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**The Great  
Churchmen  
Series**

**EDITED BY  
VERNON STALEY**

**RICHARD  
HOOKER**









RICHARD HOOKER.

*Picture from National Portrait Gallery, by permission of Macmillan & Co.*

[*Frontispiece.*

# RICHARD HOOKER

By VERNON STALEY  
" "  
PROVOST OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH  
OF ST. ANDREW, INVERNESS

WITH  OF  
 ILLUSTRATIONS 

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

IT has been recently said by one accustomed to weigh his words, "I do not think it can be doubted that in the early years of Queen Elizabeth a large part, numerically the larger part, of the clergy and laity who made up the Church of England was really Catholic at heart, though the Reformers made up for deficiency of numbers by energy and force of conviction." And again, "When Elizabeth came to the throne, the nation was divided between a majority of more or less lukewarm Catholics no longer to be called Roman, and a minority of ardent Protestants, who were rapidly gaining—though they had not quite gained—the upper hand. The Protestantism generally was of a type current in South West Germany and Switzerland, but the influence of Calvin was increasing every day."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sanday here uses the term "Catholics," in the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sanday, *Minutes of Evidence taken before The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, 1906. Vol. III. p. 20, §§ 16350, 16356.

sense of those who were attached to the old faith and worship minus certain exaggerations, but who disliked the Roman interference in England.

Speaking of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Bishop Forbes of Brechin similarly said—"When the Queen succeeded, in the case of the rank and file of the Church, the old spirit remained. Suppressed and crushed, it formed the vivifying influence when the Catholic opinions began to re-assert themselves. The Lower House of Convocation, we know at the beginning of her reign, spoke out in the ancient voice; and though much was done to destroy that spirit, yet there is no doubt that it continued to exist, gradually, during Elizabeth's reign, overcome by the growing Puritanism, but destined to rise from its ashes in the time of her successor, when, after giving birth to the belief of such men as Andrewes, Montague, and Donne, it developed into the great school of the Caroline divines . . . . The great mass of England was implicitly Catholic, even in the case of those who had submitted to the new-made changes . . . . I believe that Shakespeare—making some allowance, of course, for the costume of the characters he portrayed—exhibited what was the current religion among the mass of the people in Elizabeth's time, a faith in which the

great features of the old religion remained, modified and stripped of excesses and superstitions, but still in tone and temper Catholic in the main." <sup>1</sup>

Early in Elizabeth's reign the appeal of the English Church to Holy Scripture and to antiquity, as concurrent and mutually corrective sources of Catholic truth, was authoritatively made. In the first year of the reign, and again in the following year, Bishop Jewel, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, took for the standard of doctrine and practice "either some Scripture, or some old doctor, or some ancient general council, or else some allowed example of the primitive Church." <sup>2</sup> In April 1571, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury put forth a code of canons, in which it was directed that "chiefly preachers shall take heed, that they teach nothing in their preaching, which they would have the people religiously to observe and believe, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament, and the New, and that which the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that doctrine." <sup>3</sup> Early in the next reign, in

<sup>1</sup> A. P. Forbes, *Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, 3rd ed., 1878, Epistle Dedicatory to Dr. Pusey, pp. xi, xv, xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, Parker Soc., 1845. Vol. I. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *The Canons of 1571, sub "Preachers."* Church Hist. Soc., S.P.C.K. 1899.

the year 1609, Archbishop Bancroft published an edition of Jewel's *Works*, to be placed in the churches, in the preface to which he stated—"This is and hath been the open profession of the Church of England, to defend and maintain no other Church, Faith, and Religion, than that which is truly Catholic and Apostolic, and for such warranted, not only by the written word of God, but also by the testimony and consent of the ancient and godly fathers."<sup>1</sup> In the year 1622, Bishop Sparrow, in his *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, after quoting the canon of 1571, added—"These Golden Canons, had they been duly observed, would have been a great preservative of Truth and the Churches peace."<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Laud, in his Conference with Fisher,<sup>3</sup> described that man as "mistaken, who will presume upon his own strength, and go single without the Church," in his interpretation of Scripture: and went on to urge men "to believe the Scripture and the Creeds in the sense of the ancient primitive Church, to receive the four great General Councils so magnified by antiquity."<sup>4</sup>

Whilst this great appeal to Holy Scripture and Catholic Tradition, which represents a

<sup>1</sup> Cited in *The Canons of 1571*, p. 77, note.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1668, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> xvi. 33.

<sup>4</sup> xxxviii. 1.

fundamental principle of the English Church and which alone justifies the Reformation in England—whilst this appeal was persistently made in the English Church, it was either not made at all, or if made gradually dropped by the foreign reformers. In fact, it came to be strenuously repudiated by the Puritan party, and in place thereof a rigid reference to the letter of the Bible only, as variously interpreted by the individual conscience, was substituted, to the utter confusion of the religious world. Thus individualism came into conflict with authority, becoming the fruitful parent of endless heresies and schisms lasting on to our own times, the disgrace of modern Christianity, the fatal obstacle to the conversion of the world to the dominion of Jesus Christ.

The destruction of the Spanish Armada in the year 1588, which followed ten years after the publication of Pius the Fifth's bull, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, finally settled that the Christianity of the English nation was to be no longer Roman: but the question as to what form it should take, remained to be solved—Was its characteristic to be Catholic, or was it to be Protestant? or, on the other hand, was English Christianity to be henceforth a compromise, combining, if it might so be, the Catholic and the Protestant



elements in its comprehensive embrace? The answer to these questions must be sought in history; and no little light is to be found in the biographies and writings of the eminent churchmen of the latter half of the sixteenth, and of the following century, which it is the aim of this Series to present to the reader.

From a study of history, one fact at least prominently emerges—the indisputable fact that the Catholic party, as distinguished from the Roman party, has ever held a thoroughly tenable and recognized position in the English Church in post-Reformation times; a position from which no power has been able to dislodge it. To ignore this fact is to deal dishonestly with our authoritative records. It is the failure to recognize this fact, which has led to much of the lamentable confusion and controversy of recent years. It is quite inadequate to say, that the Catholic party in the English Church may perhaps be tolerated, and permitted to remain on sufferance, within the Anglican fold. The facts of the case are quite the other way. If, in our own day, the question of toleration be raised, judged by the standard of the Book of Common Prayer, it is the Protestant element, and not the Catholic, which has to sue for inclusion as an abnormal intruder, and which has to seek naturalisation. If the

Church of England tolerates a certain amount of Protestantism, as undoubtedly in practice she does, she is nevertheless fundamentally and authoritatively Catholic in ideal and in theory, as the Book of Common Prayer abundantly testifies. A familiar illustration may suffice to describe the ecclesiastical situation under discussion. It is well known that the cuckoo deposits its eggs in the nests of other birds' building, and along with their eggs. When the rival broods are hatched, it becomes an acute question whether the intruder or the lawful possessors shall be ejected from the nest ; or whether or not a compromise can be effected, and both live in harmony for a season in joint occupation. And in the case of the Church, it is not without significance that the efforts in the direction of exclusion have been, particularly in more modern times, on the part of the Protestant intruder within the sphere of the Catholic heritage, and not on the part of the ancient and lawful possessors.

In Elizabeth's reign the combination of the two types, referred to above, was the task which the reformed Church set itself to accomplish. There then existed a large amount of simple Catholicism in contact with a certain amount of violent and extreme Protestantism. How to amalgamate the two, and conciliate

the Puritans, without compromising essentials of the Church's life and character, this was the perplexing problem to be solved. For a time the attempt appeared to succeed, but only for a time. Anyway it produced what Dr. Sanday has described as "a new type, the type which most of us associate with the Church of England, from Hooker and Andrewes onwards. And this type, whatever its faults, has also had great excellencies and great attractions."<sup>1</sup>

It is hoped that this Series of Lives of Great Churchmen, of which the *Life of Richard Hooker* (the greatest theologian of the Elizabethan age, one of the finest and noblest writers of English prose, "the one great divine, in whose writings we trace—drawn out in explicit perfection, and defended with a massive strength of thought and learning—the principles implied in the Elizabethan settlement.")<sup>2</sup> fittingly forms the first volume, may do something to exhibit these "great excellencies and great attractions" of the Anglo-Catholic type of churchmanship. The present volume is to be followed by Lives of Archbishop Laud, Bishop Andrewes, Bishop

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of Evidence taken before The Royal Commission . . . .* 1906. Vol. III. p. 23, § 16378.

<sup>2</sup> *Masters in English Theology*, Lond. 1877. Bp. Barry's Lecture on "Richard Hooker," p. 3.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

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Cosin and others, who did so much in their day and generation to uphold and maintain unimpaired the Catholic and Apostolic character of the English Church.

VERNON STALEY.

*Inverness,*  
*September 26th, 1906.*



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Voice of the wise of old !  
Go breathe thy thrilling whispers now  
In cells where learnèd eyes late vigils hold,  
And teach proud Science where to veil her brow.

Voice of the meekest man !  
Now while the Church for combat arms,  
Calmly do thou confirm her awful ban,  
Thy words to her be conquering, soothing charms.

Voice of the fearless saint !  
Ring like a trump, where gentle hearts  
Beat high for truth, but, doubting, cower and faint :—  
Tell them, the hour is come, and they must take their parts.

*John Keble, Miscellaneous Poems*  
(of Richard Hooker).

# LIFE OF RICHARD HOOKER

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION—BIOGRAPHERS—EDITORS

IN the roll of the many distinguished sons who own the Anglican Church as their spiritual mother, and who are her special glory, the name of Richard Hooker holds a place of singular honour. In the line of English theologians, who mingled in the strife and confusion of the sixteenth century, there are not a few names of splendid lustre, the salt of the earth in their day and generation; but a living writer of eminence has recorded his verdict—"I doubt whether we can owe to any among them much more than to those two who stand close together near the beginning of the series, Hooker and Andrewes."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Paget, Bishop of Oxford, *The Spirit of Discipline*, Lond. 1891. 2nd ed., p. 322.

John Keble, who made a careful and prolonged study of Hooker's character and works, does not hesitate to affirm that "the name of Richard Hooker is probably more universally known and venerated throughout the Church of England, than that of any one besides among her worthies;" and to speak of him as "one so wise, holy, and venerable."<sup>1</sup> This estimate is confirmed by Dr. Paget, who says, "The rare power of Richard Hooker's mind and the enduring value of his work have caused his name to be, perhaps, more widely known than that of any other English theologian."<sup>2</sup> As we are told by Isaac Walton in his exquisitely written biography of Hooker, King James I., a ripe scholar and a well-read theologian, "did never mention Mr. Hooker, but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable*."<sup>3</sup> And Walton adds, "Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son,<sup>4</sup> our now gracious

<sup>1</sup> *Of Divine Service, the Sacraments, etc., by Richard Hooker, being selections from the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity*, Oxford 1845. 2nd ed., Preface, p. iii. *On Eucharistical Adoration*, Oxford 1867. 3rd ed., p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Oxford 1899, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Walton's *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*, in *Hooker's Works*, 7th ed., Oxford 1888. Vol. I. p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Rather his daughter, the Lady Elizabeth. See *Ibid.* p. 73, footnote 1.

King (Charles II.), to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books."<sup>1</sup> The royal verdict has been confirmed by posterity, and it is not likely to be reversed.

Though chiefly famous as an ecclesiastical writer, possessing a grandeur and a stateliness of style which has raised him to the highest rank amongst writers of English prose, and one who has left an indelible impress upon Anglican theology, there are to be recognized in Hooker's character and life the marks of the saint. His chief personal characteristic, according to his friends, was his genuine humility, or, to use Thomas Fuller's phrase, 'his dove-like simplicity.' Isaac Walton describes him when living at Bishopsborne as "an obscure, harmless man; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul:" and again, he speaks of Hooker's remarkable "meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Spencer, Hooker's 'dear friend,' in his preface to the first five Books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, refers to "the lowly mind of this true humble man, great in all wise men's eyes, except his own, . . . whose eyes in the humility of his heart were always cast down to the

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life*, in *Hooker's Works*, Vol. I. pp. 72, 73

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 77, 86.

ground.”<sup>1</sup> Bishop Andrewes declared of Hooker, that “his workes and his worth be such as behind him he hath not (that I knowe) left anie neere him.”<sup>2</sup> Collier, the historian, speaks of Richard Hooker as “a person of great learning and judgment, a man of a gentle unpretending temper,” and adds, “the regularity of his life, the benevolence of his temper, his unaffected modesty, his being free from the least tincture of pride, was no less commendable than the strength of his genius.”<sup>3</sup> Dr. Paget, who, as we shall see later, is singularly competent to judge of Hooker’s personal character, places side by side with “his massive thought and knowledge,” “the power of his patience and holiness:”<sup>4</sup> whilst, in another place, the same writer calls attention to two traits of Hooker’s character which stand out with brightness—his “persevering diligence in his own proper work, and his pure unworldliness,” and goes on to add, “but even more impressive than his splendid dutifulness is the simplicity with which he keeps himself unspotted alike from the conflicts and from the honours of the world.”<sup>5</sup> Of Hooker’s

<sup>1</sup> *Hooker’s Works*, Vol. I. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, Lond. 1714. Vol. II. Bk. vii. pp. 633, 663.

<sup>4</sup> *The Spirit of Discipline*, p. 311.

<sup>5</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, pp. 6, 7.

'reverent chivalry' towards the truths for which he contended so splendidly in his great disputation with Travers and Cartwright, we shall hear later in this volume.

Under the hand of Richard Hooker, Anglican theology underwent a gradual but decisive change, shaking off the trammels of Calvinism with which it had become entangled in its passage from the time of the Reformation in the middle of the sixteenth century. The influence of Hooker's writings was immediate and widely spread, and what was of far greater moment in the history of the English Church, he had a large share in training up for the benefit of the next generation such great men as William Laud, Henry Hammond, and Robert Sanderson,<sup>1</sup> "and," as Mr. Keble says, "a multitude more such divines: to which succession and series, humanly speaking, we owe it, that the Anglican Church continues at such a distance from that of Geneva, and so near to primitive truth and apostolical order."<sup>2</sup> Any one to whom such appreciation can be given by so conscientious a student and writer as the author of *The Christian Year*, must indeed be for ever famous throughout the length and breadth of the Anglican communion.

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury, Chaplain to K. Charles I., and Bishop of Lincoln, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Hooker's Works*, Editor's Preface, § 57.



We have, in fact, in Richard Hooker a conspicuous example of the extraordinary and lasting influence for good which one man may exert on future generations. Few indeed are the clergy of the present day of whose preparation for Holy Orders the study of some portion of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker has not formed a prominent part; and, as a consequence, whose teaching of others is more or less, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by what they have assimilated from their study of that English classic. Of the writings of Hooker, their inception, style, contents, opportunity, and influence, we shall read later in this volume; and before so doing it will be well to consider what little is to be learnt of his personal history. To this task we will now address ourselves.

The two chief early biographers of Richard Hooker are Bishop Gauden, and the celebrated Isaac Walton. John Gauden (1605–1662), an ambitious and self-seeking person, successively bishop of Exeter and Worcester, who claimed the authorship of *Eikon Basilike, the Poytraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, generally attributed

by royalist writers to King Charles I. himself,<sup>1</sup> wrote in the last year of his life *The Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*, which was prefixed to his edition of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, and dedicated to King Charles II. This Life was written very hurriedly, and it contained many serious inaccuracies.<sup>2</sup> It will therefore be unnecessary to allude to it further, since it passed out of notice on the appearance of Isaac Walton's *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*. Before leaving Bishop Gauden, it is not without interest to observe that in the year 1681 was published *The Whole Duty of a Communicant, being Rules and Directions for a Worthy Receiving the Most Holy Sacrament of The Lord's Supper*, to which his name was attached. This little book appeared with the *imprimatur* of Henry Maurice, domestic chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, dated May 31, 1686,<sup>3</sup> and reached a seventh edition in the year 1698. In the course of the instructions given therein, belief in the Sacramental

<sup>1</sup> Gauden's claim was apparently admitted at the Restoration of K. Charles II. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, sub "Gauden"; also J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, Lond. 1903, Vol. III. p. 1207 . . . "the *Eikon Basilike*, a work really due to the ingenuity of Dr. Gauden."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Paget speaks of "Gauden's pretentious and slovenly volume."—*Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise* . . . , p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> "*Imprimatur*, Hen. Maurice, *Reverendissimo in Chr. Pat. et Dom. Domino Gulielmo Archiep. Cant. e Sacris Domesticis*. May the 31st, 1686."

Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist is asserted:—"We deny not a true and real presence and perception of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, which in reality even they of the other gross opinion do not imagine is to sense, but to faith; which perceives its objects as really according to faith's perception, as the senses do theirs after their manner. I believe therefore, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there are both objects presented to and received by a worthy receiver. First, the *Bread and Wine* in their own nature and substances distinct, do remain as well as their accidents, which are the true objects of our sense. . . . Also there are spiritual, invisible, and credible, yet most true and really present, objects of faith—the *Body and Blood of Christ*, that is Christ Jesus himself. . . ." On the priest drawing nigh to administer the Sacrament, the communicant is directed to say:—"I adore thee, O most righteous Redeemer, that thou art pleased to convey unto my soul thy precious Body and Blood, with all the benefits of thy Death and Passion; I am not worthy, O Lord, to receive thee, but let thy Holy and Blessed Spirit, with all his purities, prepare for thee a lodging in my soul, where thou mayest unite me to thyself for ever, Amen."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 7th ed., 1698, pp. 20, 136.

It is of interest to observe that Gauden was a successor of Hooker as Master of the Temple in the year 1659. He was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, but for his advocacy of episcopacy was 'shuffled out,' when that august assembly substituted a policy of extirpating both episcopacy and monarchy for that of merely reforming both.

Isaac Walton (1593-1683), 'Honest Izaak' as he has been called,<sup>1</sup> chiefly famous as the author of *The Compleat Angler*,<sup>2</sup> at various times became the biographer of a group of eminent Churchmen,—Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, George Herbert, and Bishop

<sup>1</sup> So addressed by Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, 1641-1669. He was the friend of Isaac Walton, Jonson, and Donne.

<sup>2</sup> "While Isaac Walton continued in London, his favourite recreation was angling, in which he was the greatest proficient of his time; and, indeed, so great were his skill and experience in that art, that there is scarcely any writer on the subject since his time who has not made the rules and practice of Walton his very foundation. It is, therefore, with the greatest propriety that Langbaine calls him, 'the common father of all anglers.' . . . The precepts of angling, that is, the rules and directions for taking fish with a hook and line, till Walton's time, having hardly ever been reduced to writing, were propagated from age to age chiefly by tradition; but Walton, whose benevolent and communicative temper appears in almost every line of his writings, unwilling to conceal from the world those assistances which his long practice and experience enabled him, perhaps the best of any man of his time, to give, in 1653 published in a very elegant manner his *Complete Angler, or Contemplative Man's Recreation*, in small 12mo. adorned with exquisite cuts of most of the fish mentioned in it."—Chalmers' *General Biographical Dict.*, Lond. 1817. Vol. XXXI. pp. 85, 86.

Sanderson.<sup>1</sup> In 1665, Isaac Walton was enjoined by Archbishop Sheldon to “examine some circumstances, and then to rectify the bishop’s (Gauden’s) mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books, than that bishop had done :” and he adds, “and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but, when he had twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands.”<sup>2</sup> Walton’s *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker* has come to be regarded as almost a classic, and has attained by custom to a right to appear in all collections of Hooker’s Works—a right which no one would wish to contest. First published in the year 1665, so great was its popularity and the interest created in its subject, that in ten years it reached a fourth

<sup>1</sup> A splendid edition of these biographies, including that of Richard Hooker, was published in folio, A.D. 1904, by The Chiswick Press, with fine portraits of the eminent ecclesiastics of whom Isaac Walton wrote.

<sup>2</sup> Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Isaac Walton’s *Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, and Herbert*, A.D. 1675. Dr. Sanday has recently referred to these *Lives* as “expressive of what is really characteristic of the Church of England, and the special Church of England type.”—*Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, 1906. Vol. III. fol. 23, § 16378.

edition. It is not without significance that these years followed immediately on the restoration of the Church after the Great Rebellion.

Isaac Walton was a most engaging biographer, possessing not only a rare, quaint, delicate skill, but also that indescribable fascination which leads writers, unconsciously, no doubt, to impart or communicate more or less of their own tone to the characters and lives they attempt to portray. So to speak, he judged his subjects to possess his own characteristics. As Walton was but seven years of age when Hooker died, he could not have been personally acquainted with him. And this, in Mr. Keble's judgment, led him to underrate the moral greatness and transparent goodness of Richard Hooker. Had he enjoyed the privilege of personal knowledge, "he might," to quote Mr. Keble, "perhaps have seen reason to add to his commendation of him for meekness and patience, that those qualities were by no means constitutional in him. Like Moses, to whom Walton compares him, he was by nature extremely sensitive, quick in feeling any sort of unfairness, and thoroughly aware of his own power to chastise it: so that his forbearance (which those only can judge of, who have

acquainted themselves with the writings of his opponents) must have been the result of strong principle, and unwearied self-control. Again, Walton or his informants appear to have considered him as almost childishly ignorant of human nature and of the ordinary business of life: whereas his writings throughout betray uncommon shrewdness and quickness of observation, and a vein of the keenest humour runs through them; the last quality we should look for, if we judged only by reading the *Life*. In these respects it may seem probable that if the biographer had been personally acquainted with his subject, the picture would have been somewhat modified: in no others is there any reason, either from his writings or from contemporary evidence, to doubt the accuracy of his report.”<sup>1</sup> Mr. Keble, again, speaks favourably of Walton’s “veracity, industry, and judgment.”<sup>2</sup> This being so, and taking into consideration Isaac Walton’s exquisite skill and beautiful style as a biographer, it would be mere affectation on the part of any writer, attempting to give the outlines of the life of Richard Hooker, not to avail himself of Isaac Walton’s work. In fact there is no alternative but to consult and quote Walton freely as occasion requires: and this the present writer

<sup>1</sup> *Hooker's Works*, Vol. I. Editor's Preface, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

has done in the following brief account of Richard Hooker's life, preparatory to an appreciation of his influence and some description of his writings.

Isaac Walton was in early life intimately acquainted with George Cranmer—grand-nephew of Archbishop Cranmer, and Richard Hooker's pupil and friend, from whom he derived much of the information recorded in his *Life of Hooker*. He also consulted Archbishop Ussher, Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham, and John Hales of Eton, who, it is said, "loved the very name of Mr. Hooker."<sup>1</sup> Isaac Walton's *Life of Hooker* was dedicated to his friend George Morley, an ecclesiastic distinguished by his unshaken loyalty and devotion to King Charles I., and who, at the Restoration, was first made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and later Bishop of Winchester. Though nominated as one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, 'he never did them the honour, nor himself the injury, to sit among them.' Bishop Morley was a member of the Savoy Conference of 1661, which gave the final form to our present Book of Common Prayer. Walton wrote his *Life of Hooker* under

<sup>1</sup> Vide Mr. Sidney Lee's article on Richard Hooker, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXVII. p. 295.



Bishop Morley's roof, as he states in his dedication.

Little has been discovered concerning Hooker's life since Walton wrote his famous biography. Dr. Fowler, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in his History of that college,<sup>1</sup> gives a few facts which were either inaccessible to Walton, or omitted or imperfectly described by him: to these reference will be made later.

Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* has, as was to be expected, been reprinted many times, and has had many editors. A descriptive list of these is given by Dr. Paget in Appendix V. of his invaluable *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise*, published by the Clarendon Press in the year 1899, a work which no student of Hooker can afford to neglect. Of Hooker's editors we will content ourselves with referring to the more prominent in later times.

Of the labours of John Keble, covering a period of six years,<sup>2</sup> in editing the Life and Works of Richard Hooker, it is as difficult to speak without presumption, as it is to express

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon Press, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir John Coleridge's *Memoir of John Keble*.

adequately appreciation of his elaborate and scholarly Preface to his edition of Hooker's Works.<sup>1</sup> That this task should have fallen to the lot of Mr. Keble is an event singularly appropriate and happy, for reasons not a few. The saintly author of *The Christian Year*, and the author of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, were alike scholars of the same college, Corpus Christi College, Oxford; entering alike at fifteen years of age. They share in common the honour of having given to the English Church rare literary treasures of quite extraordinary importance and usefulness. It is not too much to say that *The Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker, and *The Christian Year* of John Keble, are books which have influenced religious thought in the Anglican Communion in a way, and to an extent, in which no other similar books have done. And what is more, their influence is permanent: they are pre-eminently English classics. The mental and spiritual endowments and attainments of the two men, if varying in degree, were very similar: the characteristics of profound learning, personal holiness, love of retirement, were common to both. And the parallel is strikingly

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of that learned and judicious divine Mr. Richard Hooker, with an account of his life and death by Isaac Waiton, arranged by the Rev. John Keble, M.A., late fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* Clarendon Press, 1836.

continued in the way that both, amongst the very greatest men of the Church of their day, were passed over, their moral worth and intellectual greatness, at the best, inadequately recognized and rewarded.<sup>1</sup> The good things of the Established Church—its dignities, its honours, its emoluments—were not for them: they sought them not. As Dr. Spencer, one of Hooker's friends, and an editor of his Books, said: "He neither enjoyed nor expected any the least dignity in our Church."<sup>2</sup> Richard Hooker and John Keble alike finished their lives on earth as humble parish priests, spending their latter days in faithful service in the obscurity of quiet country benefices. Thus of them it may be said, they were "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."<sup>3</sup>

The lamentable failure of the English Church to honour her most brilliant and distinguished sons is singularly exemplified in the cases of Hooker and Keble. The honour

<sup>1</sup> In making this comparison it is only fair to say that whilst John Keble suffered obloquy and suspicion, and was made the object of charges of disloyalty to the English Church, Richard Hooker enjoyed some slight recognition at the hands of Archbishop Whitgift. At the most we may say that whilst Keble was misrepresented and deliberately passed over, Hooker was quite inadequately rewarded. Possibly Hooker's death about six years after the publication of Books I.-IV. of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, may account somewhat for the lack of recognition.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in *Hooker's Works*, Vol. I. p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. i. 23.

justly due to both men has been paid only too late: it is the honour paid, not by contemporaries, but by posterity, which their names enjoy. One generation stones the prophets, and another generation adorns their sepulchres. Both Richard Hooker and John Keble shared the glory of being prime movers in the initiation and guidance of great and far-reaching reforms—the former, in opposing, successfully the intrusion into the Church of England of ‘the discipline and government which Calvin’s masterfulness had made paramount at Geneva:’ the latter, with equal if not greater success, in inaugurating the Oxford Movement which recalled the English Church to her true Catholic position and principles.<sup>1</sup> It does one’s heart good to give rein to a sense of gratitude to these two men for all we owe to them: and the more so because, comparatively speaking, they received so little recognition from their contemporaries in authority.<sup>2</sup> “Blessed are the dead which die

<sup>1</sup> “As far as there can be said to have been any leader at the beginning of the Oxford Movement, John Keble was the man.”—Wakeman, *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, 4th ed., p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Who that has ever read can forget the extreme pathos of John Henry Newman’s farewell to the blinded and misguided Church which so disastrously failed to recognize and use his brilliant gifts and loyal service.—“O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own

in the Lord : even so saith the Spirit ; for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.”<sup>1</sup>

Fifty years after the publication of Mr. Keble's edition of Hooker's Works, the Very Rev. Richard William Church,<sup>2</sup> Dean of St. Paul's, and the Rev. Francis Paget, Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, prepared a new edition, which was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in the year 1887. This is the standard edition of *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker*, and the most valuable modern authority. A further edition, the seventh edition of Hooker's Works, appeared under the direction of Dean Church and Canon Paget in 1888, with certain additions, improvements and slight corrections.

them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms?”—Newman's *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, p. 460. What was true of John Henry Newman, was in degree true of John Wesley and Edward Bouverie Pusey, and many others of like mould.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xiv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Previously, in the year 1868, R. W. Church prepared for the Clarendon Press Series an edition of Book I. of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, with a preliminary appreciation of the writer of that work. This introduction to the study of Hooker is an exceedingly fine literary performance, and quite indispensable to all who desire to become acquainted with Hooker's great work.

Dr. Paget, now Bishop of Oxford, and the late Dean Church, have earned the gratitude of all interested in Hooker, by their most careful revision of John Keble's edition of his *Life and Works*. That three scholars of such a brilliant theological and literary reputation as John Keble, Dean Church, and Dr. Paget, have interested themselves in giving to the Anglican Communion these editions of Hooker's Works, is a sufficient guarantee of their extraordinary value, and permanent importance.

## CHAPTER II

### EARLY YEARS—COLLEGE DAYS—PUPILS

**RICHARD HOOKER**, according to Isaac Walton, was born at Heavitree, near Exeter, in the year 1553 or thereabouts. There is some uncertainty as to the precise date of his birth. Mr. Keble, after careful inquiry, was unable to discover any mention of his name in the registers of Heavitree, or in those of Exeter Cathedral or the church of St. Mary Major in Exeter. But from certain entries in the President's register, at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he was apparently born about Easter: according to the old division of the year this would be in the year 1553, if Hooker was born before March 25; but in the year 1554, if after that day. He died on November 2, 1600. His life was thus practically cotemporary with the whole of the reigns of the two Queens, Mary and Elizabeth,<sup>1</sup> and thus covers a most eventful period in the history of the English Church and nation.

<sup>1</sup> Queen Mary reigned from July 6, 1553, to November 17, 1558: Queen Elizabeth reigned from November 17, 1558, to March 24, 1603.

The original family name was Vowell, but during the fifteenth century certain members of the family styled themselves Vowell *alias* Hooker or Hoker; whilst in the following century Hooker came to supplant the original name. Amongst Richard Hooker's forbears were two mayors of Exeter—John Hooker, his great grandfather, who died in 1493; and Robert Hooker, his grandfather, who died in 1537. It is said that his sister Elizabeth, who married one Harvey by name, died in 1663 at the great age of 121 years: it seems to have been from her mouth that Thomas Fuller, the author of *Worthies of England*, 1662, derived some very untrustworthy information concerning her distinguished brother, Richard.

Richard Hooker was educated at Exeter grammar school, where he made rapid progress in learning. The school-master, John Hooker, was his uncle, and he decided to do his utmost to provide his promising nephew with means to secure an university education. The Bishop of Salisbury at the time was the celebrated John Jewel, with whom it happened that Richard's uncle was intimate; and he responded to John Hooker's appeal to consider favourably the case of his nephew. Both Richard and his teacher were summoned to Salisbury, and Jewel was so greatly impressed by the lad's



promise of success, that he took immediate steps to forward his career. In the first place the bishop bestowed on his parents an annual pension, presumably to enable them to bear part of the expense of his education at the university. Moreover, in the year 1568, Bishop Jewel obtained for Richard a clerk's place at Corpus Christi College, Oxford—a college which owed its foundation to the munificence of Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, who baptized Henry VIII. And here, again, the president of the college, William Cole, proved himself a patron of Richard Hooker, taking much interest in the youth. It is interesting to read Isaac Walton's account of the relations of Bishop Jewel with Richard Hooker, expanding quite delightfully what has been summarized above—

“About the second or third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness: this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar, but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the

advantage of learning; and that the bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman: for he was a boy of remarkable hopes. And though the bishop knew, men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his school-master should attend him about Easter next following at that place; which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave his school-master a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which he performed; for, about the fifteenth year of his age, which was *anno* 1567, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole<sup>1</sup> then president of Corpus Christi College; which he did; and Doctor Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Doctor John Reynolds)<sup>2</sup> and a clerk's place in that college:

<sup>1</sup> Walton appears to have made a slight mistake as to the date, for Dr. Cole became president of Corpus Christi college, July 19, 1568.

<sup>2</sup> A letter from Dr. Reynolds is extant which throws considerable light upon the Calvinistic principles in which Hooker was trained. In this letter occurs—"You shall doe well if in

which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him." Isaac Walton then proceeds to say—

"About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months: all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Augustine did<sup>1</sup> that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard, as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often

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harder places you use the judgment of some godly writer, as Calvin and Peter Martyr, who have written best on the greatest part of the Old Testament . . . I would wish you to travaile painfully in Calvin's Institution of Christian Religion, whereby you shall be greatly profited . . ."—Cf. footnote, *Hooker's Works*, Vol. I. p. 11.

<sup>1</sup> "Thou didst hearken to her, and didst not despise her tears, when in streams they rolled down her cheeks on the ground, wherever she prayed; Thou didst hearken to her."—*The Confessions of St. Augustine*, Bk. iii. ch. xi.

mention with much joy, 'and as often pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; of whom, he would often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her's, as for his own sake.'

"As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the bishop said to him, 'Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease;' and presently delivered with his hand a walking

staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany.<sup>1</sup> And he said, ‘Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges at Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop’s benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, good Richard.’

“And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, Whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven?”<sup>2</sup> This quotation gives a delightful account of the author of the celebrated treatise, *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*,

<sup>1</sup> On the accession of Mary, Jewel fled to Frankfort to avoid persecution, and later stayed with Peter Martyr at Strasbourg.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*, in *Hooker’s Works*, Vol. I. pp. 10 ff.

who built the cathedral library at Salisbury. Bishop Jewel died September 23, 1571.

According to Walton, Richard Hooker was admitted a clerk at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the year 1567, when he was fourteen or fifteen years of age. As Dr. Cole did not become president till July 19, 1568, Hooker seems to have been fifteen years of age on his admission.<sup>1</sup> It was a college which from the first had a great name, and much success. To a footnote in the late Dean Church's Introduction to the First Book of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*,<sup>2</sup> to which reference has been already made, I owe the following information relative to Hooker's college days: Dean Church wrote—

“I am indebted to the late President of Corpus and to the Warden of Wadham, who is also Keeper of the Archives, who have been good enough to examine afresh the contemporary registers, for the following further particulars relating to Hooker's Oxford life.

“There is no record remaining of his admission to the college, or of his matriculation; but this last seems to have been either in 1569 or in 1570. Walton says he was admitted to ‘a clerk's place.’ The statutes of Corpus Christi

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 23, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 18, note 2.

College say nothing of 'clerks'; but among the *ministri*, they speak of two *choristae*, to be appointed by the President, to retain their place till change of voice, and to be taught grammar either in the college or at Magdalen school. The President's register, during Dr. Cole's presidency, does not notice the admission of any *ministri*.

"The Warden of Wadham has found the date of Hooker's B.A. degree, to which he was admitted the first day of term, Jan. 14, 1573-4. The 'grace' for a degree at that time was always asked for, and either granted or refused, some day previous to the admission. Hooker's 'grace' is found to have been granted the preceding Michaelmas term 1573 (on some day between October 16 and December 9), and he might have been admitted B.A. in that term, which ended December 17. He must therefore have been at that time four years, or sixteen terms, from his matriculation, which must have been at the latest in Lent term 1569-70, and probably in Michaelmas term 1569. No doubt, as the Warden suggests, this degree was delayed, to enable Hooker to be elected *Discipulus* in his college (December 24, 1573).

"There is a point relating to this election,

first noticed by the late President, which is of considerable interest as a proof of Hooker's early reputation. The twenty *Discipuli*, like the twenty *Scholares* or Fellows, were to be elected from certain counties and dioceses, not more than two from each, and the *Discipuli* were to be under 19 when elected. But Hooker was not far from 20 when admitted; (he would be 20, the register notes, the following Easter; Keble's *Hooker*, i. 6. 15). It appears that his own county, Devonshire, was full at the time of his previous residence, and he was elected at last, by a not uncommon arrangement, for Hampshire, one of the other counties of the foundation, from which he would be transferred, on a vacancy, to his own. But the relaxation in point of age is more remarkable. It was in accordance with a permission, given by the Founder in the 'conclusion' of his statutes, in favour of an *Externus* of extraordinary attainments. Hooker, therefore, must have been elected as such an *Externus*, whether it means a person not belonging to the college, in which case Hooker's connection with it had been temporarily broken, or, simply, not on the foundation. But the case seems to stand alone. The Warden of Wadham noticed no other instance of the permission



having been acted upon, except in Hooker's election.<sup>1</sup>

"It appears from the Register of Convocation that Hooker was admitted to the degree of M.A. March 29, in the Lent term of 1577. He became full M.A. at the following Act, July 8."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Fowler, the President of Corpus Christi College, in his History of that college has made public some interesting records of the assistance rendered to Hooker in his college days. Robert Nowell, brother of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's,<sup>3</sup> left to trustees

<sup>1</sup>"In his admission as Disciple, he is described (in the College Register) as 'quendam Ricardum Hooker viginti annorum aetatis circiter festum paschae proxime futurum natum in comitatu Devonensi, electum pro comitatu Southamptonensi.' The election of a Scholar, who was a native of one county, on the foundation of another was not uncommon, a readjustment taking place when an opportunity offered. It is more important to notice that the statutable limitation of age at the time of election to a Scholarship was nineteen, though, in the Supplementary Statutes, it was, in case of extraordinary and pre-eminent excellence ('egregie eruditus, et caeteris illius aetatis longe praestantior'), extended to one and twenty. Hooker's was one of the very rare cases in which the Electors availed themselves of this liberty."—Eowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>Hooker, Book I. *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, edited by R. W. Church. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882. Introduction, pp. xxvii. xxviii. notes.

<sup>3</sup>Of this man Heylyn relates—"When one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains (Mr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's) had spoken less reverently in a sermon preached before her of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return unto his text."—*History of the Reformation*, ed. Eccles. Hist. Soc., Vol. II. p. 317.

a considerable amount of money to be used in aiding poor scholars at Oxford. Richard Hooker received assistance from this benefaction on no less than five occasions: it is remarkable that in these five entries his name is spelt in three different ways, namely: Hoocker, Hooker, and Huker. The various entries are as follows—

“Rychard hoocker xx<sup>s</sup>.” This was in July, 1570.

“To Mr. Doctor Cole, presydenste of Corpus Christe Colledge in Oxforde, to the use of tow poor schollers the one ys Named Thomas Cole, the other Rychard hooker the xxx<sup>th</sup> of Januarye A<sup>o</sup> 1571 (*i. e.* 157½) and Thomas Coole hade xxx<sup>s</sup> of theys and thother x<sup>s</sup>, as appeareth by Mr. Coole bill.”

“To Richard hooker of Corpus Christie colledge the xii<sup>th</sup> of februarye Anno 1571 (*i. e.* 157½) to bringe hym to Oxforde ii vi<sup>d</sup>.”<sup>1</sup>

“To one Rycharde hooker scholler of corpus—christie Colledge in Oxforde the VIII<sup>o</sup> of Marthe A<sup>o</sup> 1573 (*i. e.* 157¾) iii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>.”

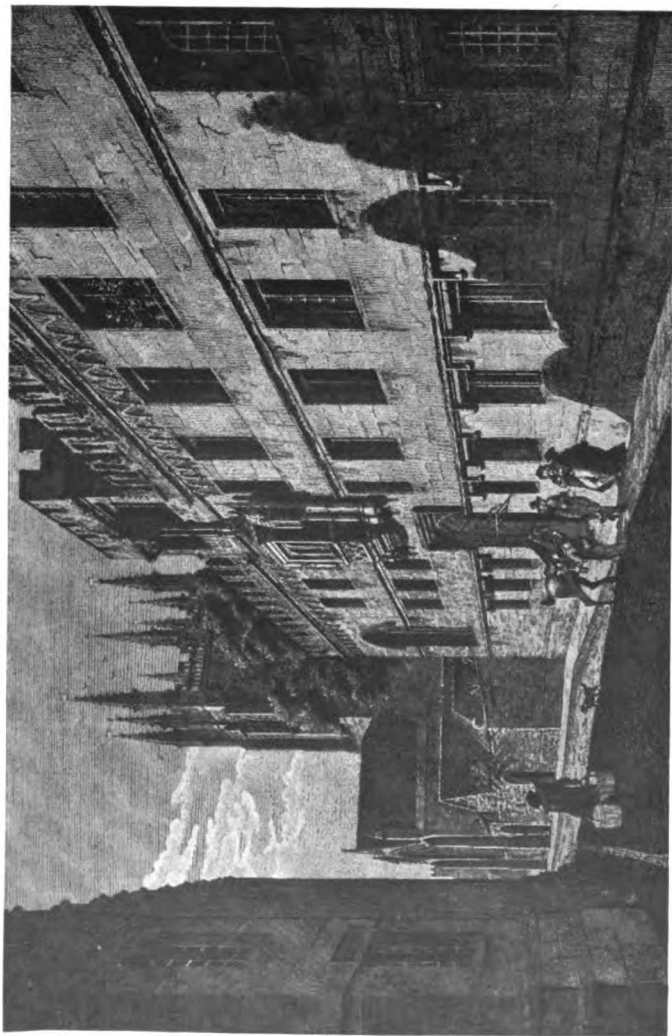
<sup>1</sup> This date appears to be that of Hooker's return to Oxford after a visit to his parents at Exeter after serious illness, alluded to above. See p. 24.

“Too S<sup>r</sup> huker (*i. e.* B.A.) of Corpus christie college in Oxforde, the XXVIII<sup>th</sup> of Aprell 1575. v<sup>a</sup>.”<sup>1</sup>

When Richard Hooker had spent five years at the University, and was now in his nineteenth year, two pupils were placed under his care, George Cranmer and Edwin Sandys: the former then being seven or eight years of age, and the latter eleven or twelve. George Cranmer, as we have said, was a relative of Archbishop Cranmer, whilst Edwin Sandys was a son of Edwin Sandys sometime Bishop of London (1570), and later Archbishop of York (1577). The latter, during Queen Mary's reign had become an exile in Germany, where he became the close friend of Bishop Jewel, Hooker's patron. To quote Isaac Walton: “A little before Bishop Jewel's death (A.D. 1571) the two bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin, should be sent to Corpus

<sup>1</sup> Fowler, *Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll.*, Clarendon Press; 1893, pp. 149, 150.





**CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.**

*View from Back Gate of Christ Church, Oxford. From old print engraved by Harris.*

*[To face p. 33.]*

Christi College, in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for, the bishop said, ‘I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall be of the last; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin.’ And the bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.”<sup>1</sup>

Isaac Walton describes Hooker’s fitness and capacity to act as tutor to these two boys so delightfully, that we again quote his words—

“And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the university; and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unremitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers; so that by these added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, he did not only know more of

<sup>1</sup> Walton’s *Life of Hooker*, p. 14.

causes and effects ; but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of his pupils (which in time were many), but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer.”<sup>1</sup>

Between Richard Hooker and his two pupils a sacred and lifelong friendship sprang up, cemented by religious principles, studies, and recreations shared in common at Oxford. Of these youths it may be said, they “took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends.”<sup>2</sup> “By which means, they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity as bordered upon heaven : a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end,” as the venerable biographer quite beautifully says.<sup>3</sup> Both Sandys and Cranmer later became distinguished men, and they continued to be Hooker’s chief friends throughout his life : it was to their criticism that he submitted his works.

There is in Walton’s *Life of Hooker* a passage dealing with his college career, which

<sup>1</sup> Walton’s *Life*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm lv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Walton’s *Life*, p. 18.

it is impossible to refrain from quoting: it is as follows. After dwelling on Hooker's learning, Walton goes on to say—

“And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel-prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word; and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might



beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.”<sup>1</sup>

Richard took his M.A. degree and was admitted Fellow of Corpus Christi College in the year 1577. He was by far the most distinguished member of that college admitted during Dr. Cole's presidency, and probably the most distinguished—the author of *The Christian Year* excepted—admitted at any time during its history. In addition to what has been said above, there are but two events during his college life which remain to be mentioned. In October 1579, for some unexplained reason, both Richard Hooker and Dr. Reynolds, with others, were expelled the college for a few weeks. The letter of the latter is given by Walton, in which complaint is made of “the unrighteous dealing of one of our college, who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expel out of our house both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by oath we were bound to do.”<sup>2</sup> The most probable reason for this is that Hooker and his friends had offended Dr. John Barfoote, the vice-president, an ardent

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

Puritan. However, the expelled Fellows were speedily restored by the Visitor, Bishop Watson. The other event of moment was, that on the illness of Thomas Kingsmill,<sup>1</sup> the professor of Hebrew, Richard Hooker was appointed, on the recommendation of the Earl of Leicester, chancellor of the university, as his deputy. Hooker read Hebrew lectures in the university until his final departure. He took holy orders, it is thought, about 1581.

<sup>1</sup> "By reason of a distemper that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill."—Walton's *Life*, p. 19.

## CHAPTER III

SERMON AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS—MARRIAGE—  
DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP — THE TEMPLE —  
HOOKER AS A PREACHER

RICHARD HOOKER's first public appearance in London, in the year 1581, or thereabouts, must have followed close upon his ordination. About that date he was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross, most probably on the nomination of John Aylmer, Bishop of London. Strype, the historian, in his life of that bishop, speaks of "it having been of long time customary for the Bishops of London to summon up from the Universities, or elsewhere, persons of the best abilities to preach those public sermons, whither the Prince and Court, and the magistrates of the city, besides a vast conflux of people, used to resort. For the due providing therefore for these sermons, and for the encouragement of the preachers that should come up, this Bishop was a great benefactor."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Life of John Aylmer*, Oxford 1821, p. 201.

Anyhow, Bishop Aylmer was amongst the hearers on the occasion of Hooker's sermon.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's Cross was an open-air pulpit at St. Paul's, where the great preachers of the day, and specially during the early days of the Reformation, attracted crowds of hearers. Books condemned as heretical were burned there, also penances were formerly done there, and thither alleged heretics bore their fagots.<sup>2</sup> It was at St. Paul's Cross that John

<sup>1</sup> See Hooker's "Answer to Travers," cited in *Hooker's Works*, Vol. III. p. 576.

<sup>2</sup> "Oh! it had been a godly sight, to have seen St. Paul with a fagot on his back, even at Paul's Cross . . ."—Hugh Latimer, *Remains*, Parker Soc., 1845, p. 326. St. Paul's Cross was destroyed by order of the Long Parliament (A.D. 1640–1653). A stone inscribed "This is the site of Paul's Cross," now marks the spot in St. Paul's churchyard where it formerly stood. Quite recently Mr. H. C. Richards has left a legacy of £5,000 to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral to rebuild St. Paul's Cross.

In the year 1521 the Pope's sentence against Martin Luther was published in London, and a sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cross by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, condemning Luther's doctrines; during the sermon many of Luther's books were burned in the churchyard. In 1534 the Maid of Kent was exposed, with her accomplices, on a scaffold at St. Paul's Cross; whilst their confession was read from it, previous to their execution at Tyburn. In 1538, at St. Paul's Cross, Fisher exposed the so-called miraculous rood of Boxley as a deception, whereupon the thing was destroyed before the congregation. In 1554 St. Paul's Cross was the scene of the disclosure of an unpardonable insult offered by certain profane Protestants of the baser sort, for "a priest exhibited a poor hanged cat at the Cross, which had been found dangling on a gallows near the Cross in Cheapside, dressed in the sacred vestments of the altar, with the head shaved, and an imitation of the host, or consecrated wafer, tied between the fore paws."—Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, Lond. 1803. Vol. III. p. 179.

Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, and Richard Hooker's patron, about twenty years previously, made his celebrated challenge, in which he openly promised that "if any learned man of all our (Roman) adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the holy scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved" that certain commonly-accounted Roman doctrines and practices, which he named, existed, "in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ . . . he would give over and subscribe unto him."<sup>1</sup> The first public expression of joy on account of the dispersion and flight of the Spanish Armada took place, likewise, at St. Paul's Cross on August 20, 1588, that is, but seven years after the date of Richard Hooker's sermon; and on September 8 of the same year, several banners, taken from the Spaniards, were displayed there in sermon-time.<sup>2</sup> In the course of his sermon Hooker

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of John Jewel*, Parker Soc., 1845. Vol. I. pp. 20, 21. The Copie of a Sermon pronounced by the Byshop of Salisburie at Paules Crosse the second Sondaye before Ester in the yere of our Lord 1560.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Liturgies, etc., set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Soc., 1847, p. 469.

asserted, "that in God there were two wills; an antecedent, and a consequent will: his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which He had offered, or afforded them."<sup>1</sup> This teaching was opposed to that of Calvin, and Hooker enlarged upon it in *The Ecclesiastical Polity* (V. 49) later. He was attacked for his doctrine,<sup>2</sup> but Bishop Aylmer defended him. This was but a foretaste of that which was to follow later.

It was customary for those who came to preach at St. Paul's Cross to be lodged, free of expense, for two days before and one day after the sermon, at the "Shunammite's house,"<sup>3</sup> which at the time of which we are speaking was kept by a retired draper, John Churchman by name. To this house Hooker came, wet and

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> "In this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon."—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> For the support of "this public pulpit, a considerable sum had accumulated, from gifts and bequests, amounting to the sum of 1770*l.* besides rent charges of 44*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Those sums were applied to the payment of the preachers, and the expences of their entertainment at the Shunamite's house; who was a person that kept a kind of inn for their reception, by the appointment of the church. The priests were originally allowed 45*s.* for a sermon; but the sum was afterwards reduced to 40*s.* with four days' board and lodging at the Shunamite's."—Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, III. 179.

weary after his journey from Oxford, and, moreover, so faint and fearful that he doubted if even after two days' rest and quietness he should be able to preach his sermon. But, thanks to the care and attention of Mrs. Churchman, he sufficiently recovered to perform the task. This incident eventually led to Hooker's marriage with her daughter, Joan. To quote Walton's quaint account of this extraordinary transaction—"the good man came to be persuaded by Mrs. Churchman, 'that he was a man of a tender constitution;' and 'that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such an one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry.' And he not considering that 'the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;' but, like a true Nathanael, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis,) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for, even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him, was her daughter Joan, who brought him

neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to 'a dripping house';<sup>1</sup> so that the good man had no reason to 'rejoice in the wife of his youth,' but too just a cause to say with the holy Prophet, 'Wo is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!' "<sup>2</sup>

The marriage was apparently a mistaken and ill-assorted one, Hooker's error being attributed by Walton to his bashfulness and dimness of eyesight. We do not know from whom Walton derived his account of the strange affair, possibly from friends of Hooker who disliked his wife; and perhaps it should not be taken too seriously. That he made Joan, "his well-beloved wife," his sole executrix and residuary legatee, does not lend itself to the idea that he was thoroughly unhappy in his married life: at least, we trust that such was not the case.

Hooker resigned his fellowship on his marriage, and in 1584 was presented by John Cheny, the patron, to the benefice of Drayton Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, near to

<sup>1</sup> "The contentions of a wife are a continual dropping."—Prov. xix. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 24.



Aylesbury and to Tring, then in the diocese of Lincoln. Here his former pupils George Cranmer and Edwin Sandys paid him a visit ; and, according to the account given by Isaac Walton, found him tending sheep in a field, and reading the odes of Horace. On being released from his charge, he took his friends home, though not allowed to enjoy their society in peace, for Richard was called to rock the cradle : and, adds Walton, “the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor’s condition . . . And at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, ‘ Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your parsonage : and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies.’ To whom the good man replied, ‘ My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace.’ ”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walton’s *Life*, pp. 25, 26.

As a result of this visit, Sandys prayed his father, the Archbishop of York, to do something to improve Hooker's condition; and, at the archbishop's suggestion and by the influence of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, he was on March 17, 1584-5, appointed Master of the Temple,<sup>1</sup> being at the time but thirty-four years of age. Hooker at length accepted the appointment, though with considerable reluctance—the better society and more liberal stipend having no attraction to him. Concerning the Mastership of the Temple, Stow tells us, that, "Since the dissolution of the Hospitalers, in the time of Henry VIII. there hath been a divine, by the name of a *Master* or *Custos*, belonging to this church. Who is constituted by the King or Queen's Letters Patents, without institution or induction. Besides the Master, there is a Reader, who readeth Divine Service twice a day, at eight a clock in the morning, and at

<sup>1</sup> The Temple in London, which was formerly the dwelling of the Knights Templars, at the suppression of the order, fell into the possession of the professors of the common law, who converted the buildings into inns of court, A.D. 1340. They are called the Inner and the Middle Temple, in relation to Essex-house which was called the Outer Temple, because it was situated without Temple Bar. St. Mary's, or the Temple church, situate in the Inner Temple, is an ancient Gothic building, which dates from the year 1240, and is remarkable for its circular vestibule, and for the tombs of the crusaders who were buried there. The church was recased with stone by Smirke in the year 1828. Vide "Haydn's Dictionary of Dates," *sub* "Temple."

four in the afternoon. Formerly, they had also a fixed Lecturer for Sundays in the afternoon. Who had the allowance of £80 *per ann.* paid from each House, and convenient lodging; and his diet at the Benchers' table."<sup>1</sup>

Hooker's appointment to the Mastership of the Temple suddenly brought him into open controversy with the two prominent leaders of the English Puritans, Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers, and in consequence with the whole party which they represented. Cartwright and Travers stood firmly together as "the chief men of that powerful and growing school which acknowledged the theological supremacy of Calvin, and which aimed at fundamental changes in the Church government of England."<sup>2</sup> This controversy with the Puritans henceforth became the business of Hooker's life. Travers, with whom Hooker was more particularly brought in contact, was one of the best and strongest men of the Puritan party. As to the reality of his intellectual gifts, the quality of his learning, the genuineness of his piety, and the height of his personal character, there can be no question.

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of the City of London* . . . , Vol. I. Bk. iii. ch. xii., p. 272. Lond. 1720.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. Church, *Introduction to the First Book of Hooker*, p. ix.

“From all sources, English, Scotch, and Irish, by all sorts of men, whether they agreed or contended with him, this is amply attested. He was able, learned, and unworldly.”<sup>1</sup>

Travers, already afternoon Lecturer at the Temple, was anxious to obtain the vacancy offered to and accepted by Richard Hooker : but, as we have said, he was passed over, and Hooker became Master whilst Travers remained Lecturer. This result was mainly due to Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who used the influence attaching to his great position with Queen Elizabeth to prevent the mastership being bestowed upon Travers. In August, 1584, he wrote to the Queen, saying, “because he heard . . . that there had been suit made to her Highness for one Mr. Travers, he thought it his duty to signify unto her Majesty, that the said Travers had been and was one of the chief and principal authors of dissention in the Church ; a contemner of the Book of Prayers and other orders by authority established ; an earnest seeker of innovation ; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered (ordained) beyond the seas, not according to the form in this Church of England used.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Whitgift*, Oxford 1822, i. 341.

No sooner was Hooker installed in office, than the Temple church became the scene of a violent and unedifying religious controversy between the Master and the Lecturer. Sunday after Sunday the church was crowded by throngs of judges and barristers, among whom were Sir Edward Coke and Sir James Altham and other legal celebrities of the day. Of this matter Strype quaintly says — “Between Mr. Richard Hooker and the said Travers happened great controversy about their doctrines they preached in the same pulpit.”<sup>1</sup> Walton describes the state of affairs thus: “insomuch that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for as one<sup>2</sup> hath pleasantly exprest it, ‘The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva.’”<sup>3</sup> We can well imagine what a lively time the Lecturer must have had Sunday by Sunday, in preparing his answers in the brief interval between the forenoon and afternoon preachings. Unseemly as the whole business was, it is pleasant to know that there was but little personal feeling or bitterness between the Master and the Lecturer, and that the controversy, keen though it undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Whitgift*, Oxford 1822, i. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller, *Worthies of England*, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 52.

was, was conducted with much dignity, neither disputant losing respect for the other. "In the very midst of the paroxysm betwixt Hooker and Travers, the latter still bare (and none can challenge the other to the contrary) a reverend esteem of his adversary. And when an unworthy aspersion, some years after, was cast on Hooker, Mr. Travers being asked of a private friend what he thought of that accusation: 'In truth,' said he, 'I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man.'"<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Whitgift at length intervened, summarily silencing Travers on several grounds, one of which was that he had not received Catholic but Presbyterian ordination.<sup>2</sup> Upon this inhibition, Fuller remarks:—"As for Travers his silencing, many which were well pleased with the deed done were offended at the manner of doing it. For all the congregation on a sabbath day in the afternoon were assembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth, as I may say, and napkins were laid, the guests set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast, when suddenly as Mr. Travers was going up into the pulpit,

<sup>1</sup> Fuller, *Church Hist.*, ix. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Travers had been ordained by Cartwright and others at Antwerp, as it appears.

a sorry fellow served him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more.”<sup>1</sup>

Readers who desire to learn more concerning this disputation may consult the long account and list in detail given by Isaac Walton in his *Life of Hooker*.<sup>2</sup> It is sufficient in this volume to say that one of the chief points of discussion concerned the claims of the Roman Church and the position of its members, a subject from the immediate circumstances of the time naturally much to the front. Upon this particular point, Hooker took the broader and truer view, that “the Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, and a Church sanctified by profession of that truth, which God had revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect Church;”<sup>3</sup> whilst Travers stoutly maintained the Church of Rome to be the “seat of Antichrist”<sup>4</sup>—such was the virulence of the protestantism of the man whom the archbishop so effectually silenced. It is only just to

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, ix. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 53–64. See also *Hooker's Works*, Vol. III. pp. 548–596, for “Travers' Supplication” and “Hooker's Answer.”

<sup>3</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 59. In another passage Hooker blamed the Puritans for “suffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome to blind and withhold their judgments from seeing that which withal they should acknowledge, concerning so much nevertheless still due to the same Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limb of the visible Church of Christ.”—*Eccles. Pol.*, Bk. V. ch. lxviii. § 9.

<sup>4</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 61, note.

add that Hooker's treatment of the Roman question, though singularly temperate and admirably restrained, is not wholly unexceptional. In fact, considering the events of the times in which he lived, this was hardly to be expected. In his Sermon on Justification etc., which was, however, preached during the first year of his Mastership of the Temple (A.D. 1585), he refers to the Pope as "the Man of sin"<sup>1</sup>—an expression repeated with gratuitous insolence in that miserably fulsome and profane preface to the English Bible of James I., which has for three hundred years disfigured the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures. But in endeavouring to estimate rightly the attitude towards Rome of men of the period of Hooker and Travers, we cannot justly forget their extreme provocations at the hands of the Roman party. To some of these reference is made in the sermon alluded to above,<sup>2</sup> where the writer says—"Here I must advertise all men, that have the testimony of God's holy fear within their

<sup>1</sup> Sermon II. in *Hooker's Works*, Vol. III. pp. 489, 525. A similar, though stronger expression, "the son of perdition and Man of Sin," occurs in Sermon V. p. 676; but both Mr. Keble in his Preface to *Hooker's Works*, § 27, and Dr. Paget in his *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise*, p. 265, throw grave doubts as to this latter sermon being Hooker's: the latter writer describes it and another sermon as "being weakest of all in internal evidence."

<sup>2</sup> Sermon V. See previous footnote.



hearts, to consider how unkindly and injuriously our own countrymen and brethren have dealt with us by the space of four and twenty years, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom St. Jude here speaketh;<sup>1</sup> never ceasing to charge us, some with schism, some with heresy, some with plain and manifest apostasy, as if we had clean separated ourselves from Christ . . . .”<sup>2</sup> The reference of date here is in all probability to the Bull of excommunication and deposition against Queen Elizabeth, issued by Pope Pius V. in 1570,<sup>3</sup> which was found nailed ‘in a spirit of ironical defiance on the Bishop of London’s door.’ It was an open secret that the Queen’s assassination was favoured and connived at by the papists, in order that Mary Queen of Scots might be placed on the throne of England, and the papal system restored. “Nations, like persons, cannot attend to more than one important matter at a time, and the great question at issue in Elizabeth’s reign was whether the nation was to be independent of

<sup>1</sup> The preacher’s text was, Jude vv. 17–21, in the midst of which are the words which he renders “makers of Sects, fleshly, having not the Spirit.”

<sup>2</sup> Sermon V. pp. 674–5.

<sup>3</sup> The text of this Bull, placing Elizabeth and all her adherents under a curse, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance to her, is given in Cardwell’s *Documentary Annals*, Oxford 1844, Vol. I. pp. 363 ff.—*Damnatio et Excommunicatio Elizabethae*. . . .

all foreign powers in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs.”<sup>1</sup> Certainly the circumstances of the stirring times in which Hooker lived were favourable to the encouragement of strong anti-papal feeling and action, and it is not at all wonderful that he felt to some slight extent the force of the influences with which he found himself surrounded. With the exception of the phrase upon which the present writer has commented, and which is out of harmony with the exceptional dignity and studied moderation of Hooker’s style, his treatment of the Roman controversy is beyond praise. In speaking generally of Hooker as a controversialist, Dean Church has said that he was “one of those rare controversialists who are more intent on shewing *why* their opponents are wrong than even the fact that they are so.”<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Paget has suggested the interesting question—Who, in the estimation of London churchmen, were in the year 1589 regarded as the most remarkable preachers in the City? and he considers that the answer would probably have included three names soon to

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Student's History of England*, Lond. 1898, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. Church, *Introduction to Hooker*, Bk. I., p. xvi.

become very famous throughout England. These three names are those of Richard Bancroft, rector of St. Andrew's Holborn, treasurer of St. Paul's and chaplain to the Lord Chancellor of England; Lancelot Andrewes, prominent amongst the younger clergy who were closing with the difficulties of the time; and Richard Hooker, Master of the Temple. After referring to the first of this great trio of ecclesiastics, Dr. Paget proceeds thus<sup>1</sup>—

“ But there was a greater man than Bancroft preaching every Sunday morning in the Temple church; neither popular nor happy there, but with strength and diligence and learning of the rarest splendour, working steadily at a great book which should outlive all the controversies that had made his fame and spoilt his peace. For Richard Hooker was still Master of the Temple, though he was longing to regain the blessings of obscurity in a country parish; and while some men thought his sermons tedious and obscure, and others who had sided with his now silenced adversary, Travers, bore a grudge against him for the past, still men could not be unmoved by his massive thought and knowledge, by the power of his patience and holiness, and by the

<sup>1</sup> *The Spirit of Discipline*, p. 311.

memory of those exciting Sundays, when there were almost as many writers as hearers in the Temple church, and the gravest Benchers were busy morning and afternoon taking notes of the discourses through which the Master and the Lecturer argued out their differences."

It may be well here to speak further of Hooker as a preacher, as described by his venerable biographer and others. "His sermons were uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice; his eyes always fixt on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Gauden wrote of Hooker "dispensing the gospel in a still voice and silent gesture," as opposed to "Stentorian noise and theatrick gesticulations."<sup>2</sup> In his *Worthies of England*<sup>3</sup> Fuller playfully says: "Hooker may be said to have made good music with his fiddle and stick alone, without any rosin, having neither pronunciation nor gesture to grace his matter." Again, in his *Church History of Britain*,<sup>4</sup> the same writer has said: "Mr. Hooker his voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all . . . Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 79. A fuller quotation is given later.

<sup>2</sup> Gauden's *Life of Hooker*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> 1662, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> ix. 216.

end of his sermon: in a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it." Few of Hooker's sermons are preserved.

In these descriptions of Richard Hooker as a preacher there is, in some particulars, a striking resemblance to that given by contemporaries of probably the most distinguished theologian and preacher the English Church has ever nurtured—the great and brilliant John Henry Newman. In a speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone, on Preaching, in the year 1877, he described the impressions left upon his mind by Dr. Newman's sermons about the year 1837, eight years before, to the lamentable loss of the English Church, he seceded. Mr. Gladstone said: "Dr. Newman, when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, was very much respected for his character and his known ability. He was then Vicar of St. Mary's at Oxford, and used to preach there. Without ostentation or effort, but by simple excellence, he was constantly drawing undergraduates more and more around him. Now, Dr. Newman's manner in the pulpit was one about which, if you considered it in its separate parts, you would arrive at very unsatisfactory conclusions. There was not very much change in the inflexion of the voice; action there was none. His sermons were

read, and his eyes were always bent on his book, and all that, you will say, is, against efficiency in preaching. Yes, but take the man as a whole, and there was a stamp and a seal upon him; there was a solemn sweetness and music in the tone; there was a completeness in the figure, taken together with the tone and with the manner, which made even his delivery, such as I have described it, and though exclusively from written sermons, singularly attractive.”<sup>1</sup> And the parallel does not end in the manner of the two great theologians and preachers, but is continued in the magnificence and rare splendour and purity of the English language, of which each was so perfect a master. Of Newman’s sermons Dean Church wrote: “Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and thought . . . .”<sup>2</sup> It is not without interest in this connection to observe, that on the title-page of Newman’s *Parochial Sermons for the Festivals of the Church*; <sup>3</sup> one of his very finest productions,

<sup>1</sup> Cited in *Cardinal Newman, the Story of his Life*, by Jennings, Lond. 1882. 2nd ed., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *The Oxford Movement*, Lond. 1891, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> This volume has been recently reprinted in *The Oxford Sermon Library*, Vol. I. Mowbrays, Oxford 1904, edited by the writer of this biography.

Newman quotes a characteristic passage from Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, in appreciation of the usefulness of observing sacred times and holy days.<sup>1</sup>

Several of Hooker's sermons are printed at the conclusion of the third volume of Dean Church's and Dr. Paget's edition of Hooker's Works.

<sup>1</sup> "Well to celebrate these Religious and Sacred Days is to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendour and outward dignity of our religion, forcible witnesses of ancient truth, provocations to the exercise of all piety, shadows of our endless felicity in heaven, on earth everlasting records and memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may, only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe."—*Eccles. Pol.*, Bk. V. ch. lxxi. § 11.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE 'ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY' BEGUN—BOS COMBE—BISHOPSBORNE

To a man of so peaceable a disposition as that of Richard Hooker,<sup>1</sup> the storm of controversy which raged round the Temple was peculiarly oppressive. He had found himself forced into religious strife by the stress of circumstances beyond his control, and the situation was distasteful to him. Although, through the withdrawal of Travers, the dispute was subsiding, and the chief benchers gave him much respect and encouragement, nevertheless there were others, who had sided with his adversary, from whom he received 'many neglects and oppositions.' It is not therefore surprising that he sought deliverance: and he found it in this wise. As a result of the Temple controversy,

<sup>1</sup> For example, note the closing words of Hooker's final reply to Travers—"I do wish heartily . . . that no strife may ever be heard of again but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and unity with swiftest paces."—*Answer to Travers*, Hooker's Works, Vol. III. p. 596.



and with a view to convert and conciliate opponents, Hooker resolved to investigate the position of the English Church, and to attempt to answer the question—What is the basis upon which Church laws and Church government rest? And his *magnum opus* “The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity” was the result.

The foundation of this great work was laid in the Temple, but from the circumstances we have named, he did not find it a fit place to carry out his design. He therefore begged Archbishop Whitgift to remove him to a more peaceful sphere. In his letter to the Archbishop he wrote: “When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college; yet, I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My Lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the scriptures, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of

Church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us : and, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise, in which I intend a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity ; in which design God and his holy Angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does ; that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences, and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions ; and therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun." <sup>1</sup>

As a result of this touching appeal, Richard Hooker was, in the year 1591, presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the rectory of Boscombe in the diocese of Salisbury. And thus it came to pass that his 'brief spell of

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life*, pp. 66-68.

prominence, his uncongenial experience of the great world came to an end.' Of this benefice of Boscombe the Bishop of Salisbury was the patron; but at the time, the see being vacant, the patronage was dispensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the same time Hooker was instituted a minor prebend of Salisbury: neither preferment carrying much emolument. "There is a clear ring of genuineness," says Dr. Paget, "in the words which Walton records as conveying Hooker's petition to the archbishop to remove him from the great place he held as Master of the Temple, and to send him once more to the quiet and obscurity of a country parsonage. It is rare to see a man still young (for Hooker was but thirty-eight when he resigned the Mastership) turning away from a sphere where he had borne a brilliant part, and betaking himself into comparative seclusion, with the simple and unselfish desire only to do before he dies as much as he can of that which he believes to be his proper task. But it is perhaps even more rare for the heat of controversy to kindle in a man the desire not to talk but to think."<sup>1</sup>

Walton tells us that Hooker continued at Boscombe until he had finished four of the eight proposed books of *The Ecclesiastical*

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise*, p. 7.

*Polity*, and that these were entered in the Register-book of the Stationers' Hall on March 9, 1592. The true date, however, is January 29, 1592 $\frac{2}{3}$ ;<sup>1</sup> and the books were not published until 1594. Hooker was in the thirty-ninth year of his age when the first half of his great work was completed.

In the year following the publication of the first four books of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, *i. e.* A.D. 1595, Richard Hooker resigned the benefice of Boscombe, and was preferred by Queen Elizabeth, who, according to Walton, 'loved Hooker well,' to the benefice of Bishopsborne in Kent, situate three miles from Canterbury, and there he remained till his death in the year 1600, as his biographer says, 'without any addition of dignity or profit.'

At Bishopsborne Hooker became acquainted with Dr. Hadrian Saravia, a Dutch theologian, who had taken refuge in England to escape from the persecution to which he had been subjected in his own country. Saravia was appointed one of the prebends of Salisbury, and soon became Hooker's dearest and most trusted friend. In the year 1589, Bancroft, then Archbishop Whitgift's chaplain, preached

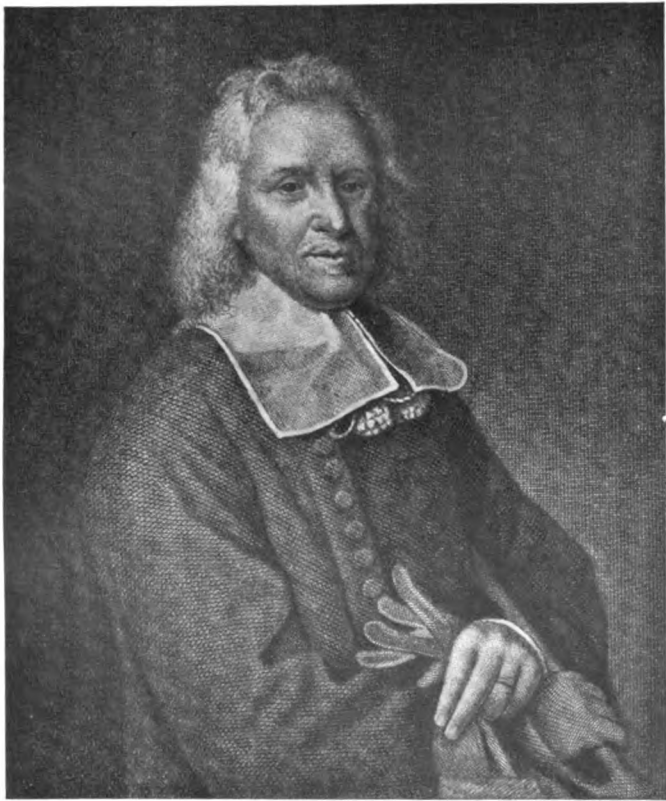
<sup>1</sup> Arber's *Transcripts*, ii. 295.

his famous sermon <sup>1</sup> at St. Paul's Cross, in order to prove that episcopacy was not merely a useful and convenient form of Church government sanctioned by the civil power, but an order of the Christian ministry divine and scriptural. Two years later Saravia enforced Bancroft's teaching <sup>2</sup> in a learned treatise, *Of the Divers Degrees of Ministers of the Gospel* . . . , and he generally distinguished himself by his writings against Beza and other extreme Protestants. Of the friendship between Hooker and Saravia, Walton says: "In this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne (Bishopsborne), these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same: and, their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety. Which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow." <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A sermon in which many have traced the first public utterance of that more adequate and courageous defence of the Church's ancient order and discipline which seems to have been released by the destruction of the Armada."—Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*, p. 310. For some account of Bancroft's sermon, see Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, Oxford 1822, Vol. I. pp. 559 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence exists that Saravia had long been familiar with the views set forth by Bancroft.

<sup>3</sup> Walton's *Life*, p. 77.



ISAAC WALTON.  
*Reproduced from an old engraving.*

*[To face p. 65*



Isaac Walton's account of Richard Hooker's life and last days at Bishopsborne is so exceedingly beautiful, that it deserves to be reproduced here *verbatim*. To abbreviate it to any serious extent, or to express it in language other than that in which it appears in the venerable biographer's Life, would be equally open to criticism. Any fresh or original account is obviously out of the question.

“This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover: in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his Books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, ‘What went they out to see? a man clothed in purple and fine linen?’ No, indeed; but an ‘obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study, and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life.’ And to this true character of



his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, 'did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time:' and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

"This parish-clerk<sup>1</sup> lived till the third or

<sup>1</sup> The parish-clerk in former days was a very considerable and important person, having the position of more than an ordinary layman. "It is not improbable," writes Sir Walter Phillimore (*Book of Church Law*, 6th ed., p. 287), "that when parish choirs were universal, or nearly so, throughout the Church of England, there was one of the lay clerks whose duty it was to be constantly present, even when the other lay clerks were absent, at every service which was celebrated by the parish minister, to say or sing the responses as the leader, or the representative, of the laity, and that the parish-clerk of modern days is thus a very ancient officer of the Church. This is confirmed by the rubrics of the Prayer Book, which several times mention the 'minister and clerks,' or 'the priest and clerks'; and which once, in the Marriage Service, besides speaking of them in the plural, as engaged in the saying or singing of the psalm, also directs that the bridegroom shall lay on the book 'the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk,' using the word in the singular number."

fourth year of the late long parliament : betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper,<sup>1</sup> (who still lives,) and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which, he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses, the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning: but it so fell out, that

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There is no mention of the parish-clerk in the Canons of 1571; but in those of 1603, which were in force at the time named above, Canon xci. runs—"No parish-clerk upon any vacation shall be chosen, within the city of London, or elsewhere within the province of Canterbury, but by the parson or vicar . . . . And the said clerk shall be of twenty years of age at the least, and known to the said parson, vicar, or minister, to be of honest conversation, and sufficient for his reading, writing, and also for his competent skill in singing, if it may be. And the said clerks so chosen shall have and receive their ancient wages . . ."—Cardwell, *Synodalia*, Oxford 1842 i. 298. In the year 1576, Archbishop Grindal, in his visitation articles at Canterbury, required that parish-clerks should be "able to read the first Lesson, the Epistle, and the Psalms, as is used."—Grindal's *Remains*, Parker Soc., p. 168. From the date of this direction and the proximity of Bishopsborne to Canterbury, it is more than probable that Hooker's parish-clerk performed these functions. On the whole subject, see Dr. Wickham Legg's *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1903, which is packed with information.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription on this monument is given later in this volume, p. 91.

about the said third or fourth year of the long parliament, the then present parson of Borne was sequestred, (you may guess why,) and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, 'They had sequestred so many good men, that he doubted, if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have sequestred him too.'<sup>1</sup>

"It was not long, before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the Sacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table, for them to sit and eat, and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions (but not to kneel upon). When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him 'cease wondering, and lock the church door;' to whom he replied, 'Pray take you the keys, and lock

<sup>1</sup> For some account of these disgraceful and cruel sequestrations at the hands of the Puritans, see Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy in the late times of the Grand Rebellion*, Lond. 1714. There appears to be no record in this work of the sequestration of Bishopsborne.

me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will say, my master Hooker was a good man, and a good scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days.' And report says, the old man went presently home, and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.<sup>1</sup>

“ But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth, possessing his soul in virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations: his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer; <sup>2</sup> his sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an

<sup>1</sup> The good man's name was Sampson Horton: he was buried on May 9, 1648, after serving as parish-clerk at Bishopeborne for 60 years.

<sup>2</sup> “ The curate of every parish, or some other at his appointment, shall diligently upon Sundays and holy-days, half-an-hour before Evening Prayer, openly in the Church instruct and examine so many Children of his parish sent unto him as the time will serve, and as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism.”—*Rubric at end of Confirmation Office in Prayer Book of 1559*. Isaac Walton's statement as to the time of Hooker's catechizing is probably a mistake founded on the custom of his own day, in accordance with the rubric of the Prayer Book of 1662, which names the time “ after the Second Lesson.” Walton died in 1683. Hooker, however, used the Prayer Book of 1559 only, dying three years before the revision of 1603.

humble voice ; his eyes always fixt on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake ; the design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake ; and with these reasons, such a kind of rhetorick, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety ; studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications ; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself ; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernible in a preacher, ‘ as a natural from an artificial beauty.’

“ He never failed, the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy ; but especially the last ; saying often, ‘ That the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetorick, and so convincing, that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like

those of the strictest lives.' And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door; into which place he retired every day, and lockt himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.<sup>1</sup>

“He would by no means omit the customary time of *Procession*, persuading all both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation;”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here we find incidental evidence that in the seventeenth century no technical distinction between “abstinence” and “fasting” was recognized, such as since the year 1781 has obtained currency amongst Roman Catholics in England. In the writings of Andrewes, Beveridge, Bull, Burnet, Cosin, Gunning, Sparrow, Jeremy Taylor, Wilson (all of whom were Anglican bishops), and Bingham, Evelyn, Heylyn, Hooker, Johnson, L'Estrange and Thorndike, who treat more or less fully of the subject of fasting, the terms “fasting” and “abstinence” are used interchangeably with one and the same meaning. There is no evidence forthcoming that the revisers of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661, when the list of Fasts was first inserted, intended to adopt the Roman system of distinguishing abstinence from fasting.

<sup>2</sup> The reference here is to the observance of the Rogation days, on which it was the custom to beat the bounds of the parishes. Dr. Rock in *The Church of our Fathers*, Vol. IV. p. 107, has—“The procession all about the fields and lanes of a country parish, and through the streets and alleys of a town, on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, before the feast of the Ascension, and now called *Rogation Week*, but then, *The Gang Days* . . .” The Rogation perambulation was ordered by the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1559—“But yet for the retaining of the perambulation of the circuits of parishes, they shall once in the year at the time accustomed, with the curate

and most did so : in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people ; still inclining them and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindnesses, and love ; because ‘love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.’

“He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsummoned ; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them ; and having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession,<sup>1</sup> and bewailing their sins, with

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and the substantial men of the parish, walk about their parishes, as they were accustomed, and at their return to the church, make their common prayers. Provided, that the curate in their said common perambulations, used heretofore in the days of rogations, at certain convenient places shall admonish the people to give thanks to God, in the beholding of God’s benefits, for the increase and abundance of his fruits upon the face of the earth, with the saying of the 103rd Psalm, *Benedic anima mea, etc.*, or such like.”—Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, Oxford 1844, i. p. 220. The observance of the Rogation days was introduced into England from Gaul, before the custom was known at Rome. See Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, ch. ii. § 34, p. 147 ; also *Leofric Missal*, p. xlii. note.

<sup>1</sup> The rubric in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick in Queen Elizabeth’s Prayer Book of 1559, which was the only

purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

“And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent lawsuits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other’s infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) ‘he that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love.’ And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion; and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces; this was his advice: and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in

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Prayer Book used by Hooker, was—“Here shall the sick person make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the priest shall absolve him after this sort . . .” In the revision of 1662, the rubric of 1559 and 1604 was altered to commence—“Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession . . .” Walton’s use of the word “incline” above, seems to point to his having the rubric of 1662 in mind, as in the case of the place for the public catechizing, referred to above, p. 69, note 2.



this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him, in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blest with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

“This was his constant behaviour both at Borne and in all the places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God and tread the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man; his was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah’s by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had heretical enemies,) a slander which this age calls *trepanning*;<sup>1</sup> the particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* blackmailing.

confession of his innocency. It was said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his Books' sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burden, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer: who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, 'The Lord forgive them;' and, 'The Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, *Friends are born for the days of adversity*, and such you

have proved to me: and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein He looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.* And, O my God, neither my life nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me, when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast: blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord; for when false witnesses were risen up against me, when shame was ready to cover my face, when my nights were restless, when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies: the net is broken and they are taken in it. O blessed are they that put their trust in thee; and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction; for with such sacrifices, thou, O God, art well pleased; and I will pay them.'

“ Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth. And it is observable,

that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dovelike simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated: for, though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, 'Vengeance is mine:' and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the menage<sup>1</sup> of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it: and yet, nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write; for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, 'That however he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment.' And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the management.

penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, ‘O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul after I was free from the fears of my slander! and how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!’<sup>1</sup>

Of the closing days of Richard Hooker’s life, we shall read in the next chapter of this work.

<sup>1</sup> Walton’s *Life*, pp. 77 ff.

## CHAPTER V

### HOOKER'S LAST DAYS — HIS WILL — HIS EPI- TAPH AND MONUMENT—CHRONOLOGY OF HOOKER'S LIFE

IN reading the conclusion of any biography, there naturally comes the expectation that the closing scenes of the life should be described in detail, and the last words of the subject of the biography should be recorded. And in this expectation good Isaac Walton does not disappoint us. His description of the last days of Richard Hooker, derived doubtless from an eyewitness, forms probably the most exquisitely beautiful and moving piece of biography extant in the English language. In exhibiting the sweetness, humility, and sanctity of Hooker's character, Walton is clearly true and reliable, although, possibly, he has kept in the background some of its stronger and sterner features. Rarely, if ever, has any life been written with larger sympathy or more glowing love than that of Richard Hooker ;

and this is particularly true of the concluding pages of Walton's biography. Incomparably great as a theologian, an original and profound thinker, Hooker is greater still in his meekness and saintliness; and it is just in this latter aspect of his character that he lives before our eyes in the lines in which Walton records the events of the closing days of his earthly career, and his passing away from time to eternity.

Richard Hooker died as he had lived and worked: he died as a great Churchman, fortified by the sweet and powerful consolations of the Catholic religion, of the reasonableness of which he had written so convincingly and magnificently, of the truth of which he had been so enlightened and strenuous an exponent, to the power of which his whole life had borne so incontestable and vivid a witness. He passed away into the presence of the Master, "whose he was and whom he served," contemplating the Divine order in the heavenly places, uttering words so characteristic of the man who had recognized and used to the full the great opportunity which came to him of setting forth, in a style matchless and unapproachable, the claims of Almighty God to the obedience of His sons—words which form so singularly beautiful a paraphrase of the great petition

of the Our Father, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"—words which told of the "blessed obedience and order of angels, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and, oh that it might be so on earth!" But let Isaac Walton again speak—

"About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for, after that time till his death he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights: but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said after to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life), 'That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining Books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;' which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though He denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last three Books of *The Ecclesiastical Polity* were published from his rough notes after his death. "The three Books, as they are now extant, may be taken as representing the best that could be made of rough, unfinished, and incomplete papers,



and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his Books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

“About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then, to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian Angel seemed to foretell him, that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which, his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

“In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, ‘Are my books and written papers safe?’ and being answered, that they were, his reply was, ‘Then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me.’

“About one day before his death, Dr.

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believed to be by Hooker, but never printed until he had been long dead and they had passed through several hands. . . . Altogether, there seems no reason to doubt that the Books represent his work: though it is in a form in which he would never have let it come abroad.” Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, pp. 263, 264.

Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution,<sup>1</sup> it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end, the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, 'That he was meditating the number

<sup>1</sup> The use of private confession was quite common in the sixteenth century, as may be seen from a reference to the long series of quotations given in *Hierurgia Anglicana*, De la More Press, 1904. Ed. Vernon Staley. Part III. pp. 31-82. Quotations from Hooker's *Eccles. Pol.* are given later.

and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh that it might be so on earth!’<sup>1</sup> After which words he said, ‘I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near; and, though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord shew mercy to me, for I plead not my

<sup>1</sup> These memorable words recall a magnificent passage in *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which Hooker speaks of “the law which angels do work by,” and which begins thus—“But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footstool to the throne of God, and leaving these natural, consider a little the state of heavenly and divine creatures: touching angels, which are spirits immaterial and intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of those sacred palaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable passions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever doth dwell: as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies, so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them, such observants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself being to set down the perfect idea of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven. . . .”—Bk. I. ch. iv. § 1.

righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners; and since I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done!' With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous, as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: 'Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and He is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church more service, but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not.' More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man

shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity ; and with it, a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

“In the mean time, bless, O Lord, Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation : for these will bring peace at the last ! And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed when he undertook them : which was, ‘Glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy Church, and good-will to mankind !’

“Amen, Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life*, pp. 84 ff.

## RICHARD HOOKER'S WILL <sup>1</sup>

*Dated October 26, 1600; proved December 3, 1600.*

In the name of God, Amen. This sixe and twentieth of October, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and sixe hundred, I Richard Hooker of Bishopsborne, though sicke in bodye, yet sounde in minde, thankes be unto almighty God, doe ordaine and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge. First, I bequeth my soule unto allmightye God my Creator, hopinge assuredly of my salvation purchased thorough the death of Christ Jesus, and my bodye to the earth to be buried at the discretion of mine executor. *Item*, I give and bequeth unto my daughter Alice Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money, to be paide unto her at the day of her marriage. *Item*, I give and bequeth unto my daughter Cicilye Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe moneye, to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage. *Item*, I

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from the Registry of the Archdeacon's Court of Canterbury.

give and bequethe unto my daughter Jane Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe money, to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage. *Item*, I give unto my daughter Margaret Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe moneye, to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage. And if it shall happen any of my said daughters to departe this life before the day of their said marriage, then I will that her or their portion so dieinge, shall be equally divided among her or their sisters survivinge. *Item*, I give and bequeth unto the poor of the p'ishe of Barha five pounds of lawful money, to be paid unto them by mine executor. *Item*, I give unto the poore of the p'ishe of Bishopesborne fiftye shillings of lawful Englishe money, to be paid unto them by mine executor. *Item*, I give and bequeth three pounds of lawful Englishe money towards the buildinge and makeing of a newe and sufficient pulpett in the p'ishe church of Bishopesborne. The residue of goods and chattells whatsoever unbequethed, my funeral, debts, and legacies, discharged and paid, I give unto Joane Hooker, my wel beloved wife, whom I ordaine and make sole executor of this my last will and testament. And I ordaine, and make my wel-beloved father, Mr. John Churchman, and my assured good frende,



TABLET IN CHANCEL, BISHOPSBORNE, NEAR CANTERBURY,  
OVER HOOKER'S GRAVE.

*Erected by Sir William Cooper, 1635.*

[To face p. 91.





Mr. Edwin Sandes, my overseers. By me, Richard Hooker. Sealed and delivered in the presence of them, whose names are subscribed; Robert Rose, Daniel Nichols, Avery Cheston. Proved the third day of December, 1600, before the Rev. James Bissel, clerk, surr'ate to Rev. George Newman, Doctor of Laws, Commissary General of the city and diocese of Canterbury, by the oath of Joane Hooker, widow, the relict and executrix named in the said will, &c. THOS. BACKHOUSE, Registrar. Inventory, 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* Ex. WM. CULLEN.

EPITAPH IN MEMORY OF  
RICHARD HOOKER

COMPOSED BY SIR WILLIAM COOPER<sup>1</sup>

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his  
fame,  
Or the remembrance of that precious name,  
Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent  
On him that hath a lasting monument  
In his own Books, yet ought we to express,  
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.  
Church ceremonies he maintained, then why  
Without all ceremony should he die?  
Was it because his life and death should be  
Both equal patterns of humility?  
Or that perhaps this only glorious one  
Was above all to ask, why had he none?  
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low  
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.  
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more  
wise;

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Cooper, or Cowper, suffered imprisonment, the loss of his son, and other calamities, for his fidelity to K. Charles I.

Humility is the true way to rise:  
 And God in me this lesson did inspire,  
 To bid this humble man, Friend, sit up  
 higher.

INSCRIPTION ON  
 RICHARD HOOKER'S MONUMENT<sup>1</sup>  
 IN BISHOPSBORNE CHURCH

SUNT MELIORA MIHI

RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHOLARIS SOCIUSQ:  
 COLLEGII CORP. XPI OXON. DEINDE LONDONIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS  
 IN SACRIS MAGISTER RECTORQ HUIUS ECCLIE. SCRIPSIT VIII  
 LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM  
 TRES DESIDERANTUR.

OBIIT AN<sup>o</sup>. DOM. MDCIII. ETATIS SUÆ L.

POSUIT HOC PISSIMO VIRO MONUMENTUM AN<sup>o</sup>. DOM. MDCXXXIII.

WILLIELMUS COWPER ARMIGER

IN CHRISTO JESU

QUEM GENUIT PER EVANGELIUM.

1 Cor. iv. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Hooker's monument was set up in Bishopsborne church at the expense of Sir William Cooper. As Hooker died A.D. 1600, the date given above is a mistake, as also his age.

## AT HOOKER'S TOMB

THE grey-eyed morn was sadden'd with a  
shower,  
A silent shower, that trickled down so still,  
Scarce droop'd beneath its weight the tenderest  
flower,  
Scarce could you trace it on the twinkling rill,  
Or moss-stone bathed in dew. It was an hour  
Most meet for prayer beside thy lowly grave,  
Most for thanksgiving meet, that Heaven such  
power  
To thy serene and humble spirit gave.  
"Who sow good seed with tears shall reap in  
joy."  
So thought I as I watch'd the gracious rain,  
And deem'd it like that silent sad employ  
Whence sprung thy glory's harvest, to remain  
For ever. God hath sworn to lift on high  
Who sinks himself by true humility.

JOHN KEBLE.

*Aug. 1817.*

"The original MS. is on a half-sheet of foolscap paper, folded, with a piece of dried wall-rue in it, no doubt gathered on the spot."—Keble, *Miscellaneous Poems*, Oxford, 1869.

## CHRONOLOGY OF HOOKER'S LIFE

	A.D.
Born about Easter ...	1553-4
Came to Oxford about ...	1567-8
Scholar ( <i>discipulus</i> ) Corpus Christi College ...	Dec. 24, 1573
B.A. ... ..	Jan. 14, 1573-4
M.A. ... ..	March 29, 1577
Fellow ( <i>scholaris</i> ) Corpus Christi College ...	Sept. 16, 1577
Hebrew Lecturer ...	1579
Temporary Expulsion ...	1580
Ordination ... ..	1580-1 ?
Marriage ... ..	?
Instituted to Drayton Beauchamp ...	Dec. 9, ? 1584
Master of the Temple ...	March 17, 1584-5
Controversy with Travers 'Ecclesiastical Polity' begun ... ..	1585-6.
Instituted to Boscombe ...	1591
Subdean and Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral ...	July 23, 1591

‘Ecclesiastical Polity’ entered at Stationer’s Hall	Jan. 29, 1592-3
‘Ecclesiastical Polity,’ Books I.-IV. published	1594 ?
Instituted to Bishopsborne	July 7, 1595
‘Ecclesiastical Polity,’ Book V. published ...	1597
Died ... ..	Nov. 2, 1600

## CHAPTER VI

HOOKER'S TREATISE 'OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY'—ITS INCEPTION—ITS DESIGN—ITS OPPORTUNITY—ITS STYLE—WHITGIFT AND HOOKER

To the circumstances which led Richard Hooker to devote the main energies of the best of his days to writing his great treatise *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, some slight allusion has already been made in this volume. The treatise was, as we have seen, the outcome of the keen controversy at the Temple. The great and absorbing questions raised in his dispute with Travers and Cartwright, and the Puritan party which they represented, led Hooker to investigate and study, to think and write, to some purpose. The intense earnestness of the whole affair forms one of its most striking features. Hooker's attitude towards Travers, with whom he was at first more immediately concerned, was quite admirable; for he seems to have appreciated very fully the *bona fides* of his opponent, and



to have recognized very justly his learning. Religious controversy with the genuinely sincere and well informed is always disquieting. To find doctrines, which have been loved, believed, and acted upon during long years, rudely challenged and regarded as dangerous mistakes or even serious corruptions of divinely revealed truth, is sufficiently startling and perplexing; and specially is this so when those who oppose are earnest and godly men. And such was undoubtedly the case in the acute controversy between the Master and the Lecturer of the Temple, at the close of the sixteenth century. With Hooker, certainly, and we have no right to think it was otherwise with Travers, the object in view was not to gain advantage over an antagonist, but to assert and justify that which he held to be the truth. And such an object, surely, does enoble any religious controversy, lifting it far above personal considerations. It is Mr. Hallam, who, in referring to the religious disputes of the period, spoke of Richard Hooker, in contrast with other controversialists, descending into the arena "like a knight of romance with arms of finer temper."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Constit. Hist.*, ch. iv. (i. 215)—"But while these scenes of pride and persecution on the one hand, and of sectarian insolence

To one so humble and just as Richard Hooker, the attitude of Travers and his friends must have caused deep searching of heart. He found his teaching resolutely resisted on the ground that it was unsound, and that in proclaiming it he was spreading error. And so the challenge came to Hooker to review his doctrinal position and to re-examine foundations, in the supreme interest of that divine truth which he was commissioned to proclaim. "It was an experience," says Dr. Paget, "that came to him as a challenge; not shaking his belief, but setting him a task; sending him back to scrutinize with fresh severity and detail the foundations of his belief; to see exactly why he was sure and where his opponent might have missed the way; somewhat as a mathematician may retrace, even more minutely than he himself may need, every step in a long process, not in doubt of his own result, but in deference to another's difficulty, and looking out for the point which that other

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on the other, were deforming the bosom of the English Church, she found a defender of her institutions in one who mingled in these vulgar controversies like a knight of romance among caitiff brawlers, with arms of finer temper and worthy to be proved in a nobler field." Hallam's estimate of the controversy with the Puritans is hardly worthy of his sagacity. "Seen, as we look back on it, in its completeness," wrote Dean Church, "it seems a sufficiently noble field."—*Introduction to Hooker, Bk. I., p. x. note.*

may have missed. So Hooker read and thought laboriously,<sup>1</sup> examining his own mind and conscience, and the writings of other men, and the Bible, hoping that he might not merely satisfy himself afresh and leave himself no room or corner for a doubt to rise out of, but also that he might commend to others' conscience what was thus clear to his own, and free them from all scruples about obedience to those laws which seemed to him so certainly authoritative. That was the task that Travers' opposition set him. . . . And so, as he toiled on, painstaking, unremitting, resolute—labouring, in his own phrase, even to anatomize every particle of that body which he was to uphold sound—he formed his brave design: to display the universal field of law; to show how by the will and providence of God the whole world and all the ways of men are included in that system, vast and manifold, whereby through diverse channels the authority and beneficence of law travels to the diverse fields of human life; and then to claim for the legislative action of the Church its rightful place and its divine sanction within that sacred system which

<sup>1</sup> "It is utterly astonishing to look at the list of the books which he uses in his work (see Keble's edition of *Hooker's Works*, Vol. III. pp. 730-736), and at the exacting thoroughness of his extant writings; to think of the vast amount of his labour of which no trace remains; and to remember that he was only forty-seven when he died."—Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 7.

reaches from the throne of the Most High to the least of the creatures He has made."<sup>1</sup>

The Puritan system with which Richard Hooker found himself face to face, and which he so resolutely and courageously set himself the task of discrediting, speaking broadly, was based on the assumption that, in all matters affecting religious worship, discipline, and government, an unchangeable rule is laid down in Holy Scripture, and in Holy Scripture alone. This "Bibliolatry," as it has been well termed, was the first principle of Hooker's Puritan antagonists. It was, and still is, a principle fraught with most dangerous consequences; in that, by exaggerating the authority of Scripture, it ultimately tends to overthrow that authority in its right exercise. Upon this error Hooker says, "As incredible praises given unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so we must likewise take heed, lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath abundantly to be less reverently esteemed."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction* . . . ., pp. 87, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. II. ch. viii. § 7.

The principles against which Hooker protested have been so admirably expressed by a modern writer, that we venture upon the following quotation—"At the basis of the whole of his (Hooker's) opponents' system there lay a twofold fundamental fallacy, an exaggeration of that great truth of the 'sufficiency of Holy Scripture to salvation,' which is one of the pivot Articles of the Church of England. It was held (by the Puritans) that no law could be of permanent obligation which was not expressed in Holy Scripture, and that no law which was contained in any part of Holy Scripture could fail to be of permanent obligation. With the former fallacy, most of the characteristic tenets of the party were closely connected. From it resulted in Ritual their hatred of all ceremony not formally enjoined in Holy Scripture, and their refusal to recognize any authority in the Church to impose such ceremony, and thereby (it was conceived) to fetter the individual freedom. By it, undoubtedly, they justified their refusal to acknowledge Episcopal authority in the Church, the supreme government of the Crown, and, ultimately, the existence of a National Church as a body. On this they based the Divine right of a system depending on the predestination and election of God,

revealed (as undoubtedly they are revealed) in Holy Scripture ; and defended their refusal to recognize any historical development of the Church not completed in the Apostolic age. To the latter fallacy, probably less serious in itself, we must trace very much of that spirit which, as has been well said, especially of the Covenanters of Scotland, made them 'Christians of the Old Testament rather than of the New.'"<sup>1</sup>

In opposition to the Puritan contention Hooker urged that, in order to discover what the Divine order is, we must have recourse not only to the written word of God, but also to the moral relations, the historical development, and the social and political institutions of the human race :<sup>2</sup> and, in determining the laws of this Divine order, he asserted the function of human reason. And, moreover, he claimed for human reason the office of distinguishing in the Bible record, between what is changeable and what is unchangeable, between what is of merely temporal and what is of lasting obligation.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barry's Lecture on "Richard Hooker," in *Masters of English Theology*, Lond. 1877, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> "To what Hooker considered the fundamental mistake of the Puritans, an exaggerated and false theory of the purpose and function of Scripture as the exclusive guide of human conduct, he opposed his own more comprehensive theory of a rule derived not from one alone, but from all the sources of light and truth with which man finds himself encompassed."—R. W. Church, *Introduction to Hooker, Bk. I.*, p. xvi.

These form the general principles upon which Hooker founds his famous argument.

The design of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, as stated by Richard Hooker, was to settle current controversies concerning religion and government, and "to resolve the conscience, and to show as near as I can what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection."<sup>1</sup> The method adopted, to quote the author's words, was—"our endeavour is not so much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the object in view, and the method adopted to attain it, alike, are quite admirable: from this object Hooker never swerved, from this method he never departed, throughout the course of his great argument with the Puritans.

There is another matter closely connected with the writing and publication of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, to which some reference should be made, namely, that which may be described

<sup>1</sup> *Hooker's Works*, 7th ed. Preface, vii. 1, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. V. ch. i. § 1.

as "its opportunity."<sup>1</sup> The early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign were years of religious upheaval, confusion, and hurry. What is sometimes, rightly or wrongly, called the Elizabethan Settlement was not as yet an accomplished fact. "The feverish and exclusive dread of Romanism" which had occupied men's minds and filled the horizon for some thirty years, began, through the course of events, gradually to subside. Mary Stuart, "at the cost of a great national crime," to use Mr. Keble's words, had been beheaded; and thus the fear of a Romanist succession in the throne was for a time at least removed. The chief hope of the papal party in England being thus rudely disappointed, it at once transferred its allegiance to Philip, King of Spain, in the trust that he would become the saviour of the ecclesiastical situation. But two years later, the eager aspirations of the party were again dashed by the overthrow of Philip's supreme effort to restore the Roman system: the Spanish Armada was destroyed in July 1588, and with it perished the expectation of any immediate restoration of the papal rule. The English nation now breathed more freely, and it is distinctly observable that the failure of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Keble draws attention to this in his Preface to *Hooker's Works*, § 35.



advocates of the Roman claims to gain their object, gave a special colour to the Church's controversy with the Puritan faction, which was making itself felt in downright earnest. The objective in the Church's attack was now no longer Romanism, but Puritanism.

Within a few months of the dispersion and destruction of the Spanish Armada, Bancroft (January 12, 1589) preached and printed his celebrated sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he maintained that episcopacy was *jure divino*, and therefore essential to the Church's life. This sermon, to which allusion has been made above, has been considered by some to be "the first express development of high church principles here."<sup>1</sup> At this very time Hooker was hard at work upon *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, participating, doubtless, in the general relief experienced through the discomfiture of the papal party, and gaining therefrom boldness to hit out more freely and with less hesitation, and to use his pen with less caution and reserve in defence of the Catholic heritage of the English Church. It was one of those historical occasions on which as the hour strikes the man appears. In the case of Richard Hooker, those who love the English Church recognize in him and in the opportunity which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keble's Preface to *Hooker's Works*, § 35.

came to him, the special dealings of Divine Providence. To the call which came to him in the publicity of his London life, and in his obscurity at Boscombe and Bishopsborne, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* is the answer; and we may, I think, without exaggeration or presumption, point back to him as a brilliant example of correspondence to the vocation of God. Many a name has found place in the kalendar of the Church, for far less satisfactory reasons than those which attach themselves to the memory of Richard Hooker.

Hooker's great treatise not only possesses a distinctive excellence considered from a theological standpoint, but it is also a literary performance of rare merit: it is one of those productions which, in strictest sense and in more ways than one, may be termed "epoch-making." Both as a theologian and as a writer, Hooker stands out indisputably eminent amongst the great names of his time—and it was a time when "there were giants on the earth." From both points of view, no one is more adequately equipped to give an opinion on the value of *The Ecclesiastical Polity* than the late Dean Church, who was not only a distinguished theologian, but also an acknowledged master

of English prose ; and who, in addition to these qualifications, studied Hooker's teaching and style for a long period with extraordinary care and diligence. Students of Hooker owe to Dean Church an enormous debt of gratitude, not only for his great work, in co-operation with Dr. Paget, in giving to the English Church the standard edition of *Hooker's Works*, to which frequent reference has been already made in the foregoing pages of this volume, but also for his exquisitely written Introduction to Book I. of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*. In this Introduction Dean Church speaks of Hooker's work and style thus—

“Hooker's writings mark an epoch at once in the history of English thought, and in the progress of the English language. . . . They are of high importance, not only in themselves, but as illustrative of the remarkable age in which they were produced and of which they bear the stamp. The last ten years of the century and of Elizabeth's reign saw, besides the five Books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, the publication of the first works of Shakespeare, the first essays of Bacon, the Faery Queene of Spenser. Ten years have not often produced such fruit. Hooker, like Shakespeare and Bacon, may be said to have opened a new vein in the use of the English language. He

showed that it was possible to write theology in English in a way which should at once raise the level of thought in the learned, and be of interest to the public. There had been a long preparation going on in the sixteenth century for a great philosophical work in English prose, in which its powers should be applied to the adequate treatment of subjects which were filling the thoughts of men. . . . But no one had risen to the conception of a great plan and idea; of a wide and philosophical survey, which the English language should be called upon to interpret and illustrate, of the deeper and more permanent relations of the pressing questions of the time. . . . The story told by Walton of the learned English Romanist, who said to Pope Clement VIII. that he had never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author till he had read the first four Books of a 'poor obscure English priest, on Laws and Church Polity,' at least expresses the fact that Hooker is really the beginner of what deserves to be called English literature, in its theological and philosophical province."<sup>1</sup> The same writer says later, "The book first revealed to the nation what English prose might be."<sup>2</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Church, *Introduction to Book I. Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. Clarendon Press, pp. xiv. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. xix.

again, in another work, "The grandeur and force of English prose began in Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity.'"<sup>1</sup>

Of the contents of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, we will speak in the next Chapter; and certain quotations from the treatise, from which the reader may judge of Hooker's style, will be found at the close of this volume.

The following passage from the pen of Dr. Gardiner<sup>2</sup> is worthy of quotation, as showing the assistance which Archbishop Whitgift, in his struggle with the Puritans, received from the writings of Richard Hooker—

"The Church of England would certainly not have sustained itself against the Puritans unless it had found a champion of a higher order than Whitgift. Whitgift maintained its organization, but he did no more. Cranmer, at the beginning of the Reformation, had declared the Bible as interpreted by the writers of the first six centuries to be the test of doctrine, but this assertion had been met during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, on the one hand by the (Roman) Catholics, who asserted that the Church of the first six

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Church, *Spenser*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *A Student's History of England*, Lond. 1898, p. 472.

centuries differed much from the Church of England of their day, and on the other hand by the Puritans, who asserted that the testimony of the first six centuries was irrelevant, and that the Bible alone was to be consulted. Whitgift had called both parties to obedience, on the ground that they ought to submit to the queen in indifferent matters. Hooker, in the opening of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, called the Puritans to peace. 'This unhappy controversy,' he declared, 'about the received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, which hath so long time withdrawn so many of her ministers from their principal works and employed their studies in contentious oppositions ; hath, by the unnatural growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made known to the world, that it never received blessing from the Father of peace.'<sup>1</sup> Hooker's teaching was distinguished by the importance which he assigned to 'law,' as against the blind acceptance of Papal decisions on the one side and against the Puritan reverence for the letter of the Scriptures on the other. The Puritans were wrong, as he taught, not because they disobeyed the queen, but because they did not recognize that God revealed

<sup>1</sup> These words are from Dr. Spencer's Preface to the first five Books of Hooker's work, and are not Hooker's, as stated by Dr. Gardiner.—See *Hooker's Works*, Vol. I. p. 121.

himself in the natural laws of the world as well as in the letter of Scripture. 'Of law,' he wrote, 'there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power, both angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.'<sup>1</sup> It was therefore unnecessary, according to Hooker's teaching, to defend certain usages on the ground of their sanction by tradition or by Papal authority, as it was unreasonable to attack them on the ground that they were not mentioned in Scripture. It was sufficient that they were fitting expressions of the feelings of reverence which had been implanted by God in human nature itself."

<sup>1</sup> Bk. I. ch. xvi. § 8.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CONTENTS OF 'THE LAWS OF ECCLE- SIASTICAL POLITY'

To give anything like a full and complete analysis of the Eight Books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, is quite beyond the scope of this account of Richard Hooker and his great work. The following pages reproduce, with a certain amount of limited comment, the synopsis of the contents of each of the Eight Books which form Hooker's treatise, drawn mainly from Dean Church and Dr. Paget's edition of *Hooker's Works*.

### THE FIRST BOOK

#### CONCERNING LAWS AND THEIR SEVERAL KINDS IN GENERAL

- I. The cause of writing this general Discourse concerning Laws.
- II. Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.
- III. The Law which natural agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
- IV. The Law which the Angels of God obey.



- V. The Law whereby Man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
- VI. Men's first beginning to understand that Law.
- VII. Of Man's Will, which is the first thing that Laws of action are made to guide.
- VIII. Of the natural finding out of Laws by the light of Reason, to guide the Will unto that which is good.
- IX. Of the benefit of keeping that Law which Reason teacheth.
- X. How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws whereby the fellowship or communion of independent Societies standeth.
- XI. Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernatural Laws as do serve for men's direction.
- XII. The cause why so many natural or rational Laws are set down in Holy Scripture.
- XIII. The benefit of having divine Laws written.
- XIV. The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.
- XV. Of Laws positive contained in Scripture, the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.
- XVI. A Conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

“The purpose of the First Book is to define the nature of law in general, and to display the universal scheme whereby the eternal law of God is derived and conveyed to all orders of his creatures in regard to all activities of their being. This scheme is a system of laws,

that is to say of 'directive rules unto goodness of operation' (Bk. I. viii. § 4), impressed upon God's creatures in diverse ways: by nature, by human enactment, by revelation. In this system the laws of ecclesiastical polity have their place; and the authority they bear, the manner of their enactment, the limits of their scope, can only be rightly estimated when they are seen in their place in the universal scheme."<sup>1</sup>

## THE SECOND BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR FIRST POSITION WHO URGE  
REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENG-  
LAND: NAMELY, THAT SCRIPTURE IS THE  
ONLY RULE OF ALL THINGS WHICH IN THIS  
LIFE MAY BE DONE BY MEN

- I. An answer to their first proof brought out of Scripture, Prov. ii. 9.
- II. To their second, 1 Cor. x. 31.
- III. To their third, 1 Tim. iv. 5.
- IV. To their fourth, Rom. xiv. 23.
- V. To their proofs out of Fathers, who dispute negatively from authority of Holy Scripture.
- VI. To their proof by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.
- VII. An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and persuasions.
- VIII. A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 99.

After setting forth in the First Book the true conception of law, and of all life as governed by law, in the Second Book, Hooker “deals with that deep principle of the Puritans which most broadly and directly traverses this conception—the principle that Scripture ‘is in such sort the rule of human actions, that simply whatsoever we do and are not by it directed thereunto, the same is sin.’ ‘Whereas God hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they’ (the Puritans) ‘hold that one only law, the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things’ (Bk. II. i. §§ 3, 2). The main ground on which Hooker rejects this principle has been displayed in the First Book: it reappears naturally at many points in the Second.”<sup>1</sup>

## THE THIRD BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR SECOND ASSERTION, THAT IN  
SCRIPTURE THERE MUST BE OF NECESSITY  
CONTAINED A FORM OF CHURCH POLITY,  
THE LAWS WHEREOF MAY IN NOWISE BE  
ALTERED

- I. What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 103.

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- II. Whether it be necessary that some particular Form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such Form are not of necessity to Salvation.
- III. That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers for so teaching.
- IV. That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing which thereunto with the soundness of truth may be given.
- V. Their meaning who first urged against the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be established in the Church more than is commanded by the Word of God.
- VI. How great injury men by so thinking should offer unto all the Churches of God.
- VII. A shift notwithstanding to maintain it, by interpreting *commanded*, as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set down in Scripture particularly, and lesser framed by the general rules of Scripture.
- VIII. Another device to defend the same, by expounding *commanded*, as if it did signify *grounded* on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by light of natural reason only.
- IX. How Laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how those Laws being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his sight.
- X. That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.

XI. Whether Christ must needs intend **Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himself did deliver.**

“In the Third Book, Hooker deals with an assertion which was meant to serve as a major premise for settling the controversy: the assertion ‘that in Scripture there must be of necessity contained a form of Church polity, the laws whereof may in nowise be altered.’ For it seemed to the Puritans derogatory to the importance of Church polity and to the completeness of Scripture to doubt that Scripture had made full and permanent provision for the government and discipline and order of the Church . . . . Hooker begins the Third Book by asking what the Church is.”<sup>1</sup>

## THE FOURTH BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR THIRD ASSERTION, THAT  
OUR FORM OF CHURCH POLITY IS CORRUPTED WITH POPISH ORDERS, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, BANISHED OUT OF CERTAIN REFORMED CHURCHES, WHOSE EXAMPLE THEREIN WE OUGHT TO HAVE FOLLOWED

- I. How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.
- II. The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness.

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 106.

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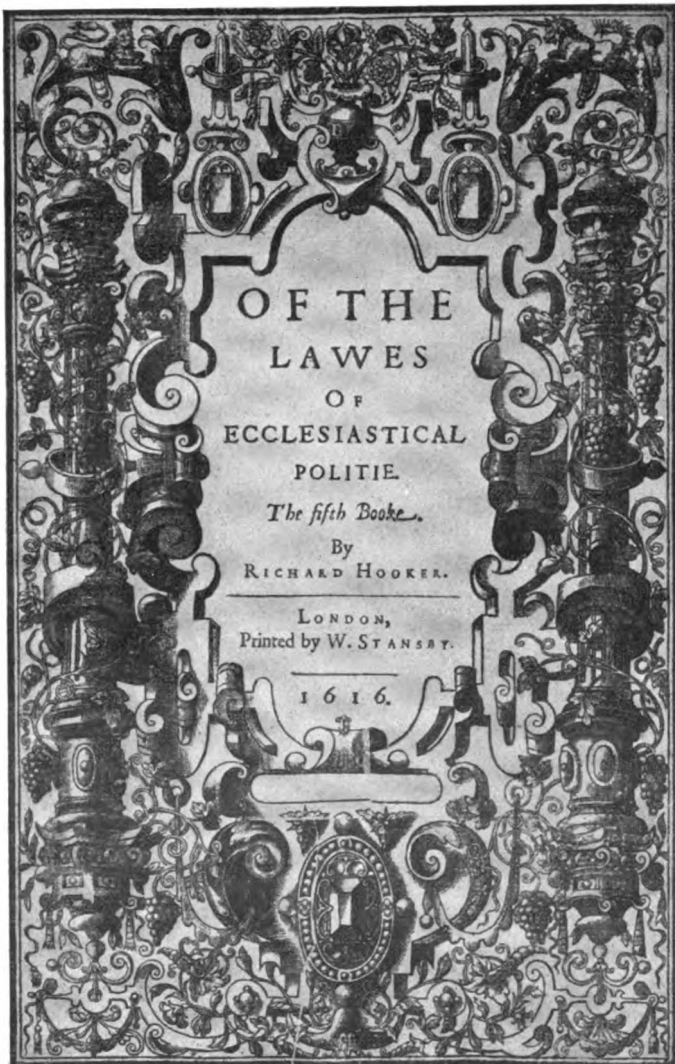
- III. The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome useth ; and the reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blame-worthy.
- IV. How when they go about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own arguments against Popish Ceremonies.
- V. An answer to the argument whereby they would prove, that sith we allow the customs of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customs as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are of that Church as of our fathers.
- VI. To their allegation, that the course of God's own wisdom doth make against our conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.
- VII. To the example of the eldest Churches which they bring for the same purpose.
- VIII. That it is not our best polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being unsound.
- IX. That neither the Papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our ceremonies than the former allegations have done.
- X. The grief which they say godly brethren conceive at such ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome.
- XI. The third thing for which they reprove a great part of our ceremonies is, for that as we have them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Jews.
- XII. The fourth, for that sundry of them have been (they

say) abused unto idolatry, and are by that mean become scandalous.

XIII. The fifth, for that we retain them still, notwithstanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have cast them out.

XIV. A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for the establishment of things as they are.

“In the Fourth Book, Hooker deals with another general ground of Puritan antagonism to the rites and ceremonies of the Church; the assertion ‘that our form of Church polity is corrupted with Popish orders, rites, and ceremonies, banished out of certain reformed Churches, whose example therein we ought to have followed.’” He regards ceremonies as “the outward fashion in which great public duties are done; not the substance of these duties, but their becoming accessories and circumstances, serving either to teach or to move men’s hearts.” He traces the general principle of using outward ceremonies to the law of nature. “The ceremonies which we have taken from such as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customs of the Church of Christ, whereof ourselves being a part, we have the selfsame interest in them which our fathers before us had, from whom



TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF HOOKER, A.D. 1616.

[To face p. 119.]





the same are descended unto us." (Bk. IV. ix. § i.)<sup>1</sup>

## THE FIFTH BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR FOURTH ASSERTION, THAT TOUCHING THE SEVERAL PUBLIC DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, THERE IS AMONGST US MUCH SUPERSTITION RETAINED IN THEM ; AND CONCERNING PERSONS WHICH FOR PERFORMANCE OF THOSE DUTIES ARE ENDUED WITH THE POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, OUR LAWS AND PROCEEDINGS ACCORDING THEREUNTO ARE MANY WAYS HEREIN ALSO CORRUPT

- I. True Religion is the root of all true virtues and the stay of all well-ordered commonwealths.
- II. The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheism.
- III. Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.
- IV. Of the redress of superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this book.
- V. Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted, concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And, fifthly, of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.
- VI. The first proposition touching judgment what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of church affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, pp. 120-122.

- VII. The second proposition.
- VIII. The third proposition.
- IX. The fourth proposition.
- X. The rule of men's private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.
- XI. Places for the public service of God.
- XII. The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the adversary.
- XIII. Of the names whereby we distinguish our Churches.
- XIV. Of the fashion of our Churches.
- XV. The sumptuousness of Churches.
- XVI. What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.
- XVII. Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
- XVIII. Of public teaching or preaching, and the first kind thereof, catechizing.
- XIX. Of preaching by reading publicly the books of Holy Scripture ; and concerning supposed untruths in those Translations of Scripture which we allow to be read ; as also of the choice which we make in reading.
- XX. Of preaching by the public reading of other profitable instructions ; and concerning books Apocryphal.
- XXI. Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.
- XXII. What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.
- XXIII. Of Prayer.
- XXIV. Of public Prayer.

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- XXV. Of the form of Common Prayer.
- XXVI. Of them which like not to have any set form of Common Prayer.
- XXVII. Of them who allowing a set form of prayer yet allow not ours.
- XXVIII. The form of our Liturgy too near the papists', too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
- XXIX. Attire belonging to the service of God.
- XXX. Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.
- XXXI. Easiness of praying after our form.
- XXXII. The length of our service.
- XXXIII. Instead of such prayers as the primitive Churches have used, and those that the reformed now use, we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreadings, rather wishes than prayers.
- XXXIV. Lessons intermingled with our prayers.
- XXXV. The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.
- XXXVI. The people's saying after the minister.
- XXXVII. Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.
- XXXVIII. Of Music with Psalms.
- XXXIX. Of singing or saying Psalms, and other parts of Common Prayer wherein the people and the minister answer one another by course.
  - XL. Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.
  - XLI. Of the Litany.
  - XLII. Of Athanasius's Creed, and *Gloria Patri*.
  - XLIII. Our want of particular thanksgiving.
  - XLIV. In some things the matter of our prayer, as they affirm, is unsound.
  - XLV. "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of

death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all believers."

- XLVI. Touching prayer for deliverance from sudden death.
- XLVII. Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son would vouchsafe to grant.
- XLVIII. Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.
- XLIX. Prayer that all men may find mercy.
- L. Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.
- LI. That God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son, who is very God.
- LII. The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ.
- LIII. That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.
- LIV. What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.
- LV. Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.
- LVI. The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.
- LVII. The necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.
- LVIII. The substance of Baptism, the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the

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- substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.
- LIX. The ground in Scripture whereupon a necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.
- LX. What kind of necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.
- LXI. What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the Fathers respecting necessity.
- LXII. Whether baptism by Women be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.
- LXIII. Of Interrogatories in Baptism touching faith and the purpose of a Christian life.
- LXIV. Interrogatories proposed unto infants in Baptism, and answered as in their names by godfathers.
- LXV. Of the Cross in Baptism.
- LXVI. Of Confirmation after Baptism.
- LXVII. Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
- LXVIII. Of faults noted in the form of administrating that holy Sacrament.
- LXIX. Of Festival Days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.
- LXX. The manner of celebrating festival days.
- LXXI. Exceptions against our keeping of other festival days besides the Sabbath.
- LXXII. Of days appointed as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.
- LXXIII. The celebration of Matrimony.
- LXXIV. The Churching of Women.
- LXXV. The Rites of Burial.
- LXXVI. Of the nature of that Ministry which serveth for performance of divine duties in the

Church of God, and how happiness not eternal only but also temporal doth depend upon it.

LXXVII. Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office, of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination ; and whether conveniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.

LXXVIII. Of Degrees whereby the power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the Attire of ministers.

LXXIX. Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of religion ; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of church livings be made frustrate.

LXXX. Of Ordination lawful without Title, and without any popular Election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into holy orders.

LXXXI. Of the Learning that should be in ministers, their Residence, and the Number of their Livings.

In the first four Books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Hooker has been dealing with the general assertions and objections of the Puritans, and the axioms by which they desired to rule and settle the controversy. "In the Fifth Book, he comes to deal with an assertion which concerns particular points, and must be met not with a general answer but at

point after point—the assertion ‘that touching the several public duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst us much superstition retained in them. . . .’<sup>1</sup>

## THE SIXTH BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR FIFTH ASSERTION, THAT OUR LAWS ARE CORRUPT AND REPUGNANT TO THE LAWS OF GOD, IN MATTER BELONGING TO THE POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION, IN THAT WE HAVE NOT THROUGHOUT ALL CHURCHES CERTAIN LAY-ELDERS ESTABLISHED FOR THE EXERCISE OF THAT POWER

- I. The question between us, whether all congregations or parishes ought to have lay-elders invested with power of jurisdiction in spiritual causes.
- II. The nature of spiritual jurisdiction.
- III. Of penitence, the chiefest end propounded by spiritual jurisdiction. Two kinds of Penitency, the one a private duty towards God, the other a duty of external discipline. Of the Virtue of Repentance, from which the former duty proceedeth; and of Contrition, the first part of that duty.
- IV. Of the Discipline of Repentance instituted by Christ, practised by the Fathers, converted by the Schoolmen into a Sacrament: and of Confession; that which belongeth to the virtue of repentance, that which was used among the Jews, that which the

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 123.



Papacy imagineth a Sacrament, and that which ancient discipline practised.

V. Of Satisfaction. The end of satisfaction. The way of satisfying by others. The ground of satisfying by the Pope's indulgences.

VI. Of Absolution of Penitents.

## THE SEVENTH BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR SIXTH ASSERTION, THAT THERE OUGHT NOT TO BE IN THE CHURCH, BISHOPS ENDUED WITH SUCH AUTHORITY AND HONOUR AS OURS ARE

- I. The state of Bishops, although some time oppugned, and that by such as therein would most seem to please God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whose glory it is to maintain that whereof himself is the author.
- II. What a Bishop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong unto his office as he is a Bishop.
- III. In Bishops two things traduced; of which two, the one their authority; and in it the first thing condemned, their superiority over other ministers: what kind of superiority in ministers it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.
- IV. From whence it hath grown that the Church is governed by Bishops.
- V. The time and cause of instituting every where Bishops with restraint.
- VI. What manner of power Bishops from the first beginning have had.

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- VII. After what sort Bishops, together with presbyters, have used to govern the churches which were under them.
- VIII. How far the power of Bishops hath reached from the beginning in respect of territory, or local compass.
- IX. In what respects episcopal regiment hath been gainsaid of old by Aërius.
- X. In what respect episcopal regiment is gainsaid by the authors of pretended reformation at this day.
- XI. Their arguments in disgrace of regiment by Bishops, as being a mere invention of man, and not found in Scripture, answered.
- XII. Their arguments to prove there was no necessity of instituting Bishops in the Church.
- XIII. The fore-alleged arguments answered.
- XIV. An answer unto those things which are objected concerning the difference between that power which Bishops now have, and that which ancient Bishops had more than other presbyters.
- XV. Concerning the civil power and authority which our Bishops have.
- XVI. The arguments answered, whereby they would prove that the law of God, and the judgment of the best in all ages condemneth the ruling superiority of one minister over another.
- XVII. The second malicious thing wherein the state of Bishops suffereth obloquy, is their honour.
- XVIII. What good doth publicly grow from the Prelacy.
- XIX. What kinds of honour be due unto Bishops.
- XX. Honour in Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, and Privilege.
- XXI. Honour by Endowment with Lands and Livings.
- XXII. That of ecclesiastical Goods, and consequently of

the Lands and Livings which Bishops enjoy, the propriety belongs unto God alone.

- XXIII. That ecclesiastical persons are receivers of God's rents, and that the honour of Prelates is to be thereof his chief receivers, not without liberty from him granted of converting the same unto their own use, even in large manner.
- XXIV. That for their unworthiness to deprive both them and their successors of such goods, and to convey the same unto men of secular callings, now [were?] extreme sacrilegious injustice.

## THE EIGHTH BOOK

CONCERNING THEIR SEVENTH ASSERTION, THAT  
UNTO NO CIVIL PRINCE OR GOVERNOR  
THERE MAY BE GIVEN SUCH POWER OF  
ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINION AS BY THE  
LAWS OF THIS LAND BELONGETH UNTO  
THE SUPREME REGENT THEREOF

- I. State of the Question between the Church of England and its Opponents regarding the King's Supremacy.
- II. Principles on which the King's modified Supremacy is grounded.
- III. Warrant for it in the Jewish Dispensation.
- IV. Vindication of the Title, Supreme Head of the Church within his own Dominions.
- V. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Church Assemblies.
- VI. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Church Legislation.

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- VII. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Nomination of Bishops.
- VIII. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Ecclesiastical Courts.
- IX. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Exemption from Excommunication.<sup>1</sup>

The Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 'published in partial incompleteness after Hooker's death,' contain a defence of the government of the Church and of its relation to the State. Dr. Paget meditated giving a short account of their contents, etc., but abandoned the attempt, "finding it beyond his power to condense into any intelligible form the copious matter involved."<sup>2</sup> The object of the three final Books in question was to defend and commend the principle of episcopal government, and the true function of the royal supremacy, and to resist the imposition on the Church of presbyterian government.<sup>3</sup>

The present writer considers it well to conclude the foregoing account of the contents of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, by

<sup>1</sup> The table of contents of Book VIII. is that drawn up in the edition of Dean Church and Dr. Paget, and is not, as in the case of the seven previous Books, derived from the marginal notes.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction to Hooker V.*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> See Bishop Barry's exceedingly able lecture on "Richard Hooker," in *Masters in English Theology*, Lond. 1877 (pp. 47 ff.), in which the contents of the eight Books of Hooker's treatise are skilfully displayed and analyzed.

reproducing Hooker's own statement concerning "the matter contained in these eight Books," given in his Preface, chapter vii. It is as follows—

"[1.] Nor is mine own intent any other in these several books of discourse, than to make it appear unto you, that for the ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer glass than the naked truth doth afford : but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shew as near as I can what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection.

"[2.] Wherefore seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as we observe, or such as yourselves would have established ; —when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general ; whereof unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon : I have for that cause set down in the

first place an introduction on both sides needful to be considered: declaring therein what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of according unto each kind.

“[3.] This done, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture, but those not, against which ye strive; and upon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar of your whole cause, ‘That Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions,’ and consequently that the church-orders which we observe being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasing unto God: I have spent the second Book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build.

“[4.] Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in need of government; of which government it behoveth himself to be both the Author and Teacher: so it cannot stand with duty that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore ‘that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of Polity Ecclesiastical, the Laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration.’

“[5.] The first three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our Church (for so you pretend) ‘corrupted the right form of church-polity with manifold popish rites and ceremonies, which certain reformed churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as’ (you think) ‘we ought to follow.’ This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our Church, when ye plead that they are the same which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the same which some other reformed churches have devised.

“[6.] Of those four Books which remain and are bestowed about the specialties of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this Church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction: the one,

whether laymen, such as your governing elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power; the other, whether bishops may have that power over other pastors, and therewithal that honour, which with us they have? And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction which neither they all nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of ecclesiastical dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the Prince or Sovereign commander over the whole body politic: the eighth Book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those pre-eminences royal which thereunto appertain.

“[7.] Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travails, and presented under your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting-place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.”



## CHAPTER VIII

### HOOKER'S TEACHING CONCERNING :— HOLY SCRIPTURE—THE HOLY EUCHARIST—THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY—CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION

HOOKER'S *Ecclesiastical Polity* deals with a large number of subjects and problems of profound interest in the religious world. Amongst these are some of peculiar moment in their bearing on present day thought and discussion. A great deal of that which he wrote is as applicable to the controversies of the twentieth century, as it was to those of the sixteenth. It is one of the special features of Hooker's great treatise, that it treats with undying freshness of subjects of permanent interest—subjects concerning which there is much debate in our own day. The quotations given in this chapter concern some of the most important of these topics. In making these quotations the present writer has ventured to make certain annotations for the reader's guidance.

*HOLY SCRIPTURE*

“ What the Church of God standeth bound to know or do, the same in part nature teacheth. And because nature can teach them but only in part, neither so fully as is requisite for man’s salvation, nor so easily as to make the way plain and expedite enough that many may come to the knowledge of it, and so be saved ; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the most necessary things that the school of nature teacheth unto that end, and revealeth also whatsoever we neither could with safety be ignorant of, nor at all be instructed in but by supernatural revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other sort, etc.”—Bk. III. ch. iii. § 8.

“ I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Church’s discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impair the honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the sacred Scripture’s perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoever is in such sort necessary as hath been set down ; and that it is no more

disgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, than for nature to have left it unto the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of the field have theirs.”—Bk. III. ch. iv. § 1.

“ Because we maintain that in Scripture we are taught all things necessary unto salvation ; hereupon very childishly it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach us the sacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole faith and salvation dependeth ? As though there were any kind of science in the world which leadeth men into knowledge without presupposing a number of things already known. No science doth make known the first principles whereon it buildeth, but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth, without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident. For then all men that hear it would acknowledge it

in heart, as they do when they hear that ‘ every whole is more than any part of that whole,’ because this in itself is evident. The other we know that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. Scripture teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise that itself is divine and sacred.

“ The question then being by what means we are taught this ; some answer that to learn it we have no other way than only tradition ; as namely that so we believe because both we from our predecessors and they from theirs have so received. But is this enough ? That which all men’s experience teacheth them may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God’s Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterwards, the more we bestow our labour in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find

that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered farther reason. If infidels or atheists chance any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavoured still to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. . . . Wherefore if I believe the Gospel, yet is reason of singular use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more."—Bk. III. ch. viii. §§ 13, 14.

Hooker's teaching concerning the office of reason and tradition in relation to Holy Scripture is of great importance ; for the disputings of the Puritans of the sixteenth century, to which he replied in *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, are still continued by their descendants in our own day. Hooker shows how Holy Scripture,

whilst sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended, nevertheless requires the help of reason and tradition. He maintains this in contradistinction to the contention of the Puritans, who made "the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men,"<sup>1</sup> vehemently asserting their doctrine of "The Bible and the Bible only," as the one exclusive source of teaching and guide to conduct. He sagaciously recognized that this 'Bibliolatry,' in exaggerating the purpose and authority of the sacred Scriptures, tended eventually to undermine that authority. He speaks of those who "when they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them."<sup>2</sup> He taught that belief in the supreme authority of Holy Scripture does not dispense with the offices of reason and tradition, in order to its true interpretation. It is the neglect or rejection of this principle, to which Hooker gives so careful and serious expression, which, broadly speaking, lies at the heart of the nonconformist position in England in our own times.

And thus Hooker lays down his thesis, that Holy Scripture nowhere claims to teach men

<sup>1</sup> Bk. II. ch. viii. § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, ch. viii. § 7.

what is Scripture, or to establish its own authority as the word of God. To claim that the Bible is its own witness is to argue in a vicious circle. "Scripture," he says, "indeed teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by reason that the Scripture is the word of God."<sup>1</sup> "Scripture teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise that itself is divine and sacred."<sup>2</sup> "By experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God's Church."<sup>3</sup> Here Hooker follows the well-known sentence of St. Augustine—"I should not have believed the Gospel, unless the authority of the Church had moved me."

In regard to tradition, Hooker uses the word in a somewhat different sense from that in which Archbishop Laud used it in the early part of the next century—"When the Fathers say, We are to rely upon Scripture only, they are never to be understood with exclusion of Tradition, in what causes soever it may be had. Not but that the Scripture is abundantly sufficient, in and to itself, for all things, but

<sup>1</sup> Bk. III. ch. viii. § 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* § 14.

because it is deep, and may be drawn into different senses, and so mistaken, if any man will presume upon his own strength, and go single without the Church.”<sup>1</sup> Hooker uses “tradition” as equivalent to “use” or “custom” —“We mean by traditions, ordinances made in the prime of Christian religion, established with that authority which Christ hath left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that traditions ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off, because the inventors of them were men.”<sup>2</sup> In the same connection he says—“A number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them unto the careful discretion of the Church.”<sup>3</sup> In matters not of perpetual and permanent obligation, “both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the Church of God shall always need which the Scripture teacheth not.”<sup>4</sup> Of the authority of the Church in regard to such traditions, Hooker says—“As becometh them that follow with

<sup>1</sup> *Laud's Conference with Fisher*, xvi. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxx. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bk. III. ch. ix. § 1.

<sup>4</sup> Bk. III. ch. xi. § 20.



all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence, and obey in the very next degree unto God the voice of the Church of God wherein we live.”<sup>1</sup>

### *THE HOLY EUCHARIST*

“The grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin but continue life. No man therefore receiveth this sacrament before Baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth must of necessity first live. If our bodies did not daily waste, food to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the grace of baptism would serve to eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after baptism. In that life therefore where neither body nor soul can decay, our souls shall as little require this sacrament as our bodies corporal nourishment. But as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forcible, ‘Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.’

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxxi. § 7.

“Life being therefore proposed unto all men as their end, they which by baptism have laid the foundation and attained the first beginning of a new life have here their nourishment and food prescribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will live the life of God must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, because this is a part of that diet which if we want we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our infancy we are incorporated into Christ and by Baptism receive the grace of his Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth, in the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us, the degrees of our own increase in holiness and virtue we see and can judge of them, we understand that the strength of our life begun in Christ is Christ, that his flesh is meat and his blood drink, not by surmised imagination but truly, even so truly that through faith we perceive in the body and blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternal life, the grace of the sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink.”—Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 1.

“It is on all sides plainly confessed, first, that this sacrament is a true and a real

participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself even his whole entire Person *as a mystical Head* unto every soul that receiveth him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a *mystical member of him*, yea of them also whom He acknowledgeth to be his own; secondly, that to whom *the person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them He giveth by the same sacrament his Holy Spirit to sanctify them as it" (He) "sanctifieth him which is their head; thirdly, that what *merit, force or virtue soever there is in his sacrificed body and blood*, we freely, fully and wholly have it by this sacrament; fourthly, that *the effect thereof in us is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies* from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life; fifthly, that because the sacrament being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon *the strength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to pass that the bread and cup which He giveth us shall be truly the thing He promiseth."—Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 7.

"Let it therefore be sufficient for me presenting myself at the Lord's table to know

what there I receive from him, without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over patiently heard, let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to his very Cross, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of his gored side, in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is satisfied and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb and made joyful in the strength of this new wine, this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold, this cup hallôwed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ;

what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ, his promise in witness hereof sufficeth, his word He knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God thou art true, O my soul thou art happy!—Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 12.

As to the nature of the unspeakable Gift bestowed in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, there has been, comparatively, little dispute amongst Christians, and this is a matter for much thankfulness. At the close of the sixteenth century, when Hooker wrote his great treatise, it was very generally agreed amongst Christians, the followers of Zwinglius<sup>1</sup> excepted, that in the Eucharist the faithful receive the spiritual food of the Body and the Blood of Christ. Hooker speaks of “a general agreement” existing in his day, “concerning that which alone is material, namely, the *real participation* of Christ and of life in his body and blood *by means of this sacrament.*”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Zwingli maintained that the Supper was no more than a *tessera*, or sign of communion between man and man . . . In the plainest sense he taught an entire absence of spiritual grace.”—A. P. Forbes, *An Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles*, 3rd ed. 1878, p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 2.

“They grant that these holy mysteries received in due manner do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that body and blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides also impart unto us even in true and real though mystical manner the very Person of our Lord himself, whole, perfect, and entire.”<sup>1</sup> This teaching was, with comparatively insignificant exception, universally held in Hooker’s day. That this was his own view is abundantly evident from his language found in the extracts quoted above — of which, Mr. Keble describes Hooker “fearlessly pouring himself out in the most glowing words and most transcendental thoughts of the deepest and most eloquent of the Fathers.”<sup>2</sup>

But when we come to inquire what was then believed in regard to the relation of the Gift or Presence to the earthly elements of bread and wine, we find ourselves at once in the midst of a storm of distressing controversy. The question then raised and debated was, as it still is, briefly this—Is the Presence of Jesus Christ in regard to the Eucharist objective, or is it merely subjective? is our Lord mysteriously present in the elements previous to, and

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration*, 3rd ed. 1867, ch. iv. p. 124.

irrespective of, reception? are the Body and the Blood of Christ sacramentally identified with the bread and wine independently of participation?—or, is His Sacred Presence merely of the nature of a spiritual Gift bestowed and appropriated in the very act of reception? Amongst the general agreement as to the reality of the Gift, this question alone remained to be solved. Hooker states, “There remaineth now no controversy saving only about the subject *where* Christ is? Yea even in this point no side denieth but that *the soul of man* is the receptacle of Christ’s presence. Whereby the question is yet driven to a narrower issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtful but this, whether when the sacrament is administered Christ be whole *within man only*, or else his body and blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselves.”<sup>1</sup>

Hooker’s main answer to this question is that “the fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the body and blood of Christ;”<sup>2</sup> that whilst it is a matter of faith to believe that the sacraments are instruments whereby God works grace in the souls of men, it is not a matter of faith to believe *how* He so acts in the sacraments; and that “the real presence of Christ’s most blessed body and blood is not

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 6.

therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.”<sup>1</sup>

Now in considering this answer, the whole stress is to be laid on the words “sought for.” Hooker’s argument runs something after this fashion—Since all parties are happily agreed that the worthy communicant profitably and savingly partakes of the Body and the Blood of Christ, “wherefore should the world continue still distracted and rent with so manifold contentions?”<sup>2</sup> The Real Presence is not to be “sought for” save in yourselves: refrain therefore from further questionings, concentrate your thoughts on the Divine purpose of the Eucharist—the Gift of the Body and the Blood of Christ. Regard the matter as it affects you eventually, and not in any earlier stage of its working. Refrain from carrying inquiry further back than this, into the region of heated, barren, endless controversy. The reality of the Gift cannot be called in question: the all-absorbing matter is the worthy reception of that Gift. Seek for the Real Presence in the fulfilment of Christ’s promise to bestow his Body and his Blood; consider the use and force of the Sacrament; and steadily refuse to be drawn aside into discussions as to any earlier stage of the Eucharistic mystery. “I wish,”

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 2.



continues Hooker, "that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how."<sup>1</sup> "What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ."<sup>2</sup>

In endeavouring to estimate aright Hooker's belief as touching the Real Presence, we cannot pass over his other words—"This bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold."<sup>3</sup> It is hardly open to doubt that Richard Hooker personally believed in the Real Objective Presence, sacramentally identified with the elements, previous to reception; but that, in the face of the state of the Eucharistic controversy in his day, he desired to divert attention from current contentions and disputings, and to urge men in the interests of peace to seek "the fulfilment of Christ's words where beyond debate or doubt it was to be found, in all reality and perfection, in the glorious coming of the Incarnate Son of God, through the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, to dwell within the soul of man."<sup>4</sup> Had the question been put to Hooker, point blank,—

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxvii. § 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* § 12.

<sup>4</sup> Paget, *Introduction to Hooker*, Bk. V., p. 175.

Do you believe that our Lord is spiritually present in, or sacramentally identified with, the elements by means of consecration, and this previous to reception of the Sacrament? he would in all probability have replied,—I believe such to be the case in virtue of our Lord's institution and promise; but since the matter is one seriously disturbing the peace of the Church, and one upon which agreement seems hopeless, I desire men not to fasten their attention upon it, but to go beyond by concentrating their minds on the central and dominant and high and awful truth, in which all are agreed, namely, Jesus Christ gives himself to the devout communicant in the Sacrament: this is the event which ultimately and really signifies, therefore let controversy as to *how*, *when*, and *where*, alone: fix all your attention, not on the process, but on the resultant—in the Eucharist you receive the Lord's Body and Blood—"the Real Presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is to be sought for in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament:" trouble yourselves no further.

If, judged by the standard of antiquity, Hooker's teaching appears unsatisfactory and inadequate, as is doubtless the case, we cannot but reverence the great man as he gives utterance to thoughts and longings, the fruits

of long and reverent meditation on the subject of the stupendous mystery, which others of his day had dragged out into the fierce light of distracting and fruitless disputation. Anyway his teaching is 'an eager, humble plea for peace on the high ground and in the calm air of undisputed truth.'

The following words of one who in his day was a courageous and serious exponent of the belief of the Primitive times regarding Eucharistic truth, and who for a long period studied Hooker's writings with extraordinary attention, may here be noted. John Keble wrote—

"I will say at once that I do not agree with those expressions of Hooker which are commonly quoted in proof that he denied a Real Objective Presence. I question, however, whether he really meant to deny any but a gross, corporal, carnal Presence; and I think there is this essential difference between his judgment and this recent one—that Hooker is pleading for the Sacramentarian opinion<sup>1</sup> as *tolerable*, the other enforces it *exclusively*, and thereby, among other results, entirely abolishes the real *Commemorative Sacrifice* of our Lord's Body and Blood offered by Him on our altars on earth, in union with

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the idea of connecting the Presence simply with reception.

that which He is continually offering in heaven: the ‘continual *ἀναμνησις* of His precious death, until His coming again.’

“I am forced to feel that Hooker, making the best of it for Calvin and his school, has been led on this subject, as on the Apostolical Succession, to use language inconsistent with what I believe to be ‘a vital doctrine of the Gospel’; but he has not, as some now, made his construction matter of anathema . . . . One word more about the great and good man. It goes to one’s heart to criticize him; but might it not be said that he has forgotten his own rules in this matter? He says, ‘When a literal interpretation will stand, the furthest from the letter is commonly the worst.’ I suppose that Antiquity took the literal interpretation of the words of institution,<sup>1</sup> without pretending to explain *how* . . . .”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Keble here refers to our Lord’s words of *administration* which are recorded, as His words of *consecration* which are not recorded, in the Gospels. No “words of institution,” strictly speaking, are set down, if by that expression the form used by our Lord in consecrating the elements is meant. We are told that “He gave thanks” and “blessed”; but with what words, we know not. The words recorded—“This is my Body: This is my Blood,” are words of administration only, declaring the effect of the previous “giving thanks” and “blessing.”

<sup>2</sup> Keble, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance*. Parker, 1886, 5th ed., cxxi. Mr. Keble has some further remarks upon Hooker’s teaching on the Eucharist in his *Eucharistical Adoration*, 3rd ed. 1867, ch. iv. pp. 124, 125.

Before leaving this subject, it may be well to say, that, although Hooker had not before him the teaching of the latter part of the Catechism (added A.D. 1661), in which the apparent separation of "the inward part" from "the benefits partaken of" is suggestive, to say the least, of a desire to emphasize belief in an objective Presence previous to reception; yet he had before him the statement of the twenty-eighth Article—"The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner,"—from which it may be fairly argued that if the Gift is first given, then taken, and finally eaten, it must be something external to him who takes it in order to eat it; that is to say, it must be the Body of Christ before he takes it.<sup>1</sup> That which is previously non-existent cannot, strictly speaking, be either "given" to, or "taken" by, the recipient.

It is sufficiently remarkable that whilst Hooker maintained that the word *priest*, so odious to the Puritans, is not inappropriate to the second order of the Christian ministry, he says but little about the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with which that term is so necessarily connected. That the terms *priest*, *altar*, *sacrifice*,

<sup>1</sup> See Forbes, on Art. XXVIII. p. 559.

are correlative—any one of the three implying the other two—is not open to dispute. Whilst Hooker approves of the association of the title *priest* with some idea of sacrifice, he speaks with brevity and unnecessary hesitation. His attention appears to have been so wholly taken up in regarding the Eucharist as a Feast, as to blot out of his reckoning the antecedent truth that it is also a Sacrifice. In this he is markedly in contrast with the great Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century, in the first year of which he died. But he raised the question—“Seeing then that sacrifice is now no part of the church ministry, how should the name of Priesthood be thereunto rightly applied?”<sup>1</sup> To this question he replied—“The Fathers of the Church of Christ with like security of speech call usually the ministry of the Gospel *Priesthood* in regard of that which the Gospel hath *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices, namely the Communion of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it have properly now no sacrifice.”<sup>2</sup>

Previously, in the Fourth Book, Hooker stated: “That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish, did not *so soon* become unlawful to be observed as some imagine; nor was it afterwards unlawful *so far*, that the very

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxxviii. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

name of Altar, of Priest, of Sacrifice itself, should be banished out of the world. For though God do now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had but with impiety; yet unless there be some greater let than the only evacuation of the Law of Moses, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use, and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth.”<sup>1</sup>

Now Hooker is a writer whose teaching does not lend itself to isolated quotations: we need to consider *all* he writes upon a given subject, and to balance and qualify statement with statement. So here the two passages quoted above are to be compared, and suffered to interpret each other—the words, “sacrifice is now no part of the church ministry,” should be considered side by side with the assertion, “the Gospel has properly now no sacrifice,”

<sup>1</sup> Bk. IV. ch. xi. § 10.

and also in reference to his earlier words condemnatory of "sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish." Certainly the Eucharist is a sacrifice neither one nor the other. To quote Dr. Paget, "Again, Hooker must be credited with attaching some real meaning to the *proportion* (of which he speaks in both passages) between what was abrogated and what was established by Christ: he cannot have meant to deny utterly all sacrificial aspect or character in the Eucharist, when he speaks of it as *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices: for a merely alien rite could not be spoken of as proportionable to that which it superseded. Again, it must be borne in mind that Hooker clearly did not mean to part company with the Fathers to whom he refers: he intended his words to be at all events a possible interpretation of theirs. What he does quite deny is a sacrifice that is either 'heathenish,' 'Jewish,' or 'proper': and therefore much turns on the meaning he attached to this last term. Waterland's comment upon it is valuable: 'I presume he meant by *proper* sacrifice, *propitiatory*, according to the *sense* of the Trent Council, or of the *new* definitions' (*Works*, V. 140, note f. ed. 1856)."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to Hooker*, Bk. V., pp. 199, 200.



The following extract from the Fourth Book is of considerable interest, and the plea that the Puritans would not now require "that the Eucharist should be ministered after meat," may be fairly claimed as indirect evidence in favour of fasting reception of the Holy Communion being the custom in Hooker's day.

"Our end ought always to be the same ; our ways and means thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those rites and orders may be at one time more which at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in these things to urge the state of one only age as a pattern for all to follow ? It is not I am right sure their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings ; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism ; or that the Eucharist should be ministered after meat ; or that the custom of church feasting should be renewed ; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away, and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they easily

perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour ; but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the selfsame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased ? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is.”—Bk. IV. ch. ii. § 8.

In 1552, the year before Hooker was born, Roger Hutchinson <sup>1</sup> refers to the same subject thus—“ Christ did not celebrate this Sacrament after other meats and drinks, to establish any such custom, nor to give us any example to do the like ; but rather to teach us, that our sacramental bread is succeeded instead of the Jews’ Easter lamb, and that their ceremony is now disannulled and abrogated. Therefore the universal Church commonly, according to

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, Parker Soc., 1842, p. 221.

Paul's mind to the Corinthians, useth now to celebrate the Lord's supper fasting, without any maundy, and not after other meats." And in 1584, the year before Hooker commenced *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, Richard Cosin, Dean of the Arches, spoke of the primitive Church having altered "the time of the receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist, being according to the institution usually received after supper, to have it received as it is in the morning fasting."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. J. Wickham Legg gives it as his opinion that "it seems very likely indeed, that the great majority of the communions made in the Church of England up to the end of the seventeenth century were made fasting, because the whole of the congregation was fasting."<sup>2</sup> In the time of James I. (1608-25) the dinner hour was 11 o'clock, and supper was at 6 o'clock: light breakfasts began to be taken only about fifty years later.<sup>3</sup>

NOTE.—Richard Hooker's desire to concentrate attention upon the purpose of the Sacramental Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, may appropriately be compared with not an altogether dissimilar line of thought suggested by the great John Henry Newman, before he left the Anglican Church—

<sup>1</sup> *An Answer to an Abstract of certaine Acts of Parliamtent*, p. 60, A.D. 1584.

<sup>2</sup> *Papal Faculties allowing food before Communion*, Church Hist. Soc., S.P.C.K. 1905, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

“What is the meaning of saying that Christ is really present, yet not locally? First, as to material things, what do we mean when we speak of an object being present to us? How do we define and measure of its presence? To a blind and deaf man, that only is present which he touches. Give him hearing, and the range of things present to him enlarges; everything is present to him which he hears. Give him at length sight, and the sun may be said to be present to him in the daytime, and myriads of stars by night. Presence, then, is a relative word, depending on the channels of communication existing between the object and the person to whom it is present. It is almost a correlative of the senses. A fly may be as near an edifice as a man: yet we do not call it present to the fly, because he cannot see it; and we do call it present to the man, because he can. But we must add another element to the idea expressed by the word in the case of matter. A thing may be said to be present to us, which is so circumstanced as immediately to act upon us and to influence us, whether we are sensible of it or no. Perhaps then our Lord is present to us in the Sacrament in this sense, that, far as He is off us, He in it acts personally, bodily, and directly upon us, though how He does so is as simply beyond us, as the results of eyesight are inconceivable to the blind. We know but of five senses,—we know not whether human nature is capable of more; we know not whether the soul possesses any instruments of knowledge and moral advantage analogous to them; but neither have we any reason to deny that the soul may be capable of having Christ present to it by the stimulus of dormant or the development of possible energies. As sight for certain purposes annihilates space, so other unknown conditions of our being, bodily or spiritual, may practically annihilate it for other purposes. Such may be the Sacramental Presence. We kneel before the Heavenly Throne,

and distance vanishes; it is as if that Throne were the Altar close to us."—J. H. Newman, *The Via Media*, Vol. II. pp. 235, 236. Longmans, 1896.

### *THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY*

“The ministry of things divine is a function which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessities, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our endless perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately or as the Church in his name investeth, it being neither possible for all nor for every man without distinction convenient to take upon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore ministers of God, not only by way of subordination as princes and civil magistrates whose execution of judgment and justice the supreme hand of

divine providence doth uphold, but ministers of God as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christ's ambassadors and his labourers, who should give them their commission but He whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of Jesus Christ? What angel in heaven could have said to man as our Lord did unto Peter, ‘Feed my sheep: Preach: Baptize: Do this in remembrance of me: Whose sins ye retain they are retained: and their offences in heaven pardoned whose faults you shall on earth forgive?’ What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory, it raiseth men from the earth and bringeth God himself down from heaven, by blessing visible elements it maketh them invisible grace, it giveth daily the Holy Ghost, it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls, when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked they perish, when it revoketh the same they revive. O wretched blindness if we admire not so great power, more wretched if we consider it aright and

notwithstanding imagine that any but God can bestow it!

“To whom Christ hath imparted power both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is himself for the knitting of both in one; (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christ’s body;) the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or character and acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special *order* consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men is in that they are a distinct *order*. So Tertullian calleth them. And St. Paul himself dividing the body of the Church of Christ into two moieties nameth the one part *ιδιώτας*, which is as much as to say the Order of the Laity, the opposite part whereunto we in like sort term the Order of God’s Clergy, and the spiritual power which He hath given them the power of their Order, so far forth as the same consisteth in the bare execution of holy things called properly the affairs of God. For of the power of their jurisdiction over men’s persons we are to speak in the books following.

“They which have once received this power may not think to put it off and on like a cloak as the weather serveth, to take it, reject and resume it as oft as themselves list, of which profane and impious contempt these later times have yielded as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostasy strange examples; but let them know which put their hands unto this plough, that once consecrated unto God they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suspensions may stop, and degradations utterly cut off the use or exercise of power before given: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through misdesert degradation, as there may be cause of just separation after matrimony, yet if (as sometime it doth) restitution to former dignity or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the first knot.

“Much less is it necessary which some have urged, concerning the reordination of such as others in times more corrupt did consecrate heretofore.”—Bk. V. ch. lxxvii. §§ 1, 2, 3.

In the last two paragraphs, Hooker teaches, (1) that in Ordination men receive an indelible character, and therefore (2) that those who had



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eived Ordination in the communion of the  
man Church could not without sacrilege be  
ordained.

(By Holy Scripture), it clearly appeareth  
churches apostolic did know but three  
degrees in the power of ecclesiastical order,  
the first Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons,  
whereof instead of Apostles Bishops.

I may securely therefore conclude that  
we are at this day in the Church of England  
no other than the same degrees of ecclesi-  
astical order, namely Bishops, Presbyters, and  
Deacons, which had their beginning from  
Christ and his blessed Apostles themselves.”  
Book V. ch. lxxviii. §§ 9, 12.

For a thousand five hundred years and up-  
to the Church of Christ hath now continued  
the sacred regiment of bishops. Neither  
long hath Christianity been ever planted  
any kingdom throughout the world but  
by this kind of government alone; which  
I have been ordained of God, I am for mine  
part even as resolutely persuaded, as that  
no other kind of government in the world  
is ever of God.

For a nation utterly without knowledge, with-  
out sense! We are not through error of mind

deceived, but some wicked thing hath undoubtedly bewitched us, if we forsake that government, the use whereof universal experience hath for so many years approved, and betake ourselves unto a regiment neither appointed of God himself, as they who favour it pretended, nor till yesterday ever heard of among men.”—Bk. VII. ch. i. § 4.

“A Bishop is a minister of God, unto whom with permanent continuance there is given not only power of administering the Word and Sacraments, which power other Presbyters have; but also a further power to ordain ecclesiastical persons, and a power of chieftly in government over Presbyters as well as Laymen, a power to be by way of jurisdiction a Pastor even to Pastors themselves. So that this office, as he is a Presbyter or Pastor, consisteth in those things which are common unto him with other pastors, as in ministering the Word and Sacraments: but those things incident unto his office, which do properly make him a Bishop, cannot be common unto him with other Pastors.”—Bk. VII. ch. ii. § 3.

“The Apostles therefore were the first which had such authority, and all others who have it

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r them in orderly sort are their lawful successors, whether they succeed in any particular church, where before them some Apostle hath been seated, as Simon succeeded James in Jerusalem; or else be otherwise endued with the same kind of bishoply power, although they be not where any Apostle before hath been. For to succeed them, is after them to have that episcopal kind of power which was given to them. 'All bishops are,' saith he, 'the Apostles' successors.' In like manner Cyprian doth term bishops, 'Præpositos Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.' And hence it may haply seem to have grown, that they whom we now call Bishops were originally termed at the first Apostles, and so carry their very names in whose rooms of equal authority they succeeded."—Bk. VII. c. 3.

But forasmuch as the Apostles could not themselves be present in all churches, and as the Apostle St. Paul foretold the presbyters to the Ephesians that there would 'rise up amongst their own selves, men speaking perverse things to draw disciples after them;' and did grow in short time amongst the honors of each church those emulations, rivalries, and contentions, whereof there could

be no sufficient remedy provided, except according unto the order of Jerusalem already begun, some one were endued with episcopal authority over the rest, which one being resident might keep them in order, and have pre-eminence or principality in those things wherein the equality of many agents was the cause of disorder and trouble. This one president or governor amongst the rest had his known authority established a long time before that settled difference of name and title took place, whereby such alone were named bishops. And therefore in the book of St. John’s Revelation we find that they are entitled angels.

“Nor was this order peculiar unto some few churches, but the whole world universally became subject thereunto; insomuch as they did not account it to be a church which was not subject unto a bishop. It was the general received persuasion of the ancient Christian world, that *Ecclesia est in Episcopo*, ‘the outward being of a church consisteth in the having of a bishop.’”—Bk VII. ch. v. § 2.

“And what need we to seek far for proofs that the apostles, who began this order of regiment of bishops, did it not but by divine instinct, when without such direction things

far less weight and moment they attempted  
 t? Paul and Barnabas did not open their  
 ouths to the Gentiles, till the Spirit had  
 d, 'Separate me Paul and Barnabas for  
 : work whereunto I have sent them.' The  
 uch by Philip was neither baptized nor  
 ructed before the angel of God was sent  
 give him notice that so it pleased the Most  
 gh. In Asia, Paul and the rest were silent,  
 ause the Spirit forbade them to speak.  
 en they intended to have seen Bithynia  
 y stayed their journey, the Spirit not giv-  
 them leave to go. Before Timothy was  
 ployed in those episcopal affairs of the  
 rch, about which the Apostle St. Paul  
 d him, the Holy Ghost gave special charge  
 his ordination, and prophetic intelligence  
 e than once, what success the same would  
 e. And shall we think that James was  
 le bishop of Jerusalem, Evodius bishop of  
 church of Antioch, the Angels in the  
 rches of Asia bishops, that bishops every-  
 re were appointed to take away factions,  
 entions, and schisms, without some like  
 ne instigation and direction of the Holy  
 st? Wherefore let us not fear to be  
 in bold and peremptory, that if any thing  
 he Church's government, surely the first  
 tution of bishops was from heaven, was

even of God, the Holy Ghost was the author of it.”—Bk. VII. ch. v. § 10.

“The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain: howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways.

“Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted unto spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God himself doth of himself raise up any, whose labour He useth without requiring that men should authorize them; but then He doth ratify their calling by manifest signs and tokens himself from heaven: and thus even such as believed not our Saviour’s teaching, did yet acknowledge him a lawful teacher sent from God: ‘Thou art a teacher sent from God, otherwise none could do those things which thou doest.’ Luther did but reasonably therefore, in declaring that the senate of Mulhouse should do well to ask of Muncer, from whence he received power to teach, who it was that had called him; and if his answer were that God had given him his charge, then to require at his hands some evident sign thereof for men’s satisfaction: because so God is wont, when He

himself is the author of any extraordinary calling.

“Another extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep: where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give, place. And therefore we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination. These cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only bishops: by the imposition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of order, both unto presbyters and deacons.”—Bk. VII. ch. xiv. § 11.

Whilst Hooker, in passages quoted above, teaches unhesitatingly that episcopal ordination is of Divine institution, and that, in another passage, “no man’s gifts or qualities can make him a minister of holy things, unless ordination do give him power,”<sup>1</sup> he nevertheless, in the passage last quoted above, allows exceptions in cases of “inevitable necessity,” “where the

<sup>1</sup> Bk. V. ch. lxxviii. § 6.

Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain.” He goes on to admit that, in his opinion, there may be valid ordination outside and apart from the Apostolical Succession, should necessity arise.

In the light of the statement of the Ordinal, “No man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.”<sup>1</sup> Hooker’s opinion is extremely unsatisfactory. It may be presumed that he would have justified his teaching on grounds such as these: The truth no doubt is that God is free, and that He does not limit himself by making special covenants, and that He may, when He wills, supersede his ordinary methods of working, by methods extraordinary. The fact that He has promised or covenanted to give in one way, does not necessarily imply that He has no power to give in another, should occasion demand. Whilst conceding this point to Hooker, we

<sup>1</sup> The last words, “or hath had . . .,” were inserted in the Preface in 1662. Hooker, however, had before him Articles XXIII. and XXXVI. from which like teaching may be gathered: and he had also the Ordinal itself.



cannot forget that if God's ordinances do not bind him, yet they most certainly and rigidly bind us. St. Augustine has words bearing upon this very point—"We gather that invisible sanctification was present with and profited certain persons without visible sacraments, and yet on this account the visible sacrament is not to be despised; for he who despises the visible sacrament can in no wise be sanctified invisibly."<sup>1</sup>

It seems almost certain that Hooker's opinion concerning the validity of non-episcopal ordination of ministers, in cases of necessity, was formed under the influence of sympathy with the foreign reformers—men who have been the bane of the English Church at all times. Possibly (though this is urged with hesitation), Hooker may have had in view the gaining of recognition at the hands of the English authorities of the ministerial *status* of these men. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, not a few of these foreigners and certain exiles of extreme Protestant opinions, had found their way to these shores, and in the confusion and disorder of the times had obtained possession of English benefices.<sup>2</sup> Hooker's words,

<sup>1</sup> *Quaest. in Levit.* 84.

<sup>2</sup> For example, William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, of whom Archbishop Sandys wrote to Lord Burghley, April 4,

“neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain” are not applicable to men who first sought entrance into the ranks of the ministry in England, where bishops were plentiful.

Some light is shed upon Hooker’s allowance of non-episcopal ordination in certain rare cases, by the consideration that he wrote the Seventh Book of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, or the substance thereof, after his acquaintance with Saravia. Now it is abundantly evident from Strype’s account of Saravia,<sup>1</sup> that this divine was conspicuous amongst the foreign reformers in upholding episcopacy, even before Bancroft’s celebrated sermon on the same subject. But nevertheless, the present writer has been quite unable to satisfy himself that Saravia was ever episcopally ordained. His influence on Hooker and the latter portion of *The Ecclesiastical Polity* was undoubtedly great. Any one possessing any knowledge of human nature knows the difficulty of asserting

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1679—“ If his ministry, without authority of God or man, without law, order, or example of any Church, may be current; take heed to the sequel. Who seeth not what is intended? God deliver his Church from it. I will never be guilty of it.” Previously Sandys had summoned him “to show his orders, or rather no orders, that he had received at Geneva” (Strype, *Annals of Ref.*, II. ii. 168, 620). It is more than doubtful if Whittingham had ever been ordained at all, even at Geneva. Travers, Hooker’s opponent at the Temple, is another instance.

<sup>1</sup> See Strype’s *Whitgift*, II. iv. 202-210.

absolutely a truth disparaging to the position of a close and valued friend ; and it is not every one who is proof against the influence of personal considerations. If Saravia had not received ordination at the hands of a bishop, and such the present writer believes was the case, it seems highly probable that this fact weighed with Hooker in penning the words quoted above, from Book VII. ch. xiv. § 11, concerning cases of "inevitable necessity." It was a marked feature of Hooker's character to refrain, even to a dangerous degree, from condemnation of the opinions of others : his reverence for opponents led him far in the way of toleration.

Upon Hooker's attitude in regard to the ordination of the clergy, Mr. Keble remarks, "There is nothing here to indicate indifference in Hooker with regard to the apostolical succession ; there is much to shew how unwilling he was harshly to condemn irregularities committed under the supposed pressure of extreme necessity."<sup>1</sup> And, again, in commenting on the passage under discussion, quoted above, beginning, "Another extraordinary kind of vocation . . .," he says—"Here, that we may not overstrain the author's meaning, we must observe first with

<sup>1</sup> *Hooker's Works*, Editor's Preface, § 40.

what exact conditions of *extreme* necessity, *unwilling* deviation, *impossibility* of procuring a bishop to ordain, he has limited his concession. In the next place, it is very manifest that the concession itself was inserted to meet the case of the foreign Protestants, not gathered by exercise of independent judgment from the nature of the case or the witness of antiquity. Thirdly, this was one of the instances in which unquestionably Hooker might feel himself biassed by his respect for existing authority. For nearly up to the time when he wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination.”<sup>1</sup>

We have already observed Hooker’s tokens of sympathy with the Calvinists and Lutherans abroad, in regard to their views of the Holy Eucharist, and his readiness to demand no larger faith as of necessity: and his allowance of the validity of non-episcopal ordinations, in what he describes as “cases of inevitable necessity,” is in accordance with a similar mental attitude. Considering the vital importance of maintaining a valid ministry, and thereby shutting out any suspicion of defect in the administration of the Word and Sacraments, Hooker’s concessions, limited as

<sup>1</sup> *Hooker’s Works*, Editor’s Preface, § 41.

they are, are open to the gravest objection. In this instance, as in that of the Eucharistic controversy, his sympathies carried him too far in the way of compromise.

### *CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION*

“Were the Fathers then without use of private confession as long as public was in use? I affirm no such thing. The first and ancientest that mentioneth this confession is Origen, by whom it may be seen that men, being loth to present rashly themselves and their faults unto the view of the whole Church, thought it best to unfold first their minds to some one special man of the clergy, which might either help them himself, or refer them to an higher court if need were. ‘Be therefore circumspect,’ saith Origen, ‘in making choice of the party to whom thou meanest to confess thy sin; know thy physician before thou use him: if he find thy malady such as needeth to be made public, that others may be the better by it, and thyself sooner helpt, his counsel must be obeyed and followed.’

“That which moved sinners thus voluntarily to detect themselves both in private and in public, was fear to receive with other Christian

men the mysteries of heavenly grace, till God's appointed stewards and ministers did judge them worthy. It is in this respect that St. Ambrose findeth fault with certain men which sought imposition of penance, and were not willing to wait their time, but would be presently admitted communicants. ‘Such people,’ saith he, ‘do seek, by so rash and preposterous desires, rather to bring the priest into bonds than to loose themselves.’ In this respect it is that St. Augustine hath likewise said, ‘When the wound of sin is so wide, and the disease so far gone, that the medicinable body and blood of our Lord may not be touched, men are by the Bishop's authority to sequester themselves from the altar, till such time as they have repented, and be after reconciled by the same authority.’

“Furthermore, because the knowledge how to handle our own sores is no vulgar and common art, but we either carry towards ourselves for the most part an over-soft and gentle hand, fearful of touching too near the quick ; or else, endeavouring not to be partial, we fall into timorous scrupulosities, and sometimes into those extreme discomforts of mind, from which we hardly do ever lift up our heads again ; men thought it the safest way to disclose their secret faults, and to crave imposition of

penance from them whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath left in his Church to be spiritual and ghostly physicians, the guides and pastors of redeemed souls, whose office doth not only consist in general persuasions unto amendment of life, but also in the private particular cure of diseased minds.”—Bk. VI. ch. iv. § 7.

“It standeth with us in the Church of England, as touching public confession, thus—

“First, seeing day by day we in our Church begin our public prayers to Almighty God with public acknowledgment of our sins, in which confession every man prostrate as it were before his glorious Majesty crieth guilty against himself; and the minister with one sentence pronounceth universally all clear, whose acknowledgment so made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reason is there every man should not under the general terms of confession represent to himself his own particulars whatsoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine Grace, as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be

used for the strengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? Such complements are helps to support our weakness, and not causes that serve to procure or produce his gifts. If with us there be 'truth in the inward parts,' as David speaketh, the difference of general and particular forms in confession and absolution is not so material, that any man's safety or ghostly good should depend upon it.

"And for private confession and absolution it standeth thus with us—

"The minister's power to absolve is publicly taught and professed, the Church not denied to have authority either of abridging or enlarging the use and exercise of that power, upon the people no such necessity imposed of opening their transgressions unto men, as if remission of sins otherwise were impossible; neither any such opinion had of the thing itself, as though it were either unlawful or unprofitable, saving only for these inconveniences, which the world hath by experience observed in it heretofore. And in regard thereof, the Church of England hitherto hath thought it the safer way to refer men's hidden crimes unto God and themselves only; howbeit, not without special caution for the admonition of such as come to the holy Sacrament, and for



the comfort of such as are ready to depart the world.”—Bk. VI. ch. iv. § 15.

“It is true, that our Saviour by those words, ‘Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted,’ did ordain judges over sinful souls, give them authority to absolve from sin, and promise to ratify in heaven whatsoever they should do on earth in execution of this their office; to the end that hereby, as well his ministers might take encouragement to do their duty with all faithfulness, as also his people admonition, gladly with all reverence to be ordered by them; both parts knowing that the functions of the one towards the other have his perpetual assistance and approbation. Howbeit all this with two restraints, which every jurisdiction in the world hath; the one, that the practice thereof proceed in due order; the other, that it do not extend itself beyond due bounds; which bounds or limits have so confined penitential jurisdiction, that although there be given unto it power of remitting sin, yet not such sovereignty of power, that no sin should be pardonable in man without it.”—Bk. VI. ch. vi. § 3.

“What is then the force of absolution? What is it which the act of absolution worketh

in a sinful man? Doth it by any operation derived from itself alter the state of the soul? Doth it really take away sin, or but ascertain us of God’s most gracious and merciful pardon? The latter of which two is our assertion, the former theirs. . . . Now albeit we willingly confess with St. Cyprian, ‘The sins that are committed against him, He only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon him our sins, He which hath sorrowed and suffered for us, He whom God hath given for our offences:’ yet neither did St. Cyprian intend to deny the power of the minister, otherwise than if he presume beyond his commission to remit sin, where God’s own will is it should be retained; for against such absolutions he speaketh (which being granted to whom they ought to have been denied, are of no validity); and, if rightly it be considered how higher causes in operation use to concur with inferior means, his grace with our ministry, God really performing the same which man is authorized to act as in his name, there shall need for decision of this point no great labour.”—Bk. VI. ch. vi. § 4.

“To remission of sins there are two things necessary: grace, as the only cause which taketh away iniquity; and repentance, as a duty or condition required in us. To make

repentance such as it should be, what doth God demand but inward sincerity joined with fit and convenient offices for that purpose? the one referred wholly to our own consciences, the other best discerned by them whom God hath appointed judges in this court. So that having first the promises of God for pardon generally unto all offenders penitent; and particularly for our own unfeigned meaning, the unfallible testimony of a good conscience; the sentence of God's appointed officer and viceroy to approve with impartial judgment the quality of that we have done, and as from his tribunal, in that respect to assoil us of any crime: I see no cause but that by the rules of our faith and religion we may rest ourselves very well assured touching God's most merciful pardon and grace; who, especially for the strengthening of weak, timorous, and fearful minds, hath so far endued his Church with power to absolve sinners. It pleaseth God that men sometimes should, by missing this help, perceive how much they stand bound to him for so precious a benefit enjoyed. And surely, so long as the world lived in any awe or fear of falling away from God, so dear were his ministers to the people, chiefly in this respect, that being through tyranny and persecution deprived of pastors, the doleful

rehearsal of their lost felicities hath not any one thing more eminent, than that sinners distrest should not now know how or where to unlade their burthen. Strange it were unto me, that the Fathers, who so much everywhere extol the grace of Jesus Christ in leaving unto his Church this heavenly and divine power, should as men whose simplicity had generally been abused, agree all to admire and magnify a needless office.

“The sentence therefore of ministerial absolution hath two effects: touching sin, it only declareth us free from the guiltiness thereof, and restored into God’s favour; but concerning right in sacred and divine mysteries, whereof through sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually bind and retain us from access unto them, so upon our apparent repentance it truly restoreth our liberty, looseth the chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatsoever is past, and accepteth us no less, returned, than if we never had gone astray.”—Bk. VI. ch. vi. § 5.

Hooker’s teaching in his Sixth Book on the subject of Repentance is quite magnificent: he discusses the matter with characteristic thoroughness and extraordinary balance. In the course of his remarks, he naturally dwells

long upon Confession and Absolution. Some of the more important portions of his teaching on these subjects are quoted above. His arguments, in this section of his work, are mainly directed against the current teaching of the Romanists—‘the doctrine of Rome,’ as he terms it. There was no controversy at the time with the foreign reformers, who, broadly speaking, maintained the usefulness of private confession and the exercise of the power of the keys. “It is not in the reformed churches denied by the learned sort of divines, but that even this confession (*i. e.* ‘confession to man’), cleared from all errors, is both lawful and behoveful for God’s people. . . . But concerning confession in private, the churches of Germany, as well the rest as Lutherans, agree all, that all men should at certain times confess their offences to God in the hearing of God’s ministers . . . . to the end that men may at God’s hands seek every one his own particular pardon, through the power of those keys, which the minister of God using according to our blessed Saviour’s institution in that case. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

It is very difficult to realize the truth of Hooker’s statement as to this matter, in the face of the great change of thought which in our own day has taken place amongst Protestants.

<sup>1</sup> Bk VI. ch. iv. § 14.

Hooker's contention in regard to Confession and Absolution was not with the foreign reformers, but with the Romanists, who taught that "confession in the ear of the priest (was) commanded, yea, commanded in the nature of a sacrament, and thereby so necessary that sin without it cannot be pardoned;" and made it "necessary for every man to pour into the ears of the priest whatsoever hath been done amiss, or else to remain everlastingly culpable and guilty of sin;" and maintained that "it standeth with the righteousness of God to take away no man's sins, until by auricular confession they be opened unto the priest."<sup>1</sup> And so Hooker adds finally: "To conclude, we everywhere find the use of confession, especially public, allowed of and commended by the Fathers; but that extreme and rigorous necessity of auricular and private confession, which is at this day so mightily upheld by the church of Rome, we find not. It was not then the faith and doctrine of God's Church, as of the papacy at this present, 1. That the only remedy for sin after baptism is sacramental penitency. 2. That confession in secret is an essential part thereof. 3. That God himself cannot now forgive sins without the priest. 4. That because forgiveness at the

<sup>1</sup> Bk. VI. ch. iv. § 5.

hands of the priest must arise from confession in the offender, therefore to confess unto him is a matter of such necessity, as being not either in deed, or at the least in desire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and must consequently in Scripture be commanded, wheresoever any promise of forgiveness is made. No, no; these opinions have youth in their countenance; antiquity knew them not, it never thought nor dreamed of them.”<sup>1</sup>

To Hooker's personal use of private confession we have already referred in a previous chapter of this work. Of his estimate of the ministerial commission to forgive or to retain sins, the previous section on “The Christian Ministry” (p. 162) should be consulted.

<sup>1</sup> Bk. VI. ch. iv. § 13.

## CHAPTER IX

JOHN KEBLE'S PREFACE  
TO CERTAIN SELECTIONS FROM  
THE FIFTH BOOK OF  
HOOKER'S 'ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.'<sup>1</sup>

THE name of Richard Hooker is probably more universally known and venerated throughout the Church of England, than that of any one besides among her worthies: but it may be doubted whether men's acquaintance with his writings is at all in proportion to the honour with which they regard him.

This is owing, on the one hand, to the circumstance of his life having been so exquisitely written by the most engaging of Biographers, Isaac Walton; on the other, to the controversial and occasional cast of his great work, and the deep learning and profound investigation which he brought to bear on every part

<sup>1</sup> The title page runs—"Of Divine Service, the Sacraments, etc., by Richard Hooker: being selections from the Fifth Book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*." 2nd ed., Oxford. John Henry Parker, MDCCCLV.



of that large and often intricate field of inquiry. Unlearned and uncontroversial readers, attracted to the work by the subject, the author's reputation, and the beauty of extracts which they have occasionally seen, are continually, it is believed, attempting the book, and as often putting it by in a kind of despair, on finding that they come very soon to something which they cannot hope to master: and those who wish to read for devotion's sake,—of all readers surely the most to be considered,—draw back at once from the more disputative portions, which however necessary to the author's purpose, will not, they feel, at all answer theirs.

Under these circumstances, it seemed not unadvisable to try whether such a selection could be made, as might exhibit in a connected form, and in the author's own words, his view of the Prayer Book, including the Ordination Service, clear of the difficulties above stated. "Of the Prayer Book," for to that, more or less directly, it will be found that all the following extracts [*i. e.* in Keble's Selections] refer: it being part of the Church system with which all feel themselves concerned, and the portion of his great work which treats of it being confessedly the most popular and practical of the whole. The selection has therefore

been made exclusively from the Fifth Book of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*. Other passages no less beautiful, and perhaps as generally interesting, might have been added from other parts of his remains. But the object was not so much to set forth the "Beauties of Hooker," as to put devout and thoughtful persons in possession of the principles, with a view to which the English Prayer Book should be studied, and the misgivings silenced, which our busy fancies are too ready to invent or adopt, with regard to certain of its details.

From the immediate object and occasion of the work, a complete and systematic account of the Prayer Book was not to be looked for. Hooker's special purpose was to answer the objections of the Puritan party of his time to our laws and proceedings about the several public duties of Christian religion. His defence of course ran parallel with their attack. So it is, however, that all the main parts of the service were more or less attacked: his defence therefore, going back as he always did to principles, comes nearer to a Companion to the Prayer Book than might have been expected; as will be evident on merely reading over the titles of the sections ensuing. Perhaps, on considering all the circumstances of the case, it will seem hardly less than

providential, that he was led to take so wide a range. The English Church in his time was still more or less unsettled, and rocking, as it were, from the effects of the Reformation; and the impulse of one master mind, might be all that was wanted to make the difference between fixing and overturning it. In what direction its danger lay, the next century clearly showed; and had it not been for that turn in our theology, to which he was chiefly instrumental, it seems probable that the unsound opinions which he combated, instead of coming into violent collision with our Church, would have silently overspread it, and eaten their way into its very vitals. The Prayer Book, instead of being turned out of our churches for a time, would in all likelihood have been laid by for ever by consent; and we might have been where Geneva and Holland are now.

Nothing, it is clear, was so likely to stay this imminent danger, as a calm and profound, yet earnest view like Hooker's: impressing English Christians with the serious conviction, that many things which they heard charged with Roman superstition, might not only be accounted for on principles of the deepest human wisdom, but were, in fact, of more than human origin: that the Church system, in short, in

its main lineaments, perverted as it was by the Papists, and traduced by many Protestants,<sup>1</sup> was unalterable by man, being catholic, apostolic, and divine. Why the notions of the foreign reformers were likely to prevail, is not hard to perceive, considering the violent measures of the court of Rome, both for enforcing her claims on England by the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, and for the peremptory inculcation of doctrine by the Council of Trent: considering also the sort of connection into which English churchmen had been brought with Protestants abroad, by negotiation in the reigns of Henry and Edward, and by exile under Mary. Without blaming the reformation, one may easily understand how these events might cause disparagement of the authority of the Catholic Church; confused as the ideas of men were

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed here that Mr. Keble uses the term "Protestant" in its right antithesis, namely, in contrast not to "Catholic," but to Papist. In Fuller's *Holy War*, p. 160, we find—"Protestants cut off the authority from all papiz'd writers of that age:" also

"I nowe can dubbe a Protestant,  
And eke disdubbe agayne:  
And make a Papiste graduate,  
If he wyll quite my payne."—

*Drant. Horace, b. i. Sat. 5.*

Hooker in his Sermon on Justification, etc., (*Works*, Vol. III. p. 533), rightly contrasts "Catholic" with "Jewish"—"such a Church as is catholic, not restrained any longer unto one circumcised nation."

(and still too often are,) between that and the Romish Church.<sup>1</sup>

In such a state of things, it pleased the Great Shepherd, whose especial care over this portion of his flock, we may with humble gratitude recognize in this and many other instances, to raise up Richard Hooker, as his instrument for preserving us in that good and middle way, into which, contrary to all human chances, and far above our deserts, his merciful favour had brought us. And as far as we can be judges of such a thing, Hooker was indeed (if one may so speak) critically adapted to this his supposed destination.

His original bias lay rather against Church principles; for he commenced his education under his uncle John Vowell or Hooker, of the city of Exeter, the friend of Peter Martyr; and completed it under the auspices of Bishop Jewel, and the tuition of Reynolds, in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Now Jewel was the intimate friend of Bullinger, and a great admirer of the reformation at Zurich; and Reynolds was probably one of the most devoted Calvinists that ever taught theology

<sup>1</sup> Observe how Mr. Keble contrasts the "Catholic Church" and the "Romish Church": he here deliberately refuses to speak of the Roman Church exclusively as the Catholic Church, as is so often done in our own day by ill-informed persons. See also later, p. 197, "One may perceive . . ."

in our Church. So much the stronger would be the subsequent witness of Hooker to those truths and practices, which Zurich and Calvin would teach him comparatively to slight: such as an apostolical succession in Bishops, which he says himself he had once judged "far less probable" than he did, when he came to write his Polity.<sup>1</sup>

But to proceed: having obtained great distinction in Oxford, he was nominated in his turn, as the custom was, to preach in London, at St. Paul's Cross; where, however, "he was not so happy as to avoid exceptions against some point of doctrine delivered in his discourse, which seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's." A trifling circumstance, as it may seem, yet both indicating what line his opinions had taken, and probably not without effect in leading him on generally towards doctrinal views, more catholic than he would gain from modern teachers. This was in 1581; and when, four or five years after, he came to be Master of the Temple, the same happened again in respect of the particular class of doctrines, to which the present extracts<sup>2</sup> chiefly refer. His sermon on Justification, and some other of his expressions and usages,

<sup>1</sup> Bk. VII. ch. xi. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* from Book V. of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*.

being objected to by the Puritan party in London, as too indulgent to the Church of Rome; this gave him occasion to enter on that course of thought and composition which terminated in *The Ecclesiastical Polity*. His respect for the character of his chief opponent<sup>1</sup> caused him "to examine his own conscience concerning his opinions, and to consult the Scriptures, and other laws both human and divine, whether the consciences of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with, as to alter our frame of Church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us:" wherein Hooker's meaning was not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences. Thus, to the untoward and irksome circumstances of his first appointment, we may trace, directly and certainly, his great work.

Again, when in compliance with his earnest request to his patron, Archbishop Whitgift, he was removed from the troubles and controversies of London, to a "place where he might study and pray for God's blessing on his endeavours, and keep himself in peace and

<sup>1</sup> Walter Travers.

privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of his mother earth, and eat his own bread without oppositions;" *i. e.* first to Boscomb, near Salisbury, in 1591, and afterwards to Bishopsborne, near Canterbury, in 1595; it seems not to have been without special Providence that he was brought into near neighbourhood, which soon became familiar intimacy, with Dr. Adrian Saravia, Prebendary of Canterbury. Saravia was, as far as appears, the first to avow the Church doctrine of the apostolical succession, after the abeyance, so to speak, in which it had been held (however distinctly implied in the Prayer Book) since the beginning of our intercourse with foreign reformers. The effects of this friendship with Saravia, as concurring with Hooker's own researches, are not obscurely to be discerned in his later compositions; nay, even in the tone of his Fifth Book, as compared with that of the four preceding. One may perceive throughout a growing tendency to judge of things by the rules of the ancient Church, and to take, not a Roman nor a Protestant, but always, if possible, a Catholic view.<sup>1</sup> Nor will it be thought that Saravia's probable influence with him is here over-rated, when we read what follows, communicated to Walton by a near neighbour of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 194, note 1.



Hooker's, and the sister of his most intimate friend. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

By this report of their last conversation, we may conjecture how they must have helped each other in the contemplation of that Catholic order, of which they seem to have gone on daily discerning more and more, as they drew nearer that place, where only it can be perfectly realized.

It might not perhaps be wrong to enumerate, amongst these providential circumstances, the discomfort of Hooker's domestic life, to which the same tradition bears witness. His "restless studies" might bear the more fruit, as he had less temptation to withdraw himself from them.

And as the author was thus raised up, and guided, and spared, to the completion of that part of his treatise especially which relates to the Prayer Book (for of the three later Books, although he had finished them, only fragments and sketches now remain), so there are not wanting corresponding tokens of a Providence, tending to prepare men's minds for the reception of his views, in the course of public affairs at the same time. The death of the Queen of Scots, and the destruction of the

<sup>1</sup> Here follows the account of Saravia's ministry to Hooker during his last sickness, which is given above; see pp. 81 ff.

Spanish Armada, taking off men's immediate dread of a violent introduction of the Papal power, left them at leisure to understand that there might be danger in another direction, and to admit and appreciate those safeguards which the Catholic Church, and that alone, provides against both. The disorganizing tendencies of extreme Protestant principles had been largely exhibited in some other countries, and were apparent enough here in the proceedings of the discontented reformers, all through Elizabeth's reign. The Earl of Leicester, who had favoured the Puritans, was dead: the court interfered less, and the Church of England was left freer to right and settle herself on her own proper middle ground. She did not, as some years before she might have done, resist the hand which was commissioned to steady her.

Such are some of the facts which, if one may so conjecture without irreverence, would lead to our regarding the Fifth Book especially of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, from which the following extracts are taken, as a providential gift to this Church: how seasonable and how effectual, none can know till the day comes when all such mysteries shall be revealed.

One thing, however, is quite certain; that as the Church is responsible for her use of the

whole work, so must each individual bear his burden, when once it, or any part of it, has been brought fairly under his notice. He may, if he choose, be content to read it as a classical English book, or as a curious chapter in ecclesiastical or civil history. Or, according to its author's intention, he may suffer himself to be led by it to a thoughtful estimate of his own privileges as a member of the English Catholic Church, and of the degree in which he has hitherto laboured to improve them. In any case, the readers of such books cannot remain just where they were. They must be either the better or the worse. For undoubtedly that grave rule of an ancient bishop,<sup>1</sup> concerning those who were admitted to the learning of the four Gospels, will apply in its degree to the readers of all human books also, in proportion as those books reflect or transmit the true meaning and spirit of the Gospels.

"Inasmuch as the Lord hath declared that *to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more*; more exceedingly abundant ought their fear and seriousness to be: as the Apostle teaches, saying, *We then as workers together with him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain*. And this cometh to pass if we obey the Lord when He tells us, *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.*"

Hursley, May 2nd, 1839.

J. K.

<sup>1</sup> St. Basil, *Reg. Brev. Tract*, ccxxxvi.

## KEBLE'S SELECTIONS

*For the benefit of those who, in studying the Fifth Book of Hooker's treatise, desire to follow the line indicated by Mr. Keble in the preceding 'Preface,' the references annexed may be of use in pointing out the passages which he selected for his purpose. The headings are Mr. Keble's: the references are to the chapters and sections of the Fifth Book. The writer ventures to suggest, that this study should be followed by the perusal of Dr. Paget's Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise, to which he has constantly referred in writing the latter part of the present volume, and to which he is greatly indebted.*

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- II. Of the Authority due to Antiquity in matters of Divine Service—vii. 1, 3, 4.
- III. Of the Authority of the present Church in matters of Divine Service—viii. 1-5; x. 2.
- IV. Of Places set apart for God's solemn Service—xi. 1, 2.
- V. Of Dedication of Churches—xii. 1, 3, 4, 5.
- VI. Of the Naming of Churches—xiii. 1, 3.
- VII. Of the Sumptuousness of Churches—xv. 1-5.
- VIII. Of the Holiness which we ascribe to the Church more than to other places—xvi. 1, 2.
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- XXVI. Of Prayer for Earthly Things—xxxv. 2.
- XXVII. Of often repeating the Lord's Prayer—xxxv. 3.
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- XXIX. The Psalms; and what difference there is between them and other parts of Scripture—xxxvii. 2.
- XXX. Of Music with Psalms—xxxviii. 1, 2, 3.

- XXXI. Of Singing Psalms by course: that is, the Minister and People answering one another—xxxix. 1, 2, 4, 5.
- XXXII. Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*—xl. 1, 2, 3.
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- XXXVI. Of the Prayer in the Litany against Sudden Death—xlvi. 1, 2, 3.
- XXXVII. Of Confession of our Unworthiness in Prayer—xlvi. 1-4.
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- XXXIX. Of the Prayer in the Litany, Have mercy upon all men—xlix. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.
- XL. Of Sacraments in General—l. 1, 2, 3.
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