

from the priest, can more than declare him already pardoned which did desire it? To desire absolution, presupposing it commanded, is obedience; and obedience in that case is a branch of the virtue of repentance; which virtue being thereby made effectual to the taking away of sins without the sacrament of repentance, is it not an argument that the sacrament of absolution hath here no efficacy, but the virtue of contrition worketh all? For how should any effect ensue from causes which actually are not? The sacrament must be applied wheresoever any grace doth proceed from it. So that where it is but desired only, whatsoever may follow upon God's acceptance of this desire, the sacrament afterwards received can be no cause thereof. Wherefore the further we wade, the better we see it still appear, that the priest doth never in absolution, no not so much as by way of service and ministry, really either forgive the act, take away the uncleanness, or remove the punishment of sin: but if the party penitent come contrite, he hath by their own grant absolution before absolution; if not contrite, although the priest should ten thousand times absolve^v him, all were in vain. For which cause, the ancients^z and better sort of their school-divines, Abulensis¹, Alexander Hales², Bonaventure³, ascribe the real abolition of sin and eternal punishment to the mere pardon of Almighty God without dependency upon the priest's absolution as a cause to effect the same. His absolution hath in their doctrine certain other effects specified⁴ but this denied.

^v should seem a thousand times to absolve E.

^z Ancients E.

¹ "A reatu mortis æternæ absolvitur homo a Deo per contritionem; . . . manet autem reatus ad quandam poenam temporalem, et minister ecclesiæ quicumque virtute clavium tollit reatum cuiusdam partis poenæ illius." Abulens. [Tostatus, Bp. of Avila, 1400-1455] in Defensor. p. i. c. 7. [Opusc. ad calc. Comment. t. xii. p. 9. Venet. 1596.]

² "Signum hujus Sacramenti est causa effectiva gratiæ sive remissionis peccatorum; non simpliciter, sicut ipsa prima poenitentia, sed secundum quid; quia est causa efficacæ gratiæ qua fit re-

"missio peccati, quantum ad aliquem effectum in poenitente, ad minus quantum ad remissionem sequelæ ipsius peccati, scilicet poenæ." Alex. p. iv. q. 14. memb. 2. [art. i. § 2. p. 467.]

³ "Potestas clavium proprie loquendo non se extendit supra cul-pam . . . Ad illud quod objicitur, Joan. 20; 'Quorum remisistis peccata;,' dicendum, quod vel illud de remissione dicitur quantum ad ostensionem vel solum quantum ad poenam." Bon. Sent. lib. iv. d. 18. [pars i. art. 2.] q. i. [p. 273.]

⁴ "Ab æterna poena nullo modo

Wherefore, having hitherto spoken of the virtue of repentance required; of the discipline of repentance which Christ did establish; and of the sacrament of repentance invented sithence, against the pretended force of human absolution in sacramental penitency: let it suffice thus far to have shewed how God alone doth truly give, the virtue of repentance alone procure, and private ministerial absolution but declare remission of sins.

[14.]^a Now the last and sometimes hardest to be satisfied by repentance, are our minds; and our minds we have then satisfied, when the conscience is of guilty become clear. For as long as we are in ourselves privy to our own most heinous crimes, but without sense of God's mercy and grace towards us, unless the heart be either brutish for want of knowledge, or altogether hardened by wilful atheism, the remorse of sin is in it as the deadly sting of a serpent. Which point sith very infidels and heathens have observed in the nature of sin (for the disease they felt, though they knew no remedy to help it) we are not rashly to despise those sentences which are the testimonies of their experience touching this point. They knew that the eye of a man's own conscience is more to be feared by evil doers than the presence of a thousand witnesses, inasmuch as the mouths of other accusers are many ways stopt, the ears of the accused not always subject to glowing with contumely and exprobration; whereas a guilty mind being forced to be still both a martyr and a tyrant itself, must of necessity endure perpetual anguish and grief. For, as the body is rent with stripes, so the mind with guiltiness of cruelty, lust, and wicked resolutions. Which furies brought the Emperor Tiberius sometimes into such perplexity, that writing to the senate, his wonted art of dissimulation failed him utterly in this case; and whereas it had been ever his peculiar delight so to speak that no man might be able to sound his meaning, he had not

^a xv. D.

"solvit sacerdos, sed a purgatoria*;" "temporalis, non ita acriter puni-
"neque hoc per se, sed per accidens, "etur in purgatorio sicut si non es-
"quod cum in poenitente virtute "set absolutus." [Bonav. in] Sent.
"clavium minuitur debitum poenæ lib. iv. d. 18. q. 3. [p. 274.]

* purgatorio E.

the power to conceal what he felt through the secret scourge of an evil conscience, though no necessity did now enforce^b to disclose the same. "What to write, or how to write, at "this present, if I know," saith Tiberius¹, "let those gods "and goddesses, who thus continually eat me, only be worse "to me than they are." It was not his imperial dignity and power that could provide a way to protect him against himself, the fears and suspicions^c which improbity had bred being strengthened by every occasion, and those virtues clean banished which are the only foundation of sound tranquillity of mind. For which cause it hath been truly said, and agreeably with all men's experience, that if the righteous^d did excel in no other privilege, yet far happier they are than the contrary sort of men, for that their hopes be always better.

Neither are we to marvel that these things, known unto all, do stay so few from being authors of their own woe. For we see by the ancient example of Joseph's unkind brethren, how it cometh to remembrance easily when crimes are once past, what the difference is of good from evil, and of right from wrong : but such considerations when they should have prevented sin, were overmatcht by unordinate^e desires.

Are we not bound then with all thankfulness to acknowledge his infinite goodness and mercy, which hath revealed unto us the way how to rid ourselves of these mazes ; the way how to shake off that yoke, which no flesh is able to bear ; the way how to change most grisly horror into a comfortable apprehension of heavenly joy ?

[15.]^f Whereunto there are many which labour with so much the greater difficulty, because imbecility of mind doth not suffer them to censure rightly their own doings : some fearful lest the enormity of their crimes be so unpardonable that no repentance can do them good ; some lest the imperfection of their repentance make it uneffectual to the taking away of sin. The one drive all things to this issue, whether

^b enforce him E. ^c suspicion E. ^d vertuous E. ^e inordinate E.
^f xvi. D.

¹ [Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 6. "tempore, Dii me Deæque pejus
" Quid scribam vobis, patres con-
" scripti, aut quomodo scribam, aut
" quid omnino non scribam hoc
" perdant, quam perire me quotidie
" sentio, si scio."]

they be not men which^g have sinned against the Holy Ghost ; the other to this, what repentance is sufficient to clear sinners, and to assure them that they are delivered.

Such as by error charge themselves of unpardonable sin, must think, it may be they deem that unpardonable which is not. Our Saviour speaketh indeed of a^h blasphemy which shall never be forgiven. But have they any sure and infallible knowledge what that blasphemy is ? If not, why are they unjust and cruel to their own souls, imagining certainty of guiltiness in a crime concerning the very nature whereof they are uncertain ? For mine own part, although where this blasphemy is mentioned, the cause why our Saviour spake thereof was the Pharisees' blasphemy, which wereⁱ not afraid to say, "He had an unclean spirit, and did cast out "spirits by the power of Beelzebub¹;" nevertheless I dare not precisely deny but that even the very^k Pharisees themselves might have repented and been forgiven, and that our Lord Jesus Christ peradventure might but take occasion at their blasphemy, which as yet was pardonable, to tell them further of an unpardonable blasphemy, whereinto he foresaw that the Jews would fall. For it is plain that many thousands, at the first professing Christian religion, became afterwards wilful apostates¹, moved with no other cause of revolt, but mere indignation that the Gentiles should enjoy the benefit of the Gospel as much as they, and yet not be burthened with the yoke of Moses' law. The Apostles by preaching had won them to Christ, in whose name they embraced with great alacrity the full remission of their former sins and iniquities²; they received by imposition^m of the Apostles' hands that grace and power of the Holy Ghost whereby they cured diseases, prophesied, spake with tongues : and yet in the end after all this they fell utterly away, renounced the mysteries of Christian faith, blasphemed in their formal abjurations that most glorious and blessed Spirit, the gifts whereof themselves had posset, and by this means sunk their souls in the gulf of that unpardonable sin, whereof as our Lord Jesus

^g that D. ^h a om. E. ⁱ was E. ^k very om. E. ¹ apostates E.
^m the imposition E.

¹ Matt. 21. [xii.] 31 ; Mark iii. 30.

² Acts ii. 38.

Christ had told them beforehand, so the Apostle at the first appearance of such their revolt putteth them in mind again¹, that falling now to their former blasphemies, their salvation was irrecoverably gone. It was for them in this case impossible to be renewed by any repentance : because they were now in the state of Satan and his angels, the Judge of quick and dead had passed his irrevocable sentence against them. So great difference there is between infidels unconverted, and backsliders in this manner fallen away, that always we have hope to reclaim the one, which only hate whom they never knew ; but to the other, which know and blaspheme, to them that with more than infernal malice accurse both the seen brightness of glory which is in him, and in themselves the tasted goodness of divine grace, as those execrable miscreants did, who first received in extraordinary miraculous manner, and then in outrageous sort blasphemed, the Holy Ghost, abjuring both it and the whole religion, which God by it did confirm and magnify ; to such as wilfully thus sin², after so great light of the truth and gifts of the Spirit, there remaineth justly no fruit or benefit to be expected by Christ's sacrifice.

For all other offenders, without exception or stint, whether they be strangers that seek access, or followers that will make return unto God ; upon the tender of their repentance, the grant of his grace standeth everlastingly signed with his blood in the book of eternal life. That which in this case over-terrifieth fearful souls, is a misconceit whereby they imagine every act which we do knowing that we do amiss, and every wilful breach or transgression of God's law, to be mere sin against the Holy Ghost ; forgetting that the Law of Moses itself ordained sacrifices of expiation as well for faults presumptuously committed, as things wherein men offend by error.

[17.]^a Now there are on the contrary side others, who doubting not of God's mercy toward all that perfectly repent, remain notwithstanding scrupulous and troubled with continual fear, lest defects in their own repentance be a bar

^a xvii. D.¹ Heb. vi. 6.² Heb. x. 26.

against them. These cast themselves first into very great, and peradventure needless agonies, through misconstruction of things spoken about proportioning our griefs to our sins¹, for which they never think they have wept and mourned enough ; yea, if they have not always a stream of tears at commandment^o, they take it for a sign of a heart^p congealed and hardened in sin ; when to keep the wound of contrition bleeding, they unfold the circumstances of their transgressions, and endeavour to leave out^q nothing which may be heavy against themselves. Yet do what they can, they are still fearful, lest herein also they do not that which they ought and might. Come to prayer, their coldness taketh all heart and courage from them ; with fasting albeit their flesh should be withered and their blood clean dried up, would they ever the less object^r, What is this to David's humiliation²? wherein notwithstanding there was not any thing more than necessary. In works of charity and alms-deeds, it is not all the world can persuade them they did ever reach the poor bounty of the widow's two mites³, or by many millions of leagues come near the mark^s which Cornelius⁴ touched : so far they are off from the proud surmise of any penitential supererogation in miserable wretched worms of the earth.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they wrong themselves with over rigorous and extreme exactions, by means whereof they fall sometimes into such perplexities as can hardly be allayed ; it hath therefore pleased Almighty God, in tender commiseration over these imbecillities of men, to ordain for their spiritual and ghostly comfort consecrated persons, which by sentence of power and authority given from above, may as it were out of his very mouth ascertain timorous and doubtful

^o command E. ^p for a heart E. ^q out om. D, E. ^r object om. D.
^s near to the mark E.

¹ Jer. vi. 26 ; Micah i. 8, 9 ; Lam. ii. 18. "Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer defleamus. Alto vulnere diligens et longa medicina non desit ; poenitentia crimine minor non sit." Cypr. de Laps. [p. 192. ed. Baluz.] "Non levi agendum est contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors æterna

"debetur ; nec transitoria opus est satisfactione pro malis illis propter quæ paratus est ignis æternus." Euseb. Emissenus, vel potius Salvian. f. 106. [Ad Monach. Hom. V. in Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. v. pars i. 582. g.]

² Psal. vi. 6.³ Mark xiii. 42.⁴ Acts x. 31.

minds in their own particular, ease them of all their scrupulosity, leave them settled in peace and satisfied touching the mercy of God towards them. To use the benefit of this[†] help for our better satisfaction in such cases is so natural, that it can be forbidden no man; but yet not so necessary, that all men should be in case to need it.

[18.]^u They are of the two the happier therefore that can content and satisfy themselves by judging discreetly what they perform, and soundly^v what God doth require of them. For having that which is most material, the substance of penitency rightly bred; touching signs and tokens thereof, we may boldly affirm that they err, which^w imagine for every offence a certain proportionable degree in the passions and griefs of mind, whereunto whosoever aspireth not, repenteth in vain: that to frustrate men's confessions and considerations of sin, except every circumstance which may aggravate the same be unript and laid in the balance, is a merciless extremity, although it be true, that as near as we can such wounds must be searched to the very bottom: last of all, that^x to set down the like stint, and to shut up the doors of mercy against penitents which come short thereof in the devotion^y of their prayers, in the continuance of their fasts, in the largeness and bounty of their alms, or in the course of any other such like duties, is more than God hath himself thought meet, and consequently more than mortal men should presume to do. That which God doth chiefly respect in men's penitency¹, is their hearts. The heart is it which maketh repentance sincere, sincerity that which findeth favour in God's sight, and the favour of God that which supplieth by gracious acceptation whatsoever may seem defective in the faithful, hearty, and true offices of his servants. "Take it" (saith Chrysostom²) "upon my credit, Such is God's merciful

[†] his D.

^u xviii. D.

^v secondly D.

^w they doe, which E.

^x that om. E.

^y devotions D.

¹ Jer. xxix. 13; Joel ii. 12.

² Chrys. de repar. Laps. lib. ad Theodor. [ap. Grat. Decr.] de Pœnit. dist. 3. c. *Talis*. ["*Talis*, mihi crede, talis est erga homines pietas Dei: nunquam spernit pœnitentiam si ei sincere et simpliciter offeratur. Etiam si ad summum

"quis perveniat malorum, et inde
"tamen velit reverti ad virtutis
"viam, suscipit et libenter amplec-
"titur, facit omnia quatenus ad
"priorem revocet statum: et quod
"est adhuc præstantius et eminens-
"tius, etiam si non potuerit quis
"explere in præsentī satisfaciendi

"inclination towards men, that repentance offered with a single and sincere mind he never refuseth; no not although we be come to the very top of iniquity. If there be a will and desire to return, he receiveth, embraceth, omitteth nothing which may restore us to former happiness; yea, that which is yet above all the rest, albeit we cannot in the duty of satisfying him attain what we ought and would, but come far behind our mark, he taketh nevertheless in good worth that little which we do; be it never so mean, we lose not our labour therein." The least and lowest step of repentance in Saint^a Chrysostom's judgment severeth and setteth us above them that perish in their sin. I will therefore end with St. Augustin's conclusion¹, "Lord, in thy book and volume of life all shall be written, as well the least of thy saints, as the chiefest. Let not therefore the unperfect fear; let them only proceed and go forward."

^a Saint om. E, not 1648.

"ordinem, quantulamcunque tamen
"et quamlibet brevi tempore gestam
"non respuit pœnitentiam. Suscipit
"etiam ipsam, nec patitur quamvis
"exiguæ conversionis perdere mer-
"cedem." See the original (from
which this is much altered) in the

Benedictine Chrysostom, t. i. p. 5.]
¹ Aug. in Psal. cxxxviii. [§ 21.
"In libro tuo omnes scribentur:
"non solum perfecti sed etiam
"imperfecti. Non timeant imper-
"fecti, tantum proficiant." t. iv.
p. 1546.]

APPENDIX TO BOOK VI.

[Notes by George Cranmer and Edwin Sandys, on B. VI. as sent to them in MS.¹]

George Cranmer's notes on M. Hooker's².

Notes upon the 6 Booke.

BOOK VI. P. 1. "It may suffice." I thinke if this booke began at the next sentence following, yt were not amisse. But then I could wishe that sentence to be divided into two; for yt is long. Which + may be done without any alteration thus: "As it is not enough "that our" &c.

"Helpe be had: to this end." Here I could wishe the first + sentence to end but with a more full word then (had) as namely, "Helpe be provided," or, "procured." And the next sentence to go on, "To this end therefore."

"Learned clerkes." The name clerkes (as I thinke) cometh from κληρος inheritance³, and not as you seeme to say from their + power of order. And although yt be true that the name be only given to them, yet is yt not given according to your speach, in that regard.

+ "Saith Ignatius⁴." Quote yt.

"Obligatory declaration." By this word obligatory I understand such a kynd of declaration as either men must obey yt, or suffer punishment. But the word will not be generally understood.

"So that these two things," &c. and afterwarde, to "Ys yt "within such compasse." It ys true that the power of Jurisdiction

¹ [This paper is preserved in the library of C.C.C. Oxford; "No. 297. "W. C. 2. 11." It is indorsed as follows: "Mr. S. and Mr. Cr. Notes "upon the 6 and 7 bookes." Then in Fulman's hand, "Written with "their own hands and given me "by my friend M. Isaac Walton "1673. W. F."]

² [In Fulman's hand. The rest of the paper in Cranmer's hand.]

³ [See St. Jerome, Ep. ad Nepotian. § 5. t. i. p. 256. ed. Vallars.]

⁴ [This is one of the very few instances in which it is possible that the copy before Cranmer may have agreed with the present (so called) sixth book: in the early part of which a citation from St. Ignatius occurs. See before, p. 4.]

is limited by Lawe, but those wordes ("So that") do seeme to argue that so much was implied in the definition before, wherein I thinke no such thing is contayned.

P. 2. "I will that younger women marry." Do you thinke this was a commandement, which to have neglected had been a sinne, or rather an admonition or advise.

"Or civill is." I would leave out ("Is").

"Cases of right to thinges," and, "esteemed such." I would say, "Cases of right belonging to thinges"—and, "esteemed spi- + "rituall," for the word such is not playne. O

P. 3. "Non intendimus indicare de feodo" ["judicare de feudo," v. p. 131, n. 1]. This was the sentence of a Pope, as I conceive, challenging unto him self that which by us is denyed him: and therefore yt may be this allegation is not so fit, although I very well understand in what sense yt is alleaged by you. But I may be deceived in this matter because yt is a matter of story, whereof I have no knowledge.

"Touching manner and form." Rather, "Touching the manner "of exercising power ecclesiasticall." And in the end of the sentence, I would say, "Requisite is this also."

P. 4. "Namely to the end." I could wishe this were no parenthesis, and that the sentence did end at those wordes, ("As it were "by force,") knitting the next wordes in this manner, ("which may + "serve as a reason why they,") for this sentence otherwise will be very long.

"Curia Christianitatis." I could wishe that as little as might be were in the margent but rather, if it be of moment, in the text. + And it may be this were not amisse to be inserted.

P. 7. "Well or ill of good men." I thinke there is some fault in the writing. "That afterwarde whereas." I guesse there is O a line left out here in the writing.

P. 8. "Fittest way." I would adde, "way of awnswere," because ("way") by ytself alone seemeth not sufficient. But then yt must + be sayd in the wordes immediatly going before, not "against," but "unto such presumptuous cavills."

"Esay, for your sake:" quote yt. +

"Pure handes." You remember D. Raynoldes note in the former bookes.

"Last of all." This sentence I do not understand. Eyther yt is false written, or yt must be otherwise explained in my opinion.

P. 11. "Severe Lawgiver." Was yt Draco? Cite your author. + "Si quis privatus aut populus." Translate yt: and I thinke yt + shall not neede to sett the Latine in the margine.