either condemned to suffer death, or corrected, or chastised with stripes, none ever sick and near his end, but they called upon him to repent and confess his sins.

Of malefactors convict by witnesses, and thereupon either adjudged to die, or otherwise chastised, their custom was to exact, as Joshua did of Achan, open confession ¹: "My son, now give glory to the Lord God of Israel; confess unto him, and declare unto me what thou hast committed; conceal it not from me."

Concerning injuries and trespasses which happen between men, they highly commend such as will acknowledge before many. "It is in him which repenteth accepted as an high sacrifice, if he will confess before many, make them acquainted with his oversights, and reveal the transgressions which have passed between him and any of his brethren; saying, I have verily offended this man, thus and thus I have done unto him; but behold I do now repent and am sorry. Contrariwise, whosoever is proud, and will not be known of his faults, but cloaketh them, is not yet come to perfect repentance; for so it is written, 'He that hideth his sins shall not prosper:'" which words of Salomon they do no: further extend, than only to sins committed against men, which are in that respect meet before men to be acknowledged particularly. "But in sins between man and God, there is no necessity that man should himself make any such open and particular recital of them:" to God they are known, and of us it is required, that we cast not the memory of them carelessly and loosely behind our backs, but keep in mind, as near as we can, both our own debt and his grace which remitteth the same.

[5.] Wherefore, to let pass Jewish confession, and to come unto them which hold confession in the ear of the priest commanded, yea, commanded in the nature of a sacrament, and thereby so necessary that sin without it cannot be pardoned; or of them which are to be punished with stripes, or can be clear by being executed or scourged, till they repent and confess their faults." [Ibid.] "To him which is sick and draweth towards death, they say, Confess." [Prov. xxviii. 13.]

Confession as recommended by St. James.

1 Matt. iii. 6. 2 Acts xix. 18. [Alleged by Bellarmine, de Poenit. iii. c. 4.] 3 James v. 14. 16. 4 Mark xvi. 18. 5 Acts xxviii. 8.
Confession as recommended by St. John.

BOOK VI.
Ch. iv. 5.

Ambros. de Pœnitentia, lib. i. cap. 8. [*Cur ergo manus imponitis, et benedictionis opus creditis, si quis forte revaluerit aegrosis?* Cur prae summis alicui a collo vione Diabolic per vos mundari posse? Cur baptizatis, si per hominem peccata dimittii non licent?]

[1 In loc. *Nec hic est sermo de confessione sacramentali: ut patet ex eo quod dicit, confitemini invicem. *Sacramentalis enim confessio non fit invicem, sed sacerdotibus tantum; sed de confessione, qua mutuo fatemur nos pecatricem, ut oretur pro nobis; et de confessione hinc et inde eratorum, pro mutua placatione et reconciliacione.* fol. 419. Ludg. 1556.]

[2 Annot. Rhem. in Jac. 5. [*It is not certain that he speaketh here of sacramental confession, yet the circumference of the letter well beareth it, and very probable it is that he meaneth of it.* p. 653, ed. *582.*]

[3 De Pœnit. lib. iii. c. 4.]

[4 I John i. 9.]

[5 Bellarm. ubi sup. *Verba Iulia, Fidelis est et justus,* referre.

Private Confession no primitive Sacrament.

BOOK VI.
Ch. iv. 6.

23

his E. vi. D.

runtur ad promissionem divinam: i.e. Deus fidelis et justus, hominis disciplina est, conversationem injungens nisericordiae illicem.

* * * Plerisque hoc opus ut publicum consulendi se habuerit, remittendis peccatis ipsis qui confitemur Deo peccata sua, non videatur ulla exstare in divinis literis: existat autem promissio apertissimam ipsis qui ad illas accedunt, quibus dictum est Joannis XI. *Quorum remiseritis peccata, remoturius exstare.*

[1 De Pœnit. c. ix. *Exomologis prostrernendi et humiliandensi cationem sui aut suffugere, aut de die in diem differre presumo pu doris magis memoris quam salvis; tis; velut illi qui, in partibus ver cecidisse, consistere corporis contractaci exsatione, conscientiam meditari tium vitam et ina eum sempiternum.* Tertull. de Pœnit. [c. 10.]

This condition no where express? Is it not strange, that the Scripture speaking so much of repentance, and of the several duties which appertain thereunto, should ever mean, and no where mention, that one condition, without which all the rest is utterly of none effect? or will they say, because our Saviour hath said to his ministers, *Whose sins ye retain,* &c. and because they can remit no more than what the offenders have confess, that therefore, by virtue of this promise, it standeth with the righteousness of God to take away no man’s sins, until by auricular confession they be opened unto the priest?

[6] They are men that would seem to honour antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Christ the Fathers held no such opinion; they did not gather by our Saviour’s words any such necessity of seeking the priest’s absolution from sin, by secret and (as they now term it) sacramental confession: public confession they thought necessary by way of discipline, not private confession, as in the nature of a sacrament, necessary.

For to begin with the purest times, it is unto them which read and judge without partiality a thing most clear, that the ancient *εν ελαπρωστι* or Confession, defined by Tertullian to be a discipline of humiliation and submission, framing men’s behaviour in such sort as may be fittest to move pity, the confession which they use to speak of in the exercise of repentance, was made openly in the hearing of the whole both ecclesiastical consistory and assembly. 2 This is the reason
wherefore he perceiving that divers were better content their sores should secretly fester and eat inward, than be laid so open to the eyes of many, blameth greatly their unwise bashfulness, and to reform the same, persuadeth with them, saying1. “Amongst thy brethren and fellow-servants, which are partakers with thee of one and the same nature, fear, joy, grief, sufferings; (for of one common Lord and Father we all have received one spirit,) why shouldst thou not think with thyself, that they are but thine ownself? wherefore dost thou avoid them, as likely to insult over thee, whom thou knowest subject to the same haps? At that which grieveth any one part, the whole body cannot rejoice, it must needs be that the whole will labour and strive to help that wherewith a part of itself is molested.”

St. Cyprian, being grieved with the dealings of them, who in time of persecution had through fear betrayed their faith, and notwithstanding thought by shift to avoid in that case the necessary discipline of the church, wrote for their better instruction the book intituled De Lapsis; a treatise concerning such as had openly forsaken their religion, and yet were both openly to confess their fault in such manner as they should have done: in which book he compeareth with this sort of men, certain others which had but a purpose only to have departed from the faith; and yet could not quiet their minds, till this very secret and hidden fault was confess: “How much both greater in faith,” saith St. Cyprian2, “and also as touching their fear are those men, who although neither sacrifice nor libel2 could be objected against them, yet because they thought to have done that

1 [Idem ibid. “Inter fratres atque conservos, ubi communis species, metus, gaudium, dolor, pas-sio, (quia communis spiritus de communi Domino et Patre) quid tu hos aliud quam te opinaris? Quid consors casum tuorum ut plauiores fugis? Non potest cor pus de unius membris vexationem: cuncto agere: cuncto universum, et ad remedium conlaboret necesse est.”]
2 [De Laps. c. 14. “Quanto et fide majores et timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo sacrificio aut libelli facinore constricti, quem tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud sacerdotes Dei dolester, et simpliciter confitentes, exomologis conscientie faciant, animi sui pondos exponant, saltem tam mediam parvis licet et modicis vulneribus exquisiant.”]

and from the Homilies ascribed to Eusebius.

which they should not, even this their intent they dolefully open unto God’s priests; they confess that whereof their con-science accuseth them, the burden that presseth their minds they discover, they foreslow not of smaller and slighter evils to seek remedy.” He saith, they declared their fault, not to one only man in private, but they revealed it to God’s priests; they confess it before the whole consistory of God’s ministers.

Salvianus, (for I willingly embrace their conjecture, who ascribe those homilies to him, which have hitherto by common error past under the counterfeit name of Eusebius Emes-nus,) I say, Salvianus, though coming long after Cyprian in time, giveth nevertheless the same evidence for this truth, in a case very little different from that before alleged; his words are these: “Whereas, most dearly beloved, we see that penance oftentimes is sought and sued for by holy souls which even from their youth have bequeathed themselves a precious treasure unto God, let us know that the inspiration of God’s good spirit moveth them so to do for the benefit of his Church, and let such as are wounded learn to inquire for that remedy, whereunto the very soundest do thus offer and obtrude as it were themselves, that if the virtuous do bewail small offences, the other cease not to lament great, And surely, when a man that hath less need, performeth sub occultis Ecclesiis, in the view, sight, and beholding of the whole Church, an office worthy of his faith and compunc tion for sin, the good which others thereby reap is his own

1 [For an account of the literary history of these Homilies, and of the various opinions which have been entertained regarding their origin, see Ovin. Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.], 390-426. He does not mention Salvian († c. 485.) as one of the supposed authors, but after deciding against the claims of Eucherius [of Lyons, † c. 449.] and Hilary of Arles [† c. 449.] acquiesces in that of Faustus Regiensis [of Cies, † 493.] 2 Hom. i. de initio Quadragesime, [tom. v. par. 1. p. 552. Biblioth. Patr. Col. Agripp. 1018. “Quod autem, charissimi, videmus alii quoties etiam illas animas remis tentiam petere, quae ab ineunte adolescentia consecrata preteriun “Deo thesaurum deoversunt, inspi rare hoc Deum pro Ecclesiis nostris profectibus noverimus: ac medicinam quam invadunt sani discant quare vel vulgaretur, ut bonis etiam parva defentibus, ingentia ipsi male lugere consuecat: ac si quando jam illa per- sone que forte minus indigniter, nentia aliquid sub dignum atque punctum sub oculis Ecclesiis gerit, fractum suam etiam de aliena adunctione multiplicat, et meritem suum de lucro proficentia accumulat; ut dum perfectione illius emendatur alterius vita, spir ita fons ad ipsum boni operis recurrat usura.”]
harvest, the heap of his rewards growth by that which another gaineth, and through a kind of spiritual usury, from that amendment of life which others learn by him, there returneth lucre into his coffers."

The same Salvianus, in another of his Homilies, 1 "If a man have offended in word, or in desire, worthy of reproof, if in the wantonness of his eye, or the vanity of his heart,) the stains of words and thoughts are by daily prayer to be cleansed, and by private compunction to be scourged out: but if any man examining inwardly his own conscience, have committed some high and capital offence, as, if by bearing false witness he have quelled and betrayed his faith, and by rashness of perjury have violated the sacred name of truth; if with the mere of lustful uncleanness he have sullied the veil of baptism, and the gorgeous robe of virginity; if by being the cause of any man's death, he have been the death of the new man within himself; if by conference with soothsayers, wizards, and charmers, he hath enthralled himself to Satan: these and such like committed crimes cannot throughly be taken away with ordinary, moderate, and secret satisfaction; but greater causes do require greater and sharper remedies: they need such remedies as are not only sharp, but solemn, open, and public." Again 2, "Let that soul, saith he, answer me, which through pernicious shamefastness is now so abashed to acknowledge his sin in conspectu

1 Hom. 10, ad Monachos, [p. 586, 7]. "Si levia sunt fortasse debitae, licet; verbi gratia, si homini vel in sermone, vel in aliqua reprehensi,

bili voluntate, si oculo peccavit, aut corde; verbis et cogit,

tionum, maculae quotidiana oratione curandum, et privata comm. 
punctione tergendi sunt. Si vero

quisque conscientiam suam intus interrogans, facinus aliquod capita
tale commisit, aut si fidem suam falsum testimonio expugnavit ac prodidit, ac sacram veritas no

men perjurii temeritate violavit; si velum baptismi vel tunicam et speciosam virginitatis holocamericum cenario commutatuli pudoris infectat; si in semet ipso novum hominem nece horinins occidit; si per augures et divinos atque incanta
tores captivum se Diabo
dit: haec atque hujusmodi conmissa expiatiur, et mediocri vel secreta satisfactione non possunt, sed graves causa

graviiores et acriores et publicas curas requirant.

1 Hom. 8, ad Monach. [p. 585]. Respondat mihi illa anima, quae peccatum suum confusione moriferice in conspectu frater et ag

nosce rebus, quomodo vitare debissem; quid faciet, cum ante tribunal divinum, cum ante caele

sium militiae fuerit presentata conspectu?

2 libro de Penitentia, c. 9. [1] Plerque futuri supplicii metu, peccatorum suorum consci, pe

pientatem petunt, et cum acepe

rint, publice supplicationes revo

cantur nudore." t. i. p. 434 e.

1 De Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, in Appendix to S. Augustine's works, ascribed doubtfully to Gennadius, cap. 53. [1] Quamvis quis pec

cato mordeatur, peccandi non ha

beat etiam voluntatem, et con

municatur satiatus lactyrms et orationibus, et confidens de

Testimonies of St. Ambrose and Gennadius.

"fratrum, before his brethren, as he should have been before "abashed to commit the same, what he will do in the presence "of that Divine tribunal, where he is to stand arraigned in "the assembly of a glorious and celestial host?"

I will hereunto add but St. Ambrose's testimony; for the places which I might allege are more than the cause itself needeth. "There are many," saith he, 1 "who fearing the "judgment that is to come, and feeling inward remorse of "conscience, when they have offered themselves unto peni

tency and are enjoined what they shall do, give back for "the only scar which they think that public supplication "will put them unto." He speaketh of them which sought voluntarily to be penanced, and yet withdrew themselves from open confession, which they that were penitent for public crimes could not possibly have done, and therefore it cannot be said he meaneath any other than secret sinners in that place.

Gennadius, a Presbyter of Marsiles, in his book touching Ecclesiastical Assertions, maketh but two kinds of confession necessary: the one in private to God alone for smaller offences; the other open, when crimes committed are heinous and great. 2 "Although," saith he, "a man be bitten with "the conscience of sin, let his will be from thenceforward "to sin no more; let him, before he communicat, satisfy "with tears and prayers, and then putting his trust in the "mercy of Almighty God (whose wont is to yield unto godly "confessions) let him boldly receive the sacrament. But I "speak this of such as have not burthened themselves with "capital sins: them I exhort to satisfy first by public penance,

1 with conscience E.
that so being reconciled by the sentence of the priest, they
may communicate safely with others.”
Thus still we hear of public confessions, although the crimes themselves discovered were not public; we hear that the cause of such confessions was not the openness, but the greatness, of men’s offences; finally, we hear that the same being now not held by the church of Rome to be sacramental, were the only penitential confessions used in the Church for a long time, and esteemed as necessary remedies against sin.

They which will find auricular confessions in St. Cyprian, therefore, must seek out some other passage than that which Bellarmin allegeth; “Whereas in smallerfaults which are not committed against the Lord himself, there is a certain length of time assigned unto penitency, and that confession is made, after that observation and trial had been had of the penitent’s behaviour, neither may any communicate till the Bishop and clergy have laid their hands upon him; how much more ought all things to be warily and steadily observed, according to the discipline of the Lord, in those most grievous and extreme crimes.” St. Cyprian’s speech is against rashness in admitting idolaters to the holy Communion, before they had shewed sufficient repentance, considering that other offenders were forced to stay out their time, and that they made not their public confession, which was the last act of penitency, till their life and conversation had been seen into, not with the eye of auricular scrutiny, but of pastoral observation, according to that in the council of Nice, where, thirteen years being set for the penitency

1 Cypr. Epist. 12. [al. 17. c. 1. ap. Bellarmin. de Penit. lib. iii. c. 7.]
2 “Cum in minoribus delictis, quae non in Dominum committuntur, poni entia agatur justo tempore, et exomologesis fiat, inspecta vita ejus, qui agit penitentiam, nec ad communicationem venire quis poscit, nisi prius illi ab Episcopo et Clero manus fuerit imposita, quanto magis in his gravissimis et extremis delictis caute omnia et moderate securum disciplinam.”
3 De Penitent. dist. i. cap. 39. ed Fell.
4 “Inspecta vita ejus qui agit penitentiam.”
5 Conc. Nic. par. 2. c. 12. “Pro fide et conversatione penitentiae tium.”
6 “εἴτε διάπεκ τοῦτο προσηκὴν ἤτακαν τὴν προσφέρεσιν καὶ τὸ εἴδος τῆς μετανοίας.”
7 “ὅτου μὲν γὰρ καὶ φῶς καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθὰς ἔσχασεν τῷ ἐπιστροφῆς ἡγεμόνι καὶ νοὸν ἐναρκάσσαντα, οὗτοι πληρώσιται τὸν χρόνον τῶν ἁμαρτ

of certain offenders, the severity of this decree is mitigated with special caution; “That in all such cases, the mind of the penitent and the manner of his repentance is to be noted, that as many as with fear and tears and meekness, and the exercise of good works, declared themselves to convert indeed, and not in outward appearance only, towards them the bishop at his discretion might use more lenity.” If the council of Nice suffice not, let Gratian, the founder of the Canon Law, expound Cyprian, who sheweth that the stint of time in penitency is either to be abridged or enlarged, as the penitent’s faith and behaviour shall give occasion. “I have easier found out men,” saith St. Ambrose, “able to keep themselves free from crimes, than conformable to the rules which in penitency they should observe.” St. Gregory Bishop of Nyssa complaineth and inveigheth bitterly against them, who in the time of their penitency lived even as they had done always before: Their countenance as cheerful, their attire as neat, their diet as costly, and their sleep as secure as ever, their worldly business purposely followed, to exile pensive thoughts from their minds, repentance pretended, but indeed nothing less express; these were the inspections of life whereunto St. Cyprian alludeth; as for auricular examinations he knew them not.

[7.]* Were the Fathers then without use of private confession as long as public was in use? I affirm no such thing.

* Nice E.

1 * De Penitentiat. cap. xii. cap. 39. ed Fell.
2 Ambros. de Penitentia, lib. ii. cap. 10. “Faciles invenit qui innocecent, et centiam invenirem quantam qui concluderit penitentiam.”
4 “Satis est remissae pecuniae, quae de singulis dicuntur quaetam unum, quodque emendandum sit, sed magis in arbitrio sacerdotalis intelligentis relinquentur.”
5 “Statuunt, quia apud Deum non tam valet mensa temporis quam doloris.”
6 “nus.”

* The heading of the last note inserted here. D.