

Pharaoh's malice and obstinacy he would turn to the good of the whole world. And secondly, that the grace of his Holy Spirit, which softeneth inwardly the hearts of men, and whereby they are driven to obedience, should not in this action be given, either to Pharaoh or to any of his servants;—*I will harden them*;—so that to Pharaoh's obduration, it plainly appeareth there did concur, not only on his part malice, but also from God himself a *prohibition* or *restraint* of grace; which restraint generally being an act, not of policy, but of severity in God, there is no doubt but Pharaoh did otherwise¹ deserve the same, even as they all do, to whom divine grace is denied. This of the Gentiles St. Paul witnesseth²: *Knowing God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful: therefore God also gave them up to their own hearts' lusts*. Of the Jews David said³, *Let their table be made a snare, and a net, and a stumblingblock for a recompense unto them*. And of them in the Church of Christ, whom the like befallerh, God's own testimony is as plain: *Because they received not the law [love?] of the truth, that they might be saved, therefore God shall send them strange [strong?] delusions to believe lies*⁴. For seeing the natural will of God desireth to impart unto all creatures all goodness, so far as they are by the laws of his providence capable thereof; it cannot be chosen but in that respect his desire is, that all men were capable of inward grace, because without grace there is no salvation. Now there are that have made themselves incapable of both, thousands there have been, and are, in all ages, to whose charge it may truly be laid, that they have resisted the Holy Ghost, that the grace which is offered, they thrust from them; and do thereby, if not in word, yet in effect, pronounce themselves unworthy of everlasting life, and of all effectual helps thereunto belonging⁵. And for this cause, that will of God which sin occasioneth to decree the just condemnation of many, is by the same necessity enforced to leave many unto themselves, where the greatness of sin hath constrained him to set down the sentence of death. That first act of justice draweth after it the second, whereupon their dereliction ensueth, an

“interitum prædestinatis a se vasis
“misericordiæ salutis esse voluit
“argumentum, et aliorum perditione
“ad salutem usus est aliorum.” Cf.
Aug. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. c.
xxiii. t. x. 744.]

¹ [S. Aug. de divers. quæst. 68.
4. t. vi. 53. g. “De Pharaone facile
“respondetur, prioribus meritis qui-

“bus affixit in regno suo peregrini-
“nos, dignum effectum cui obdura-
“retur cor, ut nec manifestissimis
“signis jubentis Dei crederet.”]

² Rom. i. 14. [21, 24.]

³ Rom. xi. 9.

⁴ [2] Thess. ii. [10, 11.]

⁵ Acts vii. 51; xiii. 46.

example whereof for temporal punishment we have Heli's sons: and not only them, but that whole nation whereof it was said to the prophet Esay¹, *Make the heart of this people fat: make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes: lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and convert, and be healed*. Then said I, O Lord, how long? And he answered, *Till the cities be wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, and the land utterly desolate*. If it be demanded, wherefore grace preventeth not, at the least wise, such sin, as draweth after it both obduration and condemnation? I demand again, What if the malice of the greatest part do come so near diabolical iniquity, that it overmatcheth the highest measure of divine grace, which the laws of the providence of God have assigned unto men on earth? Should God obtrude unto swine pearls of that value? *In such*, (saith Fulgentius²), *God beginneth that judgment with dereliction, which torments in the world to come shall finish*. And lest any man should think but some one of St. Augustin's followers amongst many were thus persuaded, we have Prosper also of the same mind; who speaking in the person of all, saith³, “*When we read of certain given over to their own lusts, or forsaken of God and hardened, our professed construction thereof is, that such are so dealt with in regard of their grievous sins*. For by reason of their crimes going before, they did owe to themselves a kind of penalty; which so punisheth them, that now they continually incur further guiltiness, and make themselves daily more punishable. Being thus persuaded, we neither complain of the judgment of God, or ask why he casteth off such as deserve to be left; and we give thanks for that mercy wherewith he safely keepeth them, which cannot say they deserve to be kept.” St. Augustin himself to like effect⁴, *Cum aliis præparetur voluntas a Domino, aliis non præparetur; discernendum est utique quid veniat de misericordia, quid de iudicio*.

[43.] Final obduration therefore is an argument of eternal rejection, because none continue hardened to the last end, but lost

¹ Esai. vi. 10, [11.]

² Fulgent. ad Mo. i. 27. [ad Monimum. Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. ii. pars 1. p. 20. g. “In talibus enim Deus iudicium suum desertione inchoat, cruciacione consummat.”]

³ Prosp. ad Cap. Gall. Resp. 11. [App. ad Aug. x. 203. “Cum vero aliquos a Deo aut traditos desideris suis aut obduratos legimus, aut relictos; magnis peccatis suis

“hoc ipsos meruisse profiteremur: quia talia eorum crimina præceserunt, ut ipsi sibi poenas deberent, quæ eis etiam supplicium verterent in reatum. Atque ita nec de iudicio Dei querimus, quo deserit meritos deseri; et misericordiæ ejus gratias agimus, qua liberat non meritos liberari.”]

⁴ August. de Prædest. c. 6. [t. x. 798. b.]

BOOK V. children. And the cause why that Spirit, which softeneth others, forsaketh them, is their own malice. In consideration whereof the Appendix I. Apostle which acknowledgeth, that touching the gifts of external [43.] grace, there can be *on man's part* no reason why Abraham's posterity was so much loved above others: or why in Abraham's own race, God hated Esau, and loved Jacob: or why he now loveth all the nations of the earth, as effectually as ever Abraham's seed: or again, why Pharaoh, of all other wicked persons in the world, should be taken and made a spectacle of God's power: the Apostle, which in these cases fleeth to that *absolute sovereignty which God hath over all things*, as the potter over his own clay; yieldeth notwithstanding oftentimes [sic] of God's justice in those whom personally he adjudgeth to eternal death, and from whom he withholdeth finally his inward grace, yea even where he standeth most upon the absolute power of God¹, is it not in defence of God's righteousness? God preserveth [preferreth?] Jacob the younger brother before Esau which was the elder, and declareth this his purpose, when as yet the children were unborn, and had neither done good nor evil, for no other intent, as it seemeth, discovering so soon his determination, but only that the Jews might thereby know, that what he did was merely to fulfil the purpose of his own good pleasure, in choosing them: and how he chose neither them, nor any of all their predecessors, for their works or worthiness sake, but of mere mercy. What then, shall we say, hath God herein shewed himself unjust² towards either part? Touching the one, it must be confest, his mercies are his own to bestow wheresoever himself will³. And concerning the other, because men shall no way better discern their own cause, than by beholding it in other men's persons; let Pharaoh's⁴ example be their glass to look him [in?]. If Esau's posterity complain, that when so many others before and after him, notwithstanding their evil quality, did yet enjoy those rights, which the course of nature, and the custom of the world gave them, he (rather than others) should be deprived of that prerogative: let them be given to understand, that God hath his full and free scope to take at any time, in any age, out of any race, such as, justly being hateful in his sight, may be made patterns of severity to the world, as others are of clemency⁵. And therefore, as we can yield no reason, why of all other wicked tyrants in Egypt, Pharaoh alone and the people under him should be made such a tragical spectacle: so neither are we able to shew any cause, why mercy may not do

¹ Rom. ix. 11. ² [Rom. ix.] 14. ³ [Rom. ix.] 15.
⁴ [Rom. ix.] 17. ⁵ [Rom. ix.] 18.

good where it will; and wheresoever it will, justice may withhold good.

[44.] This may suffice for satisfaction of minds willing to submit themselves unto that which is reasonable. But there are,¹ whose stubborn spirits will even in spite and rancour hereupon stormingly reply, "What cause then hath God to be offended with their obduration, on whom it is not his will to bestow his mollifying grace? if it "be his will to harden by withholding grace, how should we with- "stand it?" It doth not altogether offend God, that the works of his providence are discoursed, argued, and disputed of. For in Job, in David, in Jeremie, in Abacuk, in sundry others, God taketh it not in evil part, to be urged and seriously pressed by arguments. But with this affection of mind, O man, who art thou that openest thy mouth to upbraid God²? Suppose (which yet is false) that there were nothing in it, but only, "so God will have it:" suppose God did harden and soften, choose and cast off, make honourable and detestable, whom himself will, and that without any cause moving him one way or other; are we not all in his hands as clay³? If thus God did deal, what injury were it? How much less now, P. 39. q. when they, on whom his severity worketh, are not found, like the clay, without form, as apt to receive the best shape as any other, but are in themselves, and by their own disposition, fashioned for destruction and for wrath⁴, whom notwithstanding he suffereth to enjoy many honours in this present world, (as both Esau and Pharaoh did,) and that very rigour, which they here sustain, proceedeth not of any delight that God doth take in afflicting them, whom it is likely his hand altogether would have spared, as it doth sundry others here⁵, had it not so fallen out in them, that their punishment did appear needful for the clearer manifestation of God's mercy towards the vessels which himself had formed for glory. His hatred towards Esau declareth towards Jacob the greater love: by Pharaoh's destruction, the salvation of Israel was the more marvellous. And was there any thing that could more manifest the riches of the glory of God, in bestowing grace on the Gentiles⁶, than the exercise of his justice, in withdrawing the same from the Jews, a small remnant of them excepted? We may therefore conclude, that of all the good we receive, mercy is the only cause. And albeit sin be the true original cause of all the evil which we suffer: yet, touching those punishments for sin, which justice in this world

¹ [Rom. ix.] 19. ² [Rom. ix.] 20. ³ [Rom. ix.] 21.
⁴ [Rom. ix.] 22. ⁵ [Rom. ix.] 23. ⁶ [Rom. ix.] 24.

imposeth, it is not always in regard of greater sins, that special plagues do sometimes light rather on one man's head than another. Esau's sin did deserve his deprivation: Pharaoh's sin, his overthrow: the sin of the Jews, their obduration. Yet the cause why, of so many first-born, Esau at that time, should lose his birthright, was rather a merciful eye towards Jacob, than a rigorous towards Esau. The cause why, (the Israelites' four hundred years of thraldom being expired,) the justice of God did shew itself in Pharaoh, came of mercy and love to themward¹. The cause, why God did then strike Israel especially with blindness, when the happy hour of the Gentiles was come, our part is rather to search, in the bosom of undeserved clemency towards us, than in the depth of that justice which their iniquity kindled. This I take to be the natural and true meaning of the Apostle's whole disputation, tending to the abatement of the Jews' evil, which was envy; and of the pride, which was to be feared in the Gentiles, at that time.

[45.] One thing further also we must note, touching obduration: That there may be in man such malice, as maketh him the child of eternal death, and yet not always such cause, as induceth God perpetually to withhold his inward grace: which difference between the act of reprobation and obduration is the more necessary to be well observed, in regard of those things, which the Scripture hath concerning sin against the Holy Ghost, and the sin of apostasy after grace. For we need not doubt of the cause of reprobation in them, touching whom the Apostle hath said², they crucify again unto themselves the Son of God, and make a mock of him. And yet, that in them God did not always see cause to withhold his Holy Spirit, appeareth, in as much as the same men were once enlightened, and had been partakers of the heavenly gift of the Holy Ghost, and had tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come. On the other side, *perpetuity of inward grace* belongeth unto none, but eternally foreseen elect, whose difference from castaways, in this life, doth not herein consist, that the one have grace always, the other never: but in this, that the one have *grace that abideth*, the other either not grace at all, or else grace which abideth not.

I demand then (saith the Apostle) hath God rejected his people? No; we must distinguish; There is a visible election of people, which the world seeth, according whereunto of old the Jews, and now all the nations of the world are elect. But besides this external election,

¹ "He smote Ægypt, overthrew Pharaoh, slew mighty kings, for his mercy endureth for ever." [Ps. cxxxvi. 10, 15, 18.] ² Heb. vi. 6.

there are, out of the body of these elect, others, invisibly and eternally chosen in Christ, before the foundations of the world were laid. In him Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, in him all that indeed appertain unto God were chosen. To him all are given; yea given (as he to whom they are given witnesseth) with purpose of custody and safety, for ever¹: "This is the Father's will, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." Whereupon St. Paul, touching them, inferreth, God hath not cast away his people, his eternally elect, that people which he knew before. For that which the outward body of Israel hath deservedly lost, the body of the election of grace hath obtained, in it the promises of God take effect: the rest are hardened².

[46.] But is it our desert, for which we have gotten that, which they by desert have foregone? We deserve God's grace, no more than the vessel doth deserve the water, which is put into it. Only we are vessels endued with sense, we are not dead, and altogether without feeling of that we receive: our obstinate resistance may hinder that infusion, which nothing in us could procure, or purchase. We are sick as others, yet others not cured as we are. Is the cause in ourselves? No more than the cause of health is in them, which recover health, being restored thereunto by practice of art, offered voluntarily, and neither sought for, nor desired. Such is that grace, which the elect find. Neither are we to marvel, if the same be withheld from them, which have both the offer of health, and the very physician also, that maketh the offer. Though grace therefore be lost by desert, yet [it] is not by desert given. It cometh not, in lieu of travail, to him, which willeth or runneth, but, by way of guest, from him, whose purpose is to shew mercy.

For whom he hath *known before* as his own, with determination to be for ever merciful unto them, those he hath, in the same determination, predestinated to be of our [one?] stamp or character, which is the image of his own Son, in whom, for that cause, they are said to be chosen. Men, thus predestinated in his secret purpose, have their actual *vocation or adoption* likewise intended unto that fellowship or society which is invisible, and really his true catholic Church, through the grace of the Spirit of Christ given them. Whom his will is effectually to gather unto the society of saints, by the Spirit of Christ, them he hath purposed as effectually to justify through Christ's righteousness; whom to justify, them to glorify³, both here, with that beauty of holiness, which the law of

¹ John vi. 39.

² [Rom. xi. 1, 7.]

³ [Rom. viii. 30.]

Christ prescribeth, and hereafter, as well in body as in soul, with that honour of eternal happiness, which our Lord doth himself enjoy: and till they may enjoy it also, which are his, turneth all things to the help and furtherance of this their good¹: even as all things were converted to good in Christ, than which there cannot be a greater glory.

So that all his foreknown elect are predestinated, called, justified, and advanced unto glory, according to that determination and purpose, which he hath of them: neither is it possible that any other should be glorified, or can be justified, and called, or were predestinated, besides them, which, in that manner, are foreknown: whereupon we find in Scripture the principal effects of God's perpetually during favour applied only unto them. In that prayer for eternal life, which our Saviour knew could not be made without effect, he excepteth them, for whom he knew his sufferings would be frustrate, and commendeth unto God his own²; they are the blessed of God, for whom he ordained his kingdom³; to their charge nothing can be laid⁴: of them those words of the wise man are meant⁵, *That none can diminish what God will save*. Their temptations God will not suffer to exceed the strength or measure of that grace, which himself hath given. That they should be finally seduced, and clean drawn away from God, is a thing impossible. Such as utterly depart from them, were never of them.

It followeth therefore, 1. That God hath predestinated certain men, not all men. 2. That the cause, moving him hereunto, was not the foresight of any virtue in us at all. 3. That to him the number of his elect is definitely known. 4. That it cannot be but their sins must condemn them, to whom the purpose of his saving mercy doth not extend. 5. That to God's foreknown elect final continuance of grace is given. 6. That inward grace, whereby to be saved, is deservedly not given unto all men. 7. That no man cometh unto Christ, whom God, by the inward grace of his Spirit, draweth not. 8. And that it is not in every, no not in any man's own mere ability, freedom, and power, to be saved, no man's salvation being possible without grace⁶. Howbeit, God is no favourer of sloth; and therefore there can be no such absolute decree, touching

¹ [Rom. viii. 28.]

² John xvii. 9, 20.

³ Matth. xxv. 34.

⁴ Rom. viii. 33.

⁵ Eccles[iasticus] xxxix. 18.

⁶ [It will be observed that these articles are evidently a modification

of those agreed upon (for the quieting of a dispute which had arisen at Cambridge) by Whitgift, Bancroft, Whitaker, and others, Nov. 20, 1595, commonly called the Lambeth Articles. To shew the extent of the modification, those articles are here

man's salvation as on our part includeth no necessity of care and travail¹, but shall certainly take effect, whether we ourselves do wake or sleep².

subjoined, as they stand in Strype, Whitg. b. iv. c. 17:

1. "Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.

2. "Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei, quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas bene placiti Dei.

3. "Prædestinatorum definitus et certus numerus est, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

4. "Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

5. "Vera, viva, justificans Fides, et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.

6. "Homo vere fidelis, i. e. fidei justificante præditus, certus est Plerophoria Fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

7. "Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, quæ servari possint, si voluerint.

8. "Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre, ut veniant ad Filium.

9. "Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis salvari."

¹ [Compare the conclusion of the Sermon on Habak. i. 4.]

² [The following is Archdeacon Cotton's memorandum subjoined to his transcript of this fragment.

"Here ends the treatise (or as much of it as is preserved); not abruptly, but in the middle of a page, on which no more was written. The remaining leaf of this sheet is also blank. It is possible however, that a new article or head may have been finished by the author, and the copy of it begun on some separate sheet. Of this no vestige remains."]

Of the necessity of labour to concur on our part with the will of God in justifying and sanctifying his elect, that in the end they may be glorified.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Concerning the New Church Discipline.

AN EXCELLENT LETTER, WRITTEN BY MR. G. CRANMER
TO MR. R. H.

Printed in the year 1642¹.

*February, 1598*².

BOOK V. [1.] WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concern-
Appendix II. ing church discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to
[1.] mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience
hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered
that at first, the greatest part of the learned in the land were either
eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then
written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style: it
sounded every where in pulpits, and in the common phrase of men's
speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong
course; many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it,
not as not being the better form of government, but as not so con-
venient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby
likely to grow. One man³ alone there was, to speak of, (whom let
no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation,) who
in the diffidence of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the
gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to their defence;
which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had
otherwise been prevented. Wherein God hath made good unto him

¹ [v. Editor's Preface, I. p. xxvii, xxviii, cxvii.]

² [This date may have been given to Strype by Fulman, in whose handwriting it is entered in the copy of the letter as first published, belonging to the library of C. C. C. See also his MS. Collections for a Hist. of the College, fol. 26. The date exactly suits the matter of the letter, which was evidently written after receipt of the fifth book, (published 1597,) and probably in answer to a request from Hooker for such hints

as might occur to Cranmer regarding the conclusion of the whole work. If Cranmer went into France with Essex and Killigrew, 1591, he may have returned to England on the signature of the peace of Vervins, 1598: and may have been conveniently situated for receiving and revising Hooker's work. The next year, Feb. 1599-1600, we know that he went with Mountjoy into Ireland. Camd. Ann. part ii. p. 190.]

³ John Whitgift, the Archbishop. [This note is Strype's.]

his own emprise, *Vincit qui patitur*¹: for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the Discipline is greatly decayed: their judgments begin to sway on the other side: the learned have weighed it and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so by the very name of discipline and reformation men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of the master workmen and chief builders thereof; they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived. So as now the discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

[2.] This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline, is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed: another cause there is more open and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about cap and surplice², but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government then established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment: in defence of them, volumes were published in English, in Latin³; yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority⁴: yet herein some regard of modesty, some

¹ [See E. P. book V. Dedic. to Whitgift, § 3.]

² See Pref. to E. P. c. ii. [10; and the notes there.

³ [Especially Travers's book, *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, 1584.]

⁴ [See Pref. viii. 13 (vol. i. page 192, note 3). See also Bancroft,