

PREDESTINATION AND EFFECTUAL CALLING



PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI

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by Peter Martyr Vermigli

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The Third Part of the Common Places of Peter Martyr.

In which is treated the causes and general means whereby we are brought into the possession of Christ and of salvation, and concerning the effects of Christ remaining in us.

Chapter I.

Of Predestination.

Based on the ninth chapter of Romans, towards the end of the chapter.

Lest in disputing our talk might stray too far, which might easily come to pass in so large a field of God's predestination, the tract whereof is very intricate, all that we mind to say, we will divide into four principal points. That is to say, I will first diligently search out the nature and definition thereof. Secondly, what are the causes of it; for nothing can perfectly be known, which is not known by causes. Thirdly, what are the effects which predestination brings forth in men; for there are many things which by their effects are most plainly understood and perceived. Lastly, whether the power or force thereof be such that it brings unto men necessity; and whether it either takes away or hinders the liberty of the will of man; and whether it may be altered or changed. These parts being diligently discussed, we will then make an end of this discourse. And yet I will not promise to speak all that were to be spoken on this matter; for there are infinite things that come to mind when considering this

matter: only those things will I touch at this present, which shall seem most necessary and are in greatest controversy; which being so compacted, it shall not be hard for others to gather elsewhere to themselves much more matter. But before we go to the definition of predestination, I am to dispatch two matters. The one is, whether it stands with true Christian religion either to dispute or to preach of predestination; lest that if it be not lawful, we should seem to do wickedly. The other, inasmuch as the Logicians teach that the question, whether a thing be or no, naturally goes before that question whereby is demanded, what a thing is; that we break not that order, let us first consider whether there be any predestination or no; to the end we may afterward the more safely define it.

As touching the former question, this is to be understood: that there are sundry elections of God. For there are some which serve for the executing of some certain office, as to a kingdom, or to an apostleship; and others there are, unto eternal life. And these elections are sometimes separated asunder; for it happens oftentimes that he who is chosen unto a kingdom is not straightway chosen unto eternal life: which also happens of the apostleship, as in Judas. However, sometimes they are joined together; so that whereas we speak of temporal election, we may also understand that the same is meant of the eternal. And after this sort Paul says that he was called to be an apostle and severed from his mother's womb, namely to the apostleship and preaching of the gospel: and yet together therewithal he understands that he was predestined to eternal salvation. Christ also said that he had chosen his disciples to go and to bring forth fruit, and that their fruit should remain: and yet together therewithal, He commands them to be of good comfort, for that their names were written in heaven. There is therefore between these elections a great difference; and there is also between them a great conjunction: so that oftentimes the one is taken for the other.

So Paul, by his wonderful wisdom, transferred unto spiritual things those temporal things which seem to be prophesied of Jacob & Esau in Genesis and Malachi.

2. Now, as for this latter election, I see there have been many who have judged this disputation is not meet to be touched. Whose reasons, Prosperus, and Hilarius, bishop of Orleans, sometimes disciple unto Augustine, do plainly declare in the two epistles which are prefixed unto the books of the predestination of saints. These epistles were written upon this occasion: when Augustine, writing against the Pelagians, touching the grace of Christ, had often in his books urged many things of predestination, many of the brethren in France, and not of the meanest sort, were sore troubled and wonderfully offended. For they affirmed that by this doctrine, is taken away from such as are fallen, an endeavor to rise again: and to such as stand, is brought a slothfulness. For they judged that diligence should be in vain to either part when as by the predestination of God it was already determined of them that, being reprobate, could not be restored again; and that they, being elect, could by no means fall away: and yet could not keep a constant and firm course, for as much as they were uncertain of their predestination. Therefore, seeing by this doctrine, industry is taken away, and only a certain fatal necessity doth remain, it is much better that this matter be left unspoken of. They add moreover, that it is superfluous to dispute of that which cannot be comprehended. For it is written; "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counselor?" So that their judgment was that it should be taught that God of his goodness would have all men to be saved: but in that all men are not saved, it hereof cometh because all men will not be saved, & this (say they) is a safe doctrine.

But on the other side, this doctrine of predestination taketh away all the force and use both of preachings, and also of admonitions and corrections. For if there be appointed a certain number of the elect, which can neither be diminished nor increased, then shall preachers labour in vain. For if the determination of God be immovable, then shall there be an unsearchable confusion between the elect and the reprobate; so that none of this sort can go to the other, nor none of these others pass over to them. And so in vain and unprofitable shall be all the labour and travel of such as are teachers. This doctrine also seemed unto them new; because the old fathers had written as touching this matter, either nothing at all, or very little; or else entreated of it after another sort. And for as much as, even unto Augustine's time, the church had without this doctrine defended the doctrines of faith against heretics, they also could even then be content to want it: for they affirm that such as teach this do nothing else but call men back to an uncertainty of God's will: which is nothing else but to drive men unto desperation. All these things were objected unto Augustine; which if they were true, then should we rashly and without advisement take in hand the treatise of this matter. But the reasons, with which Augustine defendeth himself, may also maintain our purpose: wherefore those things which we intend in this place to speak of, we will briefly gather out of two books of his; the one whereof is entitled, *De bono perseverantiae*: in which book, in the 14th, 15th, and 20th chapters, he confutes those objections, which we have now made mention of; the other is entitled, *De correptione & gratia*; where in the 5th, 14th, 15th, 16th chapters he treats of the self-same thing.

3. First of all, he marvels that those men should think that the doctrine of predestination should subvert the profit and commodities of preaching; especially, seeing Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, and preacher of the whole world, does in his epistles, both oftentimes and

also plainly and purposely urge that doctrine; as in the epistle unto the Romans, unto the Ephesians, and unto Timothy; yea and he says, that Luke also in the Acts of the apostles, and Christ himself in his sermons, makes mention thereof. For Christ saith: "Whom my father hath given me, those can no man take out of my hand"; and, that "Many are called, and few are elected." And in the last day, he says, that "He will answer unto the godly, Come ye blessed of my father, possess ye the kingdom, which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world." And, "He giveth thanks unto the father, for that he had hidden those things from the wise men, & revealed them unto babes; because it was his pleasure so to do." In another place also; "I know (saith he) whom I have chosen." Again; "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." And if Christ and the apostles, have in their sermons oftentimes made mention hereof; no man (saith he) ought to doubt, that this doctrine is against the fruit and commodity of preaching. He affirms also, that it follows not, that although our will, salvation, and good works, depend on the will and appointment of God; therefore we should cast away all our diligence, endeavor, and care. For Paul, when he had said, that God worketh in us both to will and to perform; yet ceased not to give good counsel. And when he had written unto the Philippians, that God who had begun in them, would accomplish the work, which he had begun, that they might be blameless in the day of the Lord; in which words he attributeth unto God both the beginning and success of good works: yet in the self-same epistle, he wonderfully exhorteth them unto holiness.

Christ also commanded his apostles to believe, and yet on the other side he saith; that no man can come unto him, but he whom the father shall draw. He also saith; He which hath ears to hear, let him hear. And yet God saith in the scriptures, that he would give them a heart from above to understand, eyes to see, & ears to hear.

Wherefore these things are not repugnant one to the other; namely, that the appointment of good works lies in God, and that the gift of them is to be hoped for at God's hands only; and that we also must put our care and endeavour to live uprightly and godly: for as we have before said, the holy scriptures teach both. Moreover, if for this cause, we should deny predestination, seeing after the self-same manner, the fore-knowledge of God is certain, and cannot be deceived; shall we therefore deny, that God fore-knoweth all things, if peradventure there be some which may be offended with this doctrine? And in his book De bono perseverance, the 15th chapter, he bringeth an example which happened in his time. He saith, that in the same monastery that he was in, was a certain man of a loose life, who when he was admonished of his fault, was accustomed to say; Such a one shall I be, as God hath fore-known me. And when he so spake (saith Augustine) he spake indeed the truth; but although his judgment was true, yet became he every day worse & worse: at the last also he saith, that he returned to his old vomit; howbeit (saith he) what manner of one he shall in time to come be, God only knoweth. Though this man abused the truth, yet will not therefore any godly man deny, that God fore-knoweth all things. And that this fore-knowledge of God, is no let unto good works, Christ declared, when he commanded his disciples to pray, when as yet in the meantime, he plainly told them, that God knew right well what they had need of. So then, fore-knowledge of God doth not call us back from desire to pray: for the things profitable and necessary, which God hath decreed to give us, he hath decreed to give them by this mean.

They also are deceived, which think that this doctrine is an unprofitable doctrine; yea, their sight is but small, and they understand not the profit thereof. Unto the godly it is very profitable, to the end they should not put any confidence, either in themselves,

or in any other men; but should fixe all their whole heart and confidence in God alone. Which thing undoubtedly, none can truly and from the heart do, but those which are fully persuaded, both that their salvation, and also their good works depend not upon themselves, but of God. No, we cannot acknowledge the gifts of God, except we understand from what fountain they spring. But that fountain is the free purpose, and mercy of God, given unto them, whom he hath elected before the constitution of the world. He which seeth not this, seeth not the goodness of God towards him. By this doctrine may men be brought, not to glory in themselves; but in the Lord: which they cannot do, that ascribe unto their own free will that little, whatsoever it be; for the which they say they are chosen of God: for they have in themselves whereof to glory. Over this, the scriptures will have us to be mortified, and to behave ourselves lowly; which thing, nothing more easily bringeth to pass, than doth this doctrine. The certainty also of salvation, which we defend, is by no other means made more manifest. And in the latter epistle to the Thessalonians, Paul willeth us for this cause, to give thanks unto GOD, that we are elected of God: but this can we not do, unless this also be wholly made plain and known unto us. Neither without this doctrine can the grace of God be sufficiently defended against the Pelagians; for they taught, that the election of God cometh by our merits. Free justification also should perish, except we be rightly taught of predestination. Seeing therefore this doctrine, being soundly understood, is unto so many things so profitable, no man ought to count it unfruitful: and since it is set forth in the holy scriptures, it cannot undoubtedly be called a new doctrine.

4. But if the fathers, before Augustine's time, have not so diligently spoken of it, it ought not to be marvelled at: for the occasions wherefore doctrines were the more diligently discussed, and searched out, were new heresies which often sprung up in the

church. And for that before Pelagius time, no man had spoken against the grace of God; there was no need, that any man should defend it: but when there arose up a new error, it was necessary, that this doctrine should the more diligently be examined. And yet did not the fathers, which were before Augustine, always leave this thing unspoken of. For Augustine himself proveth that, in the 19th chapter of his book De bono perseverance. Ambrose upon Luke saith, that God could, if he would, of undevout persons make devout. And again he saith, that God calleth them, whom he vouchsafeth; and whom he will, he maketh religious. These things writeth he upon that place, wherein it is written, that the Samaritans would not receive Christ. He citeth also Gregorius Nazianzenus, who saith; that God granteth that the faithful both believe the blessed trinity, and also confess it. But whereas they quarrel that this doctrine is very obscure, and cannot be understood; but rather bringeth men to be uncertain of the will of God, he answereth; that indeed it is an obscurity unsearchable, if any man go about to seek out reasons of the judgments of God, why (other men being rejected) this or that man is chosen. But if so much be taught of predestination, as the holy scriptures do set forth unto us; those things are not so obscure, but that they might be manifest enough unto our faith.

Neither counsel we, that when a man does anything, he should deliberate with himself of predestination; but rather refer himself unto the will of God, expressed in the scriptures: and that everyone also ought to have trust, that by predestination he is not excluded. Neither is this any let to preaching, that the number of the elect (as it is in very deed) is certain and immovable. For by preaching, we do not go about to translate men from the number of the reprobate into the number of the elect: but that they which pertain to the elect, might by the ministry of the word be brought unto their appointed end: which self-same ministry, as unto the one it is profitable, so

unto the other it brings destruction, and takes away from them all manner of excuse. But whether predestination and election unto salvation may be said to pertain unto all men; so that God will have all men to be saved, we will afterward in his due place speak of. However, in the meantime Augustine wills us not to conceal the truth touching predestination; because thereupon hangs danger, lest by misunderstanding thereof, corrupt doctrine might be confirmed. Neither are those, which are of capacity, to be defrauded, for their sakes which are not able to attain unto it.

And inasmuch as out of this doctrine, many consolations may be had, it is indifferently to be set forth, both to the learned, and to the unlearned; although not always after one manner. For, unto some, milk is meet; and unto others, strong meat. And this self-same thing may so aptly be treated of, that it may satisfy both the learned and unlearned. Which Augustine himself did wisely accomplish, who not only disputed of this matter against the Pelagians very sharply; but also in his homilies and familiar sermons plainly and expressly handled the self-same thing unto the people; What (saith he) is more profound than the saying of John; In the beginning was the word? Or than this other; The word became flesh? In which sentences many may fall, and perniciously err; and yet notwithstanding, we must not cease to set it forth both to the learned and unlearned; but yet using therein a sundry kind of speech. We ought not so to preach predestination unto the people of God, as to say; Whether thou doest this, or doest it not, thou canst not alter the determination of God: and if thou be elect, whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not be removed from salvation: for these speeches easily hurt weak and unlearned men. It is the part of an unskilful or rather malicious physician, so foolishly and unaptly to apply a medicine, which is otherwise good, that it may be hurtful unto health.

But to set forth this doctrine profitably, and with fruit; the ends and commodities which we have before spoken of, ought to be regarded. And let all our speech be directed to this, namely that they, which are of Christ, ought not to put confidence in their own power and strength, but in God; and that they ought to acknowledge his gifts, and to glory in God, and not in themselves, and to have feeling of the grace & mercy that is given them, and that they are freely justified by Christ. Let them understand also, that they are predestinate, to be made like unto the image of the Son of God, into the adoption of children, & to walk in good works; lastly, to testify to them the assurance of God's good-will towards them. Further, everything hath his ears or handles, whereby a man may most aptly hold it; which if it should be taken by any other way, or part, will either fall from the hand, or else hurt him that taketh it. This have we gathered out of those books of Augustine, which we before cited; wherein he answereth to the objections of Hilarius and Prosperus.

Now rest two doubts to be dissolved; first, that they say, that we appoint a certain fatal necessity; secondly, that they think that men by this means are brought to desperation. As touching the first, if by fate or destiny they understand a certain force influent from the stars, and an impregnable connection of causes, by which God himself also is restrained; we (and that not without just cause) will utterly renounce the name of fate. But if by that name they understand the order of causes, which is governed by the will of GOD, then cannot that thing seem to be against piety; although in my judgment I think it best, to abstain from that name, least the unlearned sort should think, that we approve the feinings of the Ethnics. Of this matter hath Augustine excellently well written in his fifth book *De civitate Dei*, the eighth chapter; Neither by this predestination, are the natures of things changed, as touching necessity, and hap; as in the treatise of providence we have declared:

may rather, by the effect of predestination, that is, by grace, we are made free from sin, and made servants unto righteousness; which servitude is holy, and in the Lord worthy to be embraced. And so far is it off, that by predestination our hope should be broken or diminished, as even by it, it is most strongly confirmed. For Paul in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, when he had said; Hope confounds not: and had added, that Unto them that love God, all things work to good, confirmeth the same by predestination. For whom God hath fore-known (saith he) those hath he predestinate: and addeth afterward; Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguish, &c? And immediately; Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, &c. Wherefore we are not by this doctrine driven to desperation, but rather much more confirmed in hope, and by it is received great comfort. And undoubtedly, it is much more safe to commit our salvation to the care and providence of God, than to our own judgment. For we, as we are changeable, would every day, and every hour, destroy ourselves. But our salvation, forasmuch as it lieth in the hand of God, is most safe and sure. And to conclude, there is nothing that more advanceth the glory of God, than doth this doctrine: wherefore we ought not to fly from this doctrine of predestination. And especially, seeing it is a certain part of the Gospel, which must not be received in part, but fully and wholly; and thus much as touching the first part proposed in the beginning.

In the other part we are to consider, whether there be any predestination; lest we seem to go about to set forth and define a thing feigned and imagined: not that ever any have been, which openly, and of purpose, durst deny the predestination of God; but for that there have been some, who have laid such grounds, as those being granted, predestination cannot stand. For some say, and amongst them especially Pighius, that In God is neither anything

past, or to come; and therefore, he presently, that is, always predestinates and fore-knows. And he says, that We are herein deceived, that we think, that God already, before, and in times past, hath predestinated some. Whereof are gathered many absurdities; Unto God (saith he) all things are present, therefore he always fore-knows, and predestinates: and thereupon inferreth, that it lies in every man to be fore-known of God, what manner of one he is; and that it is in our power to be predestinate, to be even such as we ourselves will be. But this saying strays far from the truth: for although in God, there be no courses of times, neither with him is anything past, or to come; yet that creature, whom God fore-knows and predestinates, is not without beginning. Wherefore, seeing it is not coeternal with God the Creator, it followeth of necessity, that God predestinated the same, before it was brought forth: for predestination is of the number of those actions of God, which have respect to another thing. So as we must not fly the eternity of God; for in it men have no participation with God the Creator.

This may be better and more plainly understood by considering the past. Therefore, let us say this: Certain men are now dead and gone, but to God all things are present; wherefore GOD now predestinates them, and now it is also in their power, how to be predestinated. Here there is none so blockish, but that he sees the absurdity: for they are not now predestinated, seeing they are already come to an end; neither does it lie in their power, either that the thing, which they have now received, be not at all, or how it ought to be. And if their reason is so weak, touching the time past, how can it be firm of the time to come? But let us leave this argument, which nevertheless is most strong; and let us weigh what the scriptures say. Does not Paul affirm of those twins; Before they were born, or had done either good or evil, that it was said; The elder shall serve the younger? And to the Ephesians, does he not say, that We were predestined before

the foundations of the world were laid? These places and many others such like, most manifestly declare, that these men are predestinate before they begin to have their being; which thing he that takes from us, does therewithal take away from us one great comfort, which we receive of this, that we know that we are predestinate of God unto glory, before all eternity. But let us consider to what end Pighius does thus wrest these things; forsooth to this end, to confute this; that our doings are determined and appointed of God, before they are done. For then he thinks, that the freedom of man's will should perish, and men should be left under necessity. This evil he thinks may thus be remedied, if we say, that God does all things presently. But he should have remembered, that in the prophets, and other scriptures, many prophecies are read, wherein things were determined and appointed, how they should be done before they were done. What shall we say here? Shall we think that those prophecies did not precede those things which were to come? Christ says, that It behoves that the scripture should be fulfilled: wherefore these fond imaginations are to no purpose. These men study only, with their lying inventions, to make dark a thing plain and manifest, as the fish stirs the mud to hide and save itself.

Pighius also goes on further, and says, that The providence of God has not prefixed unto men the time or kind, either of life or death; yea rather (he says) that there have been many, which as touching the providence of God, might have lived longer, if they had not either by negligence, or intemperance shortened their life. For if these things were so determinate (he says) a murderer, when he kills a man, may be excused; because he has executed the will of God. Verily I wonder that a man being a divine, could let such an old wives tale once come out of his mouth. As though the murderer, when he slays a man, has respect to the pleasing of God. This only he regards, how he may play the thief, or accomplish his hatred or enmities: for how

could he know, that this is the will of God, seeing God has in his laws commanded the contrary? Does he think, that Judas can be excused of his wicked treason, because he had heard the Lord foretell his mischievous act? Or shall Pharaoh therefore be excused, because God had foretold that his heart should be hardened? Wherefore it is a foolish thing to bring in an excuse of sins, by reason of the determination which we affirm to be in God. But Pighius adds also another argument; If our doings (he says) should in such sort be determined by God, then should all our care, diligence, and endeavour be taken away: for what might it profit (he says) to avoid thievish and dangerous journeys, or sailings in the winter, or surfeitings, or unwholesome meats, if both the kind, and time of death, and such other like, be already certainly appointed of God?

Here comes to my mind, that which Origen has in his second book against Celsus, where he makes mention of a subtle argument tossed between them which disputed of fate or destiny. A certain man gave counsel to a sick man, not to send for the physician; because (he says) it is now already appointed by destiny, either that thou shalt recover of this disease, or that thou shalt not. If it be thy destiny that thou shalt recover, then shalt thou not need the physician; if it be not thy destiny, the physician shall nothing help thee: wherefore, whether destiny has decreed, that thou shalt recover, or not recover, the physician shall be called in vain. Another by the like argument dissuaded his friend from marriage. Thou wilt marry (he says) a wife to beget children; but if it be thy destiny to have children, thou shalt have them without a wife; if it be not thy destiny, then will it thereunto nothing profit thee to marry a wife: so that whatsoever destiny has decreed, thou shalt in vain marry a wife. Thus did they deride and scorn fate or destiny: for they intended to show, in what absurdities men should fall, if they would defend fate.

Contrariwise, they which defended destiny thus dissolved these reasons; and showed, that those reasons should not trouble men. Wherefore they said, that the sick man might thus have made answer; Nay rather, if by fate it be appointed that I shall recover, I will send for the physician, because he professes to restore health to the sick; that by his industry I may attain unto that which destiny has decreed. And that other, which deliberated as touching the marriage of a wife, they imagined thus to answer; If it be appointed that I shall have children forasmuch as that can come by no other means, but by the coupling of man & woman, I will marry a wife, that destiny may take place. Let Pighius also think, that these answers may serve against him; for him also do the holy scriptures openly reprove. For unto the life of Hezekiah were added 15 years, & to the captivity of Babylon were prescribed 70 years. And Christ says, that All the hairs of our head are numbered; and that Not so much as a sparrow shall light upon the ground without the will of God.

8. That also is childish, which he adds; namely, that our prayers should be in vain, if the events of things were certainly appointed. Of these things we have spoken in another place; that God has not only decreed what he will give unto us, but also has determined means whereby he will have us to attain unto them. So Christ says, that God knows what we have need of, and yet nevertheless admonishes us to pray. This is nothing else than to lead away a man from the providence of GOD: for that providence is not new, but an eternal disposition of things. Unto the death of Christ, both the place, and time, and manner, were prescribed and revealed in the foresight of the prophets; and that it could not otherwise come to pass, Christ himself says; Mine hour is not yet come. And that which was true in Christ, how can it be denied in others? We grant that in the stars are long before seen the reasons and causes of winds, showers, tempests, fairness of weather, and dryness; and shall we not affirm those

causes to be in God, who infinitely comprehends more things than heaven does? And the scriptures do not only speak manifestly of that which we a little before rehearsed, as touching the twins, that Before they were born, or had done good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger: & Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated: but also spoke it also of the time to come; I will have mercy, on whom I will have mercy. Also; Not of works, but of him that calleth, that the purpose should remain according to election. And in Deuteronomy, it is written; He chose their seed after them. Unto David was appointed a posterity, even to the coming of Christ; and when he had committed sin, it was told him, that The sword should not depart from his house; and that his wives should openly be deflowered by the nearest of his blood. And of Jeremiah, it is written; Before that I framed thee in the womb, I knew thee. Christ says, that The elect also should be deceived, if it were possible: and, That as many as were given him of his father, no man should be able to pluck out of his hand. And in the Acts, we read; They believed, as many as were ordained to eternal life.

God also is compared with a potter, who undoubtedly, before he begins to work, casts in his mind what kind of vessel he will frame. And a little before; Whom he foreknew, those also has he predestinated, to be made like unto the image of his son. Predestination is set in the former place, and afterward follows the conformity to the image of the son of God. And in the Acts, we read, that The Jews took Christ, and crucified him; according to the foreknowledge and determinate counsel of God. What need we any more testimonies? Paul to the Ephesians says, that We were elected before the foundations of the world were laid. These things sufficiently declare that we are not deceived, when we teach that the foreknowledge and predestination of God, do before all eternity go before those things, which are foreknown and predestinate: and that

unto this determination this is no let, that in God's action, there is nothing either past or to come. By these things, which we have brought out of the holy scriptures, it is very manifest, that there is a predestination of God: which will appear, even by those things, which we will afterward make mention of. Now in the meantime, it shall be confirmed by a reason, and that such a reason, as doubtless in my judgment, may seem to be a demonstration. The end whereunto we are made, far surpasses nature; for that by our own power and strength, we cannot attain unto it: so that we have need of God, to prepare us, and to lead us unto it. Therefore Paul says to the Corinthians; The eye has not seen, nor the ear has not heard, neither has ascended into the heart of man, the things that God has prepared for them that love him. Wherefore, seeing that of necessity, we must by God be brought unto the end, this cannot be done by chance, or rashly; but by the counsel of God, which was appointed and determined, even from before all worlds.

9. Now, seeing that there is no let, but that we may come to the definition of predestination, I think it best to begin with that, which the Logicians call *Quid nominis*, that is, what the word signifies. The Greeks call predestination *προορισμός*, of this verb *προορίζω*, which signifies To determine and appoint before; for *ὄρος* is *Terminus*, that is, A bound or a limit: so as the elect are separated asunder from them that are not elect. The Latins called this *Praedestinatio*. For to destinate is nothing else but firmly in mind to determine, and constantly to appoint anything, or by some firm decree of the mind to direct a thing to some purpose. But predestination, which we speak of, may be taken two manner of ways: either as touching the bringing of it to the effect, as that Paul going to Damascus was converted to Christ, and by that means separated from the unbelievers: or in respect it is with God from eternity, before men are born. Of this, Paul writing to the Galatians, says, that He was set

apart to preach the Gospel, from his mother's womb, long before he was converted. And to the Ephesians also he says, that We were predestinate before the foundations of the world were laid. And to the Romans, of the twins, he says; Before they had done either good or evil, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. And we at this present speak of this eternal predestination of God: wherefore the other is nothing but a declaration of this predestination; therefore predestination may be taken both commonly and properly.

But forso much as God does all things by an appointed counsel, and nothing by chance or fortune; undoubtedly whatever he creates or does, he appoints it to some end or use. After this manner, neither the wicked, nor the devil himself, nor sins, can be excluded from predestination: for all these things God uses according to his will. Wherefore Paul calls wicked men vowed to utter damnation σκεῦη ὀργῆς, that is, The vessels of God, upon whom he makes open his wrath. And Solomon in his Proverbs says, that God made all things for himself, and the wicked man also for the evil day. And of Pharaoh it is said; Even to this end have I raised thee up, to show my power in thee. Yes, if predestination be thus taken, then it shall be common to all things. Neither shall this word signify anything else than the eternal ordinance of God, touching his creatures, unto some certain use of his. But the holy scriptures do not much use this word; but concerning the elect only, although in the 4th chapter of the Acts we read; They assembled together, to do whatsoever thy hand and counsel had predestinated to be done. Which words yet, if they be referred unto the death of Christ, & unto the redemption of mankind, pass not the bounds of election to salvation. But if they have a respect unto those also, which assembled together against the Lord, they comprehend likewise the reprobate.

But now let us judge by the scriptures, as they for the most part use to speak. Wherefore the School-divines also affirm, that The elect only, and not the reprobate, are predestinate. That opinion will we also at this present follow: not because of that reason, which they bring; for it is a reason very weak, as we shall afterward declare in due place: but because I see the scriptures so speak for the most part. Wherefore in this treatise, under the name of predestination, we will comprehend the saints only. And for that cause I think Augustine entitled his book *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, that is; Of the predestination of saints, which signifies the decree of God, whereby the saints are appointed to the communion of salvation: and unto predestination, by Antithesis or contrary position, is set reprobation. Thus far as touching the word.

10. Now, before we come to the true and proper definition, we must suppose certain things, of which the first pertaineth to the fore-knowing of God, which (as Paul testifieth) is joined together with predestination; For whom he hath foreknown (saith he) those hath he predestinated. And although in God, all things are one and the self-same; yet because of our capacity and understanding, those things that are attributed unto him, are by some manner of way to be distinguished. So as we must understand, that the knowledge of God extendeth further than his prescience: for his knowledge reacheth not only to things present, past, and to come; but also to those things which shall never come to pass; whether they be possible, (as men speak) or impossible: howbeit this prescience pertaineth but unto those things which shall come to pass: so that prescience requireth a will, which goeth before; for there is nothing which shall come to pass, except God will have it so: for otherwise he would let it. Wherefore God fore-knoweth those things, which he will have come to pass. Further, God does not also predestinate all those, whom he fore-knoweth; for he fore-knoweth the reprobate, whom he knows

shall be damned. But even as the prescience of God hath joined with it his will, and yet notwithstanding pertaineth to the knowledge or understanding of God: so contrariwise predestination, although it cannot be without fore-knowledge; yet it properly pertaineth unto the will: which thing Paul declares to the Ephesians, when he teaches; that We are predestinate according to purpose, by the power whereby God worketh all things, according to the decree of his will. By these things we may, after a sort, see how predestination is joined with fore-knowledge, and how it differeth from it.

Now let us see what it hath common with providence, or wherein it differeth from the same. This it hath common with providence; that either of them requires knowledge, and is referred unto the will, and that either of them has a respect unto things to come. But herein they differ; for that providence comprehends all creatures: but predestination, as we speak of it, pertains only unto the saints, and unto the elect. Besides this, providence directs things to their natural ends; but predestination leads to those ends which are above nature: as is this; To be adopted into the Son of God; To be regenerate; To be endued with grace; To live well; and last of all, To come unto glory. Wherefore we do not say that brute beasts are predestinate; for they are not capable of this supernatural end: neither are angels now predestinate; for they have already attained unto their end. But predestination has a respect unto things to come. Whereas we said that providence pertains to all things; that may thus be proved, because nothing is hidden from God: otherwise, he should not be most wise. And if he knows all things, either he governs all those things, or else he abjects the care of many of them. If he abjects the care of anything, he therefore does it, either because he cannot, or because he will not take upon him the care of those things. If he cannot, then is he not most mighty; if he will not, then is he not most good. But to deny that God is most wise, most mighty, and most

good, were plainly to deny him to be God. So then it remains that God's providence is over all things, which the scriptures in infinite places, most manifestly testify. For they teach that the care of God extends even unto the leaves of trees, even unto the hairs of the head, even unto sparrows.

Providence may thus, by the way, be defined; Providence is God's appointed, immovable, and perpetual administration of all things. When I speak of God, I mean that he is endued with great authority, and that he is mighty. Administration signifies that his government is not tyrannous; but quiet, gentle, and fatherly. For tyrants violently oppress their subjects, and refer all things to their own commodity and lust. But God violently presses no man, neither by this government gets any commodity unto himself; but only communicates his goodness unto creatures. And this administration extends unto all things; for there is nothing free from it, neither can endure without it. It is called appointed; because it is joined with most excellent wisdom: so that it admits no confusion. It is immovable because the knowledge of this governor is not deceived, neither can his power be made frustrate. It is also perpetual because God himself is present with the things: for neither did he, when he had created things, leave them unto themselves: nay rather, he himself is in them, and perpetually moves them; For in him we live, we move, and have our being. And thus much of providence.

Unto these things fate is also like, which word, if (as we have before said) it be taken for a certain inevitable necessity, which depends of the power of stars, the fathers have not without just cause abstained. But if it signifies nothing else, but a certain connection of second causes, which is not carried rashly or by chance, but is governed by the providence of God, and may at his will be changed; I see no cause why the thing itself should be of any man rejected. However, because

there is danger that error might sometimes creep in; Augustine thinks it best that we utterly refrain from that word. We ought also to remember that the love, election, and predestination of God, are so ordered in themselves, that they follow one another in a certain course. First, to the knowledge of God are offered all men not being in happy estate, yea rather being needy and miserable; whom God of his pure and singular mercy loves, those he cares for, and puts apart from others whom he surpasses, and embraces not with his benevolence; and they by this separation are said to be elected: and those so elected are appointed to an end.

11. Augustine in his book *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, the twelfth chapter, thus defines predestination; that It is a preparation of grace. And in the twelfth chapter, he says; that The same is a foreknowledge, and a preparation of the gifts of God, whereby they are certainly delivered, which are delivered: but the rest are left in the mass or lump of perdition. In another place, he called it, The purpose of mercy. The master of the sentences, in the first book, distinction 40, defines it to be a preparation of grace in this world, and of glory in the world to come. These definitions I reject not; however, because they comprehend not the whole matter, I will (as near as I can) bring another definition more full. I say therefore, that predestination is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he has from the beginning, constantly decreed to call all those, whom he has loved in Christ, to the adoption of his children, to justification by faith, and at the length to glory through good works, that they may be made like unto the image of the Son of God: and that in them may be declared the glory and mercy of the creator. This definition (as I think) comprehends all things that pertain to the nature of predestination; and all the parts thereof may be proved by the holy scriptures.

First, we take purpose for the general word; for that word is common both to predestination and reprobation. Paul unto the Ephesians says; that We are predestinate according to the purpose of God. And in the epistle to the Romans, he says, that The purpose might abide according to election. But what this purpose is, we understand by the first chapter unto the Ephesians. For there it is thus written, that God hath predestinate us according to his good pleasure. By these words it is manifest, that that is called his good pleasure, which Paul afterward called purpose. And that this purpose pertaineth unto the will, those things which afterward follow, do declare; By whose power (saith he) God worketh all things according to the counsel of his will. But by this will, we ought to understand that will which is effectual, which they call consequent; whereby is brought to pass, that the predestination of God is not frustrate. This purpose we call most wise because God does nothing rashly or by chance, but all things with most great wisdom. Therefore the Apostle joined predestination together with fore-knowledge, saying; Whom he hath foreknown, those hath he predestinate. [The purpose of God from the beginning.] This is therefore added because predestination is no new thing; neither such (as many fain) that goeth not before things, or ever they be done. Paul saith in his later epistle to Timothy; Which hath called us with his holy calling, not according to our works; but according to his purpose & grace, which was given to us in Christ Jesus before the world was. Here we manifestly see, that with the predestination of God, is joined the eternity of times. And unto the Ephesians, We are said to be elect, before the foundations of the world were laid: whereby he has constantly decreed. By these words, we are taught that the predestination of God is immutable; for Paul saith in the latter epistle unto Timothy; The foundation standeth firm; the Lord knoweth who are his. And in the eighth chapter, when the apostle would teach, that hope makes not ashamed, & that they which had an assured hope should be saved, he brings a proof

thereof by predestination, saying; Whom he hath foreknown, those also hath he predestinate. And he adds; Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguish? &c. And James says, that With God is no changing nor variableness. And in Isaiah, God crieth; I am God, and am not changed. And in the epistle to the Romans the 11th chapter, where is treated of predestination, Paul saith; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. But whereas God in Jeremiah the 18th chapter says; that He would change his sentence, which he had threatened unto many nations, so that they would repent; that is not to be understood of predestination, but of those things which are foretold shall come to pass, by that will of God, which they call the will of the sign: namely, when by his prophets he declares unto men, either what their sins have deserved, or what hangeth over their heads by reason of natural causes.

12. [Whom he hath loved in Christ]. This we add, because whatsoever God gives, or decrees to give, that He gives, and will give, through Christ. And as we have oftentimes alleged, Paul to the Ephesians says that We are elected and predestinated in Christ; for he is the prince and head of all the predestinate, yea, none is predestinate, but only to this end, to be made a member of Christ. [To call into the adoption of children.] So Paul in a manner everywhere speaks, & especially in the first chapter to the Ephesians, for there he says that We are predestinate, to the adoption of children. And that calling follows straightway after predestination, those words which we have already alleged do declare; Whom he hath predestinated, those also hath he called. [To justification by faith.] That unto calling is adjoined justification, Paul by these self-same words teaches; Whom he hath called, those also hath he justified. [Unto glory, by good works.] This also Paul teaches in the self-same place; Whom he hath justified (saith he) those also hath he glorified. And that this glory shall follow

by good works, and that we are predestinate unto those good works, that place unto the Ephesians, which we have already often cited, manifestly proves. For first he says; that We are predestinate, that we should be holy & blameless before God. Afterward he says, that God hath prepared good works, wherein we should walk.

[That they may be made like unto the image of the son of God.] This image indeed is begun in us by regeneration when we are justified; and in them that are of full age, it grows daily to perfection by good works, and is fully finished in the eternal glory. But in infants, this likeness has place, while that it is begun by regeneration, and is finished in that last glory. However, in them, for want of age, good works are not required. [That in them might be declared the mercy and goodness of the Creator.] This is the last end of predestination, shadowed unto us by Paul in the similitude of the potter, which has power to make one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour: so God has prepared his vessels to glory, that in them he might declare his glory. By this definition, we gather that God has predestinated unto the elect, not only glory but also good works; that is, means whereby he will have his elect come unto glory. By this, we may see how foully they are deceived, which live wickedly; and yet in the meantime boast that they are predestinate. For the scriptures teach that men, according to the predestination of God, are not brought unto glory by wicked acts and naughty deeds, but by a virtuous life and manners. Neither are they to be listened to, which cry out; However I live, the predestination of God shall have its effect. For this is utterly to be ignorant of what predestination is, and impudently to go about to abuse it.

13. Now that we have severally, after this manner, examined this definition by its parts; let us gather thereout certain things not unprofitable. First this, that predestination is a work of God, and is

to be placed in the purpose of God: for although men are said to be predestinate, yet we must not appoint predestination in them. So likewise, things are said to be perceived, & known; when as yet in them is neither knowledge nor perceiving, but only in the man that knows them. Wherefore, even as we can foresee either rain, or cold, or fruit, before they come; so God predestinates men, who as yet have no being. For of relatives some are such, that of necessity the one cannot be but together with the other; as a father and a son: and some there are, whereof the one may be, although the other be not at the same time with it; as the former and the latter, knowledge and the thing to be known. Predestination therefore is referred unto this latter kind of relatives; which predestination yet, forso much as it is (as we have said) in the mind of him that predestinates: those things, whereto the predestinate are directed, namely grace, justification, good works and glorification, are in them which be predestinate: for these have no place, but in the saints. But in that we have put the effects of predestination, in the definition thereof; it is not to be marvelled at: for this definition cannot be given, unless the correlatives (as they call them) be also expressed. Predestination is indeed defined, but of necessity there must be expressed and declared the ends, unto which men are by it directed. And therefore they are joined with foreknowledge; because God knows both the beginnings, and means, and ends of our salvation. This moreover is to be known, that when of the fathers (as sometimes it happens) predestination is called foreknowledge, that then it signifies, not only knowledge but also approbation: which (as we have declared) pertains unto purpose. Wherefore we did what we could, to speak properly, to the end these things should not be confounded. Lastly is to be considered also, how in predestination, are knit together the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, which are his most chief properties. Purpose, which comes of his goodness, is placed in the will of God. Foreknowledge declares a wise preparation; for the will

purposes nothing, which is not beforehand known. Lastly, when it comes to be put in execution, then is power present.

14. And now, because things contrary pertain to one and the self-same knowledge; and the one of them serves much to the knowledge of the other; even as we have defined predestination, so also will we define reprobation. I said before, that I was of the same mind that the Schoolmen are; namely, that the reprobate are not predestinate: not because I judged their reasons to be so firm, but because the scriptures use so to speak for the most part. This is their reason, because predestination directs not only to the end, but also to the means which lead to the end. But inasmuch as sins are the means, by which men are damned; they say that God cannot be named to be the cause of them. Undoubtedly, if we will speak uprightly and properly, God cannot be said to be the cause of sins, whom yet we can in no wise utterly exclude from the government and ordering of sins: for he is the cause of those actions, which to us are sins; although as they are of God, they are mere justice: for God punishes sins by sins. Wherefore sins, as they are punishments, are laid upon men by God, as by a just judge. Besides, it is God who withdraws his grace from men; which being withdrawn, it cannot be chosen, but that they must fall. And inasmuch as through his agitation or stirring up, all we both live and move; doubtless all the works which we do, must needs in a manner be done by his impulsion. Although thereof follows not, that he should pour into us any new naughtiness: for we have naughtiness abundantly enough of ourselves, both by reason of original sin; and also because the creature, if it is not helped by God, of itself it declines without measure and end, to worse and worse.

Furthermore God, and that undoubtedly by justice, ministers unto the reprobate, and unto the wicked, occasions of sinning; and wonderfully bends the hearts of men, not only to good, but also (as

Augustine says) by his just judgment to evil. Yes, also he uses the malice of men, will they or nill they, unto those ends, which he has purposed unto himself. And the holy scriptures do not hesitate to say, that God delivers men into a reprobate sense, and makes them blind, and seduces them; and many other such things: and yet for all this, he cannot be truly called the cause of sins, seeing we have the true cause of sins sufficient in ourselves. So as that reason of the Schoolmen is not firm, neither does it cleave to a very sure foundation. However, I therefore separate the reprobate from the predestinate; because the scriptures nowhere (that I know of) call men that shall be damned predestinate. Which sentence, though I saw no reason why, yet would I judge is to be followed; because of the authority of the word of God. However, I think that the holy scriptures so speak; for that (as we have before said) predestination has a regard unto those ends, unto which we cannot by nature attain: such as are justification, good life, and glorification: by which God exalts us far above all strength and power of nature. But the sins, for which we are damned, although they are not excluded from the government of God; namely, after that manner, as we have already declared; yet do they not pass the strength of our nature: for every man of himself is prone enough to sin.

15. Wherefore reprobation is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he has before all eternity, constantly decreed without any injustice, not to have mercy on those whom he has not loved, but has overlooked them; that by their just condemnation, he might declare his wrath towards sins, and also his glory. The former parts of this definition are already declared, when we defined predestination, even unto that part [without any injustice:] which part is therefore added, because God does injury unto no man; although he bestows not his mercy upon some: for he is not bound unto any man by any law; neither is he compelled of duty, to have mercy upon any man.

Wherefore God answers in the Gospel; Is thine eye wicked, because I am good? Is it not lawful for me to do with mine own what I will? The self-same has Paul taught by the power of the potter. And yet he affirms, that there is not therefore any injustice in God; for here is treated of mercy, and not of justice. And unto Moses was answered in Exodus; I will have mercy, on whom I will have mercy, &c. I will not have mercy on them, &c. By those words is signified, that all men are of their own nature in misery: for mercy is bestowed upon none, but upon them that are in misery. Out of this misery God delivers some; and those he is said to love: other some he overlooks, and them he is said to hate; for that he has not mercy on them, that by their just condemnation he might declare his anger & also his justice against sins. The damnation of these men is said to be just, because it is laid upon them for their sins. And yet we ought not hereby to infer, that sins foreseen, are the cause why any man is reprobate: for they bring not to pass, that God has purposed, that he will not have mercy; however they are the cause of damnation, which follows in the last time; but not of reprobation, which was from the beginning.

The last end of reprobation is the declaration of the mighty justice of God, as Paul has taught; namely, that These vessels are prepared unto wrath: because GOD would show in them his power. And God answers of Pharaoh; Even unto this end have I raised thee up, that I might show in thee my power. A nearer end is damnation, which as it is just, so also is it allowed of God. And yet the nearest end are sins; for God commanded that the people should be made blind, that they should not understand, that they should not hear, Least peradventure (saith he) they may be converted, and I should heal them. For sins, although as they are sins, they are by God in his laws condemned; yet as they are just punishments, they are by him laid upon the ungodly for their ill deserts. But we must not stay in these nearer ends; we must go further, that we may at the length come to

that end, which Paul has set forth; namely, that The justice of God should be declared. And thus much hitherto as touching the first article.

16. Now let us come to the second, wherein must be sought the cause of predestination. Forsomuch as predestination is the purpose or will of God, and the same will is the first cause of all things, which is one and the self-same with the substance of God; it is not possible, that there should be any cause thereof. However, we do not therefore deny, but that sometimes may be showed some reason of the will of God: which although they may be called reasons, yet ought they not to be called causes, especially efficient causes. But that in the scriptures are sometimes assigned reasons of the will of God, may by many places be gathered. The Lord saith, that He therefore did lead about the children of Israel through the desert, rather than through shorter passages, through which he could have led them; because they should not suddenly meet with their enemies. Adam also was placed in paradise to husband it, & keep it. And God testified, that He would not then expel the Canaanites out of the land of Canaan; because they had not as yet filled the measure of their sins. However, although (as we have said) the scriptures use sometimes to bring reasons of the will of God; yet no man ought to take upon him, to render a certain reason of that certain will of God, but that which he has gathered out of the scriptures. For (as we are dull of understanding) so we might easily usurp our own dreams, instead of true reasons.

But that there are final causes of the predestination of God, we deny not: for they are expressly set down by Paul, and especially when he citeth that of Pharaoh; Even to this end have I stirred thee up, that I might show upon thee my power: but of the elect he saith, that God would in them show forth his glory. The material cause also, may

after a sort be assigned. For men, which are predestinate; and those things which God hath decreed to give unto the elect by predestination, as are these; calling, justification, and glorification; may be called the matter, about which predestination is occupied. This moreover is to be noted, that the end may sometimes be taken as it is of us in mind and desire conceived; and then it hath the consideration of an efficient cause: for being so conceived in the mind, it forceth men to work. Sometimes also it is taken, as it is in the things; and as we attain unto it after our labours: and then properly it is called the end, because the work is then finished, and we are at quiet, as now having obtained the end of our purpose. But we therefore put this distinction, that if at any time we should be asked, Whether God do predestinate men for works or no? We should not rashly, either by affirming, or by denying, give hasty sentence: for the ambiguity is in this word [For] how it is to be understood. For if good works be taken, as they are in very deed, and are wrought; because God predestinath us to this end, that we should live uprightly, as we read in the epistle unto the Ephesians; to wit, that We are elected to be holy and immaculate: and, that God hath prepared good works, that we should walk in them; As touching this sentence or meaning, the proposition is to be affirmed. But if that word [For] be referred unto the efficient cause, as though the good works, which God foresaw we should do, are as certain merits and causes, which should move God to predestinate us; this sense is by no means to be admitted.

It is possible indeed, that the effects of predestination may so be compared together, that one may be the cause of the other: but they cannot be causes of the purpose of God. For calling, which is the effect of predestination, is the cause that we are justified; justification also is the cause of good works; and good works, although they be not causes, yet are they means, whereby GOD

bringeth us unto eternal life. However, none of all these is the cause, or the mean why we are chosen of God. As contrariwise, sins are indeed the causes why we are damned; but yet not why we are reprobate of God. For if they were the cause of reprobation, no man might be chosen. For the condition and estate of all men is alike; since we are all borne in sin. And when at any time Augustine saith, that Men are justly reprobate for their sins; he understandeth, together with reprobation, the last effect thereof: namely damnation. But we may not so speak, if by reprobation, we understand the purpose of God not to have mercy; for that purpose is no less free, than the other purpose of showing mercy.

17. These things being now thus declared, we will assign reasons why we deny that good works foreseen are the causes of predestination. The first is, because the scriptures nowhere so teach: but of so weighty a matter we ought to affirm nothing without the holy scriptures. However, I know that certain have gone about to gather this sentence out of the second epistle to Timothy, where it is thus written; In a great house are vessels of gold, silver, and wood: and if any man shall cleanse himself from these, he shall be a vessel to honour, and fit for every good work. Hereby they conclude that certain are therefore destined to be vessels of honour; because they have cleansed themselves from the filthiness of sin, and from corrupt doctrine. And because they are here said to have power to perform this; they say that it lies in every man to be predestinate of God unto felicity. But these men make no good collection; for the meaning of Paul in that place is thus to be taken. He had said before; The foundation standeth firm, The Lord knoweth who are his. As if he should have said; Men may sometimes be deceived, for they oftentimes judge those to be godly, which are furthest off from godliness. In which words he reproveth Hymenaeus and Philetus; for a little before he had spoken of their perverse doctrine: for they

taught, that the resurrection was done already. Wherefore Paul would not that men should be judged, as they appear to be at the first sight: for God hath in this world, as it were in a great house, vessels, some of gold, some of silver, some of wood, and some of clay: and he knoweth best which of these are to honour, and which are to dishonour. But we which know not, nor do understand the secretnesse of his will, can judge of them but only by the effects; that whosoever is clean from corrupt doctrine, and liveth godly, the same is a vessel unto honour.

Neither doth this place prove that men can cleanse themselves, or make themselves vessels of honour: for as Paul hath taught us, in the Epistle to the Romans; It is God only, which bringeth this to pass: for he, as it were a potter, hath power of one and the self-same mass or lump, to make one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour. Wherefore this place interpreteth the other. And therefore, we ought not to gather more of those words of Paul, than that such cleansing is a token, whereby we judge of the worthiness, or of the unworthiness of the vessels in the church. It is God, which knoweth truly what manner of one every man is, and his foundation standeth firm; for it cannot be deceived: but we can judge of others, only by certain tokens and effects. And this is it, which Christ admonisheth; By their fruits ye shall know them. Neither do they rightly understand the Apostle, which by these words (If a man keep himself clean from these things) teach, that it lieth in our will, to make ourselves vessels of honour. For the strength of our free will is not proved by conditional propositions, so that we should thus infer: The holy scriptures teach, that if ye shall do this, or that; or if ye shall believe, ye shall have salvation; wherefore, we can of ourselves believe, or live godly. Such conclusions are weak: for God, in another place teacheth, that He will make us able to walk in his ways. Precepts therefore, and exhortations, and conditions, are to that end added; that we should

understand what is required at our hands, and what manner of persons they shall be, which pertain unto God, and shall obtain eternal life.

Wherefore we ought not out of these places to gather, what our own power and strength is able to do. But it is easy to declare, why men that are purged of God, are notwithstanding said to purge themselves. For God worketh not in men as stocks and stones; for stones are moved without sense and will. But God, when he regenerateth men, so cleanseth and reneweth them, that they themselves both understand those things which they do, and also above all things desire and will the same, after they have once received a fleshy heart for their stony heart. So then, after they are once regenerate, they are made workers together with God; and of their own accord they bend themselves to holiness, and unto pureness of life. God by Moses commanded the Israelites to sanctify themselves: and yet in another place he manifestly testifieth, that it is he, which sanctifieth the people. And Paul unto the Corinthians saith, that Christ was made unto us, wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and sanctification. God also commandeth us to believe; and yet the scriptures elsewhere testify, that Faith is the gift of God.

18. By all these things, therefore, it is very manifest how little this place maketh for our adversaries, whichever way they turn themselves. Besides all this, the scriptures do not only teach that predestination is not of works foreseen, but also plain contrary. For Paul pronounceth of those twins; Before they were born, or had done either good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger: Also; Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated; that it should not be of works, but of him that calleth. Wherefore he denieth that either the love or hatred of God cometh of works. But they are worthy to be laughed at, which cavil; that Paul indeed excluded works already

done, but not those which are to be done. For they see not, that Paul in this place goeth about to remove all manner of difference from those two brethren; that we might fully understand that they were altogether like as touching themselves. For when he declared that they were born of one father and mother, that they were brought forth also both at one burden; his meaning tended to no other end, but unto this; by their equality to show that the election of God is free, so that it lay in him to elect the one and to reject the other. But if the difference were left only in works foreseen, then should Paul in vain have put so great an equality. Wherefore Paul speaketh generally; Not of works. In which words he comprehendeth, as well works to be done, as works already done. And that we might the more surely understand this, he addeth; But of him that calleth. Wherefore Paul sendeth us unto God, and not unto works.

And if a man diligently mark all those things which follow in that chapter, you shall see that the apostle draweth those things, which he teacheth of predestination, to these principal points; namely unto power: for he saith; Hath not the potter power? Unto purpose or good pleasure; for unto the Ephesians he useth both words. Unto will; for he saith, He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. Unto mercy or love; for he saith, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Also; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. Seeing Paul, what cause soever either here, or in any other place he giveth of predestination, reduceth the same to these four principal points; can we doubt of his meaning? Or shall we take upon us to give sentence otherwise? But as touching works, he speaketh not so much as one word, wheresoever he entreateth of this matter; but only to exclude them. Further, consider this, that there is nothing more against the scope and meaning of Paul, than to put works foreseen to be the causes of predestination: for by that means, works should be the causes of

justification: but that doctrine the apostle doth by all manner of means oppugn.

And hereby I prove this reason to be firm, because the apostle maketh predestination the cause of calling, and calling the cause of justification. Wherefore if works be the causes of predestination, they shall also be causes of justification. For this is a firm rule among the Logicians; Whatsoever is the cause of any cause, is also cause of the effect. Further, no man can deny, but that good works proceed of predestination; for We are said to be predestinate, that we should be holy & blameless. And; God by predestination hath prepared good works, in which we should walk. And Paul himself confesseth, that He obtained mercy, to the end he should be faithful. Wherefore if works be the effects of predestination, how can we then say, that they are the causes thereof; and chiefly those kind of causes, which are called efficient causes? For that use of free will is nothing worth, which they so often brag of; as though we have it of ourselves, and not of the mercy of God. For Paul saith, that It is God which worketh in us both to will and to perform. And God in Ezekiel saith; I will take away from them their stony heart, and will give them a heart of flesh. We cannot (saith Paul) think any good thing of ourselves, as of ourselves. And if we had in ourselves that good use, which they speak of, what should let, but that we might glory thereof? Undoubtedly the Lord saith; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him. And Jerome against the Pelagians, very well writeth, that they which are said to be drawn, are by that word signified, to have been before froward, resisting, and unwilling; but afterward GOD so worketh, that he changeth them. This self-same thing also, doth the nature of grace prove: for Paul saith; that The remnants might be saved, according to the free election of grace, which is to say, according to free election; for so is the genetive case after the Hebrew phrase to be resolved.

19. Further, in the definition of predestination, in the first place, we have put this word purpose; which, seeing it signifies nothing else (as we have taught out of the epistle unto the Ephesians) but the good pleasure of God, thereby it evidently appears that we may not elsewhere seek the cause of predestination. Moreover, works cannot be the causes of our calling, and much less of our predestination: for predestination goes before calling. And that works are not the causes of calling, it is declared by the epistle unto Timothy; God hath called us (saith Paul) with his holy calling, not by our works, but according to his purpose, & the grace which we have in Christ before the world was. Hereby it most manifestly appears that works are not the causes of our calling. Yea, neither are works the causes of our salvation; which yet were far more likely: for by good works God bringeth us to felicity. But Paul to Titus saith, that God hath saved us, not by the works of righteousness, but according to his mercy. Further, what needed Paul after this disputation to cry out; O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How vnsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out? For if he would have followed these men's opinion, he might with one poor word have dispatched the whole matter, & have said; that some are predestinate, and othersome rejected, because of the works which God foresaw should be in both of them. Those men Augustine in mockage, called sharp-witted men, which so trimly and so easily saw those things that Paul could not see.

But say they, The Apostle in this place assoils this question. But it is absurd so to say, especially, seeing that he brought it in of purpose; and the solution thereof served very much unto that which he had in hand. And how (in God's name) can he seem not to have assoiled the question, when he reduced that even unto the highest cause; namely, unto the will of God, and therewithal shows, that we ought not to go any further? When God had appointed limits, at the foot of the

mount Sinai; if any man had gone beyond those limits, he was by the law punished. Wherefore let these men beware, with what boldness they presume to go further than Paul would they should. But they say, that the apostle here rebuketh the impudent. Be it so, but yet this rebuking is a most true solution of the question: for Paul by this reprehension prohibits us not to inquire anything beyond the mercy and will of God. If these men understand such a solution, as man's reason may resolve upon, I will easily grant, that the question is not so assoiled: but if they seek that solution, which faith ought to embrace and to rest upon, they are blind, if they see not the solution.

20. But let us see what moved these men to say that works foreseen are the causes of predestination. Undoubtedly that was nothing else but to satisfy man's judgment; which yet they have not attained unto. For they have nothing to answer concerning an infant, which being grafted into Christ, dies in his infancy; for if they will have him to be saved, they must needs confess that he was predestinated. But forasmuch as in him follows no good works, God doubtless could not foresee them; yea rather, this he foresaw; that he should by his free will do nothing. But that is more absurd, which they object, that God foresaw what he would have done if he had happened to live longer: for man's judgment will not so be satisfied. For reason will complain that some men are overhyped and rejected for those sins which they have not done, and especially in that respect that they should have committed those sins if they had lived. For civil judges punish not any man for those faults which they would have committed if he had not been letted: and that God is nothing moved with those works which men would have done, Christ plainly declares when he entreated of Corosaim, and Bethsaida, and Capernaum; If (saith he) the things which have been done in thee, had been done in Tyre and in Sidon, they had doubtless repented, and those cities had been at this day remaining, Behold, God foresaw that these nations would

have repented if they had seen and heard those things which were granted and preached unto these cities. Seeing therefore that they perished, it is manifest that God in predestinating follows not those works which men would have done if they had lived.

Neither yet ought any man to gather out of this saying of Christ that they by themselves, even by the power of free will, could have repented; for repentance is the gift of God. But the meaning of that place is that unto these men God used not those means whereby they might have been moved. These men suppose that even by nature itself there is a difference in men which the election of God follows. Neither consider they that all men are born the sons of wrath: so that as touching the mass or lump from whence they are taken, there cannot be put in them any difference at all: for whatsoever good comes unto us, that same without all doubt comes from God, and from grace. And that in the nature of men is not to be put any difference, the apostle declares: for when he would show that one of the two brethren was taken, and the other rejected by the free will of God; first he used an example of Isaac and Ismael: but since in these two it might be objected that there was some difference, for that the one was born of a free woman, and the other of a handmaiden: afterward he brought two brethren that were twins, Jacob and Esau, which had not only one and the self-same parents; but also were brought forth both at one time, and in one and the selfsame birth. And as touching works, there was no difference at all between them: for as the apostle saith; Before they had done either good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger. Again; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. What need was there that Paul should so diligently allege these things, but to make these two brethren therein equal in all points, as touching nature? Which had been to no purpose, if still there had remained so much difference in works foreseen. So then it follows that whatsoever difference is in men, the

same depends only on the will of God: for otherwise we are all born under sin.

21. Further, if there should be anything of ourselves which might move God to predestinate us, that should chiefly be faith. For Augustine also, when he was yet young, and was not so well and thoroughly acquainted with this question, thought that God in predestination and reprobation has a respect unto faith and unto infidelity: which opinion, both Ambrose and Chrysostom embraced before. But this in very deed cannot be attributed, no not unto faith; for faith also comes of predestination. For it is not of ourselves, but is given of God; and that not rashly, but by his determinate counsel: which may be easily proved by many places of the scriptures. For Paul unto the Ephesians writes; By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, least any man should boast. And again in the same epistle; Charity and faith from God the father, through Jesus Christ. And in the epistle unto the Romans; As God hath divided unto every man the measure of faith. And unto the Corinthians; I have obtained mercy, that I might be faithful. Unto the Philippians; Unto you it is given, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. In the Acts; God opened the heart of the woman that sold purple, that she might give heed unto those things which were spoken of Paul. And in the 13. chapter; They believed, as many as were ordained unto eternal life. Christ also saith in the Gospel; I confess unto thee, O father of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto infants: even so, O father, because it hath so pleased thee. And in another place; Unto them (saith he) I speak in parables, that when they hear, they should not hear; and when they see, they should not see: but unto you it is given to understand. And unto Peter he said; Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee. And

there are many other testimonies in the holy scriptures, whereby is proved that faith is given and distributed by God only; so as it cannot be the cause of predestination: and if faith cannot, works can much less.

22. Moreover, no man can deny but that the predestination of God is eternal: for Paul to Timothy saith; that God hath elected us before the world was. And unto the Ephesians; Before the foundations of the world were laid. But our works are temporal, wherefore that which is eternal cannot come of them. But they use to cavil that those works, in whose respect we are predestinated, are so to be taken, as they are foreseen of God; and by this means they cannot seem to be temporal. Be it so, take them in that manner; yet can it not be denied but that they are after predestination: for they depend of it, and are the effects thereof, as we have before taught. Wherefore after these men's doctrine, that which cometh after should be the efficient cause of that which went before; which, how absurd it is, every man may easily understand. Further, the efficient cause is, of his own nature, more worthy, and of more excellency than the effect; specially in respect it is such a cause. So then, if works be the causes of predestination, they are also more worthy, and of more excellency than predestination. Over this, predestination is sure, constant, and infallible; how then shall we appoint that it dependeth upon works of free will, which are uncertain, and unconstant, and may be wrested to and fro, if a man consider them particularly? For men are alike prone unto this or that kind of sin, as occasions are offered: for otherwise, if we will speak generally, free will before regeneration can do nothing else but sin, by reason of the corruption that cometh by our first parents.

So as, according to the mind of these men, it must needs follow that the predestination of God, which is certain, dependeth of the works

of men, which are not only uncertain, but sins also. Neither can they say that they mean as touching those works, which follow regeneration: for those (as we have taught) spring of grace and of predestination. Neither do these men consider that they, to satisfy man's reason, and to attribute a liberty (I know not what) to men, do rob God of his due power and liberty in election: which power and liberty yet the apostle setteth forth, and saith; that God hath no less power over men than hath the potter over the vessels which he maketh. But after these men's opinion God cannot elect, but him only, whom he knoweth shall behave himself well: neither can he reject any man, but whom he seeth shall be evil. But this is to go about to overrule God, and to make him subject unto the laws of our reason. As for Erasmus, he in vain speaketh against this reason: for he saith, that It is not absurd, to take away from God that power which he himself will not have attributed unto him; namely, to do anything unjustly.

For we say, that Paul hath in vain, yea rather falsely set forth this liberty of God, if he neither have it, nor will that it should be attributed unto him. But how Paul hath proved this liberty of God, that place which we have cited, most manifestly declareth. They also to no purpose object unto us the justice of God; for here is treated only of his mercy. Neither can they deny but that they, by this their opinion, do derogate much from the love and good will of God towards men. For the holy scripture, when it would commend unto us the fatherly love of God, affirms, that He gave his son, and that unto death, and at that time when we were yet sinners, enemies, and children of wrath. But they will have no man to be predestinated, which hath not good works foreseen in the mind of God. And so every man may say with himself; If I be predestinated, the cause thereof dependeth of myself. But another, which feels truly in his heart, that he is freely elected of God for Christ's sake, when as he of

himself was all manner of ways unworthy of so great love, will without all doubt be wonderfully inflamed to love God again.

23. It is also profitable unto us that our salvation should not depend on our works. For we oftentimes waver, and in living uprightly are not constant. Doubtless, if we should put confidence in our own strength, we should utterly despair: but if we believe that our salvation abides in God, fixed and assured for Christ's sake, we cannot but be of good comfort. Further, if predestination should come unto us by our works foreseen, the beginning of our salvation should be of ourselves; against which opinion, the scriptures everywhere cry out: for that would be to raise up an idol in ourselves. Moreover, the justice of God would then have need of the external rule of our works. But Christ says; Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. Neither is that consideration in God, which is in men, when they begin to favor a man, or to love a friend: for men are moved by excellent gifts, wherewith they see a man adorned; but God can find nothing good in us, which first proceeds not from him. And Cyprian says (as Augustine oftentimes cites him) that we therefore cannot glory, for that we have nothing that is our own: and therefore Augustine concludes that we ought not to part stakes between God and us, to give one part to him, and to keep another unto ourselves, to obtain salvation: for all wholly is without doubt to be ascribed unto him. The Apostle, when he writes of predestination, has always this end before him, to confirm our confidence, and especially in afflictions; out of which he says that God will deliver us. But if the reason of God's purpose should be referred unto our works, as unto causes, then could we by no means conceive any such confidence: for we oftentimes fall, and the righteousness of our works is so small as it cannot stand before the judgment seat of God. And that the Apostle, for this cause chiefly made mention of predestination, we may understand by the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

For when he described the effects of justification, amongst other things he says, that we by it have obtained the adoption of children, and that we are moved by the spirit of God, as the sons of God; and therefore with a valiant mind we suffer adversities: and for that cause every creature groans and earnestly desires, that we at length be delivered; and the spirit itself makes intercession for us. And at the last he adds; That unto them that love God, all things work to good. And who they be, that love God, he straightway declares; Which are called (he says) according to purpose. These will Paul make secure, that they should not think that they are hindered when they are exercised with adversities: because they are foreknown, predestinated, called, and justified. And that he had a respect unto this security, those things declare, which follow; If God be on our side, who shall be against us? Who shall accuse against the elect of God? First by this method is gathered, that the adversaries err much, supposing that by this place they may infer, that predestination comes of works foreseen: for Paul, before that gradation, wrote these words; To them that love God, all things work to good: as though foreknowledge and predestination, whereof he afterward makes mention, should depend of that sentence.

And to this sense they cite that of the Proverbs of Solomon; I love them that love me. Neither consider they (as we have said) that Paul in this place, intends to declare who they are, unto whom it is given to love God, and to whom all things work to good. And those (he says) are they, which by predestination are chosen of God. And as touching Solomon, we also confess, that those who love God, are again loved of him. But this is now in question, whether the love of God, whereby he embraces us, do spring or grow from our love? This does John by express words declare in his epistle; He has not (says he) first loved us, because we have loved him. The second thing, that we gather of these words of Paul is, that the predestination of God (if

it be of this force, to confirm us, touching the good-will and love of God towards us) cannot depend on our works: for our works are both weak and of very small righteousness. Again, this is to be considered, that Paul concealed not those causes, which might have been assigned; for he expressly sets down, that the mercy and justice of God may appear. But when he comes to the efficient cause, he will have us so fully to stay ourselves on the will of God, that he compares God to a potter, and us to clay: in which comparison he shows that there is nothing which we ought further to inquire.

I know that the adversaries say, that that comparison is brought only to repress the malepertness of the demander: not that the matter on both parts is so indeed, for that God elects men by works foreseen. But if it so be, how then by this similitude shall the mouth of murmurers be stopped? For they will say, If the justice of God requires this, that election be of works foreseen, what needed Paul to say; Before they had done good or evil, it was said, The elder shall serve the younger? Jacob have I loved, & Esau have I hated. Again, Not of works, but of him that calls, that election might abide firm, according to the purpose? And why is this similitude of the potter brought, seeing the thing itself is far otherwise; and neither does God as a potter, all things after his own lust, neither are we as clay utterly without difference? Doubtless by this their reason the malapert questioner is not repressed: nay rather, there is offered an occasion of reproach; for that the similitude, which is brought, serves not to the purpose.

There is also another sentence of Paul unto the Ephesians, whereby this our saying is greatly confirmed; for when he had said, that We are predestinated according to the purpose of God, he adds; By the power whereof he works all things, according to the counsel of his will. But if it were so, as these men imagine, God should not work all

things according to his will, but according to the will of another. For, as we should order our works, so should he moderate his election; and that is to be led by another man's will, and not by his own. This same thing testifies Paul to the Corinthians, saying; God has chosen the foolish, weak, and vile things of this world, to confound the wise, mighty, and noble. Look brethren (he says) upon your calling; Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble. And in the self-same epistle, when he had described the former estate of the elect, and had reckoned up a great many and grievous sins, at the length added; And these things were ye, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified. And unto the Ephesians; Ye were (he says) once without God, without hope in the world. These things prove that the calling and predestination of God do not depend on our merits. But as Augustine writes unto Simplicianus; God overleaps many philosophers, men of sharp wit, and of notable learning. He has also overleaped many, who if a man has a respect unto civil manners, were innocents, and of life good enough. Neither is this to be marvelled at; for if God to this end predestinates, to make manifest the riches of his mercy; that is sooner accomplished if he bring to salvation those who both resist more; and by reason of their deserts of life, are further from him, than if he should elect those, whom man's reason may judge more fit.

Hereof it came, that Christ gathered the flock of his disciples out of sinners, Publicans, and base men: neither disdained he to call unto him, thieves and harlots. In all which men, what consideration (I beseech you) was there to be had unto merits? Paul also writes unto the Corinthians; We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed an offence, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them, that are called, both Jews and Gentiles, Christ the power of God, and wisdom of God. We see also in this place, whence the apostle fetches the difference, when he affirms, that some think well of Christ preached, and some ill; for all this he says comes wholly of calling: for he says;

But unto the called. As if he should have said; They which are not called, have Christ for an offence, and for foolishness; but they which are called, do both follow him, and also embrace him for the power and wisdom of God. In the prophets also, when God promises that he will deliver his people, he says not that he will do it for their works or merits sake; but I will do it (he says) for my name's sake. From this reason Paul departs not; for he shows that God by predestination will make open the riches of his glory, that all men might know how little the Jews had deserved this election of God; that the nations being overleaped, they alone should be counted for the people of God. Which thing Stephen expounds in the Acts of the apostles, when he says; that They had ever resisted God, and had always been stiff-necked. What good works then did God see in them, to prefer that nation before all other nations? Ezekiel notably describes, how God looked upon the people of the Jews at the beginning; namely, as upon a naked damsel, and on every side polluted, and shamefully bedaubed in blood; I passed by (says the Lord) and when I saw thee in that case, I had compassion of thee.

25. Further, let us remember what is the scope of the apostle in the epistle to the Romans: for if we will judge uprightly of controversies, we must not cast our eye off from the scope. The endeavour of the apostle was that he might by all manner of means commend the grace of Christ. And this purpose can nothing more hinder than to affirm that the predestination of God; that is, the head and fountain of grace, comes of the works of men. And if it is counted a fault in Orators, if in their oration they perchance rehearse things which would much hinder the cause that they took in hand; how can we suspect that the Holy Ghost persists not in that which he began, but speaks things strange from that which he purposed? Neither can we make any other reason of the members than of the head, which is Christ Jesus. Seeing, therefore, that no man can doubt but that the

Son of God did freely take upon him man's nature; (for if the question should be asked, why rather he, than any other man, took flesh of the virgin Marie? There can no other reason be given, but that it so pleased him. For as touching works, any other man, born of any other virgin, might have had them, no less than he who was born of Marie. For whosoever had had the Godhead, as Christ had; truly he should have done the self-same works which Christ did.) Seeing therefore that that humanity was taken of the Son of God freely, and of the pure and mere mercy of God: even after the self-same manner, whosoever are the members of Christ, are chosen freely, and without any merits of works. Finally, all those reasons which prove that justification consists not of works; the same also prove that predestination depends not of works.

Now rests to declare whether Christ and his death may be said to be the cause of predestination. Here we answer, that Christ and his death are the principal and chief effect of predestination. For amongst those things which are of God given unto the elect is Christ himself, and the fruit of his death. For whatsoever is given unto us by this way, and by this conduit, as it were, is derived unto us from God. And inasmuch as it is certain that the effects of predestination may so be compared together, as one may be the cause of the other; but unto none of them agrees to be the beginning of predestination: therefore we deny that Christ, as touching his humanity or death, is the cause of our predestination, although he be the beginning and cause of all good things which come unto us by the purpose of God.

26. I am not ignorant that there have been some who have gone about to reconcile together the sentences of the fathers, with this most true doctrine, which we have now by many reasons proved. For they say that the fathers, when they write that predestination is of works foreseen; by the name of predestination, do not understand

the work or action of God, whereby he elects or predestinates any man; but rather the end and certain means: and that as touching them, nothing can let, but that works may be causes. For it is without all doubt certain, that the last damnation comes of works, as the cause: and good works spring of faith, as from their head or fountain. I see indeed that the intent of these men is not to be discommended, which labour to apply the sentences of the fathers unto the truth, as much as is possible; but yet that which they avouch to be true, cannot I affirm. For there are certain sentences of the fathers so hard that they can by no means be drawn to this meaning: for they, to defend the liberty of our will, will not have all things to depend on the predestination of God; and of purpose say, that all wholly is not of God, but somewhat also is required of us. And they expressly write that God elects some; because he foresaw that they would believe. They have also here and there many other such like sayings; so that I by no means can see how their sentences can agree with our doctrine in this point. However, Augustine fully agrees with it; Jerome also disagrees not from it, although oftentimes in many places, he agrees with Origen and others: but against the Pelagians he highly commends the sentence of Augustine touching this matter, and exceedingly allows his writings against this heresy. Seeing therefore that Augustine oftentimes used this argument against the Pelagians, it must needs be that the same very well pleased Jerome now being old. And Cyprian, as we have before said, manifestly writes that There is nothing ours: wherefore it follows of necessity that it is all of God. But however it be, there is no need that we should now dispute much as touching the fathers. As in all other things which belong unto faith; so also in this question we must give sentence according to the scriptures, not according to the fathers. And this self-same thing even the fathers themselves required at our hands, which I in alleging of arguments have performed to my power.

27. Amongst the latter writers, Pighius, being forced by the vehemency of the scriptures, grants unto us that works are not causes of predestination. For he confesses that it consists freely and of the mere mercy of God, with a respect (says he) to works, I think; lest he should seem to have striven so much in vain. But if predestination be free and depends on the mere will and mercy of God, as the scriptures testify; why did this man, of his own head, imagine this new respect of works? For the holy scripture, and especially Paul, utterly excludes works from this matter. But Pighius, the more to betray that his lewd desire of contending, brings certain arguments, which make nothing at all to this matter; That which in the blessed virgin, the mother of God, happened (says he) touching election, ought in others also to take place; But she was not predestinated freely, but because of her humility, for she sang, Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaiden; Wherefore the self-same thing ought to happen in others. I marvel how this man saw not that there is a great difference between αἰδοῖα and ταπεινοφροσῖνῖ: for αἰδοῖα is a virtue, which the Latins call Modestia; that is, modesty, whereby men have a lowly moderate opinion of themselves: the opposite to which virtue is pride, or arrogance. But ταπεινοφροσῖνῖ is a vileness and baseness, which comes unto men, either by reason of poverty, or by reason of base blood; or for other like things.

Wherefore, the blessed virgin rejoiced and praised God; for that He had advanced her to so great an honor, whereas she otherwise was base, obscure, and unworthy. For she was not (as this man dreams) a setter forth of her own merits and virtues; to say that she was therefore elected of God because she had deserved it through her modesty. And if you diligently consider the course of that song, you shall easily see that she ascribes all her good things unto God; "Thy mercy" (says she) "is from generation to generation:" and she adds,

"He hath remembered His mercy:" afterward with mercy she joins the promises; "As He spake" (says she) "unto Abraham our father." But why did not this good fellow see that the image of our predestination is to be set rather in Christ than in the virgin? But Augustine says that the humanity of Christ was predestinated and taken altogether freely and utterly, without any respect of good works.

28. They object also unto us the words of the Lord to Samuel; for He, when He should anoint one of the sons of Jesse to be king over Israel, and had first brought before him Eliab the eldest, the Lord said unto him, "This is not he whom I have chosen; have no respect to the tallness of stature. For men see those things which appear outwardly, but I behold the hearts." Lo, (says Pighius) this place teaches that God is moved by the perfection of the heart, and not by outward properties. But in that history is not treated of the eternal predestination of God, whereby He has elected us unto perpetual felicity; there it is treated only of the exalting of a man unto a kingdom. Wherein God has set forth unto us a notable example that when we will commit any office or function unto a man, we have chiefly a respect unto the ability and skillfulness which is required for the execution of that office; according to which doctrine Paul also to Timothy sets forth unto us what things are to be required in him who should be chosen an elder or a bishop. God Himself also, in the Old Testament, has at large described of what conditions he ought to be, whom He would have to be appointed a king. Unto which sense Peter also seems to have had respect, who, when two were set before him, of which the one was to be placed in the room of Judas, he called upon God the searcher of hearts; for that He only knew the mind and heart of him whom He would have to be chosen. And yet ought we not to think that God finds in men that heart which He has a respect unto; He rather changes and makes meet those whom He

will appoint unto any office; as we know He did in Saul, of whom we read that he was so changed that he became utterly another man. For whereas before he was but simple and rude, he was afterward able to prophesy amongst the prophets: which, for that it was new and strange, gave an occasion for this proverb; "What! Is Saul also among the prophets?"

Pighius moreover alleges that from this our doctrine will follow that men will seek the causes of their damnation, not in themselves, but in God; which is both absurd and wicked. But let this man consider how this may be inferred from our doctrine; for we teach that every man is subject unto sin, and therefore deserves damnation. Neither ever said we unto any man that he has not in himself a most just cause of his damnation; yea, we both are, and always have been persuaders of all men, that when they will take in hand anything, they take counsel nowhere else but from the will of God revealed: that is, out of the holy scriptures, and not of the secrecy of God's predestination. And yet does it not therefore follow that by this form of teaching, there is no use of the doctrine of predestination: for unto it must we then chiefly have a respect when we are tossed with adversities; and when, through the very force of afflictions, we feel that our faith is weakened in us. This taught Paul in the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and therefore he added, "If God be on our side, who shall be against us? Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish?" So then this doctrine is not to be left, as though no man can apply it unto himself; it must rather diligently be kept, till opportunity shall serve to use it. Neither is it a point of arrogancy, but of spiritual wisdom, for a man to use it to himself when need requires.

29. Moreover, Pighius falsely says that those things which we speak are against the goodness of God: as though it should seem unjust

that God should elect unto himself a certain few; and in the meantime overlook infinite others. For this might show (says he) some cruelty in God; especially if we say that He is offended before anything is committed against Him. But it is meet (says he) that the purpose of God should be reasonable; and yet of His justice, no other reasons can be given but only the works of them who are predestinated: neither can the justice of God be defended by any other means. Those things indeed bear a goodly show, but they do not much to overthrow what we have proved. For first, to treat of the goodness of God; there is no creature that can seem to be void of it: for God perpetually bestows many good things, yes, even upon the wicked; for He makes His sun to rise upon the good and upon the evil, and rains upon the just and upon the unjust. And although He does not equally distribute unto all men, yet He cannot therefore justly be accused: for Christ answers in the Gospel; "May I not do with mine own what I will?" If Pighius thinks it unfit that out of many, few be chosen; he picks this quarrel, not against us, but against God: for the scriptures manifestly teach that "Many are called, but few are chosen": and that of many nations, only the people of the Jews were taken of the Lord to be His particular people; and that even in that people, although the number of them were such as might be compared with the sand of the sea, yet a remnant only should be saved. Against those testimonies so manifest, how can Pighius contend? Do we not also see that in things natural, things that are most excellent are always most rare? For there is great plenty of common stones; but of precious stones there is wonderful great scarcity: unprofitable herbs grow everywhere, whereas corn (for the most part) is dear. And why God will have it to be thus, He Himself best knows; we may perhaps suppose that He therefore does it, that the gifts of God to men might be the more commended. For we are so blockish that we never wonder at those things which are customarily done. But these are nothing but man's

conjectures. But since God has not rendered a reason of His counsel, herein I think it is not our part to be too curious in seeking it.

This only will I add; that God is not only good and bountiful towards us, but also that in Him cannot be found so much as one show or token of cruelty: for this is the nature of cruelty, to rejoice in the punishments of other men, and chiefly when innocents are afflicted. For to take pleasure, namely, because you see justice exercised against the wicked, or to be sorry if you see them live happily, can neither be ascribed unto envy nor unto cruelty. For in the prophets, and especially in the Psalms, we see many such affects: which doubtless pertain unto zeal, that is, zeal; and not unto cruelty or envy. And although the purpose of God be reasonable, yea, even reason itself, yet the reasons are not to be sought for in those who are elected; for they lie hidden in the most deep wisdom of God. Thither does Paul call us back when he cries out; "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments? And how unsearchable are His ways? Who has known the mind of the Lord? Or who has been His counsellor?" Paul by those words teaches nothing else but that God indeed, by reason of His manifold and infinite wisdom, wants not reasons, but that they are unto men unsearchable; for they are not by Him revealed. I wonder also that Pighius would complain of violating the justice of God; for that Paul objects unto himself, and yet changes not his mind. Neither is it any marvel; for as Paul himself testifies, all this whole matter pertains unto mercy, and not unto justice. Wherein notwithstanding (as Augustine teaches) we may very well defend that God does nothing unjustly: for whatever He gives unto the elect, He gives it of His own, and not of another man's; and whatever He requires of the reprobate, He justly and by most good right requires it. These things had not Pighius objected unto us if he had diligently weighed with himself the Antithesis, which Paul has put between our

works and the purpose of God. For he says; "Not of works, but of Him that calleth, that election might abide according to the purpose."

30. He thinks also that it is absurd that the predestination of God should be made so free; for by that means, he supposes that there is laid a necessity upon men, and all consideration of blame is taken away. But this argument pertains to our fourth article, where we will treat of this necessity. However, I marvel how this could come into his head, that the consideration of sin is taken away if there is granted a necessity. As though (forsooth) any man can avoid original sin; and yet it does not thereof follow that such a sin is no sin. He adds moreover that we cannot avoid but that we must make God an acceptor of persons. But if he had considered that this fault is then committed when we are moved to distribute or to give judgment by such circumstances and conditions, which make nothing at all to the cause, he would never say thus: for this cannot have a place in God. For he found not those circumstances and conditions in men but put in them even such as himself will; so as no man can object unto him that as touching election, he has not attributed unto his person that which was convenient or agreeable: for God is the author of all persons and of all comeliness.

But he says, the care and endeavor to live uprightly is taken away. As though we by this doctrine do make men worse and do open a window to licentiousness and dissolute life. But how strange and false these things are, I suppose it is thereby manifest; for that we always teach that predestination belongs not only to the end but also to the means. For we are predestinated not only unto felicity but also unto good works; namely, that we should walk in them and be made like unto the image of the Son of God. The wicked regard not these things, and also without this doctrine live wickedly: but the godly, for

that they have confidence that they are predestinated, labour by holy works to make their calling sure. And unto them by this doctrine is opened a window unto modesty, unto patience in afflictions, unto gratitude, and unto a singular love towards God. But take away this doctrine, and there is made open not a window but an exceeding wide gate to pride, to ignorance of the gifts of God, to uncertainty, and doubting of salvation in adversities, and the weakening of our love towards God.

31. Moreover, these men say further that this makes very much against us; for that nothing can light under predestination or reprobation but that which God wills: but that God should will sins is to be counted for a most absurd and blasphemous doctrine. They say moreover that God cannot justly punish if we commit those things which he himself both wills and works. But this must we of necessity say if we affirm that not only our ends but also our means to the ends depend on the purpose of God. To satisfy this doubt, first let them remember that it cannot be denied but that God after a sort wills, or (as some other say) permits sin. But forasmuch as that is done without any coercion of our mind, therefore no man, when he sins, can be excused. For he willingly and of his own accord commits those sins for which he ought to be condemned; and has the true cause of them in himself: and therefore has no need to seek it in God. Further, this is no good comparison which these men make between good works and sins. For God so works in us good works that he ministers unto us his grace and spirit, whereby these works are wrought; for those are the grounds of good works: which grounds we have not of ourselves. But sins he so governs and after a sort wills that yet notwithstanding, the grounds of them, that is, the flesh, and our corrupt and naughty nature, are not in God but in us. Wherefore, there is no need that they should be poured into us by any outward mover.

And God is said after a sort to will sins; either for that when he can, he prohibits them not; or for that by his wisdom he directs them to certain ends; or for that he suffers them not to burst forth but when, and how, and to what uses he himself will; or finally, for that by them he will punish other sins. But these add that God by no means wills sin: for so it is written in Ezekiel; "As truly as I live," saith the Lord, "I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live." But we answer that the prophet in that place, treats not of the mighty and hidden will of God and of his effectual will: for God by that will works all things which he will both in heaven and in earth. But he treats of that will which they call the will of the sign: for no man can by those signs and tokens which are expressed in the law gather that God wills his death or condemnation. For the Lord commanded his law to be published unto all men, he hath unto all men set forth those things which should be profitable and healthful, lastly, he upon all men indifferently pours great benefits; wherefore by this will, which we call the will of the sign, he wills not the death of a sinner: yea rather, he provokes them to repentance. But as touching the other will, which they call the will of his good pleasure, if by it he would have no man perish, then doubtless no man could perish: and there is no will so perverse, as Augustine saith, which God (if he will) cannot make good. Then according to this will, he hath done all things whatsoever he would. This is a ready and plain interpretation, which if our adversaries admit not; but will needs contend, that the words of the prophet are to be understood of the mighty will of God and of his will of good pleasure: then will we answer, that that sentence pertains not universally unto all sinners but only to those which repent. And they are the elect and predestinated, unto whom, God as according to his purpose, he gives faith and calling, so also gives he repentance. And therefore, whichever sense they follow, they shall never out of those words

conclude that God utterly and by no means wills the death of sinners or sin.

But they object certain words out of the first chapter of the Book of Wisdom, where it is written: "God rejoices not in the destruction of the living." But if (say they) he by any manner of means wills sin or the punishment thereof, he cannot be said not to rejoice: for he rejoices in that which he will have to be done. First, I answer that that book is not in the canon, and therefore the authority thereof may be refused. But admit that that book were canonical, yet do those words make nothing against us: for he, whoever he was, that was the author of that book, meant nothing else but to remove from God that naughtiness of nature whereby wicked men take pleasure in evil things. And yet it was not his meaning that God punishes wicked acts against his will: for otherwise, whoever be that author under the name of Solomon, he should be against the true Solomon. For he in his Proverbs, under the person of wisdom, thus writes of the ungodly and unbelievers: "I also laugh in your destruction." In which words is declared that God with this laughing, that is, with a cheerful mind, administers justice.

As touching the words of Ecclesiasticus, which are written in the fifteenth chapter, that "No man ought to say of God, 'He hath deceived me,'" in which place the Latin translation hath, "Me implanavit." Unless we will have that place to be manifestly repugnant with many other places of the scripture, in which God is said to have deceived the people by false prophets, and to have commanded that Ahab the king should be deceived, and to have made blind the heart of the people, lest they should see; we must needs after this manner expound those words: that "No man ought to lay the fault in God," as though he would excuse himself. Ahab, if he was deceived, justly deserved to be deceived; for that he contemned

the true oracles of God and delighted himself in false prophets. The infidelity also and impiety of the people of Israel caused the vengeance of God, and blindness to come upon them; so that when they were deceived, they could by no means be excused. Our adversaries also seem somewhat to be offended, for that we affirm that men have in themselves the cause of sins; that is, a corrupt and naughty nature. For in that first chapter of the Book of Wisdom, the generations of the world are said to be good and not to have in them "a deadly medicine." This is true indeed, so it be understood of the first constitution of things, and chiefly of the creation of man, which was created of God in a good estate: but afterward, through his fall, he spilled both himself and his posterity.

33. Pighius moreover cavils against our doctrine, as though we stir up men to hate God. For Christ thus speaks of Judas; "Woe be unto that man, it had been better for him never to have been born." He being rejected and a reprobate, it must needs follow that he hated God; seeing God first hated him. And inasmuch as the number of the reprobate is the greater number, every man (say they) might easily suspect that he is one of that number; and so it should come to pass that many should detest God. But we answer that Christ said well, that "It had been better for that man, that he had not been born." For every one of us ought rather and more gladly either to have never been, or to be brought to nothing, than that by committing sin, we should offend God. Wherefore Christ said truly and plainly that "It had been better for Judas that he had never been born." However, simply and as touching God, it had not been better: for by him, both the counsel of God concerning our redemption was fulfilled; and also by the punishment which was laid upon him, both the justice and power of God appeared the more plainly.

And it is vain that they say that many fall into suspicion of their reprobation: for out of the holy scriptures, no man can gather any effectual arguments of his reprobation. And if God will sometimes reveal it by a certain secret judgment, it cannot be drawn to a common rule. In our time indeed it happened that a certain man in Italy called Francis Spiera inwardly felt that God had imposed this evil upon him: but this in my judgment was done to the terror of others. For he, after that he had, at the beginning, known the truth of the Gospel and openly confessed it, being brought to Venice before the Pope's legate, publicly abjured it. Afterward, being stricken with a grievous wound of conscience, he persuaded himself that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost; by means whereof, he was thrown into so great a desperation that he would never afterward admit any consolation, though notable and godly men were about him, which exhorted him to have a good hope in Christ and his death. And he would say that these things served well to be spoken unto others, but unto him they nothing at all prevailed: for that he knew most assuredly that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and that there was no remedy left to deliver him from damnation; and so remaining in this desperation, he died.

God would in this man, by a certain singular and unaccustomed dispensation, fear away others from the like wickedness and impiety. However, this neither usually happens, as far as we can gather from histories, nor can any man, by the holy scriptures, see this desperation. And perhaps God did not do this to Spiera, but the devil (whose bondslave he was), having now renounced godliness, suggested this; to the end he might drive him to utter desperation. So then we must make a distinction (as we before admonished) that either we speak of them that are utterly without all feeling of piety, or else of the godly and of them that are now called. If you talk of strangers, they either nothing regard these counsels of God, or else

they are already in despair of themselves: if we mean of the godly, they will not suffer themselves any long time to be tormented with this suspicion; for that they now see themselves called and faithful, and therefore are justified: all which things persuade them to have a confidence, and to hope that their names are entered in the roll of the elect.

34. Lastly, Pighius imagines that we speak things absurd because we teach that men were first in a mass marred and corrupted with original sin before they were predestinated by God: as though we would justify the purpose of God when yet notwithstanding we, in the counsel of predestination, put condemnation and eternal infelicity before sins and our corrupt nature; and so we justify that which is first by that which comes after. He adds also that by this means, as touching the purpose of God, even by our own doctrine, the end is first appointed, and those things also which bring unto the end. Wherefore, inasmuch as original sin is one of the means whereby we are condemned, it cannot, as we imagine, go before reprobation; when it falls and is comprehended under it as a mean unto eternal condemnation. But these things show that this man understood not what we say. Neither Augustine nor we ever said that original sin went before predestination, seeing predestination is before any time was; and Adam fell in time. Neither is it so absurd as he imagines that sins should fall under reprobation, not indeed as the cause thereof; but as the cause of condemnation and of eternal misery. And whereas he says that if it were so, it should follow; that God wills sins. Now we have declared how this is to be answered. Neither can he deny but that God uses sins, which are continually committed, to those ends which he himself has appointed. And inasmuch as this is not done of him rashly but by his determinate counsel; how can it be that after a sort sins are not comprehended under reprobation?

Now if he contends that God after one sort wills and is not the cause of sins and good works; we also affirm the same. But yet in the meantime, let him cease to count it for a thing absurd that as well the end as the means either of predestination or of reprobation are comprehended under the purpose of God, though after a diverse manner. And as touching original sin, we also affirm that it goes not before predestination or reprobation; but of necessity follows it: for that God would not produce men out of any other stock or matter but out of the progeny of Adam; by means whereof, we are all born infected with the spot of corruption. And inasmuch as this was not hidden from God, therefore Augustine and we also with him say that God from everlasting purposed to have mercy on those whom he loved and not to have mercy on others whom he loved not: so that if they, who want that mercy which is bestowed upon others, do lead their life in original sin; and when they are come to age, and to the use of reason, do add unto it many other sins, then are they justly and worthily damned. And this may effectually be said to repel those who perhaps presume to lay the cause of their damnation not upon their own faults but upon God. Wherefore original sin goes before the birth of all men, so that you have a respect unto every particular man: it also goes before the damnation of all the wicked, although it could not be before the eternal purpose of God, but only as touching foreknowledge.

35. These things being as we have declared them, as they are in no case absurd, even so may they well be perceived; if we depart not from the sense of the Scriptures: which sense, how much in this place Pighius overpasses, by means of his own fond invention, I will in few words touch. He makes many degrees or acts in the mind of God, which he orders in themselves; not by distinction of time, but of nature: and therefore, such acts he calls signs; and yet he had not that out of the holy Scriptures, but borrowed it from Scotus. In the

first sign (he says) God appointed to bring forth all men to eternal salvation, which they might have fruition of together with him, and that without any difference; and over them he would have Christ to be the head, whom he thinks also should have come in the flesh, although the first man had not sinned. In the second sign, he says, that God foresaw the fall of man, by reason whereof it was not now possible that men should come unto salvation, that is, unto the end, which God had purposed in himself when he decreed in the beginning to create man. However, that the matter might go forward, he says, that God did put in the third sign, remedies in Christ; namely, of grace, and of the Spirit, and such like, whereby might be helped those who would receive them, and those forsaken who should refuse them. Lastly, in the fourth sign, for that he foresaw that many would embrace these aids, and would use them well and effectually, he therefore predestinated them to salvation: but others, whom he saw would reject these benefits of God, he adjudged to utter destruction. This he speaks concerning them that are of full age. But inasmuch as by this fond imagination, he could not satisfy as touching infants, that perish before they can have the use of free will, he patches thereto another fable; namely, that they, after the judgment, shall be in this world happy, with a certain natural blessedness, wherein they shall continually praise God and give thanks unto him, for that their estate so tolerable. So this man feigns a doctrine, which he cannot prove by any one word of the Scripture.

For how attributes he unto God, that he in the first sign decreed those things, which should not have success; namely, that all men should enjoy felicity? It is the point of a wise man, I will not say of God, to decree or will those things, which shall take no effect. Let him also bring forth some oracles of God, to declare unto us, that the Son of God should have taken upon him man's flesh, though man had not sinned: but he shall nowhere be able to show any such thing,

seeing the holy Scriptures everywhere testify unto us, that he was given for our redemption and for the remission of sins: which also might have taught him, if he had considered, that original sin went before all the effects of predestination, creation only excepted. Seeing Christ was to this end predestinated and given unto us, that we might have a remedy of our falls; of all which falls original sin is the head and principal: and he had not taken upon him human flesh, if there had been no sin committed. He, without the Scriptures also, imagines, that it lies in the power of our free will to receive the remedies being generally set forth; when as this is the most absolute gift of God. And that which he last of all brings; namely, of the natural felicity of children, is not only avouched besides the Scripture, but also is plainly against it; which teaches that all perish in Adam, unless they be renewed by the mediator. But to perish, or to die, how repugnant it is with felicity, all men easily understand. And besides that, he has not on his side one of all the fathers, who dared imagine any such fond devises. Neither can I be persuaded that Pelagius himself, if he were alive again, would more diligently colour his opinion, than this man has painted it and set it forth.

That which we have hitherto proved regarding predestination: namely, that it does not depend on works foreseen; the same thing also we affirm of reprobation: for neither does it depend on sins foreseen; so that by reprobation, you understand not extreme damnation, but that most deep eternal purpose of God, of not having mercy. For Paul writes alike of Esau and Jacob; Before they had done any good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated, that it should not be of works, but of him that calls. And Pighius labours in vain to have this sentence of Paul understood of one of them only; seeing the apostle joined them both together, under one and the self-same condition. Which he more manifestly afterward declares, saying; He has mercy

on whom he will, and whom he will he hardens. Further, if sin were the true cause of reprobation, then should none be elected; seeing God foreknows that all men are defiled with it. The very which thing Augustine proves unto Simplicianus.

37. But now we will treat of the third article, to see what are the effects of predestination, and of reprobation: and we will be the briefer, for that those things which shall be spoken have much light of that which is already spoken. The first effect therefore of predestination is Christ himself; for the elect can have none of the gifts of God unless by our Saviour they are given unto them. Then also let there be put those effects which Paul describes in the 8th chapter to the Romans, when he says; Whom he foreknew, those also has he predestinated; whom he has predestinated, those also has he called; and whom he has called, those he has justified; and whom he has justified, those has he glorified. Whereby it is evident that calling also, and justification, and glorification, are the effects of predestination; whereunto also may be added conformity to the image of the Son of God, seeing that Paul reckons it up as an effect of predestination. Let good works also be added, seeing that God is said to have prepared them for us to walk in. Then follows the certainty or confirmation of our salvation. Lastly, is the declaration of the riches of the glory of God, which end Paul manifestly mentions in the 9th chapter to the Romans: and to the Ephesians he writes; That we might be to the praise of his grace and glory.

But as touching reprobation, if it be compared unto the first man; God from everlasting decreed to produce him, that by free will and certain grace given unto him, he might have stood, if he would: and God could have given unto him greater grace, so that he could not have fallen, but he would not. But whether Adam were of the number of the reprobate or of the predestinate cannot be gathered out of the

holy Scriptures; although all the fathers, in a manner, consent that he was saved, and therefore pertained to the number of the predestinate. But other men, which were reprobated, were offered unto God in a mass of perdition, and utterly corrupted: for God decreed to produce them, not elsewhere, but out of the seed of Adam. And inasmuch as by his free purpose, he would not bestow his mercy on many, which is utterly to refuse, thereof followed rejection; whereby they were left in their native sin. Further, inasmuch as God does not suffer his creatures to be idle, they also are perpetually pricked forward to work: and because they were not healed, they do all things according to their corrupt nature; which although they seem sometimes to be beautiful works, yet before God they are sins. Moreover, according as their wicked acts deserve, God many times punishes in them sins by other sins; as unto the Romans; Many are said to have been delivered up into a reprobate mind, because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.

But yet as touching the sin of the first man, this is to be considered, that sin could not be said to have been the punishment of another sin; for if it were the first sin, it had not any other sin before it: and that God utterly willed not that sin, it cannot be said, for against his will, how could it be committed? And he saw that he would fall, if he were not confirmed with his spirit, and with a more plentiful grace: he helped him not, neither put he to his hand to keep him from falling. Moreover, the devil, if God had otherwise willed, durst not have tempted him. Furthermore, he had appointed by him, to declare his goodness and severity. He gave the occasion, when he set a law, which he knew should not be kept; and also in giving him a wife which should entice him; and finally, the occasion itself, which as a subject or matter, sustained the privation of uprightness, could not without the power and might of God, have been produced. Wherefore it is evident, that God after a sort willed that sin, and was

somehow the author of it, although it were not a punishment of sin going before. But contrariwise, he is said not to have willed it, and not to have been the author of it; for that he prohibited it, punished it, and did not absolutely will it, but for another end: neither suggested he of himself, nor inspired the lewdness: but the will of Adam, not being letted by a more mighty grace, of his own accord declined from uprightness. There is also brought out of Isaiah an effect of reprobation; namely, that he will make blind and gross the heart of the people, that they should not understand. And God oftentimes, either by himself, or by evil angels, sends cogitations, and offers occasions, which if we were upright, might be taken in the best part: but inasmuch as we are not renewed, we are by them driven unto evil; afterward justly and worthily follows damnation for sins: and finally, the declaration of the power and justice of God, is the last effect of reprobation, and all these things follow reprobation; although God, as we have before declared, is not altogether the cause of all these things.

But because all the benefits of God, which are given unto the predestinate, are referred unto grace, as to their head and fountain: therefore let us see whether that principal effect of God's predestination, be as some have imagined, set forth of God common to all men: for if it were so, then should all men be predestinated, and it should lie in their own power, or in their own hands (as the saying is) to be predestinated, so that they would receive grace when it is offered. We in no wise say that grace is common unto all men, but is given unto some; and unto others, according to the pleasure of God, it is not given. And to confirm this matter, we allege these places of the scripture. In the 6th of John it is said; No man cometh unto me, unless my Father shall draw him. And I wonder that the adversaries should say that all men are drawn of God, but all men will not come. As if a man should say, No man can challenge to

himself learning or good arts, which is not endued with reason and wit: and yet does it not thereof follow that though all men have reason and wit all men should attain good arts, seeing that besides those principles, study and will are required. So say they, All men are drawn of God; but besides the drawing of God, there is required that we be willing and assent; for otherwise we are not brought to Christ. But doubtless it cannot be that in all those propositions, which are spoken with an exception, that exception should belong to all men. For Christ said to Pilate; Thou should not have power against me, unless it were given thee from above. Shall we therefore take upon us to say; that unto all men was given power against Christ? And when as it is written; That No man shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless he be born again by water and the Spirit; shall we therefore infer that all men are born again of water and the Spirit? And when the Lord saith; Ye shall not have life in you, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, shall we take it that all men eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Lord? And if this ought not so to be, why will these men, when we say; No man cometh unto me, unless my Father draw him, thereof infer that all men are drawn unto the Father?

Verily, if a man consider the course of the text, he shall see that this sense cannot stand. After that he had made mention of the eating of his flesh, and of the drinking of his blood: the Jews were by reason thereof offended, and the disciples went their way: upon occasion whereof Christ said; No man cometh unto me, unless my Father draw him: which he ought in no case to have said, if he had meant to reprove only them of infidelity. He should not doubtless have made mention of the Father, as though he drew them not, if he gave that gift to all men. And Augustine, when he interprets this place, saith; Whie he draweth this man, and draweth not that other man, do not thou judge, if thou wilt not err. In which words he declares that all

men are not drawn of God. And in the self-same chapter it is written; All that my Father giveth me shall come unto me. Wherefore, if all men were drawn, they should all come unto Christ. And in the same place it is written; Everyone which hath heard of my Father, and hath learned, cometh unto me. Seeing then many come not unto Christ, thereby is declared that many neither have heard nor learned. And in the 10th chapter, when Christ had said, that He is the shepherd, and hath his sheep: amongst other things he saith; These whom my Father gave me, no man can take out of my hands. But we see that many fall from salvation, and therefore we ought to think that those are not given of the Father unto Christ.

39. But here also the adversaries cavil, that Although no man can take them away, yet nevertheless men of their own accord may go away. As if a man had servants, being himself a lord of great might, he might doubtless say; No man can take away these servants from me, and yet they of their own accord may go from him. But how vain this their cavillation is, the words which follow declare. For Christ adds; The Father which gave them unto me, is greater than all: by which words he declares that therefore those, whom he had received of the Father, could not be taken away from him; for that he is most mighty. Wherefore if they cannot by them be taken away which are in Christ; neither also are they able to withdraw themselves: not that they are compelled by force, but by the way of persuasion it is of necessity that they abide. The very which thing the Lord also spoke, touching the temptation of the latter times; namely, that If it were possible the elect should be deceived. In the self-same 6th chapter of John, Christ said; that No man cometh unto him, but he unto whom it is given of the Father: which place has one and the self-same sense with that other sentence, wherein he said; No man cometh unto me, unless my Father draw him. And John Baptist, as it is written in the 3rd chapter of John, when he heard of his disciples, that Christ

baptized many, answered; that No man can receive anything, unless it be given him from heaven. And in the self-same chapter; The spirit breatheth where it will. Which although it be spoken of the wind, yet notwithstanding it is applied unto the Holy Ghost, which regenerates: for to declare the force of the Holy Ghost, the similitude is taken from the nature of the wind.

But this is more manifestly set forth in Matthew, when it is said; No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him. Wherein we are taught, that the revealing of Christ is not given unto all men. Which thing Christ in the same Evangelist declared, when turning him unto the Father, he said; I give thee thanks, O King of heaven and of earth, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent men, and hast revealed them unto babes. There also is declared, that the revealing of true doctrine is not common unto all men. But if thou wilt say, that therefore it is not revealed unto the wise men, for that they will not receive it: the words following do not render this cause; but rather declare, that the will of God hath so decreed: for it follows; For so it hath pleased thee. And again, when the Apostles inquired why he spoke in parables to the people, he answered; Unto you it is given to know mysteries, but unto them it is not given. And he said, that he so spoke unto them, that they seeing should not see, and hearing should not understand. And he cited a prophecy out of the 6th of Isaiah, wherein was commanded, that the people should be made blind, and that their heart should be made gross; least peradventure they should be converted, and God should heal them. Moreover, the apostle cites out of the book of Exodus, God thus speaking; I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and will show compassion on whom I will show compassion. Also that which is written of Pharaoh; To this end have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee. And he says also, that Some vessels are made to honour, and some to

dishonour. Which words most evidently declare, that grace is not set forth common unto all men.

Peter also in the Acts of the Apostles, said unto Simon Magus; Repent, if peradventure God forgive unto thee this thought. But they say that in this place Peter doubted not, but that grace is common unto all men: but he was uncertain whether Simon would receive it, and earnestly repent. But this subtle shift nothing helpeth them; for, as the apostle teaches us unto Timothy, Even repentance also is the gift of God. For he admonishes a bishop, to hold fast sound doctrine, and to reprove them that resist, if peradventure God give unto them to repent. Whereby is concluded, that it lies not in the hands of all men to return into the way, unless it be given them of God. Moreover, some sin against the Holy Ghost; Who are not pardoned, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. So as it is manifest, that unto these men, grace is no more offered nor common. And in the Acts of the Apostles, God is said to have opened the heart of the woman that sold silks, to give heed unto those things which Paul spake: which is spoken, as a certain thing peculiarly given to that woman. And this place makes that plain, which is written in the Apocalypse; Behold, I stand at the door and knock, if any man open unto me, etc. For we are said to open, inasmuch as God works that in us; for he makes us to open, and it is he which gives unto us to work our salvation, as it is said unto the Philippians. And in the Gospel it is many times written, that Many are called, but few are chosen. Paul also declares the liberty of the spirit in distributing his gifts, when he says unto the Corinthians; that One and the self-same spirit distributes unto all men as pleases him. Which sentence, although it be meant of graces and free gifts, as they term them; yet may it no less be transferred unto the grace, whereby we are renewed unto salvation, seeing God is alike free in the one and the other.

40. Lastly, whilst these men thus make grace common unto all men, they convert it into nature: which in no wise agrees with the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. And how much they are deceived hereby, it may easily be proved; for that they seek of these things to infer, that it lies in every man's power to receive grace when it is offered unto them. Which in no case agrees with the Holy Scriptures; for Paul says, that We are not able to think anything of ourselves, and that all our sufficiency is of God. And unto the Philippians he writes, that God works in us, both to will and to perform, according to his good will. And unto the Corinthians, when he had said that he had laboured much, he added; Not I, but the grace of God which is in me. To the Romans he writes; It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy. Which could not be true, if it lies in our will to receive grace when it is offered. Touching which place, Augustine to Simplicianus, in his first book and second question says, that The meaning of those words is not, as though it were sufficient for us to will, unless God aids us with his grace: for by that means he might contrariwise have said, It is not of God that has mercy, but of man that wills. But the sense is, as it is written unto the Philippians; that It is God which works in us to will and to perform; and it is true, that we in vain, will, unless God have mercy, and help. But who will say, that God in vain has mercy, if we will not? In Ezekiel the prophet, it is said; that God himself would change our hearts, and instead of stony hearts, give us fleshy hearts. And David in the psalm sings; Incline my heart, O God unto thy testimonies; to declare, that it pertains unto God to bow our wills. Which he in another place meant, when he said; A clean heart create in me, O God. And in the book of Wisdom it is written, that No man can have a chaste heart, but he unto whom God shall give it. And Christ most manifestly taught, that An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruits. Wherefore, so long as men are not regenerate, they cannot bring forth so good fruit, that they should assent unto grace when it

knocks. So that first it is necessary, that they be changed from the same, and that of evil plants they be made good. As in the generation of the flesh, no man which is procreated, helps anything thereto: even so is it in regeneration, for that there also we are born again through Christ and in Christ.

Moreover, if we should give place unto the opinion of these men, all boasting should not be excluded; for every man might boast of that his own act, whereby he received grace when it was offered. Furthermore, seeing that this apprehension, according to our mind is done by faith, but (as they think) by charity, what will they do? Will they deny that faith and charity are the gifts of God? Augustine also reasons, that As in Christ the divine nature took human nature freely, not waiting for the consent thereof; so they, which are justified, are not justified by their own will or assent. The same father also notes, that Eternal life is in the Scriptures sometimes called by the name of a reward; for that good works go before it. But grace (says he) and righteousness, are never in the Holy Scriptures called by the name of a reward; for that before it, goes no good work acceptable unto God. And unto the Romans Paul writes; I know that in me, that is in my flesh dwells no good: where, by flesh, he understands whatsoever is in a man not yet regenerate. And dare they notwithstanding attribute unto man, being yet in the flesh, that is, not yet regenerate, so much good, that he is able to apply salvation unto himself?

And unto the Corinthians; What hast thou (says he) which thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why boastest thou, as though thou hadst not received? Neither will we suffer these men to run unto creation; for here we speak not of the soul, or of the powers thereof, that is of will or understanding, which we had of God by creation: but of that action or work, which these men seek to pick out of free will,

to the receiving of grace. And forso much as they say, that they have this of themselves; they manifestly speak against the apostle. For the Corinthians might have answered; Thou demandest of us, what hath separated us, what we have that we have not received? Behold, we now show unto thee, that act and assent, whereby we freely, and by our own power receive the grace, which thou preachest unto us; this doth separate us from others: and so Paul had in vain in such sort reproved them. Moreover, if grace were set forth as common to all men, as these men teach, what should we pray unto God for the conversion of infidels? Doubtless we so do, for that we believe it lies in the hand of God to open their hearts, if he will.

41. Neither must we think, as these men feign, that God gives to every man so much grace as is sufficient to move them: for if that did suffice, they should doubtless be moved. For if there were set before a man, a thing of huge weight; and he being willing to move it, had in himself so much strength as were sufficient, that is, as might overcome the weight, which is to be moved; then without doubt there would follow motion. So if God (as they say) would in very deed move the hearts of the wicked, and would give so much strength, that is, so much grace, as should suffice; yea rather so much as should exceed the hardness of the wicked heart, nothing could let, but that it should be bowed, not indeed by compulsion, but by most effectual persuasion. Augustine unto Simplicianus, in his first book and second question says, that There are two sorts of calling, one common, whereby men are called, but not by one and the self-same manner, whereby they are apt to be moved and converted: others be so called, as they are apt to be moved. Neither must we think (says he) that God could not so have called Esau, as he might be moved, and as he might be made apt: for all men are not after one and the self-same manner allured and moved unto God. Verily forso much as he is omnipotent, he might by his impulsion take away that natural

hardness. But say they, if he would, he might: and yet will not God always do that he can do. Let it be so; we say even the self-same, that God oversteps some, and will not have mercy on them, and therefore gives not unto all men, so much as might be sufficient unto their salvation. And against those whom he oversteps, he attains the end that he wills; as it is written of Pharaoh; To this purpose have I raised thee up, to declare in thee my power, and that my name might be spread abroad throughout the whole earth.

Christ knew very well (as he himself testified) that Tyre, Sidon, and Sodom would have been moved to repentance, if he had applied to them the miracles and doctrine which he granted to the Jews. Wherefore, forso much as he gave not those things unto them, they wanted that which sufficed unto salvation. The Lord also said unto the Apostles; I have chosen you, but ye have not chosen me. But by the opinion of the adversaries, that universal grace being granted, no man should be chosen of God, forso much as he should be after one and the self-same sort unto all men; yea rather, we should choose God, in receiving his grace when it is offered: and we should be formers of the election of God, and should not be formed of him. I have planted (saith Paul) Apollo hath watered, but God hath given the increase, that is, life and spirit. But if those things should be granted to be common unto all men, he should rather have said; Ye have taken unto yourselves, the spirit, life, and grace. The self-same apostle said, that God had begun in the Philippians a good work, and also would perform the same against the day of the Lord. Which words plainly declare, that all whole is to be ascribed unto God; namely, to begin and to perform. And unto the Ephesians; He worketh all things, according to the counsel of his will, not (saith he) according to the counsel of another man's will: which doubtless he should have said, if every man had in his power to take salvation, or not to take it. Again, unto the Galatians; When it seemed good unto

him, which separated me from my mother's womb. If it were (as these men affirm) Paul should have said; When it seemed good unto me. For, as touching God, they affirm that grace is always ready, and offered unto all men. Wherefore by their judgment, conversion should then come, when it should please us.

42. These arguments I think to be sufficient at this time, though many more might be brought. Only now resteth to overthrow those reasons, which seem to make against us. But before we enter into that matter, this we say, that we in no wise deny, but that God by outward calling; namely, by his prophets, apostles, preachers, and scriptures, calleth all men. For this man is no more excluded from the promises or threatenings than that man; but these things are alike set forth unto all men, although all men are not predestinated to attain unto the fruit of them. This is diligently to be noted, if we will readily answer to those things which are objected. And when they lay against us (which thing they very often do) that the promises are common and universally proposed; it is needful to be restrained unto these or those men, and that God dallies not in them, but deals in good earnest. First, as touching universality, I will bring other propositions no less general. All flesh shall see the salvation of God; All shall be taught of God; All shall know me, from the least to the greatest; I will pour of my spirit upon all flesh. Shall we say, that these things are true as touching all men? No doubtless, unless Origen's fable should be renewed, that all men shall at the last be saved.

They will answer, that these propositions ought to be restrained unto the believers, unto them that are willing, and unto them that respect the grace of God. And we also say, that they are to be restrained: but we fetch our restraint further off, and ascend unto the election of God, and unto reprobation. And whether resolution (I beseech you)

is the perfecter; and whether restraint is of more equity? And yet do we not say, that God dallies in these universal promises; because forso much as the predestinate and the reprobate lead their life together, and are not known who they be, it is meet, that there should be preaching unto all men, least that for the reprobate, the elect should be defrauded, which by the preaching of God's word shall take profit. And by this universal preaching, God brings that end to effect, which he himself wills. For the godly, when they see that the reprobate are left in their own sense, and believe not, do understand, that it is grace, and not nature; and in them perceive what should also have happened unto themselves, without the mercy of God, of whose gift conversion is, and not of the power of man. And the ungodly are made inexcusable, when as they have not performed so much as those outward works, which they might have done; as it is declared to the Romans in the first and second chapters.

43. First, the adversaries imagine, that they are setters forth of the mercy of God, for that they grant it common unto all men. But if we consider the matter more inwardly, we attribute much more unto mercy than they do: for we affirm, that all whole dependeth of it; which is of them denied, whilst they will have it to lie in our power to receive the grace of God. And if we say, that mercy is not distributed alike unto all men, we cannot therefore be reprov'd; forso much as the scriptures manifestly testify the same. But these men, when they say, that it lies in our will to receive grace, though they extenuate the same, yet is it in very deed proved to be a great matter: for what should it profit, to have grace universally set forth unto all men, unless a man would by his own proper will apply it to himself? Let them cease then to adorn this their opinion, with the title of the mercy of God. They bring also another argument; that forso much as God provideth for all men things competent unto bodily life, it is not very likely that he will fail them, as touching the preparation of

eternal salvation; which should not be, unless unto every man were set forth, so much of the grace of God, as is sufficient.

But for this cause, these men are reprov'd by a similitude. For even as God giveth unto every mortal man corporal life, without any their assent; even so must they needs conclude of spiritual life, which by all means they refuse to grant. We confess in deed, that God, through his mercy, causeth the sun to arise upon the good and upon the evil; and we also confess, that both the predestinate and the reprobate are partakers of some of the benefits of God. And even as in this life, the commodities of the body and of life, are not alike given unto all men: so also predestination unto eternal felicity is not common unto all men. Some are borne leprous, blind, deaf, foolish, most poor, and utterly unapt unto all manner of natural felicity; neither attain they unto it at any time: so as the comparison which they bring makes very much against themselves. But (say they) God hath created all men to his own image, and therefore hath appointed all men unto blessedness: wherefor we ought not to say, that some are predestinate, and some are reprobate. That men are made to the image of God, and capable of blessedness, that we grant: but after the fall, nature was corrupted, and the image of God much blemished: so as men cannot of themselves attain unto felicity, but have need to be delivered from misery. But that God hath now decreed to deliver all men from misery, and through Christ to have them blessed, the scriptures teach not: wherefore we do not without just cause say, that he hath decreed to deliver some, and to leave other some, and that justly: the causes of which justice, yet are not to be sought by our own works, seeing they are known to God only through his hidden and unspeakable wisdom.

44. They object this out of John; He gave unto them power to be made the sons of God. As though they could thereof infer, that every

man may be made the son of God, if he will. But they give no heed unto those things which follow: for it is added; Unto those which have believed in him, which are borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. These things, if they be rightly peised, declare that this dignity and privilege is given unto the believers, and unto the regenerate: for, to have power given to be the sons of God, signifieth nothing else. Wherefore, this dignity is put as an effect of regeneration, and of faith, and not as the beginning thereof, as these men dream. They grant also, that Christ died for us all; and thereof they infer, that his benefit is common unto all men. Which we also will easily grant, if only the worthiness of the death of Christ be considered: for as touching it, it might be sufficient for all the sinners of the world. But although in itself it be sufficient; yet it neither had, nor hath, nor shall have effect in all men. Which the School-men also confess, when they affirm, that Christ hath redeemed all men sufficiently, but not effectually: for thereunto it is necessary, that the death of Christ be healthful unto us, that we take hold of it; which cannot otherwise be done, but by faith: which faith we have before abundantly declared to be the gift of God, and not to be given unto all men.

This also is objected unto us, that the Apostle compared Adam with Christ, and said unto the Romans; that Even as in Adam we all die, so in Christ we are all quickened. Wherefore by this means, they say, that the grace of Christ ought universally to be open unto all men. But if they will so take this comparison, they shall be compelled to grant, that all by Christ shall be brought unto felicity, as by Adam all are thrown headlong into sin and into death. But seeing the thing it self declareth the contrary, they may easily perceive, that this similitude is not to be taken as touching all the parts thereof; especially seeing none fall of their own consent into original sin. And these men will, that grace be not admitted, but through a man's own

consent. Then if they admit this difference, how dare they affirm, that the matter is on each side alike? The scope of the Apostle in this comparison, is to be considered; and besides the scope, nothing is to be inferred. And in that comparison, Paul meant nothing else, but that Christ is to those which are regenerated, the beginning of life and of blessedness: as Adam is unto them, that are derived of him, the cause of death and of sin. Now, whatsoever is afterward beside this scope gathered touching the equality of multitude, or of the manner, the same is *Per accidens*, that is, *By chance*, and pertaineth not unto the scope and substance of the similitude.

45. They object also the sentence unto Timothy; God will have all men to be saved. For this sentence Pighius continually repeateth, as though it were invincible: when yet Augustine oftentimes hath taught, that it may in such sort be expounded, that it bringeth no weight at all to prove those men's fond invention. First we take it to be spoken of all estates and kinds of men; namely, that God will have some of all kinds of men to be saved: which interpretation agreeth excellently well with the purpose of the Apostle. He had commanded that prayers and supplications should be made for all men, and especially for kings, and those which have public authority, that under them we may live a quiet life, in all godliness and chastity. And therefore to declare that no estate or kind of men is excluded, he added; God will have all men saved. As if he should have said, No man is letted by that vocation and degree, wherein he is placed, so that it be not repugnant unto the word of God, but that he may come unto salvation: and therefore we ought to pray for all kind of men. But hereof we cannot infer, that God endueth every man particularly with grace, or predestinateth every man to salvation. Even in like manner as in the time of the flood, all living creatures are said to have been saved in the ark, with Noah; whereas there were but only some of every kind gathered together in it: or we may understand it

thus; that God will have all men to be saved; for that as many as are saved, are saved by his will. As if a man should say of one that teacheth Rhetoric in a city, that he teacheth all men: by which kind of speech is not signified, that all the citizens are hearers of Rhetoric; but that as many as learn, are taught of him. And this also is like, if a man pointing to the gate of a house, should say, that All men enter in this way; we must not thereby understand, that all men enter into that house, but that as many as do enter, do enter in by that gate only.

Further, there are some who interpret these words of the apostle, of the will of the sign, or of the antecedent; that all men are invited, for that preaching is indifferently set forth to all men. Neither is there any, in a manner, who inwardly feels not some prick whereby he is oftentimes stirred up to live well. So that if we respect this will of God, we easily grant that he will have all men to be saved. But they will not have it to be understood of the hidden and effectual will, which they call consequent: and after this manner may those kinds of speech be understood; God enlightens every man who comes into this world; Come unto me all ye who labor, and are laden. For all men are provoked by the oracles of God, and all men are inwardly moved by some provoking. All these interpretations are doubtless very likely, and also apt: and yet there is another besides these, ready and plain. The holy scriptures set forth two societies of men: the one of the godly, and the other of the ungodly, and of both societies have patched together universal propositions, which ought of the wary reader to be drawn to their kind. The prophets say, and Christ cites the same; All men shall be taught of God. And; All men shall know me, from the least to the greatest. Again; When I shall be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself. These universal propositions, unless they be understood of the godly, who are elected, are not true: as are these also; I will pour of my spirit upon

all flesh. And; All flesh shall come in my sight, and shall worship in Jerusalem. Again; All flesh shall see the salvation of God. Again also; God lifts up all them that fall. Now, who sees not, that these things are to be understood only of the saints? Contrariwise, to the fellowship of the ungodly pertain these sentences; No man receives his testimony, and yet many believed; Ye shall be hated of all men. Again; All men seek the things that are their own. And again; All men have declined, and are altogether made unprofitable, there is none that does good, no not one. When yet holy men, and those who are now regenerate, are acceptable unto God, and do endeavour themselves to exhibit unto him some obedience of the law. But these universal sayings ought not to be extended beyond their own society.

This distinction had Augustine a regard unto, in his book *De ciuitate Dei*, where he declares and proves, that there have ever been two cities; namely, one that city of God, and another the city of the devil. Wherefore in these general propositions, we must always have a consideration unto what order or fellowship of men they pertain. Which if we in this present place do, then shall we apply unto the saints, and unto the elect this sentence, which we have now in hand; namely, that God will have all men to be saved, and by that means all manner of doubt is taken away. Otherwise, that God effectually wills not the salvation of all men, very many infants declare, which perish without Christ; and many also who are born fools, and deaf, and had never in their lifetime the right and just use of reason. And it often happens, that some have lived a long time, honestly and faithfully enough, and yet suddenly at the last do fall, and being taken out of the world do perish eternally. And contrariwise, others, who have perpetually led their life in wickedness, being at the end of their life endued with sudden faith and repentance, are saved: when yet notwithstanding, those first might have been taken away, that maliciousness might not have changed their minds. Who will in these

examples say, that God alike effectually wills the salvation of all men?

46. They also object a sentence of Christ; "How often would I have gathered together thy children, as a hen gathers together her chickens, and thou wouldst not?" But here also is meant of the antecedent will of the sign, whereby God by his prophets, preachers, apostles, and scriptures, many times invited the Jews to fly unto him by repentance: which yet they refused to do. But yet God, by his effectual will, which they call consequent, perpetually drew to him those that were his: neither was there ever any age, wherein he gathered not together as many of the Hebrews as he had predestinated. Therefore, Augustine said; "Those which I would, I have gathered together, although thou wouldst not." They think also, that this makes on their side, which is written in the beginning of the epistle to the Romans, concerning the Gentiles; namely, that they were inexcusable: which they say could not have been said, unless unto every man were given so much grace and help, as might suffice unto salvation. But this is to be known, that the apostle in that place intreteth only of knowledge; namely that the Gentiles could not excuse their sins, for that they had not a law given unto them of God, as had the Jews: neither for that God had not in such sort opened himself unto them, as he manifested himself unto the people of the Jews; "Ye know God" (saith he) "by his creatures, and by the light of nature; ye wanted not the knowledge of right and of wrong; therefore, ye are inexcusable." Wherefore we must not think, that this sentence extendeth further, than for the which Paul spake it. And if also thou weigh the matter better, thou shalt see, that the Ethnics and ungodly men, against whom the apostle writeth, thought not that they wanted strength to perform those things which they knew to be upright: forsomuch as they ascribed all things unto free will. So as the apostle very well concludeth against them, as if he

should have said; "Do ye think that ye have strength enough, so that ye judge that ye have no need of Christ? But forso much as I have proved, that ye wanted not knowledge, and have notwithstanding lived wickedly, I do therefore infer, that ye are inexcusable." Furthermore, infirmity and want of ability excuse not; seeing that we have it not in ourselves by creation, and by our first institution; but by the fall and sin, which was brought into our whole kind, by the first man.

The Ethnics also were inexcusable, for that they performed not that in civil justice, which lay in them to do. Wherefore nothing can be inferred of this place, which can prove the sentence of the adversaries. They think that this also makes with them, which is spoken in the self-same epistle to the Romans; "Is God the God of Jews only, and not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also." They labor of this place to infer, that God giveth unto all men sufficient aid, for that he is the God of all men. But they should consider, that Paul there reproveth the Jews, for that they thought that the benevolence and grace of God was so bound unto them, that the Gentiles were utterly excluded: so then he declared, that God hath not only elected some of the Jews, but also hath his elect amongst the Gentiles. Neither follows it therefore of necessity, that unto all the Gentiles should be given grace, which might suffice unto salvation; seeing that neither all the Jews were partakers of such grace. And we speak this, not as though we deny God to be the God of all men; for we know that even the wicked also, will they or nill they, are subject unto him; neither can they avoid his providence; whom although he bring not to eternal salvation, yet at the least way, he punishes them for their evil deserts. But he is peculiarly said, to be the God of them, unto whom he hath given to acknowledge him for their God; and having acknowledged him, to worship him.

47. But that place seemeth to be of more difficulty, which is written unto Timothy, where God is called the savior of all men, and especially of the faithful. In which words, this word "Saviour", is to be taken, not as though God giveth unto all men eternal salvation, but as it signifies, that he preserveth and defendeth all men from many evils, which otherwise the devil practises against them. For so great is his rage against mankind, that if he were not restrained by God, he would destroy all things: he would suffer no commonwealth nor church, but would bring to naught, both goods, and all things whatsoever pertain to man's life. So therefore God is the saviour of all men, in that he driveth away so great evils from men. But as touching eternal salvation, that is to be understood of the elect only: and therefore it is added; "And especially of the faithful." For seeing they are predestinated, they, above all others, attain unto this benefit. They wrest that also out of the prophet Isaiah, which also Paul hath a little after, in the same Epistle; "All day long have I stretched out my hands unto a people that believeth not, but speaketh against me." Out of which place they can gather nothing else, but that which hath oftentimes been said; namely, that all men universally are invited of God; that the prophets were sent indifferently unto all men; that the scriptures are set forth to all men. But this makes nothing to the grace of efficacy, whereof we speak; we grant also that he standeth at the door and knocketh, and will enter in, if any man will let him in. But this they should add, that there is no man, who can of himself open; but it is necessary that it be first given unto him of the mere goodness of him that knocketh. And to commend also the mercy of God, they bring a sentence of Isaiah; "Though a mother can forget her children, yet will not I forget thee." Which sentence doubtless, very little or nothing at all pertaineth to this matter, whereof is now treated. Who ever denied, but that God is constant of faith, and standeth to his promises and covenants? This doth God in that place promises of himself; namely, that he will not

forget his promise. And we also everywhere hitherto have taught, that the predestination of God is most certain: wherefore, whether this place of Isaiah be understood of predestination, or of the covenants and promises; yet doth it not thereof follow, that it is to be understood of all men. Pighius also cannot abide that, which both Augustine and we say; namely, that the reprobate do serve the purpose of God, to advance and set forth the power of God's severity; and saith further, that God hath no need of this cruel dealing, to make his name famous. Which thing he laboreth to prove by a certain sentence taken out of the book of Ecclesiasticus. But that is thus to be interpreted; that none of us ought to think, that God hath need of the works of men: for his felicity is perfect and absolute, without the aid and help of any creature. But that the justice of God is made manifest by the unfaithfulness, and wicked acts of men, while that God taketh vengeance on them: who dare deny, when as Paul teacheth that most evidently and plainly? He citeth also out of the self-same book of Ecclesiasticus; "God hath mercy on all men, because of repentance." But the solution of this objection evidently appeareth, by that which hath been spoken; namely, that these words are to be understood of the universality of the elect. For by the winking at sins, it is so far off that the wicked do aspire unto repentance, that they rather wax every day worse and worse; they fall headlong into more grievous sins. But it pertaineth to the predestinate only, to return again into the right way, after that God hath borne some while with them.

48.

And touching answering to objections, here will I finish, and consequently end the third article. Howbeit, this we will in the meantime put you in mind of; that the reprobate may sometimes in some degree do good works: and that the predestinate on the other side, may fall into sins most grievous. Of the first part, Saul may be

unto us an example and firm testimony; for he was at the beginning moderate, having a modest opinion of himself, as the scripture saith. Solomon also at the later end of his age fell grievously; yea, he fell away from God, when yet at the beginning he was most holy; and had in his prayers, when he was consecrated, required those things, which highly pleased God: wherefore he was also heard. Likewise Ahab repented, which repentance God talking with Helias, commended. And also Joash the king, as long as Joiada the priest lived, behaved himself well. Ezekiel also teacheth the self-same thing, when he writeth; If a righteous man depart from his righteousness and live wickedly, I will forget all his righteousness. Yea, and experience itself testifieth, that there are many which have lived indifferent honestly; and yet do at the length, in the last time of their life, perish. Wherefore it is manifest, that in the reprobate, good works sometimes have place, which yet come not from a sincere and a perfect faith, but from a faith, that endureth but for a time; and therefore they cannot simply be said to be good, neither do they in very deed please God, but only have a show of goodness, and may as touching outward discipline be praised.

And that the predestinate do sometimes most grievously sin, David is a witness, who committed adultery and manslaughter. Peter also is a witness, who abjured his saviour. Likewise Moses and Aaron are witnesses, who as the Scripture testifieth, committed no light sin. We daily also see, that they, which are peradventure in the number of the predestinated, do fall into horrible crimes: and therefore we may affirm, that good works do sometimes serve unto predestination, and sometimes also to reprobation. Predestination by them bringeth the elect to eternal life; and as touching reprobation, they are sometimes reasons, why the fall is made the grievouser. For they which fall away from God, forsomuch as they were by him adorned with good works; as their sin is more grievous, so also is their punishment more sharp.

Sins in like manner serve both to reprobation and to predestination; for they that are reprobate, are by them brought to eternal destruction; they which are predestinate, do by them the more set forth the glory of God, when they are delivered from them. And thereby also is ministered unto them occasion more and more to know themselves, and to acknowledge the benefits that are given unto them of God; and so do give thanks for them, and do call upon him for help. And yet are not these things so to be taken, that because God, by his most singular wisdom, useth these things most rightly to our salvation, we should therefore sin: we must follow the holy scripture, which commandeth, that evil things are not to be done, that good may come thereof.

49. Now let us at the length come to the fourth article, in which we purpose to entreat of three things in especial; First, whether by the predestination or reprobation of God, any necessity be laid upon us; Secondly, if there be any necessity, whether the same do hinder free will; Lastly, whether by the foreknowledge or predestination of God be taken away his justice, whereby he is said in the Scriptures to render to every man according to his work. These things being thoroughly declared, I trust the article proposed shall be fully satisfied. Touching the first part, this we said first, that necessity is defined to be that which cannot be otherwise. But the principles or grounds of necessity, are sometimes inward, and sometimes outward. Things which of their own nature are of necessity, and of an inward principle; either they are absolutely necessary, as God: and whatsoever things, if they be changed, include contradiction (as they speak;) As, that four is not an even number, or that four and three are not seven, and this is called a Geometrical necessity; for that it suffereth no variety. Other things indeed are of necessity of an inward ground, but yet not absolutely and simply, unless they follow the accustomed course of nature. Fire is said of necessity to burn that

which is apt to be burnt, and the sun also of necessity perpetually moveth; but these are not simply necessary: for God is able to let them, and to cause these physical and natural things sometimes to cease from their proper operation. As it is manifest of the three children put into the oven of fire, which were not burnt, although the flame were most great. The sun also stayed from his course, whilst Joshua pursued after his enemies. And in the time of Elias, it is most likely, that there were vapours drawn out of the earth, and out of the sea; and yet for all that, for the space of three years, came not down out of the clouds, dew, nor rain. This also is manifest of Hezekiah, that his disease was by nature to the death. And these things shall suffice touching inward necessity.

That necessity also, which cometh outwardly, is of two sorts: the one violent, when things are compelled to abide or to work contrary to their nature; the other is by supposition: by occasion whereof the School-men have said, that there is a necessity of the consequence and another of the consequent. By which distinction, they meant nothing else, but that the connection is sometimes necessary, although that which is inferred, be not of itself necessary. The Logicians also have thus distinguished them; that they call the one a compounded sense, and the other a divided sense: as if thou wilt say, that it is not possible that white should be black; that will be granted, if these two things be taken conjunctively and together; namely, that one and the self-same thing, should be both white and black, which is by no means possible: but if they be taken apart, then it may be said not to be impossible; for that which is now white may be changed and made black. Wherefore the School-men think, that the whole difficulty of this controversy consisteth in the necessity of the consequence, and of the consequent in the compounded sense. But we, for the more perspicuity, will add another distinction; that there is one necessity of certainty or infallibility, and another of coaction.

50. Now let us more narrowly search out how those distinctions of necessity may be applied unto this present purpose. First, I say that our actions have not necessity by an inward principle; for that is will, which of her own nature, that is, (as God hath made it) is mutable and flexible unto either part: however, they have necessity by supposition. For that as soon as thou respectest the foreknowledge and predestination of God, it followeth of necessity that it shall so come to pass, as it is of God foreknown and predestinated. Our will indeed hath an aptness, that it may be bowed to either part alike; but the action thereof, namely the conversion, it shall not have, but to that part which God hath foreknown: wherefore the necessity falleth upon the connection and conjunction of the predestination of God with our works. Which they meant by the compounded sense, and by the necessity of the consequence. For our works, if they be considered apart, and that we only have a respect unto their highest original, that is, unto the will, are of necessity. Here also is confessed necessity of certainty, or of infallibleness: for that God can neither be changed nor deceived. Neither do we plainly grant that predestination bringeth necessity of coercion: for coercion and violence is against the nature of will. For if it should unwillingly do anything, it should not then be called will, but rather a nill (if a man may so term it) which were to overthrow it. I know that the Schoolmen strive among themselves whether God foreknoweth those things, which he foreknoweth, necessarily, or contingently. But in this contention, I will not intermeddle myself, for that there is not such matter set forth in the scriptures; it is sufficient unto me to prove that God is clear from all manner of change and alteration. For the contingency and newness is in the things; but God always and perpetually abideth one and the self-same.

But that there is such a necessity, namely of the consequence, or of the compounded sense, or of infallibleness found in the holy

scriptures, we will allege certain places, which evidently prove the same. Lest any should think it but a feigned invention, Christ said; It must needs be, that he should be delivered unto the Jews, to be mocked. This necessity can be of no other thing inferred but of the definite counsel of God: which Peter teacheth in his sermon in the Acts of the Apostles. Christ also said; that It must needs be that the scriptures should be fulfilled. In John it is written; The scripture cannot be broken, that is, it is not possible, but that it must needs be fulfilled. Unto the Hebrews; It is impossible that they which once being illuminated, etc. In which place is entreated of sin against the Holy Ghost, that it is impossible that they which are guilty of it should escape; for that God hath altogether decreed forever to forsake those which have so sinned. Christ also said of the temptations of the latter times; that The elect also, if it were possible, should be deceived. Again; Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass away. In which words is signified that all those things which God hath spoken either in the scriptures, or in his eternal determination, cannot by any means be made frustrate. He answereth also unto his parents; Did ye not know that it behooves me to work those things which pertain to my father? Unto Timothy Paul writeth; The foundation standeth firm, God knoweth who are his. And in John; Whom the father hath given unto me, no man can take out of my hand. Lastly; All things whatsoever he would he hath done both in heaven and in earth. Wherefore of all these things is gathered how evidently this necessity of certainty and infallibleness is set forth in the holy scriptures; neither is it (as some think) a device of man.

51. And these things which we have spoken of foreknowledge pertain also to providence: for although in this universality of things, many things are said to be done by chance; yet notwithstanding, because that there is nothing, be it never so small, but it is subject unto the

providence of God, therefore also hath it necessity, which we call necessity of certainty; and others, of consequence. But if, forsooth as things may be called partly necessary, and partly also contingent, or free, as we have declared, thou wilt ask whether condition is most agreeable unto them? I answer, that that is most agreeable, which is natural and inward. Forsooth therefore as the necessity, whereof we now entreat, cometh outwardly, and is only by supposition; therefore things ought in no wise to be esteemed according to it, but according to those principles, or grounds, which are understood of us: & so our works, which proceed from will, shall be said to be free; & those things, which are so produced in nature (that also their contrary may come to pass) are counted contingent. However, that necessity of certainty, or of consequence, which we affirm, is never to be denied; neither must we pluck away our works, either from nature, or from foreknowledge, or from the providence of God. And as touching the will of GOD, we must think, that in very deed it governeth and moderateth all things, which thing is of all men commonly granted. For although men perceive and feel, that they by will do decree and choose those things which they are minded to do: yet if they be godly men, they will always say; This or that will I do, if God permit. But if they be yet without the religion of Christ (as were the Ethnics) yet notwithstanding, they always make mention of fate or destiny, of the three sisters called Parcae, or of chance, which is oftentimes read in the poets. Who (as we have said before) if by the word [Fate] or such like, they understood the connection of causes, over which God himself is the ruler, and moderateth & governeth it, then is there no hurt in that opinion; although, by reason of the abuse of the word, it is better utterly to abstain from it. There are some also, which dream of a certain fatal, mighty, and strong necessity, affixed unto the stars, and unto natural causes, which God himself cannot change: which is erroneous, wicked, and far from the wise men of old time; who expressly declare, that by Fate they understood the will and

government of God. The verses of Cleanthes the Stoike, which he wrote touching this matter, Seneca in his 18th book of epistles hath turned into Latin, whose meaning in English is thus;

Lead me, ô sovereign sier, and Lord of lofty sky
Where pleaseth thee: for I obey to follow speedily.
Lo, pressed I am without delay, though loath thou makest me,
Yet groaning forward shall I go, and evil while I be.
What, being good, I might have done, to do I shall be fain:
The willing persons fates do lead, unwilling they constrain.

Although in these verses be avouched fate or destiny, yet is the government thereof put in the hands of God: for he calleth upon the most high father, and desireth to be led of him; whose will notwithstanding, he affirmeth to be both certain and infallible. The self-same thing seemeth Homer in his Odyssey to have meant in these verses, which are thus in English;

Such is the mind in earthly men, and so themselves they bend,
As moves the sier of men, and gods: that daily do ascend.

And when we speak of foreknowledge, we exclude not will: for, as we at the beginning admonished, God cannot foreknow that anything shall come to pass, unless he willeth that it shall come to pass. For there can nothing be, but that which God willeth to be; and that which God willeth, he also bringeth to pass for us: for as Paul saith; He worketh in us both to will and to perform.

52. But this will joined to foreknowledge, neither inverts nor destroys natures; but so works in them, as is agreeing with them: and therefore, for so much as the nature and propriety of the will of man is to work freely and by election, the foreknowledge and will of God takes not away this faculty or power from it; although his

predestination be the cause of all good actions, which are done of the elect, and in the elect. Which thing is not only proved by testimonies of the scriptures, but also the consent of the church in their prayers affirms the same. For thus it prays, O God from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, &c. And sins, although after a sort they are subject unto the will of God yet are they not in such sort produced of it, as are good actions: however, this ought to be for certain, that they also are not done utterly without any will of God. For permission, which some do acknowledge, differs not from will: for God permits that which he will not let. Neither ought it to be said, that he does unwillingly permit, but willingly; as Augustine says. Wherefore in either kind of works, the will and foreknowledge of God, in such sort uses itself, that it overthrows not the faculty or power of man's will. In the predestinate it provides, that nothing be of them committed, which may overthrow their everlasting salvation. And from the reprobate it takes away no natural power, which pertains to their substance or nature; neither compels it them against their will to attempt anything: but it bestows not upon them so much mercy, nor so much grace, as it does upon the elect, and as should be needful to save them. But a great many hearts stumble, for that they think with themselves; If God have foreknown, that we shall meet together tomorrow, then must it needs be that our will was utterly determined to this part: otherwise that could not be foreknown.

But we answer, as we have already signified, that that determination is in such sort with God, as is agreeing with the propriety or nature of the will. But unto it is proper so to will one part, that of his nature, it can also will the other part. Wherefore we confess, that if we have a respect unto God, it is appointed and decreed what we shall do; for his knowledge is not in vain called foreknowledge: for he has not an opinion of things, so that his knowledge can be changed, but has a

certain and sure knowledge. And there can be no knowledge, unless (as we have said) it be certain and firm. But this definition and certainty of his, we both have said, and do say, inverts not the nature of things, neither takes away liberty from our nature. Which is proved by this reason; God did foreknow that many things are possible, which in very deed shall never be: and although they shall never be, yet the foreknowledge of God takes not away from them, but that they are possible. Which we will declare by an example of the scripture; Christ, when he was taken, said; I could have asked of my father, & he would have given me eleven legions of angels, which should defend me from these soldiers. Wherefore Christ affirms, that it was possible for him to ask, and that unto him might be granted so many legions of angels: which yet was neither done, nor was by any means to be done. And yet notwithstanding, God foreknew that it might have been done: and although it should never come to pass, yet was it not hindered by foreknowledge, but that it was possible. Wherefore, as the foreknowledge of God lets not possibility; so likewise it takes not away contingency and liberty.

53. This necessity of infallibility is not only declared and proved by the holy scriptures, and by reasons (as we have now shown) but also is acknowledged of the fathers. Origen against Celsus, in his second book against the argument of Celsus, which he objected against the Christians, saying; Your Christ at his last supper foretold (as ye say) that he should be betrayed of one of his disciples: if he were God, as ye counted he was, could not he let the doing thereof? Origen here wonders, & answers, that this objection is very ridiculous: for, for so much as he foretold that that should come to pass, if he had letted it, then had he not spoken the truth: and therefore he added, that it was of necessity; neither could it otherwise be, but that the same should come to pass which was foretold. However, because that this foretelling changed not the will of Judas, therefore he is worthily

accused, neither ought the blame to be laid upon Christ which foretold it. Origen in that place acknowledges the one and the other; namely the necessity of certainty, and the nature of will not letted. Ambrose also interpreting these words of Paul; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated, refers the sentence of the apostle to works foreseen, and yet adds, that it could not otherwise have come to pass, but as God foresaw that it should come to pass. Chrysostom also expounding that which is written unto the Corinthians; It behooveth that heresies should be, confesses, that this necessity is a necessity of foretelling, which is nothing prejudicial unto the power of our will & choice. Neither is this necessity taken away, by certain places in the scriptures, which otherwise at the first sight seem to affirm a change to be in the mind of God; as is that of Isaiah, when he threatened to Hezekiah the king, present death: which prophesy nevertheless God seemed to change, when he prolonged his life fifteen years. And to the city of Nineveh it was foretold, that it should be destroyed within forty days; which nevertheless came not to pass.

Those things in very deed make nothing against the truth before taught; for God foretold unto Hezekiah his death, which was even at hand, according to the causes of the disease whereof he was then sick, and therein was made no lie. But as touching foreknowledge, as GOD foreknew, that the king should be in danger of that most deadly disease; even so foreknew he that his life should be prolonged fifteen years. And as he foreknew, that the sins of the Ninevites deserved present destruction; even so likewise foreknew he, that of his mercy he would give unto them to repent, and to be saved. By the very which rule is to be expounded that place of Jeremiah, in the 18. chapter, wherein God saith, that He also would change his mind, or repent him of the plague, which he had threatened unto any city, nation or kingdom, if they would repent. But what shall we say of Paul, who writes to the Corinthians, that He chastised his body, and

brought it into bondage, that he might not be a reprobate? What meant he to change that firm purpose of God? Verily Paul meant not, that he was able to invert the order of the predestination or reprobation of God; and therefore he said not, Lest I become a reprobate; but, Lest I be reprov'd: for he minded by all industry and carefulness to be obedient to the predestination of God. For they which are predestinated unto eternal life, study to mortify the flesh. And he said that he would not become reprov'd, that is, he would not be found and accused, to lead his life otherwise than he preached: which kind of vice all men disallow, detest, and condemn. Wherefore in that place, was not entreated of the reprobation of God; but of that kind of crime, which they are guilty of, whosoever give good monitions, and in the mean time, they themselves lead their life most wickedly. Although if a man will needs refer these things to the judgment of God, he might well grant the same as touching present justice or injustice; but not according to firm purpose, whereof we at this present entreat.

54. Cicero, a man otherwise full of wit, and of good literature very well deserving, was exceedingly deceived in this question; as it is evident by his second book De divinatione. Which thing Augustine declared in his fifth book De civitate Dei, the ninth and tenth chapters. For he thought it impossible, that the foreknowledge of things to come should not overthrow the faculty or power of man's will: therefore he took away all manner of predestination or foretelling. Which opinion, how much repugnant it is to our religion, all men understand; seeing it is staid upon the oracles of the prophets, as upon sure foundations. And it is written, that God did never anything, which was of any weight, but he first revealed it unto the prophets. He showed unto Noah the destruction that should come by the flood, long time before it came to pass. Unto Abraham he foreshowed the burning of Sodom; and unto him he signified the

oppression and deliverance of his posterity in Egypt. And in a manner unto the self-same prophets he gave charge to foretell the captivity of Babylon, and the return from there. He also commanded all the prophets to prophesy, that Christ should come. And therefore unto us so constant is the authority of prophecies, that to deny it, is utterly to overthrow all religion. Wherefore Augustine not without just cause said; that Those men, which were called Genethliaci, which avouched the fatal necessities of the stars, were more tolerable than Cicero; for they gave some place unto God. But if he be denied to foreknow things to come; thereby also is he denied to be God. David saith; The foolish man said in his heart, There is no God. Which saying he showeth to be the opinion of the wicked; for that they, when they commit wicked facts, think that GOD seeth them not, & that he will never punish them. And Cicero hath given us occasion to suspect, that he was after a sort infected with this impiety; for that in his book *De natura deorum*, he brings in Cotta, and the high priest thus reasoning together; that Cotta desired much, that he might have undoubtedly proved unto him, that there are gods. However, because he saw that it was a thing odious, hateful, and in a manner infamous, to deny that there is a God; therefore towards the end of the book, he gave sentence on Balbus's side, who defended that there are gods: but yet he so gave sentence, that he said unto Velleius, that the opinion of Cotta seemed unto him more probable. Verily a godly man, and one confirmed in religion, would never say that that sentence is likely to be true, wherein the divinity is called into doubt. But these are the disputations of over reason, whereof Paul abundantly wrote in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans.

But afterward Cicero himself in his book *De divinatione*, under his own person, denies God to have the foreknowledge of things to come; and makes answer to his brother Quintus, who in the whole

course of the first book, had confirmed prophecies and oracles. But why denies he foreknowledge? He was therefore driven unto it; for that he saw that he must needs grant an order of causes, and of effects, which is immovable and constant: for otherwise, things to come could not be foretold. Now, if such an order be granted, he supposes that nothing remaineth in our hands & power. But as in God, we must affirm to be a most singular will, joined with a most singular power; even so unto him must be attributed the knowledge of all things: yet let us not therefore be afraid, but that we may do the things which we do, by our own will and choice. The Stoics, which did appoint fate or destiny, seem also to have been somewhat moved with Cicero's reason: for they did place the motions of the will of man, not to be under fate or the connection of causes. Not that they utterly made free the will of man, but only they affirmed, that in it lay, at the choice thereof, to meddle or not to meddle with some things: which if it meddle with, straightway it should be wrapped in the necessity of fate. By an example the thing may be made manifest; They say that it lay in Oedipus to company with a woman, or to abstain: but if he once company, he could not choose but commit incest; of which incest children should be begotten, which should pollute themselves with murdering of their brother, and should overthrow their fathers kingdom. The ancient philosophers, as Democritus & Empedocles, affirm, that The will also is subject to fate or to the connection of causes. But Chrysippus the Stoic inclined rather to exempt man's will, as Oenomaris the Cynic by report of Eusebius Caesariensis De praeparatione evangelica says, that Democritus made men bond-men, and Chrysippus half bond-men.

55. But leaving these, let us return to Cicero, who said, "If there be foreknowledge, then things should in such sort come to pass, as they were foreknown; neither can the event foreseen be avoided: so that the liberty of man is utterly lost. Laws, admonitions, rewards,

punishments, and such like things, are in vain." Therefore, he proposed a choice, that a man should choose whether he would rather admit foreknowledge or liberty of the will; for that they could not coexist, as far as he judged. And because he was a man involved in civil matters, and dealt in laws & judgments, he rather rejected the foreknowledge of God than lose the liberty of the will of man. And for this cause, Augustine saith of him; "Those who will be free, he makes sacrilegious, so that for defence of their liberty, they spoil God of his foreknowledge." Cicero's reasoning was; "If the will be free, there can be no sure connection of causes. For if it were sure, it might not be broken by our will: and if there be no sure connection, then foreknowledge cannot stand; and therefore he affirms that God also foreknows not what things shall come to pass. For if he should foreknow them, then should there be a sure and firm order of causes; which being granted, there should nothing remain in the power of our will." But we ought to hold both these, because we have experience of the one by sense. For every man may perceive in himself, how he works by counsels & deliberation, and chooses that which pleases him. But the other, that is, the foreknowledge of God, we hold by faith; which knowledge is of no less force than the apprehension both of sense and reason. And so we deny unto Cicero that consequence. There is a certain and constant order of causes, which God foreknew; therefore there is nothing in our will. And for this, the argument is denied because our wills also are to be placed amongst the causes of things, yea & have not amongst them the unworthiest place. Wherefore, even as God can foreknow what shall come to pass of other causes: in like sort is he able plainly to see what our wills will choose. And as in foreseeing other causes, and their effects, he in no wise destroys nor changes the nature of them: so likewise he has left the wills of men untouched.

This also moved Cicero, that then nothing should happen by chance: but forso much as very many things happen by chance & fortune, it is manifest, that there can be no sure order & foreknowledge of causes. In this sort reasoned he. But we answer, that "Those things, which are said to come by chance, are so called things coming by chance, as they are referred to our understanding, which being but weak by reason of his dullness, it sees not the course or connection of causes: but if they be referred unto the mind of God, from which nothing is hidden, they cannot be said to come by chance or rashly." The infirmity of the mind of man hath made place for fortune or chance, which we will declare by an example; If a master should send his servant to the market, and command him to be there by six of the clock, and should also command his bailiff apart, to do the self-same thing, doubtless both the bailiff and the servant shall meet together; which to either of them shall happen by chance, for that they knew not of their master's commandment; but the master himself, who knows the matter, will not judge this to come by chance. Which thing also by this may appear; Suppose that I knew that there were treasure hidden in a place, and I should command one to dig in that place, when he should find the treasure, he would cry, "Good fortune"; but I which knew the matter, would attribute nothing unto fortune. Even so God, forso much as he knows the course and connection of all causes, never finds any. Therefore let us submit all things unto the providence of God; and amongst all other things, our wills, which we must affirm to have that power, which God would (who tempers the power and nature of all things.)

There is a certain cause, (as saith Augustine) which so works that it is by no means wrought; and such a cause is God. And there is another cause, which so works that it also is wrought of another; of which kind is our will, which so wills and works, as it is wrought of God. Wherefore we ought neither to assent unto Cicero, nor to the Stoics;

for as we ought to withdraw nothing from the foreknowledge of God, so least of all are our wills to be exempted from it, for they pertain to the better part of the world. For what should he have a care of? Or what should he foreknow, if he should not have a care of men? Our wills (as saith Augustine) are able to do so much as God would and foreknew they should be able to do: and therefore, whatever they are able to do, they most certainly are able to do; & whatever they shall do, they shall without all doubt do it: for that he, whose foreknowledge cannot be deceived, foreknew that they should be both able and also do it. And in the tenth chapter of the fifth book before cited, he distinguished, as we did, the two sorts of necessity; one, whereby we are compelled to suffer those things which we would not, as is the necessity of death, whereunto, will we or nill we, we must give place; the other necessity he saith, is that, according to which anything is said to be necessary, that is to say, that which shall undoubtedly come to pass. And as touching this, there is no need that we should be afraid concerning our will; for by it the will is not diminished. The former indeed is repugnant unto it; for it is not possible that it should will anything unwillingly: but this latter is nothing at all against the nature of the will. The life and foreknowledge of God, although they are necessarily attributed unto him, yet they nothing hurt his nature nor will: he neither can be deceived nor die; and yet suffereth he not anything which he wills not. So also we say, that when we will anything, by will, we necessarily will it: and yet do we not think, that hereby our choice is violated.

56. And how the foreknowledge of God does not harm our will, Augustine in his third book *De libero arbitrio*, in the second and third chapters, very well explains. Firstly, he says that this question engages many wicked men, who either desire that if the will were free, God should have no providence or care of mortal things, so that

they might indulge in their lusts with more freedom by denying both God's and man's judgments and by avoiding them as much as possible. Or, if it must be admitted that God foresees and understands the things we do, they would at least want God's providence to compel the wills of men so that they may be excused from blame for their wicked deeds. Augustine easily refutes these men's ideas by explaining how the knowledge of God can coexist with will, and that too, a free will. He asks the person he's reasoning with whether he knew if he would have a righteous or corrupt will tomorrow. The person admits he couldn't tell. "Do you think," says Augustine, "that God knows this?" The other confesses that he thinks God knows. Therefore, Augustine concludes that since God foreknows this, He also foreknows what He will do with him, whether He will glorify him at the end of his life: which if He foreknows and cannot be deceived, then He will glorify him necessarily. But tell me, will you be glorified against your will, or with your will? "Certainly not against my will," he says, "for I most earnestly desire the same." Thus, it's concluded that what God will necessarily do in us does not hinder the will. He also shows that this will be clearer if we consider foreknowledge as if it were our own. Suppose I foresee that a certain man will come to me tomorrow, will my foreknowledge take his will from him so that if he comes, he comes of his own choice? Undoubtedly, that cannot be said: for he willingly comes, and my foreknowledge does not diminish anything of his choice.

And just as our memory does not force past events to remain in the past, so foreknowledge does not compel future events to occur. This can also be explained another way; if a man sees Plato arguing with Socrates, or the sun or the moon eclipsed, the sight of the seer does not cause Plato and Socrates to dispute necessarily or unwillingly; nor does it cause the sun or moon to eclipse by chance, as these

eclipses of the heavenly bodies have their necessary causes. Therefore, the seer does not, by reason of his sight, make what is contingent necessary, nor does he make what is necessary contingent. We should not think that God's foreknowledge obtains its certainty from the necessity of things; for the clarity of the mind of God is so great that it can certainly understand contingent things as well. This reason is not hindered by what we have often admonished before; namely, that God's foreknowledge always has will joined with it, since nothing can be foreknown by God to be, which He himself does not will to be. But this will, by which God works all in all, applies itself to the natures of things; for in food it nourishes, in the sun it gives light, in the vine it produces wine, and in the will of man it causes them to will freely those things which they will. Paul, as we read in the Acts, cited that saying of Aratus; "In him we live, we move, and have our being": from which it follows that the will of man has its motions from God. But if someone says that it receives from God such motions as it itself previously wills, then he will speak absurdly: for then our will would measure and govern the influences of God, which is far from the truth. Rather, let us say that it receives from God such impulses and motions as He will give; and let us meanwhile note that God works in our will in such a way that it gladly, willingly, and of its own accord receives the motions that God puts into us.

57. But how it comes to pass that God most certainly foresees things to come, when yet the wills of men, and many natural causes are doubtful, and work contingently; it may thus be explained. It is true indeed that those who consider things only in their causes are often deceived. For all causes do not necessarily bring forth their effects; sometimes they are hindered, and otherwise inclined than they were supposed. Therefore, people are not deceived when they judge of effects lying hidden in their causes. But the foreknowledge of God

not only knows what things shall come to pass in their causes, but also thoroughly sees them, as if they were already brought forth and made perfect by their causes. Hence, we may infer necessity of certainty and infallibility from the foreknowledge of God, which we cannot do from the nearest causes. For when we say that God foreknew that this or that should be tomorrow, we rightly add that therefore it shall of necessity be. Necessity is not applied to a thing known, but as it is foreknown by God as present and already brought forth, which not only leads to perspicuity but also to necessity: for everything, whilst it is, is of necessity. We must not afterward grant that the thing is of necessity because it is not taken in such a way as it was foreknown by God.

Hitherto, we have defended the power of man's will, which yet we would not have taken generally but only concerning foreknowledge and predestination. For although thereby (as it is proved) free will is not hindered, yet it does not lack impediments or hindrances. We are born in sin, and whether we will it or not, we are wrapped in original sin; neither can we by any means extricate ourselves from sin. And before regeneration, whatever power we attribute to the will of man in indifferent and civil matters, we must first think that, whichever way it turns, it inevitably sins; nor can it do anything that is truly acceptable to God; nor can it give civil works the success it intends. Therefore, Augustine rightly wrote in his *Enchiridion* that the first man, by sinning, lost the liberty of free will. Furthermore, it is to be considered that the wills and motions of the mind, and actions, even of men not yet regenerated, are directed by God; and so directed, that by His providence, they are brought to the end predetermined by Him. Also, when we are regenerated, although we obtain liberty through Christ to some extent, it is not full, but only begun. For the first motions that lead to sin creep upon us against our will, which motions we have shown to be sins.

And Ambrose plainly confesses that our hearts are not in our own power, and there is none of the believers who often does not fall, even though he would prefer to stand. Therefore, we should all pray, "Forgive us our trespasses." And to the Galatians, Paul said, "The spirit fights against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, so that you do not do the things which you would." And in his epistle to the Romans, it is written, "The evil which I hate, that I do." Again, "I feel a law in my members striving against the law of my mind, and leading me away captive into the law of sin," which words can only be understood of a regenerated man. For he had said, "In my mind, I serve the law of God, but in the flesh, the law of sin," which cannot be referred to a man not yet justified. We indeed grant that God could, if He would, give unto men so much aid that they should not sin at all, but He has not done so yet, nor has He ever undertaken to do it. Therefore, our will is still subject to some servitude, which, as we desire to remain certain and undoubted, we affirm is not hindered by the foreknowledge and predestination of God.

58. Hitherto in this article, it is seen what necessity comes from the foreknowledge and predestination of God; namely, such a necessity as is not absolute, but by supposition, which we call necessity of consequence, of infallibility, and of certainty; but not of coercion. And seeing it is so, it is now evident that no injustice is committed by God when he condemns sinners and glorifies the righteous. For to every man is rendered according to his works, so that no man can say that his sins are not his own works, seeing he is not compelled to commit them, but exceedingly allows and wills them. Neither are laws, admonitions, promises, and punishments in vain, as it was objected; for they are of so much force as God has decreed they shall be, as Augustine writes in his fifth book *De Civitate Dei*, in the chapter before cited. For God's will is to use them for the salvation of many, and although they do not benefit some, yet they do not miss

their end; for they help forward to the condemnation of the wicked. Prayers also are not made unprofitable; for by them, we obtain those things which God has decreed to give us through them. Therefore, this is an excellent saying of Gregory in his Dialogues: "By prayers, only those things can be obtained which God has predestinated to give." And how by predestination, foreknowledge, or prophecies, sins are not excused, we are taught by many testimonies of the holy scriptures. Christ foretold that Judas would betray him; truly, that foretelling neither took away Judas's wickedness nor poured it into him. He followed the enticements of covetousness; he betrayed the Lord not to obey his prophecy. Christ also was by the will of God slain, for he said in the garden, "Let this cup pass away from me if it be possible, but not my will be done, but thine." And of himself, he said beforehand, "I will give my life for my sheep."

Yes, Herod and Pilate are said in the Acts of the Apostles to have agreed together to do those things which the counsel of God had decreed. Are either the Jews or those princes, by reason of this, to be acquitted from sin when they condemned and slew an innocent man? Who will say so? Shall any man also acquit of villainy the brethren of Joseph when they sold their brother, although God willed by that means that Joseph should come into Egypt? Neither shall the cruelty of the king of Babylon be excused, although the justice of God decreed to have the Jews in such a manner punished. He who is killed is said to be delivered by God into the hands of his enemy. And God is also said to deliver a city when it is won by assault. And Job said that those things which were taken away from him by violence and robbery by the Chaldeans and Sabeans were taken away by God; "The Lord," says he, "gave, and the Lord hath taken away." Therefore, from that counsel of God, whereby he uses sins to their appointed ends, no just excuses of sins can be inferred; for wicked works are judged and condemned by reason of the lewd and corrupt

heart from which they are derived. Therefore, let no man be offended with the doctrine of predestination, seeing rather by it we are led to acknowledge the benefits of God and to give thanks unto him only. And let us also learn not to attribute more to our strength than we ought; let us also have an assured persuasion of the good will of God towards us, whereby he would elect his before the foundations of the world were laid. Let us moreover be confirmed in adversities, knowing assuredly that whatever calamity happens, it is done by the counsel and will of God, and that finally, by the moderation of predestination, it shall turn to good and to eternal salvation.

Whether God would kill or destroy any man.

59. But there arises a doubt, whether God would kill or destroy any man: for it is written that The sons of Eli heeded not their father's words, because the Lord would slay them. In the 18th and 33rd chapters (for both the chapters are of one argument, although Jerome showed some difference between them, yet so small, as it makes in a manner no matter), Ezekiel, under the person of God, says; As truly as I live, I will not the death of a sinner, but that he convert and live. And in Isaiah 28th chapter, it is read; I, saith the Lord, will do a strange work; namely, to punish you: whereupon it is gathered, that it is far from the nature of God to lay punishments upon us for sins. Wherefore it is everywhere pronounced of the church, that the property of God is to forgive, and to be merciful. And in the first chapter of Wisdom (if yet we shall allow of that book), it is written; God made not death, nor delighteth in the destruction of the living. Furthermore, the name of the very same GOD is called in the holy scriptures Jehovah; which soundeth nothing else, than Being, or, To be. Wherefore Augustine in his book De vera religione, the twelfth chapter saith; that The nature of God is To be; forasmuch as all things have from thence even that being that they have. But death

brings to pass that things cease to be; so that it seemeth not to proceed from God. And in Genesis, it is written, that God made man a living soul. whereupon it follows, that he did not so make him, that he would destroy him; but rather that he should live. And in the 29th chapter of Jeremiah, it is said; My thoughts are the thoughts of peace, and not of affliction, saith the Lord. Nevertheless, we understand here, that he would destroy the sons of Eli. And Jeremiah in the Lamentations saith, that God minded to overthrow the wall of Zion. And in Zechariah, it is said; Even as God thought to punish you, what time as your fathers provoked him to wrath: so now have I determined to do well unto you. And there is a place extant in the 14th chapter of Isaiah, wherein by manifest words it is declared, that God consulted and decreed with himself utterly to destroy the Babylonians and Assyrians. And very many testimonies, for the confirmation of this matter, might be gathered out of the holy scriptures: but because we meet with them everywhere, I will pass them over.

60. As touching the discourse which we have in hand; first, we must determine of some certain thing; secondly, we must encounter the testimonies and reasons which may seem to be against the definition set down. First of all, the nature of death is to be distinguished: because there is one of the soul, and another of the body. As touching that of the body, it would be superfluous to say anything; seeing by the sense, we perceive the same to be nothing else but a departure of the soul from the flesh. Wherefore, on the other side, we affirm that the death of the soul doth then happen, when we, for sin's sake, are separated from God. Unto these things, this also is to be added, that the death of the body doth depend on the death of the soul; for unless that had gone before, this should not follow: whereupon Paul most truly wrote; that By sin came death into the world. Only Christ is here to be excepted, who only died without sin: albeit that neither

he, in very deed, died altogether without sin, seeing that he bore our sins on his body upon the cross. But the procurer of death (as Augustine saith in his fourth book De Civitate Dei, the 12th chapter) was the devil: for he was therefore of John called A murderer even from the beginning because he persuaded the first men unto sin. Even as Christ therefore is the mediator of life, so is the devil, of death. And it is written, that Sin entered into the world by one man, because that same one, that is, the first man, was corrupted by the devil. Therefore, saith Augustine; God made not death absolutely and by itself, but for a just recompense imposed the same upon sinners. For indeed it is one thing to produce a thing absolutely, and by itself; and another thing justly to lay it upon us; for all things that are done of God by themselves are indeed good: for God saw all things that he had made, and they were very good.

Those things also which are laid upon us for a reward of sins, although in their own nature they be evil, that is to say, against our nature; yet so far forth as they have the nature of justice, they ought to be counted as good things. For the plain declaration whereof, Augustine useth a very apt similitude; When a judge condemneth a man to execution, he is not properly said to have done the execution, seeing the guilty man procured the same to himself. Wherefore there is a certain will of God absolute, and another (as Augustine calleth it) recompensing, To whether of those belongeth the present place, wherein it is said, that God would destroy the sons of Eli? Whether shall we understand it of the absolute will, or of the recompensing will? Doubtless of the recompensing; because of the absolute will it must not be understood. Therefore (saith Augustine) it is most just, that when our soul shall of his own will depart from God, it should be separated from his body, whether it will or no. In like manner, there would be a difference put between the conditions of sinners; for there be some of them which sorrow that they have sinned, and

whom it repenteth of their sins committed: these men, as they belong to the election, even so do they exercise the faith wherewith they are adorned.

61. Of this kind of sinners, speaketh God when he saith in Ezekiel; I will not the death of a sinner. And this will of God is so firm and steadfast, as he confirmeth the same with an oath; As truly as I live (saith he) I will not the death of a sinner. But others do so stick in their wickedness, as they are never led with any repentance; for so much as they belong to the number of the reprobates: these men assuredly God would have to die. And for a truth, after that they have fulfilled the measure of their grievous sins, it is requisite that they should die; that one day at length they may make an end of their sinning. Therefore, whereas the prophet saith under the person of God, that He will not the death of a sinner, it must not be understood universally, as touching all; but of some certain. We might also add with many divines that there is a certain will of God, which they call effectual; and also another of the sign: for there are given to all men one with another certain signs of salvation; such as are outward vocation, which chiefly consists of the word of God, of preaching, and of the administration of the sacraments. Another will there is of God secret, which is called effectual; and belongeth not unto all men together: for if it comprehended all men, no doubt but all men should be saved. For such is the strength and power of God, as of him the scriptures pronounce; He hath done all things whatsoever he would. So that the prophet Ezekiel meant, that our punishments must not be ascribed to God; but rather to the sins of our own selves.

And when he addeth, that God would, that men should convert and live; that must not so be understood, as though we may obtain eternal life by the merit of repentance; seeing we obtain that by faith, which only procureth to us the mercy of God, through Christ. And no

less is repentance than our faith to be reckoned among the gifts of God. And undoubtedly, as touching repentance, Paul speaketh unto Timothy; If peradventure God shall give them repentance: but of faith it is written to the Philippians; God hath not only given it unto you, that you should believe, but also to suffer for his sake. And unto the Ephesians; By faith ye are saved, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Verily we have these things by the liberality of God, not of our own strength; because we are not sufficient of ourselves, as of ourselves, to further anything unto our salvation; For it is God that worketh in us both to will and to perform: wherefore not some part of our salvation, but the whole dependeth of God. But and if thou shalt demand, why God bestoweth these his gifts rather on this man than on that? It is a thing unsearchable. This ought to satisfy us, to confess, that whatsoever he doth, he doth it rightly and surely.

62. But whereas Isaiah saith; that God doth a strange work when he bringeth just punishments upon the wicked; it is no hard matter to make it agree with the sentence that we have set down, seeing that God, of his own accord, and without just cause inferreth no evil: for he is provoked by our sins, and he recompenseth our wickedness with a just damnation. Nevertheless, in that place, a strange work seems unto me to signify a work unaccustomed, not seen, nor heard of before: as if God should say; I will bring upon you, not an ordinary and daily punishment, but a notable and wonderful punishment. He that shall after this manner understand the words of the prophet, in my judgment he shall vary from the natural sense thereof. And whereas it is written in the first chapter of the book of Wisdom, that God made not death, nor delighteth in the destruction of the living, it is (as I think) plainly enough to be understood by those things which are already spoken. For we may understand, that God made not death, because we by our sins have drawn it unto us: but yet we must not therefore affirm, that the same is no manner of way derived from

God. Neither must Made or Ordained be urged vehemently in that place, otherwise it might be again objected against them out of the 11th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, that Death and life, good and evil, poverty and riches are of God. And whereas it is added, that God rejoiceth not at the destruction of the living; that is true as touching the predestinate, seeing of them he suffereth none to perish: when otherwise of the reprobate it is said in the first chapter of the Proverbs; I also will rejoice in your destruction: for God is not led unwillingly or violently, but willingly and gladly to destroy the ungodly. Moreover, truth it is, that man at the beginning was created a living soul: and God for that cause may seem not to be the author of death, because he created man, that he might live; who afterward by his own fault, procured death unto himself.

But yet hereunto I add, that man could not have life, without the special benefit of God; for he giveth it at his will and pleasure to whom he thinketh good. And undoubtedly that is true, which he himself speaketh in Jeremiah; that His thoughts are the thoughts of peace, and not of affliction. First, because that death, and her retainers are (as it hath been said) drawn to us by our own selves. Further, it must not be lightly weighed, which is afterward written in the prophet unto the house of Israel, that is, unto the elect, and them that are predestinate to salvation: for unto them GOD intendeth nothing but for their salvation. As touching the name of Jehovah, by which God is specially named; because all things have of him even the very being which they have; and that therefore death, seeing it bringeth a man to nothing, cannot seem to have his cause of God, it is to be understood, that death is ordained for men as a punishment of sin, and is laid upon them that deserve it. Neither do we deny, but that God of himself is life; seeing the essence of all things dependeth of him, as of the fountain. Which nevertheless is not so, but that he can withdraw the same, so often as he thinks good; for whatsoever he

doth, he doth it voluntarily, and of his own accord: not as doth the sun, the stars, the moon, the fire, and other natural things, which work naturally, and of a certain necessity. Therefore David wisely said; When thou openest thy hand, all things shall be filled with goodness, which if thou pluck back again, and once doest close, all things shall straightway be destroyed. Howbeit, he closeth not his hand, except he be provoked by our ill deserts.

Chapter II.

Of the Calling of God, and of His Grace.

The calling of God is directed unto that end that we should believe the same; and further, that we should be saved by the benefit thereof. Seeing therefore that our salvation and faith be those good things which the calling of God hath respect unto, this nature they have, that faith serveth for another end; namely, for our salvation: two manner of ends indeed, but yet it may seem to be one, seeing without doubt the one tendeth unto the other. But the form of the calling is not always one and the same; for sometimes it is done only by inspiration of the spirit, and sometimes by the words of God outwardly propounded unto us, either by writing, or by word of mouth. And those words of God, whereby we be called, do consist partly in promises, and partly in doctrine; unto which also threatenings are otherwhile added. Likewise, we know that some have been called by compulsion, as the holy history in the Acts of the Apostles declareth of Paul. We also read that this hath sundry times been brought to pass by benefits, yea, and the gifts of healing bestowed upon the apostles seem to have an eye unto that. Sometimes God calleth his children by adversities; of which way the children of Israel had very many times experience. And it must be remembered that this calling sometimes is understood as concerning salvation, seeing God doth therefore call us unto him, that we may be saved. There is also a certain other private calling for the taking of some certain charge in hand, be it of priesthood, kingdom, government of household, and other suchlike. Which two callings be not all one, because they may be severed; for so was Saul called unto

the kingdom, but not unto salvation; and Judas, albeit he were joined to the apostleship, yet was he not partaker of the salvation by Christ.

Again, calling is of two sorts; one is called effectual, and the other not effectual: not effectual, is when some men are thought, by the reason of outward signs and tokens to be called, and to appertain unto God, & to the church, and yet in very deed the success is not so: and hereof it is spoken in the 20th and 24th chapters of Matthew; Many be called, but few be chosen. But that is said to be effectual, which by no means wanteth the due end of salvation; of which Paul speaketh in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, when he saith; All things work for the best to them which are called according to the purpose of God: for those which he knew before, he also predestinated, to be made conformable to the image of his son, that he might be the first born among many brethren; whom he predestinated, them also he called; and whom he called, them also he justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified. Thou seest by these words of Paul, that they which be called, are predestinated, and that the very same shall be glorified. Wherefore an apparent controversy in the scriptures is decided: for when it is said, that some be called and not chosen, there it is spoken of calling without effect. Again, when those that be called are said to be justified, and glorified, there the speech is of effectual calling: this effectual calling Paul nameth according to the purpose. But this purpose of God is referred unto predestination and foreknowledge.

This also must be added, that calling goeth before faith, which thing appeareth out of the tenth chapter to the Romans, when the apostle saith; How shall they call upon him, whom they have not believed? How shall they believe him, of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach, unless they be sent? Behold, in this method of resolution thou seest, that faith doth

two ways depend upon calling; First, because they that should preach, and be messengers, ought to be called and appointed to declare the word of God; and then they, while they preach, do call the people of God; whose faith, as thou seest, doth depend upon the calling of God. And if so be calling be before faith, it is also before all merits; because our good works, by the which we deserve anything, do flow from faith, even as it is said in the fifth chapter to the Galatians; Faith which worketh by love. Seeing therefore that faith goeth before works and merits, and calling before faith, it appeareth that our calling is not given for any merits of ours, but only for the free mercy of God.

2. But now if thou shalt be demanded, what time that calling is made? Thou must answer that unto GOD there be no laws prefixed, that he, by his most prudent government, calleth into his vineyard some at the first hour, some at the second, some at the third; & again, he calleth some a little before the evening time. For, albeit that in respect of his foreknowledge or predestination, all men were called together at the beginning; yet nevertheless, the declaration or execution of calling is done by God, according as it furthereth his glory, and the honour or commodity of his church. And so great is the honour of the divine calling, that the church took thereof her name, and is called in Greek, ἐκκλησία; the which undoubtedly signifieth, no other, but a company of them that be called. Wherefore it remaineth that when we be called, we should with all diligence obey the caller; weighing thoroughly with ourselves, that we be called for our profit: for God calleth us not, but for our good. Wherefore Christ saith, Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. For being far from God, we are vexed with thought and carefulness of living. Moreover being laden with a multitude of grievous mischiefs, we are pressed down.

Furthermore, we must mark what manner of benefit of God this is, and how singular and excellent, the which he imparteth not unto all men; for he passing over so many, whose nature is all one with ours, hath taken unto him, or separated us. Wherefore if we embrace not the benefit that is offered unto us, and that is denied unto others, we shall deserve no small punishment, yea rather, as it is written in the second chapter to the Romans; We shall heap up unto ourselves wrath in the day of wrath. Neither ought there or may there be any lawful excuse pretended, for not obeying God when we be called; although in show the same were a godly excuse, which is sufficiently showed in the eighth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, touching him that being called of the Lord, alleged for himself, that he should go to bury his father. No doubt, but that seemed to tend unto godliness: but Christ said unto him; Let the dead bury the dead; as if he had said; When thou art called by me, set aside all duties, and follow me. And such is the power of God's calling, as without that, all our endeavours are made void, & are not allowed by God: as in the same chapter we most plainly see, that he pleased not Christ, which in a manner offered himself of his own accord to follow him; but because he wanted that calling, he did not set forward himself to follow Christ with an upright mind: wherefore he was put to a repulse.

3. Paul, when he disputed of calling, thought it not sufficient to put us in remembrance that we are brought to obedience, but would also admonish us besides what manner of people we were before; namely, the servants of sin. This was the state of us all before we were converted unto Christ: for the calling of God finds none either holy or just. Neither was it sufficient to say that we are now the servants of righteousness, but he added from the heart. They who are truly regenerate in Christ and grafted in him, work those things which they understand to be acceptable unto God, not by compulsion or hypocrisy, but of their own accord. Wherefore Paul, when he makes

mention hereof, gives thanks unto God for that he understood the same thing to be the chiefest and singular benefit of God and lies not in our power, as many men feign it to do: and therefore he adds in the passive signification; Ye were delivered. By which words he means nothing else but that which Christ meant when he said; No man cometh unto me unless my Father draw him. But what manner of drawing this is and how hard it is to be expressed, he that diligently weighs the words of Christ shall easily perceive; It is written (saith he) in the prophets, They shall be all taught of God. Which sentence Christ doth yet more plainly expound, saying; He which shall hear of my Father, and shall learn, cometh unto me. By which words he shows that an outward calling is not sufficient unless there be added by GOD a full persuasion inwardly and in the mind: for after that God has once inclined and framed our mind, then at the last we come unto Christ.

And Augustine in his first book to Boniface, against the two epistles of the Pelagians, writes that The Lord said; Unless my Father shall draw him, and said not; Unless my Father shall lead him: as though we ourselves, as of ourselves, could will anything or else give assent unto him that calls us: for he who is willing is not drawn, but led; not that the Father draws any, but those that are willing. For it is not possible that we should believe unless we be willing. But God works wonderfully in our hearts, so that of unwilling persons he makes us willing. And the same Augustine upon John, expounding this place, compares the believer with a young sheep, whom the shepherd, by holding forth a green bough, draws after him; not indeed by violence, but of his own accord and with a desire: for the sheep has inwardly an appetite which stirs him up to follow the bough. In which comparison, this we ought to note; that it is the property of a sheep so to do: for another beast will not follow, although you should allure it with green boughs. So ought we by regeneration to be renewed and

to be made the sheep of Christ before we can follow him: for otherwise, we despise all green boughs and callings.

Augustine adds moreover that this drawing is with a certain delectation and pleasure; so that it is true which the poet says; *Trahit sua quemque voluptas*; that is, Every man is drawn by his own pleasure. And we are led by the bonds, not of the body, but of that heart; and we are stirred up by a holy pleasure. But the definition of pleasure sufficiently teaches that first the changing of our corrupt nature is necessary; for pleasure is nothing else but an affection or motion stirred up in us of things agreeable unto our nature; as contrariwise, grief or sorrow comes of things that are repugnant unto our nature. And now, to the end we may take some pleasure by the admonitions of God and by heavenly preachings, it is necessary that they be agreeable to our nature, which nature being corrupt, that thing can by no means be brought to pass. For Paul says unto the Corinthians; The carnal man understands not those things which are of the spirit of God, for they seem foolish unto him, and therefore he refuses them as things contrary unto himself.

4. What is then to be done, that the same things may be pleasant unto us? Are the commandments of God to be altered and bended to our lusts? No, undoubtedly: our nature ought rather to be changed and regenerated by God. And that thing doth God bring to pass in us when he, through faith, indueth us with his righteousness, and so draweth us unto Christ. And therefore Paul, when he had used these verbs of the active signification, *Obeie & exhibit*, or give your members, etc., useth afterward the passive signification, when he saith; Ye are delivered, ye are made free from sin, ye are made the servants of righteousness. By which words is signified that inasmuch as we live uprightly and follow God, it is from without us and cometh not from ourselves. By the form of doctrine, he meaneth the Gospel;

for it is no simple doctrine, as is philosophy or law; but such a doctrine as offereth Christ unto us, and his spirit, and grace: whereby is ministered strength unto us to perform those things which are commanded. And although this drawing be the work of God, yet ought preachers and pastors to serve therein as ministers of God. And when we call that drawing a motion, the end of such motion, both from whence it cometh and whereunto it tendeth, is declared by Paul when he thus writeth; Ye were the servants of sin: by which words he showeth from whence we are drawn. But when he addeth that we are delivered to the intent we should be obedient unto the Gospel, he showeth the end of our mutation: for therefore are we regenerated and brought to Christ, that we should be obedient unto his word. Neither did Paul think it sufficient in such sort to set forth his change; but he would also declare the manner of the change. For when he saith that We obey from the heart, he sufficiently teacheth that this motion is not violent or by compulsion, but willing and of our own accord.

5. But here ariseth a doubt concerning our nature: whether (as it is now fallen and corrupt) it can resist the grace of God and his spirit that is present? I think we must determine that there are sundry degrees of divine help or grace; for sometimes there is so great power and plentifulness thereof, as it altogether boweth man's heart, and not only counselleth but thoroughly persuadeth: and when the matter standeth in that sort, we cannot depart from the right, but we become ready to do that which God moveth us to do. Wherefore it was said unto Paul; It is hard for thee to spurn against the prick. And yet we must not think, in such dealing, that any violence or compulsion is inferred to the will of man; for it is changed by a sweet motion and conversion. The party, in very deed, is willing, but yet so willing, as his willingness is provoked of God: for it is the same will that would, but GOD with this effectual and most mighty persuasion

causeth that it would. But sometimes that vehemency of GOD and of the spirit is more remiss, and yet, if we would join thereto our endeavour and apply our goodwill, we would not resist it; but rather would follow the warnings and inspirations of him: and seeing we do not this, we are said to resist him, and many times we fall. Yet this must not be understood as touching the first regeneration, but concerning them which being born again are endued with grace and spirit. For the will of the ungodly is so corrupt and vitiated that except it be renewed, it cannot give place to the inspirations of God and warnings of the Holy Ghost: and the same in the first change of man's conversion only suffereth; and before the renewing, it continually (as much as lieth therein) resisteth the spirit of God.

But the first parents, while they were perfect, if by the help of grace (however remiss soever the same were) they had adjoined their endeavour, they might perfectly have obeyed the commandments of God. However, we, although we be renewed (grace being somewhat remiss as it is), albeit we forgo nothing of our endeavour, we shall not be able constantly and perfectly to obey the commandments of God: but yet we may be able to contain ourselves within the bounds of imperfect obedience; which thing because we do not, therefore we oftentimes sin and grievously fall. But why God giveth not his grace always after one order and continuance but sometimes worketh in them more strongly, and sometimes more remissly, two reasons may be assigned. First, lest we should think the grace of God to be a natural effect, which remaineth always after one sort: therefore God would for just cause differ in the degree and efficacy of his help, whereby we might understand that it is governed by his will, and not as we ourselves lust. Moreover, it oftentimes happeneth that our negligence and slothfulness deserveth that variety.

6. And when the scripture declares God to be faithful, it shows that he can by no corruption of ours be made a liar. Wherefore, if he has called us by a just and effectual calling, no doubt but he will perform the work that he has begun, that on the day of the Lord, whether the same be the time of our death, or the last time of inquisition, when as sentence shall be given upon all mortal men, we shall be reserved unblameable by him, although we have oftentimes fallen in this life, which is our own infirmity. Touching this faith of God, it is written unto the Romans; What if some of them have not believed, shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid. Paul, in the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, seemeth to reason on this wise; Now have ye obtained grace by Christ, and by him ye have obtained many gifts; wherefore ye shall have that which remaineth, that ye may be unblameable in the day of the Lord. Neither was the same written in any other sense by the same apostle in the epistle to the Romans; The calling and gifts of God are without repentance. Wherefore let us also use this kind of argument, if (as it happeneth) at any time our mind do quail; We be called to salvation, we have given credit to him that calleth, we have obtained remission of sins, and have gotten no mean gifts; wherefore we shall be saved, and God will not cast away the works of his own hands. Thou demandest touching thy calling, how I am able to determine whether it be an effectual calling or no; and of the faith, wherewith thou art endued, whether it be a temporal faith? I say that the spirit of Christ doth bear witness with our spirit, that we be the sons of God: which token of the elect Paul taught the church in his epistle to the Romans.

Secondly, these things may be known by the effects, and (as the School-men say) *à posteriori*, that is, by that which followeth after. Good works do make our calling and election certain; for Peter in his latter epistle, and first chapter, after he had spoken largely of works,

he added; Wherefore brethren, endeavour yourselves rather to make your calling and election sure. But if thou shalt again demand; Seeing the spirit of our neighbour is not well known unto us, can there be any other way for us to judge of him than by works? Assuredly Christ left no other means whereby we should judge of our neighbours: for he said; By their fruits ye shall know them: and charity ought to persuade every man, that when thou shalt see thy brother to be conversant in the church, to lead an unblamed life, and to maintain the right professed faith; of such a man hope thou well. And Paul was in good hope of the Corinthians, partly of charity, whereby he embraced them; and partly for their works sake, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, which appeared to be many in their church: partly he was led by the spirit, whereby he was warned, that in that place there was much people which pertained unto God.

Of Grace.

7. This place puts us in mind to speak somewhat of grace. Nouns, which (as the logicians say) are put abstractly as substantives, are usually clarified by their concretes or adjectives; the significations of which are more readily understood. Therefore, let us first see what is signified among the Latins by this word "Gratiosus," that is, gracious. He is said among all men to be gracious, whom all men favour, and to whom goodwill is commonly borne: even so, in the holy scriptures, men are said to be gracious, who have found grace with God; for so the scripture uses to speak of them, whom God favours and to whom he extends his love. However, concerning this, there is a great difference between God and men: for men favour none but him in whom they find things that may allure and draw them to love. Therefore, it behooves that he who will be loved by men, have in himself the causes of love and goodwill. But contrariwise, God finds nothing in men worthy to be beloved, whereby he might be induced

to love them: for he himself first loved us, and through that love, he has bestowed upon us whatsoever we have that may please him. Therefore, the name of grace, in the holy scripture, is understood in two ways. First and chiefly, doubtless, it signifies the goodwill of God towards men and the frank and free favour that he bears unto the elect. Secondly, inasmuch as God endows his elect with excellent gifts, grace sometimes signifies even those gifts that are freely bestowed upon us by God.

These two manners of significations of grace, being well known, plainly show, with what great diversity our adversaries and we affirm one and the same sentence. For both of us say that a man is justified by grace: but this is the difference, that they, under the name of grace, understand those gifts that are bestowed upon them that are justified; namely, the habits or grounded dispositions that are poured into them; moreover, good works and such other things as God works in the elect. But we (inasmuch as we see that so long as we are in this life, these gifts through our corruption are imperfect) deny that we can be justified by them, or that God's judgment can by any means be satisfied by them; therefore we understand that to be justified by grace is to be justified by the only, mere, and sincere goodwill of God, which he bears unto us of his own only mercy. We also say that we are justified by the grace of Christ, which his father bears him: for seeing he is most gracious before him, he brings to pass that the father also loves us in him, as his members and brethren by faith.

8. But the Schoolmen feign to themselves that grace is a habit poured into the soul, whereby the soul may be more easily stirred up and be readier to do good works; which devise of theirs they are not able to confirm by the holy scriptures. And they seem to have taken it from the philosophers, who teach in their ethics that faculties and powers

are strengthened by the habit of the mind, whereby they are able to perform that which before they could not: or if they could, yet might they not do it without great difficulty. The very same thing do these men judge of the soul, that seeing it cannot by nature itself find the means to be acceptable unto God and to do the works which may please him; it behoves to have a heavenly and spiritual habit to bring these things to pass: and while they thus addict themselves to their philosophy, they stray from the common and allowed sense. For when we say that a soldier is in favor with the king or emperor; we say not that there is favour or grace in the soldier, but rather in the king or emperor, who with favour makes much of the soldier: even so here, if we shall speak rightly, we will not say that grace is given or poured into us; but rather that we are received unto grace by God, when as we were his enemies before.

But that the error of the Schoolmen may the better be found out, let us show what their definition is: for they define grace to be a habit poured in by God, like unto his goodness and charity, whereby he that has it is made acceptable unto God and does works that are meritorious and well pleasing to him. When they say that the habit is poured in by God, they separate the same from natural virtues: further, whereas they make the same to be like unto the goodness and charity of God, they think that they allege a reason why those who are endowed with this habit are accepted of God; namely, because of that similitude. And seeing they are not able to prove out of the scriptures that grace is a thing created, they endeavour to affirm the same by reasons: for Thomas says that the good will of God is not idle; for that God is said to love when he bestows any good things. Wherefore he says that the well-willing of God unto any man or the favouring of any is to give them or pour into them such a habit, as we have already described. But this argument is most feeble; for we grant that the good will of God lies not idle but bestows

benefits upon us, and those very manifold. But how follows this argument; God bestows many gifts upon us, therefore he creates or pours in such a habit.

Moreover, it is no small error that they would have us to be made acceptable unto God by this habit or creature. For it had been a necessary thing that he, having bestowed this benefit upon us, we should first have loved him; for the love of God goes before all his gifts. Indeed the virtues, which do follow, have some reason why they are given, yet they cannot have the power to allure God to love us; for we had him our favourable God even before he bestowed these things upon us. And another reason of theirs is this; If those men (say they) who are converted unto Christ have the spirit of God, which they had not before, of necessity there went some change between. But in God there is no change, wherefore it behoves to appoint the same to be in us; namely, that we should have the habit of grace, which before we had not. But this reason also stands to none effect, because God defers his help, as to him seems good, and moves the hearts of men at a time appointed, when as he moved them not before. Which thing nevertheless we doubt not to be done without any change of him; for we know that he created the world, which before had not been; and yet we do not therefore say that God is changed.

9. Now there remaineth that we confirm by the scriptures that the grace of God signifies his own voluntary or free good will; secondly, the benefits or gifts which are bestowed upon the saints; thirdly, that the grace of Christ is that which carries authority with the Father, and for which we are beloved of the Father. Of the first, Paul saith unto the Ephesians; that We were chosen of God before the foundations of the world were laid, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace. In which place we see the cause of our election to be, that the good will and grace of God

should be commended unto us. And in the latter epistle to Timothy he saith; Who hath called us by his holy calling, not through works, but according to his purpose and grace. And Peter exhorteth, that we should hope in that grace, which is offered us: and it is not lawful to hope in a creature. And as touching Christ, Paul saith unto the Ephesians; that God hath made us acceptable in the beloved, that is in Christ, whom he loveth most, and as his only dearling. And in the epistle to the Romans, he calleth Grace everlasting life. Wherefore let this be the true definition of grace, and that which is most agreeable unto the scriptures; It is the good will of God, that cometh voluntarily of his own accord, whereby he holdeth us dear in Jesus Christ, and forgiveth us our sins, giveth us the holy Ghost, a perfect life, and everlasting felicity. By which definition thou understandest, not only what we may call grace, but also by whom we have the same; and in like manner what the chief effects of the same are.

10. Now let us see by what means GOD worketh so excellent good things in us. First he offereth the promises of these things, secondly by his inspiration he openeth the heart, that those promises may be admitted: which unless he should do, those good things would never find place in us; for man's heart is stubborn, and resisteth spiritual things; and therefore there is need of continual ministry in the church. For it is the duty of pastors, to lay before the people the promises of God, and not only to urge the same with words, but also to seal the same by sacraments, which are certain visible words. But first of all their part is to remove two impediments, which chiefly lead men away from the promises of God. For on the one part, men think they cannot attain to the promises of God, because they be unworthy of them: here ought a faithful minister diligently to persuade and teach, that these things are freely bestowed by God, not through works, or for any worthiness of the receivers. On the other part, men are wont to doubt, whether themselves, by the election of

God, be excluded from these promises or no: here must they teach, that it is the part of faithful people to receive the promises of God generally, as they be taught us in the holy scriptures, by the spirit of God; and that they ought not to be very inquisitive of the secret will of God. For undoubtedly, he would have revealed and declared who be the chosen and reprobate, if he had known that the same should be profitable to salvation.

Wherefore, seeing the scriptures reject none particularly from the promises, every man ought so to hearken unto them, as if they should particularly pertain to himself. And certainly, together with faith, there will be a persuasion of the spirit, given unto the believers; so as they shall not be in any doubt, but that they verily pertain unto the elect. By this means the ministry of the church doth service unto God, and worketh with him for our salvation: not that the goodness and power of God cannot without it, both offer his promises unto us, and also incline our minds to receive the same. For the grace of God is not necessarily bound either to the ministry, or to the sacraments, or else to the outward word. But we now speak of the usual means, whereby God doth lead men unto salvation. And when as we have once admitted the promises of God, we which before were dead in sin, begin forthwith to revive again; and being so restored unto life, in some part we obey the law of God: undoubtedly not in perfect wise, but only by an entrance into obedience. Further, against our enemies, the flesh, and the devil, we have the present help of God; and in afflictions, a wonderful comfort: and we have the strengths and faculties of the mind and body restored. And to speak at one word, the grace of God, which we have described, is the wellspring of all good things.

11. But this one thing we seem to have affirmed, which as yet is not proved by the scriptures; namely, that God doth not only by his mere

grace and good will offer the promises, which we have now spoken of; but that he also by his spirit bendeth our heart to receive them. The first part was allowed even of the Pelagians; to wit, that there is required a grace of doctrine and illustration. But the other thing, namely, that the heart should either receive or refuse the promises offered, they thought did stand in free will. But the scripture teacheth far otherwise: for Ezekiel saith in the 11th chapter; that God would give to his faithful a new heart and a new spirit, and that he would take away from them their stony heart, and would give them a fleshy heart. These things do teach most manifestly that there must be a change made in our minds. Wherefore, when as we read either in Augustine or in other of the fathers, that grace doth first come, which our will doth accompany, as a handmaiden; that must not so be understood, as if our will followeth of her own power, being only stirred up and admonished by grace. Unless the will should be changed, it would never follow: wherefore, it is first required that the will be changed, then that it should obey.

Chrysostom also must be heard with discretion, who in his sermon *De inventione crucis*, saith, that Neither the grace of God can do anything without our will, nor our will without grace: for it is not generally true, that grace can do nothing without our will, unless ye so understand will, to be that, about which grace worketh: but that grace must expect the consent of the will, that is not true; for grace changeth the will before the same be able to give any consent. Wherefore David prayeth; A clean heart create in me, O God. And Solomon; Incline, Lord, the heart of this people to execute thy commandments. And David again; Incline my heart unto thy testimonies. The Pelagians taught that the beginning of good works cometh from us, that is to say, from free will: and that grace doth help forward unto the easier and readier performance of them.

12. But the latter Divines and Sophisters, lest they should seem altogether to agree with Pelagius, have thus decreed; that Grace doth indeed come first, but that it is our part, either to receive it or to deny it. But this hath no more truth in it than had that opinion of Pelagius: for how have we wherewithal to admit the same grace? If this were true, salvation should come from ourselves. But Paul saith; What hast thou, that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as though thou hadst not received? And against these Augustine citeth the words of Paul; It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth; but in God that showeth mercy. If the sentence (saith he) of these men were true, the apostle with like reason might have said; It is not in God that showeth mercy, but in him that willeth and runneth. For, as these men teach, the work seems to be distributed, so as the one part is ascribed unto God, and the other is left unto us; and so, that the grace of God is not sufficient, unless that we also put to our help; and that we do will and run. But far otherwise the apostle; It is neither (saith he) of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. And in another place he saith of himself; I have laboured more than all, yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me: by which words he renounceth all in himself, and ascribeth it wholly to the grace of God.

And Augustine addeth, We pray for our enemies, which as yet be evil, and will not obey God, and do refuse his promises. Which thing when we do, what desire we, but that God will change their wills? Which unless it were in God's power to do, it should be craved of him in vain. And in another place, Paul saith; Not that we be fit to think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves. But and if we be not able so much as to think a thought, certainly much less can we will; for will followeth cogitation and knowledge. Neither do I speak these things, as though the will being changed by God, should become idle, and do nothing: for being restored, it must work together with grace;

according to that which Barnard speaketh of free will, that the same which is begun by the one, be performed by both. For then we are not only mere men or naked, but are made also the sons of God, and have added unto us the motion of the Holy Ghost. And Paul saith unto Timothy, that The man of God taught in the holy scriptures is now apt and meet unto all good things.

13. But men are wont to say, and commonly to boast, that the grace of God is laid forth to all men; wherefore if the same be not embraced, the fault is in ourselves, for that every man may attain to it if he will. This cloud we must rid away by some short discourse. Indeed we may grant, that after this sort, grace is set abroad unto all men; because the general promises of God are offered and preached indifferently to all men. Neither do the preachers, which publish those promises, stick anything about the secret will of God, or else think this with themselves; Peradventure this man is not predestinate; or, I shall further nothing by my travel: they imagine no such thing, but they propound the word of God to all men generally. By this means the grace and calling of God may be said to be common unto all men. Howbeit, when as any man receiveth the promises of God offered, he doth it not by his own power or will; for of necessity his heart must be opened: which thing Luke in the Acts testifieth of the woman that sold purple. For all men are not effectually called, and according to the purpose of God. But these men seem to feign to themselves a grace, as it were some garment hanging in the air, which every man may put on that will. But these be the devises of man's wisdom, the holy scriptures speak otherwise.

They be wont also to distinguish grace on this wise; that there is grace working, and a grace that worketh together: from which distinction Augustine differeth not; for the same seemeth to be taken out of the words of the apostle; It is God that worketh in us both to

will and to perform. Wherefore working grace is that, which at the beginning healeth the will and changeth it; then afterward it bringeth to pass that the same being changed and healed, it doth rightly: and first indeed it is called a working grace; afterward a grace working together. And this is all one grace, and not two graces; but the distinction is taken from the effects of the same. For first the will, when it is healed, it concurreth with grace passively: for the same is said to be changed; and we are said to be regenerated: but afterward, it behaveth itself both actively and passively: for when it is urged forward by God, it also willeth and chooseth. And in this sense that is true which is written to the Hebrews; Take heed that ye fall not away from the grace of God: for being regenerate, we ought not to sit idle, but to work and live according to the grace which doth accompany us.

But those do exceedingly err, which judge that the very will itself can will good things: and that by grace & the spirit is only wrought to will effectually, and that those things, which are willed, may be obtained. This (as I have already showed) is contrary unto the scriptures. They demand further, whether we deserve anything by that first grace? Indeed our adversaries affirm, that we do; howbeit it we deny the same, and altogether reject the consideration of merit: and for how just causes we do the same, it shall be more fit to declare elsewhere. We confess doubtless, that God is wont of his liberality and mercy to grant benefits after benefits; but we grant not for all this, that each first gift of God can deserve other latter gifts. And so much those places be understood in the gospel; To him that hath shall be given: And; Go to good servant, because thou hast been faithful in few things, I will set thee over many things.

14. Besides this, they divide grace into grace preventing and grace following: which division Augustine seemeth to allow, by the words

of David in the 59th psalm; His mercy shall prevent me, and his mercy shall follow me. Howbeit, this distinction must be so admitted, as it is meant of one and the same grace, and the diversity consists in the effects. For there are many and sundry gifts, with which the mercy of God doth garnish us: for first our will is healed, and the same being healed, it begins to will well; afterward, those things that it wills well, it begins to execute; finally, it continues in doing well; and last of all, it is crowned. Wherefore grace prevents our will, in healing of it; the very same follows, in bringing to pass, that those things which be right, may please. It prevents, that we may will; it follows, in driving us to perform those things that we will: it prevents, by moving us to good works; it follows, by giving of perseverance: it prevents by giving perseverance; it follows after, by crowning of the same. And even as it is one and the same light of the sun, which nourishes and prepares the earth to receive seed, and that makes the same to grow, when it is committed to the earth, and being grown up cherishes them, that they may bear fruit: even so it is all one grace of God, which both comes before the will, and also which follows after. Also Augustine saith, Grace prevents, that we may be healed; it follows after, that we may be quickened; it prevents, that we may be called; it follows, that we may be glorified.

Wherefore, they judge amiss, which think that grace preventing is a certain common motion, wherewith God knocks at the hearts of men, inviting them to live well: as though it were in man's hand, either to come or refuse, when grace invites. No less do they err, which jangle in the Schools, that it is one grace which is freely given, and another that makes men acceptable. For all grace must be freely given; for otherwise (as Paul saith) Grace should be no grace. And whereas by grace that makes acceptable, they mean (as I have taught) an habit; they judge wickedly, in affirming that men are by such gifts, made acceptable unto God: for with him we are received into grace, by his

only mercy, and for Christ his sake. And it is not meet to attribute that unto other creatures, which belongs unto Christ, and unto the goodness of God only. Besides this, we are first acceptable unto God, by his own free election, before that any such gifts be granted unto us. I grant indeed, that there be many free gifts, by which the godly cannot be discerned from the ungodly; such are the gifts of tongues, prophesying, the gifts of healing, and other such like; which things do no less happen unto the evil, than unto the good. On the other side, faith, hope, and charity, belong only to the saints.

Also natural gifts, as pregnancy of wit, strength of body, and such like, are sometimes called graces. And on this wise the Pelagians craftily confessed, that to lead a good life, men had need of grace: but by grace they meant free will, reason, & will. We deny not, but that these things are freely granted by God; howbeit, we deny them to be graces, which happen unto the elect, through the redemption of Christ. And when the church had confuted the error of Pelagius, it spoke not of this kind of grace; but of that grace, wherewith we be regenerated and justified, without which no man is accepted of God, or can live well. Sometime the will of man is compared with a horse, and grace with him that sits thereupon; which comparison, in respect of many properties, I dislike not: but this must especially be considered, that in what sort soever we understand grace; we must always assure ourselves, that the same is given freely, and not through works. Neither does it by any means make a man acceptable, but so far forth, as it is taken for the good will of God. And thus much have we spoken concerning grace.

How grace and works are unto eternal life.

15. Now let us especially consider in what sort grace and works are as touching eternal life. And so much as may be gathered, either out of

the holy scriptures, or out of those things which Augustine hath left in writing, as touching that matter, we will plainly declare; so that it shall be made manifest how much our adversaries disagree from us in this point. As touching the first, if by grace we understand the favour and mercy of God, then it is the only cause, through Jesus Christ, why we obtain eternal life. For our works can by no means be the causes of our felicity; however, they are certain means whereby God brings us unto felicity. As the way is not the cause of the end thereof, nor the running place the cause of the goal or mark; and yet by them men are led both unto the end of the way, and unto the mark: so God, by good works, brings us unto eternal life, when as yet the only cause thereof, is the election of God, as Paul most manifestly teaches in his epistle to the Romans; Whom he hath predestinated (saith he) those also hath he called; whom he hath called, those also hath he justified; and whom he hath justified, those also hath he glorified. This declares that all these things do so come from the grace of God, that they consequently follow the one the other: and God, who gives the one, will also freely and liberally give the other.

Wherefore the whole respect of merit ought to be utterly taken away; for that which properly merits anything must of necessity have in it a free offering; neither ought it to be due for any other cause. Wherefore, for as much as we owe of duty unto God, all things that we have; undoubtedly, whatever we do, it can merit nothing. Moreover, those things whereby we will merit anything ought to be our own; but good works are not our own, but are of God. Besides this also, all imperfection and uncleanness must of necessity be removed away, otherwise our works are defiled; neither can they be levelled to the rule which is prescribed by God. Wherefore we ought rather to crave pardon, than once to think upon price or reward. Further, between merit and reward there ought to be some proportion; but there can be no proportion between our works and

eternal felicity: wherefore they cannot properly be called merits. Moreover, God would that there should be taken from us all matter of glorying; which thing were not possible, if by our works we should deserve eternal life. And for as much as Paul describes eternal life by the name of grace; undoubtedly it cannot be of works. Let this suffice as touching the first.

16. Now will I briefly declare what Augustine hath written, as touching this place. In his Enchiridion to Laurence, the 107th chapter; A stipend (saith he) is paid in warfare as a debt, and not given as a gift: therefore Paul saith; The stipend of sin is death: to declare that death is rendered unto sin, not without desert, but as due: but grace, unless it be free, it is not grace. Wherefore as touching the good works of man, for as much as they are the gifts of God, unto which eternal life is rendered, grace is recompensed for grace. The same Augustine, in his book De gratia & libero arbitrio, the 9th chapter; In the Gospel of John (saith he) it is written, that We all have received of his fullness and grace for grace, every man as God hath divided unto him the measure of faith. For every man hath received a proper gift from God, one thus, and another thus. Wherefore when eternal life is rendered, grace is rendered for grace. But so it is not of death, because that is rendered as due unto the warfare of the devil. Therefore, whereas the apostle might have said, and that rightly; The stipend of righteousness is eternal life, he would rather say; But the grace of God is eternal life: that thereby we might understand that God brings us unto eternal life, not for our own merits, but for his mercy. Wherefore it is written in the 103rd psalm; Which crowneth thee in mercy and compassions: because It is he that worketh in us, both to will and also to perform.

The apostle had said before; Work your salvation with fear and trembling: afterward, least we should attribute this thing unto

ourselves, he saith, that God worketh these things in us, and that not for our merits, but according to his own good pleasure. And in the same book the eighth chapter, he saith, that There is no small ambiguity, how eternal life is rendered unto good works. For the scripture saith; that Every man shall have according to his works. And yet on the other side, Paul calleth grace eternal life. But the property of grace is to be rendered freely. Paul also saith; Unto him which worketh not, the reward is not imputed according to debt, but according to grace. And he saith moreover, that Grace, if it be of works, is not grace. Again; that The remnants through the election of grace shall be saved. Again unto the Ephesians; By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves. Again, Not of works, least any man should glory.

This doubt (saith Augustine) cannot otherwise be dissolved, unless we grant that an upright and holy life is grace: for so either saying may take place; for eternal life is rendered unto works. But because works are freely given us of God, therefore also is eternal life called grace. And in his book *De correctione & gratia*, the 13th chapter, he saith, that James writeth, that judgment shall be without mercy unto him which showeth not mercy. By which words (saith he) appeareth, that they which live well, shall in the last judgment be judged with mercy; and they which have lived wickedly, shall be judged without mercy. And if that in judgment we have need of mercy, then it is not now done for merits. And in the same sense he alleges the mother of the Maccabees, who (as it is written in the second book and seventh chapter) thus speaks unto her son; That I may in that mercy receive thee with thy brethren: in which place she calls the day of judgment, mercy. And undoubtedly, when we shall come before the judgment seat of God, who shall boast that he hath a chaste heart? Or who shall boast that he hath a clean heart? Wherefore mercy is there needful

also, whereby he may be made blessed, unto whom the Lord hath not imputed sin.

17. The same father, in his 105th epistle to Sistus, when the apostle had said; The stipend of sin is death, who would not judge that he should most aptly and consequently have added; But the stipend of righteousness is eternal life? And it is true, because even as to the merit of sin, death is rendered for a stipend; so also unto the merit of righteousness, eternal life is rendered as a stipend. But the blessed apostle, most vigilantly warring against pride, when he had said that the stipend of sin is death, lest man's righteousness should advance itself, said not contrariwise, that the stipend of righteousness is eternal life; But the grace of God (saith he) is eternal life. But it is not sufficient to think that these things are spoken for humility and moderation's sake: for the matter is so in very deed. For our works receive not eternal life for a just and deserved stipend; and therefore he saith that man's righteousness is pride, and which in name only is called righteousness. But that ought to be true righteousness, unto which eternal life is due; which righteousness if it be not of thee, then is it from above, descending from the father of lights. Wherefore O man, if thou shalt receive eternal life, it is indeed the stipend of righteousness, but unto thee it is grace, unto whom also, even righteousness is grace; for it should be rendered unto thee as a debt, if the righteousness unto whom it is due were of thyself. By all these things, it is gathered that with Augustine eternal life is therefore called grace because the works, which go before it, are given freely.

Further, he confesseth that in the last judgment, when God shall reward these things, we shall have need of mercy and compassion: and that also we have always need of mercy, that our sins should not be imputed unto us. Lastly, that eternal life, although it may be the stipend of righteousness, being taken by itself; yet unto us, it is grace,

partly because it is not of ourselves, and partly also because it is imperfect. Hilarius in like manner writeth upon the 50th psalm; My hope is in the mercy of God forever and ever, world without end. For the works of righteousness are not sufficient unto the merit of perfect blessedness; unless in this will of righteousness, the mercy of God impute not the faults of human changings and motions. Also, Jerome upon Isaiah, the 46th chapter; If we should consider our own merits, we must needs despair. Our adversaries and we contend not whether by the grace of GOD good works are given to the regenerate: although even in this also we do not utterly agree with them. For they think that it lies in our power to receive good works when they are offered: but we say that it is needful for our will to be changed by the grace and spirit of God; otherwise, as touching this point, we cannot embrace the gifts of God.

18. But there is another thing about which there is at this day a more weighty controversy. They who defend merits, do think that the good works which are given of God unto men are sufficient unto eternal life; which thing we utterly deny. And that makes very much on our side, which a little before we alleged out of Augustine; that in the last judgment we shall need the mercy of God, not only because good works were given of him freely, but also because when the just judge shall sit in his throne, no man can boast that he has a chaste heart or that he is clean from sin. Wherefore, it is needful that sins (as says David) be not imputed unto him who shall come unto felicity. Wherefore, seeing we have need of mercy, it is manifest that our good works are not sufficient. The same Augustine writes in another place that the perfection of the saints herein consists; to acknowledge how much they still want of perfection. And that sentence of Paul; I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, he so expounds as he thinks that the apostle says not that he is utterly without sin; but that he, leaning unto faith and unto hope, did

wholly appoint with himself that it should come to pass in the last hour of his death, which was then even at hand, that whatsoever sin and wickedness had crept into him, the same should, by the mercy of God through Christ, be wholly forgiven him, even as he had forgiven unto others their offenses.

And it is so far off that Augustine thought Paul to be without sin, that he interprets this place unto the Philippians; (Yea also, I think all things to be but loss for the excellent knowledge sake of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loss, and judge them to be dung) of works done after he came to Christianity. For when as before, having made mention of works done when he was yet of the Jewish religion, he said; But the things that were vantage, the same I counted loss for Christ his sake, those words which are afterward added, he adds by the way of correction, showing that not only works of Jewish religion, but also all others were to be counted for losses and things unclean. For he considered that in all things there is found some fault and defect. And that sins are mingled with our good works, the scriptures most manifestly teach, when they say; that No man can be justified in the sight of God. And the godly do make their prayer, to be delivered from that straight examination of justice; Enter not (say they) into judgment with thy servant, ô Lord. And John says; If a man says he has no sin, he deceives himself, and the truth is not in him. And Solomon says in the book of Kings; There is not a man on earth so just that he sins not.

Which words Augustine diligently weighing, applies them to the form of the present time; lest any man should refer that sentence of Solomon unto those things which we have committed before regeneration. We ought all to pray that our trespasses may be forgiven us, as they that in this life may rather thirst after righteousness than can attain to a perfect and absolute

righteousness. For that precept of the Lord, wherein we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength, shall then at the last be performed when we shall come to that place where we shall see God face to face as he is, as Augustine writes in his book *De spiritu & litera*, towards the end. In which place also he demands why this commandment was given if it cannot be performed in this life? He answers that therefore God commanded it because we should know what by faith we ought to desire, whereunto our hope should be levelled; and what we ought continually to go about in all our actions. And he thinks him to have much profited in this life who can at the length see how far he is off from that which is perfect.

19. The same Augustine, in his second book *De peccatorum meritis & remission*, chapters 16, 17, and 18, writing many things as touching this matter, says that in the scripture, men are sometimes called perfect; not because they are utterly without sin, but for that in innocence of life they have much profited; and because they continually bend their study and endeavour to obtain perfection; and also because God forgives them their faults: and that which they want of righteousness, he imputes unto them of the fullness of Christ's righteousness. Neither does he deny but that God requires of men that they should utterly be without sin: for there could be no sin, unless there were a law, which, when we sin, we transgress. Further, he asks why God gave that law, which he rightly saw could by no means be performed? And he answers that it was therefore done, that he might condemn them according to their deserts, which contemned the same, and by contempt did transgress it: but that he might hear the prayers of them, which applied themselves to it, and more and more to help them daily to accomplish the same. And to this purpose he brings that sentence, which is written; namely, that God corrects and chastises those whom he loves, yet not with fury or

revenge, but with a fatherly correction: but no man that is chastised or afflicted is without sin; for this thing only suffered our saviour, namely, to suffer most grievous punishments without any fault of his.

Wherefore, seeing all men, whom God loves, are corrected with adversities, it follows of necessity that they are all subject to sin. Which thing Paul unto the Galatians most assuredly affirms of the godly; for he says, that in them the flesh so repugns against the spirit, that they cannot do those things which they would. And in the 7th chapter to the Romans, he writes; that He himself did the evil which he hated. By all these things may easily be gathered that a man, though he be never so holy, yet so long as he here liveth, has always somewhat in him that has need to be forgiven of God. Which thing also Augustine testifies, towards the end of his book *De spiritu & litera*. And hereby is most evidently gathered that our good works are not sufficient unto eternal life. But our adversaries crack and boast that the regenerate are not vile in the sight of God: but we say that we before God are miserable; for unless it were so, God could not use mercy towards us. Which mercy yet Augustine writes, that we have altogether need of, if we desire to be crowned: for mercy is an affection whereby we are moved toward the miserable; wherefore if eternal life be given unto us of mercy, then must we needs be altogether miserable before God. But if they understand that the regenerate are not vile in the sight of God because God beautifies them with many gifts and ornaments, we grant to that: yet those gifts, whatsoever, or how great soever they be, ought not to seem of so great force that they should be sufficient unto eternal life. And that comes not through defaults of the gifts, but through our own default, which in all things obey them not: for we still carry about in our flesh much of old Adam and of natural corruption.

20. Moreover, our adversaries put a difference between the good works of men regenerate: for they say that those are partly of ourselves, and partly of God. Those (say they) as they are of us, can merit nothing; but as they are of God, they do merit and are causes of eternal life: and by this distinction, they think that the matter is made plain. But we grant not so much unto them; for if we diligently and thoroughly consider any work, we shall of necessity grant that it comes of the grace of God; and that we must not leave unto ourselves any praise thereof, though it be never so small. But because God uses us to work, who, so long as we live here, are not thoroughly cleansed; thereof it comes that our works are always imperfect. Moreover, if they were the causes and merits of eternal life, we might with security put confidence in them. But the holy scriptures do not suffer that: for Paul in the Epistle to the Romans says; I judge that the sufferings of this time are not worthy of the glory to come, which shall be revealed in us. In this place, Paul considers of good works, so far forth as they are of God: for we have it not of ourselves to suffer adversities for Christ's sake; for it is God that works in us that suffering. And yet, though it be never so great, Paul says, that it is not to be compared unto the glory to come. But these men appoint in it a merit (as they use to speak) *De condigno*, that is, of worthiness.

Thirdly, the adversaries contend that good works are the cause of eternal life *Sine qua non*, that is, without which it cannot be obtained: which saying, how ridiculous it is, young infants (whom we know are saved without works) can testify. For although they, by reason of age, can do nothing that is good; yet do they obtain eternal life: wherefore this cause is not of so great weight, as without it no man can be saved. And in those that are of full age (to speak properly) good works cannot have the nature of a cause: for in them, those are nothing else but a beginning of eternal life. Wherefore, seeing they are a certain part of eternal life, they cannot be counted

causes thereof. Neither meant I any other thing else, when before I said, that good works are means, and as it were certain steps, whereby God leadeth us unto eternal life. I grant indeed, that among the fathers is oftentimes found the name of merit: which word I would to God they had more seldom, and with greater consideration used; for that word hath engendered most foul errors. Although the fathers themselves in many places mitigate and qualify that word by expositions, to the end we should understand that they meant not the just and proper nature of merit: for they always admonish that eternal life is given freely, and that the saints are crowned by the mercy and compassion of God, and that we ought not to trust unto merits, because they cannot consist before the judgment seat of God, and other such like. Which sentences, if our adversaries would earnestly weigh and ponder, they would not so male pertly and stubbornly defend those merits, which they call *Ex condigno*. But (as I have said) it is the safest way, utterly to abstain from this word; especially, seeing it is never used throughout the whole scriptures.

But they use to object a place out of the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews; *Talibus hostijs promeretur Deus*, which after the Latins is thus Englished; With such sacrifices is God woone, as by merit. But in the Greek, in the place of this word *Promeretur*, that is, is *Woone* or *Merited*, is written this word *προσδέχεται*, which signifies, Is delighted, or Accepteth them. They object also a place out of the 16th chapter of Ecclesiasticus; *Omnis misericordia facret locum vmcuique secundum meritum operum suorum*, which (according to the Latins) is thus Englished; All mercy shall make place unto everyone, according to the merit of his works. But first, that book is not in the canons; further, the place is not well cited: for in Greek it is thus written; *πᾶσα ἔλεος ἐκτενῆς, ἕκαστος εὐρήσει κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*; that is, All mercy shall make place, everyone shall find according to his deeds: in which words is no mention at all of merit.

Now let us examine that which before we said, that Augustine writes; namely, that the apostle might truly have said, that eternal life is the stipend of righteousness; but he would not. Here I say, that arguments ought to be taken of that, which we are taught in the scriptures; not of that, which otherwise might have been taught in the scriptures. Wherefore, it is a weak argument, if any should thus say; The apostle might have said, that eternal life is the stipend of righteousness, therefore righteousness deserves eternal life: because the argument must be taken of the words of Paul. For if it were lawful to reason after this manner, the sound arguments, which lean unto the word of God, should be weakened: for there might always be objected, although the scripture be so, yet it might have been otherwise said; and by that means we should have nothing certain. And although I have declared what Augustine meant by these words, yet I cannot therefore be easily persuaded to think that the apostle could otherwise have written than he wrote. For if the other kind of speech should have given occasion of haughtiness and pride, then could it not edify; it behoved him also to follow the sayings of the holy Ghost. And although that sentence might peradventure be spoken of righteousness taken by itself, yet can it by no means be spoken of us, and of our righteousness. Wherefore, seeing that sentence could neither edify, nor make anything to the purpose; I see not how Paul could so have written: howbeit in this matter I will not contend with Augustine more than is meet.

Chapter III

Of Faith, and the Certainty Thereof;

and of the Vices of Fear and Security, Which Are Contrary unto the Same: Also of the Nature of Our Adoption, and Hope, and Union with Christ.

Now it shall be convenient to declare what faith is. Faith therefore is an assent, and that a firm assent unto the words of God; obtained, not by reason or natural demonstration, but by the authority of the speaker, and by the power of the Holy Ghost. And this definition disagreeeth not from that, which Paul taught in th'eleveth chapter to the Hebrews. By this we may see, about what things faith is occupied; namely, about the word of God. And it is evident, what the chief and principal ground is, unto which all things pertaining to God are referred: and that is; The Lord hath said. But the authority of the speaker cannot be of so much effect with us, as it ought to be; unless the persuasion of the Holy Ghost be thereunto adjoined. In Greek it is called *πλήροφορησις*, which word is derived of *πληροφορέω*; for we are not accustomed to believe, unless it be in that thing whereof we be full persuaded. Basil, as touching faith, when he expoundeth this place of the psalm; I have loved, and therefore have I spoken, writeth thus; Do not contend to see those things, which are laid up far off; neither make those things doubtful, which are hoped for. In which words he showeth, that two principal things are to be avoided; the one is, that we be not with too much curiosity stirred up, to seek out the proof of things, which we ought to believe, which proof, so long as we live here cannot be had; the other is, that although they be obscure, yet we should not doubt of the truth of them. And the same writer, entreating of the confession of faith, saith on this wise; It is a manifest falling away from faith, and a point of pride, either to refuse any of those things that be written, or to bring in anything that is not written: forsomuch as our Lord Jesus Christ said; My sheep hear my voice: & before that he said; But a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, because they have not known his voice.

The apostle also hath by another human example, straitly forbidden, either to add, or to diminish anything in the holy scriptures, when he saith; And yet no man disannulleth the testament of man, when it is confirmed, neither addeth anything thereunto. In which place a man may perceive, how warily this writer affirmeth, that as touching faith, nothing ought either to be added, or diminished in the holy scriptures. Which thing maketh chiefly against them, that obtrude inventions and traditions of men, as of necessity to be believed. Further, the same writer plainly setteth forth the certainty of faith, when he declareth the property thereof in his *Morals*, the eighty Sum, & 22nd chapter, where he saith; What is the property of faith? He answereth; and inseparable certainty of the truth of the words of God, which is not attained to by any kind of reasoning, or brought in through any natural necessity; nor being framed to any piety, can ever be shaken off. And he addeth, that it is the duty of one that believeth, in such a certainty, to be affected to the power of the words spoken; and not to presume, either to disannul, or to add anything. For if it be so, that Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, as the apostle saith; And faith cometh of hearing; and hearing by the word of God: then, whatsoever is not of faith, being not contained in the scripture inspired by the spirit of God, the same is sin.

This father, together with us, confirmeth the certainty of faith, and showeth whereupon the same dependeth, when he calleth it inseparable: because, when we believe, we do not examine by our own reason, what is possible, or not possible to be done. And he seemeth to allude to those words which Paul speaketh of the faith of Abraham; that He wavered not through unbelief: where he used this verb πιστεύω. Wherefore let certainty be the contrary thing unto doubting; which happeneth through inquisitiveness or examination of man's reason. Moreover, that which he in another sentence had spoken, he plainly repeateth again; namely, that Those things which

are without the scriptures are not to be believed. And this place of Paul; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, he useth in his natural and proper sense, as we also use it: which thing our adversaries cannot abide. Faith differeth from opinion; for opinion, although it make us lean unto one part, yet it doth the same both with reason, and also not without fear of the truth of the other part. And suspicion doth yet ingender a weaker assent than opinion doth, because it is both destitute of reason, and also it leaveth men doubtful of the truth of the other part. It is true indeed, that science engendereth a firm assent; but that is brought to pass by adding of demonstrations.

Forasmuch as we now see plainly, as well what faith is, as also how it differeth from opinion, science, and suspicion; let us see how many ways faith is taken. For there is one kind of faith that is mighty, perfect, and of efficacy, whereby we are justified; but there is another, which is void & without fruit, and the same being vain, and during but for a time, bringeth not justification. Which thing is manifest by the parable of the Gospel, where it is said, that The seed, that is to say, the word of God, falleth sometimes upon good ground, and sometimes upon stony ground, upon thorns, and by the highway side, where it is lost, & bringeth forth no fruit. Again, that faith which is good and profitable, is not in all men alike: for it hath degrees, according to the greater or less infirmity of the flesh. Wherefore Paul saith; Even as God hath divided unto every man the measure of faith. And in the self-same parable, The seed falling into the good ground, bringeth not forth fruit in all parts alike: for in some places it bringeth forth thirtyfold, in othersome place sixtyfold, and in other some an hundredfold.

2. In the example of Abraham, which the apostle took in hand to entreat of in the fourth chapter to the Romans, is very aptly described both the nature and property of faith. For faith is the gift of

God, whereby we firmly assent to his promises, striving against the flesh, and against human wisdom. That it is the gift of God, Paul to the Ephesians testifies by express words, when he says; that By faith we are saved, and that not of ourselves; for (says he) it is the gift of God. And even as the philosophers supposed, that the strength and ability of men is not sufficient to do all things perfectly and absolutely; and therefore held, that we have need of habits, or grounded dispositions, that in sudden cases we might be ready to do well, so as we should need no long deliberation, and the thing which we do, we might do it both easily and pleasantly: even so also ought we, for the perceiving of those things which are of God, to have our mind and understanding strengthened, by some power that is from without us, and should be given unto us; seeing that through the default of our first parent, we are most unapt to understand the secret things of God. And forso much as those things, whereunto our faith hath a respect, are altogether divine; it followeth of necessity, that to understand them, we be also helped by divine inspiration.

But we must now declare, what is the chiefest thing, whereunto our faith is directed; which (to speak briefly) is the promise of God, whereunto by believing we assent. And this promise is chiefly that, wherein he promises, that he will through Christ be favourable and merciful unto us. And although in the holy scriptures are read and offered unto us very many promises of God, yet this one is the chiefest, for whose sake the rest are performed unto us; unto which also all other promises are to be referred. This promise (as we have before said) is that, wherein God promises, that he will be merciful unto us for Christ his sake. And although there be very many things, which we ought to believe; as are threatenings, histories, exhortations, praises of God, and such other like: yet ought all these things to be referred to the persuading of us to this promise only. Hereby is manifest, what is the chiefest object of faith; for the

common object, or (as they term it) the equal object of faith is the word of God, set forth in the holy scripture. Beyond this object faith extends not itself; for (as Paul says) Faith cometh of hearing, and hearing by the word of God. This thing our adversaries can by no means abide; for they contend, that there be certain things (I know not what) to be believed, which are not contained in the holy scriptures. But we say, that faith is an assent that is given to the holy scripture, and unto those things which are necessarily and evidently concluded of it. Among other things, they are wont to object unto us the perpetual virginity of the mother of Christ, which they say must be believed; although it be not mentioned in the holy scriptures. They object moreover, that the authority of the holy scriptures depends on the church, and cannot be proved by the scriptures themselves.

3. As touching the first, it is sufficient for us, that we are taught by the holy scriptures, that Christ was conceived and born of a virgin. And above that, to affirm that the blessed virgin was joined with man, in fellowship of the flesh, it were rash and presumptuous; for seeing there is nothing spoken thereof in the holy scriptures, nor yet is the same likely, why (in God's name) should we either believe it, or affirm it? And contrariwise, that she abode perpetually a virgin; forsomuch as the holy scriptures do not by express words avouch the same, it is not to be admitted among those things, which must of necessity be believed: such as are the things expressly contained in the holy scriptures. Jerome against Heluidius wrote of this matter; for he was worthily to be condemned, because he did rashly affirm, that she was not perpetually a virgin. And Augustine very well admonishes us, that when we come to such places, where the sense of the scripture cannot certainly be gathered, we should not rashly set our opinion on the one part or the other. As concerning the other objection, we have oftentimes declared, that it is not true which they

take as granted; namely, that the scripture hath his authority of the church: for the steadfastness thereof dependeth of God, and not of men. And the word was both firm and certain before the church began; for the church was called by the word: and the spirit of God wrought in the hearts of them that believed the word, and of them that read it, that they did acknowledge it to be no human word, but altogether divine. Wherefore the authority came to the word of God from the holy Ghost, and not from the church.

But they say, that Augustine writes against the epistle called *Epistola Fundamenti*, saying; I would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the church had moved me thereto. However, Augustine in those words would signify nothing else, but that we must attribute much to the ministry of the church, which sets forth, preaches, and beats the Gospel into the memory of all faithful people. For which of us has come unto Christ, or believed the Gospel, but that he has been stirred up by preaching of the Gospel, which is done in the church? And yet thereby it cannot be gathered, that the authority of the Gospel depends on the church, in the minds of the hearers. For if it were in the power thereof, to cause the scripture to be received; then undoubtedly it would long since have persuaded the Epicures and Turks to embrace the same. But the matter is far otherwise; for what authority soever the church, or the ministers thereof have, the same depends wholly upon the word of God. For if a man should demand of them, how they prove the authority of the church, or how certain they are, that it errs not in the understanding of the holy scriptures; and discerning them from other writings? They will answer that, because it is governed by the holy Ghost. But I beseech you how know ye that? Because (they will say) Christ has promised, that He will be with it, even to the end of the world. And because he has also said; Where soever shall be two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. And again; I will send the

holy Ghost the comforter, which shall lead you into all truth. These are the things (say they) which persuade us of the authority of the church: but I would fain know, from whence ye received these things, but out of the holy scriptures; wherefore we may contrariwise conclude, that the church has her authority of the scriptures.

4. Further, by that place of Paul is declared another difference of faith; namely, that it is a firm assent. For he pronounces of Abraham, that he nothing doubted; and he uses this verb < παρενομίσατο >, which signifies To reason with himself, and to put doubts. In which signification Luke in the Acts uses the self-same word: for so it is said unto Peter, that he should go unto Cornelius the centurion, < διακρινόμενος >, that is, Doubting nothing. Abraham had a respect unto the will and power of God, which made the promise; and not unto his own infirmity, or to the infirmity of his wife. Without God he had nothing, whereby he could promise himself any such thing: wherefore (as says the apostle) he was strengthened in faith; neither doubted he through unbelief, which is all one as if he had said: Elsewhere on every side were offered unto him incredulity and doubting. Neither ought this sentence to be reprov'd, as though we do feel no such experience in ourselves: for there is none, in whose mind there rises not at any time some doubt, touching those things which we believe; for this comes not of faith, but of our infirmity. Of which thing we may be easily instructed, by that which we see to happen in the habit of any science; especially of the mathematical science: for therein is certainty, and that very great certainty; for there the conclusions do necessarily and most evidently follow of the premises. But if a man have not perfectly learned, or perfectly attained unto the science, he shall sometimes doubt; and this cometh to pass, not by means of the science, but by reason of the fault of him that useth the science.

Even so, because (as long as we live here) we are weak, we cannot have full and perfect faith; therefore, doubts often arise unto us, yes, even against our wills. But regarding the nature of an opinion, you may perceive it to be otherwise: which is such, that there can be no blame laid unto us if we somewhat incline to the other part from what we think to be true. But the infirmity that happens to us concerning faith may come in two ways: for sometimes we firmly cleave unto those things which we believe; however, there are other things behind, which are to be believed, which as yet we do not perceive. And in this manner, those who, together with the Gospel, observed choice of meats and other ceremonies, are called by Paul in his epistle to the Romans, Weak in faith: for they did not yet know that the ceremonies of the law were abrogated. Sometimes it happens that we indeed see the things which are to be believed, but yet we are not so perfect in faith that we can firmly and constantly cleave unto them. So Christ called the apostles Men of little faith, and especially Peter when (through doubting) he was almost drowned with the waves of the sea. Therefore, regarding each part, we must always pray unto God to increase our faith.

It is also to be noted that the power of believing comes from the Holy Ghost when we do not yield to so many and so dangerous floods of doubting, which invade the mind, but in the end overcome them: which thing cannot be done without a heavenly and supernatural power. But in this assent of the faith, we must diligently examine both who has spoken and also what is said and is set before us to believe: because the devil does study nothing more than to cause us to believe that God has spoken that which he did not speak. Often, those things which are spoken by God himself are by false deceivers wrested to a wrong sense, are corrupted, and so forced upon us to be believed. Therefore, since we need revelation concerning each part, we must pray unto God that he will not allow us to be deceived. One

of them, who writes upon the sentences, is of this opinion; that If it were most assuredly known that God spoke anything, faith therein could take no place: for straightaway (he says) by the light of nature, we should know that it ought to be true, which God has spoken, unless we will think him to be a liar. But this man is wonderfully far out of the way; for we doubt not, but that the prophets assuredly knew that God spoke in them, and yet they believed those things which they foretold. We also assuredly know that God spoke those things which are read in the holy scriptures, and yet we believe them. The apostles knew that they had received the Holy Ghost, and yet they were not therefore destitute of faith. But what is spoken of this man should then be true if we could know evidently, by reason or sense, that God spoke these things: which thing can in no wise be done; for they come not to our knowledge otherwise than by revelation. But this man instead of evidence did put certainty.

The last part which is in the definition, wherein it is said that this assent wrestles with the sense and wisdom of the flesh, may manifestly be declared, not only by the example of Abraham but also by a great many other examples. God promised deliverance unto the children of Israel, and yet in the meantime increased their affliction: they were charged with a great number of bricks, they had no straw given them for their work, they were sharply and cruelly beaten; and when they had already departed out of Egypt, the sea came against them, on the other side were great huge rocks, and at their backs Pharaoh was with a great mighty army; against which hindrances the flesh could not choose but strive. And in like sort, many things seemed to be against the promise made to David, whereby he should be moved, not to believe the anointment by Samuel; against which it was needful that he should be strengthened by faith. The apostles also discerned many tokens of infirmity in Christ, which they ought

to have overcome by faith. Therefore, we may conclude that such is the nature of our faith that it always has some strife with doubting.

And whereas it is added, giving the glory unto God, the end whereunto faith tendeth is respected; namely, to advance and increase the glory of God, which herein consisteth, that we conceive such worthy estimation towards God. It is said that Abraham was well-nigh a hundred years old; for (as it is written in the history of Genesis the 17th chapter) he was 99 years of age when this promise was made to him: he had no like example before his time, by consideration whereof his mind might be confirmed, for he is the first that the scriptures do make mention of, to have had strength of getting children restored again to him. Neither is it any marvel that by the work of faith, God's glory is advanced; forasmuch as thereby we, for God's sake, deny the best part of ourselves, which is our mind and reason, whereby we either assent or not assent unto things set forth unto us. Wherefore it is manifest that there can be nothing more excellent offered by us unto God than faith; for it is a wonderful testimony of the power and goodness of God, for his sake to quench in ourselves the sense of nature. But I wonder at these, who so diligently commend works and so lightly extol chastity, sole life, and other works; and yet are so cold in setting forth the commendation of faith, seeing thereby comes the victory, by which we overcome both ourselves and also the whole world. For so John saith; This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Which thing I speak not, as though I meant, that we are justified by faith, as it is a work: for it is polluted by sundry blemishes of our infirmity.

And Augustine saith, that this sentence must by no means be admitted; namely, that faith meriteth justification unto us: for saith is not (saith he) of ourselves, but as Paul expressly teacheth to the Ephesians) It is the gift of God. Howbeit, inasmuch as it is a work, it

excelleth many ways all other works. Neither can it be expressed how far wide the School-men err when they imagine that faith can consist without good works: for after their judgment, faith should not attain unto the worthiness of wisdom; which (as the philosophers do write, and also they themselves confess) cannot be had without the rest of the virtues. What manner of divine faith shall it then be, if it reach not unto the perfection of wisdom? Moreover, forasmuch as virtue suffereth not vice to be joined together with it, and they themselves affirm that faith is a virtue; how will they have true faith to be in sinners, and in such as be strangers from God? But they will say, that they appoint faith to be a virtue of the understanding; unto which kind of virtues, vices are not repugnant: for we see sometimes, that the most wicked men of all have excellent sciences in them. But neither will this anything help them, their own feigned imagination is a let thereto: for they imagine, that those things, which are set forth to our understanding, if they be obscure, and not very evident; that assent is not given unto them, unless it be, because the will commandeth the understanding to give assent, and herein to subject itself to the truth of God. Wherefore I will demand of these men, whether the work of the will, whereby it commandeth the understanding to give place, and to assent unto the words of God, be good or evil? Undoubtedly, they must be compelled, whether they will or no, to say it is good. But without charity, it is not possible that the will should bring the understanding to embrace the things that are to be believed: wherefore these fond devises of theirs are repugnant the one to the other.

But we teach no such thing, that faith should depend upon the commandment of the will: for how should the will be moved to command things that are to be believed, as good and worthy of credit, unless it had first received the same by understanding? Indeed we confess, that those things which we believe are obscure

and not very evident to human reason: but they are made plain to the understanding by the light of divine revelation, and by the lightning of the Holy Ghost: wherefore, by the judgment of reason, they are embraced and admitted with the best certainty. Which things being so known and received, the will consequently delighteth itself in them, and so earnestly embraceth them, as it commandeth the other powers of the mind to do works agreeable unto that truth, which the mind hath believed: and by this means, out of faith springeth charity; after which hope doth follow. For the things which we believe and earnestly love, we wait for with a courageous and patient mind; which thing pertaineth chiefly unto hope. Neither let any man think that this is against reason, or else that it extinguisheth the nature of man; for that we seem in believing to refuse human sense, as though this were a madness in us, as Festus said unto Paul, when he preached the faith of Christ; Much learning hath made thee mad. The case standeth not so, but rather it is brought to pass by faith, that our reason maketh itself subject unto the doctrine of God, and to his revelation, rather than to inferior reasonings and persuasions; which being but underlings to the holy scriptures, man is rather puffed up than humbled by them. And if any man say that men become mad with believing; we will add, that the same is done most of all by reason.

6. The apostle makes mention that God quickens them that be dead; and that the body of Abraham was dead, and also the womb of Sarah. In these words, Chrysostom says are laid the foundations of our resurrection, which we believe shall come. For if God were able to do these things, then there can be no want in him, either of means or power to restore the dead to life again. And undoubtedly, I am persuaded, that this faith was no small help unto Abraham for moving him to sacrifice his son, according as God had required at his hands. For though he had received the promise that he should have

posterity by Isaac; yet he saw, that although he were slain, yet there was place still remaining for that promise: for he believed that God was able to raise him up, although he were slain, and make him live again. And how praiseworthy the faith of that patriarch was, Paul declares, when he says that he had not a regard unto his own dead body, or to the dead womb of Sarah; but gave the glory unto God, being most assuredly persuaded that God was able to perform and bring to pass whatsoever he had promised. Ambrose, by an Antithesis or contrary position, declares the excellency of this faith; for he compares it with the incredulity of Zechariah, unto whom when the angel showed of the birth of John the Baptist, yet he remained still in unbelief; and therefore he was reprov'd of the Lord, and his tongue so tied, that he could not declare it; which punishment was very convenient for that offence: for they who believe not, do neither speak nor confess. Abraham considered with himself; Although I am now by nature past child getting, and am become barren; yet the power and might of God is not subject unto the impediments of creatures: for God can, beyond the accustomed manner and course of nature, bring to pass, whatsoever he will. Wherefore, although I, by mine ability, cannot beget a child; yet God can make his promise excellent with a miracle, whereby he may exceed the order of nature.

The Rabbins of the Hebrews say, that Abram begetteth not, but Abraham begetteth: because (say they) therein is put the aspiration He, being a letter pertaining to the name Tetragrammaton. As if it should have been said; The power of God being added, he which could not beget, now begetteth children. Augustine in his questions upon Genesis thinks that this place of the apostle is not absolutely to be understood: for we read that after the death of Sarah, Abraham had many children by his wife Keturah, whom he afterward married. And he adds, that the opinion of natural philosophers is, that men of

great years cannot beget children of old women, but yet they may of young maidens. Wherefore he thinks that in this place we must understand, that the body of Abraham was dead, as touching Sarah his wife, who was now ninety years old. But this exposition has no such assured cause to compel us to think it to be true: for in that Abraham begat children of Keturah, Sarah being now dead, that might come by this means, that God had now besides the order of nature, restored strength unto him for begetting of children. Neither does that make anything to the purpose, which Origen affirms, who upon this place writes, that the body of Abraham is understood to be dead, because he now lived chastely with his wife; neither had he any more fellowship with her. But he commends him, for that when he had received the advertisement of God, that he should have issue by his wife, he again went in unto her. These things (as it appears) are devised of his own head; for they cannot be gathered by the history. Now the apostle is in hand to commend the faith of Abraham, for that he constantly gave assent unto the promise of God, although as well his own nature, as his wives were utterly against it.

But whether Abraham anything doubted when God promised unto him a child, the scripture seemeth to leave in suspense: for in the 17th chapter of Genesis it is written that he laughed, and said; "Shall a child be born to one of a hundred years of age? And shall Sarah bring forth a child being ninety years of age? I would to God Ishmael might live in thy sight!" These words have a show both of joy and of admiration, yet nevertheless being joined with some doubting. And for this cause doth this scripture make mention of these things, that the faith of Abraham, which is so highly commended, should in no wise be thought to have been without mistrusts, which are accustomed to spring of the flesh and human sense: but because the faith of the Patriarch overcame these mistrusts, therefore it is praised. Neither do we read there that Abraham was accused of

incredulity by God, as Sarah was, who in like manner laughed: and if a man weighs the outward laughter, they were both alike; but God, which is the searcher of the hearts, understood right well the faith of either of them. Holy men, although they believed the promises of God, yet sometimes, through human weakness, were in some doubt: and thereof it came oftentimes to pass that they required signs and miracles for the strengthening of their imbecility. Which thing we read of Gideon and King Hezekiah. But in this place is showed a remedy against such temptations; namely, that we should call our thoughts back from earthly impediments, and fix our eyes only upon the power of God.

Of this thing the angel admonished the blessed virgin, saying; "Nothing shall be impossible with God." Although it appear not by the words of the virgin that she doubted, but only she asked how that should come to pass. For she doubted not, but that as the angel had told her, she should conceive, and that straightway; but because she saw that she was not as yet coupled in matrimony, although she were betrothed, she demanded how that should come to pass: whether she should wait till she were joined in matrimony, or whether it should by any other means come to pass? Wherefore the angel in his answer comprehends two principal points. The one is, that by the same he might remove mistrust, if any such had peradventure stuck in the virgin's mind: for he saith; "With God nothing shall be impossible." The second point is, of the manner of conceiving; "The Holy Ghost," saith he, "shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." But whereas some feign that she asked this because she had vowed her virginity unto God; this needs no long confutation, especially seeing we are by the history itself taught that she was betrothed to a man: neither was there at that time any such custom to vow virginity unto God. But let us return to our purpose.

We ought to resist those doubts which strive against faith through weighing in our mind the power of God; for touching the will of God, there can be no doubt arise: for whatsoever he setteth forth to be believed, he promiseth of his own accord; and this doubtless he would not do, if he would not give it. Wherefore it followeth that they which are tempted with such doubting are in doubt of his power. Hereof I think it to come to pass that the prayers of the church do so oftentimes begin with the omnipotency of God; to the end that the hearts of them that pray should be confirmed, and that they should not in their public prayers desire anything with doubting or mistrust. By these things it is manifest how grievous a sin it is to doubt of the promises of God: for this is nothing else but to account God either to be a liar or else to be of small strength; and they which be of that mind can neither call upon God nor ask, or look for anything at his hands. But now, forsomuch as this is the nature of faith which the apostle describeth, it manifestly appeareth that the devil hath no faith: for he can have no confidence that he is accepted of God; and besides that, he knoweth right well by the natural sharpness of his understanding that God is omnipotent. But whereas James saith that "The devil believeth and trembleth": To believe, in that place, is meant To know. But the faith which is here described pertaineth unto men only; and to none but such as are godly.

8. But here ariseth a doubt. For if only the word of God be to be believed, why said Christ, that if they would not believe him, yet at the least they should believe his works? For it seemeth by this sentence that we should also believe miracles. But we answer, that miracles are as testimonies, whereby men are the more easily brought to believe: so then they be things, by the means whereof men do believe; not that faith is directed unto them, as unto his object; albeit, as touching the miracles of Christ and of the apostles, we must believe that they were done by God, and not by Beelzebub, or by the

devil, as the Pharisees slanderously reported. And this is contained in the word of God; for it giveth testimony, that these miracles should be wrought, and that they were wrought in their due time; namely, in the preaching of sound doctrine. The sacraments also are believed, but they are nothing else than the visible words of God, whereunto also is joined the word of God, which is heard, as Augustine saith; "The word cometh unto the element and it is made a sacrament." Howbeit, there is discretion and judgment to be had when we believe the word of God; lest we should draw thereunto any perverse and corrupt opinion. It is also requisite to have a good trial and examination, if one shall discern miracles: and in the sacraments, it must be considered that they be orderly ministered; that is, in such sort as they were instituted by God. And by a sound judgment, we must remove away and set aside the inventions of men, that we believe them not, as we would believe the words of God.

And when Basil or other of the fathers say that "We must believe without examination or judgment," which seemeth to be taken out of that which Paul saith in his epistle to the Romans, that Abraham believed, neither judged he: that word in Greek is ἀντιλογίαν. To answer to this doubt, this is to be understood, that judgment is of two sorts; the one is, when we take counsel of the senses and human reason, and this is to be utterly removed from faith, for it always resisteth the word of God: the other is the judgment of the spirit, which must of necessity be had. And this is it which Paul said; "Prove all things, and keep that which is good." And unto the Corinthians; "Spiritual things are compared with spiritual things." And with this judgment, it is necessary to confer one place, which in the holy scriptures is somewhat obscure, with another place which is more manifest. The authority of the church hath no dominion over faith, as some wickedly think. The office of the church is to preach, to admonish, to reprove, to testify, and to lay the holy scriptures before

men's eyes: neither doth it require to be believed further forth, than it speaketh the words of God. Paul, before he had made mention of the word, by which faith is brought forth, he spake of them that preach the Gospel: that is, of the ministers, which be sent by God, in whom he described the ministry of the church; namely, that it consisteth in preaching of the Gospel.

Moreover, if faith, as it is written, come by hearing; that is, as it is added by the word of God: then followeth it of necessity, that there is nothing, whereby faith is more nourished, maintained, and confirmed, than by continual reading and repeating of the word of God. This thing testified Tertullian in his apology when he saith; "To this end holy assemblies are gathered together, to hear God's word." The philosophers say, that we of the selfsame things both are, and are nourished: wherefore in like sort it comes to pass, that if faith be of the word of God, it is also nourished by the same. We know moreover, that through often and usual works, habits or grounded dispositions are confirmed: as contrariwise, if a man cease off from actions, they wax weak. Wherefore, if a man cease to read, to hear, or to repeat the holy scriptures, faith will wax feeble in him. And they which think, that a lively and pure faith may continue in churches without often preaching, do exceedingly err. Chrysostom hath an excellent similitude of a light or lamp that burneth, which soon goeth out, unless oil be still ministered unto it: by the lamp or light he meaneth faith, and by oil the word of God; and this he writeth in that place, where he treateth of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

How far forth faith agreeth with fear.

Moreover, that saying of Paul; Otherwise thou shalt be cut off, seemeth to make against faith. None which believeth ought, as touching himself, to be persuaded that he shall be cut off; for faith

suffereth not this persuasion to take place. The Lord saith that He who believeth passeth from death unto life; not every kind of life, but unto eternal life, which is now already begun and shall be accomplished in the world to come. Wherefore, seeing that eternal life is promised unto us, we ought in no wise to doubt thereof. Everyone of the faithful believeth that he is adopted by God into His son, and that he is chosen unto eternal life: wherefore it shall be unto him as he believeth. For the etymology of this word faith is thought by many to be drawn from hence; to wit, if that be done which is spoken. Howbeit, he who so believeth ought always to be mindful of perseverance, and not to live loosely; and ought also to crave at the hands of God his gift and grace to abide in His goodness; touching the attainment whereof we ought not to doubt, seeing both God hath promised it unto His, and also that the prayer of the faithful cannot be poured out with doubting, as the apostle James testifieth. Howbeit, it is profitable to take diligent heed to our flesh seeing it is weak and every way unclean; neither is there anything in the nature thereof, but may be condemned. Wherefore, these words of the apostle stir us up to bridle the pride thereof, and to break the security of the same, and also to shake off sluggishness.

But for the retaining still of certainty, we must fly unto that which is written a little after; namely, that The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. And that we may see how profitable this admonition of the apostle is unto them that be faithful, and that it is not in any respect vain, we will use this distribution: first, to see as touching the church, what is to be feared. If we speak of the whole church, we must not in any wise fear that it shall ever fail: for Christ promised that He would be with it unto the end of the world. Indeed it may be tempted, sifted, and shaken; but overthrown it cannot be: wherefore let us pray that the cross, temptations, and persecutions thereof may be assuaged, and turned to good. But touching

particular churches, because it is possible that they may be transferred, we do pray as well against their continual temptations, as also that with them, and especially with our church, may abide the kingdom of God. And concerning our posterity also, there is cause why we should fear; because the promise is indefinitely set forth: and unless the same be drawn more narrow through election and predestination, it may come to pass that it shall not comprehend them; even as all the Jews were not comprehended in the promise. And touching infants, we may also judge the like; in very deed, the covenant and promise exclude them not, nay rather they be generally signified in these words, wherein the Lord saith; I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed; under which promise we baptize them, and visibly incorporate them into the church; who yet, when they come to age, may reject the covenant and contemn the Gospel. Whereby is made manifest that they in very deed pertained not to election and unto the promises: wherefore we may justly fear lest they should not stand, as we see happened in Ishmael and Esau.

There are moreover in the church some νοθεύματα, that is, which believe but for a time, and in the time of temptation step back, as did Judas; and they which in time of persecutions deny Christ: wherefore for these also we have great cause to be afraid. As touching those who sincerely believe in Christ, although they have a confidence of their salvation, and are assured thereof; yet so long as we live here, there be many falls even ready at hand with us, and those great: as it is manifest by that which Peter and David did. Wherefore they have whereof to be afraid, although they be not afraid that they shall eternally be damned; but assuredly hope that either they shall be defended by God, or that if they do fall, they shall be restored again. As we also do trust of them which be excommunicated; for they are not cast out of the church to the intent they should perish; but that their spirit might at length be saved. And therefore the elect also, and

they who sincerely believe, ought continually to be afraid of falling; and to beware lest they be cut off from Christ, though it be but for a time. And of this restitution of them that have fallen, mention is also made in Jeremiah, in the third chapter; Thou hast played the harlot with thy lovers; howbeit return again. All these things declare unto us that this exhortation of Paul unto fear is not unprofitable; seeing we ought so many ways to be careful both for ourselves and also for others. Further Chrysostom addeth hereunto; that The abuse of the grace of God, which reigneth among us, ought to be unto us a great fear and horror, so often as we consider of it.

Whereunto belongs that which is written both to the Romans and to the Corinthians: namely, that The godly stand by faith. Neither is that hereto repugnant, which is written in the self-same 15th chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, that They stood in the Gospel; because faith is referred to the Gospel, as to its own object: yes, rather it springs from it after a sort, as we have heard before. Neither is there any speech made in this place of men particularly, but of the whole congregation and body of the believers; and therefore, he admonishes us upon just cause, that We should not be high-minded, but should fear. For just as the church of the Jews is now extinguished, and Africa likewise, and Greece, and Asia have lost many churches; so it is to be feared, lest the self-same thing happens now to the churches which seem to stand: wherefore, let them not advance themselves. But none of the number of the faithful ought to be in doubt of his own salvation; for the nature of faith is to make men assured of the promises of God. However, this must be understood, that it is not possible to shake off all fear, so long as we live in this life: for we are continually tossed between two cogitations; one touching the goodness, faith, and constancy of God; the other as touching our corruption, infirmity, and proneness to evil.

For when we consider how weak we are, and how prone to evil, and weigh also the impurities and imperfections of our works, however good they may be; and therewithal the severity of the law, in requiring the very utmost of things that it commands: this consideration (I say) if it be earnestly had, cannot but make the mind exceedingly afraid and cast it down. But when on the other side we consider the goodness, clemency, and mercy of God, and his steadfastness in promises; and herewithal remember also, that all the merits of Christ are communicated with us, we are refreshed and recreated, and the fear is either qualified, or else sometimes plainly laid away. For these affections, where they are perfect and thoroughly bent, do one succeed another: for they cannot be both at one time; or else if they are both at one time, then they appear both to be remiss. But in what manner they give place the one to the other, we may by daily experience understand.

For if any man be set upon the top of a high tower, and when he is there, his mind runs upon nothing else, but upon the height of the tower, and what a deep way he should fall, so that he cannot fall without danger of death; it is not possible, but (if his mind be still bent upon this) he will be altogether smitten with horror: but if he turn his eyes aside to the bars or battlements which stay him up, so that he cannot fall, then will he pluck up his spirits again, and will put away all fear. Neither ought it to seem strange to any man, that we say, that faith expels that fear which is joined with doubting of salvation; when as it is said in John, that Charity driveth out fear: for it is most certain, that that which the scripture attributeth unto charity, ought much more to be attributed to faith; for charity springs from it. But (as we have already said) Paul means not of men particularly, but of the public profession of Christ, of the preaching of the Gospel, and of the religion thereof received in any whole

nation or province. And that which is here spoken, stirs up godly men to most fervent prayers for the preservation of the churches.

But because the apostle in his epistle to the Romans writes thus: "Ye have not received the spirit of bondage to fear anymore," it shall not be amiss, briefly, to see whether Paul means that we are delivered from all kinds of fear or not. First, this is certain, that fear is nothing else but a certain affection of the mind, whereby we are stricken by reason of some great and deadly evil at hand. We are not wont to be moved with dangers afar off, but with such as hang over our heads; neither do things that are light and of small weight make us afraid. Wherefore fear (as a Divine speaks of fear) has respect unto sin, unto the wrath of God, unto chastisements and scourges, and finally unto hell-fire. But there are two kinds of fear reckoned to be, of which one is commonly called a childish fear, and the other a servile fear. And that is counted a servile fear, which only for fear of pains and of hell-fire, either draws us back from doing evil or forces us to do well. Even so signified an Ethnic poet;

"Oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae," that is, The wicked hate to sin for fear of punishment. But the childish fear is that whereby men live uprightly and fly wickedness because they desire the glory of God, and for that, they allow righteousness even for itself. Wherefore the same poet says;

"Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore," that is, The good hate to sin for the love of virtue. Of these two kinds of fear, many things are spoken oftentimes by Augustine in sundry places, especially in his 9th treatise upon the epistle of John: and it is read in the Master of the Sentences, in the third book and 36th distinction, where Augustine alleges two places out of the holy scriptures, which seem to be repugnant one to another. One is out of John; "Perfect love

drives out fear:" the other is taken out of the 19th Psalm; "The fear of the Lord abides forever." To abide, and to be driven forth, do not agree together; this contrariety he makes at one in this wise, and says, that they indeed do not disagree. For even as two pipes, being blown with one and the self-same breath, do not discord: so (says he) two hearts, namely the heart of David and the heart of John, being stirred with one and the self-same spirit, cannot disagree the one from the other. But yet they require an indifferent and an attentive hearer; for John speaks of servile fear and of perfect love; but David speaks of the childish fear aforesaid. And therefore he says; "The fear of the Lord is chaste or clean (for in Hebrew it is written, Iireath, Jehovah, Tehorah,) and abides forever." In this manner (he thinks) that the appearance of contradiction which seems to be in these two places may be helped. And he uses for each fear this similitude.

Let us suppose (says he) that there be two women, the one chaste, and the other unchaste and an adulteress; doubtless each of these women fears her husband: the adulteress fears him, when he is absent, lest he should return again; and when he is present, lest he should understand of her naughty behavior: but the chaste wife is afraid of her husband when he is present, lest he should depart from her, or should not love her so well, or should by some offense be alienated from her. By this similitude Augustine thinks may be distinctly perceived each kind of those fears. Others say moreover, that this servile fear is not altogether unprofitable; for it prepares a way unto love: for first (say they) it strikes the mind and terrifies men from sins; it stirs them up to righteousness for fear of punishments. And an upright life, by little and little passes into a use and is by custom made pleasant; and so at length, men begin to refer their doings unto God, and to esteem righteousness in respect of itself. For even as a needle, when anything is to be sowed, first enters in, and draws with it the thread that is annexed thereto, but it itself

abides not in that which is sowed: so (say they) there creeps into us a servile fear, which is afterward excluded when charity and a chaste fear do once take place.

But what is to be thought of those terrors, which in our minds go before faith, it is manifest; namely, that they are sins before the Lord: but if any profit or commodity follows them, that is to be attributed, not unto their own nature, but to the goodness of the Holy Ghost; for he uses those to be means of our justification. The Master of the Sentences, instead of the two kinds of fear which Augustine makes mention of, puts four. The first is a worldly fear, whereby men, rather than they will lose riches, pleasures, and honors, fall away from Christ: and this is a fear most pernicious and most far from all godliness. The second is a servile fear, which we before have described. The third is an initial fear, that is, a fear that serves at the beginning, whereby men are so moved with the fear of punishment, that together therewith, they have also a regard unto God, and are caught with a certain love of his righteousness and will: this fear in his judgment is mingled both with a servile fear, and also with a childish fear. Last of all, he joins that pure childish fear with perfect charity. But the School-men, who followed the Master of the Sentences, because they also might add somewhat of their own, have brought forth another fear, which they call natural; whereby even by the impulsion of nature itself, we fly from those things, which are against the constitution of nature.

Now that I have briefly and faithfully declared these things out of Augustine, out of the Master of the Sentences, and out of the Schoolmen, I will in a few words set forth what is to be taught concerning them. First, I confess that there is more than one kind of fear; for I know that Peter feared otherwise than did Judas: for Judas indeed feared so, as he despaired; but Peter feared so, as he returned

again unto Christ, whom before he had forsaken by denying. Wherefore we say that a servile fear is that whereby we are so horribly afraid of God and flee from him when he is angry, that we are utterly void of faith. But a childlike fear is that whereby in the midst of terrors, we are lifted up through faith: neither do we suffer ourselves to be swallowed up with fear. Wherefore in godly men, fear is never separated from faith; for these two things must be so knit together that faith always governs fear: for if it should not be so, desperation would easily follow. For even as the law ought always to be joined with the Gospel, so ought fear to be ever joined with faith. We do not so embrace the Gospel but that we always think upon the obedience of the commandments of God. And when we see how often and how grievously we fall, we call ourselves back again to repentance. On the contrary, the law is not to be received without the Gospel; for if it should, we could neither obey it without Christ, nor obtain pardon for the offenses that we have committed against it. Wherefore Paul does not call us back utterly from all fear of God; but from that fear only, which lacks faith, and which flees from God as from an enemy, and from a cruel tyrant. But that fear which has faith to moderate it cannot be reprov'd; for it is the gift of the Holy Ghost, as we read in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah. And the property of the gifts of the Holy Ghost is that by them we submit all our virtues and affections to the moderation of faith and make them serve God truly and sincerely.

These gifts are commonly counted to be seven; and if a man demands how they prove that, they straightway cite the eleventh chapter of Isaiah. However, if we examine that place by the truth of the Hebrew, we shall only find six gifts to be there; namely, the spirit of wisdom, of understanding, of counsel, of fortitude, of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord. But these men have been deceived by the Latin translation, which followed not the truth of the Hebrew, but

the seventy interpreters; for they, between the spirit of knowledge and of fear, have put the spirit of piety, εὐσέβεια, that is, pertaining to the obedience of God; whereby it seems that they meant to interpret what manner of fear of GOD that should be, which might light upon Messiah, of whom in that place there is mention made. For that fear was neither servile nor a child's fear; but only an obedience, piety, and reverence towards God his father. Neither have the seventy interpreters only once so interpreted the fear of God; for in the book of Job, where we read; "Fearing God," they have turned it εὐλαβούμενος τὸν Θεόν, that is, obeying God. However, undoubtedly we ought not to draw together into so strict a number the gifts of the Holy Ghost, to think them to be but only six or seven; for besides all those which are reckoned in that chapter, the same Isaiah reckons in another place, the spirit of judgment and of zeal. And Zechariah makes mention of the spirit of grace, and Paul of the spirit of sanctification, and John of the spirit of truth; and Paul again in another place of the spirit of adoption, and to the Ephesians of the spirit of promise, and a great many of other like gifts.

13. These things being so, let us now see how both in this life and in the other life, fear may have a place. The saints, when they are in heaven, for they shall then have perfect charity (to speak of fear properly, as it is a motion stirred up by means of some grievous evil that hangs over us) shall have no fear. This Augustine confesses upon the fifth psalm upon these words; "I will worship in thy fear towards thy holy temple." But in them can only be that εὐλάβεια, that is, obedience, reverence, worship, and piety towards God; as the 70. interpreters have expounded the spirit of the fear of the Lord: and so such a gift might be found in Christ, who indeed otherwise could neither fear sin, nor hell-fire, nor yet fatherly chastisements of God. And if a man would say that he feared death; that must be understood of natural fear, whereof we treat not at this present. And

after this sort do I understand Ambrose, when in his book "De Spiritu Sancto" he affirms that "The gifts of the Holy Ghost are in the angels." Out of which words the Schoolmen gather that in them is the fear of God: for doubtless, seeing they are in a blessed state, that can be no otherwise understood, but as it has been already shown by me. But as touching the godly in this life; we must so affirm, as we think not, that they can be without childlike fear; so that that fear be so understood (according as I taught before) that they do not only flee from offending God, and are afraid of falls against his will; but also are moved with the fear of hell-fire, and of the wrath of God, and of his punishments: unto which fear nevertheless, a quiet faith and confidence in the mercy of God, are as a present comfort.

For we ought not to think that the threatenings in the holy scriptures are vain; for they are also profitable to the godly, especially when they have not as yet obtained perfect charity and absolute regeneration. Christ said unto his apostles; "I will show you whom ye shall fear, even him, which after he hath killed the body, hath power also to cast the soul into hell-fire." And Paul to the Corinthians brings forth examples of the Hebrews in old time, whereby he declares that for their abusing the sacraments of God, they were destroyed in the desert. By which examples he meant to warn the Corinthians to beware of the like vengeance; "Many (saith he) are weak, and many sleep." And if we would judge ourselves, we undoubtedly should not be judged: but now, for so much as we are judged, we be corrected of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with this world. And unto the Philippians; "Work out your salvation with fear and with trembling." And unto the Romans; "Be not over wise, but fear." Hereby we see that godly men live not upon the earth without the fear of God. And here, fear hath respect to many kinds of evils; for the godly are afraid of sin, of often falling, of the wrath of God, of fatherly chastisements, of scourges wherewith

God punishes his people when they sin, and finally of hell-fire: which they see they have deserved, unless God by his mercy, and Christ by his sacrifice, which he offered upon the cross, should help and succor us.

But what meaneth that which John saith; "Perfect charity casteth out fear." I know there be some, which interpret these words in this sense; to wit, that they which love God truly, are not afraid to put themselves for godliness' sake into all manner of dangers; neither do they shun persecutions, but valiantly do stand steadfast in all manner of adversities. The very which thing Paul in the latter epistle to Timothy wrote in other words saying; "We have not (saith he) received the spirit of fearfulness, but of might and of love." Wherefore he exhorts Timothy not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord, or of him being in bonds for the Lord's sake: but courageously to endure labor for the Gospel sake. Albeit that these things be true, yet this is not that which the place of John teacheth; for it maketh mention there of the judgment of the Lord, of which he willeth the godly, which love God, not to be afraid: and he rendereth a reason; because fear hath disquietness joined with it. Wherefore I willingly assent unto Augustine, which saith, that John speaketh of perfect charity; the which, seeing it cannot be had in this life, we may not look to have it without fear. Further, we might in this place understand that fear, which is dissevered from confidence; and therefore driveth men to desperation: for they which believe and love God truly, uphold their fear with a lively faith.

Of Security.

14. Security seemeth to be a contempt of God's justice, whereby sins are punished. If we speak of this security, it can never be otherwise than wicked; but there is also another found, which no doubt is to be

allowed and commendable. But to make the thing more plain, let us consider three things: security, hope, and desperation. Hope is the mean which ought always to be commended: security is excess, but desperation is a want. For as in putting away the mercy of God, we are made desperate; so in contemning his justice, we become secure. Wherefore we may conclude that Security is a certain immoderate hope: and hereof it springeth; either because we attribute too much to our own strength and wisdom, as though we think that by ourselves we are able to obtain anything: or else, though we think that the same lieth in the mercy of God, yet we suppose that he, for our worthiness, ought to accomplish it. So do they, which promise to themselves remission of their sins and eternal felicity, though they use no repentance, but live impurely and wickedly. Or else it springeth hereof, because we believe not that there is in God any execution of justice.

And this security, whereof we entreat, is not only contrary unto desperation; but also unto the fear of God. For desperation proceedeth of too much fear of the justice of GOD against sins; but security thinketh nothing at all of that justice. Wherefore Bernard hath rightly said; Even as the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, so security is the foundation of all impiety, and the beginning of foolishness. For the fear of the Lord (as the scriptures testify of it) pertaineth chiefly unto piety and religion. Wherefore in the Acts, the tenth chapter; Cornelius is called a man religious and fearing God. Justly therefore security hath impiety joined therewith; which, as it springeth of an evil beginning, so also it bringeth forth evil and naughty fruits: as sluggishness, unwillingness of mind, and slothfulness. Wherefore they, which trust unto themselves, neither seek for help at the hand of God, neither yet for the aid of men.

15. The people of Lais, which are spoken of in the 18th of Judges, lived securely, although they were joined in no league or fellowship with their next neighbours. They were also infected with negligence, which is nothing else but a privation of that endeavour, which we ought to apply for the governing of things: by it, the will is weakened, and the cheerfulness of the body is diminished. This kind of security hath evermore a danger joined with it; for those things are not chased away which may be hurtful. For how should that be done when as they are secure or careless; thinking rightly neither of their own ableness, nor yet of the mercy of God? Yea, they are utterly unknown unto themselves; for if they knew themselves, they would not live so securely. Augustine upon the 99th psalm writeth; Whereas most security is, there is most danger. And he addeth, that a ship, when it is brought into the haven, thinkest thou that it is in safety? But by the same way that the ship entereth in, the wind entereth also, and oftentimes tosseth it, and breaketh it upon a rock. Where then can there be security? Adam fell in paradise, Judas in the fellowship of Christ, Cham in the family of Noah, many in the law, and many also in the Gospel; where then shall we live securely? Undoubtedly nowhere. Wherefore, Ecclesiasticus doth very well admonish us; Son, stand in the fear of the Lord, and prepare thyself to temptation. The Israelites saw the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea; was it then meet for them to live in security? No verily: yea, within a while after, they were tempted in the wilderness. Christ was baptized by John; was he therefore made secure? No, for he was straightway tempted of the devil. Wherefore we ought then to be most careful of all, when we are received into the favour of God: for then the devil doth most of all watch for our destruction, and endeavours to make us fall; and therefore there is no place for security.

But are we so made by God, that we can be nowhere secure? Not so undoubtedly: for there is another good and laudable security, which (as Augustine saith) consisteth in the promises of God, and is taken hold of by faith. This ingendereth not luskishnes or sluggishness, but cheerfulness and diligence. Of this, David hath very well pronounced in the 91st psalm; He which dwelleth in the help of the most high, shall abide under the protection of the God of heaven. Whereas it is written in the Latin, *Adiutorio*; that is, In the help; the Hebrew word signifieth A cover, or secret place, which no man taketh hold of, but he which hath faith in the promises of God. By that buckler we be defended, with that shadow we be covered against all harm. This is the security of faith and of the spirit, which cleaveth unto the word of God; and therefore it must needs be commended. But the other security is of the flesh, and therefore it is execrable and detestable. Against it are extant most manifest commandments of Christ; namely, To pray always, to knock, to seek, and to watch: for the day of the Lord will come like a thief. If the good-man of the house knew what time the thief would come, he would undoubtedly watch, neither would he suffer his house to be broken through. We ought to pray and watch: because, although the spirit be ready, yet is the flesh weak.

Paul admonisheth us to put on the armour of God, that we may resist in the evil day. Stand (saith he) with your loins girded with the girdle of truth, being clothed with the breastplate of righteousness, and having shoes on your feet, that ye may be ready to the Gospel of peace; above all things taking unto you the shield of faith, whereby ye may quench all the fiery darts of that evil one: and take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. So doth Peter also warn us against security, in his first epistle the fifth chapter; The devil (saith he) your enemy goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; resist him with a sound

faith. But because I have said, that security is contrary to fear, I would not have any man to think, that all fear is to be praised: for there is also an evil fear, and that springeth of an evil judgment of good and evil things: as if a man should think that the adversities of this world, and the crosses which the elect suffer, are both altogether evil, and utterly to be feared. Against these things we must sing together with David; I will not fear what man can do to me. There is also another fear of the ungodly to be reprov'd, which fear is engendered by an evil conscience: for they which live shamefully and wickedly are always afraid that the vengeance from heaven hangeth over them.

Such fear Plutarch in his book of felicity calleth sores of the mind. There are (saith he) sores as well in the mind, as in the body. And he addeth an excellent similitude. As they, which in a fever either cold or hot, because inwardly they be either cold or hot, are more grievously sick, than if either the heat or cold were applied outwardly to their bodies: so they, which are vexed in the mind, are much more tormented, than they which are afflicted in the body. After the same manner we may say, that they always tremble and are afraid, whose consciences are troubled. Wherefore David said; They have trembled through fear, whereas no fear was: so Cain, and so Judas also were wonderfully afraid. Seneca unto Lucillus, in his hundred & 6th epistle saith, that No place will make a wicked man quiet: for thus he always thinketh; Although I be not as yet taken, I may nevertheless be taken at the length: and that I have not hitherto been taken, it came rather of fortune, than of confidence. They also do fear exceedingly, which are themselves fearful and horrible unto others, for he must needs be afraid of many, whom many do fear.

17. Against such fears Seneca hath invented remedies; namely, that we should live uprightly, and commit nothing that is wicked. But

who can by this means be secure at any time? For who is he that sinneth not? But we much better repose ourselves in the faith of Christ, & put all our confidence & security in his mercy only. This manner of way Paul teacheth us; Being justified (saith he) by faith, we have peace with God. This medicine hath virtue against all diseases. Also carefulness, which seemeth to be contrary unto security, is not always to be praised; because therein are two vices to be taken heed of. The first is, that being moved with it, we seek not by unjust means to remedy an evil that cometh unlooked for: as the Jews did, when they said; If we suffer this man to live, the Romans will come and overthrow our place and nation: wherefore they decreed, to destroy him. Furthermore, we must beware, that we be not so moved for temporal things, as we should cast away our hope and confidence of the goodness and providence of God. Wherefore the true security is that, which is received by faith, and consisteth of the promises of God. Paul did put us in mind hereof, when he wrote to the Romans; If God have given his son unto us, how shall he not also give us all things with him? Who shall lay any faults against the elect of God? It is God which justifieth, who shall then condemn? It is Christ which died, yea and which rose again, who also sitteth at the right hand of God and maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall affliction? Shall trouble? Shall persecution? Shall hunger? Shall nakedness? Shall danger? Shall the sword? I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Now it sufficiently appeareth (as I think) what manner of security is allowed, and which is condemned.

Whether true Faith may be severed from Charity.

18. But now let us propound three things to be inquired; the first, whether true faith may be severed from charity, as our adversaries persuade themselves that it may; another is, whether charity be the form of faith, according as the School-men teach; lastly, let us see wherein charity is more excellent than faith, and likewise how faith doth excel charity. Concerning the first, it shall be convenient before all things, that we by some certain definition set forth the nature of faith: for then we may easily discern how much it is joined with charity. Let us rip up the matter thoroughly; & first let us make a difference between supposing and believing. When any man doth given his assent unto one side of a controversy, he is said to suppose or have opinion: which thing is not without suspicion, and a doubtful mind; least peradventure the matter should be otherwise. But we are not said to believe, unless we do already give a firm and assured consent unto the one side, so that we suspect nothing at all of the truth of the other side. Wherefore to believe, according as serveth to our purpose, is by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, to give a firm assent unto the word of God, and that by the authority of God himself. We say, that the inspiration of God is required, because human reasons in those things do fail, and The natural man perceiveth not those things which be of God; for he thinketh them to be but foolishness, and he cannot give credit unto them.

And that a firm assent is required in a true faith, Augustine declareth in his 109th treatise upon John; when he saith, We must believe immovably, firmly, steadfastly, and courageously, lest a man wander about his own affairs, and abandon Christ. And we must give our assent unto the word of God, which is of two sorts; written, and not written. For those things, which God spake unto the prophets, the prophets believed: & yet were not those things written by others before them. Abraham believed that he should be blessed, so as all nations should obtain blessing in his seed: also he believed that God

was to be obeyed, when his son was demanded for sacrifice; and yet had he not read anything written thereof. Wherefore that which we have spoken of faith, maketh nothing against them which say, that faith is an assent given to the Gospel of Christ; or to the mercy of God given us through Christ; or else offered unto us by him, for the remission of sins. For as much as these be the most high and principal things in the word of God, unto the which, the law, the prophets, the threatenings, promises, and histories, how many soever be found in the holy scriptures, be directed. Wherefore I agree with them, and what they embraced in the Gospel; but as touching remission of sins through Christ, I also do affirm to be contained in the word of God.

19. The Epistle to the Hebrews, the eleventh chapter, has a most plain definition of faith, where it is called πίστις, that is, The ground or being of things, which are hoped for; in Greek, ὑπόστασις. And surely in this respect, faith comprehends the Gospel, eternal life, the fellowship of Christ, and thereby the remission of sins: for these are the things which we hope for. But seeing those things cannot appear by natural evidence, neither stick fast in our minds, nor can firmly abide by the industry of our own reason, or by the help of human knowledge, they have need of faith, as a prop or groundwork, unto which surely they may lean. Afterward is added ἔλεγχος, that is, An evident token or argument of those things which appear not. For those things, which are taught us in the Scriptures, unless they are admitted by faith, will not seem of themselves very likely to be true unto our reason. And whereas there is mention made of ὑπόστασις, or ἔλεγχος [that is, A being, or evident token], that firm assent is declared, which we say we have need of in believing. Whereunto there is no let, that we being compassed on every side with the flesh, are oftentimes put to trouble by wavering and infirmity; seeing this does not come to pass by any error of faith, but by our own fault.

Wherefore, we define faith by itself, according to its property, and not as it is weakened in us. Whereupon the doubting and infirmity of such an assent is the cause of notable falls, which have happened unto godly men, and which we see do happen every day. For whatsoever naughtiness men do commit, they sin through the want and imperfection of faith; because either they believe not that God ordained laws against the sins which they commit, or else those laws, which are made, they consider not as they ought to do; or sometimes they give but weak assent unto those things that are read and delivered unto them.

20. Aristotle in his Ethics makes diligent inquiry, how it can be that when as yet there is a knowledge of divine things, anything can be committed against the same: and he says; It may be that there is retained only a general knowledge; but seeing that particular things do urge specially, the force of a particular thing laid before us, easily overcomes the general knowledge, and makes the same more feeble. If any man has assured himself that all theft is an unjust and infamous thing; and on the other part conceives that it would be fit for him to follow all his own commodity; it may soon come to pass that he will not bring in the particular thing of the first sentence, whereby he should earnestly reckon with himself on this wise: That which you now attempt is theft, a thing unjust and infamous. For if he did thoroughly cast in his mind these things, and fix his eyes upon them, he would not steal: but these things being very often abandoned, and not considered of, he only respects the particular thing of the other proposition; namely, that this money, this garment, this stuff will both be commodious to him, and serve him to great use. About which things, his mind being bent and occupied, he is soon snarled; because that true knowledge, while it is but smallie regarded by him, is imperfect, and in a manner extinguished.

So David, as concerning faith, knew very well that all adultery both is sin and displeases God exceedingly: but when he committed the same, he had even then but only a general knowledge thereof, which was weak and of very small efficacy; and he converted in a manner all his cogitations unto special and present allurements, so evidently was the beauty of the woman which he beheld fixed in his mind. Unto which delights he gave more of his consent than unto the general sentence drawn out of the word of God, and perceived by faith: wherefore you see that through the weakness of faith he came to his fall. Also Peter knew with a general knowledge that the liberty of the Gospel should be kept, and that corrupt opinions should not be brought in through his example: on the other part, he saw that offence should be taken away from the weak brethren. Wherefore when the Jews had come unto him, he began to withdraw himself from the Gentiles, neither did he eat with them; because he did not remember himself so much as he ought to have done, that by this act evil opinions would creep in, and by that means the liberty of the Gospel be overthrown: but he chiefly had in his mind his weak brethren the Jews, towards whom he was more affected than it was meet he should. And therefore he fell, because he thought that they ought by no means to be offended. So that he was upon just cause blamed by Paul, that he walked not uprightly. By these things it appears, of how great importance is the strength and steadfastness of the assent of faith; which I repeated before.

21. I confess that while we live here, the same cannot perfectly be had; because we now know in part only, whereas unto a strong assent is required a full knowledge. But because that desire may not suddenly turn us from the right, nor yet affection disturb the judgment of faith, this notable remedy we have; namely, that with a fixed and attentive mind we be continually occupied in the word of God; and that we examine our actions by the same: therein let us

exercise ourselves, therein let us employ our business, and therein let us earnestly spend our whole time and travel. We must not behold with our eyes, nor fasten our mind upon those things that are against the commandments of God, and which cause God's word not to be believed. Abraham, being now a hundred years old, heard that he should beget a son; he respected not (as the apostle says) his own dead body, he gave the glory to God, remembering with himself, that he who was able to do all things, and who failed not, nor might not fail, promised this unto him. Hereby it came to pass that neither he doubted nor yet mistrusted. These things have we said touching the stableness and strength of the assent of faith. And of what efficacy this strength of faith is in the believers, Augustine declared upon the ninth treatise of John when he said; To believe in Christ is, in believing to love; in believing to go unto him, and to be made a member of him. Now do we gather that faith is a gift or power inspired into us by the spirit of God; by which faith we give a firm and steadfast assent unto the word of God, through the authority thereof. This definition I doubt not but is made plain by those things which I have already spoken.

22. I am not ignorant that the apostle James mentioned that it is a dead faith which is destitute of good works; however, that is no faith when it is pronounced to be dead: even as a man, when he is dead, cannot be called a man, unless we use figurative speech. And when they say that a man is buried, they understand the same of the dead carcass: even so, this is not to be accounted faith, but rather a dead carcass of faith; neither does it in nature agree with true faith, but in name only. The apostle Paul also writing unto Timothy, called the same feigned, saying on this wise; Let charity proceed from a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith not feigned. And Christ in the Gospel described certain believers, but those temporary, or which believed but for a time. Wherefore, when as in the holy scriptures it

is treated concerning justification by faith and other things of that sort; those are not to be ascribed unto a dead faith, but unto a lively faith: after which manner I at this present may order my speech. Amongst the School-divines, there is a boast made of faith formed, and faith without form; for such terms they have: but the same we will examine a little after. Only I will now declare this; to wit, that Thomas Aquinas held that faith formed and faith unformed be of one habit or quality: because (as he thinks) it belongs little or nothing unto faith, whether charity be present or not present; for this they think is done by chance or (as they say) by accident. Certainly it is to be wondered that so notable a man should be so much deceived, as he would not have these two to be distinguished in their own nature, seeing the one is a dead faith, and the other a lively faith: the one makes unto eternal life, and the other unto condemnation. For a dead faith puts a certain goodly show in the mind, but such, as seeing it does not justify or regenerate, it only takes away the excuse of ignorance: as Paul teaches unto the Romans, and Christ in the Gospel of John; If I had not come (saith he) and had not talked with them, they should have had no sin.

23. Faith, hope, and charity we appoint to be three several things: neither do we mingle them together or confound them one in another, as our adversaries lay to our charge; but we say that they be inseparable companions, in such sort, as where true faith is, there also will hope and charity be present: their natures nevertheless being safe and unmixed. Neither would we ever grant charity to be an accident unto faith, saving that peradventure our adversaries, under the name of an accident, have understood a thing proper. For charity does no less follow faith than light follows the sun; which thing shall be showed by authorities out of the scripture, and also by diverse reasons. Paul unto the Hebrews, in the definition of faith (as we declared before) appointed Faith to be a ground or argument of

those things which are hoped for. Here now thou seest that hope and faith are joined together: for so soon as ever we have assented unto the promises of the mercy of God and the remission of sins, we do hope for them; for we have confidence that we shall obtain those things which God hath promised. And it cannot be, but we should also love those things, which we already know and hope to be singular good. Moreover, faith is the power whereby we apprehend Christ, who is by God made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. But what righteousness or sanctification can there be unto us, if charity be absent? Further, faith causes us to apprehend God, not only in respect that he is good, but also as he is our sovereign good. Which thing, so soon as ever it is perceived, it follows necessarily, that we should prosecute the same with love and charity. I verily would never assent unto those crabbed Sophisters, which say that it may be, that the blessed may understand the chiefest good thing, and yet nevertheless may withhold their will from the love and embracing of the same.

24. Now let us come to the fathers. Augustine De fide & operibus, the 16th chapter, writes that Faith which is without charity is the faith of devils, and not of Christians. And he judges that to believe in Christ pertains only unto the true faith, of which we now presently speak; and he declares it to be the same, which works by love. And in the next chapter he most plainly writes that those adulterous persons, who will still persist in their uncleanness begun, must not be admitted unto baptism; because he denies that they believe in Christ: for either (saith he) they judge that God has made no law against such wickedness, or else they think that they may be the members of Christ together with the members of a harlot. And thus he manifestly proves after a sort that they believe not in some place the word of God. But it is necessary that true faith give equal assent unto the whole word of God. Chrysostom in his sermon, which is entitled De

fide, & lege naturae, & spiritu sancto, writes; So soon as thou believest, thou shalt be garnished with good works: & he adds that faith by itself is full of good works. Jerome against the Luciferians says that Faith is a firm and undoubted thing. I stand ready in prayer, but I should not pray unless I believed: and if so be I did believe, I would cleanse that heart, whereby God is discerned; my cheeks would be watered with tears, I would knock my breast, my body would tremble, my face would be wan, and I would lie at the feet of Christ crucified, &c. In these words, thou seest that many good works are joined with faith.

In the book named The calling of the Gentiles, being ascribed unto Ambrose, it is written that Faith is the begetter of a good will, and of a just action. Gregory in his 22nd homily upon Ezekiel saith; Look how much we believe, so much we do love. But this thing is more certainly proved by the testimony of the holy scriptures. When the apostles were demanded by Christ, whether they also would depart? Peter answered; Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life: for we know and believe that thou art Christ the son of the living God. Here it appeareth that unto knowledge, and unto a lively faith was joined charity, whereby the apostles would not forsake Christ. Christ said; Every man that believeth in me hath life eternal. John Baptist pronounced the same, when he said; He that believeth in the son hath everlasting life. True it is indeed, that while we live here, we have no absolute or perfect faith; but have only an entrance of the same: but howsoever it be, without charity it cannot consist. The prophet Abacuk saith; The just man doth live by faith. Paul unto the Galatians saith; Ye be all the children of God by faith. And in the Gospel of John; Every man that hath heard of my father, and hath learned and believed, cometh unto me. And again; This is the life eternal, that they know thee only the true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. All these things, which we have recited;

seeing they be had by faith, and without charity they take no place, do show that of necessity true faith is joined with charity.

25. In the first epistle of John, the fifth chapter; Whosoever believeth that Jesus is that Christ is borne of God. Some there be which say that those who have faith are not presently the children of God; but that they may easily become [the children of God,] because they have already attained to some preparation unto the same. And Pighius, who amongst others defends this opinion, bringeth in the Gospel of John; And how many soever have received him, to them hath he given power to be made the children of God. Behold (saith he) the evangelist hath given to them, which alone believe, the power to obtain the adoption of the children. However, this man should prudently have weighed those words which follow: for the evangelist addeth; that this power is given unto them which believed in his name, Which are borne, not of blood, nor of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Wherefore they which have received him, and believed in his name, are said to be borne of God and therefore are regenerated and justified: the which things without charity cannot be had. And whereas they are said to have received power, it is all one, as if it should be said, that they received the gift and grace to be the children of God. Power here in this place is not understood to be that which is dissevered from the thing itself, and from the effect. Wherefore Hilary in his first book De trinitate, saith; They which have received, are augmented to be the sons of God, not by growing of the flesh, but by the springing of faith.

Further, if we would grant that power in that place doth make show of something as yet to be looked for, & which had no effect; they have not yet gotten that which they would, namely, that they should interpret charity or justification to be looked for after faith, as though these things for a certain space of time were differed from faith

begun; but it should rather be referred to perfect adoption. For adoption (as Paul speaketh) is of two sorts, one we have now presently, which is spoken of unto the Romans; Ye have not received the spirit of bondage to fear anymore, but the spirit of adoption of the children, wherein we cry; Abba, Father. And this adoption have they already obtained, who have received Christ by faith: and as the evangelist saith; They be borne of God, and the self-same men be endued with charity. But there is another adoption which is perfect, this shall be given in the resurrection, when we shall be free from all grief & corruption. Of this there is plain mention made in the said chapter to the Romans, when it is said; Every creature groaneth, and waiteth for the revelation of the children of God: yea & we our selves having the first fruits of the spirit, do groan amongst our selves, waiting for the adoption and redemption of our bodies. Wherefore we will say, that the believers, and those that be justified and borne of God, have a power; I mean a right unto that perfect adoption, the which we expect to obtain at the time appointed. Wherefore, howsoever they have understood that word Power, they prove nothing against us.

26. But they are wont to cast us in the teeth with them, who live an unclean life, & who acquaint themselves with heinous crimes; who nevertheless agree to all the articles of faith that we do, and yet for all that it is certain that they, behaving themselves so dishonestly, are destitute of charity: wherefore (say they) it cannot be denied, but that in them, at the least, faith is separated from charity. I answer, that the faith of these men may indeed be called a true faith, as touching those things which they confess; but concerning the faith itself, if we thoroughly consider the nature thereof, it is no very true and lawful faith. To make this thing manifest, I will use examples; If a man concludes that an eclipse shall occur, but proves it by a false kind of argument, & shows not the same by any just demonstration;

his knowledge, as touching the conclusion which he brought in, may be called true; yet, because he uses a faulty reason, the sense thereof shall never be called a true knowledge, but a false & sophistical. Also, very many Turks do confess many things that we believe; as the creation of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and that Christ was born of the virgin Mary: whom nevertheless we will never account to be endued with the true faith.

Again, they object that which is in John; that There were certain princes, who believed in Christ, who nevertheless dared not confess his name. And again, That there were some who believed, unto whom nevertheless Christ committed not himself. Now these things (say they) declare that these men had faith without charity. Howbeit, we yield not as they would have us, that these princes were endued with the true faith: and Christ taught, that they did not believe truly; How (saith he) can you believe, which seek glory of yourselves? And certain indeed it is, that the princes who judged not evil of Christ; would not therefore confess him: because they feared to be cast out of the synagoge; and while they desired too much the preservation of their honour & dignity, they were turned away from the confession of Christ; wherefore Christ pronounced them not to believe. These men say moreover; They who believe truly, when they fall into grievous sins, and yet nevertheless do believe the same things which they did before, cannot be counted without faith; when as yet they are despoiled of charity. But we admit not, that while they are conversant in their sins, they have faith. Against them the apostle bears record, that They confess themselves to know God, but in their deeds they deny him. But with a sound & true faith, the denying of God cannot stand; wherefore these men shall be rather said to retain an image and show of faith, than the true faith of which we now entreat. And these things shall suffice at this time for the first question.

Whether charity may be called the form of faith.

27. As touching the second question, we are to examine whether charity be (as the School-men term it) the form of faith. And first I say, that they so speak, not properly, but rather fondly: for it is not becoming that one quality of one and the same kind should be the form of another. For we grant not that one accident cleaveth like a form unto another accident; and that chiefly among qualities. It is said of figures or shapes that they happen unto quantity, when as yet they are qualities. But whether figures do truly or properly pertain unto the predicament of quality, I will not stand at this present to prove: it suffices concerning our purpose, that one quality cannot be called the form of another. But the School-men by that their manner of speech meant no other thing, but that faith is made perfect by charity; even as matter is wont to be made perfect by the form of the same: which feigned devise of theirs must not be allowed. For if faith be compared unto hope and charity, it is even so towards them, as wisdom is to those virtues, which they call virtues of intelligence; and as prudence is towards those, which they call moral virtues. For even as moral virtues are knit together in prudence; so those things also, which belong unto intelligence, are joined together in wisdom. But no man will say that other virtues of the mind be the forms of wisdom, neither that moral virtues are the forms of prudence: wherefore, neither hope nor charity may be called the form of faith.

The comparison, which I took upon me to make of faith unto prudence, is to be read in Chrysostom upon the epistle unto Titus, the third homily, where he says that faith is of no less power to the governing of life than wisdom is. Furthermore, that our wisdom consists in faith, no man, I think, doubts; and that hope and charity are knit together in faith, it is hereby declared; insomuch as where faith is, these also are present with the same. Moreover, to speak of

the form, according to the nature thereof, we make the same to be the beginning of the action: but faith, by a natural property and virtue thereof, makes us hold fast the word of God. Neither does charity tend unto that end, which rather compels us to love him whom we have already known by faith; therefore, charity in respect of faith shall not be accounted a form, seeing it is no beginning of the action thereof, which chiefly consists in believing. Furthermore, matter is governed of the form, and thereby it is both contrived and contained; and not the form by the matter. But charity is obedient unto faith; faith governs the same: for whatever we love uprightly, it must be known by faith that we ought to love the same. For this in nature we see, that love follows the judgment of the party that knows. Besides this, the thing which begets is more perfect than that which is procreated. And we make no doubt that hope and charity are engendered by faith: wherefore, neither hope nor charity can be the forms of faith. That good works are engendered by faith, David shows, when he said; I believed, and therefore have I spoken: whereby appears that confession proceeds of faith. He says also; I have not declined from thy judgments, because thou hast taught me. By these things, it is manifest that the uprightness of life proceeds from the assent of faith.

28. But let us see after what sort hope and charity are engendered of faith. In the Epistle to the Romans, we read; We being justified by faith, have peace towards God through Christ, by whom also we have access through faith unto the grace wherein we now stand, and rejoice under the hope of the glory of God. Behold, the apostle expressly shows that we have peace and access unto God, and hope of the glory through faith. The same he more plainly teaches in his Epistle to the Ephesians, the third chapter, where he writes; that We have access with confidence, which comes by faith. Here again, you see that confidence (which is hope) springs from faith. And that

charity is derived from thence, the same apostle testifies unto Timothy when he says; Charity out of a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith not feigned. And the reason which we touched before persuades the same: for seeing that by faith we apprehend God, as the sovereign good; as he that is mighty, wise, and most loving toward us, Which gave his only son unto death for us, and hath given all things with him; how can it be but that our love must break out towards him, and towards all things, which appertain unto him? But touching order, it is to be understood that hope springs out first. For when as by faith we have embraced the promise of eternal life, an hope is conceived of obtaining the same; and from hence in the third place springs love: for we love not those things which we are out of hope to obtain.

29. Now let us come to the arguments which our adversaries do use to prove charity to be the form of faith. They allege that sentence of Paul unto the Galatians; Faith which worketh by love. Seeing (say they) that faith does work by charity, the same it shall have instead of a form. Hereof grows the error of these men, that they imagine something to themselves, that should be compounded of faith and charity, which being all wholly compact of these might have the first entrance of the working thereof from charity, as from the form. But this device of theirs is vain; for seeing faith and charity are several virtues, and that one quality (as I have said before) is no form of another, there shall be no one thing compact of these two faculties. Moreover, this manner of speech (to wit, that everything works by another thing) does not always respect the form, but sometimes the instruments. The writer writes by his pen, the soldier fights by his weapon, and the soul works by the body; but all these things they confess to be no forms, but instruments. And Paul said, that We must all stand before the tribunal seat of Christ, that every man shall bear away according as he hath behaved himself in his body; be it

good, or be it evil. We say also, that prudence works by moral virtues; which virtues notwithstanding are not counted the forms thereof.

Also, they object that charity has therefore the nature of a form; because it is the end of the precept: and whatsoever is done without that cannot please God but is condemned as sin. But if this argument be of force, we also will prove thereby that faith is the form of other virtues; seeing Paul hath said; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Out of the which sentence Augustine in his 4th book and 4th chapter against Julian taught, that all the works of the infidels are sins. These men also bring the saying of James, that Faith is made perfect by works: the which makes nothing against us; for it only teaches that faith is then perfect when it works. Even as the Philosophers teach, that a form is not perfect when it is taken as the first act (for so they speak) but when it is respected as a second act: for in working it puts forth its strength and declares itself. Wherefore we grant that after this manner faith is made perfect by works; not that it is either increased or made more earnest by the virtue of works: but through the more effectual operation of the Holy Ghost, the which in working declares itself; but in time of idleness lay hid. And this is not the property of charity alone, but is common unto all other virtues: for unto this end are virtues given unto the mind, that out of them actions might be drawn.

30. Moreover, they say that charity is therefore the form of faith; because by it is the first beginning, whereby the godly are known from the wicked. And this they prove by that place of the Gospel, where Christ is brought in to say at the day of judgment; I was hungry, and ye fed me: I thirsted, and ye gave me drink, etc. Unto these things, we answer that the discerning and knowledge of things are sometimes had by the causes, and by the beginnings of them,

which they commonly call A priori, that is, By that which went before; and another is understood by the effects and properties, which they name A posteriori, to wit, By that which comes after. Wherefore, I willingly admit that charity is that, whereby the godly are discerned from the wicked, by the latter knowledge, and by the effects: but this knowledge pertains to us. Christ otherwise, without the same, very well knows them that are his and sets them apart; namely, by election and predestination: which are in a manner the beginnings and causes of our salvation. Wherefore, that knowledge is had by the effects, out of the form of things, which they take as granted, we must not grant. Neither is there any doubt, but in the last judgment, the saints shall be discerned from the wicked, by the works and effects, according as the words which these men bring do declare. However, if they will have respect unto those words which the judge pronounced before time, when he said; (Come ye blessed of my father, take the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world) they shall easily understand that there is a more noble and excellent knowledge set forth of salvation to be given, than that knowledge which is afterward added through works. As for the form of faith (if any should be brought in, which properly is not lawful to be done) the same should be the spirit. For we have faith according to the portion thereof; and the more there is of the spirit, the more ample faith is present; and the more scarcity there is of the spirit, the weaker is faith.

How Faith excelleth Charity, and so likewise on the contrary.

31. Now lastly there remains to see wherein faith is preferred before charity; and again, what is attributed unto charity, rather than unto faith. First unto faith, justification is agreeable, which we affirm ought not to be granted unto charity: for while we live here, charity is

always imperfect. Therefore we cannot, in respect of the judgment of God, cleave either unto charity or unto the good works which proceed from the same, in respect of being justified and absolved by them. Further, in the epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Galatians, it is most plainly declared that We are justified by faith, and not by works. The very which thing the nature as well of faith, as of charity, if it be well considered, doth show: for faith doth further the mind of godly men toward Christ, and toward the understanding and admitting of the promises made concerning him; which thing is manifest to be done by the assent of the mind: and while that we know or understand anything, the very same we receive into ourselves. But on the contrary part, the office of charity is, that it may provoke and drive the will, to show forth in action, and express in sight of the world, that which the mind hath received. And this herein consists, that those things which we have, we impart and communicate them with others. And seeing, to be justified, is to receive righteousness by imputation; it may sufficiently appear that the same comes rather by faith than by charity. Hereunto must be added that if we should appoint charity to be that, whereby righteousness is comprehended; it ought to be granted that we, when we return into favor with God, are not enemies, (as the epistle to the Romans teaches.) For charity makes the friends of God, whomever it adorns; and None loves God, but he hath first been beloved of him. Wherefore, faith in this is to be preferred before charity, that we are by faith justified. We may add those things, which we recited before; namely, that charity is engendered of faith: but on the other side, not faith of charity. Besides this, charity follows the measure of faith, and is esteemed to be the measure thereof. As Gregory said; that So much as we love, so much we believe.

32. Those things which we have now recited are more agreeable unto faith than unto charity: now let us see what things charity doth

challenge unto it above faith. First, it endures even in the life to come; at which time faith shall have no place. And that is it, that faith brings us no clear knowledge, but an obscure: for now we know darkly, and in part; but the knowledge which we shall have in the kingdom of heaven shall be thoroughly perfect. Wherefore faith shall give place to a better state: but charity shall most of all appear in the world to come, as well towards God as towards our neighbours. Thou wilt perhaps say; And shall not charity also be made perfect in the life to come? Which if it be granted, it shall continue no longer than faith. We answer, that here there is a difference; for seeing faith passeth into an open knowledge, and into a revealed sight of the thing present; it changeth his kind and nature. Which thing happeneth not to charity; for although the same become great and more vehement, yet it shall retain still the same substance: albeit even the same shall not have all the works which it now exercises. There shall be none hungry, to be fed; non thirsty, to give drink unto; nor other like things in that eternal felicity. Moreover, it is attributed unto charity, that (as John writes in his epistle) it giveth a testimony of our justification; We know (saith he) that if we love our brethren, we are translated from death unto life. And Peter seemeth to give commandment, that we through good works should make our calling certain. And we must not omit that which Paul hath; to wit, that Charity is greater than faith and hope. Which saying we expound two ways; first, because the Lord said, It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive. We shall now indeed evidently show, that faith doth exercise itself in receiving, and charity in giving and bestowing.

It is further expounded, that we are said to have two sorts of righteousness; the one (I say) being imputed unto us by God, by the which we are justified in very deed: and that (as it hath been said) we obtain not by works, but apprehend it by faith: and the other righteousness is that, which cleaveth unto us; and consisteth of faith,

hope, and charity, and all good works; the which (as we have already said) do never attain unto the perfect obedience of the law, but do only make an entrance into the same: the which is nothing else, but to obey the commandments of God, with as earnest an endeavour as we can. Wherefore I willingly grant, that in this kind of righteousness, charity hath preeminence: because our exercising, notwithstanding it be begun by faith, yet it stays not there; but goes forward unto hope, unto charity, and unto all other virtues and good works. Wherefore as in justification before God, faith is the chief and principal: so in this righteousness that is begun, charity is the better.

33. And if any will demand, wherefore we appoint two sorts of righteousness, as has been shown before: we will answer, that the same we have learned from the holy scriptures. To the Romans it is said; As by the disobedience of one man, many are made sinners: so by the obedience of one, many are made righteous. And in the same epistle the apostle says; But to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, faith is counted for righteousness. And Paul almost throughout that whole chapter, speaks of this imputation of righteousness by faith. And to the Corinthians he said, that Christ is made unto us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. But of the righteousness that cleaves unto us, he shows unto the Ephesians, when he bids us To put on the new man, which is created according to God, in righteousness and holiness of the truth. Also to the Hebrews, when he says; that The saints wrought righteousness. And it would be an infinite thing, if we should recite all the testimonies, which we find for the proofs of either righteousness. But it is very good to be considered when the apostle compares them both together: for there it is easily understood wherein the one does excel the other. Unto the Philippians it is written; That I may be found in him, not having

mine own righteousness, which is by the law; but that righteousness, which cometh by the faith of Jesus Christ.

He had reckoned up before those things, which had happened unto him in the Jewish religion; whereof he might have gloried, as concerning the flesh; the which he said now that he made no reckoning of: and he esteemed them to be loss and dung, and that for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, &c. In which place thou shalt also perceive, that the good works, which he now exercised, being converted unto Christ, are by him accounted nothing, in comparison of that righteousness, which is granted unto us by faith. The same comparison also is used in the epistle to the Romans, where it is read in this wise; The Gentiles, which followed not righteousness, attained unto the law of righteousness; because they sought it not by works, but by faith: but Israel, which followed righteousness, attained not to the law of righteousness, because they sought it by works, and not by faith. Also it is said in the same epistle, that They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and would establish their own righteousness, submitted not themselves unto the righteousness of God.

34. But against this distinction, some say; How can it be that the righteousness which we have not should be imputed unto us? We answer; that we must not imagine that Christ and his righteousness are strange from the saints; for We put on Christ himself through baptism: and (as it is written unto the Ephesians) God doth favour and accept us in his beloved. But these men say, that it behoves the judgments of God to be true; but how can his judgment be true, when as the righteousness, which we have not, is imputed unto us; and that the sin which we have, is not imputed? And yet nevertheless both things are spoken by the scripture: for, as touching sin, David rehearseth (as Paul saith) that Blessed is the man, to whom the Lord

hath not imputed sin. And touching righteousness, it is added; But unto him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. And these things, which the scripture declares, are not without reason: for seeing righteousness is imputed unto us, we are not altogether destitute of the same; not that it cleaves in us, but because we apprehend it by faith: therefore by faith, we are truly said to have the same. For the apprehending by faith, doth not take away any whit from the truth of the thing. Wherefore, very many are far deceived about the matter of the Eucharist: for when we affirm that by faith we do eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; they straightway conclude that therefore we have not these things indeed: as though that by faith we apprehend a false flesh of Christ or a feigned blood of him.

Neither yet is that true, which was taken as granted; that we in any wise have sin, because it is not imputed unto us: for seeing they which be justified, do strive against sin, and suffer not the same to have dominion over them; therefore after a sort they are judged to have no sin. On the behalf of charity, that it doth justify, that is wont to be objected, which we read in John; God is charity, and he that dwelleth in charity, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Howbeit, this place is not very proper for charity: for elsewhere it is written also; He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. And again; He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, this man bringeth forth much fruit. And of them also, which keep his commandments, he saith; that He and the father will come and dwell with them. Wherefore thou seest, that this abiding, which they object against us, doth happen unto us through many instruments or means: and yet is there not any man that will affirm us to be justified by all these things. Wherefore we need not labour to know by what means it cometh to pass, that Christ and the father dwell in us, and we in them: but we must rather consider, what is that, by the which

he first and principally dwelleth in us. And certain it is, that such a conjunction springeth not of any other cause, than of election, predestination, and calling, according to his determinate purpose; as the apostle hath contrived together these things in the epistle to the Romans. And there is no doubt, but that we first of all by faith answer unto the calling of God. Neither doth experience teach us otherwise. When anything is promised unto us by some man, we then first of all cleave unto him, when we give credit unto his sayings. Wherefore Paul in another place wrote, that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith.

What is the union of the godly with Christ.

35. Now we must see what it is to be in Christ. First comes in place that which is common to all mortal men: for the Son of God, because he took upon him the nature of man, is joined with all men. For since they have fellowship with flesh and blood, as the epistle to the Hebrews testifies, he also was made a partaker of flesh and blood. But this conjunction is general and weak, and only (as I may term it) according to the matter: for the nature of man far differs from that nature which Christ took upon him. For the human nature in Christ is both immortal and exempted from sin, and adorned with all pureness: but our nature is impure, corruptible, and miserably polluted with sin: but if the same be endowed with the spirit of Christ, it is so repaired, as it differs not much from the nature of Christ. Yea, so great is that affinity (as Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians says) that we are flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones. Which form of speaking seems to be drawn out of the writings of the Old Testament: for truly thus do brethren and kinsfolk there speak one of another; He is my bone, and my flesh. For they being come of one and the self-same seed of the father, and womb of the mother, seem to acknowledge unto themselves one matter common to them

all: whereunto this furthereth also, that children draw of their parents, not only a carnal and corpulent substance; but also wit, affection, and disposition.

The very which thing comes to pass in us when we are endowed with the spirit of Christ: for besides our nature, which we have common with him, we have (as Paul does advertise us in the first to the Corinthians) his mind and (according as Paul requires the Philippians) the self-same sense; Let the self-same sense (says he) be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus. This knitting of us together with Christ, Paul expressed by the similitude of engraffing, wherein are very well perceived those two things which we have now rehearsed: for the young slip that is grafted, and the stock whereinto it is grafted, are made one thing. Neither only are the matters which were diverse, joined together; but they are also nourished together with one and the self-same juice, spirit, and life. The same thing the apostle testifies to be done in us when he says that we are grafted into Christ. The same also does our Saviour teach in the Gospel of John when he calls Himself the vine, and us the branches: for the branches have the self-same life common with the vine tree; for they all spring out by one spirit, and bring forth one and the self-same fruit. Paul also, in his epistle to the Ephesians, compares with matrimony that conjunction which we have with Christ. For he says, that the same is a great sign between Christ and his church.

For even as in matrimony, not only the bodies are made common [between man and wife] but also their affections and wills are joined together: so comes it to pass by a sure and firm ground between Christ and his church. Wherefore the Apostle pronounces them free from sin, which do abide in Christ, and are in him after such a sort, as I have now declared; to the end they may live his life, be of the same mind that he is, and bring forth such fruit of works as differ not

from his fruits. And they which are such cannot fear condemnation or judgment: for the Lord Jesus is salvation itself, as his own name declares; wherefore they which are in him, stand in no peril to be condemned. Hereto we add, that they also are in Christ, which in all their affairs depend upon him; and who are moved by his spirit, whatsoever they take in hand or do: for, to depend upon him, is nothing else, than in all things that we go about, to have a regard unto him, and only to seek his glory. And they that are led by his spirit, follow not the affections and provocations of lusts. Hereby it is manifest, in what sort faithful and godly men are in Christ; and that by all the kinds of causes. For Christ and we have all one matter, also we have the self-same first entrances of form: for we be endued with the self-same notes, properties, and conditions which he had. The efficient cause, whereby we are moved to work, is the same spirit whereby he was moved. Lastly, the end is all one; namely, that the glory of God may be advanced.

36. Furthermore, every assembly and congregation of men, which tends to a definite and certain end, and is governed by prescribed laws, may be called a body. Wherefore, a city, a commonwealth, and a kingdom, are called certain bodies; because they have a certain end, to wit, that men may both be in good state as touching the body, and may live according to virtue. But the body of Christ, which is the church, has not only respect unto this, but unto eternal life also: and it has all these things in common; namely, God, Christ, the Holy Ghost, the word of God, grace, the sacraments: and it has respect unto the things of this world, which pertain to mutual helping one another. And this body is governed by the ordinances and sayings of the holy scriptures; and it lives by the spirit of Christ. And of this thing we have an excellent article of our faith, wherein we confess the catholic church to be the communion of Saints. But in the members of this body, there is observed two sorts of conjunction; one is that,

which they ought to retain among themselves; and the other, that which they ought to have with Christ. Touching this thing we are very well instructed in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians, where it is written, that by the head Christ, is ministered life and spirit, by the joints and knitting together of the members into the whole body, that according to the measure of every part, there may be an increase in the body. The same is also showed in the second chapter to the Colossians.

By which words it appears that wicked men are not truly of the church, seeing the spirit is not instilled into them by Christ the head. Indeed, they may be conversant in the church, but they cannot be of the church. It is a mere imagination brought by our adversaries that there can be withered and dead members in the body of Christ, which may be revived again. A member that is dead is a member no more, neither yet ought to be called a member; unless thou wilt have it all one, that to be a man which is but the sign of a man. And Paul said in the epistle unto the Corinthians; Shall I take the member of Christ, and make of it the member of a harlot? As if he had said; These things are repugnant one with another, that we should be the members of each of them. Wherefore this similitude declares, what manner of conjunction ought to be amongst us, and with Christ. And certainly, even as we have said, we be so joined with Christ, as we be called flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; because through his incarnation we are made of the same nature and kind that he is of: and afterward, his grace and spirit coming to us, we are made partakers of his spiritual conditions and properties, as it has been above declared. Wherefore Cyril writing unto Reginas of the right faith, said that our flesh is together in one substance with the flesh of Christ; and those that otherwise would judge, he held them accursed.

37. And for the proving of so great a conjunction between us and Christ, there is no need of the corporal and substantial presence of the body of Christ; as many endeavour to prove in the Eucharist. For we should have never a whit the more profit or commodity by the same, than if we confess Christ to be in heaven as touching his body. For we see that Christians may be members one of another, and that most nearly knit together, although some of them live in England, some in France, and some in Spain. But if so be this be granted as touching the members themselves, why shall it be an absurd thing to grant the same touching the head; that by this spiritual conjunction it may both be in heaven, and also be joined spiritually with us? The very thing we see come to pass in matrimony, wherein the holy scripture declares that Man and wife are one flesh: which thing our adversaries are constrained to grant no less to be true when man and wife are sometimes in sundry places distant one from another, than when they dwell in one house together. If so be then it be so in them, why should we deny that the body of Christ may be joined unto us in such a sort, as we may be one with him; although by substantial and corporal presence in the Eucharist he be absent from us? They are ever flying unto that sentence of the Lord; This is my body, as though it may not otherwise be understood, but that there must be affirmed a natural presence; when nevertheless we will confess it to be the body of Christ, into which we neither be transubstantiated, neither is it required that any of us in corporal presence should be joined with other, as concerning place. But of these things we will speak very largely elsewhere.

**Touching the adoption of the children of God;
out of the eighth chapter to the Romans, verse 15.**

38. This place seemeth to require that we speak somewhat also of the adoption of the children of God. The lawyers (as it is in the institutions) define adoption to be a lawful act which doth imitate nature, found out for the comfort of them which have no children. Further, they make a distinction between adoption and arrogation: for they say that it is arrogation when he that is his own man and at liberty, is received into the stead of a son; but adoption is, when he that is received, is under another man's power. Howbeit the laws forbid that the elder should be adopted of the younger: for it seemed to be a monstrous thing that the son should exceed the father in years; and therefore Cicero doth oftentimes inveigh earnestly against that adoption of Clodius. Now doth God adopt unto himself his elect; not for that he had not another son, for he had Christ his only begotten son, in whom he was well pleased; but because in all the nature of man he had as yet no children. For through Adam we were all made strangers from him; wherefore for this cause God sent his own natural and legitimate son into the world, that by him he might adopt unto himself many other children of our kind. And this is not wont commonly to be done: for they which have one only son, seek not to themselves other sons; nay rather, they are glad that the same their son shall not be compelled to part the inheritance with his brethren. But so great was the love of God and of Christ towards us, as he would join us unto so great a dignity, although we be unworthy. Neither is that heavenly inheritance of that nature, that the same being communicated unto many, is therefore diminished.

Now let us see how this adoption cometh unto us. Paul seemeth to say that it is communicated unto us by the spirit of Christ: for of it we have faith, whereby we embrace both Christ which died for us, and also the promises of God: and by that means we are adopted by God unto children. This thing did John very well show unto us, in the beginning of his Gospel, where he writeth; And as many as received

him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God. By these words we understand that we be made the sons of God, when we receive Christ. And this is not done either by circumcision, or by other ceremonies of the law, or by good moral works, but by faith only: and therefore John added; Unto those which have believed in his name. And when it is said that Power is given unto them to be made the sons of God, we must not think (as many Sophisters would have us) that we first believe, and then afterward receive power to be counted to be in the number of the sons of God: for power in that place is nothing else but a right and a prerogative. As if it should be said, that they which have received the Lord, and believed in his name, have a right and prerogative to come into the adoption of the sons of God. But John addeth; Which are borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. First, when he saith; Not of blood, he signifieth that this adoption cometh not by the order of nature, as in this generation are mixed together the seed of man and woman. Which sentence he more plainly expresseth in the next words following, when he saith; Not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man. And that by the flesh he meaneth the woman, may by two places be proved: for Adam said of his wife, which was delivered unto him by God; This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. And Paul unto the Ephesians saith; He which loveth his wife, loveth himself: no man at any time hath hated his own flesh. And this interpretation Augustine followeth, albeit I see that this place may otherwise be expounded; as when it is said, Not of blood, we understand that we come not to this adoption by force of any stock or kindred. For the Hebrews persuaded themselves that they did: for they always boasted importunately, that they were the seed of Abraham. Neither attain we to this adoption By the will of the flesh: for to the attainment thereof, we are not helped by those good things which the flesh useth to covet: I mean, by riches, power, strength of the body, beauty, and such other like things: Neither by the will of

man; namely, by those good things, which are counted more excellent, and that are thought most chiefly to become men; such are wisdom, prudence, and the works of moral virtues: for all these things cannot make us to be the children of God. But we are born (saith he) of God. All this have we only of the goodness of God, and of his mere mercy. Therefore Paul unto the Ephesians saith; Who hath predestinated us unto the adoption of the sons of God. Wherefore, the whole consideration of our adoption depends on his election and predestination.

39. But of His divine will, there can be no reason either understood or given by us: and thereof it cometh, that Christ saith in John; that We ought to be borne divinely, and from above. And Christ compareth this generation with the wind; Thou hearest (saith he) the wind, and yet thou knowest not from whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. Wherefore GOD, through Christ, giveth His spirit largely unto us: and He useth the word as an instrument; and this is called the seed, whereby we be regenerate. For He giveth faith, whereby we receive the promise of the word set forth unto us: and by that means, we are justified and do obtain the adoption of the sons of God, which yet so long as we live here cannot be perfect. Wherefore Paul saith; that We wait for the adoption of sons, and the redemption of the body: which we shall not attain unto unless it be in that blessed resurrection. The self-same things Paul writeth to the Galatians; When the fullness of time (saith he) came, God sent His own son made of a woman, and made under the law, to deliver those which be under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because we are sons, God sent the spirit of His son into our hearts, in whom we cry; Abba, Father. These words declare that there was, before the fullness of time, a certain bondage under the law: afterward was given the son, by whom we which are appointed and

prepared to be made the sons of God, might more fully receive both the spirit and adoption.

This adoption, Christ seemeth as it were by a certain sacrament to have confirmed in his genealogy: for when as in Luke and in Matthew, the names of his progenitors are varied, there is mingled adoption: so that one and the self-same man had one father by nature, and another by adoption. Also in the old testament adoption was much used: for both Jacob adopted unto him his nephews Ephraim and Manasseh, to be unto him instead of other sons. And that trade was of such force at that time, as even unto dead men children were adopted: for when one brother was dead, the brother that remained on live, begat children of his wife, and raised seed in Israel. These things, as it were a certain shadow, figured this our adoption unto the sons of God. The common translation hath; The adoption of the sons of God, whereas in the Greek this word, of God, is not read: for there is only this word <υιοθεσια>, that is, Adoption.

But it must be diligently considered, both from whence we are by this adoption brought, and whither we are transferred. We were before, the children of the devil, of wrath, of incredulity, of mistrust, of this world, of perdition, of night, and of darkness. And hereunto we are transferred, that both we are called, and are in very deed the sons of God, partakers of the divine nature, brethren of Christ, and children of light, and that we sin not, (For he who is born of God sinneth not) and that we love our neighbours, and our enemies, to the intent we should resemble our heavenly Father, who suffereth his sun to shine upon the good and evil, and raineth upon the just and unjust; and finally, that we be peace-makers: for they shall be called the sons of God. But our adoption is not such, as we should think that we are born of the substance of God: for that is proper unto Jesus Christ only; for the word of God is by nature born of the father, which thing

nevertheless the Arians denied. For seeing they affirmed the son of God to be a creature, they must needs say that he was not the son of God by nature but by adoption. Doubtless great is our dignity: for we are so highly exalted, that we not only are called, and be the sons of God; but also have Christ to be our brother. Wherefore Christ, when he was risen again, said unto the woman; Go ye and tell my brethren. And although the fathers of the old law were not quite void of this dignity, yet they had it not so publicly declared. But this was no let at all, that some of them were weak; for we also in the Gospel have many that be weak.

For Paul saith unto the Corinthians, that he could not speak unto them as unto spiritual; and therefore he was same to feed them with milk. The very which thing is written unto the Hebrews. And on the other side, they had men which were renowned in faith, whom we doubt not but were singular in this adoption. And that thus also it was in those days, the Apostle testifieth in the epistle to the Romans, the 9th chapter: for he saith; Unto whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the testament, and the giving of the law, and the worshipping, and the promises, and to whom pertain the fathers. Here we see, that adoption pertained unto them also. Ambrose upon this place teacheth, that of this adoption springeth unto godly men great security: and undoubtedly, for so much as this cometh unto us through the spirit, whereby we are inwardly moved, we ought to be far more certain, that we are the sons of God; than the sons of this world are certain that they are the sons of them, whom they call fathers. For oftentimes the mothers deceive both their husbands and their children: but the spirit of God deceiveth no man.

In old time, flatterers went about to persuade Alexander, that he was not the son of king Philip, but of Jupiter: afterward, when he saw there came blood out of a wound that was given him, he smiled,

saying, that it seemed to him to be common blood, and not the blood of gods. But we, though we suffer many things, yea and lose our life for Christ his sake; yet notwithstanding we ought to be fully persuaded, that we are the sons of God. For to the end we should not anything doubt of that matter, we have not only the witness of the spirit; but the very son of God hath taught us to call God, Father, and to invoke or call him by that name. And this form of prayer ought to call us back from all kind of wickedness, and from all kind of dishonest works; and also to put us in mind, not to degenerate from the nobility of so honourable a father, and that we in no case dishonour him: for it is accounted a great reproach unto fathers, to have wicked children. And seeing we cannot (as we have said) attain unto this adoption, but by Christ and his spirit; therefore neither Turks, Jews, nor men that be strangers from Christ, can call upon God as upon their father.

Furthermore, by these words (And if we be children, we be also heirs, even the heirs of God, and fellow-heirs of Christ) the Apostle shows what we obtain by this adoption; namely this, To be the heirs of God. The which undoubtedly can appear to be a benefit of no small estimation: for not all those that be the children of any man, be forthwith his heirs also. For only the first begotten have that pre-eminence; even as we see the case standeth at this day in many realms. And in the holy Scriptures it is manifest, that Esau and Ishmael were not heirs. Wherefore we be heirs, and that of no poor man, or of small matters: for we have obtained the inheritance of God, and we be made heirs together with Christ: we have the inheritance of the father common with Christ, and we be so wholly grafted into him, and altogether knit with him, that by his spirit we live. But we shall then come unto this inheritance, when it shall be said unto us; Come ye blessed of my father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. We be fellow heirs,

because (as John saith) when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him. And Paul saith unto the Colossians; Ye be dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God: and when as Christ your life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.

Inheritance (as it is defined by the Lawyers) is a succession into the whole right of the man that is dead. And may this appear to be but a small matter, to be made partakers of the whole right of God? Certainly Peter saith, that We be made partakers of the divine nature. Here Ambrose noted, that it is not in this matter, as we commonly see it come to pass in the world: for it behoveth that the testator die, before the successor can come to the inheritance. But God dieth not, nay rather we that be appointed to be his heirs do die first, before possession can be delivered unto us. Christ also first died, before he came unto the glory which was appointed for him. Moreover, as touching civil laws, the heir is counted one and the self-same person with him that maketh him heir. Even so we, through Christ, are strictly knit together with God, so as we are now one together with him, according as Christ prayed; That they may be one, as thou and I are one: for all things are ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's. This inheritance obtain we freely, by the spirit of Christ. Wherefore the bishops of Rome, and their champions the Cardinals, and false bishops, do wickedly, which have shut up this inheritance of remission of sins, and access unto the kingdom of God under their counterfeit keys; that they at their own pleasure might sell the same, and either thrust down to hell, or send up to heaven whom they list themselves.

The description of Christian Hope, in the 5th chapter to the Romans, verse 5.

42. As concerning hope, this is a notable chain, and an excellent connection of Christian degrees. Of this chain, the first link is fastened to the post of afflictions in this life; from thence the godly ascend to patience, from patience to experience, and from experience to hope: which hope, forsomuch as it maketh not ashamed, but without doubting attaineth unto God, which is our principal felicity, is fastened unto him, as unto the highest link of the chain. This very property of not confounding, belongeth also unto faith; for None that believe in him shall be confounded: and that for good cause; for what can be of more near a kin unto faith, than hope? The Latin interpreter turneth it; Non confundit, that is, Confoundeth not. Howbeit it might be properly turned; Non pudefacit; that is, Maketh not ashamed. And it is a figurative kind of speech: for Paul's mind was to signify, that the godly cannot be frustrated of their hope; for they which are frustrated; namely, when things fall out far otherwise than they hoped for, are commonly ashamed. Wherefore Paul by shame understandeth frustration; because shame always followeth it. But the Latin interpreter had respect to that perturbation of the mind, which followeth shame: for, To confound, is nothing else, but To perturb or trouble.

Now, if this sentence be true, as in deed it is most true, namely, that this Hope confoundeth not; it followeth, that the same dependeth not of our works: for otherwise, it would oftentimes fail. But that it is true & certain, Paul declareth, not by one word only, but by three, and those of great efficacy. For first he useth this word Knowing, which betokeneth an assured knowledge of a thing. He maketh mention also of Reioising, which cannot have place among godly and wise men, but in those things which they assuredly and firmly possess. Last of all he addeth, that Hope maketh not ashamed. And it is not without cause, that he oftentimes induceth persuasions of this certainty; because from thence chiefly is consolation to be sought for

in afflictions. When Christ did hang upon the cross, the wicked railed against him, saying; He hoped in God, let him save him, if he will have him; let him come down from the cross, &c. The self-same things are laid against us, not only by outward enemies; but also by our flesh, our outward senses, and by human wisdom. How can we resist these, but by this doctrine of the apostle; Hope confoundeth not? The hope which we have put in the Lord, will not make ashamed.

43. The Sophisters labour to prove that hope springs from merits; because Paul saith it springs from patience: as though we should think that hope were given to us by the merit of patience. But in the meantime, they mark not that those things which Paul here by a certain order disposes are not so compared one to the other, as causes and effects. For who will say that afflictions are the causes of patience? And if they are not so, why should they more affirm that patience is the cause of hope? The scripture most expressly teaches that he who puts confidence in man or in any creature is accursed: for a man, of whose promise we depend and assure ourselves, may either die, or alter his mind, or else be prevented from faithfully performing what he promised: and to have confidence [in him] either for merit's sake or by reason of good works is to place our hope in man; wherefore, such hope worthily makes ashamed. But the hope which is fixed upon God is certain; neither can it be deceived. The Sophisters craftily go about to avoid this sentence by two places of Paul; the one to the Romans, and the other to Timothy. The place to Timothy is thus; I know whom I have believed, and am certain. And the other to the Romans is thus; I am assured that neither death, nor life, nor angels, &c. By these places, they think to overthrow the proof which we have made, because they think that these words are to be understood not universally of all believers; but only of Paul and

such others who had it peculiarly revealed unto them that they should attain unto salvation.

But these their enterprises are in vain; for here is now treated of the nature and property of hope, whereby it is manifestly proved that all they who are endowed with it are sure of their salvation: so that they must needs confess that they who doubt of their salvation either have not the hope which belongs to a Christian; or else, if they have that hope, they must needs be assured of their salvation. But if a man will say; What if I shall be unworthy, and therefore God will not bestow upon me the chief reward? I answer, that this is a wrestling of the conscience and must be overcome by hope; for the attainment whereof let us cleave fast unto the word of God: such as this; God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above your power, but together with the temptation will make a way out: and such like places of the holy scripture, wherein God promises that he will give perseverance unto his, even unto the end. And to speak briefly, the hope of the godly leans only unto the goodness, power, and mercy of the only God. This thing Basil very well understood in his exposition upon the 33rd psalm when he interprets these words; Hoping in his mercy: He who does not (says he) put confidence in his own proper deeds, neither hopes to be justified by works, has his hope of salvation only in the mercy of God; for when he shall consider these things with himself, Behold God and his reward, &c.

44. But the School-men have taught far otherwise; for the Master of the sentences, in his third book, thus defines hope; Hope is an assured expectation of the blessedness to come, coming of the grace of God, and of merits going before. Which definition, how absurd it is, especially touching the latter part; it is manifest in those who are newly from most heinous and horrible sins converted to Christ: for they undoubtedly can have no good merits, seeing before they were

void of charity, from which all our works proceed. Yet can there be nothing more certain than that they, who be converted unto Christ, cannot be without hope. Yea, Augustine upon the psalm; From the depth have I called upon thee, ô Lord, exhorts them that fall, and those who live in the depth of evils, not to cast away hope; and that by the example of the thief, and of many others. It may now be demanded of them, by what merits hope is confirmed in these men? They commonly answer that merits do not always go before hope; but always go before the thing hoped for. And they declare their opinion concerning this matter in such a manner that they teach that merits go before hope, either indeed, or else doubtless in thought. For men newly converted, commonly while they conceive hope of salvation, determine both in their mind and in their cogitation, to do good works; whereby they think to merit the last reward. But what certain hope can these good works imagined in the mind produce which are not yet wrought? For of a cause, which yet is not, cannot be produced an effect which already is. We should rather affirm the contrary; namely, that this godly will springs of faith and of hope, than that faith or hope should proceed of it, as from the cause.

But it is a world to see how these men turn themselves when on the one side they say that hope is an assured expectation; and yet on the other side, they will have this to be a most firm doctrine, that no man can be assured of his salvation, unless it be specially revealed unto him by God. Here they perceive themselves to be fast tied; and they confess that it is a hard matter to understand what manner of certainty the certainty of hope is. Here these miserable men sweat, and go to work, and feign, and imagine many things. First, they teach that all certainty of hope comes of the certainty of faith; and this indeed is not amiss: for therefore we certainly hope, because by faith we embrace the most certain promise of God. But they go on further and say that by faith we generally and absolutely believe that all the

elect and predestinated shall be saved; but that hope makes us to have a confidence that we are of the number of the elect: as though hope had a particular knowledge under faith; that which was generally apprehended by faith is by hope applied unto everyone of us apart. Wherefore they affirm that this certainty of hope is by supposition; if we be of the number of the elect, and do persist even unto the end. And this kind of certainty they will have to consist of very likely conjectures. And at length they conclude that the certainty of hope is less than the certainty of faith.

45. But contrariwise, we make the certainty of either of them to be alike: for look how much faith we have, so much hope also we have; for faith retains not with itself any part of certainty which it delivers not over unto hope. That is a fond devise, which they bring touching application, in that by hope, they apply unto us those things which we have by faith, generally and absolutely believed. For we do not only believe that God is good, or the father and author of man's felicity; but also every godly man by faith assures himself that God both is, and will be unto him good, is and will be unto him a father, is and will be unto him the author of felicity. Hereof comes that certainty of hope. And for this cause, it is, that Paul writes, that it cannot confound. And seeing faith has a respect unto God, as to one who speaks the truth; and hope has respect unto him, as unto one who is faithful and most ready to perform his promises: and God himself is no less faithful in performing than true in promising; we may manifestly conclude that hope has as much certainty as has faith. Neither can that anything more help them, which they cavil at the length; namely, that hope has certainty as touching the object, but not as touching the subject: for when (say they) it has a respect unto the clemency, goodness, grace, and power of God, there is no let in those things, but that everyone may be saved: and therefore on that behalf they appoint a grounded certainty; but if a man considers

the subject, the mind I mean, and will of him that hopes; for as much as it is pliable and wavers, and may be changed, it can never be certain or sure of salvation.

But these men seem unto me to deal even as they do, which in a siege, defending their city, diligently shut and defend all other gates saving one, which they leave open; through which when the enemies enter in and destroy all things, they perceive that they lost all their labour. So these men take exceeding great pains, because there may seem to be no uncertainty, as touching the goodness, power, and clemency of God, or merit of Christ. Howbeit, in the meantime they appoint our will to be so subject unto changing, as it neither can nor ought to promise unto itself perseverance, no not out of the word of God; and by this means, they quite take away all certainty: so that this saying of Paul, hope confounds not, can have no place; neither does the certainty, which they go about to establish, anything profit. Verily if we peruse the holy scriptures, we shall not only understand that God is generally good and mighty; but also that he is evermore unto us good and merciful: and that therefore he will confirm our will, that it shall never fall away from him. For as we have a little before mentioned; he will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able to bear, but together with the temptation will make a way forth. And in the first chapter of the first to the Corinthians; he shall confirm you blameless even to the end, against the day of the Lord Jesus Christ: for God is faithful, by whom we are called. There are besides, a great many other testimonies in the holy scriptures, which promise unto us both perseverance and confirmation of our will by Christ. Wherefore we say, that this certainty of hope is a firm cleaving unto the promises offered unto us, and received by faith; because we know that we shall not give over, but continue even unto the last end.

46. And of so great force is this hope, that as Augustine writes unto Dardanus, and in many other places, it calls things that are to come, already done: as the same Augustine very well declares out of many places of Saint Paul, and especially unto the Romans, unto the Ephesians, & unto the Colossians. For unto the Ephesians we are said, to be already raised from the dead, and to be already set at the right hand of God, together with Christ in the heavenly places. Unto the Colossians; If ye have risen together with Christ, &c. And in another place; He hath saved us by the fountain of regeneration. And unto the Romans; By hope we are made safe. This certainty springs chiefly of a worthy estimation, which by faith we conceive, touching the constancy of God: the which no unworthiness of ours is able to cast down. Unto which unworthiness of ours, drawing us from this confidence, if we have respect, we must needs against hope believe in hope; and have a full confidence that we shall be saved by Christ, although the same unworthiness repugn never so much against it; setting before the view of our eyes our father Abraham, whose steps we ought by faith to cleave unto.

He, as touching the promise that he should have issue; weighed not his own age, or the age of his wife, which was past childbearing; but had a respect unto him only which made the promise, and considered his might: and therefore he determined most assuredly with himself, that that should come to pass which God had promised. Even so, although we be unworthy, and that our fowlnesse and sin is a let unto us; yet let us have no mistrust, but that by Christ we shall be made safe: unless we will suffer ourselves to be infected with infidelity, the which Abraham did most of all abhor: for he staggered not through unbelief, as the apostle saith. Wherefore this uncertainty of our adversaries, is utterly taken away from the minds of the godly: for, for this cause (as the apostle testifies) would God have us to be justified by faith, and not by works, that the promise should abide

certain and unshaken. And this is indeed to give the glory unto God, which thing Abraham did: for he, notwithstanding those wonderful great impediments, hoped undoubtedly, that the same, which God had promised, should come to pass.

Job also made so small account of these impediments, that he said; Although he kill me, yet will I hope in him: by which words he shows, that it is the property of the godly, that albeit they be very severely afflicted by God, and may appear to be hated of him, yet do not cast away their hope. Wherefore, let us imitate him, and if so be that our falling and unworthiness shall set themselves before our eyes; yet let us not distrust. Let us in the meantime detest our vices, and as much as lies in us, amend them; but yet through them let us by no means be cast down from the hope of salvation. For if, when the promises of God are offered, we should behold our own worthiness; we should rather be moved to desperation than to any hope: for there is no man, whose mind is not laden with many and grievous sins. Besides this, Paul teaches us, that peace towards God is had by Christ, and by the faith which is towards him: which peace undoubtedly should either be none at all, or else very troublesome, if we should continually doubt of his goodwill towards us. Do we not always in our prayers call upon him as our father? But no son, which follows natural affection, doubts of his father's goodwill towards him. How then do we call him father, whom we suspect to be our enemy?

47. There might be a great many of such other reasons brought for the certainty of hope. But now I will in few words declare, that the fathers also in their writings taught the self-same certainty. Chrysostom upon that place unto the Romans, thus writes; Doo not (saith he) yea though thou be of small worthiness, discourage thyself, seeing thou hast so great a defense; namely, the love or favour of the judge. And a little afterward he saith; For that cause the apostle

himself (when he saith; Hope confoundeth not) ascribes all the things, which we have received, not unto our good deeds, but unto the love of God. Ambrose also saith, that Forsomuch as it is impossible, that they which are deer unto him, should be deceived; he would make us assured of the promise: because both it is God which hath promised, and hath promised unto those, whom he will have deer unto him. Augustine in his sermon, which he made upon Monday in Rogation week; Why (saith he) doth your hand tremble, when ye knock? And why is your conscience so near asleep, when ye beg? I am the door of life; I abhor not him that knocketh, though he be unclean. And upon the 41. psalm he saith; Put not hope in thyself, but in thy God: for if thou do put hope in thine own self, thou shalt fill thy soul with trouble; for as yet it hath not found whereof to assure itself of thee. By these words he declares, that the security which we have, cometh not of ourselves, but of God.

The same father upon the 27. psalm, when he expounds these words of Paul, out of the second chapter to the Ephesians; We also by nature were the children of wrath, as others be: Why doth he say; We were? Bicause (saith he) by hope we now are not; for indeed, we still be: but we speak that which is better; namely, that which we in hope are; because we be certain of our hope: for our hope is not uncertain, that we should doubt of it. And Chrysostom upon the fifth chapter to the Romans saith; that We ought no less to be persuaded of those things, which we shall receive, than we are of those things, which we have already received. Cyprian also in his sermon De pestilentia, when he saw the godly sort fearful to die, confirmed them many ways to be assured of their salvation: and amongst all other things saith; that They do fear and abhor death, which are void either of faith, or hope. And Barnard wonderfully rejoices touching the death of Christ, touching his wounds and cross; upon that rock he saith that he doth stand, and will not fall for any violence done against him. He maketh

mention also of many excellent things, touching this firm and constant certainty. Wherefore, those good things, which we have avouched of the constancy and security of hope, do not only agree with the holy scriptures, and with most sure reasons; but also with the sentences of the fathers.

48. Now it shall be good to define hope, that the certainty thereof may the more plainly be known. Wherefore, Hope is a faculty or power, breathed into us by the Holy Ghost, whereby we, with an assured and patient mind, do wait that the salvation begun by Christ, & received of us by faith, may once be performed in us; not for our own merits sake, but through the mercy of God. First it is said to be instilled by the Holy Ghost, because it springeth not through nature, or continual actions. Indeed it is after faith, although not in respect of time, yet in nature; which thing may be learned out of the epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written; that Faith is the foundation of things to be hoped for. For, insomuch as things, which we hope for, are not evident & manifest, but are removed a great way from us; they ought to lean unto saith, by which as by a prop or pillar, they may be stayed up. And that hope doth contain expectation, or attending for, the epistle to the Romans the 8. chapter doth plainly declare; where Paul saith, that that Hope which is seen is no hope; for how doth a man hope for that which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not, we do by patience wait for it.

Neither must this be passed over, that that good thing, which hope hath a respect unto, is difficult and hard to come by. For naturally in living creatures, the affection of hope consisteth in the grosser part of the mind, which they call the angry part; whereby the living creature is encouraged to pursue after that good thing, which is set before it, although there seem something to let it: for by such an affection it is stirred up, to overcome whatsoever standeth in the way. The wolf

being hungry meeteth with a bull, and through the power of appetite desireth the same for a prey: but when he seeth the great difficulty that he must have, of joining and fighting with the bull, he is through the angry power of the mind stirred up by hope, and is bold to put himself into danger and fight; and so at the length having put away all lets, he obtaineth his prey. So hath God in the nobler part of our mind, placed hope, whereby is brought to pass, that when the chief felicity (which is a thing both difficult, and far from us) is set before us, we should not be feared away, but by faith have boldness and access unto God: as Paul saith in the 3. chapter to the Ephesians.

And forsomuch as this felicity is very far distant from the godly, it cannot be otherwise, but that in hoping they have some grief; & that they sorrow in themselves, because their present state is by God so far removed from felicity. But on the other side, when they are certain and assured, that they shall attain unto that end; they cannot choose but be endued with incredible joy. And so this power of hope is sprinkled with the affects of joy and sorrow. And the apostle hath signified unto us some part of the sorrow thereof, in that place to the Romans, which we have already cited, when he writeth; Every creature groaneth, and travaileth in pain together with us, even unto this present: and not only the creature; but we also, which have received the first fruits of the spirit; even we do sigh in ourselves, waiting for the adoption, even the redemption of our body. And that joy is joined with the self-same hope, he declareth in the 12. chapter of the same epistle; Rejoicing (saith he) in hope.

49. And although that valiant courage and patient enduring seem to bring to our minds an expectation, yet those virtues have not the same otherwise than from the hope which we have described. Neither is it to be marvelled at that one virtue should receive anything of another virtue: for they who are but meanly conversant

in the Ethics do know that liberality, temperance, & such other virtues, have much help at the hand of prudence: for by the help thereof, they have a mediocrity appointed them to follow. This is the difference that chiefly distinguisheth hope from faith; namely, that by faith we admit and embrace the promises offered unto us by God: but by the help of hope, we do patiently wait to have those promises at the length to be performed unto us. Neither was hope for any other cause given by God, but because we should not cease from following after that good thing, which we perceive cannot be obtained by our own deeds: for they are not by any means to be compared with it. For as the apostle saith; The tribulations of this time are not worthy of the glory to come, which shall be revealed in us. For they verily that be endued with hope, assure themselves, that whatsoever they do want in the strength of nature, and in works, shall be supplied by the mercy of God, and the obedience of Christ.

And if a man demand, whether a pure life and holy works can avail anything to the certainty of hope? We will easily grant that it may, so that we seclude the buying and selling of merits: for our works of themselves have nothing at all, whereby they can bring forth hope. Howbeit, the persuasion of faith may of them take an argument to confirm hope, and to reason in this sort; God hath now of his mere liberality given me grace to do this or that good work, to put away this or that vice out of my mind; wherefore he will yet give greater things, and will not deny me those things which are remaining to salvation. If the Sophisters had said thus, they might have been borne withal. Neither in very deed is it contrary unto the apostles meaning: for, as we shall a little afterward see, he would have us, by reason of those things which God hath already granted unto us, to be certainly persuaded of his perpetual love towards us. But these men have both written and taught, that hope itself dependeth of merits,

and so dependeth, as to hope without them, they say is presumption and rashness.

50. But it seems that somewhat may be objected out of the holy scriptures, to make against this sentence of Paul, wherein he saith; that Hope confoundeth not. For to Timothy it is written; In my first defence, no man was on my side; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion, and the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work. Here Paul hoped to escape the persecution of Nero, but he was deceived; for under him he was slain. The same apostle unto the Philippians, when he had said, that He was distressed on both sides, because on the one part he desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ: and for that, on the other part he saw it was necessary unto him for their sakes to remain in the flesh, he addeth this; And this I am sure of, that I shall abide, and with you all continue for your furtherance, and joy of your faith. Here also again it appeareth, that the apostle hoped, that he should be delivered from that captivity, the which nevertheless he did not escape. Wherefore it might seem that the same hope confounded him. To answer to these things, we will repeat that which we said before; namely, that hope receiveth his certainty of faith, and faith hath his certainty of the word of God. Wherefore it followeth that either of them is as certain as are the promises which be offered. And God hath absolutely and without condition promised unto us remission of sins, and eternal life; and hath commanded that we should without all doubting both believe and hope for them: wherefore in these things, neither faith nor hope can deceive us.

But touching the dangers and adversities of this life, we have no plain and absolute promise; but, as they term it, under disjunction: for God hath promised that he will either deliver us, or else comfort us in the dangers; so that we shall not fall away, but constantly confess his

name: or if we chance to fall, he hath promised to restore us again, that we may attain to everlasting life. Wherefore it is not meet that the certainty of hope should be fixed in one of these parts only: which thing if any good men at any time do, the same springeth of earthly affection, and not of Christian hope; and therefore it is no marvel if they be sometimes deceived. But to return unto Paul, he of a certain great love hoped to abide longer among the Philippians, and to edify them; of the which thing seeing he was not instructed by the word of God, it came easily to pass that he was deceived. But the sum of that godliness, which belongeth to the Gospel, is to determine certainly; that God doth love us, and that he will at the length make us blessed. And if sometime the minds of godly men be disturbed, as though they doubted of the promises of God, or of their salvation; this happeneth not through the default either of faith or of hope; but by reason that while we live here, we be not endued with perfection: wherefore this doubting proceedeth from the flesh, and from our human wisdom.

Indeed we agree with our adversaries in this point, that sometimes certain doubts of salvation do arise even among the godly. But herein we disagree from them; namely, that they attribute this unto hope: but we say, that it cometh only of man's infirmity, and that it must be daily corrected. Let a man therefore think that he hath so much profited in faith and hope, as he feeleth himself more constant and firm. And in what sort these evils spring not of faith or of hope, but of our own corruption; we have before declared by an apt similitude, and will now repeat the same again. No man can deny; but that the mathematical sciences are most certain; wherefore he who hath learned them exactly, pronounceth boldly, & nothing doubteth of their conclusions: but he that is but meanly instructed in this faculty, oftentimes doubteth, and standeth in a perplexity; because he hath not as yet attained perfectly unto those sciences. Even so are we tost

with doubts, not through faith or hope; but because we do not hope nor believe so much as is needful.

51. But some man will say that we are perhaps deceived hereby; for that instead of the true faith or hope, we have only the shadows of them: for we cannot easily discern the true faith and hope from the feigned and counterfeit faith and hope. I answer, that by this instance cannot be taken away the properties of faith or of hope: for although one or two cannot discern them, yet they remain still firm in their own nature. As we see it is in liberality and prodigality: for there be many that cannot distinguish the one from the other, and yet are not therefore their properties and conditions taken away. Paul entreats of the nature and property of hope. But if thou wilt afterward, demand, how these faculties or powers are discerned from the counterfeit? We answer, that they are declared by the force and power of the Holy Ghost; which spirit hath in all spiritual things no other light more clear than itself, whereby it should be illuminated. Which thing also we see to be true in the sun: for the sun is not declared to be the sun, but by his own light. Wherefore Paul unto the Romans very aptly said; It is the spirit that beareth record with our spirit, that we be the children of God. But besides this light of the Holy Ghost, is required also an examination of ourselves: wherefore Paul thus speaketh in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; Try yourselves, whether ye be in faith.

In which trial hope must be distinguished: for there is one hope that hath always repentance, and a desire of amendment of life joined with it; of which kind of hope the apostle speaketh when he saith that It confoundeth not: for it hath always these companions joined with it; namely, faith and charity. Wherefore, when we teach a certainty thereof, we open not a window unto vices, as our adversaries slander us; neither do we stir up men to loose life: for this true hope moveth

us not to these things, but rather driveth us to live according to that hope. There is another hope, which we may rather call a security of the flesh, whereof Augustine thus rightly speaketh; Such as cleave unto it, by hoping perish. And these be they, which say; God is good, and loveth us; Christ died for our salvation; Howsoever we lead our life, we shall obtain salvation. Of this hope we must diligently beware; for it is far distant from repentance, and from a desire to live well: and being of that nature, it utterly driveth away from it both faith and charity; this hope miserably deceiveth men: wherefore of this, Paul doth not here speak.

52. Now remaineth to see whether the blessed spirits or souls may in heaven have this true hope, wherewith the godly are now adorned. For on the one side we know, that they wait for the resurrection of bodies, and the last judgment, which shall unto them be very welcome: wherefore in that behalf they seem not to be utterly void of hope. But on the other side, the apostle unto the Corinthians doth describe faith, hope, and charity: but of these three he saith, that only charity falleth not away. By which words he manifestly teacheth that true hope can have no place, when we be in heaven. And that which we have spoken of the godly, may also be called into question touching Christ: for he also seemeth to have hoped, that he should rise again, and that he should carry up his human nature into heaven. Unto these things we answer, that it ought not to be doubted, but that both Christ hoped, and also the souls of the blessed do yet after a sort hope. But we deny that it is such a hope as ours is, which we have in this life; because (as we have before declared out of the words of the apostle) our hope hath (as companions) sighing and sorrowing joined therewith: which things doubtless in the eternal felicity, which the blessed do enjoy in heaven, can have no place. Further, our hope cleaveth fast unto faith, the which breedeth an imperfect and an obscure knowledge: for as Paul saith unto the

Corinthians; We see now by a glass, in a riddle, and we know but in part: but the saints in heaven know most perfectly and most clearly. Moreover, forso much as faith hath chiefly a respect unto the last and chief good thing; there ought no such hope as ours is to be ascribed to the blessed, which now hold and possess that good thing. For true and proper hope can have no place in the eternal felicity; it is only given us as an anchor, so long as we abide here: for so the epistle, which is written unto the Hebrews calleth it. For while we be tossed with the waves and tempests of this world (unless our mind be confirmed and established by the anchor of hope) our ship will soon dash against the sands and rocks.

53. Chrysostom calls it a golden chain let down from heaven, which chain if we take hold of, we shall be drawn up into heaven. Wherefore, we must diligently provide that this hope be daily more and more confirmed in us; which thing will then chiefly come to pass if we weigh the singular benefits of God; which benefits, inasmuch as they are manifestly contained in the holy scriptures, our hope by the reading of them shall greatly be confirmed. And this Paul has most plainly taught in the epistle to the Romans when he said; Whatever things are written, are written for our learning, that through patience and consolation of the scriptures we should have hope. The very thing which David also says; They who know thy name, put their trust in thee. Wherefore, seeing the nature and name of God are nowhere better known than in the holy scriptures; it follows that by them we ought to confirm our hope. And if we will diligently observe this, our mind shall not be discouraged when God (as oftentimes his manner is) suffers our doings to come even to shame. And the same we see happened even to Christ our Saviour; for he was so utterly forsaken of God, that he was nailed unto the cross, and died a most ignominious death, between two thieves. David also was brought to that point, that he not only being expelled from the kingdom of

Israel, was fain to wander in desolate places; but also was now in a manner shut up in the power of Saul. The self-same thing we see has oftentimes happened unto other of the godly sort, so as they were in a manner judged to be quite wrong, and to have fallen from their hope.

But the spirit of Christ gives strength, that men are able in the midst of their calamities to rejoice, and say; These things should have no power over us, if they were not appointed from above. Which sentence Christ laid against Pilate when he boasted of his power. The 42nd psalm also has excellently well taught us how we ought to comfort ourselves, and with a good hope to erect our minds: for thus it is written; Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? Why art thou so discouraged? Hope in God; for I will yet make my confession unto him: my safety is in his countenance. Neither does God commonly for any other cause disappoint his people of the outward aids and helps of this world, but to gather their scattered hope, and not to suffer it to lean unto too many aids: and these sundry and manifold aids he changes for one principal aid, and the same most firm; to the end we should depend upon him. By this difference of a firm hope, the Christians differ much from the Epicureans and Ethnics: for the Ethnics, if there comes any great calamity to them, straightway they exclaim and cry out; If there be a God that hath a care of these things; if there be a God that seeth these things. So they call not upon God, but being in despair, utterly discourage themselves. But contrariwise, godly men most constantly cry unto God; neither doubt they, but that their prayers reach up even unto heaven; and that God hath a care both over them, and also over all that they have.

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