostle, in the same epistle, the second chapter; "that When we were dead in our sins, God quickened us together in Christ."

Wherefore, even as a dead man is able to do nothing towards his own raising up or resurrection, so we also do not rise again, although the words of God call unto us aloud, unless the spirit and life be first restored unto us; then do we move and stir up to well-doing. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians it is written; "For who separates you? And what have you, that you have not received? And if you have received, why do you glory, as though you had not received?" If we should appoint, that free will can receive the promises offered, and can consent to the sayings of God propounded, the answer will be easy for any man to say; "He has severally appointed unto me my free will above others, because I would, they would not; I have consented, they have refused: wherefore the difference would appear to be of us." And when Paul says; "You have nothing that you have not received," he means not that of creation, but of faith, of Christianity, and regeneration. For he dealt with the Corinthians themselves, who professed Christianity.

Further, seeing this healing of the mind depends on God, we rightly pray; "Heal me Lord, and I shall be whole." And in the Psalms; "Turn us, O God of strength." Which thing when God does, he takes the veil from our hearts, whereby we were let, that we could not be meet for heavenly things. And the nail of obstinacy and stubbornness is

driven out, by the nail of the word of God: for Christ said; "No man cometh unto me, except my Father shall draw him." Whereof Augustine speaking in his 26th treatise upon John, says: "Fear not, as though thou shouldst be drawn against thy will; the mind is drawn, and is drawn with love, neither shalt thou say; How do I believe willingly, if I be drawn? Thou art not only drawn by will, but also by pleasure. For as the Poet said; 'Every man's own pleasure draweth him.' And he adds similitudes: "Thou showest to a little sheep a green bough, & thou drawest him. Thou showest nuts to a child, and thou drawest him. We are not drawn by the hurt of the body, but by the cord of the heart." Further, making this drawing more plain, he says; "I, while I speak unto you, what do I? I bring in a noise into your ears, unless there be one within to reveal, what speak I? What say I? I am he that trimmeth the tree without; the Creator is within. But he that planteth, and he that watereth is nothing: it is he himself that giveth the increase, and maketh all men apt to learn." All which men? "They which have heard and learned of the Father, they do come unto Christ." He, entreating of the very same matter, against two epistles of the Pelagians, the 19th chapter, writes: "Who is drawn, if he was already willing? And yet no man cometh, except he be willing. Wherefore he is by marvelous means drawn to be willing by him, which knoweth how to work inwardly, even in the very hearts of men: not that men should believe against their wills, which is impossible to be done; but that of unwilling they should be made willing."

I know that some are of the mind that all men are drawn by God; and that some do not come because they will not, not because they are not drawn. However, this exposition does not agree with the discourse of the Gospel: for some disregarded the words of Christ, murmured, and went their ways. But the twelve stuck with Christ, who seems to give the reason for this difference; namely, that none

should come unto him unless the Father shall draw him. Of this sentence, it may be proved; They depart and come not unto Christ; Therefore they are not drawn. The apostles stick unto Christ and follow him; Therefore they are drawn. So then these are drawn, and those are not drawn. And the cause why one is drawn, and another is not drawn; judge not thou, said Augustine, if thou wilt not err. More might yet be said of this drawing, but I cease. I come unto Paul, and to the prophet Isaiah; who in such sort compare us with God, as he is the potter, but we the clay. Which must not only be understood of our creation, but also of our forming anew: for so Paul unto the Romans uses the same similitude. And it must be diligently considered, that a potter does not only form and fashion the clay, but does also soften, renew, and temper it; which thing belongs unto that change, whereof we now speak.

It is also said unto the Romans; "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy." In which words Paul testifies that our salvation is wholly of him; and that we ought not to contend with him as touching the bounds: as to say, This is mine, and this is his; but we must sincerely and truly confess that all our salvation, however much it be, is of God. And this did Oecolampadius (a singular man in godliness and learning) note in 26, chapter of Isaiah, the 156th leaf. But we must not thus imagine that God prospers the business and yet does nothing: for even this he a little after proves to be false, yielding unto God all our works. Neither do we give only false titles unto him, as some flatterers do unto kings; because, through the authority of kings, many thousands are slain in battle, when as they themselves nevertheless are occupied in the meantime in games and huntings. Augustine, in his treatise De bone perseverance, the second chapter, says; that "We live well, when we attribute all unto God." And Cyprian (as he is alleged by Augustine) said; that "Of us there is nothing, and that



therefore we may not glory." This he spoke not alone for Christian modesty's sake, but because of the truth, for that so the thing is.

And if the exposition were true, which some men make of those words; "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercy," that it is therefore so said, because our will and strength are not sufficient, unless the mercy of God be present: the sentence might be inverted, so that we might say; that it is not in God, that hath mercy, but in man that willeth. Because, according to the judgment of these men, the mercy of God is not sufficient, unless that we also be willing. But this wrong turning he thinks ought not to be suffered, as he teaches in his Enchiridion unto Laurence, the 22nd chapter; but more largely in the first book to Simplicianus, in the second question, where he writes after this manner: "Those words also if thou diligently mark; Therefore, it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercy, the apostle shall not seem only for this cause to have spoken this, because we may by the help of God attain to that, which we would: but also in that sense, wherein he saith in another place; Work ye your own salvation with trembling and fear: for it is God which worketh in us, both to will and to work, according to his good pleasure." Where he sufficiently shows that even that same good will itself is done in us by the work of God. For if therefore only it be said; "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercy;" because the will of man alone suffices not unto us, to live justly and rightly, unless we be helped by the mercy of God, it may also be said after this manner: "Therefore it is not in God that hath mercy, but in man that willeth, because the mercy of God is not alone sufficient, unless the consent of our will be added." Yet this is manifest, that we will in vain, unless God takes mercy of us.

But I know not how this can be, that God takes mercy in vain; unless we are willing: for if God takes mercy, we also are willing, since our willingness belongs to the same mercy. And it is God who works in us both to will and to work, according to his good will. For if we ask whether a good will is the gift of God, it would be a wonder if any man dared to deny it, etc. And in the same question to Simplicianus, he writes the same thing. But if this calling is such an effectual worker of a good will that everyone being called follows it, how shall this be true; "Many are called, but few are chosen"? Which if it be true, and if he who is called does not consequently obey his calling; and obedience is put in his will, it may rightly also be said: Therefore it is not in God who has mercy, but in man who wills and runs, because the mercy of the caller is not sufficient unless obedience follows. But perhaps those who are called in this manner do not consent, yet being called in another manner may consent: so that saying also is true; "Many are called, but few are chosen." So that, although many are called in one manner, yet because all are not affected in the same way, only those who are found fit can follow their calling.

And to others, doubtless, the calling came, but because it was such that they could not be moved to become apt to accept it, they might indeed be said to be called, but not chosen. But this is not likewise true now; Therefore it is not in God who shows mercy, but it is in man who wills and runs: because the effect of the mercy of God cannot be in the power of man if he takes mercy in vain, being unwilling. For if God would also take mercy of them, he might call them in such a way that would be suitable for them, so that they might be moved, understand, and follow. Therefore it is true that Many are called, but few are chosen. For those chosen were called fittingly for the purpose, but those who were not fit, nor prepared for their calling, were not chosen because they did not follow, although

they were called. Again, it is true that It is neither in him who wills, nor in him who runs, but in God who has mercy; because although he calls many, he takes mercy only on those whom he calls in a way that is suitable for them to follow. But it is false if anyone says: Therefore It is not in God who takes mercy, but in man who wills and runs: because God does not take mercy upon any in vain. And of whom he has mercy, he calls in such a way that he knows it is agreeable to him, that he should not refuse the caller.

Here some will say, "Why was not Esau so called, as he would obey? For we see that men are somehow moved to believe those things which are shown or signified." For example: Simeon believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, even as a young infant, knowing him by the spirit revealing unto him. Nathaniel, upon hearing one sentence about him; "Before Philip called thee, when thou wast under the tree, I saw thee," answered; "Master, thou art the son of God, thou art the King of Israel." Because of this confession, Peter deserved to hear that he was blessed, and that he would be given the keys of the kingdom of heaven. At the miracle in Cana of Galilee, which John the evangelist mentions as the beginning of the signs Jesus did, when he turned water into wine, his disciples believed in him. Christ, by speaking, stirred up many to faith. Many did not believe, even when the dead were raised up. The disciples, terrified by the death and cross of Christ, wavered; yet the thief believed when he saw him, not superior in works, but equal in the fellowship of the cross. One of the disciples, after his resurrection, gave credit not so much to the living members as to the fresh wounds. Many who had previously scorned him, believing that he did miracles, believed the disciples who preached him and did such things in his name.

Since one man is moved in one way to faith, and another in another way; and often the same thing spoken one way moves, and spoken

another way does not move, who can say that GOD lacked the manner of calling by which Esau also might apply his mind and join his will to the faith in which Jacob was justified? But if there can also be such great obstinacy of the will that the turning away of the mind should be hardened against all the ways of calling, it is also asked whether that same hardness itself is from the punishment of God? For when God forsakes man by not calling in such a way, how can he be moved to faith? Who will say that the omnipotent God lacked a means by which man also could be persuaded to believe, etc.? Now it is apparent what Augustine thought regarding that place; "It is neither in him who wills, nor in him who runs," etc. After these things, I refer myself to what Paul wrote; "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." But if the spirit, being sent forth by God unto men, makes them cry; it also makes them believe, and thereby makes them live well also. For when it was said by the prophet; "I will take from them that stony heart, and will give them a fleshy heart," it is added; "And I will give my spirit among them, and will cause them to walk in my commandments," etc. Also, to the Romans it is written; "As many as are led by the spirit of God, those are the sons of God."

It is to be noted that the saints are sometimes passively subject to certain motions of the Holy Ghost. And if it is granted of some that our will is sometimes only passively subject, when troubles and griefs greatly urge us, expecting nothing else but death; for the soul is then sustained by God, lest it should faint: what is there to prevent us from also being passively subject to this change, of which we now speak? Therefore I say the will is the subject of both conversions, as well of healing as of faith; but as for the first, it only concurs passively, and as for the other [both passively] and actively, because we believe willingly. In the first, the spirit works alone, but in the other, it works together with us. To the Galatians it is written; "But

when it seemed good unto him, who had separated me from my mother's womb:" But it is not said; "When it seemed good unto me." And to the Romans; "God distributed to everyone the measure of faith." And of free gifts it is written; "that Those the spirit of God distributes to everyone as he will." And he is no less the Lord of regeneration and the GOD of our faith than he is of free gifts: and therefore he distributes both kinds as it pleases him. In the epistle to the Philippians, we read; "that To them it was given not only to believe but to suffer for Christ." And in the 2nd epistle to Timothy it is written; "For God hath not given to us the spirit of fear, but of power, of love, and of sobriety." Christ also said to the apostles; "that To others, unto whom he spoke in parables, it was not given that they should understand; but unto them that were his apostles it was given." And very many other testimonies of the holy scriptures might be alleged for this matter, however, I will be contented with these: but if there be any who will not believe these very many [alleged,] neither will they give credit unto more.

But many say, "If this is the case, then shall we be as stocks and stones, which are moved by God." The matter does not stand thus, because both stocks and stones, while they are moved, neither perceive nor understand, nor will. Furthermore, if in anything we are moved passively, as stocks and stones are, yet we should not be so called: although in this change, of which we now speak, we are not moved violently, as stones and stocks, but by a motion suitable to our end and perfection. However, their objection against us is not well concluded: for it is an argument in the second figure of affirmative propositions: as if we should say; Stones and stocks are moved passively; Men in this change or conversion are moved passively. Therefore, they are stones and stocks. Again; we say; Stones and stocks are bodies, they are also substances; Likewise, men are bodies and substances; Therefore they are stones and stocks. Everyone can

see that the conclusions are not valid, and belong to the second figure of affirmatives. Yet nevertheless, from our assertion, which we defend concerning the change in God, or the healing of the mind, before we can either believe, or hope, or expect celestial things; it does not follow that we support Swenkfeldius: for he seems to put faith before the word of God, but we do not. Because we affirm that the word of God is as much an outward as an inward instrument of the Holy Ghost, with which he may persuade and show what things are to be believed and done, and may declare and utter his efficacy in changing us. For we know that "Faith comes from hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ." Paul says, "How can they believe in him of whom they have not heard?" And elsewhere it is written, "Lord, who has believed our report?" Furthermore, Swenkfeldius seems to appoint the outward word to be a certain exercise of faithful men and rejects the ministry. Which opinion we detest; for we affirm that both the outward word and the inward are instruments of the Holy Ghost: neither do we doubt that the word, especially by nature, precedes faith, since it is its subject.

Wherefore we determine that the will or choice, before regeneration, can do nothing by itself concerning divine and spiritual things, but that the Spirit of God is necessary because it proposes and teaches: neither is it anything unless it brings about a change of the mind. The Pelagians said that the grace of God is required, but only for this purpose, that we may more easily believe and do well. The School-Divines, because they wanted to differ from them, have affirmed a preventing grace: but we ask, what kind of grace is that? And we say that it is not enough to answer that thereby the words of God and his promises are proposed to us, either inwardly or outwardly: but that there should be applied a change or conversion, and that it should not be left to our will or choice to follow or cleave to the promises. Augustine reminds us that under the praises of nature, the enemies

of grace lie hidden. Therefore, now that we have thus determined, two kinds of callings appear, one common, another effectual. Which distinction I first prove from the holy scriptures. Paul says, "Whom he called, those he also justified." Therefore, it is a kind of calling to which justification is joined: for that is Paul's chain; namely, to have the links fast knit together. On the other hand, it is said by Christ, "Many are called, but few chosen:" now here is calling spoken of, to which justification does not follow.

Moreover, there is a certain calling, which by Paul is specially called "According to the purpose [of God]," which is shown to differ from the other common calling. Wherefore it is proved by the holy scriptures, that there is a difference of callings. This Augustine confirms. First, against two epistles of the Pelagians, the 19th chapter, where he writes: "For all that are called, are not called according to the purpose; For many are called, few are chosen." They, therefore, are called according to the purpose, who were chosen before the world was made. And of this matter, the same Augustine to Simplicianus, at the end of the first book: "Wherefore it remains that wills be chosen; but the will itself, unless something happens, which may delight and allure the mind, cannot by any means be moved. But that this should happen, it is not in the power of man. What else willed Saul, but to invade, to draw, to bind, and slay the Christians? How raging was his will? How furious? How blind was it? And yet he was with one voice from above overthrown. Doubtless, such a vision happened unto him, as thereby cruelty being taken away, that mind and will was wrested and corrected unto faith. Suddenly, of a wonderful persecutor of the Gospel, he became a more wonderful preacher [of the same.]" So then it is manifest, that the calling is of two sorts, one common, and another according to the purpose: to the understanding whereof we must know, that this purpose is nothing else but a sure, firm, and constant decree of God,

wherein he foreknew, and appointed those, which he would join together, justify, and bless in Christ.

The calling, which unto this purpose is confirmed, is effectual, and changes men through the word of God, by the help of the Holy Ghost. But the other is common, whereby are offered the promises of God, through the word either outward or inward; but not with such efficacy, as thereby the minds can be healed. This distinction did Augustine very well know, who against Julian the Pelagian, in the fifth book the third chapter, writes after this manner: "Not all men, which are called, are called according to the purpose; For many are called, but few are chosen." Wherefore, elsewhere also he says; "According to the power of God, who has saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given to us in Christ Jesus, before the beginning of the world." The same Augustine, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, the 16th chapter: "For many, who are predestinate, God calls his sons, that he may make them the members of his only predestinated son, not with that calling, whereby they were called who would not come to the marriage; since by that calling, both the Jews were called; Unto whom Christ crucified is a stumbling block, and the Gentiles also, unto whom Christ crucified is foolishness. But he calls the predestinate by that calling, which the apostle distinguished, saying; that He preached Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God unto them which are called, both of the Jews and Greeks."

For so he says in these words; "Unto them which are called," that he might note them which were not called; knowing that there is a sure manner of calling of them, which are called according to the purpose, whom he foreknew and predestinated to be made like to the image of his son. Which calling he signifying said; "Not by works, but by him



that calleth it was said unto her: The elder shall serve the younger." He says; "Not by works, but by believing." Also, he utterly took this from man, that he might yield the whole unto God. Therefore he said; "But by him that calleth," not by every kind of calling, but through that calling whereby man is made a believer. This also had he a respect unto when he said; "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." The same father, in his Treatise De spiritu & litera, the 34th chapter, mentions another difference of these callings, that the one counsels, and the other thoroughly persuades. And he says; "Now if any shall press us to search that deepness, why one is so counseled, as he becomes thoroughly persuaded; and another not so: two things in the meantime I call to remembrance, which I think good to answer; O the deepness of the riches, &c. Again; Is there any iniquity with God? He that shall not be content with this answer, let him seek better learned; but let him beware he find not them that be presumptuous."

After this manner did Augustine conclude this sentence because he saw there were men found out, which sought for a cause of the difference by free will, whom he called presumptuous. He writes in like manner in the ninth chapter De praedestinatione sanctorum: "But why it is not given in all men, it ought not to move a faithful man; which believes, that by one man all men undoubtedly went into most just condemnation. Even so, there should be no just reprehension of God, although that none were delivered from thence. Whereby it is manifest that it is a great grace that many are delivered. Again, what should be due unto them, they know by those which are not delivered; that they which glory, may glory in the Lord, not in their own merits, which they see to be like to theirs that he damned." Here also Augustine plainly teaches that whoever of us are delivered, we are not all called by that calling, by which we are delivered; and that without any injustice of God. And in the same

book the 8th chapter: "Wherefore, say they, doth he not teach all men? If we shall say; Because those, whom he teaches not, will not learn: it will be answered us; And where is that sign, which is said unto him? Lord turn thou again and quicken us: or else if God, of unwilling make not willing, why doth the church, according to the precept of the Lord, pray for them that persecute her, &c." Augustine does not rest upon that answer; to wit, that they are not taught because they will not learn: for he says, that of unwilling, God can make willing. Prosper, Adcaput Gallorum, answers to them which object, that they which are called, are not called alike, but some [are called] that they should believe, &c.

The answer follows. If calling be only understood in preaching of the Gospel, it is not truly said, that unto diverse men it is diversely preached; seeing there is one God, one faith, one regeneration, and one promise. But if there be a respect had to the effect of planting and watering, there is one thing done in them, whose outward ears are moved by a bodily voice; and another thing in them, whose inward sense God has opened, and in whose heart he has put the foundation of faith, and the fervency of love, &c. Those two kinds of calling could not more evidently be expressed. Zwingli, in his book *De providentia*, tome 1, leaf the 370th. That appointment or ordinance, whereby is decreed, that a man is now called by God, not only by this general calling, which betokens the outward preaching of the apostles; but also by that, whereby the spirit does earnestly put the elect in remembrance, that they desire to obey God, in that he commands or promises, &c. The same author, upon the epistle to the Romans, the eighth chapter, tome 4, leaf 428. To them, which according to the purpose, who indeed were called from the beginning. These words do I understand of the inward calling, that is, of the election; not of the outward calling of the word. As if he should say: I have now said, that to the saints, or them which be

called, all things turn unto good. Which saying I allow: for all things are grounded upon the free election of God. God, which knew all things, before they were, determined also beforehand, that they should be coheirs with his son: so nevertheless, that Christ is the first begotten; that is, the natural and essential son of God, and we the adopted sons. Whom he has so beforehand appointed and ordained, those afterward he calls by an inward calling: that is, he draws inwardly. John. 6. that is, he makes faithful; he draws them, that their mind may cleave fast and trust unto him. Whom he thus makes faithful, those also he justifies, through an assured faith, that is to wit, of his son, &c.

The same author, in his book De prouidentia, tome 1, leaf 368, says: "For they saw that this thing is not now signified by signs, but done before the eyes; whereby the sins of the whole world were purged: but as touching this [outward calling] there was nothing done, because only they did repent, whom the Holy Ghost lightened, that they might know this man to be the Saviour; and the father did draw them, that they might come unto him, and might embrace him: further, to know that outward things are not able to do anything else, but signify and show, &c." Conradus Pellicanus, upon the first chapter to the Ephesians, interpreting these words; "Who hath predestinated us to the adoption of sons," thus writes: "In the which thing must be noted the order, wherein election holdeth the first place; next unto that, the adoption to be sons; which is said to be the calling, while the Lord draweth unto him those which he endued with the spirit, in giving a knowledge of himself: finally, there succeedeth an holiness of life, &c." Now, by these excellent and holy men appears these two manners of callings, not devised by me, but both received, and put in writing by them. Whereof it cometh, that of them, which be at one and the self-same sermon, and hear the self-same Gospel, some believe, some contend, some embrace, and some

laugh to scorn. Verily, they which contend, scorn, and refuse, do it of their own naughtiness, which God infuses not into them: but they, which believe and embrace, do this by the effectual calling of God, the which is not given unto all men.

Wherefore Augustine De praedestinatione sanctorum, chapter eight: "Therefore, when the Gospel is preached, some believe, and some believe not: they which believe, the preacher speaking outwardly, do inwardly hear of the father, & do learn; but they, which do not believe, do hear outwardly, inwardly they do not hear, nor yet learn." This is as much to say, as; "To the one sort it is given to believe, to the other it is not given: because No man (saith he) cometh unto me, except my father shall draw him." The same father, even in that book, the sixth chapter: "Many hear the word of truth, but some believe, and some speak against it. That these therefore will believe, and that those will not, who can be ignorant of this? Who can deny it? Howbeit, seeing the will of some is prepared by the Lord, and of some not; we are in very deed to discern what springeth of his mercy, or what springeth of his judgment. That which Israel sought (saith the apostle) it obtained not, but election obtained it. But others be blinded, as it is written; God hath given unto them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they might not see, and ears that they might not hear, even unto this day, &c." Wherefore, very great is the difference of hearers: the which Augustine, as we have known, notes by the diversity of callings. And wherefore God so tempereth and distributeth them, he in the same book the eight chapter teaches in these words: "But why he teaches not all men, the apostle hath opened so much as he thought meet to be opened: because He minding to show his wrath, and to make his power known, suffered with long patience the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction, and that he might declare the riches of his glory upon the vessels of mercy, which he prepared unto glory, &c." Here the reason, as it

manifestly appeareth, is derived from the final cause; because God determined to make manifest not only his goodness, but also his righteousness and severity. But some man will say; "If thus the case stand, God shall not be universal, but particular." The which doubtless in this respect cannot be denied: for we see that he ruleth at his pleasure, and distributeth these two kinds of callings. But of this matter we will speak afterward, when we shall come unto predestination.

In the meantime, let us answer those who say it is but a small matter they desire; and that the free will they seek to be granted is but a certain little spark. The same we do grant, so far as godliness will permit; namely, in those things which are subject to the sense and reason of man, and which do not exceed the capacity of our nature. Also, to those who are renewed, we grant it as much as man's infirmity allows, while we live in this world. But to those who are not renewed, we cannot grant the same concerning heavenly and spiritual goods; because such a spark it is, as it would not breed brightness, but smoke, whereby men would soon become proud, and withdraw much from the grace and mercy of God. For by this little spark, they would boast that they are discerned from others; but [the Scriptures] will not have them discerned, otherwise than by the grace and mercy of God, not by free will, or by [their own] gifts and virtues. Of which matter, thus Augustine wrote in his book *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, the fifth chapter: "For are men discerned from men, by those gifts, which are common unto all men? But here he first said; 'For who separateth thee?' And then he added; 'And what hast thou that thou hast not received?' Because a man, being puffed up against another man, might say; 'My faith, my righteousness, or if there be anything else, discerneth me.' Such cogitations the good Doctor preventing saith; 'What hast thou, that thou hast not received? And of whom, but of him which hath

separated thee from another? To whom hath he not given that, which he gave unto thee,' &c."

But they say; "This very small thing which we demand, worketh nothing by itself." But the self-same thing might we say of grace, because it worketh nothing by them, unless the consent of our mind come there unto. And undoubtedly it is very absurd, that unto the change or regeneration, we should bring anything actually; seeing no man doth anything toward the begetting of himself. Which if it be true in those natural and carnal things, how much more is it to be granted in spiritual things, which are a great way further from our strength or power? This did Oecolampadius, in his treatise upon the first chapter of Zechariah see, when he interpreted these words; "And thou shalt say unto them, turn ye unto me." Where he thus writeth: "Jeremiah said; 'Convert me Lord, and I shall be converted, for thou art my Lord GOD, yea as soon as thou turnedst me, I did repent. I that could not beget myself unto a carnal life, when I was not, how shall I not beget myself unto a spiritual life?' Wherefore John pronounceth, that the same birth is of God. So as they that strive against us in this place, contended not only against us, but against the grace of God. And they gather that, which the Holy Ghost shunneth: for those things that be here taught, are therefore taught, that we may know the city to be built by the mercy of God. Out of this do they gather, as though there were something free in us, and given of our carnal nativity, whereby we may be converted, and that so we may by our own strength build the city," &c. Oecolampadius denieth not, but that we have had something free from our nativity; but he denieth that to be such, as thereby we may be converted.

They say also, that they have God [for their guide] as men [use,] who unto wayfarers do faithfully show the way, and do counsel and admonish us to choose a safe way, and to leave that which is

dangerous and deadly. Nevertheless, if they be not heard, they are not in fault, and they have done their part. However, such a similitude hath no place here; because they, which show the way, have it not in their power, to persuade or to change the will of them that take the journey. But GOD can do these things, if he will, and doth it towards them, whom he calleth effectually. Also they affirm, that there is no man so corrupt and past grace, but that he may by his own free will wish for felicity, and for the grace and favour of God, that it may happen well unto him. I confess, that men not regenerate do generally desire felicity: but if that be laid before them, which we should have by Christ, and the faith in him, and by the cross, I say that it is not put in their choice to desire that; nay rather, they despise and refuse it.

The saying of Nazianzen is objected, "Πάν τὸ τῷ Θεῷ εὐσχημόνως κατασκευασθὲν, τοῖς εὐλογοῦσι παρέχεται, καὶ συναίνεσιν αὐτῷ δοκοῦσι." Howbeit, if this be rightly understood, it makes on our side. By the word "συναίνεσιν" I understand the duties of believing, hoping, loving God and our neighbour, and of right living. These things (I confess) are of God and are given unto them that are called: who, if they have been called effectually and are healed, undoubtedly grant and give their consent, which before preparation or health received they could not have done. Chrysostom also is alleged, who saith, "Ὁ Θεὸς μὲν ἐλκύει, ἀλλ' ἐλκύει τὸν θέλοντα." This saying also we reject not: but it must be considered that seeing the divine drawing causeth the change, if the point thereof, whereat it beginneth, be considered, man is found to be unwilling; and when he is changed by God and is healed, he is made willing; and when he is drawn unto further matters; namely, to believe, to hope, and to love God himself, now is he willingly drawn; who nevertheless, at that first moment, wherein he began to be drawn, was unwilling. Very well therefore said Augustine against the two epistles of Pelagius, the

19th chapter, that Christ aptly used the word of drawing, but not of leading: for they are led, which were before willing; but they are drawn, which were not willing. Therefore, lest we should imagine that we had a good will when we began to be moved by God, he said we are drawn, not led.

Wherefore, if it be demanded, whether Paul in his conversion (whereof at this day there is yearly celebrated a day of memorial) were drawn by free will; I say the proposition is doubtful, neither can it be satisfied by one answer. For if I should be demanded, by what part of the mind God began to heal Paul and to convert him; I would easily grant that it was by that which is called *Liberum arbitrium*, that is to wit, by the will and understanding, which did passively concur to this renewing. But if I should be asked, whether Paul were drawn of free will, whereby, as by an active beginning, he might come to his first renewing and preparation, I deny that the drawing was by free will; especially as touching the first moment of such a change. And why I may not therein admit that freedom, I will show the cause: for that at the beginning he wanted both the spirit and grace; which being absent, there is no strength to the furtherance of celestial and supernatural things. But they say, that seeing the promises are offered unto us, although we be not regenerate, we must strive to believe. This is soon commanded, but it cannot be done; because, except we be framed anew by the spirit, we shall strive against it, but we shall not strive [to obtain it;] and we shall fly away, even as Paul was against the true faith; and as Augustine before he was converted and healed.

They say that we expect violent motions, which is not true: we expect not violence, but we preach the efficacy of the divine power. Violent, as Aristotle defines it in his third book of *Ethics*, is that which is moved from an outward beginning and does not immediately bring



anything at all; however, such is not our will. But that it may appear what it brings, we must use a natural similitude. The first matter, by transmutation, takes mere forms and is moved by the efficient cause; and it brings the subject, for it is subject unto those motions; further, it has a certain power or ability unto these forms: even so, man's mind is the passive subject of this conversion and healing. Again, it has a certain power or ability, indeed not active, but passive; and that while it is compared unto God, because it can be actively changed by him. For we are created reasonable, according to the image and similitude of God. And certainly, a passive power of this kind may, after the manner of the Schoolmen, be called an obediencial power: because we are capable of the divine change, when God shall be minded to work the same. Hereby may be well understood that which is spoken of Augustine, that to be able to have faith, hope, and charity is of nature; but to have them is of grace. For of nature we have it, that we can passively be changed by God; but that we are changed in very deed, this is of grace.

Rightly said Augustine in his book "De correptione & gratia," the eleventh chapter, that Free will is but little, unless it be changed by the God omnipotent; and that we have no need of power, if there should only have been used a persuasion or showing of good things. Wherefore a power is required unto this, that the change might be counted wonderful. For which cause the same father, in his treatise of the grace of Christ against Pelagius, and Coelestinus, the 24th chapter, wrote very well: Therefore let them read and understand, let them behold and confess, that God works in the hearts of men, not only true revelations, but also good wills; not through the law and doctrine founding outwardly, but by the inward and hidden law, by a marvelous and unspeakable power. But they object unto us out of John; "God hath given them power to be made the sons of God." However, they say nothing. For John speaks there of the regenerate

and of the believers; seeing it is forthwith added; Even to them that believe in his name: and straightway after; They that be born of God. But if thou wilt understand these things, of them that be not renewed; we may say, that they had that power by predestination before all eternity, although they do not yet possess the same in act. This also seems to be a let, which is written in Zechariah; "Turn you unto me." And in Ezekiel the 18th chapter; "Make you a new heart." Where we also ourselves seem to come together actively. Nevertheless, as I said at the first, we must distinguish of the drawing, if we weigh the end, from whence begins the motion, while we be unwilling. There does God convert, change, and heal us, and of unwilling makes us willing. However, since for the time that we live here, we are not perfectly turned unto God, neither are we so pliant, tractable, or obedient unto his commandments, as we ought to be: therefore is it commanded us, that as being now workers together with God, we should more and more convert unto him; and that we should every day more and more, make to ourselves new hearts.

But there is another cavillation of some men. First, they affirm that the law is the revealed will of God; they add that the same is mighty and invincible: and they demand why all men may not perform the same? If God (say they) commanded the sea to abide within his bounds, and to discover itself, and that it was done, because so he would it to be; likewise when he commanded the dead man that he should be raised up, his will was not in vain, but broke forth into act: why then has not his will, which is in the law, come to effect? Doubtless, not for any infirmity thereof, but because it seems that God would so command these things, as he might leave them in us to do, which himself would not do. I answer, that God would his commandments to be kept, yet not through the strength of free will only, but by grace, whereby we are first healed, and afterward are led unto this obedience. Moreover, when it is said that the law is the will

of God, I grant: but yet it is not every will of his. It may be called the approving will of God, it is the will of his good pleasure, also a preparing will; but it is no working, appointing, decreeing, and effectual will towards all men, but towards all those to whom it shall seem good unto God. Even as also we say concerning sin, that he would it not; because he forbids it, it displeases him, and he punishes it: yet his will is not so towards it, that he effectually, and substantially, and by appointing and decreeing would it not; otherwise he would not permit it, but let it. And there are no wills so perverse, which God cannot change.

But it is yet demanded, whether we be able to resist the calling of God? We may, and especially the common and general calling; yea rather we fly away from the same when we are not yet regenerated; as Adam at the beginning, and Paul did it a great while. Yea and afterward, when we are healed and prepared, we oftentimes fall: as we know that it happened unto Peter and David. But if thou shalt ask, that when the calling, which is effectual, and according to the purpose, is present, whether it do prevail? I grant it does: for unto Paul it was said in the very hour of his conversion; "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks:" not that there is violence brought unto the will, seeing that cannot be: albeit in Luke the 14th chapter it is written; "Compel them to come in." But there it is rather spoken of the goodness of God, which in calling them that are his, is importunate, and uses (if I may so speak) a certain improbity [or wonderful diligence], and deals not only by exhortations but also by rebukes and scourges. Although Augustine wrested this to the Edicts of Christian princes, which against heretics appoint grievous punishments, banishments, imprisonments, penalties, and other suchlike. And albeit that faith be voluntary, yet God drives [men] to it by such ways and means. Also this is objected; "How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathers her

chickens?" But Augustine answers: "And yet those, whom I would gather together, I gathered, even against thy will."

Yet the same father seems to have spoken hardly, in his treatise against Adimantus the Manichee, the 26th chapter, where he wrote; that "It is in the power of man to change the will unto better." Hereunto notwithstanding he himself answers, in his first book of retractations, the 22nd chapter, where he says; "But that power is nothing, unless it be given of God, by whom it is said; He gave them power to be made the sons of God." For seeing this is in the power, that when we will, we do, nothing is so much in the power, as is the will itself: but the will is prepared of the Lord, and by that means he gives power. So must that also be understood, that I said afterward it is in our power, either that we be engrafted by the goodness of God, or by his severity be cut off; because it is not in our power, saving for that he follows our will, which being prepared by the Lord to be mighty and strong, that which before was hard and impossible, is soon become a work of godliness, etc. Wherefore, let this rule and exposition be of force [to answer] all the places of Augustine; in which he seems to attribute more than is meet unto free will, as touching heavenly and supernatural things. We must answer, that this self-power has only place in wills already prepared and healed. This rule did this father never withdraw, but put it as firm and certain in his retractations. Yea and in the tenth chapter of the same book he shows, that those things which he wrote, as touching free will, against the Manichees, were spoken, to the intent he might declare, that there is not a certain first evil beginning contrary unto the good God; from which evil beginning forsooth sins should flow: but that the beginning of sins was from the will. Wherefore, it was not agreeable to that drawing, that he should speak much of the grace of God that prepares and heals, which nevertheless he after some sort left not untouched. And of free will he spoke rather, as it

was in nature [first] instituted; than as it is now found in nature defiled and corrupted.

It is also objected unto us that we do evil in denying free will, and that we give an occasion of bringing the same in question, and that we offer an offense unto the Papists. However, I do not take away free will in general; but I grant the same in outward things, and in those things which are not above the capacity of man. Moreover, I grant the same in part, unto them that are prepared, healed, and converted by the grace of God, as a little after shall be said. Further, we are not to pass much of the slander of the Pharisees; They are blind, and leaders of the blind: and therefore they are not to be regarded. Every plant which the heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up. Besides, they ask whether God does towards all men as much as suffices for their salvation? Some say he does. But it seems not so unto me: for I know from the holy scriptures that they of Tyre and Sidon would have believed if they had seen those things that were done of Christ in Chorazim, Bethsaida, and Capernaum. And this also did Prosper ad caput Gallorum note, when he answered unto the tenth chapter, wherein they objected against the doctrine of Augustine; because he affirmed that the grace of the Gospel was by God withdrawn from some. He wrote there after this manner: Also, he who says that the preaching of the Gospel is by the Lord withdrawn from some, lest by receiving the preaching of the Gospel they might be saved, may discharge himself of ill report, by defence of our Saviour himself, who would not show forth his works among some, which he says would have believed if they had seen his signs and miracles. And he forbade his apostles to preach the Gospel unto certain people. And yet still he allows some nations to live without his grace, when as nevertheless we believe it most certainly, that the church shall be spread abroad into all the parts of the world, etc.

Of the very same matter also the same father, Ad excerpta Genuensium, the eighth doubt, thus writes: As touching the men of Tyre and Sidon, what else can we say, but that it was not vouchsafed unto them to believe? And yet nevertheless the truth itself reports that they would have believed if they had seen such signs of powers as were done among us that believe. But why this was denied unto them, let them that falsely accuse tell it if they can; and let them show why the Lord did marvellous things among them, whom they should not profit. Also we, if we are not able to attain unto the cause of his doing, and to the deepness of his judgment; yet do we most manifestly know that both it is true, which he said, and just which he did: and that not only the men of Tyre and Sidon, but also they of Chorazim and Bethsaida, might have been converted, and of infidels might have become faithful, if the Lord would have wrought this in them. Neither can it seem false to any, which the truth says; None can come unto me, except it shall be given him of my father. And; To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of heaven. Again; No man knows the son, but the father; nor the father, but the son, and he to whom the son will reveal him. Again; As the father quickens the dead, so the son quickens whom he will. Again; No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghost. The same Prosper also shows that the preaching of the Gospel has not always been given to all nations, nor yet in all times; and yet the same nevertheless is necessary unto salvation.

Ad capita Gallorum, the fourth chapter, wherein it was objected against Augustine, that according to his judgment all men are not called unto grace; thus answers: Although it should appear that the whole world had now in every nation, and in all the ends of the earth received the Gospel, which in very deed is most truly pronounced that it shall come to pass; yet were there no doubt but that, since the time of the resurrection of the Lord, unto this present age, there have

been men which have departed out of this life, without knowledge of the Gospel: of whom it may be said that they were not called, because they not so much as heard of the hope of calling. But if any man affirms that this full generality of calling has been always so celebrated, as after the time of the ascension of the Lord into heaven, not so much as one year passed over, within which there came not unto all men the preaching which was sent; let him see how he will prove that the people of Asia were called, when as the apostles (as it is written) were forbidden by the holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, or to the Bithynians, unto whom the same apostles assayed to go, and the spirit of Jesus suffered them not. Let him see also how he can defend the foreshowing of the truth itself, which said; This Gospel shall be preached over all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come. For the truth of that prophesy (which were wickedness to be spoken) staggereth if the world were replenished with the Gospel, within the space of four hundred years [after Christ;] and as yet the coming of the Lord is deferred, etc.

The same father, in an epistle to Ruffinus, as touching that which is written; "Who would all men to be saved:" And again, at the very same time, wherein preaching was sent to all men, certain places were forbidden the apostles to go unto, even by him that would all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth: many doubtless, in that delay of the Gospel, being withheld and turned away, died without knowledge of the truth, and were not consecrated with regeneration. Wherefore let the scripture tell what was done. It says; "When they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, they were forbidden by the holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia. But when they were come into Misia, they sought to go into Bithynia, but the spirit of Jesus suffered them not." But what marvel is it, if at the very first preaching of the Gospel, the apostles could not go, except whither the spirit of God would have them to go, since we

see that many nations forthwith at the first began to be partakers of Christian grace, and that others have not as yet had any manner of smell of this goodness? But shall we say, that men's wills, and that so beastly and rude manners of these men do stop the will of God, that they do not therefore hear the Gospel; because wicked hearts are not open to preaching? But who has changed the hearts of these men, but he that severally framed their hearts? Who has mollified this rigorous hardness to the affect of obedience; but He that is able of stones to raise up children unto Abraham? And who shall give unto preachers a bold and inviolable constancy, but he which said unto the apostle Paul; "Fear not, but speak, and hold not thy peace, for because I am with thee, and no man shall withstand thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city?" And I think that no man dare say, that any nation of the world, or any region of the earth should be passed over, wherein ought not to be spread the tabernacles of the church, etc.

By these things it appears, by how many reasons this father has proved; that the preaching of the Gospel, which is necessary unto salvation, has been wanting to many nations, and in many ages. Whereby cannot be affirmed, that God did that, which sufficed to the salvation of men. But that his meaning may the more appear, let us add those things, which he wrote thoroughly upon the 4. chap. to the Gauls: Also, he that says, that all men are not called to grace; if he speaks of them, unto whom Christ is not showed, he must not be blamed; because we know indeed, that the Gospel has been sent into all the parts of the world: but we think not now, that it has been preached in all the ends of the earth; neither can we say, that there is the calling of grace, where there is as yet no regeneration of the mother of the church, etc. The same Author, in his answers unto the collections of the Genuenses, to the sixth doubt: And as we cannot complain of him, that in the ages which be past, permitted all nations



to walk in their own ways; so should we not have any just complaint, if grace yet ceasing, we should perish among them, whose cause and ours was all one; who nevertheless, as then, of all the world he made choice of a few; so now, of all mankind universally he saves innumerable, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given unto us in Christ Jesus, before the beginning of the world, etc. Now does it plainly appear by the saying of this man, that the grace of GOD sometime ceased; and that all men had not always a just calling unto salvation: wherefore it is not so universal as some will, but is rather particular.

But because some use a certain shift to say; that they, to whom the Gospel was not preached, had calling enough of God, since by the elements, by the spheres of heaven, and by other creatures they were instructed concerning the only true God, whom it behooved them to worship; so that in the epistle to the Romans, they are blamed as inexcusable. But how true this is, the same Prosper shows in an epistle to Ruffinus, as touching free will, where he thus writes: "For neither is it removed from the common consideration of men, in how many ages, what innumerable thousands of men, being left to their own errors and impieties, fell away without any knowledge of the true God; even as in the Acts of the apostles the words of Barnabas and Paul did declare, saying to the men of Iconium; 'O men, why do ye these things? We also are mortal men like unto you, and preach unto you, that ye should turn from these vain things unto the living GOD, which made heaven and earth, the sea, and all things that in them are; and who in times past suffered all the Gentiles to walk in their own ways. And verily he left not himself without witness, in that he did good unto them, and gave rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness.' Verily, if either natural understanding, or the use of God's benefits, might have sufficed to attain eternal life; then the reasonable contemplation, and

the temperature of the air, and the abundance of fruits and meats in our time might save us; because undoubtedly, we having a better use of nature, should worship our Creator, because of his daily benefits."

But far be it from the minds of the godly, and them that be redeemed by the blood of Christ, to have an over-foolish and pernicious persuasion [hereof.] He does not deliver mankind, without the man Christ Jesus, the only mediator between God and man. Without him there is no health to any man, even as he himself renews us, and not we ourselves, etc. This father therefore has decreed, that it had not been enough to be called to salvation, by the elements and creatures. For if this kind of calling had been effectual at any time, it should also be effectual at this day; seeing the state of man is not impaired, nor become in worse case after the coming of Christ, than it was before. Moreover, this he affirms, which is most true, that salvation cannot consist without Jesus Christ our savior apprehended by faith. And as touching Paul, who in the epistle to the Romans, makes them inexcusable, because of that natural knowledge of theirs: first I answer, that that excuse is therefore fully taken from them, because they did not faithfully retain that small thing, which they knew by the creatures of God, touching the holding fast of one God only; neither did they follow that justice, which they had perceived in their mind. Further, they were therefore made inexcusable; because they so much trusted to their own strength, as they thought they had only need of a teacher, and of the knowledge to do things: which when they should obtain, they thought themselves able to perform the justice which they knew. Therefore, whereas of God they had received by his creatures, some knowledge of justice and righteousness; seeing they framed their life against the same, they were utterly void of excuse.

Moreover, it is to be considered, that the nations, which were without the word of God, and preaching of the Gospel, had not that same drawing, wherewith God draws to Christ. For this (as it has been shown) if we have respect to the ordinary calling, consists of the word of God outwardly preached, or else inwardly revealed by the spirit, and that effectually. Which thing whether the Ethnics had, it is both uncertain, and cannot be proved. Wherefore we must not affirm, that God towards all men did so much as was sufficient unto their salvation. For he called not all by the preaching of the Gospel; and to whom he vouchsafed the preaching, he granted it not to them all effectually, whereby their minds might be healed. However, they say: "But God, when he calls, dallies not, but calls us indeed." Neither do we say, that God does dally; but we say that he calls indeed, because he himself it is that calls. For the revelations of good things, and the motions of doing well, are not but of the true God; and those things, which he prompts, such as be the commandments and promises, are true, and not subject unto falsehood. Wherefore he truly calls even them, to whose calling he applies not efficacy. Neither does he dally in so calling: for so much as he has his own ends; which though they be not known unto us, yet (as the scriptures teach) this he sometimes does of judgment, and that men (as it has been said) may be made inexcusable; and that the godly and elect may the more plainly perceive in them, which be so called, what a great benefit they have received in comparison of them; and may understand, that they, as touching their own part, might after the same manner have been called, seeing they had their cause common with theirs.

Also, this kind of calling is of force, to the blinding and hardening of men for their ill deserts: even as we read in Isaiah, when he was sent; "Blind thou" (saith God) "the eyes of them, harden & make gross their hearts, lest they should convert, and I might heal them," etc.

They are wont also to object against us, that such are the men made by him, as they are not to be led by stripes and cudgels like unto asses; the which I also deny not. For I make not that effectual calling (as I have often said) not to be violent nor without the word: by which I affirm, that they, which be converted, are not only counselled, but also thoroughly persuaded. Christ in very deed said, that His sheep hear his voice. But yet we must consider, that first they be and are made his sheep, before they hear: even as also it is necessary, that first the trees be good, before that they can bear good fruit. Nevertheless, men do imagine, that so the matter is to be divided; as it is God's part to give, and ours to receive. And indeed I grant, that it is we that receive the gifts, which God offers: however, we receive them not by ourselves; nay rather, we would refuse them, unless he by changing of us should cause us to receive them. Wherefore God does both the one and the other: for both he offers his gifts, and brings to pass that we do receive them. But that is not in the power of men; seeing a father otherwhile offers something unto his children, but he cannot change their will, that they may be willing to receive that which he offers.

Lastly, to the intent they may show, that the drawing done by God is universal, they are wont to allege that, which is written in the 12. of John; "When I shall be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto myself." But they are deceived: for that generality must be restrained unto the children of God, not to them only which are now in present possession, but which were already predestinated before the world was made: whom the same Evangelist, in the 11. chapter expressed, when he said that Caiaphas prophesied, that Jesus not only should die for the people, but that he should gather together the children of God, which were dispersed: and those were not only of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles. Wherefore Chrysostom, interpreting those words, saith; that That generality must be referred

both to the one and the other people: namely, unto the Gentiles and unto the Jews. They which required then to be admitted unto Christ, were Grecians. However, Christ admitted not the Ethnics unto his company, while he lived; but showed, that he would then admit all kinds of men, when he should be exalted by the cross, and by his death. Wherefore, not all men in every kind are here to be considered, but rather the sundry kinds of all men. But to return to the very preparation or healing of the mind, whereunto I said, that our mind doth only come together passively; I say, that I manifestly proved the same by the scriptures, and also by the testimonies of the fathers.

And now do I add, that this is no strange thing to the School-divines: for they also grant, that there be habits, and divine virtues infused by God, to the receiving whereof we only behave ourselves passively. And in defining of them, they say, that they be good qualities of the mind, the which God without us worketh in us: for so doth he bestow upon us the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of counsel, the spirit of fortitude, and other such like. Yea and Augustine, in his book of grace and free will, the 17. chapter thus wrote: "Therefore, that we may will, he worketh without us; but when we will, and that we so will, as we do execute, he worketh together with us; but yet without him either working that we may will, or working together when we do will, we are able to do nothing towards the good works of godliness. Of him which worketh that we will, it is said; 'It is God that worketh in us, even to will.' Of him working together with us when we now will, and we in willing do execute; 'We know (saith he) that all things work together for the best unto them that love God.' But while we be thus prepared and healed by God, he doth not take away from us [the power] to will; but he granteth us to will well: neither taketh he away [the power] to understand, but granteth us to understand rightly. And undoubtedly it is the will itself that bringeth

forth the act of willing: howbeit, God giveth it strength, that it may bring forth the same."

Wherefore Augustine, in his treatise "De spiritu & litera," the third chapter, thus writes: "But we say, that man's will is so helped to do righteousness, as besides that man is created with a freedom of will, and besides the doctrine wherein it is commanded him how he should live, he may receive the Holy Spirit; by which there may be in his mind a delight and a love of that chief and unchangeable goodness, which is God, even now, when a man walks by faith, and not yet in glory; that as it were by this earnest penny of a free gift given unto him, he may wax more fervent in cleaving to the Creator, and be inflamed to come unto the participation of that true light, that through him, of whom he has his being, it may happen well unto him. For neither can free will avail anything, except to sin, if the way of truth be unknown. And when that which is to be done, and wherein we ought to endeavor, begins to be known, unless it is also delighted in and beloved, it is not done, it is not taken in hand, we do not live well. But that it may be beloved, the love of God is poured into our hearts, not by the free will, which arises of us, but by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us," etc.

By these words he shows, that of us arises not free will (for as touching the health of the mind, it comes actively) but that it is wrought by the Holy Spirit, that we afterward do well, by loving of God, and living uprightly. Grace does not expect our will; because if it should expect it, we might think in ourselves, that we had strength before to desire spiritual and supernatural good things. The Arausican Council, in the 4th canon, condemned that opinion, whereby it is believed, that the divine grace expects man's will. In very deed it prevents, and yet for all that it causes no violence. For the plainer expressing whereof, a similitude of the resurrection of the

Lord very much serves. He was raised up from the dead, as concerning his humanity; to which raising up from the dead, the human nature behaved itself only passively. Now is it expounded, how in things, that be outward and subjected to man's capacity, some freedom is to be attributed to our will; which afterward, as touching celestial and supernatural things, is denied unto it, unless it be converted and prepared by God.

Now must we consider of the state of them that be regenerate, unto whom a freedom, as touching celestial and supernatural things, is granted; so far forth as the infirmity of this life will suffer. Of that matter wrote Prosper, in an epistle to Ruffinus, concerning free will, which they will have to belong unto all men labouring in the uncertainty of this life, and laden with sins: so that they, which will imitate the meekness and gentleness of our Saviour, and submit themselves under the yoke of his commandments, may find rest to their souls, and hope of eternal life. But they, which will not do this, are by their own default void of salvation: which if they would, they might have obtained. But let them hear what is said by the Lord, to them that use free will; "Without me ye can do nothing." Again; "No man cometh unto me, except my Father which sent me draw him." Again; "No man can come unto me, except it shall be given him of my Father." Again; "As the Father quickeneth them that be dead; so also the Son quickeneth whom he will." Again; "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." All which sayings, seeing they be unchangeable, and cannot by any interpretation be wrested to any other sense; who doubts, but that this free will doth obey the exhortation of him that calleth, seeing in him, the grace of God has engendered an effect of believing and obeying? Otherwise it should be sufficient for a man to be warned, not that the will also should be made new in him: according as it is written; "The will is prepared by

the Lord." And as the apostle saith; "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to perform," even according to his good will. According unto which good will? No other but that, which GOD wrought in them: that he, which gave to will, might also give to perform," etc.

Of the very which thing the same Prosper, in the place now alleged, thus writes: "Nevertheless, if we behold with a godly consideration, that part of the children of God, which is reserved to the works of godliness; shall we not find in them a free will not destroyed, but renewed? Which doubtless, when it was alone, and left to itself, was not moved but to his own destruction: for it had blinded itself, but it could not lighten itself. But now the same will is changed, not destroyed, and unto it is given to will otherwise, to perceive otherwise, and to do otherwise; and to repose the safety thereof, not in itself, but in the physician: because, neither as yet does it enjoy so perfect a health, that those things, which did hurt it before, cannot now hurt it; or else, that it is now able of his own strength to temper itself from those things, which be unwholesome for it. Therefore, man, which in free will was evil, in the same free will is become good: howbeit, he is evil, by himself; good, by God, who (according to that original honor) so renewed him with another beginning, as he not only would forgive him the fault of an evil will and action, but also would give him grace to will well, to do well, and therein to continue. For every good gift (saith the apostle James) and every perfect gift is from above, and comes down from the father of lights," etc.

By these things we see, that unto *Liberum arbitrium*, that is, to will now reformed; no small power must be attributed. Therefore I affirm, that the regenerate can know spiritual things, that they can also make choice of them, and after a sort can do them: because they are not now [only] mere and bare men, but they are men of God; they be engrafted into Christ, they be his members, and therefore



partakers of his freedom. To them it is said; "Work you your salvation with fear and trembling." They be no longer the enemies of God, but friends of God, and of Christ; and therefore he has made known unto them, those things which he heard of his father; "Now they have the laws of God written in their hearts, and in their bowels." They are not in the first point of the drawing, from whence the motion begins; but having proceeded further, of unwilling they are made willing. Fitly agrees unto them the similitude of Augustine upon John, of the green bough showed to the young sheep; and of the child, unto whom nuts are offered: before they would not go, afterward they are drawn with great delight. Of them also this may be aptly said; "If thou be not drawn, pray that thou mayest be drawn." When they be children, they are now led by the spirit of God, and are so led, as themselves do those things that be right. Of which matter wrote Prosper, in an epistle to Ruffinus, saying thus: "For all men have not faith, neither do all men believe the Gospel; but they, which believe, are led by the spirit of God; they which believe not, are turned away by free will."

Wherefore our conversion unto God, is not of us, but of GOD: as the apostle saith; "By grace ye are saved through faith, and this not of yourselves, but it is the gift of GOD; not of works, least any man should boast himself," etc. Also the regenerate can stir up in themselves the gifts and grace of God, as Paul wrote unto Timothy the second epistle. Also they apply themselves unto the Holy Spirit, that they may possess and use the more excellent and profitable spiritual gifts, as the Corinthians are admonished by Paul in the first epistle. Again, they that be renewed, do works which are pleasing unto God: for Abraham is commended by God, because he, for God's sake, spared not his only begotten son. And the alms of the Philippians were called an odour of a good smell before God. And unto the Hebrews, the 13th chapter it is written; that Good turns and

hospitality are acceptable sacrifices to God. They are now good trees, and therefore no marvel if they do bring forth good fruits; who even of Christ himself being judge, shall at the last day be allowed. And hereunto do the regenerate attain, that they be called perfect, and prepared to every good work: who nevertheless, in all things that are to be done well, have always need of the special help of God.

And hereof wrote Prosper, in the epistle so often alleged: "Therefore, whomsoever the grace of God justifies, it makes not of good men better, but of evil men it makes good; afterward by profiting, it will make of good men better, not by taking away of our free will, but by setting of it free [unto righteousness.] But when it is lightened by the mercy of Christ, it is delivered from the kingdom of the devil, and is made the kingdom of God, wherein also it may continue. Neither doubtless is it strengthened sufficiently by that power, except it obtain thereby a perseverance, from whence it received an endeavour. Yet for all this, have not they which be converted, prepared, and healed, any full freedom of the will, while they live here: but They perceive another law in their members, rebelling against the law of the mind. They do not the good, which they would; but the evil which they hate. Neither are they able thoroughly to fulfil the law. In their mind they serve the law of God, but in their flesh, the law of sin. The spirit lusts against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, so as they do not those things which they would. And sometime the event does not answer to their determinations, and horrible faults do otherwhiles happen, as it came to pass in Peter and David. Neither can they be without sins: for John said; If we shall say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us. Also James wrote; In many things we sin all."

However, there is a difference between the wicked and the regenerate: for those delight and rejoice in sins, but the godly do

sorrow and mourn, and do every day pray; "Forgive us our debts," etc. They cry also; "O unhappy man that I am! Who shall deliver me?" And when they see themselves imperfect, and to have only the first fruits of the spirit, they wish that their day of death were present; to wit, that they may be made fully perfect in the last regeneration. And finally, they seem to have said rightly, which have appointed three sorts of freedom [of the will.] One from necessity constraining, the which is common, as well to the godly, as to the ungodly: for man's will cannot be constrained. Another freedom they have appointed, from sin, which the ungodly in no wise have; but the regenerate do in some part possess it, as it has been already declared. The third freedom, is from misery, which the wicked have not, but we after some sort have it. For although we be tossed with diverse misfortunes, yet by hope we are saved both from sin and from misery. When we shall come into the kingdom of heaven, we shall be at full liberty. And let these things suffice as touching free will.

## **Certain clauses or sentences concerning Free will.**

Those things, which are set forth to be known as touching free will, are no light matters, but they are of very great importance. For so many of us, as are renewed by the grace of Christ, well knowing the feebleness and infirmity of free will, will not become proud, neither will we extol ourselves by the power thereof. Nay rather, we will be the more earnestly kindled to crave the help of God. And when we shall proceed further, and shall understand, out of how many evils and dangers we are delivered; we will be the more earnestly moved to give thanks to our deliverer. Moreover, the honour thereof will be

attributed unto God, to whose goodness, mercy, and liberality, does redound whatsoever shall be adjudged in our power and ability. This did the apostle chiefly require, that We should not glory, but should yield the whole unto God. But in giving unto free will so much as is required of some, both free justification is brought into doubt, and free election and predestination cannot consist.

Liberum arbitrium is a certain power of the will, the which while it follows the part knowing, does of his own accord either refuse, or desire something.

It is affirmed to be a power of the will: but that is, so far forth as αἴρεσις, or free choice is drawn out of it. The Master of the sentences, in the second book, distinction 25, says; that It is a power of the reason and of the will, whereby is chosen that which is good, when grace assists; or evil, when grace fails. The things, unto which the will is carried, be of two kinds. Some are subjected unto the sense and reason; but some do exceed our capacity, as being divine and supernatural.

Also the states and conditions of men are distinguished. Some are not as yet renewed, but are still strangers from Christ; but others are regenerate.

Men not yet regenerate, have partly a free will towards those things, which are subject to sense and reason, and which exceed not our capacity; and partly they have not. They have it, because it is in our power to walk, to stand, to sit, to study, to buy and sell, to travel into strange countries, etc. And oftentimes reason may restrain the outward motions, or else stir them up. Partly they have not free will; because oftentimes there is stirred up so great a perturbation, & so many assaults, that it is not in the power of reason to restrain them; as are men that are angry, they tremble, they are disquieted.

Sometimes they cannot remove from their place, and with too much fear being abashed, they cannot but fly away: even as the Canaanites were not able to stand against the Israelites. Also the first motions are not in our power.

By this freedom [of will] which we grant, men are able to do those things, which are agreeable with the civil and economical laws. Wherefore the civil and moral sciences remain without impeachment, and the authority of a magistrate is not hindered, but established. Also, they are able to do many outward things, which may seem to agree with the law of God, as hypocrites do: but in very deed, such doings are not according to the law of God. For God's law requires faith, good inward motions, and that this be done with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the strength.

To grant the freedom now declared, I am led by experience, which has testimony from the holy scriptures. Paul, in his letter to the Romans, speaks of wicked men and those who were not regenerate, yet he attributes to them the ability to have known God through his creations. He also acknowledges that they knew many just, right, and honest things. Paul himself, before his regeneration, excelled in the Jewish religion above his companions, living blamelessly. There are many notable examples of such among the Gentiles as well.

This freedom, which I grant concerning moral and economical matters, faces great difficulties. There is darkness in reason, and no small infirmity in the will. A perpetual conflict exists between the part that belongs to reason and the coarser powers of the mind, resulting in wounds and often the overcoming of reason, compounded by the infirmity of the body. If we speak of the regenerate, the spirit strives against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, preventing them from doing what they would. They

perceive a law in their members rebelling against the law of the mind and do not do the good they would but the evil they hate. This struggle is even more pronounced in those who are not regenerate.

We must acknowledge that while they are not regenerate, there is a certain necessity of sinning, not a necessity that forces the will to act unwillingly (for that cannot be), but a necessity that prevents them from acting otherwise while they remain in that state. Since they do not act by faith, their actions must be sins. Being evil trees, they can only bear evil fruit. The thoughts and imaginations of man's heart are evil from childhood. The wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God and not subject to his law. In this state, they do not love God above all things, and since they do not refer all their actions to him, they must be sins.

Moreover, he who sins is, as Christ said, the servant of sin. As Paul wrote to the Romans, they are servants to whom they obey. True freedom comes when the Son sets them free. Peter also said that every man becomes the servant of him by whom he is overcome. Thus, in this state, while men are without Christ, they are not truly free.

Another difficulty arises from the devil, who always seeks whom he may devour, holding those who belong to him until someone stronger comes. Timothy was warned that the devil, at his own pleasure, keeps captive those who resist the faith. Therefore, while I admit the freedom described earlier, it is nonetheless impaired by these great difficulties.

Another aspect to consider is that God uses our minds as instruments to carry out the counsels of his providence, for the heart of the king is in the hand of God, and he directs it wherever he wishes. As seen in Ezekiel, God directed Nebuchadnezzar against

Jerusalem rather than against the Moabites or Ammonites, even when Nebuchadnezzar himself was in doubt. The prophets describe these monarchs as being in the hand of God like a saw and staff. However, because this use by God does not take away the freedom I have described, nor does it violate or constrain the will of men, it remains intact as I have presented it. For these men act willingly at the command of God.

But I say that those who are not regenerate are not free concerning spiritual matters, such as believing in Christ, hoping, loving God above all things, and obeying God's law in faith, but are unable to do so. For these men to will and receive these things, it is necessary for the Holy Spirit to be present, who, through the word, either outwardly or inwardly, or both together, may enlighten the mind, encourage the will, warn, exhort, and persuade.

Some affirm that this is sufficient, but I deny it because unless these powers are amended and healed, we will not embrace or take hold of those divine things. Nor is it within our power to be content with the things that are presented to us. Therefore, it is necessary for the understanding to be endowed with a special light by the Holy Spirit, and for the will to be confirmed lest it be drawn aside and give place to worldly desires or wrong opinions, thereby being diverted from spiritual matters. Once this is done, the mind consents to the words and promises of God, and from such consent or faith follows justification by the mercy of God through Christ. It is we who actively behave in such a manner when we believe the things that are presented. However, the efficacy and power of the Holy Spirit, by which our mind is prepared, changed, and disposed, comes to the mind passively, for it receives those things, and they are within it by the Spirit of God. This should not seem absurd, as the scriptures say that we are drawn by the Father to Christ, and drawing implies a

passion and a certain disposition. Also, God stands at the door and knocks, and these knockings are done in the mind and are received.

This efficacy of the Holy Spirit inclines our minds and hearts to the words of God and to embracing the promises. Yet, by this efficacy of the Spirit, no violence is forced or inferred upon minds, so that what they will, they will it against their will, or believe unwillingly. Instead, with pleasant and gentle persuasion, it makes willing of the unwilling, and it is far from corrupting or defiling the will; rather, it perfects it. This is what God works in us both to will and to perform. Otherwise, not all men have faith, for those who are not so prepared do not believe. The scripture plainly testifies that the will is prepared by the Lord, and undoubtedly, this puts forth an endeavor of virtue in them who struggle even from the beginning.

The change of our mind, when it is turned from evil to good, lies in this: that our stony heart is made soft and becomes a fleshy heart, as God promised through Ezekiel, that we may become receptive to learning divine things. Therefore, Solomon prayed to God to give him a hearing or understanding heart, indicating that his heart, corrupted by nature, was deaf to divine things. This is to be instructed by God, to hear from the Father and learn, and to have ears to hear. Without this, though we see, we shall not see, and though we hear, we shall not hear. For such are these divine and celestial things: eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man what God has prepared for those who love him. The natural man does not perceive the things of God. We are not sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; our sufficiency is from God. Unless our mind is thus prepared and healed, we will flee from divine things, as Adam did, and persecute and hate, as Paul did.



Upon this, we pray: "Give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments! Open thou mine eyes!" And Paul wished the eyes of the Ephesians to be opened, that they might see what should be the hope of their calling. David said, "Incline my heart unto thy testimonies! Create in me a clean heart, O God!" God opened the heart of the woman who sold purple, that she might give ear to those things that were spoken. Those whose hearts God had touched followed Saul. "By grace you are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves." Here, our working together as touching that healing is denied. Also, to the Ephesians: "We believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him up from the dead." When we were dead in trespasses and sins, he quickened us with Christ. The dead have no power to prepare themselves or to regenerate themselves. We have our preparation from God; otherwise, we might glory in the same. "What hast thou that thou hast not received? For who separateth thee?" Some might say, "Free will separateth me." We pray for the infidels, that God will open their hearts. "No man cometh unto me, except my Father draw him." But he who is said to be drawn shows that he was unwilling before; otherwise, he does not seem to be drawn but rather to be led. Therefore, he who is drawn was at first unwilling, but in that change, from unwilling he becomes willing; afterward, he willingly and of his own accord follows the drawing. It must not be understood (as some think) that all men are drawn because the circumstances of the text do not support that. For a reason was given why those who murmured should depart, and why the apostles should stay and cleave unto Christ? Namely, because these were drawn, and the others were not.

We are towards God as clay, but the potter not only fashions the clay but also softens and tempers it. "It is neither in him that willeth nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy." Here,

everything is attributed to God, especially as touching predestination and that first healing of the mind, which is done by the Holy Ghost through the word of God. God turned the heart of King Ahasuerus from fierceness to goodwill towards Esther; he gave Saul another heart.

Here, there are two kinds of calling: for some are called as they are in some way enlightened with outward preaching, they are earnestly moved with certain suggestions, they are persuaded, and they have some stirring up thereto. Others indeed there are who, besides what I have spoken, are prepared, they are made gentle, they willingly give care, from unwilling they become willing, their stony heart is taken away, it is changed and healed. The first kind is called calling absolutely; the second is calling according to the purpose. Paul says, "Whom he hath called, those also he hath justified." This calling always has faith and justification joined with it, and it depends on election, for Paul says, "Whom he hath predestinated, them also hath he called." And in the second epistle to Timothy: "Who hath called us with his holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given unto us through Christ Jesus, before the times eternal." Behold, he says that this calling is conformed to the eternal predestination. To this also belongs that saying, "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." But of that first kind, it is said, "Many are called, but few be chosen."

These kinds of callings God distributes as he wills, for with his own he may do what seems good to him, without injury to any man. "Is thine eye evil, because I am good? May I not do with mine own what I will?" Augustine said very well: "Why this man is drawn, and not that, judge not thou, if thou wilt not err." And God, if he would, might have healed the mind of Esau, as he did of Jacob. But to Jacob he would give, to Esau he would not. And in Deuteronomy, the 29th

chapter it is written: "Neither did God give unto you a heart to understand, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, even unto this present day."

Those who are thus prepared by God are they to whom he has given power to be made the sons of God, for they, being healed, do believe and are born of God. And so often as the fathers, especially Augustine, seem to attribute anything unto free will as touching these spiritual and celestial things, that must be understood of free will healed, changed, and already prepared. If it is demanded whether we can resist the calling of God, I say that we can, and that sometimes at the beginning we strive against it for a while. And after we are regenerated, we sometimes resist the calling of God and doubtless fall grievously, as did Peter and David. And when God has fully purposed to change some man, and of unwilling to make him willing, his will is altogether framed, and that without violence. Therefore it is said unto Paul: "It is hard for thee to kick against pricks."

But if an effectual calling is not given to all men, it will seem that God has not done unto all men so much as was sufficient to salvation. This I grant, for the scripture also says that "The men of Tyre and Sidon would have repented in ashes and sackcloth, if in them had been done those things which were done in Chorazin and Bethsaida." Therefore, God did not grant unto them those things which he knew might have been sufficient to move them to repentance. Experience testifies that many ages passed over wherein the word of God was not preached to the Gentiles, and many places in New India, which even unto these days have heard nothing at all of salvation through Christ. Yea, and the apostles, in the 16th of the Acts, were forbidden to preach in Asia and to go into Bithynia. Therefore, we, unto whom it is given, ought specially to give thanks unto God.

That there are some things done in our mind by God without expecting our consent and will, there is no doubt, for faith and diverse gifts of the Holy Ghost are infused into us by God, wherein our former consent is not required. God, by this change of his, does not take from us the power to understand but gives us to understand rightly; he does not take from us the power to will but gives us to will well; he himself converts and heals us. But when we are renewed, ourselves also are said to convert us and more and more to wax perfect, as shall be said presently.

Men renewed unto spiritual works, which may please God, have a free mind, that they may at the least perform those things with a certain new obedience. Therefore, they are able to know, judge, and choose spiritual things, and after a sort to do them, because they are not mere men but men of God. They are engrafted in Christ, they are his members, and are made partakers of his freedom. To these it is said that "They work out their salvation with fear and trembling." These are no longer servants but friends, and therefore they have known those things that are of God; they have a fleshy, not a stony heart; they have the laws of God written in their hearts; they are led by the Spirit of God, and they can stir up the grace which they have in them; they can apply themselves unto better spiritual gifts. So the work of Abraham is praised by God. The alms of the Philippians were an odour that smelleth sweet. Since they are good trees, they can bring forth good fruit, and their work shall be commended in the day of judgment.

They have reached a point where they may be called perfect and prepared for every good work. Nevertheless, in every good work they do, they not only need the general influence of God but also the special help of the Holy Spirit. Yet, in this recovered liberty, they are not so renewed that they do not feel some law in their members

contrary to the law of the mind, so that they do not do the evil which they hate, they fulfill the law as it requires, and there is a striving between the flesh and the spirit, such that they do not do what they would. They are not so free that in their minds they serve the law of God but in their flesh the law of sin. Also, the events and successes are not in their own power. Grievous faults also occur sometimes, and they are not free from sin. John says, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." James says, "In many things, we all sin."

But there is a difference between the wicked and the regenerate: the wicked delight themselves in sins, they do not sorrow; rather, they willingly and of their own accord engage in them. But the regenerate lament, sorrow, sigh, mourn, and perpetually cry, "Forgive us our trespasses." And since they have the first fruits of the spirit, they wish that their last hour were come. And thus much of free will.

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ePub, .mobi & .pdf Editions April 2024. Requests for information should be addressed to: Monergism Books, PO Box 491, West Linn Or 97068