THE PROSE STYLE OF RICHARD HOOKER
IN THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY
The Prose Style of Richard Hooker

in

"The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity".

by

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A Thesis submitted for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
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The University of British Columbia

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Introduction.

Richard Hooker wrote The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity as a defence of the Church of England against the attacks of both Roman Catholics and Reformers. Most of his arguments were directed against the latter, whose leader, Thomas Cartwright, had attacked the Church of England for retaining too much of the ceremonial and doctrine of Rome. Hooker was able to show that his church embraced nothing contrary to any laws of scripture, but had achieved an almost perfect compromise between lack of reform and ultra reform; and he managed to make his opponents appear guilty of all sorts of error and prejudice. He, like the Reformers, regarded the Roman Church as a danger safely escaped, but he was fair enough, (only at such times as were necessary), to admit that there was some wholesomeness in the doctrine and ceremonial of Rome. His reasoning shows the same elasticity, being for the most part profound and logical, but occasionally more nimble than weighty, more ingenious than convincing.

Of his "sweet reasonableness" there are many examples, and of his piety, but the general temper of the treatise is that of the keen theologian battling with another equally excited over points that few but master theologians would choose to discuss.

The style that carried the logician through his long and tedious campaign answered all the demands of its master. It had the dignity and fulness of Elizabethan English, admirably suited to the serious theme. It lacked the simplicity of Bible language. It reflected, rather, the complexity of the author's reasonings in the intricacies of its long periods, phrase and clause turning this way and that in the "course of exposition", or rolling on in the "flow of eloquence". But even more noticeable than the complexity of such passages is the clarity of the style; for an argument must be clear in order to be convincing, and the longer the sentence the more definitely coherent it must be. The prose of Hooker is straightforward, unmannered, unimaginative, wholly subservient to the matter - the shortest means of expression for what was in its master's mind.

My paper begins with an attempt to analyse the Rhythm and the Phrasing, and shows how they add to the sonority of this masterpiece of prose. Paragraphs by Raleigh and Sidney, contemporaries of Hooker, are introduced for purposes of comparison. Some very special effects in rhythm are also described under the heading of Cursus and Cadences. Then, turning from the decorative side of this prose to the foundation on which it was built, I have tried to prove how closely the Latin underlies the English, and in how many ways its influence is apparent. After this, by way of contrast.

2. Ibid., p. 37.
there follows a short section on the Secular Vocabulary, the use of native, household terms, which, though not as numerous as the words of Latin origin, are equally effective. The Punctuation is next considered, attention being given chiefly to the colons in Hooker's prose, which relied very much on that device. The last of the sections describes the use that Hooker made of the Rules of Rhetoric. In the Conclusion I find that, despite the great respect with which critics have treated Hooker, he has not been given full credit for the Unity achieved by his masterpiece.

I have been obliged to include a great many quotations from The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity in support of this or that statement, thereby adding considerably to the bulk of my essay. I am well satisfied, however, to let Hooker's prose have as much space as possible, for in this case the impossible happens, and the greater is contained by the less.
CHAPTER I.

THE PROSE RHYTHM--

COMPARISON with RAILEIGH and SYDNEY.

The following observations on prose rhythm are taken from *The Technique of English Verse* by G. R. Stewart, and *The Rhythm of English Prose* by Norton R. Tempest.

Prose rhythm cannot be determined by an examination of the individual words of which it is composed. These words must be grouped into phrases. A phrase is an arrangement of syllables, or perhaps it consists of only one syllable having some logical significance and at least one stressed syllable. "In general" says G. R. Stewart, "articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and most pronouns and auxiliary verbs are pronounced along with a more strongly stressed word". For the purpose of indicating a stressed syllable, it is proposed to use the "S" that Stewart has adopted. He marks unstressed syllables with "o", or with an "l" if they have secondary stress. In prose one finds the following combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
S & \text{"law"} \\
oS & \text{"attempt"} \\
So & \text{"winter" } \text{dissyllabic} \\
ooS & \text{"at a blow"} \\
ooS & \text{"remember" } \text{trisyllabic} \\
Soo & \text{"properly"} \\
Sooo, or Solo & \text{"melancholy"} \\
oSoo & \text{"eternity"} \\
ooS & \text{"one another" } \text{paeon} \\
cooS, or looS & \text{"in the event"} \\
cSolo & \text{etc.}
\end{array}
\]

The difference between prose and verse, in the matter of phrasing, is that the former is improved by the use of the
larger phrases, i.e., those of four and more syllables, whereas verse must admit them comparatively rarely. Both prose and verse, however, contain "rising" and "falling" rhythm. Such phrases as end with a stress are said to have rising rhythm, e.g., "attempt". On the other hand, "winter" has falling rhythm, and a phrase like "if only", "neutral" or "waved" rhythm. Stewart says of prose rhythm:

"Ordinary English speech is composed roughly of: rising phrases, 45%; falling, 10%; and neutral, 45%. ... The number of rising phrases is determined particularly by the fact that articles, prepositions, and conjunctions attach themselves to the following word. The same classes of words coming in connection with a dissyllabic following word generally give us neutral phrases, e.g., 'the people'; monosyllabic words standing alone also increase this group." (1.)

Norton Tempest, in The Rhythm of English Prose, says:

"Many English rhythms are trochaic, (So) but the staple feet of ordinary conversation and conversational prose are iambs, (oS), (2.) amphibrachs (oSo) and anapaests." (o(oS) (3.)

i.e., two rising, and one waved, rhythm.

"Rising and waved rhythms are the basis of English speech. Falling and level provide variety." (4.)

By "level" he must mean a monosyllabic phrase.

Paeons (Sooc, oSo, ooSo, oooS) are very valuable in prose. Tempest especially likes the Third Paeon (ooSo), for its rhythmic effect. What he says about phrase rhythms in

5. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
individual sentences is also worthy of note. Most sentences, he says, begin with a weak stress, often an iamb (oS): to this rule Carlyle was a notable exception. The middle of a sentence, often neglected by 17th and 18th century writers, can be made forceful by putting short phrases in the midst of long, by the juxtaposition of stresses, to make the "arch" of the sentence, or by use of a monosyllable or long five-syllabled phrase as a "pivot". The end can be made impressive by recess or advance of the strong stress (e.g., ooSo, oSo, oS; "lamentations and mourning and woe"). Longer phrases, says Tempest, occur in "numerous" prose, i.e., prose that is more ornamental and rhythmical than common speech.

It remains then to take representative samples of Richard Hooker's prose and see whether they incline more to ordinary speech or to numerous prose.

I have selected (i) Book V, Part I, Paragraph 1, and (ii) Book I, Part XVI, Paragraph 1, and with these, extracts from Raleigh and Sydney, his contemporaries, for detailed analysis.

Few there are of so weak capacity, but public evil they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain, when the grievous inconveniences thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harm which they see consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, Ezekiel 2: 10.

belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toil, and
the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respect-
ive men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the
world may go well, so it be not long of them, than with pain
and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good.

(ii) Book I, Part XVI, paragraph 1, the first sentence:-

Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open of what
nature and force laws are, according unto their several kinds;
the law which God with himself hath eternally set down to follow
in his own works; the law which he hath made for his creatures
to keep; the law of natural and necessary agents; the law
which angels in heaven obey; the law whereunto by the light
of reason men find themselves bound in that they are men; the
law which they make by composition for multitudes and politic
societies of men to be guided by; the law which belongeth unto
each nation; the law that concerneth the fellowship of all;
and lastly the law which God himself hath supernaturally re-
vealed. It might peradventure have been more popular and more
plausible to vulgar ears, if this first discourse had been
spent in extolling the force of laws in showing the great
necessity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their
offence by whom public laws are injuriously traduced.

(iii) Sir Walter Raleigh (History of the world):

It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know
himsfelf. He tells the proud and insolent that they are but
RHYTHM.

abjects, and humbles them at the same instant, makes them cry, complain, and repent, yea even to hate their forepast happiness. He takes the account of the rich and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just and mighty Death! whom none could advise thou hast persuaded; what none have dared thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, Hic jacet!

In the following tables are shown the results obtained from reducing the use of various phrases to a percentage basis.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phrases .......................... 61</td>
<td>Phrases .......................... 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising - 24 ...................... 60%</td>
<td>Rising - 39 ...................... 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling - 5 ...................... 8%</td>
<td>Falling - 13 ...................... 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waved - 52 ...................... 52%</td>
<td>Waved - 48 ...................... 52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monos - 11 ...................... 17%</td>
<td>Monos - 23 ...................... 24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeon - 8 ...................... 13%</td>
<td>Paeon - 8 ...................... 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6 Third P)</td>
<td>(6 Second P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waved oSo - 11 ...................... 17%</td>
<td>Waved oSo - 14 ...................... 14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases .......................... 98</td>
<td>Phrases .......................... 14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising - 42 ...................... 42%</td>
<td>Monos - 14 ...................... 14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling - 8 ...................... 8%</td>
<td>Paeon - 15 ...................... 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waved - 48 ...................... 49%</td>
<td>(5 Third P)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
I think it convenient to point out here that, in the "Introduction" and in Raleigh's famous passage on Death, the proportion of Waved (or Neutral), to Rising and Falling phrases is the same. In Laws there is a predominance of "Waved" over other kinds, and the same is true of the other two pieces. Some similarities in phrasing can be compared:

**Introduction (Book V).**

Few there are
S S
of so weak-capacity
oS oS oSo
the study whereof
oS oS oS is so full of toil
oS oS make themselves
S oS advisers
oS for the common good
oS oSo (In above note similarity of rhythm difference in subject matter.)

**Raleigh.**

cry, complain
S oS and lament
oS oSo what none have dared
oS oS thou hast done
oS oS all the pride,
S oS cruelty
oS ooSo and ambition of man
oS oSo

**Laws (Book I).**

the law that concerneth the fell-owship of all;
oS oSo eloquent, just
oS oSo and mighty Death!
oS oSo

The phrases above, which have been shown to be alike in rhythm, are widely different in the matter whereof they speak. Raleigh's phrases are memorable, Hooker's are not.

**Laws, Book I, Part XVI, sentence 2.**

But forasmuch as with such kind of matter the passions of men are rather stirred one way or the other, than their knowledge any way set forward unto the trial of that whereof there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen though a less easy yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should...
marvel whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose
of all is this, even to shew in what manner, as every good and
perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws is
derived from the Father of lights; to teach men a reason why
just and reasonable laws are of so great force, of so great use
in the world; and to inform their minds with some method of
reducing the laws whereof there is present controversy unto
their first original causes, that so it may be in every par-
ticular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the
same be reasonable, just, and righteous, or no.

Sir Philip Sydney (Lyric and Heroic Poesy):
Is it the lyric that most displeaseth, who with his tuned lyre
and well-accorded voice, giveth praise, the reward of virtue,
to virtuous acts? who giveth moral precepts and natural prob-
lems? who sometimes raiseth up his voice to the height of the
heavens, in singing the lauds of the immortal God? Certainly,
I must confess mine own barbarousness. I never heard the old
song of Percy and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved
more than with a trumpet; and yet it is sung but by some blind
crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style; which being
so, evil apparelled in the dust and cobweb of that uncivil age,
what would it work, trimmed in gorgeous eloquence of Pindar?
In Hungary I have seen it the manner at all feasts, and all
other such-like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valour, which that right soldier-like nation think one of the
chiefest kindlers of brave courage.
RHYTHM.

Laws - sent. 2, Bk. I, Pt. XVI. Sydney, "Lyric and Heroic Poesy".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Rising - 36</th>
<th>Falling - 12</th>
<th>Waved - 62</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>57%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Monos - 32</th>
<th>Paeon - 13</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Waved oSo - 15</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Monos - 24</th>
<th>Paeon - 9</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Waved oSo - 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>20%</td>
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</table>

These two passages make a group, because they contain a very large percentage of waved or neutral rhythms, and there is a rough correspondence between the number of rising, falling, monosyllabic and other phrases in each. The preponderance of waved or neutral rhythms is again noticeable.

There is similar phrasing in the following cases:

**Laws (2)**

as every good and perfect gift,

a more profitable way

Aside from that beaten path

the drift and purpose of all is this

unto their first original causes

**Sydney**

I never heard the old song in singing the lauds of the immortal God?

who with his tuned lyre in the dust and cobweb of that uncivil age kindlers of brave courage

Once again it must be remarked that, whereas the phrases of Hooker and Sydney may be the same, there is no comparison in
beauty of diction and idea.

Hooker speaks of "a profitable way", or "first original causes"; and these ideas are less stirring than "the old song" or "brave courage", or "the lauds of the immortal God".

In Book V, Part XXXVIII, "Music with Psalms", the first four sentences are admirable examples of Hooker's rhythm, and are shown below, analysed into their phrase structure.

Touching musical harmony whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high or low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the soul itself by nature is or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all ages and beseemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which music hath to express and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions whereunto the mind is subject; yea so to imitate them, that whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other.
I have chosen also Book I, Part IV, paragraph 1, sentence 1, for a similar analysis.

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.

Music with Psalms, Book V, Part XXXVIII.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waved</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monos</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeon</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
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<td>(9 Third P)</td>
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Law that Angels Obey, Book I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>94</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waved</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monos</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paeon</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>(8 Third P)</td>
<td>17%</td>
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The "Music" and "Angels" passages show a great similarity in their percentage of rising, falling, waved, and paeonic phrases.
Waved or neutral rhythms are in the great majority, as in all other cases.

The passage from Raleigh is included in comparison of rhythms:

Music with Psalms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Angles, The Law of</th>
<th>Death (Raleigh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>even for ever and</td>
<td>all the pride,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>S oS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever doth dwell</td>
<td>cruelty and amb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oS</td>
<td>So ooSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But now that we</td>
<td>whom none could</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oS</td>
<td>oSo ooS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may lift up our</td>
<td>advise thou hast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oSo</td>
<td>S ooSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as it were from</td>
<td>persuaded, what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooSo</td>
<td>oS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>footstool to the</td>
<td>none have dared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooS</td>
<td>oS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throne of God</td>
<td>thou hast done;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oS</td>
<td>S oS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The above are examples of rising rhythm varied by waved and neutral phrases.)</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

the very standing,  oSo So
rising and falling,  the
So oSo             oS
the very steps and  glorious inhabitants
oS S ooSo           ooSo
inflections every   of those sacred
Soo ooSo
way;
Soo
(S Falling rhythm is found in the two above examples.)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>where nothing but</td>
<td>a naked beggar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oSo</td>
<td>oS So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light and blessed</td>
<td>which hath interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oS</td>
<td>S ooSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immortality, no</td>
<td>in nothing but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooSo</td>
<td>oS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shadow of matter</td>
<td>in the gravel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oSo</td>
<td>which ooSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for tears oS</td>
<td>oS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the seven extracts, five from Hooker, and one each from
RHYTHM.

Raleigh and Sydney, are taken as a whole, the proportion of one kind of phrase to another is in the order following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Phrase</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waved or neutral phrases</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waved &quot;oSo&quot;</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeons (4 Syllables)</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Waved or neutral phrases include, of course, paeons, three-syllabled waved phrases, and monosyllables. The figures (rising, 36%; falling, 11%; waved, 53%) do not exactly agree with Stewart's 45, 10 and 45 percent. His count, it must be remembered, was for ordinary English speech. The extracts chosen for this paper had subjects above the level of ordinary speech; and seeing that the number of neutral phrases is also above that level, it may be surmised that such phrases improve the rhythm and sonority of prose. Such a conclusion is in agreement with the opinion of N. Tempest, mentioned on page 3.

A glance at any of the phrases chosen for comparison will show what smoothness and variety of rhythm can be achieved by waved "oSo" or "oSo, ooSo" groups. Contrast, for instance, "joy, tranquility and peace" with these headings from a newspaper:

"Robber murders sleeping seaman."
(Falling rhythm overworked.)

"Car deaths double despite speed law".
(An ugly group of monosyllables, aided and abetted by alliteration.)

It is also apparent from the list shown above that the monosyllable plays a great part in the making of numerous prose. Both Raleigh and Sydney make full use of it, the former at the

1. Vancouver Daily Province, April 1, 1938.
beginning and end of his sentence: "O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! .....and covered it all over with these two narrow words, Hic jacet!" Hooker writes, in the second sentence on Laws: "to teach men a reason why just and reasonable laws are of so great force;" "Whereunto all these things tend."

The individual sentences of the collection under discussion number in all fifteen; of these, ten begin with an unstressed syllable. The rest start with either a monosyllable or a phrase in falling rhythm. Here is support, then, for the observation of Tempest, mentioned on page 3.

The middle of the sentence.

On the first inspection, the most obvious device used by Hooker, Sydney and Raleigh for maintaining force in their individual sentences, seems to be parallel construction. Raleigh and Sydney do not repeat constructions more than twice or three times, but Hooker, in the first extract on Law, begins nine clauses with "the law". Since, however, it is the phrases that are being considered here, the question is, how did they, too, assist in the architecture of whole sentences? Tempest suggests the putting of short phrases in the midst of long. He was right.-

Examples follow:

Raleigh: "...thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty and ambition of man"...
Sydney: "...who with his tuned lyre and well-accorded voice.

Hooker: (i) "...turned aside from that beaten path..."
(ii) "light and blessed immortality"

Sydney: "songs of their ancestors' valour"

The middle or arch of the sentence can be maintained by putting strong stresses together.

e.g., Hooker: (i) "from the footstool to the throne of God."
(ii) "huge, mighty and royal armies,"
(iii) "adore, love and imitate"
(iv) "extolling the force of laws"
(v) "whereunto all these things tend..."
(vi) "the very standing, rising and falling..."

Raleigh: "...makes them cry, complain and repent."

Thirdly, the middle of the sentence can be made to "pivot" on a monosyllable or long phrase.

e.g., Hooker: (i) "gift...as every good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws..."
(ii) "...in high or low sounds a due proportionable disposition......."
(iii) "as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when...."
(iv) ".....touching angels, which are spirits immaterial and intellectual...."

In the same sentence the monosyllables "light", "tears", "joy", "peace" and "law" serve admirably as pivot words.

(v) "Few there are of so weak capacity..."
(vi) "...belongeth to a skill, the study whereof..."

Of the end of a sentence, Tempest, whose suggestions have been used for the beginning and middle, says that it can be made impressive by recess or advance of the strong stress. Both of these tendencies are represented in the seven passages under discussion and there is a third which consists of alternating, rising and falling rhythm in the short phrases, oS, oSo, oSo, S. It has a good contrasting value after a long series of more complicated phrases.

1. Recess:-

   Introduction, Book V: "...inconveniences thereof ooSo oS work sensible smart."
   S Soo S

   Music with Psalms: "...that the soul itself by ooS oS oSo nature is or hath in it S oS oSo harmony."
   Soo

   Raleigh: "...and they acknowledge it." ooS oSo S oSo, S "...even to hate their fore-
   So oS oSo past happiness." S ooSo

   (Gradual) "...and ambition of man, and ooSo oS oSo covered it all over with these oS oS oS
   two narrow words, Hic jacet!" S Soo S S oSo

   Sydney: "...trimmed in the gorgeous S ooSo eloquence of Pindar?"
   Soo oSo

2. Advance:-

   Introduction, Book V: "make themselves advisers for S oS oSo ooSo the common good."
   S
RHYTHM.

Laws, 2:
"just, and righteous, or no."
S ooSo ooSo

"but in the gravel that fills
S ooSo ooSo
his mouth."
S ooSo ooSo

"O eloquent, just, and mighty
S ooSo ooSo
Death!"
S ooSo ooSo

Laws, 1: (Gradual)
"and lastly the law which God
S ooSo ooSo
himself hath supernaturally
S loSolo revealed."
S ooSo ooSo

"...public laws are injuriously
S ooSoo
traduced."
S ooSo ooSo

"in singing the lauds of the
S ooSo ooSo ooSo
immortal God?"
S

3. Alternation:

Law of Angels: "did not teach to pray or wish for
S ooSo ooSo ooSo
more than only that here it might
S ooSo ooSo
be with us as with them it is in
S ooSo ooSo ooSo
heaven."
S

Music: "as being used when men most sequester
S ooSo ooSo ooSo
themselves from action."
S ooSo ooSo

Sydney: "think one of the chiefest kindlers
S ooSo ooSo ooSo
of brave courage."
S ooSo ooSo

In this place belongs too, the last Sentence in Book II:

"as I am verily persuaded theirs in
S ooSo ooSo ooSo ooSo
this case was."
S

There are, then, certain observations to be made on
the phrases of the Ecclesiastical Polity. Compared with his
better known contemporaries, Raleigh and Sydney, Hooker is shown to have used exactly the same phrases, in the same proportion. He maintained the dignity and harmony of his prose by a more liberal use of waved and neutral phrases in places where they made variety in, or lent substance to, the sentence. He made an exquisite use of short phrases at the close of periods, and knew all the value of the single monosyllabic stress.

But where Raleigh's monosyllable was "Death", Hooker's was "Law".

"Death" is an emotive word. It arouses some degree of wonder and awe in the mind of all who hear it, whereas "Law" has little, if any, emotive power. It has the austere nature of a concept. I have already noted briefly that although the phrase-rhythm of Hooker and Raleigh is similar, the language of the latter is far more striking. This, again, is because his language is more poetic, has more stimulative power on our imagination, is more emotive. Such words as "cry, complain and lament", put us in a dreamy or reflective mood, whilst Hooker's "advisers for the common good" changes our attitude to one more serious and intellectual; the idea is now moral, conceptual, not poetic. In the prose selection from Sydney, also, there is the passage: "I never hear the old song of Percy and Douglas..." By these words, a pleasant emotion of some kind is at once stirred up in the reader. The expression is intuitive, whereas Hooker's phrase: "their first original causes" is conceptual,

1. Modern Prose Style, Dobrée, p. 127.
and has therefore an emotive power less directly operative.

It might be argued that Raleigh and Sydney had an initial advantage over Hooker in that their subjects - Death, and Poetry - are in themselves emotive, whereas Hooker's one and only intent was to analyse Law - a word which is often associated, figuratively, with dryness and dust. All the more interesting is it then to note that within the limits of the Polity itself there are the two kinds of appeal, emotive and conceptual. Of the paragraphs quoted in this chapter, both that on "Music with Psalms" and the one on "Law" (sentence 1), are largely theoretical in matter, but "Angels" and, less obviously, the "Introduction" to Book V are gentler and more persuasive, though still didactic, in tone. The theoretical paragraphs have a "hard ring", as though the words are meant to "carry in a lecture hall". This effect is partly achieved (probably quite unconsciously on Hooker's part) by ending with a noun or strong stress:

\[
\text{e.g. Laws (1): } \ldots \text{law are; } \ldots \text{several kinds; } \ldots \text{own works; } \ldots \text{to keep; } \ldots \text{in heaven obey; } \ldots \text{are men; } \ldots \text{each nation; } \ldots \text{of all; } \ldots \text{hath revealed} \ldots \text{or laws...} \\
\]

\[
\text{Music: } \ldots \text{besethem all states; } \\
\ldots \text{as in joy; } \\
\ldots \text{to the mind; } \\
\ldots \text{sensible mean, } \\
\ldots \text{every way;}
\]

The parallelism, also, in these "lecture hall" paragraphs is obvious and tinny: in \text{Laws (1)}, nine successive clauses begin

1. Mod. Prose Style, p. 126.
2. Ibid., p. 127.
with "the law". In "Music" we see "the very standing, rising and falling, the very steps and inflections every way...." A further characteristic is the use of concepts, or of words having a narrow connotation:

*e.g. Laws* (i): Kinds, works, creatures, reason, composition, politic, societies, discourse, laws.

*Music*: instrument, proportionable, effects, divine, harmony, seasonable, facility, inflections.

Turning to the less technical paragraphs we find that in "The Law which Angels obey" the explanatory aim is subordinated to religious emotion. There is a distinct tendency to end with falling rhythm:

"...these natural;
...divine creatures;
...sacred palaces;
...royal armies;
...imposed upon them;
...as...it is in heaven."

The "Introduction" is more reflective than emotional. It tends to use not exactly falling rhythm, but unemphatic monosyllables at the clause ends: "of curing it,
...quietly their own,
...not long of them,
...for the common good."

The rhythm is more soothing in "Angels" and the "Introduction", and is not forced into parallel constructions. I think that perhaps I have already given enough space to the mingling of long and short phrases, on page 13, and will content myself here with pointing out the phonetic syzygy exemplified in the last few clauses of the Introduction. The theme is the apathy of those who like a sequestered life, who "had rather seek
quietly their own, and wish that the world may go well, so it
be not long of them...." The simple language echoes their
modest ambitions. One can almost hear them hope that the
"world may go well".

This the place to make fuller mention of such para-
graph ends as that of Book II quoted on page 16 as an example
of a group of short phrases: S, oS, Soo, oSo, S, oSo, S;
"....as I am verily persuaded theirs in this case
was."
The quietism of these final words after the keen argument and
lengthy summing-up of "the strength of man's authority" is a
perfect reproduction of Hooker's gentleness of spirit, and
reluctance to be forever engaged in controversy. Another
example occurs at the end of the second paragraph of Book II:

"which of his infinite love and goodness the Father
of all peace and unity grant."

Sometimes the quietism merely echoes Hooker's self-restraint,
his refusal to descend to abuse:

Bk. III, Part III, No. 2: "they give men great cause
to doubt that some other thing than judgment doth
guide their speech."

Other examples: Bk. V, Part XXII, last paragraph:
"For in this we are not their adversaries, though
they in the other hitherto have been ours."

Bk. V, paragraph 2: "godliness being the chiepest top
and wellspring of all true virtues, even as God is of
all good things." (Note monosyllables at close).

Such paragraph conclusions as those above, following all the
weight and fullness of periodic structure, parallelism,
rhetorical question, are very pleasing, and present to me, at
least, one of the charms of Hooker's style. At these places
he seems to be no longer compelling his reasoning to be understood, but trying to "win" us over by presenting his own modern self.

There is still a lack of emotive words, although the Angels passage uses general connotations such as: "lift up our eyes," "footstool," "throne of God," "glorious," "light," "blessed," "tears," "huge," "armies," "heaven." The Introduction appeals to the imagination with such concrete expressions as: "weak," "smart," "seeds," "sprang," "toil." The best examples of concrete, emotive language in the Polity are to be found in the section on Secular Vocabulary.

It is time to leave the detailed analysis of four special paragraphs, and return to consider the phrase-rhythm in the Polity as a whole. By now it should be clear that in order to be striking and unforgettable, the phrase-rhythm must be combined with emotive language. Of such passages there are very few in the Polity besides those that I have shown and analysed. And yet there is no paragraph in the whole of that vast work that is without the charm of Hooker's flowing rhythm, with its alternation of long and short, rising and falling, phrases. There is an unhurried pace about it, that suits the grave thought of the writer. I find especially interesting in this connection the words of Bonamy Dobrée on theological prose, when he refers to "the steady sound of the voice, the muted ups and downs, which really give the sense of absorption." "..." There could be no better example of these characteristics when he refers to "the steady sound of the voice, the muted ups and downs, which really give the sense of absorption."...

1. Mod. Prose Style, p. 133.
RHYTHM.

than the prose rhythm of the Ecclesiastical Polity.
CHAPTER II.

THE USE of the CURSUS and the CADENCE

by HOOKER.

Readers of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity are at times rewarded by what have been called "natural, unforced bursts of rhetoric", "swelling periods", "purple passages", of which Book I, Part IV, paragraph 1, is an example. Far more noticeable than these rather rare pieces, are the form and rhythm of hundreds of sentences, short or long, on any and every page of the treatise. These sentences are set, or appear to be set, to a certain time-pattern. We are reminded of the theory of G. R. Stewart, in his book, The Technique of English Verse, that the basis of the latter is not stress, or metre, but time. In the lines by Tennyson:

"Break, Break, Break,
On thy cold gray stones, 0 Sea..."

both lines take the same time to say, but we hurry over the words of the second line in order to match the time of the first. Hooker makes us do the same in numbers of his periods. Clauses appear to be equal in importance, and approximately equal in length, and we unconsciously read the one in the same time as the other; e.g.,

"Sometimes that which we do is referred to a further end without the desire whereof we would leave the same undone, as in their actions that gave alms to purchase thereby the praise of men."


2. There is, of course, no metre to these sentences. See Saintsbury, p. 450: "Prose Rhythm has as its essence variety and divergence".
Scores of Hooker’s sentences are like this example, having two somewhat shorter clauses followed by a third appreciably longer. The effect, as is indicated in the example above, is assisted by a certain stress on “end” and “done” and “men”. In fact, such stressed clause-endings were found to be so unfailling in their presence, that they aided materially in deciding on the pattern type of each sentence. Further investigation enabled them to be classed as either “cursus” or “cadences”.

**Explanation of Cursus and Cadences.**

According to Tempest, the Cursus was originally a rhythmic device of oratory used by the Greeks as punctuation. Greek audiences were familiar with the scheme, and would sometimes even clap the time of the cursus, if they felt they had waited too long for it. Roman orators borrowed the cursus for purposes both of punctuation and ornament, and men like Cicero used it in writing as well as speaking, to provide a neat close to clauses and periods. The Latin of the early

2. I have selected the following examples of the Latin Cursus from Cicero’s *Pro Lege Manilia*, Edited by Joliffe and Tracy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planus</th>
<th>Tardus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 72: “bella gesserunt”</td>
<td>1. 351: “ratione dissentiunt”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 79: “laudis fulsit”</td>
<td>1. 398: “imperii caruit”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Velox.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 152: “diutissimē cōmmorātur”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 622: “salūtem prōvinciārum”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Christians retained the cursus (with this difference, that their Latin now had accent instead of quantity); and this cursus was reproduced in our English language with various modifications: e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical Latin</th>
<th>Late Latin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Planus: voce testatur nostris infunde</td>
<td>countess misfortunes</td>
<td>comely and graceful pardon for offenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tardus: Nōstra cūrātem incarnationēnem cognōvimus</td>
<td>Cana in Cālile Cōn</td>
<td>Secrets of philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Velox: flūminūm quae gloriām tenetis perdūcamur</td>
<td>Vapour upon the mountains time of these urns deposited</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every cursus ends with a weak syllable.

The cadence is a rhythmic device of language, having the same use and purpose as the cursus, but being native to English. Unlike the cursus, the majority of cadences end with a stressed syllable, a very common type being the 4-1: "brutish and short". (The counting is done from the last syllable, and every stress is numbered accordingly. The same rule holds for the cursus). Some varieties of native cadences are listed below:

3-1 "weary backs".
4-1 "choral lament".
6-1 "motionless as the snow".
5-3-1 "down within himself".
5-2-1 "now for the first time".
5-3-2 "king of all England".

The numerous prose of the Elizabethans, already provided with native cadences, and adopting the cursus of Latin

2. Ibid., p. 83.
owes much of its beauty to the rhythm added by these devices. For the richest examples we look to the writings of Browne, Taylor and Raleigh: "O eloquent, just and mighty Death!" or to the Bible: "Lamentations and mourning and woe", - but even in the plain prose of Hooker they occur often enough to lend sonority to his loftier themes and emphasis to almost every sentence.

It is possible to pick out a few definite types or patterns among such sentences, according to the number or length of their clauses. The end of every clause is clearly marked by a cursus or cadence. In the examples which have been chosen, native cadences are indicated by underlinement and the cursus by use of capitals:--

A. This type has two short clauses followed by a long. It expresses statements which come to a forceful conclusion.

  e.g., If Reason err
  We FALL INTO EVIL,
  and are as so far forth deprived of the general perfection we seek.

B. This type begins with a brief emphatic statement which is amplified by two much longer clauses.

  e.g., Infinite duties there are,
  the goodness whereof is by this rule sufficiently MANIFESTED
  although we had no other warrant beside to approve them.

C. The third pattern expresses a statement by sandwiching two or more short parts between two longer clauses, the latter of these bringing the sentence to a forceful close.

  e.g., Again there is nothing in it but any man having natural perfection of wit and RIPENESS OF JUDGMENT
CURSUS and CADENCE.

may by LABOUR AND TRAVAIL find out 5-2, 4-1

D. This sentence diminishes from long beginnings to a short unemphatic final clause.

e.g., For if once we descend unto probable collection what is convenient for men We are then in territory where free and arbitrary DETERMINATION, the territory where human laws take place which laws are AFTER TO BE CONSIDERED 4-1 7-4-2 3-1 7-4-2

E. Type E resembles D, but has only two long clauses and a short concluding one. It makes statements.

e.g., The rule of divine OPERATIONS OUTWARD is the definitive appointment of God's OWN WISDOM set down within himself. 7-4-2 7-4-2 5-3-1

F. Argument or very persuasive reasoning is the usual purpose of type F. Two or more parts of varying length are put between a short initial and a short final clause. Monosyllables are often found at the beginning and end, and long phrases in the middle.

e.g., Whereupon their conclusion is that seeing that each sort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of its own nature must be everywhere one and the same, therefore in itself there is nothing right. 3-1 4-1 6-3-1

G. This type develops a crescendo of longer and longer parts, and is found in passages of eloquence.

e.g., and is it possible, that man, being not only the noblest creature in the world, but a very world in himself his transgressing the Law of Nature should draw no manner of harm after it? 5-1 4-1 7-4-2

H. Sentence H tends to balanced structure, couplet form, and

1. See above, p.
CURSUS and CADENCE

asserts with all the certainty of a maxim.

e.g., A law therefore, GENERALLY TAKEN
is a directive rule unto GOODNESS OF
OPERATION.

Sensible goodness is most apparent, near
and present
Which causeth the appetite to be therewith
strongly provoked
The soul then OUGHT TO CONDUCT THE BODY,
and the spirit of our minds the soul.

I. Type I is similar to H, but has double the length in the
parallel parts.

e.g., For as much help whereof as may be in
this case,
I have enDEAVOURED THROUGHOUT THE BODY of
this whole discourse
that every former part might give STRENGTH
UNTO ALL THAT FOLLOW
and every later bring some light unto all
before.
Refer this sentence to the love of God,
and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes;
refer it to the LOVE OF THY NEIGHBOUR,
and all grievous wrongs it banisheth out
of the world.

Passages which show an extensive use of the cursus
and the cadence, otherwise than in final position, are rare
in Hooker's prose. There are, it is true, the description of
the world should Nature "intermit her course", Book I, Part III,
No. 2; part of the account of the "law which angels obey",
Book I, Part IV, No. 1; the conclusion to Book II, Part VIII,
No. 7, and to Book IV, Part XIV, Nos. 6 and 7; the introduction
to Book V, Part I, Nos. 1 and 2, and a passage in praise of
music, Book V, Part XXXVIII. It is to be doubted if there are
any other rhetorical passages besides those mentioned above,
and only two even of these approach being "numerous" prose.

One noteworthy fact about them is that the native cadences
very much outnumber the cursus — by about two to one, and this, in spite of the fact that Hooker's ear was attuned to classical rhythms. The first example "should Nature intermit her course" amply proves this, for it has twenty cadences and only two cursus. Most of the cadences are of the longest type, made of six or seven syllables. In this long sentence about to be quoted, there is in the first part a rough alternation of long and short cadences; towards the end short ones are used, tending all the time to go from long to shorter.

"Now if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether though it were but for a while the observation of her own laws;
If those principal and mother elements of the world,
whereof all things in this lower world are made,
should lose the qualities which now they have;
if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads
should loosen and dissolve itself;
if celestial spheres
should forget their wonted motions,
and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen;
if the PRINCE OF THE LIGHTS OF HEAVEN which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course,
should as it were through a LANGUISH-ING FAINTNESS begin to stand and to rest himself;
if the moon should wander from her beaten way,
the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp,
the clouds yeild no rain,
the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth

1. Mr. Tempest has made use of this same passage, I find, to illustrate the use of a "theme" in rhythmical prose. Rhythm of Eng. Prose, p. 63.
CURSUS and CADENCES.

pine away
as children at the withered breasts of
their mother no longer able to yield
them relief;
what would become
of man himself
whom these things now do all serve?  

The briefer cadences towards the close add an urgency of emphasis to the appalling picture of confusion and intensity, the importance of "man himself".

The sentence from "The Law which Angels obey" is, on the other hand, almost entirely lacking in cadences of the "brutish and short" variety. It employs many cursus, which, with the more elaborate of the native cadences, set this sentence on a pedestal.

"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 Cur: 5-2; Cad: 4-1 discontentments, griefs, and unCOMFORTABLE PASSIONS TO WORK UPON, but all joy, tranquility and peace even for ever and ever doth dwell: as in NUMBER AND ORDER they are huge MIGHTY AND ROYAL ARMIES so like wise in perfection of obedience unto that law which the Highest whom they adore, love and imitate, hath imposed upon them, such observants: they are therefor, 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."

In the third example, the conclusion to Book II, there is no remarkable beauty, but rather a use of cadences and cursus to procure emphasis:

\[\text{e.g. "Whatsoever is spoken of God, or things appertaining to God, though it seem an honour, IT IS AN INJURY."} \]

In the very last sentence of this passage the frequency of rhythmical phrases is in accord with the "sweet reasonableness" of their author:

\[\text{"I therefore leave it to themselves TO CONSIDER whether they have in this first point or not overshot themselves: which God doth know is quickly done, even when our meaning is most sincere. as I am VERILY PERSUADED theirs in this case was."} \]

All that is to be noted in the two concluding paragraphs of Book IV is the frequency of short (4-1 or 3-1) native cadences in final position. Others—"Henry the Eighth"; "righteous and just"; "Edward the Saint"—show how common such cadences still are. In the last line occurs a fine cursus: "glorious and sacred instrument". A prevalence of native cadences is observed in the introduction to Book V: "easily espy", and "sensible smart", click neatly at the end of the clauses of the first sentence. Further on come clauses that are finished off with "full of toil", "quietly their own", "Church of God", "Almighty God", "common cause". The longer
rhythms are too rare to lend any sonority: "appeasing public disturbance" and "Religion with Justice" are both cursus. The page "touching musical harmony" is on a higher level of prose, largely because it contains many cursus - , thirteen. Of these some are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical Harmony</th>
<th>6-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rising and falling</td>
<td>5-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorrow and heaviness</td>
<td>6-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stir our affections</td>
<td>5-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moderate all affections</td>
<td>7-4-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequester themselves from action</td>
<td>7-4-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elsewhere in this paper it has been mentioned that phrases such as the paeon and monosyllable in certain combinations, can make very pleasing reading; but it must be admitted that there are hundreds of similar phrases and combinations that make no impression of sonority at all; whereas every time a cursus or a cadence is used, its effect is to increase the force or the musical quality of Hooker's otherwise not rhythmical prose. It is the cursus and the cadence that occasionally make of his passages "numerous prose." To this statement it is necessary to add that, although the cursus is always melodious, the cadence is often nothing more than a device of punctuation. Thus Hooker used English cadences for the same purpose as the ancient Greeks had used their cursus.
APPENDIX A.

(Ca.-- Cadence; Cs.-- Cursus)

SENTENCE TYPES.

Bk. I, II, 2.

A. (1) The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that each Person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper.

Bk. I, II, 3.

(2) He that striketh an instrument with skill may cause, notwithstanding, a very unpleasant sound if the string on which he striketh chance to be incapable of harmony.

Bk. I, VI, 1.

(3) The soul of man being therefore at the first as a book wherein nothing is and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge.

(4) . . . a thing which we so little hoped to see that even they which beheld it done scarcely believed their own senses at the first beholding. (IV, XIV, 7.)

(5) . . . finally in all things then are our consciences best resolved, and in a most agreeable sort unto God and nature settled, when they are so far persuaded as those grounds of persuasion which are to be had will bear. (II, VII, 5.)

(6) For this cause his testimonies, whatsoever he affirmeth, are always truth and most infallible certainty. (II, VI, 1.)

Bk. I, VII, 2.

B. (1) Choice there is not.
APPENDIX A. (cont'd.)

unless the thing which we take to be so in our power that we might have refused and left it.

Bk. I, VIII, 9.

(2) and, to conclude, the general principles thereof are such as it is not easy to find men ignorant of them.

Bk. I, X, 1.

(3) Two foundations there are which bear up public societies: the one, a natural inclination whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship, the other an order expressly or secretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together.

Bk. I, III, 2.

(4) ..expedient it will be that we sever the law of nature observed by the one from that which the other is tied unto.

Bk. II, IV, 5.

(5) Nor let any man think that following the judgment of natural discretion in such cases, we can have no assurance that we please God.

Bk. II, II, 1.

(6) Nevertheless it may perhaps be a question, whether St. Paul did mean that we sin as oft as ever we go about anything, without an express intent and purpose to obey God therein.
CHAPTER III.

THE INFLUENCE of LATIN
on Hooker's Prose Style--
Grammar--Syntax--Vocabulary--Sentence Structure.

Too often to avoid remark, the prose of the Ecclesiastical Polity runs something like this: "Which thing himself well enough understanding, and being not ignorant that etc., etc.,...his resolution in fine is, that in the church a number of things are strictly observed, whereof no law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by use long usage is a law sufficient."

In this passage there are clear indications of Hooker's familiarity with Latin. "Which thing" is equivalent to Latin "quod", a word which, though a relative pronoun, is often placed first in a sentence. "Himself" represents the emphatic pronoun "ipse". The participle "understanding" follows both its object and adverb. The phrases "in the Church" and "of things once received" are widely separated from "observed" and "usage", the words to which respectively they have relation. Throughout Hooker's prose, indeed, anyone even slightly acquainted with Latin can easily find imitations of constructions which he is accustomed to regard as peculiar to that language. There is, to begin with, a close reminder of the ablative absolute participial phrase:

1. e.g. "This done.....the judgment of Calvin being alleged......" "These things St. Cyril duly considering......"
2. Relative pronoun with antecedent repeated:

   e.g. "He fell at length upon Geneva; which city the bishop and clergy...had...forsaken."
   "The cause of which their disposition so unframable unto societies where in they live...."

3. Demonstrative pronoun separated from relative pronoun, and deferred:

   e.g. "In a word, not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither misery nor poverty is able to move from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate."

4. Use of "this", "that", or "the other" instead of "former" and "latter".

   e.g. "...of these who doth doubt at any time? of them who doubteth not?"
   "For in this we are not their adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours."

5. Inversion of order of verbs, subjects, objects, clauses:

   e.g. "Other canons they allege and rules not unworthy of approbation."
   "We are not afraid to present unto God our prayer for those things which that he will perform unto us we have not sure nor certain knowledge."
   "...are by dole and grief...cured."

6. Use of emphatic and indefinite pronouns as in Latin:

   e.g. "For themselves do not all bind the Church."
   "...those inventions whereby some one shall seem to have been, more enlightened from above than many thousands."
   "...and to adorn the sepulchres of certain..."

7. An echo of the Latin "sunt qui" introducing a relative clause; also an example of the subjunctive of concession.

   e.g. "There are that elevate too much..." (Latin "sunt qui").
   "There are that of dead have been made alive..."
   "...although there be a kind of natural right."

Familiarity with Latin prose, and forgetfulness of the absence of inflexions in English, led Hooker sometimes to
lengthen out a sentence beyond the limits of comprehension:

e.g. "Thus we may safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the heathens either in opinion or in action; and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example; which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable." (IV, VII, 1.)

e.g. "Which being generally thought upon as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprise, whereas change was notwithstanding considered necessary, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in great use, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet sith there are diverse ways of abrogating things established, they saw it best to cut off presently such things as might in that sort be extinguished without danger, leaving the rest to be abolished by disusage through tract of time." (IV, XIV, 3.)

In the first sentence there is confusion due to an over-frequent use of the pronouns "then" and "that"—a confusion aggravated by the omission of "which" after "that".

The second example leaves one in doubt as to which is the principal clause. "Whereupon" is a connective which generally takes a narrative one step farther, but here it is not clear what happened before "that which had been" was to be taken away.

Latin Vocabulary.

In considering such Latinized vocabulary as in phrases like "Ascension is a plain local translation of Christ," "flesh and bones continue with His," and "session at the right hand of God," it must be remembered that Hooker was not to know which words would still be used, and which would be archaic, in the days to come.

Such words as "continue" and "translation" (meaning
removal) were not so much evidences of pedantry on the part of Hooker as indications that new Latin words did enter the English language as a result of the Renaissance. Some have remained in use and make a fourth in the series of invasions of Latin into our vocabulary: the first, from the Roman occupation; the second, from the Early Christian Church; the third, through French at the Conquest; the fourth, from the New Learning, in the Sixteenth Century. Of these, the largest group was the French. In a sentence of 367 words, Book III, Part IV, No. 1, the words from Old French are as follows: maintained, Scripture, necessary, disgrace, number, ordered, discretion, nature, devise, attire, beasts, proof, affirm, sacred, necessaries, particular, application, special, occasions, respects, treasures, abundantly, scarcely, noble, part, necessity, purpose, form, government, manner, general, precepts, examples, proposals, finally, principal, polity, imagine, contained, accused, points, religion, substance, rude, fashion, matter, certain, cause, accused, points, referred, conscience, judge, deserve. This makes 53 of Latin-French origin, out of a total of 70 Latin words. Those dating from the Renaissance are: import, sufficient, comprehend, infinite, direction, prescribe, direct. This whole Latin group comprises 21% of the total of 367 words in the sentence. The percentage is higher than is usual in the English language, - 14%. The increase

1. English Grammar, Secondary Schools, p. 287. (Perhaps not the highest obtainable authority; but the point is not liable to much questioning).

is probably due to the ecclesiastical nature of the subject. As a general rule, the Latin words are longer than the Saxon. Some of the latter are: "time, wisdom, light, mind, man, knowledge". In this lengthy sentence the long Latin words are the instinctive choice of the author when he needs to rise from mere exposition to persuasive eloquence:

"...if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to special occasions, as also in other manifold respects, infinite treasures of wisdom are over and abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture, yea that scarcely there is any noble part of knowledge worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may have some direction and light; yea, that although there be no necessity it should of purpose prescribe any one particular form of church government, yet touching the manner of governing in general the precepts that Scripture setteth down are not few, and the examples many which it proposeth for all church governors even in particularities to follow:...

This use of Latinized vocabulary was far from being Hooker's only way of putting force into his arguments, but, consciously or not, he realized the sonority of these new poly-syllabic words, and let them reverberate through his more impressive passages. It would be interesting to know what freshness of delight was afforded Elizabethan ears by such combinations as "direction and light", "lets and impediments", "dolour and grief". Be that as it may, with all his predilection for the superior Latin vocabulary. Hooker used it for only one fifth, or less, of his book. This discovery about one of the most extensive uses of Latinized English supports the well known fact that the work-a-day Anglo-Saxon element in our language vastly predominates, and must always predominate in

even the most learned and elaborate of prose.

There is also another way that Hooker, in common with all the Elizabethan writers, combines Latin and English vocabulary. He uses synonyms such as: "direction and light", other examples are listed below:

Book V, Part XXXII, No. 2. "lets and impediments."
" V, " XXXI, " 4. "imperfect and lame."
" V, " LXXIV, " 4. "small and petit payments."
" V, " LXXVII, " 4. "tempests and storms."
" V, " LXX, " 3. "congregations and flocks."
" V, " LXXI, " 6. "probability and likelihood."
" V, " LXXII, " 8. "seum and refuse."
" V, " LXXII, " 8. "eyesores and blemishes."
" V, " LXXII, " 8. "detriment and hurt."
" V, " LXXII, " 10. "weak and unsound."
" V, " LXXI, " 17. "grounds and maxims."
" V, " XLIII, " 2. "sharpness and subtility of wit."
" V, " LXXIII, " 16. "dolour and grief."

He also, in the sentence under discussion, has a way of beginning a passage with English vocabulary, and ending with Latin:

e.g., left free...to be ordered at the discretion of the Church.
left unto the wit of man...to devise his own attire.
are those things left out that should...pertain to the form and fashion of it.

Chief among the Latin authorities of Richard Hooker were St. Augustine and Tertullian. These men, living in the fourth and second centuries A.D. respectively, were writers not of Ciceronian, but of the later, decadent, Latin. Quintus 1.

Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born at Carthage in 155 A.D., but was as thoroughly a Roman as if educated in Rome itself. His legal brain and original creative power gave

prestige and force to Christian Latin literature. He it was who made tradition impressive. His style, akin to that of Plautus and Terence, was much influenced by the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament. Among the works quoted by Hooker are: De Corona Militis, and De Resurrectione Carris, also Contra Hereticos. Two hundred years later, Aurelius Augustinus, better known as St. Augustine, was born in North Africa, 354, and later became Bishop of Hippo. He wrote many great works on the Church, the best known of which are, De Civitate Dei, Confessiones, and De Trinitate. If not "the greatest man that ever wrote Latin", he was its supreme exponent in his day.

The style of both these scholars is, as has been stated, very different from that of Cicero. It has a more flexible idiom, translates more readily into English, and is full of short, balanced phrases. On the whole it is more vigorous than weighty. When Hooker was translating directly from it, his English was more abrupt and alive. Sometimes, however, his choice of Anglo-Saxon vocabulary outdid even the Latin, in directness.

There follows a short passage from St. Augustine, to show the simplicity of the style; then the rendering of St. Augustine's Latin into English, by Hooker.

St. Augustine:

In his ergo tribulationibus quae possunt et profdesse et nocere, quid oremus sicut

 Hooker: (Bk.V, Pt.XLVIII, No. 13)

In these tribulations (saith St. Augustine), which may hurt as well as profit,..what we should

oportet nescimus; et tamen quia dura, quia molesta, quia contra sensum nostrae infirmitatis sunt, universali humana voluntate ut a nobis auferantur oramus. (1)

Hooker's word "flieth" is more imaginative than the Latin "contra". Again from St. Augustine, and from Hooker: (Bk. II, Pt. V, No. 3.)

Whether it be a question of Christ, or whether it be a question of his church, or of what thing soever the question be,...

if an angel from heaven shall tell us any thing beside that you have received in the Scripture under the Law and the Gospel, let him be accursed.

There is a similar simplicity of order in Tertullian's Latin and a similar closeness between it and Hooker's translation:

It intermingleth with evangelical and apostolical writings the Law and the Prophets, and from thence it drinketh in that faith, which with water it sealeth, clotheth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the Eucharist with martyrdom seteth for ward.

Tertullian:

Utar ago et sententia Platonis aliquius pronunciantis, "Omnis anima immortalis". At cum aiunt "Mortuum quod mortuum," et is dead is dead", and "While thou "Vive dum vivis," et "Post art alive he alive", and "After
As has been said above, there was at times a great difference between original and translation, with the credit for greater vigour going to English: "nulla veritas insinuet: "shall hardly beat into men's heads any truth."

For the most part, however, Hooker's English faithfully follows the Latin, the only difference being that forced upon him by having to render a synthetic language into one that was highly analytical. For instance, Hooker had to say "I will use" for Tertullians' one word "utar", and he needed six English words to translate the three Latin ones: "Vivē dum vivis."

It would not do to ignore altogether the influence of Cicero in an estimation of the style of Hooker, or of any one writing English at that period. Certain rhetorical devices, perfected if not invented by Cicero, were part of every writer's stock-in-trade, and are described on Page 58. With regard simply to arrangement, type and length of sentences, Cicero himself could hardly have written one longer than No. 8, Book V, Part LXXV, which consists of fifty-one lines, and covers almost a page and a quarter. It is, incidentally, a translation from the De Civitate Dei, of St. Augustine. In this sentence, and in others of similar proportions, there is not a little of Cicero's "dicendi gravitas et copia", - "fullness
and weight of oratory". Hooker could not hope to reproduce in English the involved order and skilful juxtaposition of words of the great Roman stylist. Sentences from the Polity which are too involved to be clear, have already been quoted. Hooker did, however, make constant use of the device of "climax", or periodic arrangement. He would build up, for example, a series of conditional clauses, and reserve the apodosis, preceded by a colon, till the very end. With what complete success he could develop such a plan as may be seen from the following sentence, which is of quite ordinary dimensions but which illustrates the style of its author, particularly with reference to parallel constructions and climactic order. The quotation is from near the beginning of Book II.

"Now whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I do not imagine the matters whereof we contend to be fewer than indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discussed by reason, than otherwise they seem when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch an heap is made; surely, as now we have drawn them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to be severally all discussed, and omitting such mean specialties as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterward of themselves; I know no cause why either the number or the length of these controversies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and love on all sides; which of his infinite love and goodness the Father of all peace and unity grant."

The sentence begins with two lengthy parallel statements, or rather, hypotheses, introduced by "now whether" and "or else for that", respectively. These two clauses lead with deliberate unhurrying pace to the pivot, or arch of the sentence, which comes at the word "surely". Thence, the direction of the thought is downwards, by way of such connective phrases as "as now", "choosing out", "and omitting", "I know
no cause", coming to rest at last in the prayer to the "Father of all peace and unity". Parallel construction is found not only in the clauses beginning with "now whether" and "or else" but also in those that begin "choosing" and "omitting". The placing of the climax in the middle of the sentence, rather than at the end gives a very pleasing effect, and in its gentle rhythm, represents perfectly, the sweet reasonableness of Hooker's mind.

On the whole, however, it must be said that the lucidity of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is clouded by superimposing the style of classical Latin on the free-flowing English language. What Cicero succinctly conveyed by participle and inflexions, Hooker had to organize out of clauses and more clauses, (see Book III, Part IV, No. 1, which has thirty-six), and he was always in danger of sacrificing unity, coherence and force to weight and fulness.

**Concluding Observations.**

The influence of Latin on Hooker's English Prose is shown in his vocabulary, grammar and syntax, and sentence construction where it affected length and periodic arrangement. He, when translating from Tertullian or from other Church Fathers, followed their constructions, as far as possible, word for word. Yet the English he then wrote is not appreciably different from that of his original work. Hooker's style, clearly then, was modelled on Latin. The questions arise: was this Latin influence of any value to his prose, or the reverse? was he like his contemporaries in following Latin
so closely? In answering the first question, mention should be made again of the inclusion in his vocabulary of a few words of Latin origin that have since become obsolete. These are the only occasions when Latin vocabulary seems to intrude itself. The English of the Ecclesiastical Polity is not overloaded with derivations from the Latin language. I would admit that Hooker shows a preference for polysyllabic words, and that most of these words have Latin origin; but they do not make his English difficult to follow, only rather more elevated and impressive than that of common speech. The extensive vocabulary reflects Hooker's great learning. He knew well enough the value of everyday words, for vividness and point. When he used synonyms from Latin and English, side by side, he was following a very general custom in Elizabethan English prose: e.g. "We have erred and strayed", (Book of Common Prayer). The vocabulary of the Ecclesiastical Polity is one of the merits of the book.

The same cannot be said of the syntax, and certain grammatical forms, borrowed from Latin. They retard the modern reader, because they change the normal order of words. In this respect Hooker was much more at fault than his contemporaries, as will be shown below. (Similarly, in his MSS, he retained the old-fashioned spelling, and thus gave extra work to his printers). He is continually holding readers up with such sentences as: "of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides God they apprehended it not in its self, without dependency upon God;..." We have to read twice before we can
"apprehend" the meaning. The frequency of passages such as the above provides the only excuse for saying that Hooker's prose suffers from the influence of Latin. Hooker himself did not speak such English; other men did not write it; he therefore was at fault in electing to write in a manner that was unnatural and not clear.

The periodic sentence that Hooker borrowed from Classical prose was used by him to the greatest advantage. It was excellent for mustering an array of facts (or suppositions) in order of increasing importance, and for bringing them to an impressive conclusion. It also matched the dignity of the subject. Although a few sentences are really involved and lacking in unity, others that seem overlong and weighty, are so only because of Hooker's learned method of argument. Read a few paragraphs of a more rambling prose, such as Hakluyt's, and you will agree that the periodic style gave to Hooker's prose both order and beauty.

Nothing could be easier than to decide whether the prose of the Polity was more Latinized than that of contemporary works. One has only to read the flowing narrative of North's Plutarch's Lives, or the straightforward descriptions in Hakluyt's Voyages to realize that in comparison with these Hooker wrote a periodic, Latinized style that would have been rated as pedantic years before. By a combination of elaborate periodic arrangement with an over-Latinized syntax, he gave even to some of his short sentences an unfamiliar twist that hindered comprehension. From the following selections from
the prose of men who wrote just about the same time as Hooker, it will be realized that for simplicity and readability, Hooker comes at the foot of the list, in no way in advance of Ascham, and as remote and academic as Bacon.

Sir Thomas North:

Certainly destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided, considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Caesar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place, are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting in such a wonderful chance as happened?

--- Plutarch's Lives. (Trans) 1579.

Hakluyt:

They are good fishermen, and in their small boats, being disguised with their coats of seals' skins, they deceive the fish, who take them rather for their fellow seals, than for deceiving men. They are good markmen. With their dart or arrow, they will commonly kill a duck or any other fowl, in the head, and commonly in the eye. When they shoot at a great fish with any of their darts, they use to tie a bladder thereunto whereby they may the better find them again; and the fish, not able to carry it so easily away, for that the bladder doth buoy the dart, will at length be weary and die therewith.

--- Voyages, 1589.

Thomas Dekker:

But on the very Rushes where the Comedy is to daunce, yea, and under the state of Cambises himselfe, must our fethered Estridge, like a piece of Ordnance, be planted valiantly (because impudently) beating downe newes and hisses of the opposed rascality.

For do but cast up a reckoning, what large summings-in are pursed up by sitting on the stage. First a conspicuous Eminence is gotten; by which meanes, the best and most essenciall parts of a Gallant (good cloathes, a proportionable legge, white hand, the Persian lock, and a tollerable heard)

1. Anthology of English Prose, Everyman's Library: p. 50
2. Ibid., p. 57.
are perfectly revealed.

--Gull's Horn Book, 1608.

William Shakespeare:

... for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as it were, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue in her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. Now this overdone or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve; the censure of the which one must in your allowance o'erweigh a whole theatre of others. 0, there be players that I have seen play, and heard others praise, and that highly, not to speak it profanely, that neither having the accent of Christians nor the gait of Christian, pagan, nor man, have so strutted and bellowed, that I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably.

--Shakespeare's Hamlet, (1602).

Act III, Sc. 2.

Francis Bacon:

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate Kings and monarchs, do set upon this fruit of friendship, where­of we speak; so great, as they purchase it, many time, at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in re­gard of the distance of their fortune, from that of their sub­jects and servants, cannot gather this fruit; except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons, to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience.

--On Friendship, 1579.

Roger Ascham:

Amongst all the benefites yet God hath blessed me with all, next the Knowledge of Chrisites true Religion, I counte this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me, to be one poore minister in settyng forward these excellent giftes of learnyng in this most excellent Prince. Whose onely example, if the rest of our nobilitie would follow, than might England be, for learnyng and wisedome in nobilitie, a spectacle to all the world beside.

--Scholemaster, 1570.

John Donne:

Now when I begin this book, I have no purpose to come into any man's debt; how my stock will hold out I know not; perchance waste, perchance increase in use; if I do borrow anything of Antiquity, besides that I make account that I pay it to posterity, with as much and as good; you shall still find me to acknowledge it, and to thank not him only that hath digg'd out treasure for me, but that hath lighted me a candle to the place.

--Progress of the Soul, (1601).


For which cause, the Lacedaemonians forbidding all access of strangers into their coasts, are in that respect both by Josephus and Theodoret deservedly blamed, as being enemies to that hospitality which for common humanity's sake all the nations on earth should embrace.

Page 408.

So that customs once established and confirmed by long use, being presently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held scandalous.


For it may chance that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were unnatural.

Page 400.

To scoff at the manner of attire than which there could be nothing devised for such a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of some folly committed for which they are loth to shew their faces, argueth that great divines are sometimes more merry than wise. As for the women themselves, God accepting the service which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no disgrace though they suffer pleasant witted men a little to intermingle with zeal scorn.

The above examples of Hooker's prose were taken from approximately the same pages in each volume. This was done in order to secure chance specimens, and make the comparison as fair as possible. The examples prove, I hope, that Hooker's style was

more Latinized than that of his contemporaries.

Note on Special Use of Secular Vocabulary.

It is only fair, after condemning Hooker for his over-Latinized sentences, to point out that secular element in Hooker's language which introduces terms from the everyday world, terms short, pithy and almost racy. The secular element in question occurs often enough to be a definite characteristic of the theologian's style. The examples will explain themselves:

* e.g. "We wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown."

* "Legends...heaps of scandalous vanities...they have been even with disdain thrown out, the very nests that bred them abhorring them."

* "The impious,...lay foolishly those eggs out of which their woeful overthrow is afterwards hatched."

(Often, when contemplating the ultra-reform group, Hooker used metaphors from natural history, as above.) I can add to these examples a passage more elaborately planned, with something of the conceit about it: "Sermons as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds."

Such wealth of description was not usual with Hooker, who did not strive, like Lyly, to produce ornamental prose. To say the same thing in many different ways was a device of rhetoric known as a "congerie", and was not infrequently used by Hooker to the extent of one or two repetitions. The above example is foreign to Hooker's usual style. He was not the
man to waste time on conceits.

Most instances of secular vocabulary, however, are not conceits, but natural outbursts of vigorous expression. He wants to "rip to the very bottom" the origin of Calvin's discipline; he speaks of "sermons as the flowing sea", of things of great excellence which are "bitten at", error that may be "sponged out"; he wants to "dive" into men's consciousness, thinks of those that "wade" in the two first kinds of general directions, refers to "swarms" of unworthy creatures, and their "fry".

It might almost be said that Hooker made metaphors from common things only when making and indignant protest, knowing that by thus bordering on the colloquial he would get more attention. No object was too alien to the subject: the mind was an "anvil"; censures were "out of square"; opinions were "blotted out", charges divided into "slips", "södering" could be done with the "glue of art and wisdom"; while to change from covetousness to superstition was not better than moving "out of lime into coaldust". Men are "raw and dull", hearts "dry and tough", interpretation "cold", and some men, alas, "frozen in wickedness". It is again to be noticed how by implication he delegates his opponents to the lower orders by referring to their "crew" ("a bishop of their own crew,".) or even maintaining that they "bark against truth".
CHAPTER IV.

A SHORT ACCOUNT

of the PUNCTUATION of the

LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY

In the Polity the first impression that one receives of the punctuation is that it is practically normal, that is to say, almost modern. The second impression is that the colon figures far more largely in Hooker's prose than in the shorter sentences that English tends to use at the present time. Thirdly, after a considerable part of the treatise has been read, it becomes apparent that its author was rather more inclined than we are to depend on italics and brackets for emphasis. There is nothing awkward, however, in such usage, and indeed there is so little that is extraordinary in all of Hooker's punctuation, that were it not for the fact that the MS., with punctuation complete, is extant in the Bodleian Library, it might be supposed that modern editors had supplied the stops themselves, to satisfy the expectations of the reader of to-day.

In explaining the phrase "practically" normal, I might mention Hooker's use of an interrogation mark at the end of an indirect question:

Bk. II, Part II, No. 2: "But the question is, whether only Scripture do shew whatsoever God is glorified in?"

In Bk. V, Part XX, No. 4, he omits a comma at the end of a parallel construction: "Their judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow."

Apart from differences such as these, the punctuation
of the Polity is logical, and gives few surprises. What does cause amazement is the great length of Hooker's periods. We wonder how, in some of them, he achieved unity and coherence; and if he did, his success was due to the function of the colon. Its place in the sentence was the same as in modern English, namely, between the clauses of balanced sentences, or before lengthy quotations, or between a long series of subordinate clauses and their conclusion. Its use may be the same in both Elizabethan and modern English, but in Hooker's prose the colon was a peculiarly powerful stop. I have included below two examples from the Polity, the first exemplifying a very common use of the colon with "as" and "so", the second showing to what lengths (in its literal sense), a period could go, when a colon was inserted here and there to indicate that the end was not yet.

Bk. V, Part XXXII, No. 1:

"As therefore, prayers the one way are faulty, not whensoever they be openly made, but when hypocrisy is the cause of open praying: so the length of prayer is likewise a fault..."

Bk. V, Part XL, No. 3:

"Either there wanted wise men to give Ezechias advice and to inform his of that which in his case was as true as it is in ours, namely that without some inconvenience and disorder he could not appoint those Psalms to be used as ordinary prayers, seeing that although they were songs of thanksgiving such as David and Asaph had especial occasion to use, yet not so the whole Church and people afterwards whom like occasions did not befall; or else Ezechias was persuaded as we are that the praises of God in the mouths of his saints are not so unrestrainedly to their particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully use them: first, because the mystical communion of all faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interested in those special
blessings which any one of them receiveth at God's hands; secondly, because when anything is spoken to extol the goodness of God whose mercy endureth for ever, albeit the very particular occasion whereupon it riseth do come no more, yet the fountain continuing the same, and yielding other new effects which are but only in some sort proportionable, so small resemblance between the benefits which we and others have received, may serve to make the same words of praise and thanksgiving fit though not equally in all circumstances fit for both; a clear demonstration whereof we have in all the ancient Fathers' commentaries and meditations upon the Psalms; last of all because even when there is not as much as the show of any resemblance, nevertheless by often using their words in such manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections."

The best way to support my statement that Hooker depended rather much on brackets and italics, for emphasis and sarcasm, would be to show the whole book with the many instances. It will be perhaps sufficient to say here that the brackets have very often the force of an aside,—in that they have a tone different from that of the main argument,—and that italics represent the extra intensity which Hooker would have put into his voice had the passage been delivered in a sermon. Both of these devices are, in my opinion, used far more frequently in the Polity than would be considered good in modern prose, which would prefer to put the words needing stress, in a position demanding emphasis. Two or three examples of Hooker's usage are added below:

Bk. V, Part I, No. 4.

"...when those kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate, (as they thought) left their own and their people's ghostly condition uncared for;"

Bk. V, Part II, No. 2.

"these trencher-mates (for such the most of them be) formed to themselves a way more pleasant:...."
Bk. V, Part XXII, No. 10.

"...it resteth that either the sermons which we hear should be our rule, or (that being absurd) there will (which hath yet greater absurdity) no rule at all be remaining."

Bk. V, Part XXI.

"...now it has grown to be a question, whether the word of God be any ordinary mean to save the souls of men, in that it is privately studied or publicly read and so made known, or else only as the same is preached, that is to say, explained by lively voice, and applied to the people's use as the speaker in his wisdom thinketh meet."

Such are the special features of Hooker's very careful and logical punctuation. It only remains to say that, considering the - at his time - recent introduction of the use of punctuation, his careful use of all the stops deserves the highest praise. In our modern punctuation, we are following Hooker's examples.
CHAPTER V.
THE USE OF RHETORIC IN
"THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY".

Ornamentation, Amplification, and Logical Order.

In the eyes of himself and of all writers that followed him, Cicero was the best exponent of the best possible style of prose. He explained his style in Book I, Chapter XXXIV of the De Oratore. There were three styles of writing or speaking, namely, the lofty, the plain and the intermediate. Of these he used and praised only the first. No style could be great which was not full and embellished, like his own. People said that Demosthenes, the great Greek orator, had the Attic style, simple and direct. Cicero maintained that the Attic style was on the contrary, ornate and copious: if Demosthenes was not ornate and copious, he was not Attic. So certain was Cicero of the perfection and beauty of his own lofty style, that he recommended imitation of it to all who would succeed in oratory. In order to imitate his composition, the student would need to follow his methods, and, by diligent use of his own "ingenium" or wit, attain to such ornamentation and amplification of his theme as would entitle the result to be described at last as lofty prose.

These three ideas of imitation, ornamentation and amplification became the essentials of all the rhetoric of the Renaissance. Under the heading of imitation came the compiling of "Commonplace Books", in which a student wrote down any

1. Wit and Rhetoric, p. 80.
notable passages from whatever he was reading, with a view to quoting them in some argument, or including them in a theme. Imitation also entailed a copying of the devices used by Cicero and others, in the second and third processes, namely, ornamentation and amplification.

Ornamentation consisted for the most part of the liberal use of figures of speech. Of these there were held to be two kinds, the names of which were originally given by Aristotle: "tropes" and "schemes". A trope involved the actual alteration of the meaning of a word or sentence. A scheme was any other artful variation. Henry Peacham in his "The Garden of Eloquence" (1577) gave detailed lists of the various kinds, and of these a few can be mentioned here. The majority are no longer heard of.

Tropes, in words, give us: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche; in sentences, allegory, hyperbole, sarcasm, irony.

Schemes, in words, give us such cases of deliberate omission as: zeugma, asyndeton, and other figures such as repetition, conjunction, and separation. In sentences, schemes have two aims, one, to affect the emotions, the other, to amplify.

Schemes for emotional effect include: exclamation, moderation, consultation (e.g. rhetorical question?) and

3. Ibid., p. 238.
permission, (possibly paradox and apostrophe).

Schemes for amplification are called: distribution (dilemma and climax); description, which includes digression and encomion; comparison, i.e., simile and antithesis; and collection, which embraces emphasis, syllogisms and "gnomes" or proverbs.

Ralph Johnson, who was a London schoolmaster, listed the following rules of amplification, for the benefit of his scholars. Richard Hooker, as a schoolboy with a theme to be developed, was expected

(1) to reckon up all the parts included in the general heads of the Theme;

(2) to examine its antecedents, concomitants, and consequents;

(3) to state its causes, grounds or occasions;

(4) to describe each circumstance (e.g. in an account of a siege say what happened to everybody in the town);

(5) to include explanatory or descriptive digressions;

(6) to make almost unlimited use of comparisons or similes;

(7) to make up "congeries" or groups of sentences all meaning the same but differently expressed;

(8) to define or describe one subject by various different words.

(9) to use rhetorical figures, such as apostrophe;

(10) to show the good or evil of the contrary of his theme;

(11) to support his theme with examples and apopthegms from great writers.

1. Wit and Rhet., p. 222.
Francis Meres, in *Wit's Treasury*, laid stress on the importance of logical order in a theme. He would have first, the Exordium, announcing the subject; the Narration, explaining it; the Causa, stating the arguments for it; the Contrarium, the arguments against; the Simile and Exemplum, for comparisons and other means of support; the Testimonium, or Summing up of the case, and lastly, the Epilogus, a well-turn-ed conclusion.

Brinsley mentions the same sort of logical order; Exordium, Narratio, Confirmatio or proof, Confutatio, the contrary, and Conclusio. Angel Day, in his *English Secretorie* says that for good style both "pregnant wit" and "arte" are necessary, and he, like Meres and Brinsley required, first of all, a logical arrangement with "everything in his due order, place and proportion...then beautified and adorned."

There are evidences of such training as this everywhere in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. A glance at the index to every book shows that the arguments were put in a certain order and dealt with in detail following the original plan. Each subdivision was numbered, and was then divided into paragraphs, also numbered. The information given in the index might indeed be regarded as part, at least, of the Exordium, e.g., Bk. V, Part III:

2. Ibid., p. 220.
3. Ibid., p. 85.
4. I am not sure whether the numbering of the paragraphs was done by Hooker or by later editors.
"Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided Zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory."

Bk. V, Part XXXII:

"The length of our service."

Bk. V, Part XXXVIII:

"Of music with psalms."

Bk. V, Part LXII:

"Whether baptizm by Women be true baptizm, good and effectual to them that receive it."

Bk. V, Part XXII:

"What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also."

As the question that this Part XXII deal with is one that might possibly bear discussion even to-day, I propose to follow the methods used by Hooker in proving his point, and show what use he made of the formal training which he had had. First in importance is the logical order, (particularly with an argumentative work of this kind), second, the ornamentation and amplification. I have divided this discussion of sermons and lessons into its parts, exordium, narratio, and so on. Then in each part, I have traced Hooker's argument, step by step, and have shown what use he made of the various devices of rhetoric.

**EXORDIUM.**

As he explains in the Index, he is to show that just as much is to be attributed to reading the Bible aloud in Church, as to sermons. His actual words are quoted above.

**NARRATIO.**

"They" (Thomas Cartwright, and other critics of the
Church of England) obscure the virtue of reading the word, and appropriate the saving power of the Holy Ghost to sermons.

Amplification and Ornamentation.

Congerie or similes: "sermons as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds."

Antithesis: "unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds."

Climax: "even the virtue which it hath to convert, to edify, to save souls, this they strive mightily to obscure."

Hyperbole with sarcastic intent: "they labour to appropriate the saving power of the Holy Ghost, ..."

Sarcasm: "they separate from all apparent hope of life and salvation thousands whom the goodness of Almighty God doth not exclude."

CAUSA.

The Causa contains five arguments:

1. St. Paul required that the Church's affairs should be published by reading the word of God.

Amplification:

Emphasis: "...might for the instruction of all be published, and that by reading."

2. Public Reading began when books were scarce; thus it saved the Church's spiritual life.

Ornamentation.

Rhetorical question: "...shall we set light by that custom of reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath grown?"

3. The reading of the Bible in every Christian church proves our unity of belief.

Ornamentation and amplification.

Litotes: "The voice of the Church...is...no mean
evidence."

Rhetorical question: "...suppose we that the minds of men...are not moved...when they consider...the sacred authority of Scriptures......?"

Emphasis: "The reading therefore of the word of God... in open audience is the plainest evidence we have of the Church's Assent and Acknowledgment that it is his word."

4. Reading the lessons gives to uneducated people precepts; by this means also they hear the whole Bible. Sermons only touch on a part.

5. Reading the lessons is doubtless a simple method of teaching the faith; in this akin to everything else in Christianity, which is meant to be simple.

CONTRARIUM.

(The arguments for sermons and against lessons, are taken one by one and rebutted.) These arguments are eighteen in number.

1. They say that reading cannot create belief, only aid it. By the testimony of Scripture, we can easily prove that they are wrong.

Amplification.

Examples to support theme:

(i) Repentance of King Josiah when the Law was read.
(ii) From Deuteronomy - that by hearing the Law people may learn to fear the Lord.
(iii) The saying of Christ, that those who would not believe the Scriptures were not likely to believe preachers, even one risen from the dead.

Emphasis: The use of italics. "Thou shalt read this law before all Israel, that men, women, and children may hear...."

2. They maintain that reading the lessons cannot move obdurate hearts, but such hearts, surely, are obdurate
against sermons as well as against lessons.

3. They say that reading the Scriptures will not convert infidels. We say that reading was prescribed for us, and not for infidels.

Ornamentation.

Alliteration: "...men baptized, bred and brought up in the bosom of the Church."

4. Objects of nature cannot breed faith in us, because they do not explain any divine mysteries, and we are able to master them with our human brain: the Scriptures should not be classed with nature, as our opponents would have us do; Scripture has a divine source, and can therefore inspire faith.

5. Far from it being "an extraordinary work" when reading without sermons effects belief, it is to be expected, for the Evangelists wrote with the hope that all who read would believe.

Ornamentation.

Rhetorical question: "But did we ever hear it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth read, should believe and live according to the will of Almighty God?"

Argumentum ad absurdum; "unless we suppose that the Evangelist...had a secret conceit...that no man in the world should ever be that way the better for any sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be preached upon or alleged at the least in a sermon."

6. There are, they allow, slight benefits gained from reading the Bible; it facilitates the work of sermons. But was not the aim of the Scriptures the salvation of mankind?

Ornamentation.

Sarcasm: "that which we move for our better learning
and instruction's sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them."

Congerie: "turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietness with it, they answer fumingly that they are "ashamed to defile their pens with making answer to such idle question:"

Sarcasm: "They tell us the profit of reading is singular, in that it serveth for a preparative unto sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of faith which sermons have once engendered; it is some stay to his mind which readeth the Scripture when he findeth the same things there which are taught in sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the preacher."

Metaphor: "...it...doth...help the retentive force of that stomach of the mind which receiveth ghostly food at the preacher's hand."

Climax: "Is it credible...that...the cause...why Scripture was written, the cause which all men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should clean exclude as being no cause at all...?"

Metaphor: "...and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes which did never see light till now?"

Ironic: "...the very chiefest cause of committing the sacred Word of God unto books, is surmised to have been, lest the preacher should want a text whereupon to shcoly."

7. They maintain that sermons alone cause faith; but with strangely poor logic, they neglect to prove that faith can be caused by nothing else.

Ornamentation:

Rhetorical question: "...do only sermons cause belief, in that no other way is able to explain the mysteries of God...?"

Use of synonyms: "...although they be intricate, obscure and dark..."

Rhetorical question: "Is it then in regard of sermons only.....?"

Climax and rhetorical question: "Unless therefore..."
RHETORIC.

we shall think...that otherwise neither conversation in the bosom of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned men's books, nor information received by conference, nor whatsoever pain and diligence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night on the Law, is so far blest of God as to work this effect in any man; how would they have us to grant that faith doth not come but only by hearing sermons?"  

8. Our opponents misinterpret the words of St. Paul on "the foolishness of preaching" which must save them which believe, and the words, "How shall they hear without a preacher?"...St. Paul was thinking of the Gentiles, who must be taught before they can be converted. St. Paul did not mean Christian congregations.  

Amplification.  

Syllogism: syllogistic reasoning is behind the statements, but the syllogisms are condensed.  
"Salvation belongeth unto none but such 'as call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Which nations as yet unconverted neither do nor possibly can do till they believe. What they are to believe, impossible it is they should know till they hear it. Their hearing requireth our preaching unto them."  

Use of examples: "Tertullian, to draw even Paynims themselves unto Christian belief, willeth the books of the Old Testament to be searched, which were at that time in Ptolemy's library."  

Ornamentation.  

Rhetorical question with intent to show his meaning by an absurd illustration: "...dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their salvation who even from their tender infancy never knew any faith or religion than only Christian, no kind of teaching can be available saving that which was so needful for the first universal conversion of Gentiles hating Christianity....?"

9. We tell them that Christ said, "Search the Scriptures;" "Yes", they reply, "but the Jews had already heard his sermons." Thus they distort the Scriptures; but
sermons can never take the place of the word direct from God.

Amplification and ornamentation.

Example: "For if sermons must be our rule, because the Apostles' sermons were so to their hearers; then, sith we are not as they were hearers of the Apostles' sermons, it resteth that either the sermons which we hear should be our rule, or, (that being absurd) there will (which yet hath greater absurdity) no rule at all be remaining for trial, what doctrines now are corrupt, what consonant with heavenly truth."

Repetition: "'explained or delivered unto us in sermons'. Sermons they evermore understand to be..."

Metaphor: "For touching our sermons, that which giveth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over corrupt fountain from which they come."

10. They take Solomon's saying, "where there is no vision the people perish" to mean that there is no salvation without preaching. But Preaching is not the only way to attain vision.

Amplification.

Use of example: the words of Solomon.

11. Sermons, they say, are much more effectual and impressive than mere reading of lessons.

Amplification and ornamentation.

Irony: "...how the savour of the word is more sweet being brayed...."

Use of example: "Alcidamus the sophister hath many arguments, to prove that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth premeditated speech."

"Gnome" or proverb: "For there is nothing which is not someway excelled even by that which it doth excel."

N.B. This is Hooker's only rebuttal for this point, and it is decidedly weak.

12. Sermons, they say, being an ordinance of God,
have therefore His blessing. Reading, we say, is also an ordinance, and God would not bless one ordinance and leave another unblessed.

Amplification.

Use of examples: "St. Augustine speaking of devout men, noteth...how attentive ear they gave unto the lessons and chapters read...."

"St. Cyprian observeth that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity were to him an argument, that there is in this ordinance a blessing...."

Syllogistic reasoning: "And if his grace do assist them both to the nourishment of faith already bred, we cannot....imagine that in breeding faith, his grace doth cleave to the one and utterly forsake the other."

13. Reading is claimed to be "hard" for the people. Very little is obscure; most is simple, now that we have the Bible in English.

Ornamentation.

Alliteration: "plain and popular instructions."

14. Reading, they claim, is too "easy" for the people. But, we say, by the goodness of God, all the ways to salvation are easy, and meant to give access to all.

Amplification and ornamentation.

Metaphor: "The 'easy' performance of which holy labour is in like sort a very cold objection to prejudice the virtue thereof."

Use of Example: "...the meanest and worst people under the Law had been as able as the priests themselves were to offer sacrifice."

Rhetorical question: "Is it not as evident a sign of his wonderful providence over us, when that food of eternal life, upon the utter want whereof our endless death and destruction necessarily ensued, is prepared and always set in such a readiness, that those very means than which nothing is more easy may suf-
Amplification and ornamentation.

Congerie: "...are judged as it were even forsaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort;"

Simile: "sermons as the flowing sea,"

16. They go so far as to put sermons above prayer and sacraments; saying that is a man is saved by prayers and sacraments, and without preaching, it is a miracle. This is outrageous!

Ornamentation and amplification.

Rhetorical questions: "Who can choose but think them cruel which doth hear them so boldly teach...that both sacraments and prayers also, where sermons are not, 'do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation?' What man's heart doth not rise at the mention of these things?"

Example and simile: "It is true that the weakness of our wits and the dulness of our affections do make us for the most part, even as our Lord's own disciples were for a certain time, hard and slow to believe what is written."

Congerie: (see first example of semi-colon) Page 54.

17. They cavil at our terms "necessary" and "most profitable", saying that two things cannot both be "most" profitable. This thin logic fits the rest of their arguments.

Amplification and Ornamentation.

Use of examples; repetition: "...a thing which God himself did institute amongst the Jews for purposes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apostles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever sithence the first beginning reaped singular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment not Church can omit...."
Metaphor: "A poor, a cold, and an hungry cavil!"

Irony: "They have against it a marvellous deep and profound axiom, that 'Two things to one and the same end cannot but very improperly be said most profitable'."

18. They shun defining a good sermon, and do not explain why the Apostles' sermons, when read out loud, cannot save souls.

Ornamentation and amplification.

Rhetorical Question: "Are they resolved then at the leastwise, if preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaseth God to save our souls, what kind of preaching it is which doth save?"

Sarcasm:

(i) the above example.
(ii) "so that...we may at the length understand from them what that is in a good sermon which doth make it the word of life unto such as hear."

Rhetorical question: "...of all this what is there in the best sermons being uttered, which they lose by being read?"

Examples, used ad absurdum and congerie: "So that although we had all the sermons word for word which James, Paul, Peter, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which sermons was of power to convert thousands of the hearers unto the Christian faith; yea although we had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations, which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and should read them ten thousand times over, to faith and salvation no man could hereby hope to attain."

TESTIMONIUM.

(summing up of the case)

Sermons are only one of the ways in which the truth of religion can be presented unto men. Our opponents have erred in encouraging the opinion that because sermons can be more effectual than other methods, the latter are rendered
thereby uneffectual to save souls. The apparent effectiveness of sermons compared with reading of the lessons is due to the fact that the people carelessly miss the reading, because they know they will one day hear it again, but the sermon they must listen to, for it comes "always new", and when over, will be lost, "and that without all hope of recovery."

**Ornamentation.**

Metaphor: "...shall here sit down to receive our audit, and to cast up the whole reckoning on both sides;"

Simile: "...as medicines... take effect sometimes under and sometimes above the natural proportion of their virtue...."

**EPILOGUE.**

(well-turned conclusion)

In this conclusion Hooker shows the moderation of temper and of language generally to be found in his final words. Such moderation is also good debating, which is always careful to give the other side its full share of praise. The epilogus is quoted in full:

"All which notwithstanding, as we could greatly wish that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated, so because we hold it part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomsoever therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall be always our prayer unto Almighty God, that in the self-same fervent zeal wherewith they seem to affect the good of the souls of men, and to thirst after nothing more than that all men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the world's end. For in this we are not their adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours."

With this magnanimous conclusion, offering the hand of friendship to a defeated adversary, Hooker ends an ingenious defence of the value of reading lessons, as opposed to sermons.
It must be said, however, that although he rebutted argument after argument, either by quotations from the Bible, or by ironical comments or by absurd illustrations, he was obliged to admit in his Testimonium that sermons are after all more effectual, since it is to them and not to the reading that people give their attention.

The case of Lesson versus Sermon was far from being the only one that Hooker examined. His Puritan opponents revered the Scriptures so deeply—(although they apparently did not like them to be read aloud in Church),—that they came to insist that Scripture was the only authority for Christian men, even adopting the extreme view that if Scripture did not expressly command an action, that action was wrong. In reply, Hooker, in the seventh part of Book II, made a great stand for "the Strength of Man's Authority."

EXORDIUM.

"An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and persuasions." (From the Index, to Book II).

NARRATION.

(Paragraph I): "An earnest desire to draw all things under the determination of bare and naked Scripture hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man." This would in the end "overthrow such orders, laws and constitutions in the Church and leave "neither face nor memory of Church to continue in the world."

CAUSA.

Facts support the force of man's authority, affirmatively and negatively.

(a) Scripture accepts man's testimony.
(b) Two or three witnesses are relied on in law.
(c) Opinions and judgments of men are followed.
(d) The wiser we are, the more we listen to wise men.
(e) Man's authority has negative force; only six
Edwards are in the Chronicle, therefore there are no more.

Notwithstanding man's infirmity, we are obliged to believe him at times.
(a) The facts of history and geography all depend on reports.
(b) The facts of Scripture are based on witness.

Men may, after due preparation, make pronouncements on matters divine, and may be heard with respect.

Failing Scriptural authority, our judgment must be allowed to function.
(a) We incline to believe what is probable.
(b) Doubt does not imply lack of grace.
(c) Failing infallible proof, the judgment of many wise men should be given credit.

The Church Fathers used their powers of reasoning; if they had not, we might be guided by the uneducated mob.
(a) To reason is the difference between man and beast.
(b) Irenaeus believed in reasoning and proofs,
(c) so did Jerome,
(d) so did Augustine.
(e) When in doubt we consult wise men.
(f) When both disputants quote Scripture, nothing can be proved. c.f. the Donatists and Arians.
(g) If reason is not respected, ignorant men boldly utter erroneous statements.

The disciples were not reproved for wondering if the Scribes were right.

Our opponents use the testimony of others in proofs.

The Causa contains ornamentation and amplification of many kinds, including an example of digression. There are many keen, sarcastic questions, and shrewd comments such as:-

"St. Augustine exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken what God speaketh. His purpose is not (I think) that we should stop our ears against his own exhortation...."

TESTIMONIUM.

The Testimonium is in Part VIII, and is called "a

1. Book II, Part VII, par. 6: "Which opinion...."
RHETORIC.

declaration of the True View". The Epilogue takes up the final paragraph, and is one of the best examples of Hooker's mind and Christian spirit.

"So we must likewise take great heed," (he says), "lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly to be less reverently esteemed. I therefore leave it to themselves to consider whether they have in this first point or not overshot themselves; which God doth know is quickly done, even when our meaning is most sincere, as I am verily persuaded theirs in this case was."

CONCLUSION.

Rhetoric, with Richard Hooker, was not a conscious effort to write in the fashionable or approved way; it was the most natural expression of his thinking that could be imagined. He did not need to try to be sarcastic. His achievements in this direction were the outcome of his reason being outraged. Neither were his long series of proofs and rebuttals merely an exercise in logic. One cannot imagine the Ecclesiastical Polity being written any other way. He shows great skill in the use of every device, so much so that sometimes he satisfies our sense of justice, or our loyalty, without really proving his point; for instance, by the use of the rhetorical question (No. 16, Page 69). In this case, it could be maintained that, in his day to appeal to religious convictions was the strongest argument of all. Indeed the whole of the "Lessons versus Sermons" case is a crowning example of the value of rhetorical devices in argument. For his antagonist was right, and Hooker knew it...He did his best, but although indignation dignified by means of climax and "congeries" carries great weight, it proves nothing. Be that as it may, much that is stimulating
in the Polity is the rhetoric; whether it be the thoughtful reasoning of "man's authority", or argument of a more specious nature; whether it be the illustrations carried to the absurd, or the mocking ironies; or whether it be such forms of ornamentation as metaphor and repetition. The pleasure derived from his skill is doubled by our recognition of the calm and temperate judgment that inspires the whole argument. For rhetoric with Hooker was not an end, but a means. A weapon in skilled hands, it was not used until needed. With Hooker, everything, even fine writing, came second to his burning desire to save his church.
Conclusion.

It might appear from the foregoing investigation of the prose of Richard Hooker that he wrote with less success than his contemporaries. His paragraphs are not, like those of Thomas Browne, read and re-read for their strange speculations and pleasing style. Phrases of his are not, like Raleigh's, lovingly quoted in treatises of English prose. It is only rarely, as has been pointed out, that any passage of Hooker's approaches in emotive power the level of the prose of his fellows at their best. Rhythm and rhetoric, cursus and cadence, vocabulary from the living world and wisdom from the dead, all these be employed, not like Browne, to gratify a melancholy whim, not, like Raleigh, to while away an idle hour, but only to add strength and emphasis to the presentation of his case.

The prose of the Ecclesiastical Polity has a uniformity such that any page shows the characteristics of all. First to the mind occurs the phrasing which is always pleasing, its rhythm flowing and unhurried. It is, indeed, largely the rhythm that makes the treatise literary, and not merely didactic, prose. Modernized, the book would lose its attraction for all but students of theology. Another universal characteristic of Hooker's style is the use of cadence and cursus at the end of clauses and sentences. More emphasis is in this way added to his statements, than is realized on a first reading. (Paragraphs beautified by cursus and cadences are not so noteworthy, because they are rare.) Emphasis is achieved in
two other important ways, both of which show what a great writer of prose Hooker was. One is the cumulative power of parallel constructions in his massive periods. Equally effective, as every reader of the "Polity must well remember, is the repetition of "fingering": of certain words, sometimes like notes of solemn sound, and sometimes like missiles hurled in derision. As pleasing as the emphasis, is its opposite, the "quietism", the peaceable last words of many a long and sonorous argument.

For all these characteristics there is no need to search; they are the style. It is perfectly fitted for the theme; dignified, as suited the discussion of religion; copious, thus encouraging the enumeration of every possible detail of proof - but making use also of short sentences, for statements needing more force than fullness. Combining with this majestic prose were all the devices of rhetoric that can serve to persuade, stir up, reprove or ridicule, the opinions of those contrary-minded. The result is a style which a happy combination of subject, purpose and chronological setting shaped into the fittest instrument its maker could have selected. And if it can be said that intensity of feeling - and Richard Hooker's zeal was surely sincere enough to be that - can unite with the energy of thought to produce the perfect style, then in The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity we have it.

1. Book II, Part IV, No. 5, "indifferent".
No one else of the Elizabethans had an aim so lofty, or set himself a task so tremendous as did Richard Hooker; and no one, except perhaps Ascham, gives to the reader such an impression of earnestness and singleness of purpose as pervades this laborious work. Hooker was the sole writer whose purpose and plan were so earnestly felt that he had no time for flights of fancy and general discursiveness. All was to the point, all was part of the argument, part of his strenuous battle against the forces of bigotry and criticism. The undertaking would be stupendous, even in modern times, comprising as it did, the analysis of law, its application to ecclesiastical matter, and the defense of the whole system of the doctrine, liturgy and ritual of his church. Once or twice only, in the planning and writing of this great argument did Hooker so far forget his subject and purpose, as to digress. Nowhere did he even indicate that any point connected with the church was of more interest to him than another. Every argument was pressed vigorously and enthusiastically as though alone vital to the struggle, whether it concerned the nature of the Trinity, or the necessity of a priest's wearing a surplice. Everything mentioned, every jibe and protest, plea or rebuttal, was germane to the gigantic plan of defense. Not only did Hooker conceive this purpose, but carried it out until death prevented the publication of the last three of the eight books planned. Surely, this achievement, in an age when most men wrote merely if mood and idleness so inclined them, deserves greater fame than all; for its author made serious
business of the art of writing, made the noble English tongue fight in the cause of truth, instead of dally with romance, and produced the only high-souled work in prose from our language, when our language was at its best.

All who have made any comment on the writings of Richard Hooker have admired the "fine spirit of tolerance" which he has shown. It cannot be denied that without saying in so many words; "I am a man of just disposition," he leaves everyone absolutely certain that he was. Personal bias is quite banished from his exposition, and with complete self-effacement he keeps his thoughts as an individual in the background, very rarely using the first person singular, and not even drawing on experiences from his own life for proofs. Such modesty redounds greatly to his credit, so that he appears always as the impartial seeker of a solution to the problems of religious differences. He is impartial, it is true, only so far as the findings of his convictions allow him to go. It must be admitted that his reasoning was not always profound, and that he sometimes preferred absurd illustrations to a full discussion, or proof. An example is to be found in the "negative argument from Scripture". He would at one moment use the name of the Deity as a weapon of debate, as a sort of unanswerable argument, and at another reprove his opponents for

1. I had forgotten the Authorized Version; but it was not one man's work.


presuming to declare that God was in agreement with their beliefs. Such inconsistencies as these do, for the moment, but not for long, dim the perception of Hooker that is the clearest impression left by the Polity; that of a writer who was at all times devoted to his cause, determined to defend it, but eager to persuade his adversaries, and ever hopeful of their reconciliation; never forgetting that both he and they should live in Christian brotherliness. Sincerity and modest zeal, with patience and diligent perseverance compose the spirit in which the Ecclesiastical Polity was written, a spirit which informs it from the first page to the last. Neither his occasional use, with intent to deride, of secular vocabulary, nor his keen sarcasm, nor his resorting to the ludicrous, in any way detract from the Christian goodwill and reluctance to dispute which guided Hooker's genius. Even to-day the work breathes sincerity and fairmindedness, so that "good Master Hooker" seems much more alive to us than Francis Bacon in the admirable but soulless Advancement of Learning; or Hobbes, in the string of maxims that make up The Leviathan. Hooker set himself a mighty task and throughout its performance showed a breadth of wisdom, seriousness of thought and dignity of style that did honour to his cause. This cause was lost after Hooker's death; the Puritans triumphed, and all his labour was in vain. It would be sad if our race were to forget altogether this great work - great not only for its unity of style and spirit, but as the memorial of one man's endeavour in learning and perseverance in what was for him the last fight, perhaps,
of the Holy Catholic Church against the destructive forces of ignorance and calumny, and the proud, intolerant spirit of reform.
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