THE POLEMICAL LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH

PROTESTANT REFORMERS c. 1534-1547

by

Michael R. Powell

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CHAPTER SIX

CROMWELL AND RELIGION

OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL

REFORM 1536 - 1540

The religious policy and literature of the government did not emerge from any ideological vacuum but were formulated in response to tangible social and political developments. The emergence in 1536/7 of sustained anti-government sentiment together with the threat in 1538-39 of foreign invasion helped to determine the shape of Cromwell's domestic political and religious policy. One the rebellion in the North arose the government was faced with the serious problem of convincing the common people of the errors of the rebels and of the merit of Henry's policy. Simple and effective propaganda was the order of the day. The titles of some of the works put out, An Exhortation unto Obedience, A Remedy for Sedition, An Invective against Treason, illustrate the main themes of this propaganda: the sinfulness of rebellion and necessity of obedience.

Some of the government's political propaganda was put out by religious conservatives, often simply as printed versions of sermons which had been delivered before the King\(^1\). Henry himself was in fact the first propagandist to turn his attention to the rebels. In 1536 his official printer, Berthelet, brought out two of his works, An Answer to the Petitions of the Traitors and Rebels in Lincolnshire, and An Answer made by the King's Highness to the Petition of the Rebels in Yorkshire.\(^2\) The most important of the government's political writings however were not penned by the King, but were composed by an Oxford humanist who had recently returned to England from a period of study abroad.
(i) Richard Morison.

Like his fellow propagandist Richard Taverner, Morison studied at Wolsey's Oxford College, where it appears, he came into contact with a group of English Protestants. Certainly by 1533 Morison was sympathetic to the new learning. In a letter to Cranmer Morison pointed out that "religion expects her restoration only from you and Latimer". Around 1532, after studying briefly at the Inns of Court, Morison left England for Fadua where he studied both Roman civil law and Greek, and where he encountered the patronage of Reginald Pole. From there in 1534, he wrote to Cromwell requesting his assistance to find employment in England. Within a year Morison had achieved a status which enabled him to call Cromwell his patron.

Morison's first literary service for his new patron was the tract Apomaxis Calumniarum, a defence of the King's supremacy and a refutation of Johann Cochlaeus's De Matrimonio Regis Angliae Henrici Octavi congratulatio disputatoria. Though designed to resist the allegations of Cochlaeus, the work was put to fresh use. Once Pole's hostile judgement on the divorce was made known Morison offered to turn his attention to Pole, to "turn Cochleus in Polum". The Apomaxis, directed to the European market, reviewed the policies of the King and the government from the divorce, through the Nun of Kent, to the deaths of More and Fisher. The events of the past seven or eight years were all justified and opponents' accusations refuted by means of the propaganda devices of earlier government writings. The book contained a dedication
fulsome in its praise of Cromwell together with a defence of the integrity and scholarship of Cranmer, Latimer, and Gardiner.

In two works of 1536 Morison turned his attention to the rising in the North. In both *A Lamentation in which is showed what ruin and destruction cometh of seditious rebellion*, and *A Remedy for Sedition* Morison expounded the necessity of obedience, "the badge of a trewe christen man". Both works presented an essentially secular outlook. Social stratification was the basis of peace and tranquility. A commonwealth is then wealthy & worthy his name, when every one is content with his degree. Lordes must be lordes, comunes must be comunes, every man acceptynge his degree, every man contente to haue that, that he laufully maye come by. Alongside this secular approach Morison advanced distinctive religious ideas both as causes of the rebellion, and as solutions for the problem. Princely obedience was advanced with both the same proof-texts and with the same enthusiasm as in the work of Tyndale. God ordains Kings and cannot be obeyed as long as his temporal rulers are hated. As with Tyndale, divine ordination was the basis for Morison's social stratification. The King's grace shall never have true subjects until the day that they all share his faith. Indeed the true cause of recent sedition is the lack of preaching on the gospel.

In so far as the King has set forth God's Word, God is more bound to him (if God be bound to man) than to all the priests, monks, friars, cardinals, and popes of the last five hundred years.

In 1538-39 the threat of war and the proposed mission of Cardinal Pole resulted in Morison returning to the themes
of rebellion and obedience. In *An Invective against the great and detestable vice, treason* Morison turned what was intended as a series of proof-texts in support of the royal supremacy and in opposition to papal primacy into a furious assault on the treason of Pole, Montague and Exeter. For Morison, support of the primacy of the bishop of Rome was a treasonable offence in itself; a crime against the crown and a sin against God. Above all things Henry "hath soughte and seketh, to sette forthe his (God's) glorie, to restore his holy worde, to put downe hypocrysie, to banishe idolatry, & finally to bryng this ones to passe, ý al his people, may be as they ar called, that is trewe chrystians". Indeed, "of all the miracles and wonders of our time, I take the châge of our soueraynge lorde's opinion in matters cocerninge Religion, to be even the gretest".

Morison was less expansive about his religious beliefs in his next work, *An Exhortation to stir all Englishmen to the defence of their country*, although he again emphasised that princes were duly ordained by God, and that hostility to England was the result of her maintenance of God's Holy Word. On the surface his strictures on rebellion and teaching on obedience differed only slightly from the work of Catholic conservatives and from the writing of other humanists such as Thomas Starkey. Yet, in his emphasis on the radical nature of the King's shift in religion, it is clear that Morison's work owed some debt to Protestant beliefs. In all his works, especially the *Invective*, traces of the author's religious ideas can be gleaned. Preachers were seen as performing a vital function, in instructing the common people of their role
in the commonweal, and in educating them in "newe lessons", a clear reference to Protestant teachings. In An Invective Morison also touched on the central theological issue of justification by faith. David, it is claimed, though receiving the singular goodness of God, still sought to increase his favour. He did so however, "not so moche by any merits, as by praisynge the vnderserved loue of god. Loue not solde hym for workes, but gyuen hym, that he therby might worke".

In a book brought out by Berthelet in 1538 Morison's evangelical fervour was even more apparent. The work in question, The Epistle that Iohan Stvririus... sent to the cardynalles and prelates... appointed... to serche out the abuses of the churche, was translated by Morison from a recent letter of the Strassburg pedagogue. Although Morison may have sympathised with the religious ideas of Sturm the book was officially promoted in England for its political utility. In early government propaganda such as the Glass of Truth, The Determination, and the Litel Treatise, attempts had been made to support Henry's actions over the divorce by appealing to the superiority of a general council. By the second half of the 1530s when a general council of the church had become a distinct possibility, a fresh approach was called for. Both in England and in Germany a plethora of books were put forward to reject the authority of the proposed council.

Many of Sturm's objections were particularly pertinent to English requirements. Indeed at one point Sturm even singled out the example of England as a model of a reformed church. With typical embellishment Morison rendered the
praise as "ENGLANDE is aloone perelouse, wonderfullye amended: ENGLANDE maye be a mirrour, a guyde, a teacher, an examuple to all the reste". 

34 Essentially Sturm's main objection to the proposed papist reforms was that they were merely cosmetic, uncovering only the sores and not the root of the problem. Under the cover of correcting a few things the papist reformers are merely going about to recover their usurped authority. 

35 Their report ignores real issues and suffers perverted use of the sacraments, whilst dealing with such trifles as the issue of religious apparel and the pernicious effects of Erasmus's *Colloquies*. *De Doctrina Religionis* receives no mention at all. 

36 In providing an accurate translation of this treatise Morison openly identified himself with the Protestant cause. Although the work had little to say about theological matters, Sturm often singled out the example of Luther and his followers for special praise. 

37 If Morison had not shared these sentiments it would have been no hard task to excise them from his translation. More importantly, in his attack on papist abuse Sturm had limited the number of sacraments to only two, baptism and the eucharist, and Morison's translation followed accordingly. 

38 In England, however, the *Bishops' Book* of 1537 had restored the number of sacraments to seven. 

39 Morison's translation thus purveyed more radical theological views than was officially maintained.

40 Morison's sympathy for Lutheran reform receives further confirmation by an examination of his unpublished *Common Place Book*. The first item in the work, entitled *A Sermon on Psalm 127*, was translated from a lecture of Luther's. 

41 Although
the piece consisted of characteristically savage attacks on Romish persons and practices, the dual themes of sola scriptura and justification by faith alone were well to the fore.\textsuperscript{42}

Much of the sermon, such as Luther's denunciation of anarchy, echoed ideas expressed in Morison's own work. Anarchy was seen as manifesting itself in political and economic terms, whereby "commonwelthes and housoldes ar left without rule and governaunce", where personal property and "the lyving and libertie of person" is jeopardised, and where temporal laws are left toothless.\textsuperscript{43} In so far as the papists encourage a retreat from the world into the cloister they undermine the mutual responsibilities and interactions between members of society.\textsuperscript{44} By contrast, Protestant religion offers a basis for a better morality. Once the individual comes to realise that his fear of salvation cannot be assuaged by a retreat from the world but can only be overcome through a trust in the mercies of God, the justified Christian manifests his belief in his dealings with his fellow man. In other words, justification by faith leads to a life of harmony and peace; a life by which the individual is integrated and at one with the structures of human society. Once subjects realise that their rulers are divinely appointed political resistance takes on the character of blasphemy and sin. The main duty of subjects is to pray that their rulers are god-fearing, wise men of knowledge and experience. In short, the citizen must attempt to ensure that his rulers govern according to the will of God rather than by the vanity of men.\textsuperscript{45}

In terms of its teaching on society and governance the sermon made no points that had not been brought out in the
work of Tyndale, for example. In turning directly to the work of Luther, however, it seems that Morison got his ideas from the source rather than through the mediation of the early English reformers. Moreover Morison was a good friend of Cromwell and it is highly unlikely that the minister could have been ignorant of his protégé's religious views. Although Morison's translation of the sermon was not printed there is no evidence that Cromwell inhibited its publication. Rather the work, which Morison clearly intended for publication,\textsuperscript{46} fell victim to the conservative reaction of 1539-40. His translation of the sermon corroborates the influence of Luther's theology upon the religious and political convictions of Morison at a time when he held a key government position in regard to the composition of propaganda.\textsuperscript{47} The reformist convictions of Morison, and by implication his patron Cromwell, thus owed some debt to Wittenberg theology.

(ii) Formularies of the Faith.

Just as Morison's political propaganda was shaped by tangible events both inside and outside the realm, so the religious writings of the government emerged out of a whole series of political and diplomatic ventures. In the middle years of the 1530s the threat of a Catholic alliance directed against England resulted in Henry VIII seeking the support of German Lutheran Princes.\textsuperscript{48} Political necessity paved the way for theological discussion. The Schmalkaldic League insisted on theological confession as a basis for political support. In so doing they helped to push Henry's government
toward formulating firm doctrinal statements. The first major agreement between the English and Lutheran theologians was the Wittenberg Articles of March 1536 which took material directly from the Augsburg Confession and from Melanchthon's Loci Communes. In the summer of 1536 an English formulary of faith was devised. The work, entitled the Ten Articles, was divided into two equal parts: things essential and things inessential to salvation. With the exception of Article Two on original sin, the first five articles closely paralleled the first seven of the Wittenberg Articles. Significantly the Church was seen as having only three sacraments, although the other four were not completely rejected. The last five articles however display what A.G. Dickens has termed 'the English talent for concocting ambiguous and flexible documents'. Article Six forbade the worship of images but permitted their use. Article Eight pointed out that although grace, remission of sin, and salvation were obtained solely through the mediation of Christ, it was very laudable to pray to saints to be intercessors for us. Similarly, Article Ten declared that both the due order of charity and ancient doctors regard prayer for the dead as a good deed. The place the dead inhabit, however, is not named in scripture. Abuses advanced under the name of purgatory were to be put away.

The Ten Articles were designed to appease controversy by determining the content of the teaching of bishops and priests within the realm. Melanchthon, however, hailed the work as "confusissime compositi". In the autumn of 1536 the outbreak of the Northern rebellion put this ambiguous document into clearer perspective. By the following year a fresh state-
ment of doctrine was put forward in The Institution of a Christian Man, known as The Bishops' Book on account of the fact that it was compiled by the labours of "an assembly of bishops and learned men". The work took the form of an extended exposition on the Creed, the sacraments (now restored to seven), the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria. As a whole the work was more confessional but more conservative than its forerunner. Nonetheless, like the Ten Articles, The Bishops' Book was indebted to Lutheran sources, in this case Luther's catechisms. In addition some use was made of Marshall's Primer.

The importance of The Bishops' Book should not be overestimated. Although Convocation requested that the book be published under the King's supreme authority the book never in fact received Henry's official approval. The ambiguities of the book led both sides to claim it as a victory. According to Cranmer, for example, the work restored purgatory, pilgrimages, praying to saints, merits, works and ceremonies to their proper usage. The Word of God 'hath gotten the upper hand of them all, and hath set them in their right use and estimation'.

(iii) Richard Taverner.

In addition to official statements of faith a large number of other books were brought out by Berthelet and by other printers which owed a considerable debt to Lutheran and other Protestant sources. Furthermore, some of this work was sponsored by Cromwell himself. In 1536 Robert Redman printed an English translation of the Augsburg Confession. Together with
Melanchthon's *Apology* which was appended to the work, the *Confession* was translated by Richard Taverner on the direct instruction of Cromwell. Possibly he arranged for a translation in order to provide a basis for alliance with the Schmalkaldic League. Publication of the work in English would at least go some way to demonstrating the seriousness and sincerity of the English government. In the preface to the work Taverner certainly emphasised that the translation evinced Cromwell's direction of religious education in England. Cromwell was praised for permitting "the pure and syncere preachers of godes worde frely to preache". To the uttermost of his power Cromwell had promoted and furthered the cause of Christ.

In terms of its discussion of ecclesiastical practice the *Augsburg Confession* was more radical than the official English statements. The sacrament of the altar, for example, was to be received in both kinds by all, and priests were to be allowed to marry. The *Augustana*, however, exerted little influence in England. In 1538, when further negotiations between English and Lutheran theologians sought to devise additional common articles based on the *Confession*, Henry protested that he would not allow Lutherans to teach him theology.

In 1538 Cromwell commissioned Taverner to translate another Protestant work. The book, published by Byddell, was entitled *Common places of scripture*, and was translated from the *Locii Communes* of Erasmus Sarcerius. Though it owed much to Melanchthon's own *Locii Communes* there were important stylistic differences. As Taverner pointed out,
whereas Melanchthon "dyrecteth his style to the understandying onely of the lerned persons well exercysed in scriptures", Sarcerius "tempereth his penne also to the capacitie of yonge students of scripture and suche as haue not had moche exercise in the same". Both writers, however, sought to promote a mean position on such central articles as free will, whilst both judged all things by the sole rule and touchstone of scripture.

Taverner's third work for Cromwell was brought out in two separate editions of 1539, respectively entitled The Summe or Pith of the 150 Psalms and An Epitome of the Psalms. The source of both works was Wolfgang Capito's Precationes Christianae ad imitationem Psalmorum compositae. In the earlier edition, the Summe, Taverner acknowledged Capito's authorship and made clear that the work was translated at the request of Cromwell. In the Epitome however all references to the author were omitted and the work was dedicated to Henry VIII. Possibly the new edition was intended to commemorate the approaching marriage of the King to Anne of Cleves. The Epitome contained a number of Christian prayers in addition to Capito's summary of the psalms, the selection of which followed Robert Redman's Prayers of the Bible.

Apart from his labours as an official translator Taverner was responsible for a number of other Protestant writings. In 1539 his revision of Matthew's Bible was brought out, although it was soon to be superseded by the publication of the Great Bible later that year. In the same year Taverner was responsible for the first English version of a work of Calvin with his translation of A Catechism or institution of
the Christian religion. In his English version Taverner followed Calvin's outline of the faith with some accuracy, covering articles on knowledge of God, free will, sin and death, the law, faith and sacraments. In putting out the work under his own name it appears likely that Taverner shared Calvin's theological viewpoint. Only at one point was there any significant departure from the original. In the section on sacraments Calvin's claim that there were only two sacraments was replaced, in accordance with The Bishops' Book, with the statement that there were seven sacraments within the Church. At the end of the section Taverner added a new passage in which he modified Calvin's outright rejection of a real presence by claiming that Christ resides in heaven and not in earth. Emphasis was placed on the need for a proper scrutiny and self-examination before receiving the sacrament and on the punishments that would befall irreverent handling of the elements.

Taverner's final theological work was brought out in 1540 and entitled The Epistles and Gospels with a brief Postyl upon the same. According to the preface, it appears that Taverner was entrusted with the task of revising and supplementing a collection of expositions on the liturgical epistles and gospels. An air of authority ran through the work. If the priests and curates use this work other fruitful works may follow. If however the epistles were neglected not only will there be no future benefits but even what they already have will be taken from them. Although the Epistles and Gospels were
produced after the enactment of the reactionary six articles, Taverner did not abandon his evangelical beliefs. The themes of the six acts on transubstantiation, communion in one kind, priestly celibacy, vows of chastity, and private masses were not challenged in the work although they received surprisingly little emphasis. Though the acts made the Postyls milder and less definite than they would have been, they nonetheless provided moderate Protestant sermons with which the clergy could fulfil the requirements of the 1538 Injunctions to expound the Pater Noster, Creed and Commandments and declare the very gospel of Christ.

Alongside his official translation of Protestant writings and his provision of biblical and homiletic work, Taverner was involved with the translation of a number of Erasmus's books. Indeed Taverner has been hailed as the most prolific popularizer of Erasmus England produced. In 1539 and 1540 no less than six separate translations of Erasmus issued from his pen. In contrast to his translation of Protestant works Taverner made extensive alteration to his Erasmian material. Some of the changes were motivated by political concerns. In his translation of The Proverbs or Adagies, for example, Taverner brought the theme of political order and obedience to the forefront of his argument. In so doing, he transformed Erasmus into a supporter of government policy. At times Taverner displayed a completely un-Erasmian zeal to keep the humble in order. Erasmus's vision of the ploughman reading his scriptures was sacrificed to an authoritarian dogmatism. "Let the kobler medle wyth clowtyng his neygbours shoes, and not be a captaine in felde, or meddel wyth maters
concernynge a common wealth. Let them iudge of controuersies in the christen religion that be lerned in the same, and not euery Jacke plowman". The exercise of freedom in matters of religion was seen as tantamount to anarchy.

Other alterations were religious in character. In the Adagies Taverner gave Erasmus's proverbs a far stronger scriptural colouring than the source had. In his translation Taverner allowed Erasmus to advance the notion of a middle way or 'golden mediocrity' between the extremes of radical Protestantism and papism. For the translator, moderate Protestants, such as Melanchthon, Capito and Sarcerius, occupied the same middle-ground as Erasmus. Moreover, in other alterations Taverner openly displayed his sympathies with Protestant ideas of reform. At the end of the Adagies Taverner concluded with a short treatise appended to Erasmus's Pythagorean symbolum Panem ne frangito. The passage was concerned with a comparison between the Pythagorean precept and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the sacrament Christ incorporates the Christian into himself, making all one with him in unity and peace. In practice Christians outwardly ate the mystical bread (which was a symbol of unity and charity) whilst inwardly they maintained their malice and hatred of each other. According to Taverner, Christ was spiritually present in the sacrament only for those who have fulfilled its demand for unity and love. To all intent and purpose Erasmus had become an advocate of a spiritualist interpretation of the eucharist.

In terms of both the quantity and quality of his work Taverner was the most important religious writer of the Cromwellian administration. In his hands Erasmus's books underwent
what has been well described as a process of Protestantization. Moreover, his work as a whole marks a major contribution to the religious and moral thought of the Reformation by applying the lessons of continental Protestant-humanism to the development of government policy. Through Taverner's work the religious reforms of the government were seen as endorsing a reform programme that was derived from continental Protestant sources.

(iv) Alesius and Latimer

Taverner was by no means the only Protestant engaged by Cromwell to produce religious literature. In 1538 Alexander Alesius, a Scottish Lutheran who had come to England as an emissary of the Wittenberg theologians, produced yet another official defence of the government's rejection of the proposed general council. Previously Alesius had been allowed by Cromwell to deliver a hostile speech to the assembly of bishops who were ultimately responsible for the Institution of a Christian Man. One of those bishops, Hugh Latimer, also expressed his Protestant beliefs in an officially sponsored work. In 1536 James Nicholson and Berthelet brought out two separate editions of Latimer's sermon before Convocation. Like the Ten Articles, Latimer emphasised that the principal aim of his reform was a distinction between the essentials and inessentials of religion. It has come to pass that 'works lucrative', 'will-works', and men's fancies reign, whilst Christian works, necessary works, and faithful works are trodden under foot. Reform must be undertaken and have as its primary thrust the restoration of things to their proper order. The children of light seek to put all things
in their degree, best highest and worst lowest. They extol things necessary, Christian and commanded of God. They pull down will-works and rebuke the abuses of things. 104

Latimer's sermon was by no means merely a matter of theory. Part two consisted of a particularly biting attack on Convocation for having failed to fulfil its historic role of considering true doctrine. 105 Some concrete proposals were put forward. The bishops should reform procedures in the Court of Arches and in their own consistory courts. 106 The examination of abuses connected with pilgrimages, images, shrines and relics was to be conducted by the episcopacy. The abuse of pilgrimages, he argued, could be corrected by the enforcement of a three-hundred year old ecclesiastical law, which required that people secure the counsel of the clergy before setting off on pilgrimage. Such a law, if enforced, would restrict the use of and hence the rationale for pilgrimages and so reform abuse. 107

As an official statement Latimer's sermon had an air of authority that served to dissuade the printed expression of alternative or hostile opinions. 108 Indeed, one of the most striking features of the Cromwellian administration is the way in which conservative views were inhibited from being propagated in print. Although Cromwell and his humanist scholars remained only one faction in a continuous power struggle that was waged throughout the decade, their reformist ideas effectively monopolised the religious propaganda of the period.

Even a cursory examination of the political and religious writings of the Cromwellian faction raises a good many questions that lie outside the bounds of this study. Questions as to
the precise nature of the religious beliefs of the scholars or of the importance of their works in relation to the origins of Anglican polity can at this stage receive no attention whatsoever. Having said that, however, it remains necessary to summarise some of the more salient features of their writings.

In the first place, whilst there is evidence to suggest that Taverner, Morison, Latimer, and Alesius inclined towards more radical ideas, particularly over the issue of the eucharist, than were officially maintained in the formularies of faith, all the writers acknowledged, either tacitly or explicitly, that the religious reforms that were being carried out by the government were in accordance with Protestant principles.

For Morison, Henry VIII's reforms signalled a miraculous conversion to the new learning. Idolatry was to be banished and God's Word restored to its true position in the Christian's life. Taverner offered a more rational explanation for the shift, hailing Thomas Cromwell as the effective leader and director of religious reform in the realm. All of his translations, whether officially inspired or not, were designed to facilitate the spread of reform. The works of Melanchthon, Sarcerius, and Calvin were brought out in English to serve as short, concise summaries of the faith in order to help the common people understand the implications of the government's reform, and to aid the clergy in their appointed task of instructing their flock in the new lessons. With his revision of the Bible, his translation of Capito on the Psalms, and his editorship of the Epistles and Gospels, Taverner put the scriptures at the centre of his reform programme.
As to the nature of the religious ideas that were advocated by Cromwell's scholars, it is clear that moral reform was well to the fore. As with Coverdale, Protestantism was interpreted in ethical terms. In the work of Morison, for example, the doctrine of justification by faith was interpreted to mean that God entrusts the faithful Christian with the capacity to fulfil the Law. In Taverner's *Catechism* the ethical thrust of justification was even more clearly expressed. "So longe as these spottes whyche blemyshe and stayne our works before God, be thus hyd and kept close, the Lorde consyderereth in them nothynge but hygh purenesse and holynesse where upon he vouchsaveth to gyue them hyghe tytles of prayses for he calleth and also esteemeth them even righteousnesse yea and promyseth unto them large rewardes". Accordingly, the writings of the Cromwellian humanists, together with the official formularies and Injunctions, had much to say about the issue of good works and works of charity. Indeed the entire issue of adaiphora, which has generally been viewed as central to Anglican theology, was seen to arise out of the larger question of the relation between faith and works. For Latimer reform was essentially a reordering of realignment of duties, obligations, and voluntary works. Putting things in their correct order was seen as the main task of religious reform.

In all the books of the Cromwellian humanists this reordering of priorities was accorded serious social implications. In so far as morality was thrust to the forefront of reform, the inculcation of better social relations was given detailed consideration. In Taverner's translation of Erasmus and in Morison's published and private political writings a biblically
centred faith was seen as providing a more appropriate basis for improved social relations than anything offered by traditional religion. According to Morison the traditional forms of devotion had led to a devaluation of good works which, in turn, had resulted in social instability and political disturbance. Protestantism, on the other hand, provided clear teaching on the question as to how individuals were to relate with their fellow men, and, in particular, how subjects were to relate to their temporal rulers. A politically conservative form of social stratification was justified on the grounds of scriptural ordination. Furthermore, for Morison, religious uniformity was seen as a necessary basis for political stability. Only when the common people truly share that Protestant faith, which Morison attributed to Henry VIII, would England prosper as a realm. The harmony, security, and prosperity of the commonweal were to be advanced and preserved by the propagation of evangelical ideas.

Although the Cromwellian humanists remained supremely confident that the reforms being carried out would follow up the rejection of papal primacy by abolishing the superstitious and idolatrous legacy of Romish religiosity, they were acutely aware of the problem of widespread opposition to the government's reform programme. In the preface to his translation of Sarcerius's *Common places of scripture* Taverner blamed the conservative clergy for the current discontent. Out of self-interest and superstition the clergy retain their adherence to the pope. In so doing they lead the people away from the path of true religion. In Morison's work the lack of evangelical preaching was seen as a major contributory factor
to the recent outbreak of rebellion. In large part the work of Cromwell's scholars consisted of a defence of the government's policies and a chastisement or discouragement of the practitioners of the old order. Religious dissidence was not distinguished from anarchy and political protest was regarded as tantamount to blasphemy. To overcome recent social and political problems positive reforms had to be carried out. The ignorant people had to be instructed in the positive truths of the new ways and the recalcitrant clergy dissuaded from their old attachments. In the writings of the official reformers apologetic and polemic, the two elements of controversial writing, hand in hand.

2. Unofficial Protestant Literature, 1536-40.

Both Taverner's official translations and the existence of Protestant ideas in the government's political works point to the upsurge in Protestant writing in England in the second half of the 1530s. Through his patronage of writers, which included both official propagandists and others more removed from the centre of influence, Cromwell provided the focal point for much of this work. From 1536 onwards a large number of books were put forward in support of, or as preparation for, the religious reforms that were carried out in his Injunctions. In addition to acting as a stimulus to Protestant writers, printers, and translators, the Injunctions and the formularies of faith helped to determine the content of many of the books that were published. Even books that were previously prohibited were now brought out not simply because of less hostile conditions but because they offered some support to the govern-
ments own reforms.

In 1536-37 two works of Tyndale were republished in England by Coverdale's printer James Nicholson. The first was the popular treatise *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*. On its original publication in 1528 the work created some controversy. More criticised it as 'a very mammona iniquitas' and it appeared on almost all lists of prohibited books. The work itself however, lacked the vituperative edge of Tyndale's later work. Based on a sermon of Luther's the book consisted of an exposition of the parable of the unjust steward together with an examination of the doctrine of justification by faith. In particular Tyndale countered the accusation that Protestantism led to antinomianism by pointing out the good works could only proceed from a good heart. Though good works were necessary for the Christian they had no function in justifying sinners. On the contrary, any goodness evaporated from good works when men thought they were meritorious.

Nicholson's 1536 edition of the *Wicked Mammon* showed some textual variants from the original although the vast bulk of the text was faithfully reprinted. Apart from taking the precaution of omitting any reference to Tyndale's name there was no strenuous effort to deny or obscure the origin of the book.

(i) **Commentaries**

Nicholson's second reprint, *The Exposition of the First Epistle of Saint John*, was a more important achievement not least because the book helped to fill a curious gap in English Protestant literature. Biblical commentaries, so
prevalent on the continent, exerted little influence in England. No major work was produced within England until after 1535. The late emergence of vernacular scriptures thus appears a decisive factor in contributing to the tardy development of commentaries in England. Yet even when the English Bible was officially tolerated biblical commentaries did not ensue. Possibly English Protestants lacked the linguistic aptitude of their continental counterparts. Possibly fear of official hostility inhibited serious production of scriptural expositions.

Scholars who have sought to account for the dearth of English commentaries have often underestimated the amount of exegetical material produced by English reformers in the first half of the sixteenth century. Actual commentaries may have been few in number yet a good deal of scriptural commentary was provided in devotional writings such as the Primers of the 1530s. Erasmus also provided the inspiration for at least five exegetical works published between the late 1520s and 1553. In all well over twenty works were brought out up till 1561 which were concerned with aspects of biblical exegesis. In addition, scores of continental commentaries found their way into England, if not into English. Among the books found in association with the propagandist Thomas Garrett over thirty titles dealt with scriptural exposition or annotation.

In the early years of the reform movement Protestants outside England were the main suppliers of biblical commentaries. Tyndale’s *Exposition of I John* was one of a whole series of books brought out by the exiles which were devoted
to scriptural exposition. The work, originally published by the Antwerp press of Martin de Keyser in 1531, did not receive official condemnation in England; its publication arriving too late for most lists of prohibited books. Yet whereas the Wicked Mammon showed Tyndale in his more moderate vein, hence its republication by Nicholson, the Exposition presented the full face of Tyndale's vituperation. To assess the significance of the 1537 edition of the work it is necessary to examine the contents of the writing in some detail.

Throughout the work Tyndale reiterated attacks on a wide range of ecclesiastical abuse, attacks which he had first launched in The Obedience of a Christian Man. In particular the abuse of works righteousness received a good deal of attention. For the most part his invective had a popular, colloquial quality about it. "So that whosoever supposeth that his candle-sticking before an image, his putting a penny in the box, his going a pilgrimage, his fasting, his woolward going, barefoot going, his crouching, kneeling, and paint-taking, be sacrifices unto God, as though he delighteth in them as we in the gestures of Jack Napes, is as blind as he that gropeth for his way at noon". From this false presupposition that works are meritorious arose a whole series of religious abuses. The worshipping of saints is mere image-service undertaken out of fear and superstition. At one point in criticism of abuses of the mass Tyndale 'voiced' the words of these credulous believers: "... insomuch that if the priest said mass without those vestments, or left the other ceremonies undone, we should all quake for fear; and think that there were a sin committed, enough to sink us
all, and that the priest for his labour were worthy to be put in the bishop of Rome's purgatory, and there to be burnt to ashes".125.

Whilst Tyndale's criticisms of ecclesiastical malpractices are seen to stem from an attack on their underlying theological error, occasionally he provided a historical account of the origins and development of particular ceremonies. The practice of penance received significant attention.

The bishops who succeeded the apostles enjoined people to penance by the authority of the congregation and governors of the Church. Little by little however, the bishops themselves gained authority, and penance, previously a mere custom, became enforced as a law. Then the bishops, having deceived the simple and ignorant, began to set themselves up as princes. Penance was exacted for trifles, was sold to the rich and loaded onto the poor. Ceremonies and men's constitutions were piled up and their original uses were forgotten. Nowhere was God's Word preached. The prelates put forward the law that penance was enjoined to make satisfaction to God for the sin that was committed. If penance could not be obtained within this life then it must be done hereafter. Thus purgatory was brought into being. Finally, when the Kingdom of Antichrist was so enlarged, the bishops set up, "our holy father of Rome, and to him was given this prerogative, to sell whom he would from purgatory". Out of open penance the prelates have made merchandise, and have originated auricular confession and works satisfaction.126

Several points should be made concerning Tyndale's historical analysis. Firstly, amidst what emerges as a brief
summary of his entire view of Church history, Tyndale identified
the act from which all ecclesiastical abuses have been generated
as the attempt to enforce what was originally a voluntary
practice of the individual Christian as a binding law of the
Church. In short, the abuse was an attempt to make Christianity
a Judaical faith. Secondly, the error was seen as being
instigated from above. The bishops have always undermined
true doctrine. The theology of the Roman Church, that works
can satisfy God, is thus a deception. Rather than being
rooted in the Word of God the theology of the bishops is
a mere excuse, designed to cover up their robbery of men's goods
and their murder of men's souls. Their refusal to allow all
men to read the Scriptures is but a fabrication that serves to
hide the truth and to maintain their privileges. Thirdly,
Tyndale used historical evidence as a means of enlightening
the reader. According to the author the prelates are quite
aware of their fault. "These things to be true our prelates
know by open histories, as well as that when it is noon the
sun is flat south". An excuse of ignorance is not
applicable. Their flagrant disregard of historical evidence
serves to reinforce Tyndale's indictment. "They know the
truth, but they love the world". In uncovering motive
Tyndale presented an air of objectivity whilst making a direct
appeal to the reader's powers of judgement. No evidence of
episcopal or clerical contumacy was proposed. The accusation
alone was seen as damning.

Fourthly, Tyndale's view of ecclesiastical history in
which the post-apostolic bishops bring in abuses through their
love of worldly power, was in the long run united and given
coherence in terms of the underlying, yet constantly emerging, power of the Antichrist. Where formerly in the Wicked Mammon Antichrist was seen as a spiritual being, here he is represented as the bishop of Rome together with all his adherents. The accusation that the bishop of Rome and his followers stand contrary to Christ was established in the main, by relating the practices of the papacy to the marks of Antichrist as laid down in 1 John 2: 22-25. Hence, Antichrist began with the apostles, and sowed his doctrine among them when he saw no glory in the preaching of Christ. In the post-apostolic age Antichrist disguised himself as a true disciple of Christ in order to set up traditions, ceremonies, sacraments and imagery which enshrined his doctrine that salvation was the reward for good works.

The exposition then clearly demonstrates a shift on the part of Tyndale to a more rigorous form of anti-papalism and anticlericalism. Certainly the anti-papalism of the work must have influenced the decision to republish the book in England in 1537. In many ways Tyndale's work was more relevant then than it had been in 1531. In the first place Tyndale affirmed quite clearly that reform of Romish religion was intimately bound up with a reassertion of temporal authority. Papal power was an infringement of the rights of secular authorities. "When temporal kings were in their high authority, then the general council repressed the enormities of the spirituality. But since the antichrist of Rome, cardinals and bishops, were exalted, and the emperor and kings became their servants, they would suffer nought to be determined in their councils that should reform the world of their devilish pride, insatiable
covetousness, and stinking lechery, which may stand with no godly virtue.\textsuperscript{133} To some extent Tyndale's argument could be interpreted as providing not only a vindication of Henry VIII's break with Rome but also a justification for his subsequent religious reforms. Furthermore, Tyndale saw the very maintenance of the power and authority of the spirituality as a threat to the security of the realm. The clergy have always been a conspiratorial body sworn to loyalty to the Pope. The devil has taught them the craft of treason which is employed when "they be all kings' secrets; and the ambassadors of their secrets, and have thereto throughout all Christendom a secret council of their own, of the which never layman was partaker, and with which they turn the end of all appointements unto their own honour and profit.\textsuperscript{134}

In the second instance, Tyndale's view of Romish religion as essentially superstitious was more compatible with official opinion in 1537 than it had been six years earlier. Much of the \textit{Exposition} ridiculed and satirised religious abuses, whilst his general assault on false religion was consistent with the \textit{Ten Articles} and with \textit{The Bishops' Book}. Nonetheless, although the political and religious climate within England may have been more conducive to reforming ideas, Tyndale's \textit{Exposition} was not brought out without considerable editorial revision. The most substantial change was the inclusion of two further commentaries on the second and third epistles of John which were appended to Tyndale's text. These two brief works were translated from Bullinger's \textit{Epistolas},\textsuperscript{135} and were attributed by John Bale to Lancelot Ridley.\textsuperscript{136} Though this identification has been questioned, the evidence in favour of an alternative
translator is not convincing. Moreover, if it could be shown that Ridley was in fact the translator of 2nd and 3rd John, then he would be the most likely candidate for the editorship of Tyndale's own exposition. Neither of Bullinger's epistles added any original thought to the longer commentary, and as both polemic and exposition they were of little value. However, in adding Bullinger's work to that of Tyndale, the translator and editor disguised the origins of the Exposition of 1 John. Further textual changes made by the editor served to obscure the fact that the exposition was in fact a work of the heretic Tyndale.

According to D.J. Millus's detailed analysis of editorial interference, the alterations include deliberate omissions, closely related additions, and changes in style. Though minor textual omissions occur throughout the 1537 edition, it is primarily in the final section of the book that the editor wields his censor's pen.

In the final chapter of the original edition Tyndale developed his argument against image-service to incorporate a brief consideration of the Mass. The Mass was hailed as the most damnable image-service that ever was. According to the testimony of the Scriptures Christ made satisfaction for all the sins of them that believed. To keep his testament afresh in the minds of believers he left the sacrament of his body and blood. Its value lay in strengthening faith and in certifying consciences that upon repentance and reconciliation sins were forgiven. The practice of the early Church was contrasted with the Romish Mass. In the latter no brotherly reconciliation is made; open sinners are admitted,
some even allowed to say it! The laity are compelled by the sword to accept immoral priests and are not allowed to rebuke them. The priest uses Latin and no preaching of repentance is offered. The ceremonies themselves are believed to be holy service of God.¹⁴⁰

At this point in the argument Tyndale turned to the sacrament itself. In 1531 he ridiculed the accepted belief that the Mass is an unseeable miracle. "How that bread is turned into the body, and wine into the blood of Christ, to mock our seeing, smelling, feeling, and tasting; which is a very strong faith, and more a great deal (I think) than the text compelleth a man to".¹⁴¹ This emphasis on sensory perception was omitted in 1537. Hence, his view that the clergy retained sole use of the element of wine in order to maintain the deception of transubstantiation was completely dropped. "If the people should have drunk the blood of Christ, they should have smelled the savour and felt the taste of wine, and so have been too weak to believe that there had been no wine".¹⁴²

The editor did not altogether abandon Tyndale's criticisms of Romish abuse. On the contrary his argument retained some force particularly in its attack on worldly service as a means of worshipping a spiritual reality. Yet in the detailed working out of what exactly constituted spiritual service Tyndale had necessarily expressed doubts concerning the physical presence of Christ's body in the bread. "But I ask, wherefore we believe that Christ's body, and his blood, is there present? Verily, as many heads, as many wits; every man hath his meaning".¹⁴³ All such doubts were excluded in Nicholson's
The revision ended with Tyndale's refutation of the charge of sedition. Yet in the original edition Tyndale had proceeded to give the example of Wyclif as one against whom the same accusation was unfairly laid. Moreover, Tyndale had accused the clergy themselves of treason and sedition.

In a reference to the deposition of Richard II and the transfer of the crown to Lancaster, Tyndale alleged that the clergy slew the right King and then set up three false ones in a row. Even More was quoted in support of his argument. In so far as he questioned the legitimacy of the Lancastrian succession, particularly since in so doing he cited the work of an condemned opponent of the King, Tyndale's work, if left unaltered, was, in this instance, politically dangerous. Similarly, Tyndale's charge that the clergy cause insurrection could be seen as a reference to the recent troubles, in particular to the Pilgrimage of Grace. Again all such references were omitted.

In addition to this political and theological censorship the editor also dropped a number of Tyndale's more vulgar expressions. Two references of 1531, to Wolsey taking of "a medicine vt emitteret spiritum per posteriorem", and to his "shitten deeth" were excluded in 1537. Generally the style of the revision was more rounded and expansive than that of 1531. A large number of minor additions appear to have been made with the aim of clarifying Tyndale's often elliptical prose. As a whole the editorial amendments, particularly those referring to matters of doctrine, make the work a far more moderate and less controversial book than the first edition.
Possibly the revision was undertaken in order to bring the work into line with official thought as expressed in the **Ten Articles** and in The Bishops' Book of 1537. On the issue of the eucharist Tyndale's views were in sharp contrast to the doctrine of the **Ten Articles** that under the form and figure of bread and wine, is "verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ".  

Certainly, some aspects of the revision were carried out with an ear to government policy. All references in 1531 to the Pope were altered to read "the bishop of Rome" or some such variant in 1537, a clear recognition of his official title within England after 1533. The editor's awareness of official opinion, however, did not result in him carrying out a wholesale revision of Tyndale's text. The doctrines and practices of penance, purgatory, and auricular confession were all expressed in the **Ten Articles** in unquestionably conservative terms. The sacrament of penance, for example was described as instituted by Christ in the New Testament, "as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man, which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can, without the same, be saved, or attain everlasting life". Tyndale's account of the institutionalisation of penance as the fountainhead of all ecclesiastical abuse was clearly in tension with official opinion. This reluctance on the part of the editor to make a more drastic revision of Tyndale's argument concerning what Tyndale saw as the inessentials of the faith, suggests that the editor himself shared Tyndale's view of religious practices, and in addition, that he was a judicious interpreter of government policy.
Attacks on crucial areas of doctrine such as the real presence were seen as intolerable and they were dropped from the book. At the same time, criticism of Church traditions could be proposed as long as the work retained an affirmation of their right use in the Early Church and of the fact that their abuses were maintained by the Papacy.

The republication of Tyndale's *Exposition* was not without merit and a second reprint was brought out in 1538. This package of Tyndale and Bullinger had thus proved profitable, no doubt influencing Nicholson's decision to bring out a translation of another commentary by Bullinger in the following year. Bullinger's *Commentary on 2 Thessalonians* was originally published in Zurich some two years earlier than its English edition. Together with his brief expositions on the second and third epistles of John and a work on the Book of Revelation, the book on 2 Thessalonians completes the canon of English translations of Bullinger's commentaries. Although two out of a total of three books came from the same press it appears unlikely that they shared the same translator. Above the colophon of the *Commentary on 2 Thessalonians* the printer claimed that the work was "faithfully translated into Englyshe by R.H." The initials, however, do not fit the identity of any known writer or translator active during the 1530s.

The Commentary itself was unusual in that it belonged to the category of apocalyptic literature. A good deal of the writing was taken up with the application of scriptural texts concerning the Antichrist to the contemporary situation. Following a brief examination of the chief points of Protestant
religion Bullinger proceeded to declare both how the little horn of the Book of Daniel grew up and how it obtained power.\textsuperscript{156} Through use of patristic exegesis and the writings of both secular and ecclesiastical historians of the middle ages, Bullinger exposed the identity of the little horn as the Bishop of Rome (in the West) and Mahomet (in the East).\textsuperscript{157} Daniel’s prophecy, it was argued, does not necessitate the identification of Antichrist with a single figure, but sees it rather as a kingdom or state of being.\textsuperscript{158} Occasionally Bullinger supported his identification of the Papacy as Antichrist by examining the lives of particular representatives of the papal office.\textsuperscript{159} At one point he made an interesting critique of clerical historical sources. Gregory VII receives a favourable account in Platina’s history whereas Benno records an unqualified hostile judgement.\textsuperscript{160} The discrepancy between the two accounts was seen by Bullinger as an indictment of papal historiography. This very same argument had been used in England in Thomas Swinnerton’s \textit{Mustré of the Schismatic Bishops of Rome}.\textsuperscript{161} For Bullinger, Julius II, Clement VII, and Paul II represent the worst types of pope. Infinite other examples could have been chosen, though for fear of making the reader vomit he has decided to omit them.\textsuperscript{162}

The identification of the Antichrist with the Bishop of Rome, however, was not seen to rest on the immorality of particular popes. In a series of antitheses Bullinger drew out the terrifying features of the reign of Antichrist. In contrast to Christ, the Bishop of Rome adds the traditions of the Fathers and prayers to the saints onto the doctrine of salvation. Sacrifices are consecrated, keys, cakes, pardons
and confessions are regarded as articles of the faith. The papacy preaches justification of merits, stuffs the Church with ceremonies, rites and superstitions, and seeks to rule over temporal authorities. The result is that Antichrist is more exalted than God Himself. Papal decretals affirming that the Bishop of Rome is Christ's vicar claim in effect that he is neither man nor God. 163

Although analysis of the Antichrist involved apocalyptic categories and expressions, in particular the notions of last monarchy and the imminent final coming, 164 Bullinger's remedy for abolishing the rule of Antichrist was fundamentally rational. "Therfore the swearde wherwyth this man is slayne is the word of God, for the is he moost surely slayne, when that hys nature and dysposyciō are manyfestly knowny by the doctryne of truthe. The knowlege of hym dothe kyll hym and cast him downe, and the clokyng and ignoraUce of hym doth sette hym vp". This view that knowledge kills what is established through ignorance presupposed a positive view of the religious and moral educability of man. With the same principle Bullinger broadened his attack on the papacy with a critique of many features of Romish religion. Exegesis of 2 Thessalonians necessitates a negative view of miracles, veneration of saints, and image worship. Images have polluted the entire Church. The Bishop of Rome consecrates new gods in pilgrimages and relics. The sacraments have served only as instruments with which the papacy could usurp the wealth of the common people. Through superstition money has been extracted from the ignorant poor. 165

The emergence of this work of continental apocalypse into
English has puzzled some commentators. Although apocalyptic books had been brought into England and had even been translated prior to 1538, they were not a particularly prominent feature of the religious literature of the 1530s. It has been claimed that the interest in apocalyptic material shown in the book stems from the translator alone. The content of the commentary was not entirely representative of Bullinger's work on the whole, and the selection of the book for an English translation suggests that the translator was more interested in apocalyptic thought than with the writing of Bullinger as such. However, the keynote of Bullinger's commentary was not the notion of the last days or last monarchy or indeed any distinctive feature of apocalyptic thought but rather the identification of the Papacy with Antichrist and proof thereof. On this level the identification owed little to apocalyptic considerations. To that extent it appears likely that the English translator was at least aware of Tyndale's own argument. The fact that two books discussing the same theme were put forward by the same publisher within a year of each other is strong, though circumstantial, evidence that Bullinger's work was used by both publisher and translator to complement reforming ideas that were put forward from within England.

At several points Bullinger's text was altered to make it more directly applicable to England. In providing examples of the worshipping of images Bullinger referred to the German context. In the English edition the references were to our lady at Wilson, Muswell, Ipswich and Walsingham, and to St. Saviour of London and St. Thomas of Canterbury. Where Bullinger spoke of "we Germans" the English spoke of
we English men'. General references to rulers and to princes and to their relations with the religious estate were given particular cogency in the translator's allusion to the Kings of England and their attacks on the monastic estate. Curiously this anglicization of the text was not undertaken for the purpose of disguising the origins of the book. At one point a reference to the Black friars of Berne was left unchanged in the English, whilst, more importantly, Bullinger's explicit identification of his work with the Lutherans and Zwinglians was allowed to remain unaltered. At the end of the book it was even stated that the commentary was written by Bullinger.

Although his work was made more relevant through slight editorial interference, the general outlines of attack on superstition were left untouched. The life of a Christian was seen as one of faith, charity and suffering. Saints and holy men are appointed to a life of persecution. Citing Erasmus, Bullinger saw Christian worship as interiorised, finding expression as a prayer arising out of a living faith.

Reprints and translations do not account for all of the Protestant commentaries of the period. A few biblical expositions were in fact brought out by writers based in England. The most important of these works were penned by Lancelot Ridley, cousin of the martyr Nicholas Ridley. Lancelot was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, gaining his B.A. in 1523/4, M.A. 1527, and B.D. in 1537. One of his first works was a brief commentary on Joshua, printed by Thomas Gybson in either 1537 or 38. The work, based on the Coverdale Bible, consisted of a series of commonplaces which explained the use and value of the book of Joshua. At the end of the book Gybson printed
the full text of Joshua "because that every man can not carye about wyth hym the Byble".177 Around the same time Ridley provided his own commentaries on 2 and 3 John, and possibly the revision of Tyndale's Exposition of the first letter. The enterprise showed Ridley's readiness to conform to official statements of belief. In 1538 Gybson published his commentary on Jude, a more polemical work, which, according to the author, exposed both false doctrine and false doctors.178

The Epistle of Jude was seen as particularly relevant to England. Addressed to all Christians, the work sought to oppose and condemn the enemies of God. Towards the end of Ridley's commentary the properties of the false doctors were set out in five points. The beguilers of the last days condemn and despise both the scriptures and those who profess them, affirming in alehouses and the like that the old days will return once more. Secondly, these men live after carnal desires and not after the will of God. They separate themselves from God by creating new sects, and understand only fleshly things, not believing in judgement day and in general resurrection. Finally these false teachers lack the spirit of Christ.179

The five points reveal Ridley's most basic technique of exegesis which was simply to let the words of scripture speak for themselves. Much of his commentary simply applied the abusive language of Jude to contemporary figures. The perversion of the free favour of God and the disowning of Christ were easily applicable to the controversy between the new learning which insisted on the sufficiency of Christ's justification for salvation, and those who added such matters as popes' bulls, pardons and indulgences.180 The claims
of the bishop of Rome were seen as purely spiritual. Scripture wills him to be a bishop not a prince. Any power that he has is given to him by princes. His followers ignore the distinction between the two swords, and make him a God capable of interpreting Holy Scripture as he wills. Some men have believed that the popes had the authority to make articles of the faith and the power to remit sin. The matter is now so serious that the author is led to fear that "we christians be translated from the doctryne of Christ, and from the true fayth taught in it, by bysishop of Rome & his lawes, by decrees, statutes & traditions of the churche of Rome, in to the forgetfulness of goddes lawe".

The attack on false doctrine consisted in large part of a condemnation of the immorality of those who expound open falsehood. The doctors of the Church are ignorant of God's law. Indeed, some of them wish that Paul and all the rest of the New Testament, which they see as the source of all heresy, could be burnt. Not preaching themselves, they are jealous of true preachers. Their only aim is to gain riches and substance. The means by which they carry out their falsehood is to stir up sedition and strife. Like Richard Taverner, Ridley identified the chief characteristics of these subversive agents, namely their insolence and libertinism, with a hostility to reformation preaching. There are many who have complained of the tyranny of the spirituality only to find themselves imprisoned or facing death. The remedy must therefore come from above. The high powers should legislate that those who slander innocent men should be punished with like punishment unless their accusations can be proved to all
As for religious practices, Ridley focussed on the standard abuses of images, pilgrimages and pardons. At no point was the author in advance of other reformers or of government policy. The Romish practice of restricting the word saint to the dead was criticised as non-scriptural. Yet the practice of praying to saints that they may pray with us to God was not regarded as evil. Though no matter of salvation, the practice is a good and laudable custom. In this Ridley was in agreement with both the Ten Articles and with The Bishops' Book. Similarly the Church's use of images as books for the unlearned was seen as beneficial. Images could stir the mind so that men could follow the example of saints in faith. Pilgrimages however were not favoured. If such pilgrimages as those to Becket's tomb are valid Christ's salvation is of no effect. Moreover, according to Ridley, Henry VIII hates all this.

Ridley's criticism of the religious life centred, in particular, on the effects of ecclesiastical abuse on the unlearned. The ignorant believe that attacks on abuses involve a denial of the things themselves. The simple do not know what is heresy and what is gospel. Ridley's commentary provided no real demonstration of false doctrine; rather the attack was launched against those teachers who advocate a prior knowledge of the classics before coming to the scriptures. Scholastic theologians, because of their love of making distinctions within scripture, lead innocent Christians from God's Word to gentile authors such as Aristotle, Plato and Xenophon. True exposition of the Scripture depends on the holy spirit, on language proficiency, and on the testimony
of the Fathers.

In 1540 Ridley brought out a further commentary, this time on the Letter to the Ephesians. Although the work was published after the religious reaction had set in, the commentary presented many of the same arguments as his work on Jude. Many men still express regret that the scriptures are so openly available to laymen. Some of us are now imprisoned for preaching the legality of the vernacular scriptures. Like Thomas Swinnerton, Ridley avoided discussion of why God let men stay so long in darkness, preferring that no-one should debate about such matters. Since the spirit of Christ is one of peace all discord and contention belong to the realm of the devil.

Although Ridley's commentary on Ephesians was largely concerned with a defence of the new learning and its practitioners in the face of open persecution, the author still found time to attack Romish practices. Images and saints such as our ladies of Walsingham and Ipswich, St. Edmund of Bury, Ethelred of Ely, our lady of Redbone, the blood of Hales, and the holyrood of Chester, have all deceived the innocent who came to value them more than Christ. In contrast to Christ's sole redemption, the followers of the devil have invented beads hallowed at Sion, masses of Scala Celi, rosaries of our lady, and St. Francis's girdle. In addition Ridley attacked the view that the Mass is a sacrifice, and the practices of pilgrimages and purgatory. Works which are not commanded by God should not be regarded as essentials of the faith. Rather such matters as prayer to dead saints are indifferent things. When they become a cause of idolatry it is better to set all
such prayers aside. Those who pray to saints out of ignorance, however, should neither be condemned or condoned. On the other hand those who advance such customs are masters of error. "For Purgatorye prestes or popishe prestes that can do nothing elles but momble or patter ouer a payre of popyshe Mattyns or Masse. I finde no place in the scripture".

In addition to providing important literary aids to the newly authorised vernacular Bibles, the commentaries that were put forward in the second half of the 1530s offered useful support to the government's reform policy. In terms of their attack on superstitious religiosity, often given additional relevance by popular exempla, the commentaries served to justify a programme of radical iconoclasm on scriptural grounds. The views of reform that they advocated were expressed in fundamentally ethical terms. Reform of the inner life of the Christian provided the positive counterthrust to an attack on Romish practices and adherents. Without exception these unofficial books shared the same polemical targets as the government's own religious propaganda. Furthermore, as the work of Ridley demonstrates, towards the end of the decade Protestant writers within England were acutely aware of hostility to the progress of the reformation. The common people still remain ignorant of the merits of the reforms and are thus still open to the influence of Romish clergy.

(ii) Theological and Exhortatory Tracts.

Whilst both Ridley's works and the translation of Bullinger's Commentary on 2 Thessalonians sought through the medium of scriptural commentary to denounce popular opposition to the
reformation, other writings put out during the period performed a similar function in the form of theological and exhortatory tracts.

One of the most vigorous Protestant books produced during Cromwell's vicegerency was Nicholas Wyse's *A consolacyon for chrysten people to repayre agayn the lorde's temple.* According to the author the *Consolacyon* had a three-fold purpose, namely to comfort, counsel, and encourage all men to hold fast to the truth. As the full title made clear, Wyse saw the restoration of the Temple of the Jews in the post-exilic period as a paradigm for the restoration of the Christian Church and the spread of the reformation in England. Both congregations have undergone a Babylonian captivity. Just as the Jews were exiled from Jerusalem so has the Christian Church been cut off from the gospel. Many of the Jews resisted the restoration of the Temple just as these days many of the papists attempt to persuade rulers that the restoration of the gospel would be a cause of sedition.

Like Swinnerton's *Little Treatise against the muttering of some papists in corners*, Wyse's *Consolacyon* was concerned largely with answering doubts and checking opposition to the reforming policies within England. Hence in a series of points Wyse identified the principle stumbling block to a widespread acceptance of the new learning as the belief that recent innovations, following so many years of obedience to Rome, negate the faith and practices of our forefathers. In short, the book sought to counter the papist argument from tradition.

In so doing Wyse was careful not to injure innocent fore-
fathers. They were deceived by false teachers and preachers, "wolffes and papystycall foxys". If they had received the opportunity to hear the gospel that is now given to their descendants, many of them would have repented the error of their ways. As with Taverner, all blame is attributed to the clergy, and in particular to the bishops of Rome. As part of his indictment Wyse presents a brief historical account of the causes of present darkness, in which the fall of the church from apostolic purity is seen to proceed along a descending hierarchic structure. The bishops of Rome, collectively identified as the Antichrist, exempted themselves from all secular laws, and were not constrained by the law and testament of the scriptures. When they encountered the resistance of the secular authorities the popes brought out "the thonder bolte of excomunicacion to interdicte both hym & his realme". In view of the deceit that the popes have exercised for centuries past, the blindness of our forefathers merits neither pity nor surprise. Their folly is less severe than ours, to whom the light is offered and often rejected.

In terms of religious abuse Wyse focussed his attention on the saint cult and the related practices of image worship and pilgrimages. Trust in saints is a deception, since the merits of saints are of no effect. Saint worship breaks the commandments of God. Images are turned into idols. Prayer to a saint who is represented by an image is a blasphemous denial of the sufficiency of Christ's salvation. In place of idolatry, "the pryncypall cause that his gospell and his holy worde hath ben taken away from vs", the Christian should rely on faith alone. "wherfore I instantly desyre you
haue a perfeyte fayth in Jesus christ, so that workes therof may testefye your fayth to be good, even as good fruyt doth testefye the tre to be good".  The whole discussion of faith and works in the Consolacyon was compiled because Wyse claimed to have heard that many men cannot frame their faith in the merits of Christ as being solely sufficient for salvation, but would patch it up with their own merits.

In defending the new learning Wyse sought to emphasize the sufficiency of the gospel as the rule of life. Like Tyndale, he argued that if the people were allowed to read the scriptures in the vernacular then the falsehood of the papists would be exposed and their religion undermined. Instead of preaching the gospel the papists merely seek to discredit those who so do, in particular alleging that the new gospellers live without works. According to Wyse, however, the learning which is slanderously described as 'new', agrees with the doctrines and teachings of Christ. True works such as fasting and prayer have been abused not by the gospellers but by the papists. Whereas the gospellers attempt to direct alms to the poor, whose presence is a source of shame to the nation, the papists have sought to give alms to sturdy and valiant beggars who have crept into the Church and beguiled people with their false hypocrisy and feigned holiness. The rediscovery of the Bible will not result in lawlessness or licence, but will rather provide a basis, indeed, the only basis, for a true Christian morality. Scripture does not only teach man's duty to God, but also children's to parents, servants' to masters, and wives' to husbands.

Wyse's account of the relation between faith and works,
in particular this notion of reciprocal duties between authorities and inferiors, seems to owe a debt to Tyndale's influence. Moreover Wyse's brief historical account of the growth of the papal tyranny is strikingly reminiscent of a passage in Tyndale's *Exposition of I John* in which the reformer examined the development of the penitential system.\(^{212}\) Wyse's emphasis on prayer, fasting, and almsgiving is identical with Tyndale's list of essential works. The author of the *Consolacyon*, however, provided few references to the sources of his argument. At one point he directed the reader to the English and French chronicles, although no further details were given.\(^{213}\) At another point Wyse referred to Erasmus's *Paraphrases on the New Testament*, claiming that he had heard some papists use Erasmus's account of the cleansing of the leper to support the practice of auricular confession.\(^{214}\) Elsewhere Wyse makes no references to his sources.

In many ways the book lacks the refinements of scholarly endeavour. Patristic authorities receive no mention and the author's use of history is simplistic and lacking in evidence. Yet throughout the work Wyse made use of consciously rational arguments. The fault of contemporaries who reject the gospel is magnified by their misuse of the God given gift of reason. Furthermore Wyse pointed out that he used rational arguments in order to drive out one nail with another. Since the papist objections are always the product of human reason Wyse is obliged to answer them in kind.\(^{215}\)

Although heavily rational the work is not overly dull or serious. Wyse employed a good deal of humour throughout the work in order to ridicule the practices of Romish religion.
Images, for example, are dead. They cannot walk or get up if knocked over; birds can fly over them or sit on them and they cannot defend themselves. Occasionally Wyse included a popular exemplum. In discussing the honour given to images Wyse pointed out the folly of the belief that images are more holy in one place than in another. "And here within this realme did ony of the holy pylgrymes thynke oure lady of Ipswytch, Worcestre, Wyldson, or any of them all to be so bountefull as our lady of Walsyngham. No our lady of Penryce in Wales was not lyke vnto her". Some people have believed that their hair and beards grow when in contact with a particular holy rood. Furthermore Wyse expresses ironic surprise that thieves who attempt to steal money from images do not have their hands cleaved to the altar or to where the money lay. Why then should the money be locked in strong boxes?

The most important example given by Wyse in his ridicule of saint worship is concerned with the cult of St. Uncombe. The saint was especially popular with women, who gave an offering of oats in the belief that the saint would help extricate them from marital difficulties. Wyse mocked the practice, suggesting that it would be more appropriate to offer the oats to St. Loy, the patron of blacksmiths. The cult of Uncombe had been derided by Thomas More in his Dialogue Concerning Tyndale as an essentially harmless practice. For Wyse, however, the matter was more serious. If the object is worshipped then it is an idol. Prayers to the saint who is represented by the image detract from the mediation of Christ. The veneration of saints as shown so well in the cult of Uncombe, replaces the rule of love with which all problems, including
marital difficulties, should be overcome, with a superstitious faith that borders on idolatry. Superstitious religion was also seen by Wyse as having detrimental effects on the social fabric of England. Pilgrimages, saints, and images are invented merely to rob the people of their temporal sustenance. The gifts and money which is directed to images would be better spent on the poor and sick. In order to give to saints many have left "theyr chyldren and householde at home in penury". According to the author, the money which has come into the hands of priests for offerings would have sufficed, if divided equally, to keep all the poor and needy beggars in the land. Surprisingly Wyse makes no direct criticism of monastic wealth nor does he suggest how the revenues from the dissolution could be appropriated to the poor. If he were a beggar he would reluctant to accept money that was given to idols.

Wyse's Consolacyon was published on the 16th October 1538. From his reference to the dissolution of the cult of St. Uncombrem in the proceeding summer, it is clear that parts of the book at least were written after August 24th. Much of the argument of the work was in agreement with the Injunction of 1536, which directed the clergy to discourage pilgrimages and encourage gifts to the poor. The Consolacyon was clearly aimed at a popular audience. In the prologue Wyse expressed the hope that the book would get into the hands of beggars. The Consolacyon however presented a much more evangelical face than Thomas Swinnerton's Litel Treatise. The reforms of the government are seen as identical with the aims of the new learning. How far then was the Consolacyon inspired by official
The author certainly had some contact with Thomas Cromwell. In a letter written towards the end of 1535 Wyse reminds the Principal Secretary of their first meeting, at Midsummer, when Cromwell spoke kindly to both him and his friends. According to Wyse Cromwell ordered the young suppliant to be patient until Michaelmas and then to wait further until All Hallowtide. Cromwell's nephew and steward had apparently told Wyse that his uncle would take no more servants. Meanwhile, however, Wyse had written to his friends announcing that he had been accepted into Cromwell's service. Moreover, according to the young scholar, he had been given permission to make the fact known. So as not to lose face, and for additional financial reasons, Wyse begs Cromwell to accept him. The outcome of Wyse's letter is not altogether clear, as there is no record of Cromwell's reply. Nonetheless in a letter of the autumn of 1536 from one John Dynham of Lyfton to Cromwell, the writer expresses his hope for an end to some local difficulty from "your answer by Nicholas Wyse". Although the letter sheds no light on the question of Wyse's actual role, it does confirm that Cromwell acted on Wyse's request.

The Consolacyon was not Wyse's first work. In the Prologue Wyse refers to a previous anonymous writing. Furthermore, he claims to have been reluctant to publish the Consolacyon and equally unsure as to whether he should dedicate it. If the book was published at Cromwell's bequest Wyse was determined to avoid any mention of the fact. The initiative for the work thus appears to lie with the author himself, an
author very much aware of his own particular talent for letters. Nonetheless, in view of the author's relations with Cromwell, it appears highly unlikely that the book could have been put forward without Cromwell's knowledge. In any case Cromwell would have been grateful for the support of Wyse's book. In so far as Wyse focussed on specific abuses and also particular government policies the polemic took on an almost newsworthy character. The Nun of Kent and Thomas Becket were seen as focal points for hostility to Cromwell's reforms. In the Consolacyon the whole tenor of Cromwell's Ecclesiastical Injunctions finds vigorous support and application.

Both in the range and in the detail of his polemic Wyse provided a particularly cogent defence of the new learning. Other writers however were far more circumspect about proclaiming their beliefs. Some books, such as the anonymous work of 1537, A declaration of the Seremonies annexed to be sacrament of Baptyme, maintained an attack on the excessive and shallow ceremonialism of Romish religion whilst only hinting at Protestant ideas. The declaration advanced the of a second, inward baptism as a necessary fulfilment of the initial ceremonial act. Whereas the true symbols of baptism: fire, water, oil, and salt, signify God's Word, covenant, and commandments, the ceremonies of the Roman Church serve to "byende men to a lawe and afterwarde pursu them for the same lawe".

Thomas Becon, one of the most prolific Protestant writers of the 1540s also attacked the falsehood of non-scriptural religiosity in what appears to be his first published work,
The Gouernans of vertue of 1538. The work took the form of providing a large number of scriptural texts as remedies for papist temptations. In the face of attempts to persuade men to keep the traditions of their forefathers, Becon's work sought to justify an inward, biblical faith on the basis of scriptural foundation.

A number of translated books published around this time shared this very aim. In 1536 Nicholson printed the first English edition of Johan Bugenhagen's *A compedious letter... sent to the faythfull christen congregeation of Englaende.* Copies of the work had probably circulated among the Brethren in England by as early as 1525/6. As the first appeal to English Christians to join the Protestant movement Bugenhagen's letter lamented the fact that many weaklings were held back because of malicious rumours spread by those who resist the gospel. The Protestants, however, hold to a single article, namely that Christ is our righteousness. "What wyll the wicked mouth babbell and saye skornfully, seing we preach, nor teache other thynges".

Possibly the letter was translated by Tyndale. In any case Bugenhagen's works were certainly known in Cambridge by the mid 1520s. Thomas More felt that the work required refutation and composed a typically verbose answer in 1526.

The publication of the work some ten years later may have owed something to Anglo-Lutheran negotiations, yet still the work was sufficiently controversial as to be printed anonymously. By the following year, however, Nicholson was confident enough to acknowledge his publication of another English version of a continental Protestant tract.
A comparison betwere the Olde learnynge & the Newe was an accurate translation of Urbanus Rhegius's Nova Doctrina ad Vaterum Collatio of 1526. Rhegius's books had circulated in Cambridge during the 1520s, and one writing simply entitled In Symboli had been found in Thomas Garrett's collection of heretical material. Possibly it was at Cambridge that William Turner, the translator of Nova Doctrina, came into contact with the work. In many ways the book relied on the same techniques as an earlier translation of Turner's, The Olde god and the newe of Joachim von Watt. In a clear and straightforward manner both works set out the way in which the new Roman Church fails to conform to old scripturural precepts. Unlike The Olde god, The Olde Learnynge had as its goal the refutation of the charge that Protestants introduced a new learning, a heretical deviation from the orthodox tradition of Catholicism. Whereas The Olde god sought to expose the the underlying causes of papal and episcopal misrule, The Olde Learnynge set out merely to compare and contrast the surface matter of Romish practices with orthodox tradition, a tradition which had in fact been recently re-discovered by the Protestants. The main technique of the writing was scriptural rather than historical. No account was given of the development of false doctrine and superstition; neither was there any attempt to identify innovative practices with specific individuals.

Following a brief poetical address and preface the writing examined the main points of religious controversy. After a brief discussion of the sacraments, penance and confession, the author turned to consider the subjects of free-will, faith,
works, merits, sin, the worshipping of saints, the supper of
the lord, the choice of meats, fasting, holy days, prayer, vows,
councils, matrimony, bishops, ceremonies, human traditions,
and the laws of bishops. Whilst each subject was examined
under the dual heading of old and new, the argument focussed
on the theological basis of abuse rather than on the abuses
themselves. When regarded as mediators for intercession,
saints, for example, deny the atonement of Christ. Moreover,
to exist at all, the cult of saints requires a concept of God
as a fearful and terrible judge who damns all men, except
those for whom the saint has interceded. This notion goes
against the concept of God presented in Christ.

Occasionally Rhegius strove for objectivity. The Mass,
for example, was seen as a combination of sacrifice, merit,
and remission of sin. No mention was made of its abuses.
The new tradition holds a double justification of faith and
works. Vows are regarded as law, and prayers must
take place at certain hours. Bishops have a higher authority
than priests and the decrees of councils are to be taken as
as lawful as the commandments of scripture. For the most
part, however, Rhegius was less moderate. The fasting of the
popes was seen as unChristian, as a "fulbelly & drunken fast,
as stynkyng hipocrisy". In discussing aids to prayer
Rhegius resorted to sarcasm. "Euen the deuels be afrayed
of" holy water. As with Tyndale the main thrust of
Rhegius's argument was that true faith involves freedom,
whereas the requirements of Roman belief impose a Judaical or
Pharisaical bondage. Accordingly, Rhegius did not see the
scriptures as providing a paradigm of formula for every detail
of the Christian life and worship. The reader was exhorted to keep the ceremonies and traditions of the Church and the Fathers where they did not hinder true holiness, or where they have no blame of fault. Though auricular confession, for example, has no scriptural sanction the practice itself was not intrinsically evil. Rather it was to be tolerated provided it was used properly out of a free response on the part of the Christian and not as a duty imposed by the Church. The Olde learnynge and the Newe was a work of some popularity and two further editions were brought out within a year.

The Protestant theological books put out between 1536-40 complemented the religious reforms of the government. Most of the books attacked the same polemical targets as official propaganda. Superstition, as manifested in image-worship, relics, pilgrimages, and the cult of saints, was the focal point of the various polemics of the reformers. The papacy remained an obvious butt and was now openly identified and abused as the Antichrist. No longer, however, was the Pope the primary target of English Reformation polemics. Between 1536 and 1540 the Pope was attacked less on the grounds of his claim to primacy as on the fact that he was seen as the chief proponent of idolatrous religion. In the second half of the decade the vestiges of Romish religiosity had taken over as the bêtes noires of the Protestant reformers.

In attacking superstition the works of the period often focussed on specific abuses such as the cults of Uncombe and Becket, or the ladies of Walsingham or Ipswich, or the blood of Hales. In the Commentary on 2 Thessalonians the translator gave Bullinger's work especial relevance by identifying
specifically English mala exempla. In other words, those very subjects that were under attack in government policy were singled out for particular attention in the books of the Protestant reformers. An obvious exception, however, was the monastic regime. Between 1536 and 1540 surprisingly few literary attacks were directed against the cloistered life. Certainly Protestants had no wish to defend monasticism, yet specific monastic abuses were seldom seen as objects of criticism.

In general, attacks on these specific superstitious practices were advanced through essentially humourous techniques. Tyndale's satire of devotion to St. White and Wyse's sarcastic abuse of the cult of Uncombe sought to undermine saint veneration through ridicule. When examined through the eyes of reason the cult of saints was seen as unworthy of serious consideration. Devotion to images and relics was viewed as folly, a thing undertaken by the blind and the ignorant.

Whilst the arguments of the reformers were often humorous the reasons put forward for their attacks were identical to those propagated in official statements, in particular the two sets of Ecclesiastical Injunctions. According to Nicholas Wyse, pilgrimages, saints, and images were invented merely to rob people of their temporal sustenance. Money which could have been used for the benefit of the commonweal has gone into the hands of priests. According to Tyndale, the theology of the bishops was designed to cover this very plunder of man's property. Alongside this secular attack on the material wastefulness of superstitious devotion stood a theological critique of Romish religion, a critique which
again mirrored the official statements. The positive side of the critique of idolatry was the emphasis on charitable works and works of mercy.\textsuperscript{267} Although the Protestant writers and translators stressed different aspects of the process of good works, all of them saw works as a necessary fulfilment of the Christian vocation. Throughout all their books the common image for doing good works was that of a tree producing good fruit.\textsuperscript{268}

In so far as the Protestant reformers constantly emphasised this need for works it is inappropriate to make too much of the specific theological differences between their respective positions. What was shared and common had priority over any differences or variations in their approaches. All of the Protestants, including Taverner and Tyndale, saw good works as revealing the presence of an inward spirit, providing they were done in a manner which accorded with the liberty of the gospel. Tyndale put the matter in clearest perspective. "And as soon as we have received faith that our sin is forgiven, we shall immediately love the commandment again, and through love receive power to work".\textsuperscript{269} The keeping of God's works certifies that the Christian is in a state of grace. Indeed the fault of the scholastic and popish interpretations is that they lack a doctrine whereby a man knows that he is accepted by God. "If we have power to work, then doth the work certify our hearts that our faith in Christ, and love to God and our neighbour for his sake, are unfeigned; and that we are true children, and no hypocrites".\textsuperscript{270}

For Tyndale and his fellow reformers, liberation from the tyrannous captivity of the Bishop of Rome's traditions was to
be achieved through the revival of Scriptural learning. As he argued in the prologue to the *Exposition of 1 John*, "And as we restore the scripture unto her right understanding from your false glosses, even so deliver we the sacraments and ceremonies unto their right use from your abuse. And that we must do with the scripture..." For all the English Protestant writers scripture had a clear polemical cutting-edge. Since the traditions of men are not given by God they have no hold. Keeping them does not certify the conscience that its faith is sure. "Thou shalt not know, by sprinkling thyself with holy water, not kissing the pax, nor with taking ashes, or though thou were anointed with all the oil in Thames Street, that thy faith is sure". Such matters as purgatory, ceremonies and prayers to saints were regarded as indifferent things, things neither commanded nor forbidden in scripture. In so far as these matters were imposed on the people as res necessariae Romish religion had become a tyrannous enforcement of works righteousness. In the books of the Protestant reformers this whole realm of legislated adiaphora was open to attack. Conversely, necessary things were largely immune from criticism. In the *Exposition of 1 John*, for example, Tyndale's ridicule of the essential issue of the Mass was severely altered and modified.

From this theological perspective Protestant books were advanced as providing a basis for a better morality. According to Wyse the gospellers seek to direct alms to the poor. According to both Wyse and Tyndale, Protestants sought to preserve essential works such as fasting and prayer. The very forms of the Protestant books of the period confirms this
concern for moral improvement. As with the work of Taverner, unofficial Protestant works were characterised by fundamentally positive motives. In addition to a large amount of devotional aids a good deal of Protestant writing was given up to commentary and exposition of scripture. The remainder consisted of short statements of the faith such as Rhegius's *Olde learnynge & the newe*, practical guides to relations such as Becon's *Gouernans of vertue*, or defences of the new learning such as Bugenhagen's letter and Wyse's *Consolacyon*. In short, the books sought to instruct the readers in the implications of the new faith.

Again, as with the official reformers, Protestant writers in the last part of the decade took note of opposition to the government's reforms whilst at the same time identifying this hostility with the conservative clergy. Ridley's *Commentary on Jude* sought in large part to identify the 'beguilers of the last days', those who oppose the cause of the gospel and those who stir up sedition and strife. 276 According to Wyse the reformers are slandered by the papists and accused of living without works. 277 For Tyndale, the clergy have always been a conspiratorial body, who through their undermining of the authority of Kings have introduced false practices. 278 As for Taverner, the defence of the new learning necessarily involved an aggressive assault on the practitioners of the old ways.

Although there were many similarities between the unofficial Protestant writings and the work of Cromwell's scholars there were of course a number of differences in approach and technique. Whilst Morison and Taverner openly
displayed the trappings of their humanism in classical references and allusions, the unofficial Protestant writers regarded these attempts with disdain. Ridley, for example, saw the study of classical thinkers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle as detracting from God's Word. That is not to say, however, that the Protestant writers were not indebted to humanist ideas. Ridley, Turner, and Tyndale had all begun their scholarly careers in the humanist tradition. Furthermore the whole approach of the Protestant attack on superstition points to humanist influence. The emphasis of the books of Rhegius, Ridley, and Wyse was moderate and didactic rather than dogmatic and confessional. Doctrinal disputation was regarded as going against the due order of charity and unity. The term 'Protestant-humanist' serves as an apt description not only for Cromwell's scholars but also for all the major English Protestant writers of the 1530s.

Again, unlike Morison and Taverner, the unofficial reformers did not face up to the crucial question as to why England had suddenly changed to the new learning. For Ridley, the spirit of unity and concord prohibited all discussion as to the reasons why God had let men stay so long in darkness. For Wyse, the question was simply a matter of God's inscrutable will. Of all the unofficial Protestant writers Wyse alone drew attention to the role of Cromwell, although all of the works assumed that Cromwell's reforms were in accordance with Protestant principles. Ridley, for example, claimed that the clergy's opposition to reformation preaching and the vernacular Bible was slanderous. For all of the Protestants the restoration of the gospel by the King was a partial fulfil-
ment of Protestant reform. At no point in any of the books was there any criticism of government policy. The Bishop's Book may not have been regarded as an adequate statement of the faith, yet it was not an issue that was open to attack. By the latter half of the decade the polemics of the reformers had come to express unqualified approval of the general direction of ecclesiastical reform in England. To all intent and purpose the reforms of the government and the ideals of the Protestants were seen as going hand in hand.
1. C.f. in particular, Simon Matthew, A sermon made in the Cathedral churche of saynt Paule at London, the xxvii day Iune, anno. 1535..., 8vo, A-C8, D2(v) (Berthelet, July 1535) STC 17656; John Longland, A Sermon spoken be fore the kynge his majestie at Grenchich, vnpon good fryday: the yere of our Lord, MCCCCCxxvii, 4to, A-L4, L6 (np. London 1536) STC 16795; A Sermonde made before the kynge his majesty at grenewiche, vnpon good Frydaye. The yere of our Lorde God M.D.xxxvii, 4to, A-K4, L1(v) (Thomas Petyt, 1538) STC 16796; Cuthbert Tunstall, A Sermon of Cvthvert Bysshop of Duresme, made vnpon Palme Sondaye laste past, before the maiestie of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the viii...., 8vo, A-E8, F7 (Berthelet, 1539) STC 24322. In addition to these works a number of conservative sermons did not find their way into print. A sermon by Stokesley, bishop of London, resulted in Cromwell attempting to put the work into print. Unfortunately Stokesley did not write his sermons but preached free and the sermon could not be printed. L & P VIII, 1043, 1054, c.f. Maclure, Paul's Cross Sermons, p. 185, Elton, Policy and Police, p. 189. For the style of the conservative sermons, especially those of Longland c.f. J.W. Blench, Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries a Study of English Sermons 1450-c. 1600 (Oxford, 1964) pp. 20-28, et passim, and his "John Longland and Roger Edgeworth", Review of English Studies, new series, v. 18 (1954) pp. 123-43.

2. STC 13077. STC fails to notice that the works were printed separately. C.f. Elton, Policy and Police, p. 199 n. 2.


4. L & P VI, 1582. The letter continues, "You have a prince such as you could scarcely have expected from heaven. The whole nobility is opposed to superstition and supports religion, being well aware that ceremonies once instituted for a good purpose have now degenerated into lucre. The people favour you, and only one thing is wanting, that you should not be behind the opportunity".

5. In a letter of August 1535 to Thomas Starkey Morison recorded his debt to Pole who had rescued him from abject poverty. L & P XII, 430.

7. Elton has sorted out the dating of Morison's return to England and entry into Cromwell's service. According to him, it appears that Morison's original function was to act as an informant well-placed to report on the activities of Pole. Reform and Renewal, pp. 56-58.

8. Appendix, C no. 39. The book did not appear until 1537 or 1538 although it had been written since the middle of 1536. L & P XI, 513. Elton surveys the problem of the genesis of the work in Policy and Police, p. 191, n. 1.

9. According to Elton the printing of the Apomaxis was stopped by Berthelet on Cromwell's instructions, following Pole's disclosure of his views on the divorce in his Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione, which was delivered to the King in May 1536. Ibid. p. 191, n. 1. L & P XI, 1481.

10. In two letters written around July 1538 Morison claimed that he was attracted to Cromwell because of the Lord Privy Seal's zeal for the gospel and truth. The Lutheran ambassadors to whom Morison had talked knew that England owed her rescue from superstition and darkness to Cromwell alone. L & P XIII, i, 1296-7, quoted in Elton, Reform and Renewal, p. 60.


14. This secular thrust of Morison's work has been the object of much speculation on the part of historians particularly since A Remedy evinces some use of the writings of Machiavelli. According to Zeeveld, Morison was a full-blown Machiavellian. "Machiavelli served to justify the social changes now brought to sharp focus by the Pilgrimage of Grace, and Richard Morison was the chief agent of this justification". Foundations, p. 189. Accordingly, Morison's fame has come to rest on his Machiavellianism, as the man who introduced Machiavelli to England. C.f. Dickens, Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation, p. 285. F. Haab, on the other hand, though acknowledging that Morison's acceptance of a secular political world may reveal the influence of Machiavelli, argues that Morison showed no real interest in political thought and

17. In addition Morison quashed the rebels' own religious justifications of their action. In A Lamentation, for example, he claimed that it was not conceivable that "the puttinge downe of abbeyes, that is to saye, the puttinge away of maynteyned lecherie, buggerie, and hypocrisie, shuld be the cause of this rebellious insurrection". Sig. B4(v).
21. At the end of the work Morison claimed that he had postponed his original plan on the grounds that it would have resulted in far too long a work. Sig. F4. Throughout the work Morison addressed Pole in a direct accusatory manner. His treason was seen as all the more serious because he had betrayed the kindness and friendship of the King. "All they, whom frendeshyp and affinitie hadde in tyme paste knitte vnto the, wyshe for no traitours dethe so moche as they doo for thyne. O Pole, o hurle pole, full of poyson, that woldest haue drowned thy countreye in bloudde, thou thoughtest to haue ouerflowed thy prync and soveraygne lorde, thou thoughteste with thy traiterous streames to haue ouer runne all to gather. But god be thanked, thou arte nowe a Pole of lytel water, and that at a wonderfull lowe ebbe". Sig. B3-B3(v).
22. "Who soo is a papiste, an enemye to goddis worde, he may well lacke power, or stomacke, to vtter treason, but he can not lacke a trayterous hart. What so euer he be, that thynketh the byshoppe of Rome supreme hed of our church of Englane, can neuer beare the kynghe suche an harte, as a trewe subiecte oweth his souerain lord. No, I saye more, he can in no case loue his highnes, he can not chose but be a traytour". Sig. F3-F3(v).
24. Sig. D4(v).
26. C.f. Sig. B2(v)-B3. "He (the Pope) wryteth, he sendeth, he calleth, he cryeth for helpe vnto all prynces. If some of them, sedused by false persuasio, shal set vp vs, bicause we haue left Idolatry, dryuen away deceitful Hypocrisy, and thus many yeres haue lyen lurkyng in celles, kepynge by force and crafte the place of Chrystes relygyon. Whan euer had Englande so good a cause, to fyghte as nowe".

27. For Starkey c.f. Zeeveld, Foundations, pp. 128 ff, and below, appendix B.

28. Sig. D6. In addition Morison claimed that three of four preachers could do more good in the North of England in two months than has been done in the South in the past two of three years. Sig. D2. "The people begynne to knowe what they that be curates oughte to preache, and what they oughte to folowe, and yet they do but begynne". Sig. D 6.

29. Sig. A4.

30. Appendix C no. 44. STC 23407.


32. C.f. STC 13080, 13081, 13082, 13090, 24237.

33. "Anglia sola est quae exemplo esse coeperat". Friedensburg, op. cit. p. 44.

34. Sig. E2(v)-E3.

35. Sig. C 3.

36. Sig. C3(v), B3.
37. "Theyr bookes, that you call Lutherans, beare sufficient recorde, that they have written nothing contrarye to the honour of Chryste, nor the mynde of thapostels, nor yet against auncient councilles: which oughte to be as a rule for vs, theyr after comers". Sig.E3(v). Moreover Sturm argued against the decision to exclude Lutherans from participating in the council, and singled out threats of physical harm to Luther as undermining the sincerity of the papists. Sig. E3(v), F4.

38. Sturm argued that contrary to the claims of the papists, the reformers held the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist in high esteem. The Lutherans retain only essential sacraments and do not throw all of them away. Sig. D.4. The papists, on the other hand, bring in new fangled ideas which go against the institution of Christ, the use of the apostles, and which are contrary to the custom of forefathers, and against the express words and mind of God. "For where as it was first instituted, as a thynge to lyft vppe mens hartes vnto hope and faythe, and profited none but suche as toke parte of it, you haue made it a solitarie and priuate worke.... a faire marchandyse". Sig. B8(v).

39. See below p. 361.

40. Common Place Book, PRO SP 6/4, L & P XII, ii 406 (1). The work has been examined in some detail by C.R. Bonini, "Lutheran Influences in the Early English Reformation: Richard Morison Re-examined," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 64 (1973) pp. 206-24. The following is indebted to her researches.

41. Two Latin editions of Luther's sermon were brought out in 1534 and 1540. There are minor variations between the two editions. Thus it can be established that Morison used the first edition. WA, 40, iii p. 5-6. The variants are noted by Bonini, p. 219, n. 71.

42. PRO SP 6/4, p. 10.


44. Ibid. p. 23.

45. Ibid. pp. 42-43. Luther offered the example of Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony, as one who had been troubled by the advice of monks, but who had now been freed by Lutheran teaching.
"Then let me nowe that am the interpreter of thys psalme out of thy latyn tonge yn to my naturall Inglyshe tonge, and also wyth all trewe and faythfull hartes Inglyshe men that shall rede thys, reciue and be glad yn our hartes when be conseyder the artys of our most puiissant and redoubtyd goveraynge lorde kyng Henry the Eyght, and the good lucke and folyche, that god hathe sent hym all the tyme of hys reyne yn all hys greate and weyghty enter-prysys and affayres". Ibid. p. 72. In addition parts of the sermon were anglicized, an unnecessary practice were it not that the work was intended for a wider audience. Where Luther spoke of the "empire" and Charles V, Morison substituted the "commonwealth" and Henry VIII.


C.f. G. Mentz, Die Wittenberger Artikel von 1536 (Artikel der christlichen Lahr. von welchen die Legatten aus Engelland mit dem Herrn Doctor 1,, iartino gehand2lt Anno 1526). Quellenchriften zur Geschichte des Protestantismus... zweiter Haft (Leipzig, 1905).


The English Reformation, p. 175.

Hardwick, p. 256.

The official title of the Articles was, "Articles Devised by the Kings highnes Majestie, to Stabliyshe Christen Quietnes and Unitie Amonge Us, and to Avoyde Contentious Opinions".

Quoted in Rupp, p. 114.
55. The Institution of a Christen man, conteynyge the Exposytion or Interpretation of the commune Greae, of the seuen Sacramentes, of the. x. commandementes, and of the Paternoster, and the Aue Maria. Justyfication & Purgatory. 4to, a4, A*24, Aa4+1. Berthelet, 1537. STC 5164.

56. Richard Morison was one of three laymen who served on the committee responsible for the work. Bonini, op. cit. pp. 213-14.

57. Tjernagel, however, insists that the work is best defined as "clearly and distinctly Lutheran". The Reformation Essays of Dr. Robert Barnes (St. Louis, 1965) p. 15. Dickens, on the other hand, has claimed that "taken as a whole it looked a Catholic rather than a Lutheran document". The English Reformation, p. 176.


61. Appendix C. no. 45. STC 908, 909.

62. On August 3rd 1530 representatives of the old faith presented their confutation of the Augustana at Augsburg. On the order of the German Lutheran estates Melanchthon expanded in greater detail the basic evangelical articles of faith which had come under attack in the confutation. Following a revision, The Apology was sent to the printers in April/May 1531, to be published along with the Augsburg Confession. C.f. OR, XXVII, pp. 245-378, 379-646; R. Stupperich, Melanchthon, tr. R.H. Fischer (London, 1966) p. 86.

63. In the preface of the translator Taverner clarified the nature of Cromwell's involvement. "As nowe of late ye haue animated and impelled me to translate the Confessyon of the faythe and the defence of Apologie of the same / which boke after the judgemete and censure of all indifferente wyse and lerned men is as frutful and as clerkly composed as euer boke was vntyll this day whiche haue bene publyphed or sette forthe". Sig. A2.

65. Sig. A2.

66. Sig. B6(v)-B7, B7-B8(v).

67. Cited in Pragman, op. cit., p. 85. The Thirteen Articles of 1538 are discussed in Hardwick, pp. 52-65 and are reprinted as Appendix II, pp. 259-73.

68. Taverner's work for Cromwell has received detail examination in J.K. Yost, "German Protestant Humanism and the Early English Reformation".

69. Appendix C. no. 46. STC. 21752.5. The work was popular and a second edition was brought out by Byddell later in the year (STC 21753). In 1533 four other editions of the book were printed (STC 21754, 21755, 21755a, 21755a.5) whilst another edition was printed in 1577 (STC 21756).

70. Sarcerius studied at both Leipzig and Wittenberg, embracing the Lutheran faith by 1528 at the latest. He taught at Lübeck and Graz, Vienna and Rostock, before taken up an appointment as rector of the Latin school at Siegen in 1536. The following year Sarcerius was appointed superintendent and chaplain to Count William of Nassau. His call as a teacher was to prepare for more radical changes to be effected in 1538 and accordingly his first work was to instruct the preachers. His Common places was composed for use by the pastors. Loci Aeqvot Comynes et theologici, in amico quodam responso, ad Presulis cuiusdam orationem, in gratiam boni ac integri, pie nuc memorias amici, pro aperienda & tuenda ueritate, methodice explicati. Per M. Erasmum Sarcerium Annemontanum. 4to, A-M4, L3 (Frankfort, 1538).

71. Sig. A4(v).

72. Sig. A5(v).


74. Appendix, C. no. 48. STC 2748, was 23710. Printed by Richard Bankes.


76. Sig. â2 quoted in Butterworth, Primera, p. 196.

77. Ibid. p. 198.
The Most Sacred Bible, Whiche is the holy scripture, conteyning the old and new testament, translated into English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by Rychard Taverner Harken thou heuen, and thou earth gyue ear: for the Lorde speaketh. Esaie. i. Prynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet, Cvm Privilegio ad imprimendum solum. M.D.XXXIX. Darlow & Moule, ed Herbert, no. 45, STC 2067.

Appendix C no. 49. STC 23709. There has been some scholarly disagreement over the work. D.B. Knox identified the work as a "close yet idiomatic translation of Calvin's Instruction in Faith". The Doctrine of Faith, p. 182. J.K. Yost however, doubts this identification. "German Protestant Humanism", p. 621. Close examination of the text supports Knox's conclusion. Occasionally Taverner altered the structure of the work, yet he made no serious alterations to Calvin's theology, except those listed below. The Instruction consisted of a popular account of the ideas which Calvin had expressed in the Institutes of 1536. C.f CR, XXXIX, p. 70, Knox, p. 183. The work was based on Farel's Summaire of 1525 and Francis Lambert's Summe, for which see above. An English translation of the Instruction in Faith (1537) by John Calvin was edited by P. T. Fuhrmann (London, 1949).

In the preface Taverner stated that as a result of the inability of parents and teachers, "I therfore moued of christen charitie to vtter the lytel talent that God hathe endowed me with, am enforced, accordyng to the example of learned men in other coutreis, to set forthe vnto my coutrey men some handsome and*compendiouse catechisme (which is so called because it instructeth, and bryngeth vp the y5ge christia in christes lawe)..." Sig. A2(v)-A3.

"Now there be dyuers holsome sacramentes in the church, and namely seuen recounted of the fathers". Sig. K1(v). C.f. Furhmann, p. 68. Following a brief discussion of matrimony, penance, orders, confession and extreme unction Taverner turned to the two principle sacraments. "But of baptisme & Eucharistia bycause they be the principale sacramentes & in the newe testament instituted expressly by Chryste hymselfe, I intende somewhat more at large to intreat". Sig. K2(v).

Taverner's translation ended abruptly, the copy being defective. The work would have gone on to deal with Christian hope and prayer and civil rulers and governors.

Cardwell, xix. Possibly Coverdale provided some of the work. C.f. Coverdale, Remains, p. 498, and above Ch. 5. n. 288

Butterworth claimed that the work was dedicated to the King although this has been corrected by Parker, op. cit. p. 223. Primers, p. 215.

Cardwell, p. xix.


The work was of some popularity and at least five editions were brought out in 1540 and a number of others in the following years. STC however fails to distinguish between the editions. C.f. Parker, pp. 227-229.


McConica, English Humanists, p. 117.

In order of publication: The garden of wysdom (Richard Bankes, 1539) (STC 23711a, Devereux, Checklist, C7.1.); The second booke of the Garden of wysdome (not STC, Devereux, Checklist, C8.1, C8.2, C.f. also C8.3, C8.4, C8.5); Proverbs or Adagies (Bankes, 1539) (STC 10437, Devereux, Checklist, C1.2); Mimi Publiani (Bankes, 1539) (STC 10437) does not mention this as a separate publication, Devereux, Checklist, C75); Flores Aliquot Sententiarum (Bankes, 1540) (STC 10445, Devereux, Checklist, C76.1); Catonis Disticha Moralia (1540) (STC 4843, Devereux, Checklist, C77.1.)
92. In his translation of Multae regum aures atque oculi, for example, Taverner altered Erasmus's rather light-weight account of kings watching men through their spies into a defence of political absolutism. "Kynges haue many eares & many eyes, as who shulde saye, no thyng can be spoken, nothynge doon so secrety agaynst kynges & Rulers, but by one meanes or other at length it wol come to their knowledge. They haue eares ý lysten an hundreth myles from the, they haue eyes that espye out more thynges, then men wolde thynke. Wherfore it is wysdome for subiectes, not onlye to kepe theyr princes lawes & ordin- auces in the face of the worlde, but also preuely, namely syth Paule wold haue rulers obeyed euem for conscience sake". Sig. A4, c.f. Sig. B7(v)-B8. For Taverner's alterations to the Adagies see O.B. White, "Richard Taverner's Interpretation of Erasmus in Proverbes or Adagies", Publications of the Modern Language Association LIX no. 4. (1944) pp. 928-43.

93. "Wold god these (idle rulers) wold take exemple of our most vigilat prince and seoryng lorde kinge Henry the eyght, who not only seteth vigilant deputies and ministers vnder hym, but also loketh hym selfe ryght busely vpon hys charge committed vnto him of god". Sig. A8.

94. Sig. El-El(v). The reference to Cobbler is clearly an allusion to Captain Cobbler, a leader of the Lincolnshire Rebellion. C.f. Dickens, The English Reformation, p.125. In addition, Taverner pointed out that "it becometh not Jacke Strawe to reaso of princes matters", and advised "Let not the shomaker medle further than hys shoes. Lette the ploughman talke of his plough". Sig.C3(v), B3-B3(v).

95. In his translation of Multido imperatorum Cariam perdidit Taverner heightened Erasmus's denunciation of anarchy. "Wherefore this prouerbe aduertiseth vs that nothyng is more noysome nor more pestiferous to a comö weale, then the ouermoche libertye of a multitude, where no man chieflye is obeyed, but every man doth as hym lusteth. This vnleful libertie or licence of the multitude is called an Anarchie, A mischief surely in maner worse the any Tyranye". Sig. F3(v)-F4.

96. For details see White, op. cit., pp. 932-34.

97. Sig. C4(v). "All that haue the gospel hangynge at theyr gyrdels be no gospellers. Nor agayne all that disprayse the leude fascio of the Papistes be not forthwyth Heritiques". Sig. C.5.

99. Born in Edinburgh in 1500, Alesius was educated at the University of St. Andrews where he was taught by John Major. He was converted to Protestantism as a result of his dealings with Patrick Hamilton. Around 1531, following a term of imprisonment, Alesius left Scotland for Germany. By October 1532 he had registered at the University of Wittenberg where he became a close friend and disciple of Melanchthon, and from where in the following year he engaged in literary controversy with Johann Cochlaeus. In 1535 Alesius was designated as emissary of the Wittenberg theologians to England as a substitute for Melanchthon, and was responsible for conveying a copy of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* to the King. Through the influence of Cromwell Alesius was appointed Lecturer in Divinity at Cambridge although he was forced to abandon his post after protests against his lectures. For full details of his career c.f. especially A.F. Scott Pearson, "Alesius and the English Reformation", *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* vol. 10 (1950) pp 57-88, John T. McNeill, "Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran (1500-1565)“, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 55 (1964) pr. 161-91. For his activities in England, c.f. John Durkan, "Scottish "Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell", *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 21, pt.2 (1982) pp. 127-56.


101. The speech and controversy is reported in Alesius's own *Of the Autorite of the word of god*, STC 292, Appendix, C no. 51.

102. Appendix C nos. 52,53. STC 15286, also 15287. Nicholson's Latin version was the earliest edition. The Sermon is reprinted in Latin in *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, ed. G.E. Corrie (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1844). Quotations are taken from the 1845 edition; references are made both to the original edition and to the reprint.

103. Latimer had previously had a long history of trouble as a result of his preaching and had appeared before Convocation only four years earlier on a charge of uttering crimes and excesses in the diocese of London. Cranmer's choice of Latimer to preach was made even more controversial by the fact that Convocation was to consider for the first time articles of the Church of England. Latimer's sermon was to be the keynote speech of the session. C.f. A.G. Chester, *Hugh Latimer Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia, 1954) p.111f.
4.24.

104. Sig. C4(v), P.S. p. 459.

105. "Absit hoc a vobis, ut omnes praetextu lucis congre- 

tati filii fueritis seculi! Cur tum demum? Cur tum? 

Fortisan, quia filii hujus seculi vel plures erant 

(ut fit) in hoc concilio vestro, vel certe prudenceores 

quam filii lucis in generatione sua. Quo fiere poterat, 

ut illi ad generandum male, quam hi ad generandum bene, 

evaderent potentiores". Sig. C2(v), P.S. pp. 457-58. 

C.f. Sig. A5(v) "Agite jam, et bona fide mihi dicite, 

(ut de multum aliis sit silentium:) nonne fuere 

aliqui, qui penuniam Domini ceu adulterinam contemnentes, 

vel novam excudrent, vel aliis noviter excusam pro 

pecunia dominica publicarunt, nunc adulterantes, aut etiam 

cauponantes verbum; nunc loco divini verbi humana 

somnia euccinantes?" P.S. p. 449.

106. Sig. C7(v), P.S. p. 461.

107. The argument is discussed in J.K. Yost, "Hugh Latimer's 

Reform Programme, 1529-1536, and the Intellectual Origins 

of the Anglican Via Media", Anglican Theological Review 

53 (1971) pp. 103-14. C.f. also Patricia Cricco, 

"Hugh Latimer and Witness", Sixteenth Century Journal X, 

i (1979) pp. 21-34.

108. A correspondant of Cromwell reported in April 1537 that 

Stephen Gardiner had composed a hostile reply to 

Latimer's sermon. The work has not survived. L & P 

XII, i. 953.

109. C.f. appendix B.

110. Sig. D7.

111. J.K. Yost, "Protestant reformers and the humanist via 

media in the early English Reformation", Journal of 

Medieval and Renaissance Studies vol. 5, no. 2 (1975) 

pp. 187-202. C.f. appendix B.

112. Sig. A4 f.

113. STC 24455. Appendix C no. 54.

114. Tyndale actually kept vituperation out of the book and 

saved his personal attack on Fisher's 1526 Sermon for 

the Obedience of a Christian Man. The Mammon was the 

first work of Tyndale's to bear his name. STC 24454, Hume, 

Bibliography, no. 6.

115. Luther's sermon had been preached on 17th August 1522 

and later published. WA 10, iii, pp. 283-92. C.f. 

Rupp, Studies, pp. 49, 51; Mozley, William Tyndale, 

p. 127; Clebsch, pp. 147-49.

117. STC 2443.5. Appendix C No. 55. The 1538 reprint of Nicholson's edition of the Exposition is available in the microfilm series English Books 1470-1640 (University Microfilms International, reel 156, no. 10160, Bodleian Library Copy, STC 2444). The copy however is illegible. The same edition in a St. Paul's Cathedral Library copy is included in the Parker Society edition of Tyndale's Works and is collated with the original edition (STC 2443, Hume, Bibliography, no. 26) and with Daye's 1572 reprint (STC 24436). All quotations and references are made to this edition. Expositions and Notes, ed. Walter (Cambridge, 1849).


119. Basil Hall accounts for the dearth of English commentaries, of which he claims almost none won a European reputation before the seventeenth century, in terms of the grammatical studies in the English universities. In comparison with the continent Trilingual studies at Oxford and Cambridge were almost stillborn. The energies of English scholars were not directed to biblical exegesis but were absorbed in the intense controversial and political struggle between Catholic and Protestant. "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. 3, The West from the Reformation to the Present Day, ed. S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1936) pp. 92-93.

120. STC 2854, 10450, 10494, 10495, 10503.

121. For this information I am indebted to the research of N.K. Feldmeth, "The Development of Exegetical Method in England: 1496-1556," University of Edinburgh, Ph.D., 1982, appendix III.

122. Foxe, A & M V, appendix VI.


127. "And this is it that Paul calleth servire elementis mundi, to be in captivity under dumb ceremonies and vain traditions of men's doctrine, and to do the work for the work itself; as though God delighteth therein, for the deed itself, without all other respect". P. 164.

128. P. 163.

129. P. 177.


131. P. 179f.

132. Tyndale also seeks to prove the Pope-Antichrist identification by analogy. The Pope preaches Christ in the way that Pelagius preached Christ. Since the latter was condemned for heresy the Pope, in following his doctrine, participates in his guilt. P. 181f. In addition Tyndale made extensive use of the technique of compiling lists. C.f. p. 197. "The omish bishop preacheth that Christ is come to do away sins, yet not in the flesh, but in water, salt, oil, candles, ashes, friar's coats, and monk's cowls; and in the vows of them that forswear matrimony to keep whores, and swear beggary to possess all the treasure, riches, wealth and pleasures of the world; and have vowed obedience, to disobey with authority all the laws both of God amdn man".

133. P. 178.

134. P. 178.


427.


143. P. 223.

144. "These hypocrites laid to Wicliffe's charge and do yet, that his doctrine caused insurrection". P. 224.

145. "And so the hypocrites say now likewise, that God's word causeth insurrection: but ye shall see shortly that these hypocrites themselves, after their old wont and examples, in quenching the truth that uttereth their juggling, shall cause all realms christian to rise one against another, and some against themselves. Ye shall see them run out, before the year come about, that which they have been in brewing (as I have marked) above this dozen years, &c". P. 225.

146. Quoted in Millus, op. cit. p. 40.

147. Ibid. pp. 41-43.


149. Ibid. pp. 237-38. Also "that by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in the world". P. 240.

150. STC 24444.

151. STC 4054, Appendix C no. 56.

153. A Latin edition of Bullinger's 1557 Commentary on Revelation was brought out by John Day in 1561 (STC 4060). That same year John Daus published an English translation entitled, A hundred Sermons upon the Apocalips of Jesu Christe, reveiled in dedeby Thangell of the Lorde: but seen or recevued and written by thapostle and Evaneclist. S. John. (STC 4061). A second edition was printed in 1573 (STC 4062).

154. Bale's ascription of the translation of 2 and 3 John to Lancelot Ridley has been challenged on stylistic grounds by T.H.L Parker, op. cit. p. 90. He remains however the most likely candidate. Joseph Tanner provided an ambivalent comment on Ridley's work. "In Paulam ad Thessalonicens, Lib ii vel In secundam Thessalonicens, Lib i". Either Tanner attributed both epistles to Ridley or only the latter. It is therefore a possibility that Bullinger's Argumentum Posterioris Epistolae ad Thessalonicens, is the missing work of Ridley. C.f. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: Sive de Scriptoribus, Qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad faeculi xvii initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina dispositis Commentariu (London, 1748) p. 631.

155. The evidence is derived from a list of pseudonyms provided in H & L, pp. 246-56.

156. Bullinger drew liberally on Daniel but made no reference to the Book of Revelation. For Protestant attitudes to Revelation see Richard Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, ch.2.

157. The emergence of an exclusive application of Antichrist prophecies to the Bishop of Rome was hindered by the medieval identification of Islam and the Turk as Antichrist. Many Protestants, including Bullinger, only abandoned this identification once the papists themselves used it as a polemic against the Protestants' claim that the Pope was the Antichrist. Ibid. p. 96.

158. Sig. B7. Although Bullinger agreed that it was reasonable to object that he made two Antichrist where Daniel only spoke of one he claimed that his argument was justified. "Now both of the impugne Christes institucions and lawes a lyke: Both of the do persecute Christen mē, defendyng their owne lawes, & suche as holde wyth them. Wherfore I coulde not make two hornes of them that are so lyke". Sig. D6(v).
159. As evidence for the rise of the papacy Bullinger identified a number of crucial episodes such as the split of the Roman Empire after Constantine, the rise of the power of Gregory I, the life of Boniface III, and the ordination of Charlemagne, citing as his authorities Platina, Paul the Deacon (Acts of Lombards, bk. 4, ch. II), and a work by Volateramus on Paul II entitled Antropologia. Sig. C3-D2.

160. Sig. D7(v).


162. Sig. El(v).

163. Sig. E2(v)-E4.

164. In identifying the Roman Empire as the Last Monarchy Bullinger makes use of Patristic exegesis and secular histories, in particular Pliny's Natural History, bk. 7, ch. 25. Sig. B5-B6.

165. Sig. F6.

166. Sig. Gl(v), E4(v).


168. "Qui aliquando salutarunt Mariam Lauretanam, Aquensam, Eremitanum uel Speciosam, quam alij uocarunt Regespurgensem, uiderunt tabulas, anathemata, & miraculorum testimonia plura quam quibus uehendis plurimae naues oneriae sufficerent". Heinrychi Byllingeri Commentarij In omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolam, Atque etiam in Epistolam ad Hebraeos (Zurich, Froschover, 1582) fo. 417.

169. Sig. Gl(v).

170. "Et Germanieandem usurpantes partitionem, omnem iustitiam dividimus in gute wort vnd werck". Heinrychi Byllingeri Commentarij, fo. 419.

171. Sig. G8.

172. Sig. H6.

173. The reference is to the alleged papist view that the last days have arrived now that the Lutherans and Zwinglians have departed from the holy seat of Rome. Sig. Fl(v).


176. **STC 2351.5, Appendix C no. 57.** The work has been assigned to Coverdale although Bale attributed it to Ridley. *Script. Ill.* i. p. 714.

177. The work is discussed in Butterworth, *Primers*, p. 176.

178. **STC 21042, Appendix C no. 58.** Sig. A1(v)-A2.

179. Sig. I2-I2(v).

180. Sig. A7(v).

181. Sig. F1.

182. Sig. H6-H7(v).

183. Sig. D2.

184. Sig. F2(v)f.

185. Sig. G8(v).

186. Sig. I6-I6(v).

187. Sig. B3.

188. Sig. B4(v).

189. Sig. B6.

190. Sig. E1-E2.

191. Sig. I6.


193. **STC 21038, 21038.5, Appendix C no. 59.** Ridley's *Commentary on Ephesians* together with his work of Philippians and part of Jude is reprinted in L. Richmond, *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. II, pp. 7-300.

194. Sig. C2(v), F7, G1(v), H3(v)-H4(v).

195. Sig. A6(v).

196. Sig. D2.

197. Sig. B3, F4(v).

198. Sig. F2-F3.

199. Sig. H7-H7(v). C.f. sig. F4(v), "Here we may lerne / pylgrimage / pardon / payntyng of Images to be honoured / nat to have bene of god. Mokes / Freers / Chanons and suche lyke religyon of men inueted..."
200. Appendix C, no. 60. STC 2063.

201. Sig. A3(v).

202. Sig. B6, B8, C1-C1(v).


204. Sig. B1(v).

205. Sig. B3-B4.

206. Sig. D2, D4-D4(v).

207. Sig. B6.

208. Sig. D1(v).

209. Sig. D1(v)-D2.

210. Sig. C-C4(v).

211. Sig. H6(v), I4(v)-I5(v).

212. C.f. above pp. 376-78.

213. Sig. B4.

214. Sig. C3.


216. Sig. E3(v)-F1.

217. Sig. D2(v). Wyse also refers to local practices such as the custom of keeping watches in churches. In the West of England, "they haue a terme ther is called boustennyng, which is to make the blynd to se, ÿ dombe to speke, ÿ defe to here, ÿ halt & lame to go". Sig. D2(v).

218. Sig. E3(v)-E4.

219. Sig. F8(v)-G1.

220. The legend of Uncumber of Libertata or Wilgefortis arose as an erroneous explanation of some crucifixes of the twelfth century and earlier which depicted Christ fully clothed and wearing a beard. The image was wrongly believed to be that of a woman, hence the legend. The name of Wilgefortis is mentioned in several continental but in no English martyrologies. However, images of her were found in London, Worstead, Norwich, and Boxford in Norfolk. C.f. D.H. Farmer, ed., Oxford Dictionary of Saints (Oxford, 1978) p. 404.

221. Sig. G1(v). For St. Eloi (c.588-660) c.f. ibid. p. 130.
"Then the priests maintain not the matter for any great covetise also what the peevish women pray they cannot hear. Howbeit if they pray but to be unumbered, me seemeth no great harm nor unlawfulness therein. For that may they be more ways than one". More also examined the reasons why Uncombre received oats. "Whereof I cannot perceive the reason, but if it be because she should provide an horse for an evil husband to ride to the devil upon. For that is the thing that she is so sought for, as they say. In so much that women hath therefore changed her name, and instead of St. Wilgefort, call her St. Uncomber because they reckon that for a peack of oats she will not fail to uncomber them of their husbands". The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale, reproduced from the Collected Edition (1557) of More's English Works, ed. W. E. Campbell (London, 1927) bk. 2, ch. 11, p. 167, ch. 10, p. 161.


Richard Williams, son of Katherine Cromwell, sister of Thomas and Morgan Williams. Was servant to the Marquis of Dorset, according to a draft of Cromwell's will dated July 12th 1529. He later changed his name to Cromwell and entered his uncle's service. He was active in the dissolution of the monasteries and the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace. C.f. R.B. Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1902) vol. 1, p. 54.
233. In a letter written on the 6th October 1535 one John Wyse of Sydenham wrote to Cromwell in favour of one whom Cromwell had agreed to take into his service. At Michelmass last he was pleased to appoint the writer a longer day for delivering his promise. L & P, IX, 554.


235. "For in a small piece of worke or twayne which I haue set forth my selfe geuynge it no certayne name, dyuers persones of dyuers men haue had ñ same. &. reporte to be doers of it". Sig. A7(v).

236. Sig. A4.

237. Wyse claims to have put forward the work whilst remembering the parable of the talents, which he relates in full. The fear that he would forfeit his own talent for writing caused him to publish the book, "as playne as a packe staffe". Sig. A6-A6(v). C.f. Bale's description of one Ricardvs Vuyse as "elegans aetate sua iuuenis, doctusq3 and ingeniosus edidit, dum domino Cromvuelo a domestica esse familia".

238. The reader was warned, "Do not as the sayeng is of the nunne, when she had red (Cmmia probate) because it servued her intente red no ferther, where the nexte wordes followynge were (quod bonum est tenete)". Sig. C7(v). On Becket Wyse claimed that "Thomas of Caunterbury (whiche dyed for many proper poynte, yt all thynge were truely perspected and loked vpo)". Sig. E5. Hostility to the cult to Becket was particularly widespread. Erasmus attacked the wealth of the tomb in his 1522 colloquy The Godly Feast. C.f. Craig Thompson, ed., The Colloquies, p. 70. More importantly Becket and his cult remained an important focal point for Lollard discontent. C.f. J.F. Davis, "Lollards, Reformers, and St. Thomas of Canterbury", University of Birmingham Historical Journal, vol IX (1963) pp. 1-15. Government action against the cult involved a revision of Becket's life. In November 1538 the King issued a proclamation which denounced the erroneous regard for Becket as a martyr. Hughes and Larkin, Tudor Royal Proclamations, vol. I, pp. 270-76. According to Davis, the government also organised a formal 'trial' of Becket. As Elton points out, however, the absence of any reference to a judicial decision against Becket in the 1538 proclamation suggests that no such trial ever took place. Policy and Police, p. 257, n. 1.
Throughout the work Wyse insisted that he did not seek to undermine true devotion. Like the 2nd set of Injunctions Wyse objected to the worship of images rather than to the images themselves. Moreover, Wyse cited the authority of the Church of England in support of his argument. The belief that the departed saints hear prayers, he argued, would trouble the majority of the Church of England. Sig. G8. C.f. the Ten Articles which prohibited the idolatrous worship of images, but advocated their use in a correct and proper way "as laymen's books to remind us of heavenly things". Hardwick, pp. 253-54.

Although the work went forward without naming the printer, the printing of the title-page betrayed the involvement of James Nicholson. The title-page appears the same as his 1537 The Original of all sects (STC 18349). Why Nicholson chose to print the work anonymously is a matter of conjecture. Possibly the stress on second baptism in the work may have suggested Anabaptist tendencies. John Gough, Nicholson's associate, had appeared in a deposition, possibly of 1532, which recorded the arrest of some Anabaptists in England. His crime apparently consisted of printing an Anabaptist work entitled the Confession of the citie of Geneua. L & P, Addenda l. i. no. 809. C.f. I.B. Horst, The Radical Brethren, Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558 (Nieuwkoop, 1972) p. 49.

STC 6455, Appendix C no. 61. Printed by Nicholson.


STC 4021, Appendix C no. 63. H & L C222.


Sig. A6(v).

Clebsch, op. cit. p. 25, n. 1.

Born at Langenargen in 1489, Rhegius was initially educated along humanist lines. At Freiburg he was associated with John Eck, whom he followed to Ingolstadt in 1510. His first work, *De Dignitate Sacerdotum*, of 1518 was conservative and orthodox. At the beginning of the Luther-Eck controversy Rhegius sided with his mentor. By March 1520, however, he had been so radically converted that he could now be termed a friend of Luther. That same year he was called to Augsburg as Cathedral Preacher in place of Oecolampadius, though towards the end of 1521 he was forced to leave the city because of his Lutheran opinions. Three years later he returned as Pastor of St. Anne's Church. On December 25th he administered the Eucharist in both kinds and two years later he married. The Diet of 1530 ended his career in Augsburg, although his move at the invitation of Ernest the Confessor, Duke of Luneberg, to Celle, offered him an important role in the consolidation of Reformation territories. He was associated with the Reformations of Hamburg, Minden, Soest, Lemgo, and was influential in securing the formula of Concord. Up till his death in 1541 Rhegius was a prolific polemicist and wrote under three pseudonyms, Simon Hessus, Henricius Phoenicius, and Utz Rychsner.

The work was originally published in Augsburg in 1524 as *Eine vorklarerung des twoff Artikel des Christlichen lown*. An English edition of the *Symboli Christianae Fidei* was translated by G. Lynne and sold by R. Jugge in 1548. *STC 20843*. Foxe, *A & M*. V, Appendix VI.


*Sib. B5(v).*

*Sig. E6(v).*

*Sig. E2.*

*Sig. F2(v).*
259. Sig. G3(v).
260. Sig. D7(v).
261. Sig. E2(v). In addition Rhegius refers to clerical celibacy as "the fylthy syngle lyuynge" of priests. Sig. F2.
262. Sig. G8.
263. Sig. A6(v).
264. STC 20840.5, 20841
265. A consolacyon, sig. E2, E6(v), H6(v).
266. Exposition of I John, p. 177f.
269. Exposition of I John, p. 194.
270. Ibid. p. 193.
271. Ibid. p. 143.
272. Ibid. p. 194.
273. For a full discussion of the Protestant attack on indifferent things c.f. Verkamp, op. cit.
274. A consolacyon, sig. H6(v).
275. C.f. Ibid. sig. H6(v).
278. Exposition of I John, p. 178.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REFORMATION UNDERMINED:

THE RETURN TO EXILE AND THE

RE-EMERGENCE OF CONTROVERSY
To turn from the literature produced by Protestants in the second half of the 1530s to the works brought out in the last seven years of Henry's reign is to move from a realm of peace and tranquility to one of open warfare. Following the publication of the Act of Six Articles in 1539 Protestant s were once more persecuted for their beliefs. A new orthodoxy had been established, one which largely excluded reformist yearnings and one intolerant of any deviance. However much the extent of the Catholic triumph has been exaggerated it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Act of Six Articles which signalled the beginning of the reaction was a victory for theological orthodoxy and a rejection of reformist leanings in the Henrician Church. Certainly the Act was viewed as such by onlookers. For Luther, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon, the Act was final proof of Henry's hypocrisy. Henry had shown that he cared little for Godly learning, intending only to make a religion for himself. It was useless to give him another chance. Melanchthon, in particular, was sufficiently disturbed by the legislation to write a long letter of protest in which he urged the King to reconsider this cruel edict. Privately he saw the Act as a triumph for the adversaries of pious doctrine.

Although the Lutherans found the Act theologically offensive their main concern lay with the severity of its penalties. According to the Act, anyone found guilty of speaking, writing, imputing, ciphering, publishing, teaching, or holding opinion against the doctrine of transubstantiation, for example, was a heretic and should suffer death by burning and loss of goods. Those found guilty of preaching or
teaching, or, upon trial, of obstinately affirming views contrary to the other five articles, or any man or woman who having vowed chastity entered into marriage, were to suffer a felon's death. Others who otherwise published, declared, or held opinion contrary to the articles were to suffer imprisonment and loss of goods for the first offence and a felon's death for the second. In addition to presenting penalties for transgression, the Act also established the machinery for the investigation of heresy. Special periodic commissions were to be instituted for full and effectual execution of premises whilst books containing matter repugnant or contrary to the Act could be burnt or otherwise destroyed.

This savage and formidable measure signalled not only a setback for Lutheran aspirations but marked a major defeat for Cromwell and the reforming faction itself. Although Cromwell recovered his authority within a few months of the Act's publication, by the following year he had again fallen victim to conservative plotting and in July 1540 he was executed as a traitor and heretic. In the same month the unacknowledged leader of English Protestantism, Robert Barnes suffered a similar fate. In March of that year Barnes had engaged in pulpit controversy with Stephen Gardiner. The debate, conducted over the issue of the sufficiency of Christ's salvation and the nature of grace, free will, and penance, was marked by an extraordinary degree of rancour. Barnes's vituperative attack on Gardiner's criticism of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith resulted in the reformer together with William Jerome and Thomas Garrett being compelled to make a public recantation of their views at Paul's Cross.
recantations however carried no conviction and all three were forced to suffer martyrdom.\textsuperscript{14}

Neither Cromwell nor Barnes died simply because of the Six Articles. Both were executed without open trial by Acts of Attainder for political rather than theological reasons.\textsuperscript{15} For all its tails the Act of Six Articles proved in fact to be a whip with little sting. As a political instrument the legislation completely failed to achieve its main function of abolishing diversity in matters of religion. In 1540-41 Bishop Bonner of London initiated the first wave of persecution following the Act in an attempt to extirpate radical heresy in the capital.\textsuperscript{16} In the process over two-hundred persons were arrested on charges of having committed offences under the 1539 legislation.\textsuperscript{17} Of these two-hundred, however, only three found their way into prison. Following an earlier round up of persons suspected of heresy, over five hundred were released by a general pardon.\textsuperscript{18} In all only six people actually suffered death under the Act.\textsuperscript{19} The severe penalties which had attracted so much concern were seldom enforced.

These investigations of heresy did at least afford the Catholic faction a number of propaganda victories. Under Bonner's inquisition a large number of Protestant writers and preachers were forced to recant their heterodox opinions.\textsuperscript{20} In January 1540 Dr. Crome, Rector of St. Anthony's London, was forced to recant his views on justification by faith following a pulpit contest with the conservative Nicholas Wilson. Further recantations followed in 1541 and 1546.\textsuperscript{21} In November Alexander Seton, a Scot, was charged with preaching that 'private masses and dirges... were not
available nor helping to the souls that were departed' and that 'faith did only justify and that works were not helping nor profitable to any man but only to declare and testify our faith'. In December Seton and his fellow reformer William Tolwyn were forced to recant. Soon after their recantations were brought out in print.

Alongside this publication of Protestant admissions of error the conservatives attempted to embark on a positive programme of propaganda of their own. In the early 1540s Bonner made plans for the creation of a conservative preaching clergy and throughout the remaining years of Henry's reign a number of sermons and other works found their way into print. Catholics such as Standish, Smith, Peryn, Chedsey, and Gardiner all brought out books in defence of the new orthodoxy as a direct consequence of the 1539 legislation. Religious propaganda which had effectively been in the hands of Protestants since the death of More was once more common property.

What then was the impact of the Catholic reaction upon Protestant literature? In short, by no means as serious as was feared. The conservatives lacked the astuteness and single mindedness of Cromwell and failed to develop effective control over the press. Whereas Cromwell was able to largely exclude hostile writings the Catholics found themselves unable to exert a monopoly over printed ideas. Through a variety of means Protestant books continued to be put out in England, some of which openly propagated controversial doctrinal ideas. As in an earlier period of reaction Protestant propaganda flooded into the country from abroad. With the publication
of the Six Articles leading Protestant writers such as Joye, Coverdale, Bale, and Turner, left England for a period of exile. From their bases in Germany and the Low Countries this second generation of exiles bombarded their native land with a barrage of anti-Catholic propaganda, providing in the process a continuity with the works of the previous decade. Whatever else it achieved persecution proved fertile ground for polemic.

Although the Catholics failed to control the flow of Protestant controversial literature they nonetheless succeeded, albeit unwittingly, in determining the nature of polemical writing in the 1540s. Whereas the Protestant books of the latter half of the 1530s avoided controversial issues and sought to promote the positive face of Protestantism, the moral implications of the new learning; the books of the 1540s saw an increase in the negative thrust of Protestant theology. Anti-clericalism, anti-papism, anti-sacramentalism, anti-ceremonialism were once more at the forefront of Protestant writings. The Six Articles, which covered the questions of transubstantiation, communion in one kind, priestly marriage, vows of chastity, private masses and auricular confession, established the agenda of polemical literature for the next seven years and beyond. In the 1540s the questions of the Mass and clerical celibacy became the focal points for Protestant writers. Theological literature became once more the medium of inter-faith debate and argument. Confessionalism and polemic were the offspring of the 1539 legislation. However ineffectual they may have been, to the Protestants the Six Articles represented a threat to religion itself. For
Protestant writers witness to the truth necessarily involved an assault on this savage symbol of ungodliness.

1. Exilic Literature c. 1540-43.

From the time that the Six Articles began to be enforced right up till the accession of Edward VI in early 1547 the main suppliers and producers of English Protestant literature were exiles. Largely free from the harassment of secular and religious authorities, the exiles were able to produce books which advanced the distinctive doctrines of their faith. For the last seven years of Henry's reign Protestant writing was largely the preserve of a handful of reformers who had been forced to quit their native land.

(i) The Death of Barnes and the Re-emergence of Polemic.

The first major literary battle of the 1540s arose out of events surrounding the death of Robert Barnes. In October 1540 Robert Redman rushed into print a little treatise by John Standish, fellow of Whittington College London, which was written against Barnes's protestation at the stake. According to his preface, Standish's reason for writing was to expose Barnes's heresy and treason rather than simply to gloat over his fall. Since Barnes's death many copies of his Protestation have been circulated throughout the realm, and many people have come to "secretlye embrace (the work) as moste precyous Jewel". For Standish, all those who take Barnes's side are guilty of the same crimes of treason and heresy.

Like earlier Catholic polemicists such as More, Standish
immediately undermined his attempt to counter the effect of Barnes's work by including the Protestation in his text. Circulation of the Protestation was thus promoted by default.

His attack on Barnes focussed on the issue of justification by faith. For Standish, good works were meritorious for salvation and satisfaction, and must be offered by the individual to God for his sins. In advocating that men are justified by faith alone Barnes was guilty of preaching "a carnall lybertye". His theological error was confuted by massive scriptural quotation. Although Standish rather unwisely chose to quote the scriptures in Latin, his use of the Bible testified to the extent that the reformers' doctrine of sola scriptura had prevailed.

Although Standish directed his argument onto the central theological issue of controversy, his work was marred by a prejudicial attack on Barnes's person. All of Barnes's defences were regarded as erroneous lies. Even his protestation of belief in the Trinity and Incarnation was regarded by Standish as no defence of orthodoxy. When Barnes advised the King to be on his guard against false clerics he was guilty of arrogance and presumptuousness. His whole work, it was claimed, was merely feigned charity. His forgiveness of Stephen Gardiner, for example, was both hypocritical and an incitement to violence. "Was it not therefore even as much charyte to persecute hi (Barnes) and al such to suffre death by the law as it is to saue an innocent from dethe".

Standish's attack on Barnes attracted considerable Protestant attention and provoked a vigorous reply from the exile Miles Coverdale. The bulk of Coverdale's Confutation
consisted of criticism of the scriptural proofs brought by Standish in support of his views on justification. Indeed Standish's very quotation of the scriptures was itself open to attack. "There are some of you / that call us English doctours / for writinge so much in English / asthough in the vnderstandinge of other tongues we were inferiours to you / but now ye make us youre English interpreters / for putting us to the Payne to English the wordes / which ye wrappe vp in latyn from the vnderstandinge of the people". Throughout the work Standish had engaged in false syllogistic reasoning, abusing the principles of logic to misinform his readers. More importantly, Standish continually misrepresented the scriptures. At the same time, for fear that the reader would not take Standish's wrestling of the scriptures as sufficient proof of his "fained satisfaction", Coverdale brought in a large number of biblical texts in support of the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

According to Coverdale, justification by faith was not a doctrine of carnal liberty. No-one can deny that Barnes continually exhorted his readers and hearers to live godly lives. Moreover, the attempts shown by Protestants to labour for their papist opponents' salvation, together with the fruits of their good moral lives, testifies that they have a high regard for good works. "Now to do good dedes / to bring forth good frutes / to walke in a new life / to shew gods wonderfull workes / to lead an honest connuersacion in the world / what is it els / but to shew and set forth our profession / the life that we haue promised and taken us to at font stone / even the holy covenaunt and appoyntment that we haue made
with the eternall god". 44

As a theological statement Coverdale's Confutation easily crushed Standish's rather lightweight work. Furthermore, in terms of polemical technique Coverdale displayed far more ability than his conservative opponent. Barnes's Protestantation was again quoted in full although Standish's own work was severely abbreviated. 45 Indeed Coverdale saw Standish's verbatim quotation of the Protestantation as a major tactical mistake. If Standish so feared that Barnes's work could influence the people why then did he include it in his text? "Is the printing of the saide protestacion the nexte waie to kepe copies therof from the people. Ye maie well haue witte / but sure ye lacke policiell . According to Coverdale, Barnes's Protestantation had not been printed, and, as far as he knew, was not widely available. 47 On the other hand a large number of works of both Protestant and Catholic persuasion had recently emerged. "For (as I am credibly enfourmed / and as I partly haue sene) there is now a wonderful diuersite in writing bokes and balates in England / one enueyenge agaunst another / one reuylinge and reprouyng another / one reioysinge at anothers fall and aduersite". 48 Regretably all these works were put forward with the King's privilege. The entire method of publication was in need of reform.

The Confutation of Standish revealed hitherto unseen qualities of invective and abuse. To a large extent Coverdale was provoked into using a more vituperative style of prose by the fact that Standish had attacked his former friend and mentor. During Barnes's lifetime Standish had made no attempt
to charge the reformer with heresy or treason. Now that Barnes is gone Standish draws his sword to fight "with them that are slayn alreadye". For the most part, Coverdale attacked the person of his opponent with the language of the scriptures. "What, are ye so farre from the knowledge of this geer / and yet a preacher / a reader / and a post of the church. Who wolde thinke / that you (which are so well aquaynted with him that can compare the deare bloud of Christ to the Stinkynge bloud of a swyne) shuld be so farre from the vnderstandinge of such thinges. O wicked hogges / whom Sathan hath possessed of that sort". "Reade ye the text forth / and remembre your selfe well / considre in what case ye are / and how wyde your doctryne disagreeth from the wholsome word of god. If I shuld saye ye were puft vp / ignoraunt / a waist brayne / et cete. of a corrupte mynde / or robbed of the trueth / ye wolde happlie be angrie. Yet be cõtent to let Paul speake to you / for though he rayle not / yet shall ye not find him a flatrer".

This more abusive style was by no means the only difference from Coverdale's earlier work. Other aspects of his book illustrate further ways by which Coverdale responded to the reaction back home. Many of the ideas expressed in the work recur again and again in the writings of the second generation Protestant exiles.

In the first place, as his conclusion made clear, Coverdale directed the work to the Protestant community in England. Ostensibly his book sought to instruct the reader of how to distinguish between truth and falsehood. In fact, his writing was designed to encourage the Protestants who remained
in England to be true to their faith. "Faynt not thou in faith (deare reader) nether waxe colde in loue and charite / though the enemies of gods worde be gathered together and growne in to such swarmes. Be thou strong in the lorde / and in the power of his might. And let not discourage the / that the sayd worde is so little in the estimacion of the world / so greatly despised / so sore persecuted / so wickedly peruerted / wrested and belyed / so vthankfully receaued / so shamefully denied / and so slouthfully folowed". According to Coverdale persecution had never been absent. Throughout history tyrants have railed against the truth. False prophets have continually "misreported the straight waies of the lord.... pretëding a loue toward Christes word / (they) did but folow him for their own belies sake".

In the text of his work Coverdale developed this notion of a historical movement of anti-Christianity into a coherent doctrine of the two churches. Along with the Church that is made of lime and stone "ther is also a congregacion churchand multitude of frowarde and wicked does / which not onely gather them selues together like roaringe lyons / fatte bulles / wanton calues and curre dogges agaynst Christ (as the xxj Psalme complaineth) but also make lawes / cöstitucions / statues / ordinaunces and tradicions agaynst gods worde". In contrast to this church malignant stands "the holy spouse / congregacion and company of them / that are of the felashippe and communion of Christ / and walke not in darknes / but in the trueth / hauing al their sinnes clensed by his bloude".

In the Confution the doctrine of the two churches had no real apocalyptic undertones but was simply used as an explanation
for the contemporary persecution. As Richard Bauckham points out, "The doctrine of the two churches functioned primarily as a guide to current affairs, an index of truth and falsehood in the religious situation of the moment". 57 Standish's malice towards Barnes was simply explained as the product of his congregation. "But so it is that ye which are of another secte / blaspheme Crhistes gloude / ergo ye are of the malignaunt church". 58 As such it was incumbent upon godly men to rebuke any expression of this false church. Polemic was thus an integral part of witness to the truth. At the same time, however, Coverdale did not go into great detail about the cause of the present troubles in England. Unlike other writers, Coverdale did not actually draw much attention either to the responsibility of Henry VIII, or to the influence of the conservative clergy. In seeing Standish and his fellows as standing in the tradition of the church malignant, details of the current reaction could be overlooked or avoided. Similarly, for Coverdale, deliverence from the tyranny that was at present reigning throughout the realm was left entirely to God's hands. As he did in the time of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, so God will do with contemporary tyrants. 59

Though not directly critical of the King, Coverdale showed no sycophantic regard for Henry VIII. If the King prohibited the scriptures, as Coverdale believed he was about to do, Henry would go against God's Word. No longer would men be bound to obey him. 60 Yet under no circumstances should they resort to violent resistance. Rather they must suffer patiently, even though they cannot obey or agree with him. 61 In other words, the response of the Christian to the evil and
suffering of the reaction in England was to be a quiescent acceptance of his lot.

(ii) Coverdale: Later Polemics.

Although the Confutation of Standish marked a new departure for Coverdale into the realm of interpersonal controversy, it was not a path down which the reformer wished to travel. The remainder of his work in exile was far more similar to his writings and translations of the previous decade. From 1540 to 1543 Coverdale spent his exile in Strassburg, apparently on friendly terms both with Calvin and with Bucer's secretary Conrad Hubert. In September 1543, on the recommendation of Hubert, he was appointed assistant minister and head of the local school of Bergzebern, a small town forty miles north of Strassburg. Possibly by then Coverdale had acquired a D.D. from the University of Tübingen. In any case his pastoral work did not get in the way of his studies nor did it inhibit his literary work. Between 1540 and 1546 Coverdale brought out no less than ten works which were directed to the problems of his native land.

The Confutation of Standish was not in fact his first work of exile. In 1541 he brought out a translation of a work of Bullinger's entitled The Old Faith. In the treatise Der alt Glaube, originally published in 1537, Bullinger attempted to demonstrate the antiquity of the Protestant faith. Indeed, for Bullinger, the Protestant faith, essentially the belief that man obtains remission of sin, true righteousness and everlasting life only through the passion and death of Christ, was older than the faith of the Jews. Adam and
Eve, the patriarchs, prophets and all the virtuous Kings and people of Israel had all put their faith in the promises of God which were to be fulfilled in Christ. Throughout the work Bullinger interpreted key Old Testament episodes as pointing to Christ's atonement. The ark of Noah, for example, was seen as a figure of Christ; the deliverance from Egypt was a symbol of His resurrection whilst the oblations and sacrifices of the Israelites signified the passion and death of Christ. The message of the work was clear and unambiguous. "Lo, thus the hearts of all the righteous in the Old Testament from Adam unto Christ, even 3974 years, have stood only upon Christ: in him was their comfort, upon him they trusted, it was he whom they longed for, and in Christ Jesu were they saved. Therefore hath our christian faith endured since the beginning of the world, and is, and continueth still the only true, old, undoubted, and fast grounded faith".

In the conclusion Bullinger drew out the polemical implications of the argument. In spite of the assaults of heretics and the persecution of tyrants the truth has always survived. Now at a time when the truth is being abused by the errors of the papists, we should continue steadfast in the faith. The entire religion of the papists must be cast away. Ceremonies, masses, saints and pardons must be rejected as the signs of Antichrist.

Coverdale's preface made the piece especially relevant to the current problems in England. His aim in translating the work was partly to exhort all those who have received the faith to stand fast in the face of mockery and derision.
In recent times many have recanted their beliefs and have denied God's Holy Word both in word and in print. Whilst the work was seen by Coverdale as pastoral and exhortatory, directed to the faithful in England, he was by no means blind to the faults of the Protestants. In the preface, for example, he showed a particularly perceptive understanding of the collective responsibility of the Protestants for the recent outbreak of persecution. In the old times the old faith of individuals was often proclaimed by a rich life and by good works. Recently, however, "seeing there be so many babblers and prattlers of faith, and so few that bring forth the worthy fruits of penance, it giveth to the world occasion to report of us, that our faith is but new-fangled.... To be short, they see not in our garden those sweet flowers and fruits of God's holy Spirit, which were in them that had the old faith". As a result, the people of England and the continent need not only a Paul to preach faith in Christ alone but also a James to rebuke those who are dead to good works. In the Old Faith moral improvement was thus thrust to the forefront of Coverdale's programme of reform.

Sometime during this period of exile Coverdale brought out a work entitled *Fruitful Lessons upon the Passion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension and the sending of the holy ghost.* The work consisted of a number of scriptural passages each of which was accompanied by a short sermon in two parts dealing with the exposition and with the application of the text in question. For Coverdale, the treatise was intended to show how souls could be drawn to examine particular vices. The passion of Christ, for example, formed a starting point
for overcoming vanity. In this essentially devotional work the themes of human imperfection and moral betterment were paramount.

Coverdale had possibly borrowed the idea and plan of the work from a book by Zwingli. In 1545 he turned his attention to Zwingli's early mentor Erasmus and brought out an abridgement of the Enchiridion militis Christiani. The work, based on the 1534 revision of the 1533 translation, omitted a good deal of Erasmus's more controversial material. The preface to Volz, for example, was summarised in a few paragraphs. For Coverdale, the essential message of the prologue was that God calls his children to repentance through adversity. It would serve the gospel better if priests excelled in knowledge and life thereof, and if princes, establishing no laws for their own pleasure, took more delight in ruling their people with mercy rather than with cruelty. Evil commands that have issued from rulers should be suffered by the people. Nonetheless the people should not shirk from their own duties.

"Neither need men to fear, that the reproving of such abuses doth either subvert religion, or hinder true obedience. For whomsoever the Holy Ghost inspireth, is of his own accord, without any manner of compulsion, ready to obey, yea, even those rulers that be sharp and rough..."

Coverdale's abridgement of the Enchiridion testifies both to the attraction of Erasmus's writing to Protestants and to the continuing appeal of the work as an instruction or aid to moral improvement. In other works of this period, however, Coverdale turned from the issues of personal morality to the broader questions of ecclesiastical reform.
His 1542 treatise, The Acts of the Disputation of Regensberg, consisted of a translation of two books: Bucer's Acta Colloquii Ratisponae, and Melanchthon's Acta in Conventu Ratisponae. Conducted largely on a work secretly produced by Bucer, Gropper, and Gerhard Veltwyck, the Diet of Regensberg, though ultimately ending in failure, was notable for the agreement reached by the Catholics and Protestants over a number of articles particularly that concerning justification. According to D.B. Knox, this agreement may have influenced Coverdale's decision to translate the articles. In so far that free will was defined after a Protestant manner, that concupiscence was called sin, that forgiveness was seen as operating by the non-imputation of sin through union with Christ, that faith included repentance, the document was no doubt helpful to reformers in England as it showed that the papal party could in fact agree with reformed doctrine. Differences over transubstantiation and the nature of the Church, however, proved insurmountable and, as the series of documents made clear, Protestants were unwilling to accept the provisions made by the Emperor for theological unity. Accordingly, Coverdale's translation may have been designed not so much as a means of illustrating the possibilities of religious agreement, as a means of demonstrating the points of Protestant theology upon which there could be no compromise. In short, the work was confessional rather than eirenec.

Although Coverdale included the articles of the Regensburg Book which were proposed by the Emperor, they were prefaced by a hostile review by Melanchthon and were followed by a series of counter articles produced by the Protestants.
Towards the end of the work Coverdale translated a declaration made by Melanchthon on the reform of abuses in the Church. Rulers should see that all pastors teach godly doctrine, that unprofitable ceremonies be abolished, and that priests be allowed to marry. The temporal rulers were to carry out the duties of their office with moderation "for tyranny is an enemy unto the church / therefore all tokens of appearance of tyranny must nedys be auoyded and abhorred in the iudgemetis concernynge the church". For Coverdale, both the warning and the proposals were seen as of value to the English situation. "Let vs hold and kepe the gyft of God and those things that be true and necessary for the church / moderately. But not withstanding let us speake frely as we thinke and faithfully / rightly and playnely". In the dark days of persecution Melanchthon's dictum was of immediate relevance to the Protestant community in England.

Coverdale's next translation, The Supplicacion: That the nobles and comons of Osteryke made...vnto kyng Ferdinandus, presented a similar programme of ecclesiastical reform to that of Melanchthon. Without reform the country will be ruined. Deliverance only comes from preaching the gospel which alone leads to true repentance. The King must bring to pass that the gospel be preached and that justification by faith be taught. In addition, the sacrament of the altar should be ministered unto the people according to how it was observed in the early church. Other abuses should be put away by the spirituality who should also put an end to their persecution.

The Supplicacion was followed by the Answer of the King, in which he asked that subjects be patient until final agreement
was reached on religious matters. In turn his Answer was followed by the Conclusion of the Messengers which drew particular attention to the persecution of clerics. For preaching justification by faith preachers are exiled from their native land. The King should allow these godly men to remain and continue their preaching.

Although the Supplication was strongly motivated by political concerns, as the religious basis for uniting behind Ferdinand in the task of resisting the Turks, the work read, in Coverdale's translation, simply as a reforming petition addressed to Henry VIII. According to his preface, Coverdale was singularly impressed with the way in which the nobles adopted peaceful methods to petition their duly appointed ruler. Although the King was obeyed without any murmuring, the nobles still preferred the Word of God to all precepts of man. In four points Coverdale summed up the message of the work for English readers. God has not yet ceased to call men to conversion. These faithful men are not merely called to desire reform, however, but are expected to take pains to carry it out. To do so their first complaint must be to God and only then to the higher temporal rulers. If, however, their requests are not granted they should not promote any disturbance or rebellion.

Coverdale's third work on ecclesiastical reform was of altogether different hue. Around 1543 he made a trip to Denmark, a country which had embarked on a programme of Protestant reforms. The work which came out of the trip, entitled The Order of the Church in Denmark... for the Lord's Supper, Baptism, and Holy Wedlock, directed the English
reader to compare continental models of worship with "the vain ceremonies used here yet, after the church of Rome". 106

When the reader sees that the orders of the Danish and German Churches are agreeable to God's Word he may wish to have God's truth prosper likewise in England. He should therefore pray that God illuminates the hearts of rulers to embrace the doctrine of Christ. 107 In his conclusion Coverdale again exhorted all subjects to be patient and to avoid any glimmer of sedition. Here, however, he gave a reason for so doing, claiming that he wished to "stop the mouths and the blasphemous tongues of such as will not cease to rail on men, and to slander me (yea, even to the king's majesty), as though I were a perverter of common order, or took upon me to change the laws and to make new statues". 108 Although those who resist temporal rulers are no doubt damned, Coverdale assured his readers that there is no less damnation for rulers who make unjust laws and cruel statues to maintain their lust and oppress the poor. 109

Coverdale's references to acts of parliament and to statutes being directed against God's Word, may allude to the King's Book of 1543, the final formulary of faith of the Henrician Church. 110 Although the King's Book was by no means a triumph for the Catholic party, at several points it stood in sharp conflict with evangelical doctrine. Possibly Coverdale was inspired to bring out his work on the orders of the Danish Church as a counter to the articles of the formulary. In any event he did not view current events in England in a hopeful light. In the face of the present troubles the godly should attempt to show that they be true
disciples of God, and should pray for an end to persecution. In the last work of Coverdale to be considered at this stage the author focussed his attention more sharply on the themes of suffering and persecution. The work, entitled The defence of a certayne poore Christen man, was translated by Coverdale from an unknown German source. It consisted of an apology for Protestantism expressed in the form of a refutation of a number of papist charges which allegedly had been used to condemn an unnamed man. The form of the work provided for an extremely capable and effective polemic. The papist inquisitor was continually referred to directly which created almost an air of dialogue and debate. Like the Confutation of Standish, the contemporary persecution was given concrete and detailed illustration.

Coverdale's reason for translating the work was obvious. In a series of points the author examined and demolished a total of eight articles of heresy that were attributed to his anonymous Christian. All eight pointed to Protestant sympathies, whilst their prohibition roughly corresponded to official attitudes in England. The heretic was condemned for claiming that the bishop of Rome is not the head of the Church, that the Mass is not to be used as a sacrifice, that the elements be administered in both kinds, that purgatory was a vain superstition, that the invocation of saints was unnecessary, that auricular confession was not instituted by Christ or his disciples, that it was no sin to eat flesh on prohibited days, and that priests should be allowed to marry. In other words, the heretic's condemnation could be seen as a result of the legislation of England.
The Defence added no new points of Protestant theology, although key tenets of the faith, such as the priesthood of all believers, sola fides, and sola scriptura, were well to the fore. In a recapitulation to the reader, possibly composed by Coverdale, emphasis was placed on the comforts and consolation of scripture for them that suffer persecution. In the face of blood-thirsty Romanists the reader should trust in the mercy of God.

For the most part Coverdale directed his exilic works to the Protestant faithful in England rather than to the people as a whole or to the temporal and religious authorities. In effect Coverdale viewed the English Protestants as an exilic community within their native land; a minority continually subjected to the slanders and cavillations of the papists and to the bloodshed and tyranny of the authorities. His main purpose in writing was to comfort the persecuted and to exhort them to continue steadfast in their faith. Accordingly his whole literary career took on the character of a pastoral labour.

Having said that, Coverdale's encouragement of the faithful was severely limited. Only in one work, the Confutation of Standish did he attempt, via the doctrine of the two churches, to provide a framework in which the present troubles could be explained and understood. In the Confutation Coverdale drew on Old Testament precedents as a means of demonstrating the continuity of persecution and suffering. In the light of Biblical exempla contemporary problems could be seen. In his other works, however, Coverdale simply instructed the reader to remain steadfast. No explanation for his suffering
was offered, nor was there any attempt to explain the machinery of persecution and reaction. The Six Articles, for example, are never referred to directly. The result is that persecution and suffering are idealised. Both the writer and his audience remain impersonal figures. The experience of the pastor provides no model for his flock.

Although the works of Coverdale's second exile emerged in response to the problems of reaction and persecution in England, the central arguments of his reforming treatises remained the same as those of his works, for the Southwark printer James Nicholson. Moral betterment was consistently put forward as the goal of ecclesiastical and social reform. Good works were seen as a witness to the faith. In the face of persecution morality took on additional significance. All tyranny was to be met with temperance and quiescence. The life and conversation of the persecuted individual proclaimed his faith far better than any words.

Coverdale's later works did, however, give far more attention to the issues of ecclesiastical reform. Through his translation of the documents concerning the Regensburg Book, The Supplication to Ferdinand and the Order of the Danish Church, Coverdale attempted to influence and determine attitudes to reform in England. By drawing upon concrete proposals of reform and continental models of devotion, Coverdale matched the recent papist reforms in England with a series of counter proposals. Possibly Coverdale attempted to avoid unnecessary controversy by putting forward ideas of reform in the form of translations. Petitions to Charles V and to the King of Austria were a means of veiling a more
direct appeal to Henry VIII. If, however, this was Coverdale's intention he was not successful. In 1546 Bishop Bonner prohibited all of Coverdale's books of the 1540s. Even this most temperate reformer was recognised as a danger by the authorities.

(iii) The attack on Priestly celibacy.

Coverdale's work made little reference to the actual legislation of the Six Articles. There was, however, a notable exception. In 1541 Coverdale brought out a translation of a work by Bullinger which was directed to the questions of marriage and celibacy. Of all the articles of the 1539 legislation the instructions concerning clerical celibacy and vows of chastity proved the most immediately contentious of the English Protestants. The reason was not hard to find. Under the legislation the marriages of priests and persons who have 'vowed chastity and widowhood... shall be utterly void', whilst those who married after vowing chastity were to suffer a felon's death. As a result of the Act several leading Protestant writers were forced into exile. Coverdale, Joye, and Bale all suffered as a result of this very legislation. Whilst in exile all three of them gave their attention to the issues of clerical marriage and celibacy.

Coverdale's translation of The Christen state of Matrimonye proved to be one of the mildest of the writings devoted to the issue. Parts of the work were taken up with the Old Testament origins of marriage, which, according to Bullinger, began with Adam and Eve. The work covered a good many details of the marital state, some of which were theoretical such as the nature of wedlock, and the degrees of consanguinity and
affinity. Others however showed a distinct practical bent, offering advice, for example, on such matters as how one should choose a mate, how children should be brought up, and how love may be kept and increased.

There were a number of polemical flourishes. Bullinger condemned the papacy's insistence on clerical celibacy as going "agaynst God / agaynst honestie and agaynst right". Should anyone wonder why the Pope has forbidden the clergy to marry he should simply realise that the Pope operates through the spirit of Antichrist. Neither the Old Testament nor the new Testament upheld the principle of clerical celibacy and the practice of episcopal marriage prevailed at least until the time of Gregory VII.

Bullinger's work on marriage proved particularly attractive to English writers and readers. In 1542 the London printers John Gough and John Mayler brought out a new edition of Coverdale's translation with a preface by Thomas Becon. Writing after the event Becon claimed that the printers set forth the book under his name both "for the more ready sale", and "to make it more plausible to the readers". Certainly the work, sold well; in all at least nine editions of Coverdale's translation were brought out between 1541 and 1575.

In August 1541 another exile George Joye brought out two works which were concerned with the legislation of the Six Acts on clerical marriage and vows. The first consisted of a translation of Melanchthon's Defensio coniugii sacerdotum, written in 1540 in response to the events in England. As such the work illustrates not only Melanchthon's approach
to the questions of marriage and celibacy but also his reaction to the persecution in England.

Like Bullinger, Melanchthon did not go into detail about the reasons that lay behind the enforcement of compulsory clerical celibacy. At the beginning of the work he did argue that the practice of wiveless chastity was defended "nether by scripulose religion: nor yet by any superstició: but onely because siche sole state of lyuing is the more comodiouse to holde still their gloriusse praistly pompe and popis power". Elsewhere he saw the practice in less pragmatic terms. According to the Book of Daniel clerical celibacy is a mark of the Antichrist. "To stablisshe the doctrynes of deuillis it is vngodlynes / the prohibicion of wedlok is the doctrine of deuillis / ergo to stablisshe or to defende it / is impiete and vngodlynes". Historically, compulsory clerical celibacy emerged as a heretical deviation from the custom of the early church. In the apostolic age, and for a long time after, priests of both the Greek and Latin Churches were married. The first patrons of the 'monkish religion' were the heretics Marcion and Montanus, although it was later taken up by that "most euil fauoured monster Hildebrande". Since then the practice has been associated with Rome, and all men have come to see what "prodigious buggery and sodomityk synnes ar comytted at Rome".

In contrast to his rather cursory account of the origins and causes of the practice of clerical celibacy Melanchthon expounded at length on the reasons for marriage and the implications of wiveless chastity. Marriage was established in scripture and natural law as "the lawfull copulacion of
the man and woman". 140 No-one is exempt from this natural law except those who are born emasculated or those precious few who have been given the gift of chastity. In claiming that God does not allow marriage for some degrees of men the papists make "wedlock to be an unclean state & a viciouse kynde of lyuing /" for all. 141 Moreover, since marriage has been instituted as the proper vehicle for concupiscence, the practice of wiveless chastity leads to a life of ruin and damnation. Idleness and riches, excess and lechery increase, leading to a life of ambition, gluttony, covetousness and tyranny. "For as for the holy popes / cardinallles / bisshops / abbots / pryours / preistes fryers monkes and nonnes they ar not satisfyed with whores aduoutry incest and fornicacion: but they comitte whother more abhominable prodigious crimes..." 142 Out of the laws of celibacy spring a host of related vices and abuses.

Melanchthon's defence of marriage and attack on clerical celibacy was a far more relevant and interesting piece than Bullinger's Der Chrislich Eestand not least because of the fact that it was written in response to the 1539 legislation of England. According to Melanchthon the ruling confirmed that the Kingdom of Antichrist "which once sprōgē vp at Rome / now cruelly crepeth forth into al the realmes of christendō where so euer the wiked lawes of * bisshops of Rome & of their ympes yet haue dominion". 143 By implication, Melanchthon argued that the legislation was the result of clerical intrigue. For these "crafty, subtile wittis it is easye enough to inñet some iuggling castes & apparent reasons to bleere ignorant princes eyes & to mokout ſ truth were it neuer so clere". 144
The sheer severity of the penalties for clerical marriage pointed to the influence of the devil.

Through a series of objections Melanchthon undermined the rationale of the 1539 Act. Article 4, which stated that vows of chastity and widowhood ought to be observed by the law of God, was attacked on the grounds that vows which went against God's commandments were invalid. The vow of celibacy was not made voluntarily but was, in fact, the imposition of an unnecessary and intolerable burden on the religious conscience. More importantly, Melanchthon examined the argument that kings may legislate on the issue of marriage since it belongs to the category of civil ordinance. According to Melanchthon, the premise of the syllogism was false. "Kynge ought not aftir their owne inulement & pleure to make what actes & lawes they lyste / no not of cyuile things / but they ought to enacte & make iust lawes folowing the pleure & wil of god & not their owne / Æ is / they make no actes nor lawes fighting agUst goddis commandements." The power of kings is by no means a licentious liberty to enact and constitute anything against God's commandments but is subject to severe limitations. The threats of God against unlawful deeds are every bit as valid when directed against Kings as against any other men.

In his conclusion Melanchthon pointed out that the practice of compulsory clerical celibacy undermined the entire nature of reformation. As long as the practice is maintained all the rest of Antichrist's idolatry is confirmed. Conversely, the practice of clerical marriage is seen as the linchpin of
reform. "Sewerly the most parte of the vngodly religiō / supsticiouse seruyce / worship / & supfluouse excesse of the popis preistes bisshops abbayes & colleges were fallen / if wedlok were restored to the preistes". As long as the temporal and religious authorities defend wiveless chastity they "heap the worthy vengeace of god vpō their owne headis". 150

Joye's own defence of the marriage of priests 151 was very much influenced by Melanchthon's arguments. Like Melanchthon, Joye saw the institution of clerical celibacy as posing a crucial question for the fundamental nature of the Reformation in England. If the country has truly divorced herself from Rome why are papism's principal institutions so cherished and maintained. 152 The "fayned glitering colour of wyulesse chastite" was seen as "fowntayne of all' whoredome". 153 Marriage, established in scripture and in the law of nature, was practiced by the apostles and clergy until the time of Gregory VII "otherwyse called hittebrande / or rather the hell fyerbrandell. 154 Romish colibacy has henceforth been the preserve of Gregory's "Sodomitical secte of vnshame faced shauelingis". 155

Unlike Melanchthon and Bullinger, Joye attempted to examine the motives that lay behind the 1539 legislation. As the title of his work made clear, the responsibility for the articles concerning marriage and vows was attributed to Bishops Gardiner of Winchester and Repse of Norwich. These "blodye bryghtsheeps .... did sit hatching ñ cokatrices egges weauing the spyders webbes". 156 In addition, Joye saw a political motivation for the act. Some noblemen have attempted to turn wives of priests into their own whores. 157 In particular, Joye
responded to the arguments put forward in "this new blak parle-
ment" by the Duke of Norfolk who warned that permitting priests
to marry and thereby obtain the dowries of gentlemen's daughters
would eventually give bishops control of the land.\textsuperscript{158}

For Joye, however, the main reasons for the legislation
were the sexual immorality and social greed of the clergy.
Indeed, Joye went to some lengths to point out that he did
not blame the secular members of parliament for the Six Articles.\textsuperscript{159}
Clergy who do not marry have the pleasure of enjoying other men's
wives, thereby living on the labours of other men's work.
The cares and troubles of true wedlock are thus abandoned
in favour of promiscuity.\textsuperscript{160} Secondly, in maintaining this
social distinction between priests and laity, the clergy attempt
to present themselves as having a higher religious status.
As a result they receive privilges and endowments far in
excess of their need or value.\textsuperscript{161}

Turning to Article 4, of the Act, Joye defined a vow as
a free promise of that thing which is in our power to perform
it, and which thing we are sure also that God accepts it.\textsuperscript{162}
On all three counts Winchester's vows were judged invalid.
In particular, the practice of vowing chastity at the age of
twenty-one was seen as unwarranted. According to the
scriptures, God does not wait until the individual has
reached twenty-one before he gives him the gift of chastity.\textsuperscript{163}
Moreover, the whole principle of the legislation of the 6 Acts
conflicted with scriptural requirement. All acts concerning
Christian religion were either made in Christ's time or have
dominical percept. Why then, Joye asked, did this new
parliament act as if it had suddenly discovered the truth?\textsuperscript{164}
In attempting to use the agency of parliament as a means of purifying the popish priesthood Gardiner and his fellows had merely created a sodomitical practice.165

Joye's attack on clerical celibacy was far more abusive and intemperate than that of Melanchthon. Throughout the work he made ad hominem attacks on Gardiner and Repse, describing the latter for example, as a "dronkē blak monke".166 Both were seen as priests of Baal, "papistik pharisais & heithen idolaters".167 Much of Joye's attack was mere innuendo.

The celibate priests in England keep other men's wives, abuse daughters, violate maidens, "and haunte every daye a newe whore prodigiously polluted in al maner fylthines not to be spoke".168 According to Joye, Bishop Stokesley once admitted in open judgement to a married priest that it was better for a priest to maintain a hundred whores rather than be married.169 As for Gardiner and Repse, whether they keep other mens' wives and whores "let the comon voyce and their open actes be iuges".170 With this type of unfounded allegation Joye attempted to undermine the principle of clerical celibacy. The alleged immorality of its practitioners drew a question mark against the validity of the institution.

Joye was certainly aware of having used strong language in the work. Indeed, from the tone of the writing it appears that Joye wrote much of the work in the white heat of anger soon after the publication of the Six Acts.171 The publication of his tract however was delayed possibly for as long as two years. In a postscript to the work Joye referred to the recent death of Richard Mekyns, a boy of 15 who was imprisoned in the spring and summer of 1541 by Bonner and who was executed
on the 30th July. In the postscript Joye faced up to the question of his intemperate language. The reader was instructed not to be offended by "hym that calleth an indurated obstinate pharisaye / a whelpe of ý edder / an encrusted wall / paynted sepulchres / foxes venemouse tongues / poysoned speres & dedly darte". John the Baptist, Christ, the prophets and the apostles all condemned the wicked by so naming them. In the face of the recent persecution which has resulted in Mekyns' tragic death, moderation and temperance are inappropriate. Accordingly Joye's violent language was justified on the grounds that it matched the violence of the Six Acts.

Certainly Joye's work emphasised the reality of the suffering that resulted from the Six Acts. The most unfortunate consequence of the legislation was seen in personal terms, in the way that poor married men were forced to abandon their wives and children. Those who remained were subjected to an un-Christian and barbaric slaughter. According to Joye, "it is but a violent and false religion shortly to fall ý muste be thrustin with violence of actes armed ý fyer & swerde / no scripture stablisshing them..." Although the conclusion of his work was addressed to kings in general, there could be no doubt as to who Joye had in mind. Kings had no need to fear insurrection. In using violence they were likely to bring violence upon themselves. Through the persuasion of a few "popis porklingis", the wicked counsell of bishops and of their captive secular men, kings have jeopardised the security of their realms. If they continue to follow these bishops God's wrath would descend upon them.
The attacks of the exilic reformers on clerical celibacy brought into sharp focus their attitudes to the whole question of the religious reaction in England. As a result of the rulings of the Six Articles on celibacy and vows of chastity the Protestant polemics took on, if not a new, then certainly a revitalised subject-matter. All the polemicists attempted to explain the practice of compulsory clerical celibacy as an intrusion or aberration from true Christianity. In other words, the practice was identified as a Roman corruption, a foreign custom, alien to the faith. The foreign character was both confirmed and illustrated by a focus on sexual deviance. Romish clergy were guilty of deflowering virgins, sodomy and paedophilia, lust and adultery. Sexual corruption mirrored the historical aberration of Romish religion. Through historical enquiry the practice of compulsory clerical celibacy was seen as the result of Roman hegemony. As such the exiles attempted to discredit the practice by associating it with papal supremacy. Priestly celibacy was not simply a trapping of Romish religion; it was in short, the instrument by which papal power was maintained.

Conversely the marriage of priests became the linchpin of reform in the writings of the early 1540s. In the books of an earlier generation of exiles, including Tyndale, Frith and Barnes, the crucial test-case of reform was the official acceptance and toleration of the vernacular Bible. In the latter half of the 1530s the primary theme of the reformers' writings was the need to avoid superstitious worship of God. Images, relics, pilgrimages and pardons, in short the whole trappings of Romish religion were to be put away. In the exilic works of the 1540s however, clerical marriage was seen
as the dominant issue, the criterion of reform. Without clerical marriage the entire reformation was impaired and unfinished.

(iv) **Confessional Writings.**

The polemics against the institution of clerical celibacy provide the most important example of the way in which the exilic reformers responded to the actual legislation of the Act of Six Articles. There were, however, a number of books put out by the exiles between 1540 and 1543 which were concerned with general abuses of Romish religion rather than with a single point of controversy. Some of these works took an essentially confessional form, providing short statements or expositions of the faith.

In 1540 the Antwerp press of the widow Endhoven printed a work entitled *The Lordis flayle* which was written by Thomas Solme, a newly exiled Protestant and one-time monk. The book, which took the form of an exposition of the Ten Commandments, was designed to instruct the reader in the truth of his religion. The doctrine of justification was prominent, often expressed in decidedly polemical fashion. Those who boast of their good works put worldly honour before God. Works however can never satisfy.

Solme's work, as his conclusion made clear, was basically an attack on the externalism of Romish religion. Like many of the books of the previous five or six years *The Lordis flayle* subjected the images of the church to detailed and highly abusive attack. For the author, the notion of *biblia pauperum*, that images were the books of the unlearned, served to make the ignorant into heretics. According to the scriptures
all fornication with wood and stone is forbidden. Rather than use stocks and stones the poor and ignorant should be instructed and educated by the preaching of the word. Clerical factions and apparel also received some attention. According to Solme, the clergy, though professing themselves to be spiritual men, are in reality Antichrists who have coloured their sins and turned themselves into images. Despite their appearances the clergy were guilty of a whole host of vices ranging from blasphemy, necromancy, and conjuring, to robbery, fornication and the shedding of innocent blood. Clerical immorality merely mirrored the doctrinal impurity of Romish religion.

Parts of Solme's work allude to the contemporary situation in England. Those men who speak against worldly idols are condemned to death by these hypocrites and popish sort. Indeed, anyone who speaks the truth must realise that death needs follow at the hands of popish bloodsuckers. Moreover, these priests pay no attention to the authority of temporal rulers and make no attempt to acknowledge Henry VIII as their Supreme Head. Accordingly they are guilty of treason. Henry VIII received particularly lavish praise from Solme. Favorably compared with Solomon, Henry increases his commons both with worldly riches and with the Word of God. All men know him to be one of the elect carrying out his spiritual vocation as God's minister in the church militant. In so praising the King Solme exempted Henry from any responsibility for the recent reaction. The Six Articles and the concomitant persecution were explained as the actions of a treacherous clerical estate.

Although his attack on clerical immorality focussed on sexual matters, Solme's exposition made only passing criticism
of the practice of compulsory clerical celibacy. On the other hand, Solme did draw attention to another controversial issue raised by the Six Articles, the question of the Mass. According to the author, the eucharist was instituted as a memorial, not as an object of worship in itself. The clergy, however, claim that the bread is the same flesh and blood as that born of the Virgin Mary, and thus worship the cake as God Himself. In doing so the priest is elevated to a superior status which conflicts with his true role. When he speaks the words of institution, "This is my body", it is not clear whether he is referring to Christ's body or to his own.

Solme's attack on the Mass illustrates the radical shift in Protestant polemical writing in the 1540s. In 1537 the reprint of Tyndale's Exposition of I John omitted any reference which ridiculed or criticized the notion of the Mass as an unseeable miracle. All of Tyndale's original references to eating, smelling, drinking and feeling the elements of the eucharist were excluded from the new edition. The physical presence of Christ's body in the bread was not allowed to be criticized or doubted. In Solme's work, however, it is precisely this outward sensory perception of the elements of the eucharist that is under attack. "For let them kepe theire Christ longe informe of bred or wynne / & theire God theire Christ shal stater full of wormes and styneke / nor can not helpe him selfe / are / of haue helpe of his makers and cuengerers / but by the dayly dewouerynge of teth & bely". As a result of the Six Articles the issue of transubstantiation was once more open to criticism.

Three translated works of 1542-43 sustained this assault on
the general abuses of Romish religion. The first, A Godly consultation unto the brethren was translated from a work of the Swiss reformer Theodore Bibliander. Written in response to the threat of invasion from the Turks, Bibliander's work attempted to compare Romish religion to that of the Turks. Invariably papism came off worst. The judaical buying and selling of masses, trențals, christenings, buryings, prayers, saints, relics and pardons are abhorred by the Turks. Similarly the Turks hate all images on grounds which accord with the Scriptures, the Fathers and with the reason of true Christians. In general the Turks bear witness against us. Despite being made and fashioned after the laws of Mahomet, the Turks have more virtue and less vice than most Christians. Indeed, behind the threat of invasion lies the will of God who uses Turkish aggression as a scourge. If Christians amend their lives and reform their abuses God will not allow them to fight us.

Bibliander's tract was by no means confined to the matter of the Turkish threat, nor does it necessarily demonstrate any sort of eirenic toleration of other faiths. In the conclusion of the work, for example, the author argued that Christians should actually fight the Turks and defend Christian religion, although they should not do so for the sake of "the Romishe bishops false causes & Antichristē religiō". Apart from a general indictment of religious abuse and a warning to temporal rulers that God destroys all ungodly kingdoms, the work was of little relevance to English events. True, Bibliander did speak of the persecution of heretics, particularly those "whiche teache that Images owght to haue nether place nor vse in religion /
and the whyche with good ordre take them owte of theire temples". The writing, however, was continually directed to a German audience and, even in translation, Bibliander's appeal for moral improvement read more as an address to the German Volk rather than as an instruction to the common people of England.

The threat of Turkish invasion so feared in Germany had far less relevance to the island realm of England.

Two other translations however had much more to say to an English audience. In 1543 George Joye's translation of Zwingli's *Christianaev Fidei* was published in Antwerp under the title *The Redening and declaraci5 of the faith and belief of Huldrik Zwingly*. Christianae Fidei, which was addressed to the Emperor Charles V at Augsburg in July 1530, was a major statement of Zwinglian theology. Under twelve headings Zwingli propounded his views on such matters as the doctrine of God, election, ecclesiology, and the preaching office. As Butterworth and Chester point out, the tone of Zwingli's treatise was mild and reflective rather than vituperative or cantakerous. Images, for example, when worshipped were seen as fighting against the Word of God. On the other hand, the science and craft of painting and carving was acknowledged by Zwingli as a gift of God. Those images which are not worshipped are in no sense damned.

The theological issue of most relevance to the English situation remained the sacrament of the altar. According to Zwingli, sacraments represent the analogy of the thing visibly done by the Spirit. They can neither give grace nor bring or distribute any grace at all. To believe that sacraments bring grace is to engage in a Judaical faith. As for the
Lord's Supper, the very body of Christ was seen as being present in the eyes and contemplation of the individual's faith.\textsuperscript{209} The whole notion that the carnal body could be eaten with mouths was an error which went against the Word of God.\textsuperscript{210} The concept of the ubiquitous body of Christ was seen as a tedious sophistical vanity.\textsuperscript{211} Moreover, through "the isaciable glotonous vomiting mawis of the messe sayers" the prodigious, carnal lusts of princes and people have been increased.\textsuperscript{212} Reform of the Mass was essential both for the purposes of scriptural conformity and social well-being.

Joye translated Christianae Fidei with some accuracy and was clearly impressed by the writing. In his preface Joye pointed out that he had rendered the work into English after having seen that it had never been confuted by the scriptures.\textsuperscript{213} "Wherfore sith in England (as thei saye) be many hyghly lerned Bysshops and lawers in the speculatie / but fewe in praktyk diuinite: sharp in naturall / but dull in spirituall iugement: me thoughte it conuenient./ the boke to be translated into their mother tongue / that yet at the least the lerned in chryst might iuge therof and saye their myndes".\textsuperscript{214} In England there is at present great uncertainty over the faith. Because of the diversity of religious instruction the laity are unsure what to believe. Almost daily they see new articles "made of newe bysshops in their newe bokes of newe institucions".\textsuperscript{215} Only recently it was heresy to have the English scriptures; now it is acceptible. Yet those who persecuted and killed men under the law of heresy have never repented for their actions.\textsuperscript{216} More importantly, for Joye, the manner in which recent articles were put forward undermines the achievements of the previous
These new statements of the faith suggest that the Church of England has long been in error and has only just been made right. The entire principle that lies behind recent developments is to deny the validity of Christ's religion.

Following the text of Zwingli’s exposition, Joye appended a brief work entitled *The complayninge Prayer of the pore psecuted maryed Priestis with their wyues and childern chased owte of Englonde into sondry places of Germanye: cryig vnto God in their harde disolate exyle and greuouse affliction / thus.*

According to Joye, the recent reaction symbolised more portentous developments: "The Antichristen deuilishe dragon / nowe at laste reueled". Unless these blasphemous theives repent their errors, they will face eternal damnation. Joye’s translation of Zwingli’s exposition was not without success, and a further edition was brought out in 1548 in London. Clearly this type of confessional literature was of some popularity in the 1540s.

In 1543 an anonymous translator brought into English a work entitled *The last wil And last confession of martyn luthers faith concerning the principal articles of religion which are in controversy.* The work had been originally published in 1538 in response to the proposed Council of Mantua. As with Zwingli’s *Christianae Fidei* Luther examined and expounded a series of theological articles including the invocation of saints, the authority of the pope, penance, baptism, the church, and justification. According to Luther, if the Pope called a free general council it was intended that these articles would be presented to the Catholics. The Pope, however, so abhors the very idea of a council that he would prefer to see all men
perish rather than allow his carnal bishops to be reformed.\textsuperscript{222}

Like Zwingli, Luther saw the Mass as the principal point of controversy. If the Mass, the most horrible of all abominations, was condemned the whole of papist religion would be overthrown.\textsuperscript{223} The abuses of the Mass are in themselves sufficient cause that it should be prohibited, although the fact that it was merely man's invention is enough for men to break it or neglect it.\textsuperscript{224} For Luther, the Mass was the fountainhead of other abuses. Pilgrimages for example are not only unnecessary, they are not even mentioned in God's Word.\textsuperscript{225} Saints, relics, and pardons are likewise mere manifestations of Antichrist.\textsuperscript{226} Papist confession, by which men are compelled to contrition, is an impossible obligation. It was only established for the sake of acquiring money and has no place in the Church.\textsuperscript{227}

In covering what he saw as the essential articles of the faith, Luther's work was of some relevance to Protestants in England. In addition to his attack on the Mass, Luther also advocated communion in both kinds, condemning, in the process, the type of legislation which prohibited the practice.\textsuperscript{228} Similarly the demand for celibate priests was rejected as a false practice, whilst, for Luther, the vows of monks and friars should be taken away and broken completely.\textsuperscript{229} Without any translatorial interference Luther's work presented a direct and forceful criticism of the Six Articles.

Unlike Coverdale, the writers and translators of these confessional and expository works did not overtly seek to provide comfort for the persecuted brethren in England. Whilst all of them referred to the bloody tyranny of papism they made
no significant attempt to exhort the persecuted to accept their lot. None of the translators for example, was particularly concerned with the task of expounding a doctrine of non-resistance. The questions of temporal authority and obedience, so central to reforming writings of the 1530s, were no longer of primary import. Moreover, few of the early exilic writers shared Coverdale's interest in moral reform. Although Solme's Lordis Flayle took the form of an exposition of the Decalogue, the Ten Commandments were not primarily directed to the lifestyle of the individual. Rather the precepts were applied simply as criticism of the external rites and practices of Romish religiosity. The assault on idolatry and superstition, in short, the negative aspect of the polemics of the Cromwellian administration, was still the motivating factor behind Solme's work.

In many ways few of the works had as much to say to English readers as those of Coverdale. Indeed one of the most striking features of the translated books, for example, is the almost complete absence of any anglicization. In the continental works that were brought into English in the 1530s references to developments or to individuals in Germany were often substituted by references to English events and characters. In these works of the 1540s, however, no such alteration took place. Moreover, unlike earlier works, there was no attempt to disguise or obscure the authorship of the various writings. The testaments of Luther and Zwingli openly proclaimed their origin.

Behind this frank and more literal approach to translation it is possible to identify two separate attitudes on the part of the exiles as a whole. On the one hand, the translators appear
to have regarded English affairs with a profound sense of sadness and regret. England could no longer be seen through the eyes of Johan Sturm, as a mirror or example before all others. Now she had become the property of Antichrist. England could no longer provide examples of reform or parallels with the reforming achievements of Protestant Europe. Whilst the works of the 1530s attempted to portray events in England within the context of a pan-European movement of reform and anti-papalism, the writings of the 1540s emphasised only alienation and displacement. As the title-page of Luther's *Last will and last confession* made clear, the German Churches (and not the English!) have been reformed in the fashion of the gospel. Even Coverdale's *Confutation of Standish* put forward the example of German churches as models of true reform. Through unfavourable comparison England was to be shamed into action.

On the other hand, the fact that translators openly proclaimed the sources and authorship of their works points to an air of confidence and defiance. The aim of all these works was to present to an uncertain and confused readership the central issues of the faith. In other words, the motives behind Solme's work and the translations were didactic rather than consolatory, designed to provide instruction rather than comfort. In the face of the new articles devised by English bishops these works were brought into English as testaments to the Protestant faith. The confessional statements of the government were countered by credal and expository statements of the rival faith. Accordingly, these confessions received greater significance by the fact that they were the products of leading Protestants such as Luther, Zwingli, and Bibliander.
The authority of the statements was to some extent dependent on the status of their authors. Protestant confession was thus promoted in defiance of the theological views of the English Church and Parliament. English readers were once again forced to learn their home truths from abroad.

2. Native Literature, 1540-43.

Within England the problems of persecution had a far more real and immediate effect upon Protestant book production. In his Complaint of Poor Married Priests Joye had attempted to point out that persecution was not confined to his native land. "Ye bitterly commanded all the Englisshe hostis in Antwerpe / in no wyse to suffer us to come into their houses for any relief and socour". The unfortunate death of Tyndale some seven years previously had confirmed that exile was not necessarily a haven. In the Low Countries at least, exilic book production remained a clandestine operation subject to peculiar dangers.

In England, however, the production of Protestant literature was even more of a hazardous enterprise. As a result of the 1538 legislation concerning heretical books nothing could be printed until it had been examined and licensed by the Privy Council or its agents. Censorship thus predated publication. Even if books were not examined, under the Six Acts both authors and printers who produced material contrary to the article on transubstantiation were guilty of heresy and could be burned. The machinery of policing, however ineffectual it may have been for books coming into the country, could be severe on books issued from within London. In 1543 the Privy Council took a series of actions against printers who were transgressing
the law. In the month of April eight printers were imprisoned for publishing unlawful books. In the same month twenty-five booksellers were instructed to make lists of the books that they had bought and sold. Through this type of investigation it was hoped that the activities of the Protestant printers would be severely curtailed.

It comes, therefore, as some surprise to find that the production of Protestant books did not immediately dry up in the early 1540s. As was shown in the work of Taverner and Lancelot Ridley, Protestant books could still be openly brought out providing they made no overt criticism of key Catholic doctrines and practices. In the early 1540s biblical material offered the Protestants the opportunity of presenting their ideas under the gloss of scriptural commentary and annotation. In April 1540 Cranmer's Bible was brought out. In March John Gough was even able to print an edition of the Wycliffite prologue to the Bible. In his preface Gough claimed that many people had been led astray by "the blynde papistical pastores and curates & religious ypocrites yet swarmynge ouer all this Realme, doynge moore harme thē they dyd in the cloyster, the which are dronken of the whores cup of Babylon". Should the reader be offended by two chapters on the Romish Church and understanding of the scriptures, he was to forgive the author who had merely followed the original. Having said that, in the text Gough appealed to the King to complete the work that he had begun. The war against Romish power and religion was not yet over.

Even biblical material, however, was not free from official scrutiny. In the summer of 1539 Henry VIII issued a proclamation...
which prohibited his subjects from reading the Bible out aloud to each other. The move was a serious blow to Protestants. As a result of this legislation, together with the Six Articles and regulations concerning the book trade, Protestant writers in England were forced to go underground. To bring out their works writers were compelled by force of circumstance either to disguise their authorship or to modify the content of their books. In promoting reformed ideas authors sought to minimise the risks involved. Theological unorthodoxy could result in death. To avoid giving offence to the authorities was thus both desirable and necessary.

(i) The ballad controversy, 1540.

The death of Cromwell had an immediate effect upon Protestant writing in England in the early 1540s. Following Cromwell's fall a number of ballads emerged from the pens of anonymous writers who were no doubt pleased to see the back of the former Lord Privy Seal. One such work, entitled A Newe Ballade Made of Thomas Cromwell, Called "Trolle on Away," made use of the charges of Cromwell's attainder together with popular rumours and allegations. Cromwell was accused of being a heretic, a schismatic, and a supporter of the "new trycke". This "false traytourell filled his coffers with the gold of the King's treasure. His execution was both deserved and timely.

This attack on Cromwell soon resulted in a counter allegation entitled A Balade Agaynst Malcyvous Sclaunnderers. Though careful not to defend Cromwell from the charge of heresy, the author took issue with the practice of attacking the departed. His anonymous opponent was accused of appearing
to be "a popysshe lad". In attacking Cromwell for being of the new learning

"thou upholdest both monkes & fryers
Nunnes & moughty packes, and lewd lowsy lyers
The bysshop of Rome, with all his rotten squyers
To buylde such a church, thou art moche to blame
Trolle now into the way agayne for shame". 246

In Cromwell's defence it was alleged that he believed the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ. 247 The writer and printer of the ballad Trolle away make a "payre of good papystes", possibly among those who attempt to dissuade the people from reading God's word. 248

The ballad war soon accelerated. Thomas Smyth, clerk of the Queen's counsell, 249 composed A lytell treatys agaynst sedicyous persones 250 in which he defended the charges made in the first ballad and attacked the arguments of the second. Though designed to provide an objective and possibly final judgement on the issue, 251 Smyth's work almost immediately became the object of another derisive ballad, A brefe apologie or answere to a certen craftye cloynar, or popyshe parasyte, called Thomas Smythe. 252 The work, published anonymously, was written by William Gray, a former servant of Cromwell who had been associated with Coverdale and the printer Grafton at the time of the publication of the Great Bible. 253 Possibly Gray had been responsible for the earlier defence of Cromwell. 254 Certainly he entered the controversy with some enthusiasm. Verses from Smyth's Lytell treatys were quoted verbatim only to be subjected to Gray's singularly vitriolic doggerel. 255 Smyth was seen as personally responsible for all the crimes of the popish religion.
"Ye mayneteyne sodomytes
with other hypocrites
And playe the parasytes
to slee trewe israelites". 256

"We call them papistes, that maintayne papistrye
Both hauyng ther frutes, and scripture for vs to laye
If all soche papystes schuld haue shame openlye
I thynke ye coude not, be farre out of the waye
As Judas wyth Christ, with heretyckes here ye playe
No brother is he, that goddes worde doth nat furder
Except he be Cain, whych doth pore Abel murder". 257

According to Gray all papists were a threat to the King. Moreover, Smyth's writing displayed an unchristian-like vanity and hypocrisy. To the cause of the gospel Smyth is our mortal foe. 258

In Smyth's reply to Gray, A treatyse declarynge the despyte of a secrete, sedyczous person, 259 the author defended himself from the charges of papism and treason. His opponent had no desire for the truth but merely levelled his allegations out of a devilish, mad, deceitful, and lewd spirit. 260 Undeterred, Gray composed An Aunswere to maister Smyth 261 which merely repeated his previous accusations.

"Vnder pretence of trollynge against treason (Smyth)
Practised proude popery as apperith by reason". 262
In boasting of his own name and office Smyth has left himself open to ridicule. "How shulde you scarcely a clerke be now a good deuyne". 263

All these charges were vigorously defended in Smyth's next work An enuoye from Thomas Smyth. 264 In this work, for the
first time, Smyth directly accused his opponent W.G. with holding Protestant beliefs. "You can not hyde your secte nor yet your brotherly sorte". Like the Lollards who conspired under Lord Cobham to overthrow Henry V, Protestants would now bring in some other figure to reign over us. Their regard for their King is neither high nor sincere.

Smyth's rather more ideological attack had at least the merit of drawing out Gray's beliefs, if not his identity, in his next work The Retne of Mr. Smythes enuoy. Gray's sect, it was claimed, are "more catholycke then are your popysshe sorte Beynge the membres of chryst and him selfe the hed of the same Neyther heretyckes nor papistes but men of honest fame". His technique in the Retne consisted simply of turning Smyth's accusations around. Smyth's verses were quoted in full with the odd word altered here and there. The effect of the changes was to direct Smyth's argument back onto its author. According to Gray he had never accused Smyth of popery but had merely suggested that papism was the object of Smyth's love.

The Retne ended Gray's brief foray into polemical writing, although it did not mark the end of the ballad controversy. Soon after its publication Richard Smith, Reader in Divinity at Oxford, and no relation of Thomas, took up his pen to defend his falsely accused namesake. Unlike Thomas, Richard Smith certainly knew the identity of his opponent, referring throughout the text to Master Gray. Around the same time yet another writer entered the squabble. One G.L. sought to promote an end to these malicious slanders. The chief subject of the debate has been the struggle between
popishness and heresy. According to G.L. both are equally bad. Though both men are to blame for promoting this damaging quarrel, Smyth must bear the brunt of the blame since he initiated a malicious attack on Gray.\textsuperscript{275} Despite his protests to the contrary, there is evidence that G.L. sympathised with Gray's Protestant ideas. At one point in his work the doctrine of justification by faith was thrust to the fore.

"Euen as the Gospell doth vs teache, Whych is our chefe profession For Faule hymselfe dyd alwaye preache That for the chefe confession Of christen heartes, to make them stretche Theyr fayth vnto Christs passyon The only entry into healthe All other entryes are but stealth".\textsuperscript{276}

The controversy between Smyth and Gray had not gone unnoticed by the authorities and on the 30th of December 1540 the Privy Council meeting at Hampton court instructed Richard Bankes and Richard Grafton, London printers, and William Gray to appear before it.\textsuperscript{277} On the third of January Gray and Smyth were examined. At the same meeting Bankes denied the charge of printing the ballads, attributing all blame to Grafton.\textsuperscript{278} The following day Grafton, Smyth, and Gray were committed to the Fleet.\textsuperscript{279}

The debate between Gray and Smyth was neither deep nor significant. Ostensibly an argument between supporters of rival faiths, the debate did not involve any detailed study of theological and religious differences. Gray's alleged Protestantism was rarely apparent. His disagreement with
Smyth was seen more in terms of politics than belief. Although each writer professed to be in total disagreement with the other, there were however a number of common motifs. The most striking feature of the writings of both balladers was the way that they strove to outdo each other in their sycophantic regard for Henry VIII and his immediate family. Each man accused the other of treason. Gray for example, though handicapped by his relationship with the condemned Cromwell, accused Smyth of undermining Henry's authority. In the ballads of Gray papist religion was seen as a political threat. His own beliefs however guaranteed loyalty to the Crown.

Not all Protestant writers in England were so guarded as to their beliefs as William Gray. In 1540 Richard Tracy, one-time member of the Reformation Parliament, brought out an English translation of a Latin work entitled *The Preparation to the Cross, and to Death*, a pastoral work which categorised the various types of difficulties and temptations facing the Christian. Around 1543 Tracy published under his own name the book *The profe and declaration of thys proposition: ffayth only iustifieth*. Through a series of proof-texts Tracy attempted to show that faith was the foundation and ground of all Christian religion. Those who argue in favour of good works are mere hypocrites, "blynde iusticiaries". Nonetheless good works should be undertaken as the fruit of faith and not as an occasion of righteousness.

(ii) Thomas Becon.

The most important of the Protestant writers active in England in the 1540s was Thomas Becon. Born in 1512 Becon
attended the University of Cambridge from 1526-27 whereupon he came under the influence of Hugh Latimer.\textsuperscript{287} After graduating B.A. in 1530-31\textsuperscript{288} Becon entered the community of the College of St. John the Evangelist in Rushworth. In April 1533 he was ordained priest. Around 1538 Becon was associated with the chantry of St. Thomas the Martyr in the Church of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, possibly in the capacity of Reformation preacher.

Following the publication of the Six Acts Becon was apprehended on account of sermons which he had preached in the Diocese of Norwich. He was compelled to recant, and possibly to burn his books, and was required to publish his submission in sermons to be delivered in the places where he had preached.\textsuperscript{289}

Although no copy of Becon's first recantation has survived, from references to it in the second recantation of 1543 it is possible to construct its contents.\textsuperscript{290} Many of the charges levelled against him were common; most being found in the lists of persons charged during Bonner's purges of heresy. Becon was alleged to have preached against the veneration of saints, the chastity of priests, prayers to the dead, the sacrament of the altar, and the sacraments of extreme unction and confirmation. The derogation of clerical celibacy and the Mass were offences under the Act of Six Articles. Though potentially serious, however, the recantation was seen as a sufficient penalty.

Following his trial with the authorities Becon retired to Kent, changing his apparel into the guise of a layman, changing his name to Thedore Basille and changing the form of his teaching from preaching to teaching writing. His retirement, as D.S. Bailey suggests, points to something more than a prudent
withdrawal into the country to escape further attention. After all, the elaborate methods of concealment came after his recantation. In a part of the country where he was almost unknown the adoption of a disguise and an alias appears superfluous. Indeed from the evidence it appears likely that Becon was acting according to a prearranged plan. By obtaining an asylum from the attention of conservative officials, supporters of the Reformation sought to provide the conditions by which Becon could continue in his ministry. In the new form of print Becon could still propagate his ideas of reform. From 1541 until his arrest in 1543 Becon issued at least eleven works under the pseudonym Theodore Basille. All were brought out by the London printer Richard Mayler for the publisher John Gough, himself a victim of the persecution which followed the Six Acts. Becon's literary campaign was sponsored by members of the local gentry. It was not subversive or underground but was curtailed nonetheless by the authorities. In relation to the paucity of Protestant literature brought out in England in the 1540s it stands however as an isolated experiment in Protestant propaganda. The books that issued from Becon's pen provide the most telling illustration of how Protestant ideas were propagated within a realm of reaction and persecution.

Like those of Coverdale Becon's works were designed to provide comfort for the persecuted brethren of England. Unlike the majority of the exiles, however, Becon was compelled to write both of the persecution and reaction and the response of the Protestant community in vague, indirect terms. The reality of persecution was rarely examined in detail. Neither the persecutors, nor the sufferers, nor that matter, the beliefs of the sufferers
were ever closely identified. In general Becon referred to the persecutors and perpetrators of violence as "they", an impersonal, almost amorphous body. Occasionally he went so far as to identify them as papists and Antichrists. For the most part any identification was made by a process of association. Persecution was the necessary bi-product of the gospel: "Christ's word and the cross are companions inseparable". 295 As with Coverdale, the contemporary persecution was to be explained in the light of history. For Becon, the recent sufferers of violence were part of a tradition of martyrdom. Examples of sufferers from the Bible such as Christ and the apostles, and from history, provided models of paradigms for contemporary victims. Conversely, Becon saw the persecutors of Christ and the Apostles as the same as contemporary tyrants. The scribes, pharisees, and bishops who attacked the apostles were still active. 296 Through an anachronistic interpretation of historical events the contemporary problems could be more fully understood. In his 1542 work David's Harp Becon identified the persecution of the apostles in a way that alluded to current happenings. "Again, how were the apostles of Christ entreated? Verily, even as their master was before them. How oft were they slandered, laid watch for, threatened, beaten, whipped, scourged, put in prison, cast out of cities, stoned, and dragged out of the towns for dead!.... How were both they and their doctrine blasphemed and evil spoken of! Were they not reported and accused before the magistrates, princes, and rulers, that they were such pestiferous fellows as troubled the commonweal, yea, all the world, made insurrections, raised up seditions, gathered together unlawful assemblies,.... Were they not called
vain babblers? tidings-bearers of new devils? sowers of strange and new doctrine". In the 1542 work The Policy of War Becon's identification of persecutors and sufferers was even more clear, though no less indirect. In looking for signs of the last days Becon turned to the question of persecution. He could, however, "speak nothing of the tyrannical persecution, the ungentle handling, the cruel imprisonment, the butcher-like slaying both of fire, sword, water, hemp, famine, secret murder, &c., of the true preachers of God's word and of the other faithful Christians, which have boldly and gladly offered themselves unto the very death, for the glory of God and the name of his son Jesus Christ, for a witness against the popish kingdom and all their wicked doctrine". Though the matter was apparently not open to discussion the charge was still levelled. As the passage makes clear, Becon did not see persecution in an entirely negative light. According to the histories, the Church has flourished most at times of extreme persecution: "for the blood of the holy martyrs is the water wherewith the gospel of Christ is watered and made to grow". In David's Harp a number of scriptural passages were cited in support of the view that persecution was a token of God's love towards his people. The application of the texts to the contemporary situation was clear and unmistakeable. "Of all these scriptures it is evident, that it is no sorrowful, but joyful thing, to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for the glory of God, and the promotion of his most blessed word". Persecution, as the call to witness, was an opportunity for moral amendment and was to result in a happy, joyful sense of
resignation.

Although the recent persecution was seen by Becon as an un-Christian attack on true preachers, the reformer was careful to exempt the King from any blame. Indeed Henry VIII received consistently lavish and fulsome praise from Becon's pen, being described on several occasions as "a prince of famous renown and immortal glory". Henry was another Josias, the over thrower of "a great part of the antichrist's kingdom". Throughout his works Becon attempted to exhort the faithful to obey their temporal rulers. In his exegesis of Psalm 82 Becon explained that God here plainly says that "the magistrates are gods, that is, such as bear the offices of God, as to maintain peace, justice, and good order, to punish sin, and to defend the innocents". While they sit in judgement temporal rulers represent the person of God, executing the office of God, and acting in His image.

Accordingly, Becon viewed any attempt to undermine this high doctrine of royal supremacy with some hostility. On the one hand, Anabaptists were attacked for their flagrant disrespect for the law and authority. On the other hand, supporters of the pope were castigated as a threat to Kingly rule. In times past all were guilty of subversion. "Did we not think it rather our duty to obey the proud bishop of Rome than our own native King?" Nowadays some men abroad have "muttered of secretly conspired against the king's grace's majesty". In The Policy of War Becon turned his wrath onto the figure of Reginald Pole, "which, being an Englishman born, danceth now like a traitor in a carnal's week at Rome, and as a shameless monster abasheth not to write, Roma est mihi partria".
In *The Pathway unto Prayer* the monks were attacked as the main supporters of Romish primacy. Betrayal of one's country was seen as an integral part of Romish religion. Polemic against clerical subversion was, for Becon, the primary means of undermining trust in Catholicism as a whole.

In spite of this high doctrine of political authority, Becon's praise of Henry VIII was not without limits. On examination it is clear that whenever Becon praised Henry he did so less as a means of giving thanks for things that the King had brought to pass, as an incitement or petition for things to come. Henry had achieved much by way of reform yet a good deal still required to be carried out. Significantly, Becon spoke of Henry as the overthrower only of a great part of antichrist's kingdom; his potential as much as his past was the object of Becon's praise. Despite the efforts of the past few years, it is still necessary to pray that "God's word may have free passage among us, and that all wicked doctrine, superstitious teaching, heresy, sinistral opinions, sects, and all that is ever contrary to wholesome doctrine, may be exiled and banished out of Christ's church". The "golden world" will come again only when Henry sees to it that all abuses are plucked away.

Whilst Becon was at length to emphasise the incompleteness of the reformation, he nonetheless stressed the achievements of the past six or seven years in a way that was not matched by the exilic writers. In Becon's work there was no attempt to see the recent legislation as undermining what had taken place. The pessimism and negativity shown by Joye or by outsiders such as Luther was not present in Becon's writings. The progress of the reformation had been checked but not countered.
Many enormities and abuses of Romish religion had been exiled and banished from the realm. "All superstitious fantasies invented of idle brains are full godly put down. The famous images, wherewith the simple people committed fornication, I mean idolatry, are justly plucked down, and conveyed out of the way. All the monastical sects have put off their cowls and monstrous garments. Our most christian king is now, according to the verity of God's word, and his just and right title, recognised to be supreme head and governor of the church of England next unto Christ immediately here in earth". The moves toward reformation could not be denied.

Accordingly Becon's attack on Catholic practice focussed on those very issues which had come under official scrutiny in the years of reform. The Pathway unto Prayer, for example, involved a detailed criticism of the superstitious worship of saints. In The Christmas Banquet Becon attacked the outward devotions of Romish religion. True good works are not the fantasies of men but the commandments of God. "But unto what good works is the faithful created in Christ? unto Rome-running? gadding pilgrimage? setting up of candles? gilding of images? painting of tabernacles? building of monasteries? purchasing of pardons? and such like trifling fantasies invented of the idle brains of the papists for lucre's sake?".

In addition to Romish practices, Becon also attacked Romish adherents, devoting a good deal of his attention to the immorality and ignorance of the clergy and monks. Many priests ignore virtue and elevate vice. "What ungodliness, superstition, hypocrisy, dissimulation, swearing, pride, enny, drunkenship, gluttony, fornication, adultery, whoredom, covetousness, and an
whole sea of evils hath overflowed the world! And all this is come to pass through the sleepy negligence of curates..."\(^{319}\)

"Again what an infinite number of monsters, monks I would have said, and other religious persons, and God will, as they desire to be called, did there arise in this kingdom! Who thought it not a better deed to put his child into an abbey, and there to live idly, swinishly and irreligiously pampered up with all delicious fare that should provoke unto lewdness, than to let him live abroad in the world, and there to practise some honest art and occupation..."\(^{320}\)

This attack on Catholic practice and practitioners was safe simply for the reason that the same groups and customs were those to whom the Henrician Church was itself opposed. Catholic customs and practices that were defended by the Crown were rarely subjected to attack. In the Potation for Lent, for example, Becon provided a particularly strong defence of auricular confession, claiming that it should be approved, retained, maintained, and used as a thing of urgency and necessity rather than be condemned and exiled from the bounds of Christianity.\(^{321}\) The practice of auricular confession had been prescribed as expedient and necessary in article 6 of the Six Acts, and it appears likely that Becon simply followed the ruling out of political expediency rather than doctrinal agreement. In works published during reigns favourable to the Protestant cause Becon inveighed vehemently against the practice of auricular confession.\(^{322}\)

Whilst Becon was careful in this instance to openly defend a practice which it appears he did not sincerely hold, he did not always avoid or disguise his hostility to controversial
doctrines and customs. In addition to his preface to Coverdale’s translation of Bullinger’s *Der Christlich Eestand* Becon touched on the issues of clerical celibacy and marriage in several of his other writings. In the *Pathway* Becon launched an attack on immorality and materialism. “Where are these abominable adulterers, unclean fornicators, and stinking whoremongers, which contemning the bond of honourable wedlock, the law of the undefiled bed, and the chaste living with their own wives, do daily hunt after whores, defile virgins, pollute married women, corrupt widows…” From the passage alone it is not clear who exactly Becon has in mind. Later on however he made it clear that his attack was directed against the worldliness of the clergy. In the light of this, his condemnation of these who ignore the bond of wedlock was an unmistakeable criticism of the practice of compulsory clerical celibacy. Similarly in *David’s Harp* Becon interpreted Psalm 116 verse 14: “I will pay my vows unto the Lord before all his people”, as follows: “But what vows are these? Verily, not unfaithful and foolish vows, which displease God”. The scripture is allowed to speak for itself although the inference is clear. Unfaithful and foolish vows are those of clerical chastity and celibacy. In *An Invective Against Swearing* Becon pointed out that foolish vows which displease God should be broken, and supported his argument by reference to biblical and patristic testimony. “Therefore the oath, promise, or vow, that is not grounded on truth judgement, and righteousness, ought to be broken. It is grounded on truth, when it is agreeable to God’s word, which is the self truth. It is grounded on judgement, when it is not rashly, foolishly, and
childishly made, but advisedly and with high prudence and great deliberation. It is grounded on righteousness, when there shall rise up no evil of it, neither unto ourselves nor unto our neighbour." As with David's Harp, although the author does not openly condemn clerical celibacy, the inference was there for his readers to make.

This technique of allowing the scriptures to speak for themselves was one of the most important ways by which Becon criticised Catholicism. Assertion after assertion was put forward with the appropriate scriptural and patristic citation. At other times Becon directed his attack on Catholic practices simply by labelling them as papist. David's attack on liars for example, resulted in the following pointed interpretation. "The ungodly bishop of Rome all his wicked kingdom are liars, and all their decrees, acts, laws, constitutions, counsels, &c., that fight with God's word, are lies and very mad fantasies, by no means to be believed of any faithful heart." Though the matter is not stated directly Becon's argument implies a denial of such legislation as the Act of Six Articles.

What then of Becon's positive teaching? If his attack on Catholicism was for the most part veiled and indirect his propagation of the positive tenets of Protestantism was surprisingly open and direct. In all his writings Becon placed a strong emphasis on man's depravity and worthlessness. "Your fruits are like unto yourselves, that is detestable in the sight of God. What virtue then can there come out of such corrupt and polluted place? What pureness can there flow out of a puddle so filthy, so dirty, so unclean, so stinking, so
unsavoury? Thus see ye that ye have no way to pacify God's wrath, which ye have stirred up against yourselves through your own wickedness".329 In strictly reformer manner the law was seen as the means by which sin is revealed, "whose admonitions, warnings, and instructions, seeing ye follow not nor obey as it teacheth, and as ye ought, it rather condemn than save you, kill than quicken you".330 On his own man was incapable of any improvement.331

On the question of justification Becon presented two distinct yet complementary ideas. At times justification by faith was given a strong moralistic emphasis. In The New-Year's Gift for example, Christ's salvation was seen as dependent on a moral as well as a spiritual response. "For to wicked men and ungodly persons is Christ no saviour, except they repent, believe, and amend".332 In this and in other passages good works were accorded a crucial role in the salvific process. In David's Harp Becon made clear that a faith that was unaccompanied with a continual purpose to do good works was but a vain and dead faith.333 In News out of Heaven, "if there were true and livish faith, then would it work love in their hearts, both toward God and their neighbours".334 In The New-Year's Gift works were seen as witnesses to a true faith.335 Not without reasons did Becon charge his opponents "Slander not the author that he teacheth faith without good works.336

To some extent Becon's emphasis on the necessity of good works had a strong air of apologetic. Like Coverdale, Becon saw the damage done to Protestantism by those gospellers who "boast so much of faith, and yet are wicked in all their works". Such boosters of the faith do not only "slander the
true and christian faith, which "worketh by charity", but also they deceive themselves, seeing they hope freely and only to be justified by that faith, which is barren, unfruitful, and void of all good works". On the other hand, at times Becon's account of the doctrine of justification by faith alone left little room for the question of good works. In these passages the influences acting on Becon are not the moralistic reformers of England, but rather the Lutherans in Germany. Citing Augustine, Becon made clear that "Thy justification, thy glorification is not of thyself; by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God not of works". In David's Harp, The Nosegay, Christmas Banquet, and Fathway, Becon listed large numbers of scriptural and patristic references which conclude that faith is the foundation of the Christian religion. Without faith no amendment is possible. "For by faith doth God hear us. By faith we are blessed. By faith doth God appear unto us. By faith are we married to God. By faith have we eternal life. By faith are we purified. By faith are our hearts made clean. By faith are we made the sons of God. By faith are we justified. By faith we please God. By faith we be born of God. By faith we subdue Satan. By faith do we overcome the world. To conclude, by faith all goodness chance unto us, and without faith all things evil fall upon us".

Becon's stress on faith alone confirms that the reformer did not abandon or modify his belief in the central doctrine of Protestantism in spite of the possibility of causing offence. Moreover Becon's emphasis on good works should be seen in the context of the above statement. As he made clear in David's
Harp so much attention could only be given to good works as a result of the fact that he had spoken so much of faith in all his works. On the issue of justification Becon's works of the 1540s showed shifts in emphasis but no underlying inconsistencies. In Becon's writings the doctrine of justification by faith was consistently proclaimed as the basis of Christian religion.

In spite of the strenuous efforts made by Becon to avoid direct criticism of Catholic practices his works attracted the hostile attention of the authorities. His pseudonym and disguise had failed to guarantee his safety. On the 8th of April 1543 Becon's printer, Mayler, was committed to prison along with seven other printers for dealing with unlawful books. On the 22nd of the month Mayler and four others were released on condition that they made a declaration of the books they had bought and sold during the previous three years. Possibly Becon was arrested as a result of Mayler's confession. On the other hand he may have simply fallen victim to a general purge of heresy which followed the publication of the King's Book in May of that year. On the 8th July Becon, together with his friend Robert Wisdom, and Robert Singleton, author of the Pilgrim's Tale, were forced to recant at Paul's Cross.

Becon's second recantation sheds a good deal of light on official attitudes to Protestant writing in England in the mid-1540s. Following an admission of his first recantation and of how he disguised himself and hid in Kent, Becon was forced to confess his great pride. There then followed a number of specific retractions, a total of eighteen "specialities" collected from nine different works. Of these, four
involved criticism of the measures resulting out of the Six Articles and the King's Book to impose doctrinal uniformity. Becon's references to the contemporary persecution of true preachers were considered unacceptable. A number of other passages which pointed to specifically Protestant views on justification by faith and good works were condemned, as were his criticisms of images and men's traditions. Two other passages concerning compulsory clerical celibacy were recanted on the grounds that they conflicted with both the Six Articles and with the recent formulary of faith.

Other offensive passages however were not so easily found. In the News out of Heaven Becon had condemned certain external sacrifices. In the recantation, however, he was made to condemn all outward or ritual sacrifices and to imply that only inward spiritual ones are acceptable to God. Moreover, the authorities seized the opportunity to make Becon assent to a formal statement of orthodoxy on the issue of the Mass, despite the fact that his books made no criticism of the Mass whatsoever. Two further passages concerning satisfaction and repentance were condemned even though Becon's teaching seemed to be in agreement with the King's Book. Clearly the official attempt to discredit Becon did not rely on accuracy.

From the evidence of his later writings it does not appear that Becon saw his second recantation as a genuine act of apostasy. Unlike Wisdom, Becon showed no sense of reproach or guilt. Whatever he felt about his confession it was by no means a "great slander and occasion of evil". In the Jewel of Joy, probably composed in 1546-47, Becon justified his decision to avoid martyrdom and to seek a retreat on the grounds that it
was a time to keep silent and not a time to speak. Following his recantation Becon moved around the Midlands area, engaging in some tuition work and surrounding himself with the company of fellow Protestants. Although the authorities had attempted to discredit his person thereby reducing the influence of his labours, Becon continued to write. Two works in verse *A Dialogue of Christ's Nativity* and *An Invective Against Whoredom* were published and a number of others now lost circulated in manuscript form. In addition Becon made a number of translations, possibly of books of continental reformers. Only one has survived, *The Solace of the Soul*, a devotional work offering Christian comfort to those in wickedness and adversity.

The fact that the works that followed Becon's second recantation either circulated in manuscript form or were printed at a later date points to the authorities' success in breaking the propaganda triumvirate of Becon, Mayler and Gough. Nonetheless Becon's output of the 1540s remains a remarkable achievement. Despite attempts to silence the reformer and inhibit his printer, over thirty editions of Becon's books were brought out between 1541/2 and 1547/48. Of the known works printed by Mayler and published by Gough only two, *David's Harp*, and *A New Year's Gift*, ran to only one edition. Of all the writers of the 1540s Becon was the most prolific. Moreover, from the bibliographical evidence it is clear that Becon was a writer of considerable popularity.

In the years immediately following the publication of the Six Articles the progress of Protestant literature in England was hampered but not checked by the policing activities of
Catholic authorities. In addition to printed books such as those of Becon and Tracy, a stream of pamphlets and broadsheets appear to have flourished particularly in the capital. Though few of these works have survived many seem to have advanced forbidden teaching. Despite the efforts of Bonner and his fellow conservatives there is nothing to show that Londoners who wanted to acquire reformist writings could not do so. Having said that, it is clear that the reaction had a distinct impact upon the development of Protestant literature. Becon's considerable efforts to get books published remains in many ways an isolated achievement. Whilst Becon may have flourished in adversity the literary careers of many Protestant writers of the 1530s including such major figures as Morison and Taverner effectively ended with the death of their patron Cromwell. Indeed, Cromwell's death represented a considerable loss to Protestant literature in England. In the 1530s he had become the principal patron and promoter of Protestant writers. In the 1540s not even a host of reforming gentlemen could take his place. The emergence of the Catholic faction into a position of political dominance meant that Protestant writing had become a subversive activity. Without political influence English Protestantism was open to attack. After 1539 anti-clerical propaganda was neither welcomed nor tolerated by the King and his new advisers. As a result, Protestant writers such as Becon were forced to direct their work to their fellow believers. In England Protestant writing was little other than pastoral comfort for the faithful. With the loss of Cromwell and emergence of reaction Protestantism had lost its sense of mission and outreach.
Taken as a whole the various responses of Protestant writers to the Catholic triumph appear less a product of environment - as to whether authors remained in England or went abroad, as the result of temperament. Coverdale's work, though produced from the safety of Bergzaben and Strassburg, remained moderate and pragmatic, having far more in common with Becon's works than with those of his fellow exiles Joye and Solme. Like Becon Coverdale directed his books to a specific audience, the persecuted brethren in England. With the exception of his Confutation of Standish, a work undertaken in defence of his former mentor, Coverdale's works covered the same themes as his books of the previous decade. With few exceptions his attacks on Catholic persons and practices were every bit as veiled and indirect as those of Becon.

Like Becon Coverdale viewed events in England in a positive light. Persecution was an unparalleled opportunity for the faithful to demonstrate the certainty of their belief. In these times of adversity good works were more necessary than ever. Moral improvement was thus advanced as the essential bi-product of the reaction.

In contrast to Becon and Coverdale the most polemical writers of the early 1540s were those who saw English events with the greatest pessimism. For Joye the English Reformation had been completely undermined. In the face of murder and other acts of violence a temperate, reasoned response was inappropriate. The Judaical bishops of England needed to be rebuked like the scribes and pharisees of the New Testament. Polemic was seen as being fuelled by the repressive and violent actions of the English bishops.

However much English writers differed in their responses
to the persecution in England, all of them were forced to face up to a single overriding issue. The Act of Six Articles and the ensuing reaction raised a crucial question concerning Protestantism's political ideology. How far were Christian men bound to obey the teaching of the Six Articles? In other words, to what extent did Protestant belief constitute hostility to orthodoxy and to the King's Supremacy?

The importance of the question can be measured by the way in which all the reformers both at home and abroad, went out of their way to profess their loyalty to the King. Princely obedience was the moral and political hallmark of Protestantism. By contrast Catholicism was invariably portrayed as the product of a foreign potentate. Catholic practices such as clerical celibacy, the Mass, and saint veneration were merely the vestiges of papal supremacy. Protestation of Protestant loyalty, together attack on the subversiveness of Romish clerics were in many ways the main arguments of Protestant writers in the early 1540s. The Six Articles could be exposed as merely the product of papal supporters. According to Joye, Gardiner, the person chiefly responsible for the 1539 legislation, had never broken his vows of loyalty to the Pope. For Becon, betrayal of one's country was an integral part of Romish religion.

Accordingly, all the writers of the 1540s were careful to avoid attributing any blame to Henry for either the Six Articles or the persecution that followed. For Solme, Henry still stood on the side of the gospel. He had simply been misled by greedy, bloodthirsty clerics. According to Becon, Henry was the new Josias, about to carry out further reforms of the Church. With the exception of Gray, the King's deposition and
execution of Cromwell was overlooked whilst the death of Barnes was seen simply as the result of Gardiner's malice. In both instances the role of the King was conveniently ignored.

By separating the 1539 legislation and persecution from the will and control of the King, the reformers sought to demonstrate that their hostility to the Act did not constitute opposition to the King's authority. What then appears as political naivety was in fact a calculated response to a profound and difficult question. Some reformers even went so far as to define the precise boundaries of political obedience. For Coverdale, for example, the King must be obeyed until he goes so far as to make the vernacular scriptures unlawful. The cause of the English Bible was thus the guarantor of Protestant loyalty.

By implication, the Act of Six Articles was not a sufficient cause for the Christian to withdraw his obedience to the King. The authority of the temporal ruler must be accepted even though he has sanctioned unchristian acts.

In the years immediately following the publication of the Six Articles there was no semblance of any doctrine of resistance to temporal authority. In many ways the Protestants in England withheld the essential condition with which such a doctrine could be developed from their analysis of English events - the belief that the temporal ruler actively sought to promote papism and attack Protestantism for the sake of religion. The idea of resisting the duly appointed ruler was not developed in response to the reaction of the 1540s but was formulated ten years later by a new generation of exiles. For the reformers of the early 1540s Henry had not yet gone so far as to declare was on the gospel. Until he did so he was guaranteed the loyalty of his Protestant subjects.

2. Rupp warns against overestimating the effect of the Act. Studies, p. 148. By contrast, Elton contends that the traditional view that total orthodoxy was here reasserted and the reformation firmly arrested must be accepted. Reform and Reformation, p. 287.


5. *L & P* XIV, i. 1224.

6. Melanchthon, for example, claimed that "Atrocious crimes are reported from England.... good men of our opinion are murdered". *L & P* XVI, 5.


8. Ibid. p. 111.

9. Ibid. p. 111.


11. Even following the Act Cromwell had done much to mollify its effects, attempting, for example, to secure the release of Latimer, who, following the resignation of his see, had been under house arrest. The best account of the effect of the Act on Cromwell is G.R. Elton, "Thomas Cromwell's Decline and Fall", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 10 (1951) pp. 150-85.


13. For the recantations of Garrett and Jerome c.f. *A & M* V, appendices, VI, VII, VIII.

14. Luther was particularly upset by the death of Barnes. In 1540 Barnes's *Articles of the Faith* were brought out in Wittenberg with a preface by Luther. *L & P* XVI, 106 reprinted in Doernberg, op. cit. pp. 124-26. C.f. *L & P* XVI, 391, 578.
15. According to Susan Brigden, both Barnes and Cromwell died for "making a reality of the conservatives' old fears that religious radicalism would engender social disorder". By as early as 1536-37 Protestants such as Latimer, Barnes, and Crome had become the most popular and influential of preachers in the capital. In the eyes of an illiterate citizenry these Protestant preachers could be seen as justifying social reform, and often outbreaks of iconoclasm followed Protestant sermons. To the authorities Protestant preaching was not only theologically dangerous, but was a threat to the entire social fabric. Brigden's thesis is advanced at length in her doctoral thesis, "The Early Reformation in London, 1520-1547; The Conflict in the Parishes", Cambridge, 1979, esp. pp. 212-213, and in "Popular Disturbance and the Fall of Thomas Cromwell and the Reformers", The Historical Journal, vol. 24, no. 2. (1981) pp. 257-78. For Cromwell's attainder c.f. Elton, "Thomas Cromwell's Decline and Fall", pp. 221-22.

16. Popular heresy had in fact become a major problem, a testament in part to the appeal of reformation preachers. From 1534 onwards justification by faith was openly preached in London. By 1539 attacks were being made against essential doctrines and practices of the Catholic faith. Cf. Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, ed. Hastings Robinson (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846) vol. II, p. 624. Dispute particularly over the real presence was rife. According to one observer, "it is publically said that the mass is a great abuse; that Our Lord is not in the sacrament of the eucharist, and only was so when he consecrated it; that saying the Ave Maria is folly and that our lady cannot help those who pray for her and invoke her, and said she is only a woman like others". L & P IX, 681, quoted in Brigden, "The Early Reformation". The new parliament of 1539 saw religious discord as a serious issue and Cromwell himself intended to set up a parliamentary act to remedy the problem. L & P XIV, i. 655.

17. Of the two-hundred around 25% were guilty of despising the rites and practices of the Church; 25% had either failed to receive the sacrament of the altar or had denied the doctrine of transubstantiation; 10% had neglected confession or had given dangerous opinions of it, whilst 15% were accused of desecrating the Sabbath. Only one out of two-hundred was cited for his belief in the doctrine of justification. Tjernagel, op. cit. p. 230.


19. Apart from Garrett, Jerome, and Barnes, the only Protestant to suffer martyrdom in 1540 was a sacramentarian shoemaker named Robert Ward. A & M V, 448, appendix XI.


26. STC 23209, 23210, 22815, 19785.5, 19786.


28. Sig. A2(v).

29. Sig. A2(v).

30. Sig. A3.

31. Sig. A5.


33. "Whereby you proue your selu as both an heretyke & a trauytour, makyng by your deuyllysh doctrynne not onely vs to be ý malygnaunt churche, but also our hedde the kynges graces maiesty and his honorable counsel". Sig. C3(v).

34. Sig. A7.

35. Sig. F6, c.f. Sig. D6.

36. Sig. E7(v).

37. Sig. E8(v).

39. "Scripture is full of ensamples / but to bring us unto the faith of Christ / and also to make us rise up by true repentance / when we are fallen from the same. But in all the scripture finde ye no ensample / that teacheth you to call our justification (deserued onely by the death of Christ) a false justification/ or to affirme / that we wold ye faine prove the same / yee euen by the ensamples of those that were justified afore". Sig. gl.

40. Sig. el.

41. Sig. e5.

42. Sig. h2.

43. Sig. f3-F3(v).

44. Sig. i1.

45. According to Coverdale it would make for too long a book to rehearse all of Standish's argument. Sig. a4(v).

46. Sig. a7.

47. Sig. a7(v).

48. Coverdale gave three reasons for writing. "First that under the Kynges privilige any thing shuld be set forth / which is either agaynst the worde and trueth of allmighty god / or agaynst the Kynges honoure. Secondly / that good / wholesome / and Christen wordes shulde be calumpniated and reyled. Thirdly / that the sayde John Standish pronouncynge Doctoure Barnes to haue taught heresy so longe / is not ashamed all this whyle to haue hold his penne / but now first to wryte agaynst him / when he is deed, et ce". Sig. a2.

49. Sig. a3(v).

50. Sig. i3.

51. Sig. i1(v).

52. Sig. a4(v).

53. Sig. n5.

54. Sig. n5(v)-n6.

55. Sig. hl.

56. Sig. hl.

57. Tudor Apocalypse, p. 68.

58. Sig. i4.
59. Sig. n7(v).

60. Sig. n5.

61. Sig. m4(v)-m5.


63. Mozley, pp. 10-12. Tübingen was in fact the nearest university to Strassburg.

64. Appendix C no. 66. Not in STC. The 1547 reprint of the work (STC 4071) is reprinted in Coverdale, Writings and Translations of M.C. Bishop of Exeter, ed. G. Pearson (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1844) pp. 1-83. All references are to this edition.


67. Ibid. pp. 35-36. The conclusion was arrived by a number of calculations. "It followeth therefore, that our christian faith is 2048 years elder than the circumcision, and 2449 years elder than the law, the priesthood, and ceremonies of the Jews. For from Adam unto the flood were 1656 years; and from the flood unto the departing of Abraham out of Chaldea, 363 years. From that time are reckoned 430 years, until the departing of Israel out of Egypt".

68. Ibid. pp. 32, 39, 45.

69. Ibid. p. 69.

70. Ibid. p. 81.

71. Ibid. p. 82.

72. Ibid. pp. 4-5.

73. Ibid. p. 10.

74. Ibid. p. 6.

75. Coverdale directed the reader to read each chapter of the Epistle of James. The message of each one was briefly expounded. Ibid. pp. 8-9.


79. Appendix C no. 67. STC 10488, Devereux, Checklist C 45. Printed in Antwerp, Mierdman? Crom? Reprinted in Coverdale, Writings and Translations, pp. 489-528. All references are to this edition.


81. P. 491.

82. Ibid. pp. 492, 494.

83. Ibid. p. 493.

84. Appendix C no. 68. STC 13612. Antwerp, Widow Endhoven.


88. The Doctrine of Faith, p. 249.

89. C.f. Matheson, op. cit. p. 122f.

90. Sig. Bl-F8(v).

91. The fyrst preface of Philyp Melācthon vnto the Christen Reader, sig. A7-AA3(v), Here folowe the Articles of the Protestantēs that ys of saye of them whiche stonde to the confession made at Augspurg called the germaynes confession, where in they make answer to such artycles of this fore boke / as they dyd partely or wholly dissent from. Sig. Gl(v)-L3(v).

92. Sig. M7(v)-Ol(v).

93. Sig. M7(v), M8(v), N2.

94. Sig. N5(v).

95. Sig. AA3(v).

96. Appendix C no. 69. STC 10808, H & L S335. Myles C. to the Reader sig. π 2. Translated from Der nider oesterreic- chischer Lannd Aussschuss an Ferdinandum ernstliche Supplication. 1542.

97. Sig. A2-A7.

98. Sig. A8-B1(v).


100. Sig. C1(v)-C3.

101. For the influence of the threat of the Turks in the deliberations preceding the Colloquy of Regensburg c.f. Matheson, op. cit. p. 14ff.

102. Sig. π 2 - π 2(v).

103. Sig. π 4 - π 4(v).

104. Coverdale's brother-in-law John Macalpyne was appointed Royal Chaplain and Professor in Divinity at Copenhagen University in 1542. He succeeded Bugenhagen the organiser of the reforms. Lupton, vol. XI, p. 181.
The order that the church and congregacion of Chryst in
in Denmark, and in many places, countres and cities of Germany
dothe vse, not only that the holy supper of the lorde, but also at the ministracion of the blessed Sacrament of Baptisme & holy Wedlocke. The earliest extant copy is STC 5894. Possibly the tract was originally appended to Calvin's Treatise on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. It is however unlikely that Coverdale translated Calvin's treatise. C.f. Mozley, appendix E, p. 330. The Order, is reprinted in Coverdale, Writings and Translations, pp. 469-483. All references are to this edition.

Ibid. p. 470.
Ibid. p. 469.
Ibid. p. 482.
Ibid. p. 483.
STC 5168-5177.
P. 483. In the introduction to the work Coverdale claimed that he had sought license from the authorities to return to England but had had his request turned down. P. 469.
Appendix C no. 70. STC 5889. M. Crom, Antwerp.
"Haue I understäde thy mynde. Thou hast nodded with thy head. I perceae that I haue not gessed amysses". Sig.A6.
Sig. B4-B5.
C.f. Sig. C5, D1, D3, E3.
Sig. E6(v).
A & M V, 568.
Appendix C no. 71. STC 4045. Printed by Hoochstraten? Antwerp? Translated from Der Christlich Eestand. Von der heiligen Ee Harkumen / wenn / wo / wie / vnnd von wam sy sye / wie sy recht bezogen werde / was jro vrsachen frucht vnd eer: dargegen wie vnnerlich die hury vn d'Eebruch sye. Ouch wie man ein kömlichen bezmahel erkiesen / eeliche liebe truw vnd pflicht halten vnd meeren / vnd die kinder wol vnd recht vofischen sölle / durch Heinrychen Bullinger beschrieben, MDXL, 8vo, A8-08, Zurich, Froschoer, Bullinger Bibliographie, nos. 129-41.
Dickens & Carr, p. 111.
For English Protestant attitudes to marriage in the 1520s and 1530s c.f. J.K. Yost, "The Reformation Defense of Clerical Marriage", p. 154, n. 6, 7, 8. The best account of the issue remains H.C. Lea, An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church (Second enlarged
121. Sig. A3-A5(v).
122. Sig. A6(v).
123. Sig. B6(v)-C2.
124. Sig. F4-G3(v), I5(v)-I8, H3(v)-I1(v).
125. Sig. D6.
126. "Yet shall it be the lesse maruayll / yf we remembre in whose place the Pope sitteth / and who it is that worketh / ruleth & occasioneth all such myscheffe. doutlesse euin the sprete of Antichrist". Sig. D6(v).
127. Sig. D8(v)-E1(v).
130. Bullinger Bibliographie, nos. 133-141. STC is as yet incomplete.
131. Appendix C no. 73. STC 17798, Antwerp, widow Endhoven. According to the title-page the book was translated from the Latin by "leuws beuchame" whilst the colophon asserts that it was printed at Lipse by Ulbright Hoff. The work Melanchthonum de coniugio, however, was attributed to Joye by Bale, Ill. Script. (1548) fo. 239-240. C.f. Butterworth & Chester, George Joye, p. 220, and appendix A.
132. Defensio Coniugii Sacerdotum pia e erudita, missa ad Regem Angliae, collecta a Philipp Melanthon. Refutatio abusum Coenae Domini, erudita et utilis disputatio de potestate Pontificiae. Argentorati ex officina Cratonis Mylii. Dec. MIIIII. The later 1549 edition is reprinted in CR XXIII, pp. 673-692. In the debates between the Wittenberg theologians and English scholars clerical marriage was included along with communion in both kinds as a requirement for Henry VIII joining the Schmalkaldic League. For German reaction to the articles on clerical marriage and celibacy c.f. Lea, op. cit., p. 466f.
133. Sig. A2. Melanchthon also raised the argument that the nobles would lose out materially if the priests took wives, a point which had been raised by the Duke of Norfolk in the 1539 Parliament in defence of clerical celibacy. Sig. A2(v).
134. Sig. D7.
135. Sig. A8(v).
Melanchthon compared the legislation of 1539 with the injunctions of Gregory VII against clerical marriage. In Gregory's day married priests were only moved from their ministration. According to the 1539 Act, both the man and wife found together could be hanged. In 1540, however, the secular members of Parliament amended the penalties. Sig. A4-A4(v).

In addition Melanchthon argued on the grounds of adiaphoristic utility. Men's consciences which are under the gospel should not be clogged with Mosaic rites. Sig. C4(v).

156. Sig. A5, citing Isaiah 59. Joye made extensive use of Old Testament texts which he applied to contemporary figures and events. In the opening of the work, for example, he identified Pharaoh with the Pope, Joseph with Christ, and Moses and Aaron with Reformation preachers. This type of identification allowed for some polemical comparison. The Pope is far worse than Pharaoh who at least allowed Israel to depart. The Pope however would sooner see all faith and religion taken away and given to the Turks and the Jews than carry out reforms. Sig. A2-A3.

157. In fact Joye threatened to reveal the identities of these men. Sig. A4(v).

158. Sig. C2-C2(v). For Norfolk's argument and its impact see Yost, op. cit. p. 159.

159. Sig. A8(v).

160. Sig. B8-B8(v).

161. Sig. Cl.

162. Sig. C3(v), cited by Yost, p. 161.

163. Sig. A8-B3(v). The custom of making vows at the age of twenty-one afforded Joye the opportunity to employ a good deal of ridicule and invective. Winchester, it was claimed, vowed oaths of obedience to the pope and his church on his coming of age. Either he has subsequently broken them and is therefore worthy to be hung, or more likely, he still retains the attachment. Sig. A8(v). Moreover, according to Winchester's De Vera Obedientia, referred to by Joye as the book of true disobedience and false faith, Gardiner was married to the whore of Babylon when he was twenty-one. Sig. B1(v). Furthermore, Joye raised the charge that Winchester once appeared to support the gospel. "But unto wyked Wynchester whiche once semed to fauour Gods worde before he was promoted to the cardinall Thomas Wolsayes seruyce ..." Sig. B7. Joye's acquaintance with Gardiner went back to their student days when in fact Gardiner did show some sympathy with the reformers' position. In Joye's Refutation of the byshop of Winchester's derke declaration of 1546 Joye pointed out that Gardiner supported him some twenty years earlier when he was under investigation for heresy. C.f. Butterworth and Chester, pp. 30, 206.

164. Sig. A6(v)-A7(v).

165. Sig. C8(v).

166. Sig. A5.
167. Sig. A5(v). In addition Gardiner was addressed as 'pastshur Winchestur' (sig. A6), whilst Joye twice made a pun on the word 'bishop', referring to Gardiner and Repse as 'brightshep' and 'but shepe' Sig. A5, Dl. Moreover, Joye claimed to have omitted passages of description concerning the Sodomitical and Gomorlean vice of celibacy for the sake of the reader. "Whose prodigious filthiness lest it shuld poyson ý papir /& the breath of the reder shulde be corrupt the ayer and infecte honest cares / I suppresse it". Sig. A6.

168. Sig. A3(v).

169. Sig. A3.

170. Sig. A8(v).

171. Butterworth and Chester, p. 223 citing the reference on sig. A5 to 'now in this year 1539'.

172. Mekins was burned for speaking against the Sacrament of the Altar and for criticizing the execution of Barnes. His death resulted in some protest. In September 1541 Richard Hilles wrote to Bullinger complaining that Cranmer and Audely, who were supposed to be favourable to the Protestant cause, had done nothing to stop the execution. Original Letters, p. 221. There is no reason to believe that Cranmer made any attempt to persuade Henry to pardon Mekins or any of the other reformers who were martyred under the Six Articles. C.f. Jasper Ridley, Thomas Cranmer, p. 218.

173. Sig. D3f.


175. Sig. D2.

176. Sig. D2(v).

177. Sig. D1(v)-D2.

178. Appendix C no. 75. STC 22897. The colophon, "Printyd at Basyl by me Theophyl Emlos / vnderere the sygne of sent Peters key", was false. The printer's name is simply Solme spelled backwards.

179. Born 1510, Solme was probably canon of St. Ostyth's Essex, who in 1535 wrote to Cromwell begging to be released from the monastic life. After the accession of Edward VI he was active as a popular preacher. The accounts of Solme in DNB LIII, p. 218, and Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, i, 149 are not in agreement.

180. Sig. A7.

181. Sig. A2-A6(v).
182. Sig. B⁵(v).

183. Sig. B¹(v), B³. C.f. Sig. B²(v), "For harlottis do showe more shamfastly & moderattly / theyr horly a ray and outwerd ostencions / then tempils do theyr picturs which they wyll to represente the ymages of virgyns".

184. "The growne colers that he Antichrist vse be thes / oyster gatherers / I wolde say Ostiares / whos offyce is to pute the kay in the dors. and dreue doggis out of the cherche / Lectores / that is reders of lessons / Exorciste / cürgerers of watter salte / Acoluti / a pykker of salettis / Subdiaconus / a pystell marrere / Diacons / a gospell glosere. And then the cheffyst colore of all / Sacerdos / a makere & geuere of Godis flesse and bonys / seuen colers he vse for the. vii. gestis of the holy goste". Sig. B⁴(v).

185. Sig. B⁴-B⁵.

186. Sig. B³(v).

187. Sig. C⁷(v)-C⁸.

188. Sig. B⁵(v), Dⁱ(v).

189. Sig. D⁷, C⁸.

190. In criticising clerical immoral: Lty Solme directed his attack onto the figures "Antony laklatyn" and "Ihon singyl sowll". The latter, who cannot read the gospel at Mass if his candle is out, desires his neighbour's wife or maid. Sig. C⁷. Abbots and nuns were fornicators "sancte all a hory". Sig. C⁶(v), whilst Popish priests "burne in veneriall desyres". Sig. E.⁶.

191. C.f. sig. B⁶(v). Solme's attack on monks focussed on their sectarianism rather than on their immorality. "Therfor a way with owre ladyse bedysmen / Augustinus / Dominickis / Benedictis / Fraciscans / Basylighttis / the. v. discordis of the cherch as Thomystes do say / a way with thes and all other sectes the dropings of the deuylis tayll / the vpholsters of Antichrist the son of perdicion". Sig. D².

192. Sig. B⁷(v).

193. Sig. C².

194. C.f. supra, ch.6.

195. Sig. C¹(v).

197. Bibliander, d. 1564, studied at Zurich and Basel under Pelican and Oecolampadius. In 1531/2 at the age of twenty-eight he succeeded Zwingli as Professor of Theology. Bibliander's speciality was the field of linguistics. He wrote a Hebrew grammar and in 1543 published a translation of the Koran. C.f. J.J. Christinger, *Theodor Bibliander, Ein biographisches Denkmal* (Frankenfield, 1807).

198. Sig. E8.

199. Sig. F3.

200. The threat was made more severe by the state of the Church. "The shyppe of the churche to be corrupted with a styngyng pumes flowynge in to hir with great vyces and most vngracious mischeffes / gyles / studye of lyynge / false brekynge of promyse / treasons / discorde / lyttle regarde of the publyke weale / immorderate accuration of private profytt / robberye of the common treasure / sacrilege / in temperancy / surfytyng and dronkennes / aduoutryes / all maner of vnclenlynes / Tyranes / cruelty / supersticion / the contempt of God / contempte of the lawe / of equite / of honestye: which thynges every one of the hath destroyed in tymes paste and moste florysshynge cyttes and greatest kyngdoms". Sig. N3.

201. Sig. T4.


203. For the stress on Germany c.f. sig. R3(v)-R4.


206. Sig. cc8(v).

207. Sig. bb7.

208. Sig. bb6, bb8(v).

209. Sig. ccl.

210. Sig. ccl(v).
211. Sig. cc4.

212. Sig. dd5.

213. According to Joye the Pope was outraged by the work, yet neither "his furious dronks chāpion Eccius / nor yet his sleekishe beste Cocleus" could match Zwingli's eloquence and learning. Sig. A3(v).

214. Sig. A1(v).

215. Sig. A2.

216. Sig. A2(v).

217. Sig. dd6(v)-dd8(v).

218. Sig. dd8(v).


220. Appendix C no. 78. STC 16984, no col.

221. Articvli a Reverendo D. Doctore Martino Luthero scripti, Anno 1538, ut Synodo Mantuanae, que tunc indicta erat, proponerentur, qui recens in Latinum sermonem translati sunt à Petro Generano 1541. Wittenberg, Joseph Klug. Benzing, Lutherbibliographie, no. 3288. For the earlier German editions see nos. 3285-87. For background to Luther's work c.f. WA 50, pp. 160-78. The text is printed on pp. 192-253.

222. Sig. a2(v).

223. Sig. bl(v), where the Mass is described as "this Dragons & deuels tayle".

224. Sig. a7-a8.

225. Sig. b2(v).

226. Sig. b4-b4(v), bl(v).

227. Sig. c7-c8.

228. Sig. d3.

229. Sig. d7, d8.

230. C.f. Appendix C no. 77.

231. Sig. g3-g4.

232. The Rekeninn and declaraciō of the faith and belief of Huldrik Zwingly, sig. dd8.
233. Hughes and Larkin, Tudor Royal Proclamations, 1, pp. 270-76.

234. C.f. below.

235. C.f. above, ch. 6.


237. Appendix C no. 79. The work was examined and passed fit by Doctors Taylor and Barons, Master Ceton and Master Torner. Sig. Q8(v). Clearly the work was prepared for publication prior to the reaction of 1540.

238. Sig. A6.

239. Sig. A7.

240. Sig. K3.


244. Appendix C no. 80. STC 1323.5. Printed in Dormer, pp. 79-82.

245. "Although Lord Cromwell a traytour was
   Yet dare I saye that the kinge of his grace
   Hath forguyen him that gret trespass
   To rayle than on dead men, thou art to blame
   Trolle now into the way agayne for shame". Ibid. p. 79.

246. Ibid. p. 80.

247. Ibid. p. 80.

248. Ibid. p. 81.

249. For Smyth c.f. Dormer, p. 34.


251. Smyth expressed the hope that all papists would be shamed and that all heretics would amend. Unity and peacefulness were to be the goals. P. 85.

252. Appendix C no. 81. STC 22880.7. Incomplete.
253. There is no record of Gray's birth, parentage, or early education. Possibly he was a monk of the abbey of Abbotsbury. L & P IX, 1087. In 1537 he wrote a ballad entitled The Hunt is up, and was perhaps responsible for the work The Fantasie of Idolatry, A & M V, 404-09. In 1538 he appears to have acted as courier for Coverdale and the printer Grafton. L & P XIII (i) 1249, (ii) 58. In the same year he may have secured a position in the entourage of Cromwell. The fullest account of Gray is that of Dormer, although it should be regarded with suspicion and used with care.


255. "Here mayster smythe must be
To the kynges hygh mageste
A seraunt scant so symple
As reynarde vnder a wymple
A clerke, a learned manne
Which worldly cauteles canne
Yea, clerke of the Quenes counsell
And persecuteth the Gospel". Sig. B2.

256. Sig. A2.
257. Sig. A3.
258. Sig. B2(v).
259. STC 22880.6. Printed by John Redman, Dormer, pp. 87-90.
260. Ibid. p. 88.
261. Appendix C no. 82. STC 12206a.3. Dormer, pp. 91-94
262. Ibid. p. 91.
263. "Lyke as the holy Papystes were wont to paynt their popyshe glosse". Ibid. p. 92.
264. STC 22880.2. N.p. Dormer, pp. 95-98.
265. Ibid. p. 96.
266. Ibid. p. 97.
268. Ibid. p. 100.
269. Illustrated in the following quotation.


"The rest of your raylinges I woll as nowe omyte
Upon suche purpose peysshe my tyme I woll not spende
They do naught but declare the lewde vse of your wytt
And what malyce of herte to-wardes other you pretende
You have no nother buckler wherwith your selfe to defende
Who rebuketh your secte or wolde reforme your heresye
Amonge you strayte he is a mayntaynour of popery".


"The rest of your raylinges I wyll as now omytte
Upon soche braynles braggyry my tyme I wyll not spende
They do nothyng elles by mayf est the lewde vse of your wytt
And the myschefe of your herte which to other ye do pretende
You have no other buckler your selfe for to defende
Who rebuketh your secte or wolde reforme your popery
Amonge you strayte he is a mayntayner of heresye".

270. Ibid. p. 101.

271. Possibly Richard Smith, 1500-1563. Smith was educated at Merton College Oxford from 1527. He was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity on the foundation of the chair by Henry VIII, was admitted B.D. and D.D. in 1536. From 1537 he was Master of Whittington College and was reader in divinity at Magdalen College. DNB LIII, pp 101-102, Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, i, 333-337. The entry of the ballad in STC however does not support this identification.

272. An Artificiall Apologie, articulerely answerynge to the obstreperous. Obgangynge of one W.S. Euometyd to the uituperacion of the tryumphant trollyng Thomas smyth. Repercussed by the rvght redolent & rotunde rethorician R. Smyth P. with annotaci6s by the mellifluous and misticall kaster Mynterne, marked in the merrrent for the enucliacion of certen obscure obelisques, to thende that the imprudent lector shulde not tvtubate or hallucinate in the labyrinthes of their lucubratuuncle. STC 22877.6. Printed by Bankes. Dormer, pp. 103-10-7.

273. At times Smith made a pun on his opponent's name, addressing his as "brokyshe graye", (badger). C.f. p. 103.

274. A Paumflet compyled by G.L.
To master Smyth and wylyam G.
Prayence them both, for the loue of our Lorde
To growe at last to an honeste accorde. STC. 4268.5.
Printed by Bankes. Dormer, pp. 108-112.

275. Significantly G.L. saw the start of the debate as the publication of the work Trolle on Away. Ibid. p. 109.

276. Ibid. p. 112.

278. Grafton confessed to printing part of the invectives and also to possessing an epistle of Melanchthon contrary to the Six Acts.

279. Ibid. pp. 105, 107. The protagonists were released after a matter of weeks.

280. Dormer, p. 30.

281. Appendix C no. 84. STC 11393. The work has been wrongly attributed to Frith. For the authorship c.f. H & L.

282. Appendix C no. 85. STC 24164 (Whitchurch? 1543?)

283. Sig. A3.

284. Sig. C7(v).

285. Sig. D6f.


287. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, i, p. 246, Venn & Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 114. For Latimer's influence on Becon which is well testified in Becon's own writings see Bailey, pp. 3-4.


289. There are considerable problems involved in the dating of Becon's first recantation. C.f. Bailey, pp. 15-17.

290. Becon's second recantation is reprinted in full in Foxe A & M V, appendix XII.


292. Appendix C nos. 86-95.


294. All of Becon's works were addressed to particular gentlemen. C.f. Appendix C nos. 86-95. All references to Becon's works are to The Early Works of Thomas Becon, S.T.F. etc., ed. J. Ayre (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843).

295. "As the shadow followeth the body, so doth the cross follow the word of Christ; and as fire and heat cannot be separated, so cannot the gospel of Christ and the cross be plucked assunder". David's Harp, p. 273.
"For even as it was in the time of the old Jews, even so is it now in the world. They hated God's word then; even so do they now. They persecuted the prophets and true preachers of God's verity; even so do they now. They maintained the wicked traditions of their forefathers; even so do they now. etc". The Policy of War, p. 242. C.f. The Pathway unto Prayer where Becon claims that Christ's words against the scribes and pharisees were directed against the papists. P. 182. For an example of Becon's anachronistic use of the word 'bishop' c.f. David's Harp, p. 276.

Ibid. p. 274.

The Policy of War, p. 238.

David's Harp, p. 274.

Ibid. p. 274-75

Ibid. p. 275.

News out of Heaven, p. 38. C.f. The Christmas Banquet, p. 82, "a prince of most noble fame and immortal glory".

A Pleasant New Nosegay, p. 191.

Ibid. p. 193.

Ibid. p. 212.


"For there have been, neither yet want, which think it a matter of absurdity and a thing very unfitting, that temporal rulers should reign over the spirituality". These were identified as Anabaptists in a marginal note. The Nosegay, p. 217.


The Nosegay, p. 218.

The Policy of War, p. 233


The Pathway unto Prayer, p. 165. The petition continues, "Therefore ought we also to pray, that all antichrists,
papists, heretics, schismatics, and seditious praters submoved and put aside, true evangelists, faithful prophets, and sincere preachers, may reign among us universally".

315. "If his grace goeth forth as he hath begun, he shall make such a flourishing realm both in spiritual and corporal goods, both for the glory of God and for the maintenance of his grace's public weal, as none shall may be able to compare with this realm of England throughout Christendom. And as his most excellent majesty shall easily overcome and excel in the exercise of true godliness all his predecessors, and leave a memorable and immortal act unto his successors most worthy to be followed, so likewise may his grace be sure, that there is reposed and laid up in store for him in God's treasure-house that uncorruptible crown of glory, which when his grace shall give over to nature, that most glorious King of all kings shall give to him undoubtedly for his faithful walking in the divine precepts, and setting forth of God's glory". The Pathway unto Prayer, p. 182.

316. Ibid. p. 181.

317. "...nor yet as our new idolaters were wont to do, as unto Luke for the ox, unto Job for the pox, unto Anthony for the pig, unto Loy for the horse, unto Apolline for the toothache, unto Roke for the pestilence, unto Syth for things lost, unto Gertrude for the rations and mice, unto Blase for the ague, unto Agasse for the fire, unto Barbara for the thunder, unto Christopher for continual health, unto Annes for a husband, unto Margaret for women with child, unto Katherine for learning, unto Crispine and Crispinian for shoe-making, unto Cosme and Damiane for physic, unto Clement for brewing beer, and such other innumerable". The Pathway unto Prayer, p. 139. For the possible source of Becon's list c.f. Ayre's footnote, p. 139, n.4.

318. The Christmas Banquet, p. 81.

319. An Invective Against Swearing, p. 354.


321. The Potation for Lent, p. 100. The Potation was Becon's most conservative work. Although Becon retained the passages relating to auricular confession when he revised the work for the folio edition of his books, he abandoned some of his conservative phraseology. C.f. Bailey, Detached note E, pp. 135-36.

322. Pineas, op. cit. p. 206, citing The relikes of Rome (1560) sig. 16, and A new Postil (1567) fol a7(v).

323. The Pathway unto Prayer, p. 126.
"Where are these rich men, to whom God hath committed the goods of this world, which, like insatiable dogs having never enough, do continually hunt after the augmentation of worldly treasures... Where are these spiritual rulers, which, giving themselves to voluptuous living, neglect to feed Christ's flock with God's most blessed word? Where are these antichrists, which labour to suppress Christ's most sweet and comfortable gospel? Where are these papists, which desire the old papistical and ungodly superstition to reign again among us? Where are these captives of Satan which wallow and tumble themselves in the dunghills of sin?". The Pathway unto Prayer, p. 127.

326. An Invective Against Swearing, p. 374.
327. For Becon's technique see Bailey, p. 43.
328. David's Harp, p. 280.
330. Ibid. p. 48.
331. "Alas! when man was in honour he perceived it not, and therefore is he now become even like unto a brute beast. He is altogether without the Spirit of God, he is all carnal and fleshly; therefore cannot God's Spirit abide in him, neither can be perceive those things that pertain to the Spirit of God". Ibid. p. 46.
333. David's Harp, p. 272.
336. Marginal note appended to The Potation for Lent, p. 91.
337. The Nosegay, p. 208, c.f. David's Harp, p. 293.
341. David's Harp, p. 270.

344. L & P XVIII, i, 538, A & M V, p. 448, Bailey, pp. 30-45. The recantations are printed in A & M V, appendix XII.

345. "I have been possessed with the spyryte of pryde and vayne glorye, and nourysshed therewith have indured these labours, to wryte suche bookees as have goon fourthe under the name of Theodore Basile". Ibid.

346. Examined in detail by Bailey, pp. 32-38, to whom the following is indebted.

347. "In my booke of pollycye of warre I saye, that as they persecuted the prophete and true preachers of goddis woorde, evyn soo soo they nowe: in which I seme tapprove the cause of suche as have been justelye punyshed by the ordre of the kings maieste ye lawes".

348. "In the preface of my booke whiche I call mooste arrogantelye the golden booke of christen matrymony I wryte in dysprase of Contynencie...And in all that booke I exhorte all men to marrage indifferentelye: makyng no difference whether they be pryests or noo".

349. Cited by Bailey, pp. 35-36.

350. God is "nowe undoubtedlye moste hyghlye pleased with owre outwarde celebration of the mooste high, pure, and excellent Sacryfice of the mooste bleassed Sacrament of Thaltare, wherein chryste hymself offereth hymself by the mnynyster for a continuall memorye Reall and effectual of his oblation made at his laste supper and uppon the Crosse".

351. Details in Bailey, pp. 36-38.


353. The Jewel of Joy was not printed until 1553. It is included in Prayers and other pieces of Thomas Becon, ed. Ayre (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1844, p. 419-20).

354. C.f. Bailey, Bibliography, no. 18, 18a.

355. Ibid. no. 17.

356. Ibid. p. 53.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE SWARM OF ANTICHRIST: FROM

POLEMIC TO APOCALYPTIC
The longer the reaction continued the more difficult it became for the exiled Protestants to maintain their belief in the innocence and blamelessness of Henry VIII. Although the King could be divorced from the policies which immediately followed the Six Articles, he could not so easily be exempted from responsibility for subsequent measures. In May 1543 Berthelet brought out the final official statement of doctrine of Henry's reign, the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (the King's Book).\(^1\) Steps to revise the Bishops' Book of 1537 had begun as early as 1540, a clear and, in many ways, necessary outcome of the legislation of the previous year.\(^2\) Nonetheless, the King's Book was by no means an unequivocally Catholic document. Some parts which were simply lifted from the Bishops' Book included material that originated with Luther. Moreover, some of the new material of the formulary, such as the section on faith, could admit a Protestant interpretation. The distinction, for example, between a living faith which included hope and charity and that faith which is simply persuasion and belief was clearly maintained. Though doctrinally ambivalent, however, the King's Book remained unquestionably conservative in regard to ecclesiastical sacraments and practices, in other words, those very issues which had resulted in Protestant protest. Unlike the Bishops' Book, the doctrine of transubstantiation was expressly confirmed whilst the practice of communion in both kinds was seen as 'pestiferous' and damnable. In addition, the importance of auricular confession was emphasised as was the absolution given by priests, whilst the practice of clerical celibacy was briefly upheld. As long as these ideas were so vigorously defended it was impossible for the exiles
to believe that the Word of God had not lost the upper hand. ³

Indeed Protestants outside of England were unable to see the King's Book as anything other than another manifestation of popishness. Moreover in so far as the work actually ratified the measures of the Six Articles, the exiles had their belief confirmed that the teaching of Rome had become the official doctrine of the Church of England. For many, this latest manifestation of official intransigence necessitated a tougher, more combative approach. From their position overseas the refugees were increasingly unable to view actual affairs in England in any positive light. For some reformers the belief than Henry would eventually deliver his Church from captivity was jetisoned. To all intent and purpose England was in a hopeless condition. Although it is clear that some evangelical literature continued to be brought out in London in the 1540s, the exiles saw only the suppression of Protestant books. Thomas Becon, for example, was cited less as a fellow writer, as one who had been forced to recent and abandon his craft. Similarly, however much historians have seen the circle of Katherine Parr as representing the perpetuation of the Erasmian humanist or moderate Protestant tradition in England, the activities of the court circle received no attention whatsoever from the less moderate Protestants overseas.

In the last few years of Henry's reign the exiles attempted to develop fresh tactics, new arguments and techniques with which they could encourage reforms back home. For some, however, the failure of these very arguments resulted in pessimism about the value of polemical literature itself. By 1545-46 hope of
deliverance at the hands of a godly prince was abandoned. Now the King was to be threatened and cajoled into amending his policies. The optimism of Coverdale and Becon of a return to the policies of the Cromwellian period was no longer possible. Reform was no longer seen as the slow, orderly restoration of things to their proper usage, but was now viewed as no less than the complete apocalyptic transformation of society; the final separation of the godly community from the false church. The worship and theology of the early church were now put forward as the only acceptable models for a truly reformed Church of England.

The Protestant polemics that were put out during the last few years of Henry's reign were characterised by a particularly strong anti-episcopal bent. In the eyes of the exiles the conservative episcopacy was the main obstacle to reform and the main agency of the reaction. The Six Articles and the deaths of Protestant reformers were both viewed as the result of the malevolent influence of the popish bishops. In the 1530s attacks on monastic abuses had proved singularly successful in undermining the power and influence, indeed, the entire raison d'être of the religious orders. Now the bishops were to be subjected to the same kinds of criticism. The education, learning and wealth of the bishops as a whole, together with the morality of particular representatives was under detailed scrutiny and hostile appraisal. If a programme of religious reform was to be restored to the forefront of English affairs the conservative bishops had to forfeit their authority and power.
given what amounted to a free medical service, whilst common schools should be set up and provision made for establishing needy couples in housekeeping. In order to finance these measures the episcopal revenues were to be appropriated. For Brinkelow, the bishops were to be milked as a means of abolishing their power and influence. The amount of money generated by this policy would lighten the burden of taxation for the commons.

Brinkelow's hostility to the bishops was not simply a matter of political idealism or economic realism. Throughout all his writings Brinkelow criticised the bishops for their flagrant opposition to the gospel. His radical social concerns were fused with equally radical religious beliefs. Above all other issues the current official discouragement of the vernacular Bible caused him most concern. Although Henry's injunctions had set forth the Bible in every Church, the bishops have replaced it with their own idols and superstition. Nowadays the gospel is blasphemed and called a source of sedition, whilst bishops such as Bonner of London imprison men simply for reading it. In the supplication of 1546 Brinkelow appealed to Henry to restore the scriptures once again. The King should not listen to those who say that the Bible was "of a traytours settinge forthe and not of your hyghnes owne doynge. For so they reporte, that Thomas Cromwell late earle of Essex was the chyfo doer, and not youre hyghnes, but as led by him. All thys thei do to withdraw the mindes of vs (youre hyghnesses subiectes) from the readyng and study therof". When Henry issued a proclamation ordering the burning of certain translations of the New Testament the bishops were so bold as to burn the whole Bible. The same bishops have claimed on more than one
occasion that they would produce a corrected Bible within six or seven years. No such work, however, has yet emerged.24

Like Tyndale, Brinkelow saw the clergy's opposition to biblical translation simply as a means of hiding the truth from the English people. Accordingly, in The Complaynt Brinkelow attempted to compare the doctrines and practices of the bishops with those of scripture. Whilst his argument was not original, it does illustrate the extent of Brinkelow's Protestant beliefs. Whereas the Bible, for example, established one god the bishops make many gods through the canonisation and worship of saints.25 Similarly all of their churches are full of images.26 The bishops do not teach neither do they serve. In place of scriptural worship, fasting, and prayer, the bishops have instituted traditions of men such as auricular confession.27 In The Lamentacyon Brinkelow bemoaned the people's trust in the properties of a priest. The simple and ignorant have been conned into ignoring the immorality and stupidity of the clergy, believing that they had more righteousness. As a result those "berwolues whelpes", "mynysters of a rable of dyrtye tradicions and popishe ceremonies"; are allowed to make Christ into a patched redeemer.28 Their own mediatorship and intercession have come to be valued more highly than that of Christ.

Whilst his analysis of the corruption of the episcopacy differed little from the works of earlier reformers Brinkelow's argument focussed largely on events that had taken place since the Act of Six Articles. As such his writing had an immediate relevance. By giving examples of episcopal contumacy, often in considerable detail, Brinkelow's works had an almost newsworthy character. The litany procession of 1541, the suspicious death
of a prisoner in Gardiner's household, Bonner's establishment of images in St. Paul's, a recent sermon of Standish, and the executions of Protestant martyrs were all cited as contemporary evidence of the bishops' malice.\(^{29}\) Indeed, for Brinkelow, the Six Articles and reaction posed a number of crucial questions both for English citizens and for their King. Like Joye, Brinkelow saw the 1539 legislation as the result of the bishops' bewitching of parliament.\(^{30}\) The King was deceived by the hypocrisy of the bishops. Those who have subsequently attacked them are hailed as preaching sedition against the higher powers.\(^{31}\) The new articles which have been brought out are far more severe and cruel than any made by the Bishop of Rome.\(^{32}\)

In terms of theology Brinkelow paid a good deal of attention to the wording of the Six Articles. The practice of compulsory clerical celibacy for example, was seen as the doctrine of the devil.\(^{33}\) Behind the Act lay the influence of Gardiner who, as is common knowledge, keeps other men's wives.\(^{34}\) "Our lecherous bishops, or rather sodomites, are chaste as a sawt bytch".\(^{35}\) The King should therefore take it on himself to "banyshe whordom and other abhomynable vyces, not to be named, from your pryestes; and let them that will, have their wyues, as they had in the Prymatyue church".\(^{36}\) Similarly the question of the eucharist was well to the fore. In the Lamentacyon Brinkelow claimed that the sacrament of the body and blood was merely a memorial, a sacrament of thanksgiving.\(^{37}\) The same faith that accompanied the Passover meal that preceeded Christ's coming saves Christians who participate in the Lord's supper.\(^{38}\) For Brinkelow, the notion of a corporeal body amounted to a logical absurdity. According to the gospel
of John the flesh is of no avail; Christ's body can only be eaten by faith and not by teeth. Unlike bread and wine Christ's body is eternal and cannot go sour.39 Behind his eucharistic theology lay the influence of Frith, who according to Brinkelow, had written invincibly on the matter. Despite the punishment that would undoubtedly follow, Brinkelow exhorted the London printers to republish Frith's books.40 Winchester and London are not to be feared, they can only destroy the body and not the soul.

Like Frith, Brinkelow claimed that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not a matter of either salvation or damnation, although if the bread was worshipped as God it was certainly damnable.41 The argument helps to clarify the reformers' attitudes to the Six Article legislation. The strictures could be tolerated though not fully obeyed for the very reason that the beliefs they compelled were not seen as central to the faith. Nonetheless, the beliefs propagated in the Acts were invariably seen as the product of the Antichrist. Auricular confession, for example, was hailed by Brinkelow as one of the filthiest things on earth, which like the Mass, must be plucked up by the roots.42 As a whole the legislation was an offence and just cause for retribution. As long as persecution followed these un-Christian laws England deserved to be plagued.43 The enforcement of this religious legislation was therefore at least as greater problem as the rulings themselves.

What then of the causes of the Catholic reaction? According to Brinkelow, the Six Articles were simply a means devised by the bishops to reintroduce papal authority into England. "What is the cause, that the bishops be so diligent to sytt so
often upon the vi wycked Articules, but only that thei be a stablyssing of the Popys auctorite, be thow sure.\textsuperscript{44} Like Becon he stressed the incomplete nature of the reformation. "Forasmoch as we haue denied the popes name. it is conuuenient that we also denye all his naughty condyciõs there with, that all the whole pope, with all popistry, may be utterly denied and banysshed.\textsuperscript{45} England is still effectively in Egypt, in a state of captivity.\textsuperscript{46} The King began to weed the garden but left the foulest weeds still standing.\textsuperscript{47} The danger remains that the bishops would merely replace the tyranny of the Pope with the tyranny of the English King.\textsuperscript{48} Although the Pope's name has been abolished his body, the bishops and other shavellings, and his tail, his filthy traditions laws and ceremonies and canon law, remain.\textsuperscript{49} Accordingly, it was with the King that Brinkelow entrusted his hope of reform. Parliament was composed of fools who merely sanctioned any attempt to attack Christ's religion.\textsuperscript{50} Parliamentary privileges and wealth stood in the way of any hope of change,\textsuperscript{51} thus, in order to carry out the necessary anti-papal and anti-Roman legislation, the King should first of all attempt to reform parliament. The two houses should be combined to remedy the absurdity of one house annuling a bill passed by the other. At the beginning of every meeting common prayers and a sermon should be delivered. Such sermons were to last between an hour and an hour and a half and were to be designed to remind members of their duty and of the abuses needing reform.\textsuperscript{52} Through the agency of a reformed parliament measures to redress religious and social abuses could be secured.

Unlike the books of either Becon or Joye, Brinkelow's works
of the 1540s were characterised by a strong sense of political realism. A moribund parliament consisting of lazy corrupt conservatives was seen as an immediate hindrance to reform. The preaching of God's Word was to be accompanied by the reform of the central institutions of power. For Brinkelow Protestantism could not proceed as long as the bishops retained their parliamentary influence. "And why can not a man set forthe Christ but he must wryte agaynst you (bishops)". In the Lamentacyon Brinkelow displayed an almost Becon-like confidence that Henry would banish the traditions of papism as he had the whore of Babylon herself. After all, the full extent of Henry's power had only been disclosed by Protestant preaching. Through the work of Barnes, Frith, Bilney, and other martyrs God had wrought "that where as the kynge was before but a shadow of a kyng, or at the most but halfe a king, now he doth wholly raygne thorow their preaching, wryting, and suffryng". In the later supplication however, Brinkelow was by no means so optimistic. Henry must no longer defer from the reformation of abuses unless he wished to leave his heir with an island of brute beasts. Unless the whoredom and simony of the bishops is abolished God's wrath would descend on England and particularly on her sovereign lord who is always punished when his people offend. The threat of judgement hung over Henry's actions. By 1546 the blatant appeal to Henry's political and economic self-interest was not enough. Despite the obvious advantages Henry had failed to undermine episcopal authority. Now in these last days he was to be shamed into action by the threat of eternal punishment.
Richard Tracy

A realistic pragmatic approach to the problems of reaction and reform was not confined to the work of Brinkelow. In December 1543, the by-now exiled reformer Richard Tracy put forward a supplication to our moste soueraigne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght in which he sustained an attack on the economic and political power of the English bishops. Many of the points found in Brinkelow's writings appear in the work of Tracy. Bishops who spend all their time in the King's household and court are unable to carry out the requirements of their office. Because of legislation passed by Henry himself bishops can afford to neglect the daily care of their flock. The King should attempt to remedy this disgraceful state of affairs by compelling the bishops to be resident in their cures. The miseries that follow the appointment of ignorant pastors are multitudinous. Idle persons, drunkards, sorcerers, game-players have been entrusted to the cure of souls, even though some of them have no idea what a soul actually is. Some priests teach that God is honoured and souls relieved of pains by the ringing of bells, painting of posts, and setting up of tapers and candles. Others teach that men should put their trust in fasting, trentals, and masses of scala coeli, holy oil, cream, hallowed water, and Latin psalms. Because of this very teaching the ignorant believe in such false doctrines as purgatory, that their departed souls can be aided by the prayers of priests. This false confidence has been a cause of both spiritual and material poverty throughout the realm.

Like Brinkelow, Tracy saw the wealth and power of the bishops as an impediment to reform. The bishops have simply too
many worldly cares and businesses to carry out their apostolic
duties. Worldly honours such as legal transactions, conflict
directly with God's Word. As long as they possess great lordships
and dominions their pride will be maintained and sin will in-
crease. Those who gain benefices solely for the sake of honour
and wealth can only hate and abhor the godly. The King
should take immediate action to reform these deformities and
mischief. His vocation necessarily involves him taking away
the superfluity of all secular affairs from episcopal control.
The lands and possessions of those clergy who abuse the system
of benefices should be converted to the maintenance of common
schools. The appropriation of the bishops' wealth could
thus facilitate important social reforms.

Theological arguments were not neglected by Tracy.
England's captivity had arisen from a lack of preaching of God's
Word. Because of the scholasticism propagated by the clergy
England became blind to godly learning. Even now it is a
dangerous matter to admit a pastor who has received all his
study in the popes' laws. A popish education engenders a popish
heart. It is to be hoped, therefore, that those who have
power to present and admit their clerks to spiritual office will
henceforth conform to the election of godly ministers according
to the way that it is prescribed in Scripture. Clergy should
be examined for learning in the Bible and not for knowledge
of canon law.

As with his earlier work, the doctrine of justification
by faith was at the core of Tracy's argument. Sin can only
be abolished by faith and not by any temporal laws. Faith
will nourish good obedience if it is allowed to flourish.
Without the preaching and dissemination of the Word however, faith can be stifled and neglected. For that reason Tracy reacted with horror at the alleged proposal that the English Bible should be withdrawn from the laity. Such a possibility, however, was seen as a logical consequence of the Six Articles. In recent times the bishops have attacked the Word in order to resort to their former darkness in which they were promoted to their position of power. The law which gives the power to certain commissioners to take into custody all such books which attack the Six Articles is merely a means of avoiding any disclosure of their true motives. "Are there any books which write against the pope's primacy? But they also write against some of the six articles." Like Brinkelow, Tracy explained the new religious orthodoxy as an attempt to reintroduce papal authority. Recent troubles and insurrection within the realm can only be avoided if Henry takes action against his treacherous bishops and advisers.

Stephen Gardiner and Protestant Polemic.

George Joye

Whilst Brinkelow and Tracy sought to indict the entire episcopal bench other reformers focussed their attention on particular spokesmen and representatives of the conservative hierarchy. In the decade that followed the Six Articles Gardiner and Bonner, respectively bishops of Winchester and London, provoked intense antagonism from the English exiles, and a large number of books were brought out with the specific aim of attacking one or the other. One of the most vituperative and bitter attacks on Gardiner came from the pen of George Joye.
In 1543 Joye brought out a work confuting a number of theological articles of Gardiner.\footnote{74} Three years later the bishop published a reply in a work almost three times the length of Joye's, with the title \textit{A Declaration of such articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false}.\footnote{75} In the same year Joye replied with his \textit{reputation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declarati6}.\footnote{76}

Like Coverdale's battle with Standish, the debate between Gardiner and Joye emerged out of events surrounding the death of Robert Barnes. According to his \textit{confutation}, Joye was provoked into writing after seeing "certayn Articles / entitled to the Bysshop of Winchester called Steuen Gardiner which were writen agest doctor Barnes and his ii felows brēt M.D. for preaching / onely faith to jutifye".\footnote{77} For the sake of God's glory and also to warn the simple reader not to be deceived by these articles, Joye had brought out this \textit{confutation}.\footnote{78} Gardiner's articles were quoted in turn and then subjected to a vigorous and generally abusive refutation. The debate was of some theological importance since it centred on the doctrine of justification by faith. In his articles Gardiner had claimed that the effect of Christ's passion is conditional.\footnote{79} Anyone who wishes to enjoy the effect of that passion must first of all fulfil that condition. To do so it is necessary to have knowledge of what is involved, a knowledge which men acquire by faith. Consequently, according to the bishop, since faith is a gift of God it is profitable to the individual to do well and to exercise his faith. By the gift of God the individual can also do well before his justification,\footnote{80} For the attainment of justification faith is not sufficient, for charity is also required.
"Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ (if I fulfil the condicio) & love must accomplish the condicio whereupon followeth that attainment of the promise according to God's truth." 81

Gardiner's position, though not untypical of Catholic polemicists, was by no means a distinguished piece of theological argument. Essentially Gardiner interpreted faith as knowledge; knowledge of God's promise, or rather, knowledge of the condition to be fulfilled. As he later pointed out, his argument with Barnes did not rest on the question of whether faith justified, a position with which he was in agreement, but rather as to the further question, whether charity was a necessary condition of justification. Since belief precedes justification it can be said that a necessary deed (belief) was performed before one is justified. Since justification involves not just illumination but also renovation, faith, understood as mere knowledge, was insufficient. 83 Thus it can be seen that Gardiner's entire argument concerning justification rested on his interpretation or understanding of faith. Moreover, insofar as this very interpretation of faith as knowledge was rejected by the reformers as a 'historical' faith, to be distinguished from a living faith, it is evident that Gardiner did not fully understand the essential features of the reformed doctrine of sola fides. 84 A good deal of Joye's confutation was taken up with pointing out the discrepancies between Gardiner's approach and the views of the reformers. According to Joye, faith was to be understood as irreperably joining the individual to God's mercy, grace and salvation; in short, fellowship with God. Gardiner, however, coupled faith with an external
knowledge, a visible fulfilment of the condition. This was in no sense a true faith. If works were allowed to precede justification the effect of Christ's passion would be diminished. If the condition can be fulfilled before justification Christ's death was not necessary. If faith is so mixed with works Christ is merely a partial redeemer. Gardiner is guilty of propagating heresy. The apostles all attacked this works-righteousness, this Pelagianism that denies all faith.

Whilst the doctrine of justification by faith provided the theological cutting edge to Joye's work, much of his writing consisted simply of denigration of Gardiner's person. Winchester's argument revealed the author to be a fool, a "scismatyk iewisshe Hieroboam & deuillishe diuider of all christē vnite". Though professing that the good works of an individual justify Gardiner then proceeds to persecute Christ's Church. "I passe over his luciferyn pryde / ambicion / arrogancye viciouse liuving &c / aboue Nero / Iuliane / Traiane / Herode or any soft Sardanapale. Belyke he beleueth not his owne articles / for if he did / he wolde do better works for his owne iustificaciō". For Joye good works were a mirror of the soul. "Now let vs set vp my Lorde Gardiner in his Ueluets and Satyn alofte vpon his mule trapped with veluet with golden sterups and bridle &c / with his ientle bare head chayned with gold / before and aftir him. Who wilnot say but there rideth a princely prelate a gloriouse Bisshop to orne and honor an h6le realme. See what a clelye sorte of tall men he hathe aboute him / what costlye liueries geueth he / what a mayny of idle bellies daily fedeth he. Hath not Winch. lo / wherof to glory before men. is not this a joyly iustificacion". It is as unlikely for Gardiner to truly
fulfil the good works that he desires as it is for him to "cast off his pride his bishopry with all his vainglory and to become the humble pore persecuted preacher of gods worde".  

The doctrine of justification by works was thus undermined by Joye by an attack on the immorality of its advocates. Joye's abuse was not confined to Winchester. The entire realm of papist apologists consisted of "popishe lawers good divines", who are ignorant of the scriptures. With some sarcasm Joye commended the reader to consult Standish's work against Barnes for he at least "laid on scriptures wryte and unwritten / enli3shed as thik as hayle". Unfortunately however, Standish "vnderstod not one worde that he sayd". Ignorance was not the only common bond which united the popish bishops. In the confutation the theme of persecution was well to the fore. According to Joye, an old prophecy fortold that Antichrist should come to pervert justification by faith and turn religion upside down. Recently Gardiner was instrumental in burning Barnes and his fellows for preaching against good works. The prophecy has thus been fulfilled. "Condicio not therfore (Win.) with god for your deedis / which (as all men see them) ar but malice / mischeif / enuy / rankor / bitternes / bloude thirstinge / Pryde / cruelly tyrannye / blasphemies / persecution of christis innocente lombes and of his worde / deceytfully flatering your prynce / euill cownsell geuinge to prouoke the wrath of god vpon yow all / and vpon that noble realme / sowinge most pestilent heresyse yea and that wetingly which is the synne agenste the holy geste / whiche when all sinnes (be thei ryght greuous) shal be forgueuen / yet shall this your vngodly impie te be neuer forgueuen". Opponents of Gardiner were thrust into
a private goal whilst his bloodhounds were sent out into every city to harm the true Christians. 98

Joye's confutation was not without merit. Much of his writing was humorous and often Joye displayed a particularly effective touch of sarcasm. When Gardiner, for example, spoke of faith as the knowledge of the condition in the second of his articles Joye commented, "Ah good faith / where hast thou ben all this whyle. hath this juggler kept the this long in his bagge vnder the borde". 99 Winchester's attempt to combine faith and works was likened to putting the two into one bed. According to Joye however, the coverlet was too narrow and too short to cover them both, hence one of them was likely to lie bare arse and get a cold. 100 Throughout the work Joye made a pun on Gardiner's name claiming, for example, that Winchester was like "an vngodly gardener to pervert and turne the rotes of his plantes and herbes vpward". 101 At the very end of the work Joye cited a saying of Alexander of Macedon: "I must nedes hate that Gardener & herbe seller which plucketh vp his herbes by the rootes". 102 Though abusive, Joye's work was not an unattractive or ineffectual piece of polemic.

Gardiner's reply was a more sombre and also a far longer work. In a letter of November 1545 to his fellow Privy Councillor William Paget, Gardiner accounted for the delay in answering Joye's work. Paget had sent the bishop a copy of Brinkelow's Lamentacyon. The bishop, being aware of the fact that Roderyck Mors was a fictitious name, supposed that the work was written by Joye on the grounds that the word 'joy' was capitalised throughout the writing. According to the letter, Gardiner had decided against answering the Lamentacyon but had finally completed his
In the declaration Gardiner was careful to distance himself from Barnes's execution, being at pains to emphasise that Barnes was condemned by the Privy Council and Parliament and not by the Bishop of Winchester. His account of his dealings with Barnes ran to some thirty-five pages, testimony of the seriousness of Joye's allegations. For the most part Gardiner avoided the ad hominem arguments so favoured by Joye, preferring to present his attack on Protestantism in broadly philosophical terms. Much of the book was concerned with the doctrine of free will and man's freedom of choice. According to Gardiner, Protestant theology was morally suspect and socially disturbing. Private interpretations of scripture, for example, promote arguments and dissensions whilst polemics against Catholic persons and practices defame the King who is the Head of the Church. Towards the end of the book Gardiner urged Joye and his fellow exiles to "retourne you unto God, returne to youre soueraine lorde obeysaunce, returne to be a good christen man, and an englysshe man. For what so euer our faulty workes haue ben, they nothing serue to the iustification of your doctrine." Polemics were a dishonouring of God and a threat to England's prosperity.

Whether sincere or not these peaceful conciliatory sentiments of Gardiner fell on deaf ears, for in 1546 Joye published a lengthy rebuttal of Gardiner's defence. Gardiner's account of his dealings with Barnes was seen as disingenuous. In disclaiming any responsibility for Barnes's death the bishop simply attempted to wash his hands of the whole affair. Gardiner alone was offended by Barnes's preaching and he alone
had complained to the Privy Council and to Parliament. At the stake Barnes had claimed that Gardiner had brought about his destruction, and Barnes had known the truth.\textsuperscript{106}

The bulk of the refutation consisted of a reiteration of Joye's views on justification by faith. Gardiner's Pelagianism was again under attack, as was his authorship of conservative articles. According to Joye, Winchester was the principal author of the King's Book of 1543, a work which "sauoureth euery where of your dampnable doctrine".\textsuperscript{107} In putting the work out under the title and authority of the King, Gardiner had committed treason. Long ago Gardiner had actually defended the truth from papistry. Through the devil's influence the bishop had fallen from grace. "And verely, ye haue worshiped him (Satan) highly and done him the most highe seruice in persecutinge and writinge ayenst gods holy eternal veritie whiche ye once tasted and fauored".\textsuperscript{108} Like Gardiner's declaration, the work ended on an eirenic tone with Joye praying that God would warm Gardiner's heart and restore in him a new faith and zeal for the true religion.

As Joye's work demonstrated, Protestant attacks on Gardiner were provoked largely by the belief that the bishop of Winchester was the person primarily responsible for the 1539 legislation and consequently for the persecution which followed. Gardiner was the agent of reaction, the principal threat and obstacle to Protestant aspirations. At the same time, however, Gardiner was under attack for the fact that he had taken on himself the task of providing a defence of Catholic belief and practice. In the 1540s Gardiner adopted the mantle of More, the scourge of Protestant polemicists and the apologist
of the Henrician reaction. Between 1543 and 1546 Gardiner brought out no less than five books of religious controversy. In addition to his reply to Joye the bishop wrote two works against Bucer, one against William Turner and one against the devil himself! The first of these, the attack on Bucer was brought out in 1544. Gardiner had met Bucer at the Diet of Regensberg and had engaged the reformer in debate over the issue of clerical marriage. From there on their relations deteriorated and Gardiner's *Congestio et M. Bucerum de immudet ejusdem pseudologia conquestio* presented a particularly hostile account of Bucer's arguments. When the work failed to elicit a reply Gardiner published his *Epistola et M. Bucerum*, a scurrilous work devoted in the main to denigrating Bucer's reputation. Following Henry's death Bucer eventually responded with two books: *Gratulatio Martini Bucerij ad ecclesiam Anglicanam, de Religionis Christi restitutione*, and *Disputata Ratisbonae, in altero colloquii, Anno XLVI*.

Gardiner's work against the devil, a detection of the devil's sophistry, also resulted in a number of Protestant replies. The work was designed to expose the intellectual paucity and theological errors of Protestant thought and focussed on the question of the eucharist. For Gardiner, the belief that bread and wine remain bread and wine is mere carnal reason. In arguing against the notion of Christ's ubiquitous presence the Protestants have given free rein to man's natural imbecility. In addition, justification by faith was seen as leading to an abdication of all moral and political responsibility. The Protestant faith was simply the doctrine of the devil, a perversion of Scripture and the Fathers and a denial of all true religious authority.
During the reign of Edward VI three Protestant writers brought out works confuting Gardiner's detection. In January 1547 Anthony Gilby, a former student of Christ's College Cambridge, published his answer to the devilish detection, which according to the preface, was intended as a testimony to the author's faith. "The chiefest maintainer of the popishe traditions" needed to be confuted by word of God otherwise the common people might come to believe his false ideas. Gilby's criticism of Gardiner was highly abusive, full of ad hominem attacks. The bishop and his fellow papists were likened to dogs, swine and boars, rotten trees and poisoned stocks. Gardiner's book was no more than the product of the imagination of popish doctors. According to Gilby, the soul being a spirit and the meat spiritual meant that "no man ought to seek for to eate Christe in this sacrament, bodilie, really, and carnally, but onely spiritually, as hys worde is spirite and lyfe". Gardiner's book was not written to detect the mysteries of the devil but to promote them further. "Worldly Pompe and dignitie, the maintenaunce of Idolatrie & Popistrie: hath caused the bishop to wryte his boke, and to rayle agaynst the trueth". It was to be hoped that the new King would be defended from the subtle malice shown by Gardiner and his fellow hypocrites and traitors.

The second reply to Gardiner, John Hooper's An Answer unto my lord of wynchesters booke, was a much more temperate and reasonable criticism. Hooper examined Gardiner's detection at length and as a result, presented an effective demonstration of Protestant eucharistic theology. The same could also be said for the last work against Gardiner, Thomas Cranmer's A
defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the Sacrament. In five sections Cranmer covered the true use of the Lord's Supper, transubstantiation, the nature of Christ's presence in the elements, the reception of the body and blood of Christ, and the nature of sacrifice. Unlike the books of Gilby and Hooper, Cranmer's defence made little reference to Gardiner's treatise. Nonetheless in 1551 Gardiner saw fit to bring out a reply. In the same year Richard Smith, former regius professor of divinity in Oxford, brought out his confutation of a certen booke, called a defence of the doctrine of the sacramet. In his answer unto a crafty cauillation by S. Gardiner Cranmer replied to both works. Still, however, the controversy continued. In 1552 Gardiner brought out a psedonymous reply and Cuthbert Tunstall wrote a defence of the real presence. Not until his imprisonment in 1554 was Cranmer able to answer these two works. Of all his books Gardiner's detection of the devil's sophistry provoked the most lasting controversy.

William Turner

Like Coverdale and Joye, Turner felt compelled to leave England following the Act of Six Articles. Prior to his departure however, it appears that he got into trouble as a result of his preaching, and it seems likely that he was imprisoned and that he appeared before Gardiner. In September 1543 Turner, writing under the same William Wraghton, brought out a work from Basle, entitled The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe, which he dedicated to the King. The book was a vigorous attack on Catholic doctrine and practice
in England. In twenty-nine sections Turner covered all of the central ceremonies of the Romish Church. Images, holy days, saints, hallowings, vestments, holy water, and the Mass all received attention whilst specific papal practices, such as priestly celibacy, and canon law were examined and vilified. As with Brinkelow's work, Turner's conclusion was clear and unambiguous. Although the Pope has lost his authority in England, his effect is still felt. Whoso holds the pope's traditions still maintains his influence and power.

The hunting then consisted largely of a reiteration of the main arguments of Protestant polemics of the 1540s. Nonetheless, the work contained a number of interesting and unusual features. Of most significance was the analogy made by Turner between his polemic and the art of hunting. At different times the fox represented the Pope, Stephen Gardiner, the Catholic Church, and Catholic belief. According to the author, although the King had set out to drive the fox out of his realm the hounds that he used shared the same nature as the fox. Instead of destroying this vermin these dogs had turned on other hounds who had sought to attack the beast. Throughout the work the metaphor of hunting was skilfully sustained. At the beginning, for example, Turner described how he saw a great fox-hole in the altar of the Church of England. Priests were laden with lamb-skins and gold and silver surrounded the hole. It was solely with the aim of identifying the owner of the hole that Turner had taken up his pen so that it would be easier for the King to drive him out of England. Turner's use of animal imagery was of considerable literary influence. References to the Pope
and the bishops as vermin, foxes, and wolves abound in later Protestant writings, and even in non-controversial writings such as Spenser's 1579 *Shepherd's Calendar*.141

Secondly, Turner's attack on Romish ceremonies showed distinct puritanical tendencies.142 All ecclesiastical ceremonies were to be tried and tested on the touchstone of scripture. Accordingly, images, for example, should be completely abolished.143 In Turner's work there was no room for the notion of adiaphora, things neither commanded nor forbidden. Ceremonies that were not expressly prescribed in the scriptures were to be ejected from the Church's practice. This strict view of ceremonial usage was at least partly the result of Turner's deep sense of anti-papalism. At the conclusion of his list of twenty-nine practices Turner claimed that the fox was covered by two bear-skins: the laws of the Church and the King's ceremonies.144 Throughout the list Turner attributed the origin of specific practices and customs to particular popes.145 Since all ceremonies originated with the Pope they were necessarily devilish. Furthermore, in spite of recent attempts by the English bishops to attribute the pope's ceremonies to the King, those ceremonies retained their papal anti-Christian character.146 "Then is there no proclamacion that cū dispossesse the pope of hys ceremonyes and constitutions but the ceremonyes and ordināces whych was his. xii. yere ago shall be hys ceremonyes and ordināces stil though a thousande proclamations shulde commande the contrarie".147 Like Brinkelow, Turner saw the danger of works such as the *King's Book* in making the King into a pope.

Thirdly, Turner's attack on the Romish fox was deliberately
intended as a preliminary to further attacks. Much of the writing commented on events which had taken place in England since 1539. Again, like Brinkelow, Turner bemoaned papist attacks on the vernacular Bible. Though the King brought the Bible into England the bishops have slain its chief defenders.\textsuperscript{148} New Testaments are burned under the pretext that they are badly translated. Books produced by scholars sympathetic to the letter and spirit of scripture are prohibited. Frith's books, for example, though full of things that are "both good and godlye", are condemned as heresy.\textsuperscript{149} Popish books, on the other hand, are allowed to circulate freely. Throughout the work Turner demanded a reply to his charges.\textsuperscript{150} Before the English bishops label the author a heretic they must answer his questions. If, however, they sit in silence they acknowledge that they are overcome. At the end of the work Turner threatened to inflict further attacks on the clergy. If they failed to condemn him as a heretic he would "set a playe of youre myscheuous tyranny in latyn, that all learned men that are now a lyue and the ages for to come shall knowe yow, what ye be, and what ye haue bene".\textsuperscript{151} If the argument of the whole book was considered faulty it should be reproved "not wythe a fyre or a rape as ye vse comunely to do God send yow his holy spyrite".\textsuperscript{152}

Turner's challenge was taken up by the Bishop of Winchester, not least for the fact that Turner had made several allegations concerning Gardiner's immorality. The bishop, for example, was described as "steuen master stewerd of the stewes, priapus and keper of the popes garden",\textsuperscript{153} whilst unflattering references were made to Gardiner's debate with Bucer at Regensberg.\textsuperscript{154}
Gardiner's reply, entitled *the examination of the hunter*, was officially sponsored and presented a vigorous though not abusive denial of Turner's accusations. Though the work has not survived Turner quoted the *examination* at considerable length in his 1545 rebuttal *The seconde couse of the hyunter at the romishe fox & hys adoucate, & sworne patrone steuen gardiner.*

The *seconde couse* was a far more intemperate work than its predecessor. Apparently Turner was deeply offended by the tone of Gardiner's reply. Instead of answering Turner's charges Gardiner had simply attacked the hunter. In legal terms Gardiner the accused had taken upon himself the role of judge. "It is far agaynst all reson that ye whiche haue long bene my open enemi / and as my aduersarie in thys cause shal be now allowed to be an examiner and a iudge of me and mi accusation / whether i accuse you sufficiently or no / seyne that hatrede blyndeth all examiners and judges". In the dedication Turner called upon the King to appoint an impartial body made up of both clergy and laity to examine the points of controversy. Gardiner was merely "a bloodsekyng & flatteryng canoniste," "unlearned in divinity, one of the "unashamed hore of babylones sonnes", the "lorde prior commander of virginite in the hole Realm of England", a man not suitable to judge spiritual matters.

Since Turner was replying to a work which was produced in response to his own writing his argument consisted essentially of a reiteration of the points of his first work. For the most part, Turner was content to repeat his previous accusations, although he did add a good many references to historical and contemporary events and persons. Whereas the *huntyng* had
singed out the burning of Frith's books, the second course cited the work of Tyndale. The conclusion was still the same. Why were these Protestant books burned though they contained much that was godly whilst the pope's books were left untouched? Anyone who wished to preach God's Word in England was instructed first of all to consult Gardiner's gospel, the Six Articles. These foxes have attacked the cocks who have preached dissent from Rome by claiming that they preach unrest and division. Yet, according to Turner, there is no such unity and harmony in England that can be threatened by Protestant preaching.

"There are x thowsande and mo honest men in englande whiche in theyr conscences dissent from yow / & hate with all theyr hartes your fals doctrine / which ye so ernestly withe worde and writyng do defende" The bishops' attempts to impose religious unity had failed miserably.

Though more emotional, the work was also more rational than Turner's initial hunting. In response to Gardiner's defence of images, for example, Turner was forced to employ distinctly logical arguments. The Latin word 'adoro' was interpreted by reference to both Valla and Jerome as outward and inward worshiping. To worship before a thing was to worship that thing. Gardiner's distinction between inward and outward things was a scholastic fabrication, a forgery of Jerome's words.

Gardiner was ignorant of logic and lacking in reason. Rather than simply examine the issues raised in the hunting the bishop had resorted to "scold & brawl as ye yse comoly to do when ye haue no argument nor reson to help your self with all". Gardiner had falsely accused the author of being afraid to put his name to his work. According to Turner, the author,
is as well known by the name of Wraghton as by any other name. Moreover, Gardiner himself had refused to put his name to the Six Articles and to the King's Book even though everyone knows him to be the author. More seriously, Gardiner had slandered the author by claiming that he opposed the Royal Supremacy. In his defence, Turner pointed out that he merely rejected the title of supreme head in favour of supreme governor. The former title carried unfortunate connotations in that it was used by the Antichrist to describe his ecclesiastical authority. In calling the King by this popish label Gardiner and his fellow priests merely mock the monarchy. Gardiner and not the author is a defender of the papal authority, which even now remains the main threat to princely rule.

John Bale

The last of these Protestant attacks on Gardiner was made by John Bale, the most scurrilous and abusive of all Protestant writers. In August 1545 Bale put out his Epistle exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christiane, which was directed "against the pompous popyshe Bysshoppes" of England. According to the title-page, the Epistle was intended to demonstrate Bale's loyalty to the King. The subversive and un-christian activities of the bishops were to be exposed in order that Henry's eyes would be opened to the truth and so that he would initiate action against them. Ostensibly, at least, the work complemented the writing of Turner, an author actually cited by Bale in the writing. Unlike Turner, however, Bale presented little actual analysis or examination of Romish religion. At one point the Mass was claimed to be instituted by Popes "which
were both perverters & poysnowers / sorcerers & stykynge Sodomites" and was contrasted with the Lord's Supper, a true memorial of Christ's incarnation and atonement. For the most part, however, Bale simply ridiculed and vilified Romish beliefs and practices without reference to what he saw as true faith and worship. All Romish ceremonies and customs were to be uprooted and abolished on the grounds that they were papally inspired. To all intent and purpose, abuse and invective served as disputation and argument. Certainly Bale was aware of this aspect of his writing. In the opening of the work he accorded both the writing of polemics the character of duty and obligation. It was incumbent on every faithful minister to manifest the mischief of the bishops to the outside world, "euerye manne accordyng to his talent geue of God / some with pene / and some with tonge / so brynginge then out of theyr olde estimacyon". Although the task may result in death, it was essential to attack the false religious leaders. Christ and the Apostles all rebuked the Scribes and Pharisees and their language serves as a model for contemporary polemicists.

For Bale, the main crime of the bishops was their persecution of the faithful. Through his application of the doctrine of the two churches Bale concluded that priests have always been persecutors ever since the time of Cain. Recently the bishops bewitched parliament into passing the Six Articles with the aim of destroying all opposition to papal power in England. Behind the Act, however, lay a conspiracy to repair the broken wall of Rome. The articles were simply a preparation for the pope's return. Bale's
attack was sustained by historical analysis. On the one hand, he explained his account of episcopal tyranny as a treasonable offence by citing historical examples of bishops acting against the interests of duly constituted rulers. On the other hand, the contemporary victims of persecution were seen in the context of a tradition of martyrdom. Lollard martyrs were listed alongside recent victims of episcopal tyranny such as Thomas Hitton, Bilney, Bayfield, Frith, Tyndale, Barnes, Garrett, Jerome and Mekyns, whilst reference was made to the recantations of Tolwyn, Becon, and Wisdom. The bishops had recently increased their efforts to keep the English bible from the people. New Testaments are banned in London and are attacked by "wode wynchestre / lewde London / lurkynge Lyncolne / dreamynge Durham", and all the rest of the conservative hierarchy. As long as the bishops bear rule in parliament the gospel will be suppressed.

The most striking feature of the work was the violence and abusiveness of Bale's prose. Like Vadian, a writer of some influence on Bale, Bale continually used bestial language to describe the bishops. The English bishops were lions, bears, wolves, adders, serpents, indeed, any savage animal that Bale could think of. Though they claimed merely to establish true religion these "most wicked vermyne / wyly wormes" were fully aware that their six articles were a prelude to papal rule in England. In living off the labours of others the bishops were vermin, "bodye lice / flees/ and fleshe flyes". At other times Bale attempted to attack the immorality of the bishops and minor clergy by claiming that at least one of them comes to the altar "frō the vometyng of his undegested supper /
or els from the fylthye occupyenge of an harlot". As usual Gardiner was singled out for particular attention. This "wylye watterer of the Popes olde garden" was the man principally responsible for the recent legislation. Through the practice of auricular confession the bishops commit the crime of treason, "and that knew Gaye galaüt Gardiner the Popes holye gost in Englande full well". Gardiner was guilty of committing murder to give sacrifice to his false God the Pope.

In an appendix adjoined to the work Bale addressed himself to Gardiner's reply to Turner's huntyng of the Romyshe fox. Like Turner, Bale accused the bishop of failing to answer the questions raised by the work and of resorting to plain scolding, "lyke an whore of the stewes". It was to be regretted that Gardiner had not put his answer out in print, but no doubt the bishop wished to avoid being seen as defending the Pope. If however, he will not set it forth Bale will do the job for him. So that Gardiner knew Bale had a copy of the work Bale quoted its title in full.

The references to Turner and to Gardiner's reply lead to a consideration of a work brought out in the previous year 1543 entitled Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe. A dysclosynge or openynge of the Manne of synne. Composed by Bale in partnership with Turner, The Manne of synne was directed against Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London. The attack was provoked by a declaration made by Bonner at the time of the recantation of William Tolwyn in 1541. According to Bale, the declaration, "the fylthye formynge smoke of the insaycyable chaos or pytt without bottom" revealed its author to be the Antichrist. Bonner was a "malygnaunt madame", a "mother of myschefe", a
Tolwyn's offence was simply to refuse to observe the rites of the synagogue of Satan. As a result, however, he had been treated with more cruelty than if he had been a murderer. Bale had been compelled to write, "not by cause the mane of synne ys thus sette forthe in hys right colours, but for that yt ys done here with soch extremyte".

When Antichrist is known he may be avoided.

A good deal of Bale's work was taken up with an examination of the books found on Tolwyn which were condemned by the bishop. The list included works by English reformers such as Frith, Lancelot Ridley and Taverner; Lollard writings such as books on Oldcastle and Thorpe, together with the Dore of Holy Scripture; works by mainstream continental reformers including Vadian, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Rhegius, Sarcerius, and Luther; and one work apparently produced by the radical reformer Balthasar Hubmaier. Bale's attack on Bonner was simply that his condemnation was based on mere prejudice. Frith's book on purgatory was denounced even though it is unlikely that Bonner ever opened it. Venatorius's work on the Epistle of Paul to Timothy was criticised because it declared the office of a Christian bishop. Similarly, Luther's book on the counterfeit bishop was condemned simply for the fact that it was Luther's. Conversely, books such as Eck's Enchiridion cause no offence to Bonner and his cohorts even though they contained the doctrine of Antichrist. The bishop's argument that Protestant books contained error, hence their condemnation, was seen by Bale as inadequate. Few books in fact were free from error, certainly none of the works of Augustine, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, Basil, and the rest of the Fathers. Similarly, the argument that the books conflicted with the sacrament of the altar was
rejected as insufficient to warrant their prohibition. Those who uphold the Mass, the daily crucifixion of Christ, and not those who attack it, are the ones guilty of error.228

The remainder of the Manne of synne was taken up with the question of ecclesiastical ceremonies. Ceremonies that were not sanctioned by the scriptures were merely a yoke and burden on the individual's conscience. Romish practices and customs were the ground and cause of all superstition, being devoid of any moral or didactic merit.229 As in the seconde covrse particular care was taken to identify the precise papal origins of specific practices.230 As long as these papal rites and traditions were maintained true religion is being undermined "What is the religion of your churche in englande at thys daye, but the popes dyrtye leauynges, the fylthye dregges of hys rotten vessels, and the cancred rust of hys olde worne pytchers".231

The writings of the Protestant exiles against the conservative bishops constitute an important body of literature on two counts. In the first place, the works demonstrate a significant shift in the content or subject matter of Protestant polemic. Whereas the writings of the previous decade attacked such matters as papal authority and the superstition and abuses of the Roman Church, the works of the latter part of Henry's reign were directed to the issue of the ceremonies and practices of the Church of England and the upholders of these ceremonies, the popish bishops. The question of authority, though not ignored, was no longer of overriding importance. The issue at stake was not whether the episcopacy or even the monarchy had the right to impose specific doctrines and practices onto Christian belief and worship, but whether such practices as were tradition-
ally maintained were appropriate for a partly reformed Church. Theological and liturgical propriety and not spiritual and temporal authority were the principle matters of contention.

The hostility shown by some Protestants to the ceremonies of the Church in England has resulted in the works of the second generation exiles being seen as of decisive importance for the development of English Puritanism. According to M.M. Knappen, although the works of the refugees echoed many of the themes of the first generation exiles, such as a critical appeal to the Bible as the ultimate authority, an assertion of the centrality of the doctrine of justification by faith, and an emphasis on loyalty to secular authority, their books added another characteristic to this basic pattern of Puritanism - opposition to religious ceremonialism.232 In their assault on the remnants of Catholicism in a Church already partly reformed there is to be found the first clear statement of the Puritan-Anglican issue.233 Knappen's examination of the alleged Puritanism of the exiles was based on an analysis of a selection of the writings of William Turner and John Bale. According to Turner, the proof of the Romishness of the fox was its hated ceremonies. Such aspects of worship as vestments and organs were either moral precepts which should be strictly followed or else they were ceremonies which should be tried on the touchstone of scripture. For Bale, ceremonies were the ground of all superstition. To eliminate superstitions without reference to their underlying cause was an impossible task. Such things as myters, shaven crowns, crosses, capes, sensors, candlesticks, matins and masses were the sorceries of Antichrist.234 This hostility to religious ceremonialism, however, was by no means confined to Turner and
Bale. Henry Brinkelow, for example, attacked such practices of the Roman church as images and the mass, vestments and candlesticks, and rejected the notion that the playing of organs constituted worship of God. Similarly, Richard Tracy criticised those priests who taught that God was honoured by tapers and candles, and those who created holy oil, holy cream, hallowed water and Latin psalms into devotional necessities. George Joye was also strongly antipathetic towards ecclesiastical dress, sensing, bells, processions, and organs. Indeed, in 1543 Joye brought out a work which was specifically directed to the question of ecclesiastical ceremonies. In the work *Our sauiour Jesus Christ hath not ouercharged his chirche with many ceremonies* Joye restricted the number of the sacraments to two: baptism and the Lord's Supper, and attacked every other custom and tradition as "the euill idle bellye burdens of the erthe / of the supersticiouse papistes / and of these couetouse preistes and gready bisshops". As his title made clear, the Church was to adopt a simple pattern of worship based on dominical precept. The fully reformed church would not abandon all ceremonies but would retain only these ordained by Christ.

The intellectual foundations of the exiles' hostility to ceremonies were identified by Knapfen as being laid in Robert Barnes's *Vitæ Romanorum Pontificium*. The work, published in Wittenberg in 1536, was influential because of the way in which Barnes identified the introduction of specific liturgical practices into the Church with particular popes. By implication and by argument innovation was tantamount to falsehood. Clearly William Turner had Barnes in mind when he claimed that six or seven years ago a man gathered out of
Platina and other writers which popes had made all the ceremonies in the Church, and Turner's own list of twenty-nine papal customs and ceremonies owed much to Barnes's initiative. Intellectual origins alone however, do not fully account for the sudden development of anticeremonialism in the 1540s, for, as is clear, Barnes's book was brought out well before the attacks of Joye, Bale, and Turner. If the exiles turned to Barnes's work for information it was because their experience of persecution taught them to do so. Personal experience was, if anything, of far greater importance in helping to formulate this attitude of hostility than any particular book of Protestant theology or history. In the course of exile the refugees came into close contact with the practices of particular continental churches. In almost all the works of the exiles considerable reference was made to the good example of the Swiss and German churches. Brinkelow, for one, singled out the example of Germany for the accessibility and impartiality of their judges and for their tolerant treatment of heretics, and the Churches of Zurich, Basle, and Strassburg for their reformed celebration of the Lord's Supper. Similarly, Turner cited the examples of the Churches at Basle, Strassburg, and Berne for their use of the vernacular. For many of the exiles the pattern of worship established in the Swiss churches should serve as a basis for the liturgy of the Church of England.

In so singling out the worship of the Swiss churches as models for a reformed Church of England the exiles sought to emphasise the need for religious practices to be faithful to the Word of God. Scripture was the touchstone of all religious worship. According to Turner, every ceremony and tradition,
every doctrine and precept which was not expressly ordained by God must be plucked up by the roots.\textsuperscript{244} The law of the gospel was more perfect for the Christians than the Mosaic law was for Jews. Accordingly, just as the Jews regarded the Mosaic law as sufficient for every aspect of their moral and ceremonial practice, so Christians should trust in the sufficiency of the gospel for their worship. Throughout the polemics of the refugees the early church was put forward as the preeminent model for a true reformed church. As Joye made clear, the apostolic church did not add any new precepts or customs to the dominical obligations of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The early church was seen as "the most full / perfit / & wholl iuste chirc",\textsuperscript{245} whose worship was in spirit and not in outward ceremonies. According to Turner, to venerate external things, such as images, was to worship those things in the heart. Such practices could not, therefore, be seen as mere aids to devotion; rather they constituted worship itself.\textsuperscript{246} A simple, interiorised, apostolic pattern of worship was seen as a necessary requirement of the reformed church.

The second significant feature of the exiles' attacks on the conservative hierarchy concerns the question of language. The writings of the 1540s demonstrate a shift in the actual techniques of Protestant polemics. Not only were the exiles more abusive than their forerunners, they also displayed a combative-ness that had not been seen in English religious writings since the days of More and Tyndale. Just as their attitudes to ecclesiastical practices became more radical so the language and tone of their polemics became more intemperate as the reaction continued. Bale's description of canon law for example was not unrepresentative of the exiles' prose. Papal laws were nothing more than "blasphemous beggarye, detestable lernynce, and
abhomynable wytchery, the pharysees leuen, lyes of hypocrites, adders egges, spyders webbes, bryers, tares, cockle, chaffe, menstrue, rust, dust dregges, dreames, dottage, dronkēnesse, dogges dyrt, swyle, swynes drafte, fylthynesse, stubble, snares of enemyes, execrable doctrine of deuyls, Gods curse, and abhomynacyon syttyng in the holye place. Through this listing or compilation of abuse a case was believed to have been made.

This heightened polemical stance was by no means an unconscious decision on the part of the exiles. In his Lamantacyon Brinkelow pointed out that as a result of his attack on clerical immorality the bishops "will saye I sclaundre you. He sclaund-ereth that bryngeth vp false lies vpon you. Some of you knowe whether I sclaundre you or not. I had almoeste saide that halfe or all of the bentche shall knowe at the last day that I saye trueth, the more pitye it is. I wold it were a sclaundre. But I sclaundre you so that, excepte ye repent and amende your lyuynge, as well ye that be sufferers of such vices, as the commiters; excepte ye amende, I saye, and seke redresse of this and such lyke, the vengeaunce of God will lyght vpon the cytye for your synnes. According to Bale, strong language was necessary in order to expose the malevolence of the bishops. To be effective polemic necessarily involved abuse and denigration. The increasing violence of the times required a correspondingly violent literary assault. The words of the polemicist were the equivalent of the sword and fire of his opponent.

On the whole, the emergence of a more abusive prose style should be seen as part of the Protestant strategy, although, in some cases, it may point to an increasing bitterness and loss of hope. For the most part, Protestants continued to
look to Henry VIII as the agent who would deliver England from the Egyptian captivity of the popes' ceremonies. Indeed, one of the main purposes which lay behind their attacks on the bishops was to demonstrate to the King the precise nature and activities of his ecclesiastical authorities. Once they were truly revealed for what they were it was confidently expected that Henry would act against them. Brinkelow, for example, drew a parallel between the attacks on the monks of the previous decade and the contemporary assaults on the bishops. Because Henry had acted once he had been told of the extent of monkish corruption, there could be no doubt that he would similarly strip the bishops of their presumed authority. Turner even advocated the deposition of the bishops on the basis of Old Testament precedent, whilst Tracy claimed he had no doubt that Henry would not tolerate the false teaching taught by the bishops for much longer. Significantly, Brinkelow's supplication Tracy's supplication, and both the huntyng, and The seconde course of William Turner were either dedicated or directed to the King, whilst Brinkelow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors was addressed to the Parliament of England. If the reformers suspected the King's unwillingness to take action against the bishops they were careful not to show it. The King's Book, like the Six Articles, was explained simply as the product of Gardiner and the rest of the hierarchy. According to the refugees, it was the bishops and not the King who had given it its title. For Brinkelow, the principle of appealing to the monarch had not been jeopardised by the reaction. When a man is oppressed he must still resort to the higher powers for remedy. If the laws of the parliament went against God's Word men were not bound to obey but were not allowed to
For almost all the reformers the doctrine of obedience to temporal rulers which they had inherited from Tyndale and the early exiles remained intact even in the face of Henry's apparent support of papism and his tolerance of episcopally inspired persecution.

John Bale.

Between 1543 and 1547 no less than eleven separate books were brought out which were either written, translated, or edited by John Bale. In the last few years of Henry's reign Bale was rivalled only by Becon in terms of the actual production of Protestant literature. Moreover, unlike Becon, Bale made a significant contribution to the development of Protestant polemic. Through his use of historical techniques and arguments Bale provided Englishmen with a new interpretation of their nation's past and a new understanding of contemporary events. In the work of Bale the events of both the Henrician reformation and the ensuing reaction were subjected to a new and radical analysis. The key to understanding was the book of Revelation; its application was to England's place in history.

Only one of Bale's exilic works failed to illustrate its author's interest in historical and apocalyptic motifs. The work entitled A Christen exhortation vnto customable swearers purported to be an attack on the abominable custom of swearing oaths and blaspheming God's name. The book however was prefaced by a typically hostile attack on episcopal immorality. Nowhere is the swearing of oaths more abused than in bishops' houses and nowhere are whores more likely to be found.
According to Bale, the English bishops have been denounced by the scriptures as "stranggers, beastes, aduersaryes, dreamers, colubers, belyals, dome dogges, rauonynge wolues, serpentes leuiathons, bastardes, traytours, destroyers theues ydolles, men of synne, sonnes of perdition, vnshamefast lyers, wycked doers, ememyes to the truthe vnclene fowles, deuyiles incarnate blynde leaders of the blynde, hypocrytes, hyrelynges, false prophetes, yll sede, with an . C. more..."²⁵⁹ In spite of Protestant attacks on their superstitions, dreams, and ceremon- ies, the bishops continue to neglect God's laws.²⁶⁰ Only through the benevolence and diligence of Henry VIII in restoring the scriptures have their sins been disclosed.²⁶¹ Appended to the work was a brief instruction, as series of verses addressed to kings, judges, councillors, chamberlains, controllers, stewards and priests, which was probably composed by Coverdale.²⁶²

In 1543 Bale provided some of his own verse polemic in the work A mysterye of iniquyte,²⁶³ written in response to a jest allegedly seen by Bale three years earlier, known as the Genealogy of Heresy.²⁶⁴ Bale quoted lines from the work, answered them point by point, and then concluded with a relevant scriptural passage.²⁶⁵ Though continually disparaging his opponent's literary abilities²⁶⁶ Bale's own work was of extremely poor quality. The book, however, is not without interest, not least for the way in which Bale provided concrete historical evidence of episcopal contumacy. Indeed the work contains many of Bale's main arguments against the English bishops. Super- stition, for example, was seen as being maintained by the hierarchy for purely political reasons.²⁶⁷ Traditionally the bishops have been a seditious element within the land.²⁶⁸
years the cause of the rebellion of Aske and Cobbler can firmly be laid at their door. Papists such as Gardiner, Standish, and Bonner, are responsible for the slaughter of innocent men just as the bishops in Wyclif's days brought hundreds to their deaths. As a whole the papists are mere sodomites whilst Popes such as Clement VII are credibly reported as having been born in illegitamacy. Although the Pope is the head of the Romish church the Antichrist includes the entire clergy and laity of this false faith.

Alongside this denunciation of papism Bale defended the integrity and the achievement of a number of Protestants. Luther, hailed as Christ's true disciple, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Frith, Barnes, Tyndale, Cromwell and Tolwyn were all singled out for attention, whilst precursors of the reformation, such as Wyclif and Hus, were defended from charges of heresy. As for doctrine, the mystery made passing references to the Mass, clerical celibacy and to a range of superstitions including the role of Voxley, the "duckes blood of hayles", and the "worme eaten ladye of walysngham". Through historical and contemporary exempla the polemic retained an air of relevance and significance in spite of its severe stylistic limitations.

Bale's references to Wyclif and to English reformers point to an important aspect of his polemical writings of the 1540s, his emphasis on Protestant heroes. In the previous decade Bale had made King John into a fully-fledged evangelical reformer. Following the persecution of the early 1540s the task of supplying English Protestants with historical examples of the faithful had become even more pressing. In
attempting to comfort and encourage the brethren in England Bale revived the roles of hagiographer and martyrologist.

One of Bale's earliest attempts to create a Protestant saint occurred with his editing of the book *A treatyse made by Iohan Lambert vnto Kynge Henry the viii.* Lambert, a Cambridge graduate, had been charged with heresy in 1531 and suffered imprisonment until released by Cranmer in 1536. Two years later he was summoned before the Archbishop to answer a fresh charge relating to his opinion of the real presence. Whilst in prison Lambert wrote to the King stating his attitude the Sacrament of the Altar. In November 1538 Henry presided over the case and, following interrogations led by the reformers Cranmer, Taylor, and Barnes, Lambert was found guilty of heresy and was burnt at the stake.

Bale's preface to the treatise made no reference to the role played by the reformers in Lambert's examination. Instead Bale linked the handling of Lambert with other cases of episcopal cruelty. In particular, he recounted how he once witnessed the burning of a boy in Norwich whose only crimes were to have the Lord's prayer in English and to reject prayers to popish saints. It was these same papists who were responsible for the death of Lambert. Lambert's actual treatise was a rather rambling statement of Swiss eucharistic theology. The Mass was simply a memorial. Corporal eating was both nonsensical and a denial of the resurrection, whilst true eating and drinking was nothing more than a living faith. With these arguments the book took its place in the exilic polemics against the Mass.

Although Bale clearly saw his subject as a christian martyr, Lambert was not fully developed into a complete model of Protestant
sainthood. Nor for that matter was Luther, the subject of Bale's translation of 1546 *The true historie of the Christen departynge of the reuerede ma, D. Martyne Luther.* The book consisted of three main sections: the oration of Melanchthon, Bugenhagen's sermon, and the prayer of the Elector John Frederic, all of which were delivered at Luther's funeral. In the introduction Bale gave Luther's death an almost mystical, transcendental significance. The reformer felt no pangs of death but passed quietly away. On the way to Wittenberg his corpse was honourably received wherever it went. According to Melanchthon, Luther was the "verye swete organe of god". According to Bugenhagen, the dead Luther represented an even greater stumbling block to the papists than the living. "Alyue I was, thy pestilence.

Then Antichrist, then pope of Rome,
And now I dead, wyll be from hence,
Thy deathe & thy most dredeful dome".

In all of Bale's hagiographical writings hostility to Rome was seen as a necessary condition of sanctity.

The first of Bale's two major martyrlogical creations came in the 1544 work *A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and death of the blessed martyr of Christ syr Johan Oldcastell the lorde Cobham.* In his preface Bale acknowledged that his choice of Oldcastle as a crypto-Protestant martyr was not original. Around 1530 Tyndale had brought out an account of Oldcastle's examination before Archbishop Arundel in 1413. Bale, however, did claim to have unearthed more details of the case. Accordingly, Oldcastle was consciously promoted as a true saint and hero partly to demonstrate what "beastlye
Bale's account involved some reinterpretation and some falsification of historical evidence. His subject, after all, had been found guilty of rebellion and treason. According to Bale, these accusations were merely the lies of the clergy, fabrications originally promoted by the Italian historian Polydore Vergil. In reality Oldcastle was constantly loyal to his duly appointed temporal ruler; a true model of Protestant obedience. As for his beliefs, Oldcastle accepted the doctrine of sola fides, defended godly preachers, and exhorted priests to moral amendment. Again by misusing the records, Bale was even able to overcome the problem of Oldcastle's belief in purgatory and in transubstantiation. His death at the hands of Antichrist was hailed as a glorious triumph. His dealings with Arundel were likened to those of Christ with Caiaphas. Though not canonised by the Pope Oldcastle's sainthood had been wrought in the precious blood of Jesus Christ.

Bale's second major hero, Anne Askewe, was an altogether more fitting subject for the martyrrologist than the Lollard heretic and traitor Oldcastle. Anne Askewe, born about 1520, belonged to a prominent Lincolnshire family. In March 1545 this rather headstrong, independent girl was arrested and examined by Bonner after proclaiming radical beliefs, particularly concerning the Mass, at court. By June of the following year she was released whereupon she took up her propaganda activities once more. Following a round up in May 1546 of known Protestant activists, Anne was forced to appear before the council on the 19th June. On the 28th she was condemned and sentenced to death. Unfortunately, the
privy council believed that this prominent figure would implicate her friends at court and so on the following day she was taken to the Tower where she was tortured. After refusing to talk she was eventually burnt at Smithfield on July 16th 1546.

Bale acquired documents connected with Anne's interrogations soon after her death and published his account of her martyrdom in two parts, in November 1546 and in the following January. The works had, therefore, a newsworthy relevance. Whilst Anne's death was still fresh in the public memory Bale urged upon English readers the image of a true Protestant saint. In his commentary on the first examination Bale made clear that the creation of a Protestant martyrology was at least partly intended as a polemical weapon against the papists as a whole. The cruelty of the men involved in Anne's interrogation and torture mirrored the doctrinal violence of Romish religion. Throughout the work Bale emphasised the corruption of papism. The Mass, for example, was described as "fylthynesse, rust, chaffe, drafte swylle, dronckenesse, fornicacyon, mëstrue, mennys dyrt, addersegges, poyson, snares, the greade of wycked lycs, and the cuppe of Gods curse". Those who celebrate it are "most swynish sacryfycers of Baal peor". Individual papists such as Gardiner, Standish, Peryn, and Bonner, were accused of drunkenness, bloodthirstiness and ignorance and of being the natural successors of Jewish bishops.

Apart from a few brief records of the privy council Bale's account of Anne's examination is the only first-hand material available. It is not therefore possible to evaluate the accuracy of his narrative. Nonetheless, Anne's words to have an air of restraint which points to their authenticity. To a large
extent the question of accuracy is largely academic. For Bale, the importance of the documents lay not in their literal truth but in their emotiveness, their capacity to inspire and encourage. In his comments on the text and his prefaces of the two parts Bale drew out both the message of the works and the significance of Anne's martyrdom. What then was the true nature of Protestant sainthood? How was Anne Askewe established as a saint and martyr?

In the first place Bale established the criteria for Protestant sainthood by attacking the traditional ideas of Romish canonisation. The legends concerning the miracles that followed the deaths of apostles and martyrs were seen as of no real authority. With some irony Bale pointed out that Friar Forrest, John Fisher, and Thomas More caused no miracles yet many are now accounted to them by the friars of France, Italy and Spain. For Bale, the only miracle of the Christian martyr was that he persevered to the end. Anne's fidelity to the gospel was contrasted with the recantations of other reformers including Crome and Shaxton. In the opening to the second examination Anne's faith was compared with the immorality and treachery of Romish martyrs. In brief accounts of the lives of over twenty popish martyrs Bale determined that popish saints (ever since the days of Augustine's mission to England) were nothing more than monastery builders, or chantry founders who were put to death by temporal princes and secular magistrates sometimes for disobedience, sometimes for manifest treason. Popish martyrdom was earned by worldly causes - pilgrimages relics, women, battles, hunttings, idleness, money, worldly kingdoms, contempt of marriage and superstition. By contrast,
Anne and all other true martyrs were preachers of the gospel or poor teachers, forced to hide in corners in order to escape persecution. They were all put to death by the spirituality and not by the appointed secular rulers. These Christian martyrs were never solemnized, had no expensive requiems, nor were they ever treated as anything other than heretics. 320 The gulf between them and popish saints is as great as that between gold and dirt, light and darkness. 321

In the conclusion to the preface of the second examination Bale identified the five tokens of martyrdom as appearing as sheep among goats, being thrown into a strong prison, being examined in councils and synagogues, answering out of God’s spirit and not one’s own, and being reviled, stocked, racked, execrated condemned and murdered by the spirituality. 322 As in the early church martyrdom was seen by the reformer as an immitation of the death of Christ. Indeed Anne’s claim to sainthood was partly established by reference to the experience of early Christian martyrs. 323 The common experience of persecution made the comparison especially relevant. Anne’s life and death was related to that of Blandina, a second century martyr hailed by Bale as the mother of martyrs. 324 According to Bale, many men have supposed Anne Askewe for her Christian constancy to be no less. Anne’s fidelity to the gospel in the face of the evident cruelty made her a worthy successor to the martyrs of the early Church. Trust in the Word of God was thus the principal hallmark of Anne’s sainthood.

The two parts of the examination of Anne Askewe were intended by Bale to be the first volumes of a series of works which would include accounts of the martyrdoms of Anne’s three
companions, John Lassels, Anne's instructor, Nicholas Belenian, a priest, and John Adlam, a tailor. The treatises, however, never appeared. The same fate befell Bale's major historical piece of the 1540s, *The Acts of Englysh votaryes*. The enterprise was divided into four parts and was planned to cover the rising, building, holding and falling of the Roman clergy in England. Only two parts of the work were brought out. The first began with the institution of marriage by God and ended with Dunstan's enforcement of clerical celibacy around 1000 A.D., whilst the second took up the story through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Though incomplete, the work was Bale's earliest and most elaborate revision of English history. In this work are contained some of Bale's most important historical techniques.

In order to demonstrate the abominable practices of "that Sodomytycall swarme of brode of Antichrist (that ye call the spirytualte)", Bale claimed to have turned to the histories and chronicles that they themselves have written. These authors, Bale reminded the reader, were friends of the clergy; their accounts are thus biased in favour of their friends. What follows, therefore, is a much milder and less hostile account than their deeds merited. Furthermore, in claiming to have followed clerical sources, Bale was able to allow these biased accounts to denounce the clergy. By implication the clergy had simply condemned themselves. Bale's own role in the process was presented simply as that of a recorder.

In focussing on the issue of clerical celibacy Bale's writing amounted to an account of the emergence of Romish influence and power in his native land. Compulsory clerical celibacy,
after all, was seen by the exiles as one of the cardinal doctrines of Roman religion. The practice, according to Bale, originally derived from paganism, the vestal virgins of Ancient Briton. England herself had become Christian soon after Christ's death and had been converted by married men. English Christianity was thus established at a time when the gospel was unblemished by the abuses of Romish exegetes and when the Church was in its most perfect condition. For several hundred years English Christianity remained pure even though elsewhere monasticism was flourishing and whoredom was rife.

It was with the arrival of Augustine from Rome in 597 A.D. that English religion became irreversibly contaminated by Romish corruption. According to Bale, the Roman Church in England was born out of tyranny, the persecution by Augustine of the holy martyrs of the Church of the Britains. Augustine introduced not only monastic celibacy but also a range of ceremonies and traditions which remained right up to the present day. In the year 666 with the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus the preparations for Antichrist were completed. From this fateful year the process of corruption accelerated.

Bale's historical writing as demonstrated in the Votaryes is of initial importance because of the sheer detail of his account. In part two, around two hundred and fifty pages of closely argued text were devoted to a mere two centuries of Roman corruption. Throughout the work Bale's case was compiled with astonishing thoroughness. Nonetheless, this constant reliance on historical evidence made the work extraordinarily tedious and, although it is difficult to lose track of the author's argument, the constant barrage of accusation, example,
and illustration blunted the polemical effectiveness of the writing. One central theme which was successfully conveyed, however, was Bale's image of England as 'a beleaguered isle', the heroic striving of England to resist Romish corruption and treason.\textsuperscript{337} Likewise, the author's emphasis on sexual aberration - that Romish clergy were sodomites and lechers despite or as a result of their profession of chastity - was well illustrated if not always competently argued. In the first part of the Votaries Bale followed up his earlier assaults on Romish sainthood by uncovering evidence of the sexual immorality of popish saints.\textsuperscript{338} Well known historical episodes were retold and given dramatic and often drastic interpretation. The story of Gregory I's meeting with English youths in Rome, for example, was accorded an overtly sexual application. The youths were in the market place to be sold for the sexual use of the Roman clergy. Gregory was only there himself in order to make a private purchase.\textsuperscript{339} Other episodes of papal history or legend afforded Bale equal opportunity for invective and innuendo.\textsuperscript{340}

Sexual immorality apart, the bishops' main faults were their treasonable inclinations. Once more the charge of the traditional subversiveness of the clergy was raised.\textsuperscript{341} When any prince in England attempted to withstand their power the clergy opposed him and sometimes even slew him.\textsuperscript{342} Almost all of Bale's charges of treason found graphic illustration from the chronicles.\textsuperscript{343} From the days of Alfred the Great until the middle years of the reign of Henry VIII the Kings of England have been the servants of the Pope.\textsuperscript{344}

Bale's polemical use of secular and ecclesiastical history was not original. Robert Barnes's Lives of the Popes had
raised many of the allegations of papal immorality lodged by Bale, whilst Tyndale's emphasis on the subversiveness of the clergy appears to have exerted even greater influence. Much of Bale's writing in the 1540s shared the same ideas and arguments as the books of his fellow exiles. Joye and Turner were even acknowledged in the Votaryes for their writings against the practice of compulsory clerical celibacy. The polemical targets of bishops and ceremonies that featured in their work were the objects of Bale's own effusive salvos.

In his application of historical arguments to the problems of England Bale took the art of controversial writing into a new direction, one which, if not far removed, was certainly distinct from the work of his fellow refugees. Both the martyrrologies and the Actes of Englysh votaryes were influential as well as being considerable literary successes in their own right. The Examinacion of Oldecastell was reprinted in London in 1548 whilst at least seven editions of the Examinations of Askewe were brought out up till 1585. The Actes of Englysh votaryes was hardly less popular. Part 1 was reprinted in London soon after the accession of Edward VI and again in 1551, whilst a composite volume was brought out in 1560. Whatever else it achieved Bale's historical writing certainly touched on English hopes and expectations.

As a polemicist Bale's highly abusive prose has too often provided historians with an excuse to ignore his writing in any great depth. S.R. Maitland, for example, though recognising the lack of attention given to polemical language, felt able to condemn Bale's pen as foul simply because "he was foul himself; and he had foul subjects to deal with because they
they were the subjects with which he delighted to deal". Other historians have often attempted to account for Bale's style simply by pointing to the general custom of the age. Bestial and scatalogical terms were the common currency of the sixteenth century polemicist. Bale's writing, albeit extreme, is representative of the tone of early Protestant propaganda. In the second part of the Actes of Englysh votaryes, for example, Bale described papists as dogs, a label he derived from the scriptures and from Zenophon. Dogs in turn were revealed by the author as "vngentyl barkers, cruell byters, lascyuyouse lechours, gredy deuourers, and insacyable rauenours, muche delyghtynge in bloude". For Bale (and indeed for the exiles as a whole) the cruelty of the English bishops could only be likened to that of the animal kingdom. In their persecution and murder of English Protestants the Romish clergy had in some sense forfeited their essential humanity. Moreover, to describe them as wild beasts such as dogs or foxes, or as deceitful guileful creatures such as snakes or serpents, was not merely a matter of metaphor. The bishops did not simply act like animals but actually took on the characteristics of wild or reptilian beasts in place of their own human traits. Through papism men were thus transformed into subhuman creatures.

Almost every instance of Bale's invective was derived from the Bible, in particular from the works of Old Testament prophets such as Ezepkiel and from the Book of Revelation. In the Votaryes Bale pointed out that he aimed to demonstrate that the bishops were the instrument of Satan first by the scriptures and secondly by the example of their wicked lives. Historical enquiry was in itself dependent on scriptural understanding.
Though highly abusive, Bale was generally careful to explain to his readers the reasons for his excesses. These very explanations are of decisive importance for an understanding both of Bale's motives and of his style.

In the *Examinacyon of Oldecastell* Bale located the starting point of anti-Roman polemic in England with the work of John Wyclif. "Sens the preachynge of Johan Vvycleue hath the lorde suffred the pompouse Popyshe Prelates to shewe themselues forth in theyr ryght colours". Hus, the heir to Wyclif continued the struggle although it was not until the coming of Luther that the papal edifice began to crumble. In England Luther's task of undermining Romish religion began with Tyndale and Barnes and was continued by Frith, Joye, Turner and a score of minor polemicists. In other words Bale saw himself not in isolation but as standing in the front line of an anti-papal army, an army, moreover, with its own proud tradition of heroes. Just as the death of Anne Askewe would result if one thousand less popish believers, so the burning of a few Protestant books would result in countless more being sent to England. Writing, like martyrdom was a form of witness to the faith. Silence was every bit as inappropriate as apostasy. It was then, primarily for the sake of the faithful that Bale wrote. "If the congregacyon of God do now fynde soch ernest writers, as the seyd Moses, Luke, and Eusebius were, whych wyl not in these dayes rocke the cradle of Iesabel, Apoca.2. or flatter the prelates & tyrauntes in all their idolatrouse whoremôgynges, they may welle thynke they haue no lesse godly treasure than they were the to the worlde, tyme for tyme, and age for age". Polemic took on a distinct pastoral role. At the same time,
Bale recognised that his often violent language could have the reverse effect. "Gentyl and soft wyttes are oft tymes offended, that we are now a dayes so vehementin rebukes". Nonetheless, for Bale, strong language was unavoidable. "Byt thys wold I fayne knowe of them, what modestye they wolde vse (as they call it) if they were compelled to fyght with dragōs, hyders, and other odlyble mōsters. How pacyēt they wolde be and how gentyll, if a rauenouse wolfe came vpō thē, they hauynge able weapon to put hym a syde. Surely I knowe no kynde of Christen charyte to be shewed of the deuyll". The murder of Askewe seems to have heightened this resolve. By this act the bishops demonstrated once and for all that they were beyond the pale. In the Votaryes Bale spelt out the new tone of Protestant polemic. "Consyderynge therfor that no gētyll speche wyll amende them, nor yet sharpe threttenynges call them to repent-ance, he wyll now cast their owne vyle donge in their faces, that yt shall cleaue fast vpon them, Malā 2. He wyll throwe in their tete by thys boke and soche other the stynkyng examples of their hypocrytysh lyues, with their calkynges and clothynge to patche vp by that dauberye of the deuyll, their vowed wyuelesse and husbandelesse chastyte".

In the first part of the Examination of Anne Askewe Bale justified his language by appealing to the example of scripture. This was in the words of Ecclesiastes a time to hate and not a time to love. Moses resisted Pharoah, Helias king Ahab, Heliseus Joram, Zachary Joas, Daniel the idolaters, John Baptist the Pharisees and Herod; Stephen the Jews, the Apostles the bishops and priests. More recently both Wyclif and Hus showed that they were inwardly constrained by God to work for the
destruction of Antichrist in their writing, whilst even the mild and moderate Erasmus pointed out that God has provided strong physicians for the evils of this latter age. The war between Antichrist and the godly was being waged not only with the sword but also with the pen. Throughout his works Bale attempted to undermine the authority not just of clerical chronicles but also of all popish apologists. In the Mysterye for example, John Standish was described as Doctor "ynckepott" whilst Bale's opponent was no more than "a braynlesse babler / a presumptuouse ydyote / a frantyck Papist / a peruerter of the scripturs / a stykynge heretyque / an enemye to God / a secrete louer of Antichrist / & a preuye conspyrer agaynst his prince for the Pope". In the Examinacyon of Oldecastell Bale attacked a score of Catholic authors including Boniface, Benno, Becket, Bonaventura, Fisher, More, Reynolds, and the Charterhouse monks, all of whom were described as "beastlye blockheads". Nor was his wrath confined to mere authors. In the Mysterye Bale attacked the printers Robert Wyer and Robert Redman for daring to bring out the Genealogy of Heresy. The book was as full of good Christian erudition "as a dogges date if (sic) full of sweete honye". In bringing out the work the printers have shown that they care not what they do providing they are well paid. In Bale's eyes any printed statement of papist belief needed to be criticised and rejected. Nothing whatsoever could be allowed to pass by his censorial eye.
The works of Bale and his fellow exiles clearly confirm the centrality of the doctrine of the two churches to English Protestant theology. The dualism between good and evil expressed in terms of two rival churches was an essential part of the polemicist's armoury in the 1540s. The doctrine, which was developed out of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* presented a view of history as the dynamic interplay of polar opposites. Each Church represented both the complete sum of all men who would eventually be found on that side and also specific social and historical embodiments. In the work of the exiles the true church was invariably identified with Protestantism and the false with the Church of Rome. In itself there was nothing new in this application. Since Wyclif the church of the devil had come to be commonly seen as unambiguously identical with the Church of papal Rome. According to the early refugees such as Tyndale, the church of Rome, by acting against Christ, revealed itself to be a historical manifestation of the great conspiracy of the reprobate. In the 1530s continental works such as Vadian's *olde god & the newe*, and Luther's *Image of a Christian bishop* and of a counterfeit bishop drew even more attention to the institutionalized polarization of true Christianity and romish religion. The seeds of the doctrine of the two churches were well sown by the time the second Henrician exiles came to the fore.

Having said that, the two churches was intimately related to the experience of exile. The essential characteristic of the struggle between the two churches was the persecution by the false church of the members of the true. The church of Rome most clearly identified itself as the successor of Cain, the first murderer, by its waging of war on the gospel and by its violence
against the true believers. Conversely, the successors of Abel, the first martyr, were characterised by their faithful, quiescent acceptance of suffering. Martyrdom was, above all else, witness to the truth. Furthermore, for many, Protestant exile represented a lesser but no less tangible or valid form of testimony. As Bale pointed out, whenever the spiteful spirituality attempt to eliminate the true believers God sends his church into the desert. Christ himself fled when the occasion demanded it and commanded his disciples to "flee from cite to cite in tyme of theyr persecucions". In short, exile was an important tactic in the conflict between good and evil. Attempts to understand the portrayal of the doctrine of the two churches necessarily involve taking into account the exiles' real experience of persecution. The loss of one's home through the violence of the clergy supplied not simply the primary evidence of the activities and identity of the false church, rather it determined the very need for historical explanation which the doctrine of the two churches offered. In Richard Bauckham's phrase, the doctrine of the two churches functioned as an apocalyptic theology of the cross. The themes of dualism and conflict which had imbued so much of their polemics of the 1540s were no less integral parts of apocalyptic thought. If polemic can be characterised as an essentially polarised view of ideas, so apocalyptic is dependent on a similarly antithetical view of historical events. To this extent, an apocalyptic outlook shares the same intellectual presuppositions as polemic. Both depended on an attitude of mind which stresses differences and not similarities, which makes militance likely, and which accentuates tensions. Whilst Protestant controversial writing was not necessarily dependent
on an apocalyptic world view, apocalyptic ideas played an important role in the formulation of English Protestant polemic.

Although the experience of exile presented in many ways the essential prerequisite for an interest in apocalyptic thought - hardly any apocalyptic works being brought out during the 'Cromwellian renaissance' - surprisingly few of the Henrician exiles actually brought out apocalyptic writings. Certainly, crucial apocalyptic motifs, such as the identification of the Pope with Antichrist, were found in many of the propaganda tracts of the 1540s, whilst an expectancy of the imminent end of the world was widespread. Of the second generation refugees, however, only two authors, George Joye and John Bale, actually published apocalyptic books during their exile. 378

Around 1545 Joye completed two works, The coniectures of the ende of the worlde, a translation with interpolations of a work by Andreas Osiander, and The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete, a lengthy commentary based on the works of continental Protestant exegetes. Joye's writing had always shown a strong interest in identifying the true and false churches - a central task of apocalyptic thought. In 1543 Joye brought out a brief work entitled The unite and Scisme of the olde Chirche, in which he compared the history and teaching of the Christian Church with that of the Jewish religion. Again and again Christianity has been corrupted by heresy and by false doctrine. In these last days Christianity will fall victim to the aggression of the Turk unless the bishops repent and permit the teaching of true religion. In his translation of Osiander's coniectures Joye attempted to determine more precisely the date that the world would end. According to the Nuremberg reformer, it
was foretold by the Jews\(^3\) that the world would last for approximately six thousand years: two thousand before the Law, two thousand after it and two thousand under the Messiah. The six millenia corresponded to the six days of creation. Furthermore, just as the sixth day was curtailed in order to make way for the Sabbath, so the sixth millennium would not run its full course but would be shortened in order to usher in the final period of the world's history.\(^4\)

In other conjectures Osiander calculated from Matthew 24:27, that the period from Adam to the flood represented the time from Christ the second Adam until the last judgement; a period of one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years. However, just as Christ spent some thirty-three years on earth in his ministry so likewise he would spend thirty-three years spiritually with his Church before returning in glory at the end of the age. In his final conjectures Osiander determined the date of 1672 for the fall of the Pope and 1688 for the fall of Rome. The two eras of Rome, pagan and religious, were destined to last a mere one thousand and sixty years.\(^5\) To these estimates Joye added his own computation based on chapter 12 of the book of Daniel, which estimated the period when the regular offering is abolished to the day when the abomination of desolation is set up as one thousand two hundred and ninety days. For Joye the days represented years which commenced with the abdication of Diocletian. The conclusion of all these conjectures was that the world would end sometime before the end of the century.\(^6\)

Joye's interest in apocalyptic was thus partly based on a concern with futurology and eschatology. Indeed, according to Richard Bauckham, Joye's translation of Osiander can be credited
with laying down the foundations of English Protestant futurology. 390
In his *Exposition of Daniel* Joye included a section entitled
*A brefe supputation of the ages and years of the world*, in which
he computed the date of the end of the world on the basis of
Daniel's prophecy of the four monarchies. 391 As the title of the
commentary made clear, the work was derived from the expositions
of Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Pelikan, and John Draconites. 392
Of the four Joye was particularly dependent on the second edition
of Melanchthon's *In Danielum Prophetam Commentarius* (1543). 393
Passages from Melanchthon and the other exegetes were simply taken
over by Joye and conflated with his own propagandistic effusions.
If the translation of Osiander revealed an interest in eschatology
his commentary on Daniel showed another aspect of his apocalyptic
outlook, the polemical use of Old Testament prophecies. Like
Melanchthon, Joye drew attention to the contemporary relevance of
Daniel's revelations. Recognizably evil characters were identified
with the forces of papism 394 whilst analogies were sought between
Daniel's account of the religious history of the exiled Jews
and the state of the Church in contemporary Europe. Daniel, like
all the prophetic books of the Old Testament, offered Joye a rich
arsenal of ammunition for religious polemic. According to the
summary of the book which Joye liberally adapted from Melanchthon,
the story of Daniel had seven chief merits: the testimony to
the preservation of the church in exile, the prophecy of Christ,
the order of the four monarchies, the places of repentance and
faith, examples of good and evil kings, testimony of the resurre-
ction and warning of ungodly kingdoms and persecution. 395 Of
these the sections on the four monarchies and the ungodly kingdoms
offered the author the greatest scope for his attacks on the
Roman Church.

According to Joye, the fourth monarchy was to be identified with the Roman Empire and the little horn of chapter seven with the Antichristian Popes of Rome. Antichrist was described according to the scriptures by six properties: condemnation of the word of God, pride, prosperity, contempt of matrimony, idolatry, and large gifts. For Joye, these very properties were all present in England. Antichrists have sought to transform the Church into a civil kingdom and into the policy of the realm, layering it with civil laws and rites. Ceremonies and customs which ended with Christ's death have since been reintroduced into the Church. "And where it is playne, no ceremonies, no rytes, no tradicions, wythout the prescrupte instytuted vse and forme of God, to holde ether the vse of name of a sacrament, wherefore cōmaūde thei bread and wyne to be worshipped as God". Similarly, priestly chastity, "the most strōg pernicious perdicion of infinite soules", is allowed to flourish whilst image worship, saints, superstition and whoredom go completely unchecked. As in the polemics against Gardiner, Joye's attacks on ceremonies were seen as demonstrating the continuing influence of Romish power in the Henrician church. Through theology and worship papism retains a political foothold in England. In his exegesis of the episode concerning Nebuchadnezar's attempt to burn Shadrach, Meshach and Abednigo, Joye pointed out that they would have been spared their fate if they had done as some bishops teach these days, namely kneel down at the cross and kiss it. Behind the reference lay the ideas of Stephen Gardiner, "the hyghe diuinitie" who had defended the practice of kneeling at the cross in his Examination of the Hunter. Such attempts to teach doctrines
which were "contemelious" and "inuriose" to God were clear signs of an ungodly kingdom.\textsuperscript{401}

Whilst Joye used events described in Daniel to level indictments against the religious hierarchy in England he was far more concerned with what might be termed politico-historical prophecies, that is to say with those passages of Daniel which offered warning or instruction to temporal rulers.\textsuperscript{402} Indeed one of the main aims of the exposition was simply to offer advice to Henry VIII, to warn him to turn away from the Antichrist and to show favour to the reformers. The exiled Jews of Daniel and the Protestant refugees of England were united by their experiences of persecution.\textsuperscript{403} Thus, the second sign of an ungodly kingdom was the murder of the faithful preachers and possessors of God's Word. In these last days many have fallen back to papism simply because of the way that it is defended by the secular powers.\textsuperscript{404} Throughout history almost all Emperors, Kings, princes, and bishops have aligned themselves against the true Church.\textsuperscript{405}

In focussing on Daniel's political prophecies Joye had a good many harsh things to say about political power and, surprisingly, about how it was wielded by Henry VIII. As temporal ruler Henry was naturally on the receiving end of the prophet's general warnings to the secular powers. If kings persisted in persecuting Christ and His Church they would suffer the plagues that God sent unto Nebuchadnezzar.\textsuperscript{406} All tyrants who, like him, defend "the vngodlie worshypp, papistrye, and false religion wyth swerd, and fyre", should repent immediately and separate themselves from Antichrist.\textsuperscript{407} Several of these apparently general warnings, however, were clearly intended for Henry alone. After discussing how Gardiner argued for the retention of certain ceremonies,
Joye called on rulers to beware "how after they haue once tasted of godes trueth, they admit such popish flatterers into their court and counsail". Later he described the fraud of secular princes who "in pluckyng the ryches and possessyons of the spirituality into their owne handes, vnder some honest colour of reformation of the church, abolyishment of abuses, heresies and schismes, or by promisyng to defende their false faith and false religion". Darius's weakness in the face of the spirituality offered Joye an analogy with Henry's persecution, whilst Nebuchadnezar's setting up of false worship served as an obvious precedent for Henry's enactment of the Six Articles. "First of all, ye se an example of the Kynge, setting vp a false worshyppe of God, agaynste the firste and .i. comaundermentes, & how it is confirmed by the kynges authoritie, described of the precious, decent orned image, of the amenitie, & pleasaucie of the place, of the solemn dedicacion, of the cruelti the of the kinges proclamacion, and of the multitude of the Idolaters, of all the whiche lyke circumstauces ye se lyke idolatrye set vp, and confirmed thys daye". If the reader were in any doubt that Joye referred to Henry he could not ignore Joye's inclusion of Henry's title 'Defender of the Faith' in a list of the gifts offered by Antichrist. Whilst the clergy flatter kings and cause them to turn back to papistry the secular rulers are still responsible and accountable for their own actions, their blasphemous abuse and profanation of God's Temple and the persecution and burning of the true ministers of the gospel. According to Joye, unless the Kings repented of their error "ye muste nodes be brent your selves wyth all the deuyls in hell perpetuallye".
Whether or not the warning was intended for Henry VIII or for all rulers, Joye's threat certainly went further than other criticism of temporal rulers. Apparently his hostility to Henry increased as the reaction continued. In the Exposition there is no trace of the belief shown by exiles such as Brinkelow and Tracy that all would be improved in England once Henry was told the truth. According to Joye, the differences between the true and false churches has long been known largely as a result of the writings of learned men such as Luther, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius. No longer is it possible, however, to believe that things can improve as a consequence of this type of writing. In these days of continual persecution the scriptures alone should be scrutinised for signs of the future. "To turne ouer ý boke of Daniel in our exile, & scateeryng abrod, by persecucion, & so to fynde much knowledge, is ý chosen persecuted to fynd the summe & secretes of all the scripture in Daniel diligely, often studied & labored". All hope of deliverance was taken away from the policies of the King and placed in the future unravelling of apocalyptic history. The dispersion of the people of God into exile was a token of the end.

The exposition of Daniel was Joye's most popular book of biblical exegesis. The work was reprinted twice during the reign of Edward VI. Significantly, all the passages relating to temporal rulers were retained. Although the new reign offered fresh hope Joye evidently did not feel it necessary to excise his warnings from the new editions.

The most important English apocalyptic book of the 1540s was John Bale's The Image of bothe churches, a lengthy
commentary on the book of Revelation. Bale probably began writing the work soon after his flight from England and completed the major part of it by 1542. It was published in three stages: part 1 before 1545, parts one and two together in 1545, and part three sometime before Henry's death in 1547. Following Edward's accession the whole work was republished in London by Richard Jugge and three further reprints followed in 1550 and 1551. The popularity of the work, however, does not entirely succeed in conveying its significance, for in the Image Bale singlehandedly determined the scope of English apocalyptic exegesis. In this work Bale framed the first systematic chronological citing of the Book of Revelation, thus effectively establishing English Protestant apocalyptic with its own distinctive tradition. More particularly, the themes and arguments which Bale developed in the Image determined his subsequent writing. No attempt to understand Bale's polemic can afford to ignore the Image of both the churches.

The Book of Revelation offered Protestants insight into the nature of reality. Through the historical examination of the Christian Church the mysteries of the Apocalypse could be unlocked. The underlying theme of the work was one of disclosure. Revelation provided men with a mirror with which they could discern their true nature. Essentially, Bale saw the opening of the seven seals of the Apocalypse as symbolising the periods in the history of the Church since the ascension. The first seal represented the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and the apostles' preaching mission to the world. The second, the attacks by pseudo-apostles and Roman Emperors; the third, the rise of the popes in the post-Constantinian Church;
the fourth, the emergence of papal power in the seventh century, \(^{425}\) and the fifth, the persecution of the Christians by the full grown papal tyranny. \(^{426}\) For his interpretation of all these five seals Bale replied heavily on the exegesis of Francis Lambert. \(^{427}\) With the opening of the sixth and seventh seals, however, Bale developed his own tack. The sixth age, which was concerned with the revival of the gospel, was directly related to the emergence of John Wyclif, \(^{428}\) whilst the seventh was seen as representing the destruction of Babylon and the peace of Christ's Church. \(^{429}\) Significantly, the millenium, the thousand years peace, was seen by Bale not as a future age, but as the period from Christ's ascension to the reign of Pope Sylvester II. \(^{430}\) Though by no means entirely given to pessimism Bale did not locate his hope in the future in a golden age for the Church. The seventh age would in fact be short; not a full Sabbath but a mere inkling of the peace that would follow the end of history. \(^{431}\)

The sources of Bale's exegesis have been subjected to such detailed scrutiny as to preclude any further consideration at this point. \(^{432}\) What have often been ignored, however, are the controversial qualities of the Image, those passages and comments in which Bale used the text of the Apocalypse to attack the religious condition of England in the 1540s. Like Joye, Bale sought to highlight the specific significance of a number of quite detailed prophecies. "Where vpon I haue considered it no lesse than my duty bound deuty vndre payne of damnaciō, to admonish Christes flocke by this present reuelacion of their perels past, & the dangers to come for cōtempt of the gospel which now reygneth there aboue all in the clergye". \(^{433}\) The
secret mysteries of the work could only be unlocked by one who trusted in the sufficiency of Christ's salvation.\(^4\)\(^3\)\(^4\)

As with Joyce's exposition, much of the Image was devoted to an attack on the idolatry of Romish religion, in particular, the rites and ceremonies of the contemporary Church in England.\(^4\)\(^3\)\(^5\) According to the preface of part 2, the true Christian Church "is alone governed by the preachinge of Gods worde, an onlye office of Christ commaunded, and not by dead ceremonies commaunded by the pope, of whom their is no specialitie".\(^4\)\(^3\)\(^6\) Yet in England "styll continueth their more than Iewyshe ceremonyes, their prestybulouse prelthude, their vowinge to haue no wyues, and their sodomiticall chastitie. Styll remayneth their foule masses, of all abominations the principall, their prodigious sacrifices, their sensinge of Idols, their boyeshe processions, their vcommauded worshippinges, and their confessions of the eare, of all trayterye the fountayne, wyth many other straunge observacions whom the scripture of God knoweth not".\(^4\)\(^3\)\(^7\) Since the days of Sylvester II Satan has run loose in the ceremonies of papism.

As with his secular polemics Bale attacked those responsible for the maintenance of false religion, the bishops and higher clergy. Eck, Contarini, Cochlaeus, Bonner, Standish, Tunstall, Huntingdon, and Lincoln were all singled out for attention and abuse,\(^4\)\(^3\)\(^8\) whilst the bishops as a whole were described as "buggerye boyes" and sodomitical.\(^4\)\(^3\)\(^9\) Indeed, sexual allegation was never far from the surface of the Image. For Bale, the false Church was made up of "adulterouse cardynals, the buggerye byshoppes, the prostibulouse prelates and prystes, the Gomorre and monkes, chanons, tyrers, and nonnes, an innumerable swarme
of Sodomites. Not surprisingly Stephen Gardiner featured heavily, being vilified for his doctrine, his learning, his materialism, his sexual licence and, above all, for his persecution. Whenever the book of Revelation referred to untoward practices Bale sought to find illustration in the lives of living and dead papists. Similarly, whenever possible Bale drew attention to the activities and identities of true Christians. Protestant martyrs such as Hitton, Bilney, Frith, Bainham, Tyndale, John Lambert, Barnes, Jerome, Garrett and Patrick Hamilton, stood alongside earlier heroes such as Oldcastle and William Tracy. Good bishops, the list of which included Cranmer, Barlowe, Godrick, Bird, Thirlesby, Latimer and Shaxton, were as good enemies of the false church as Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Cromwell, Coverdale, Turner, Joye, Ridley and Becon. The two churches were by no means abstract historical concepts but were embodied in the activity and experience of real people.

By far the most significant of Bale's polemical uses of Revelation's prophecies were those directed to the papacy. Whilst Antichrist was identified with all the enemies rather than with the a single person, Bale, like Joye, concentrated on two particular manifestations, the Pope and Mahomet. In the opening of the sixth seal Bale made the identification with the former particularly clear. "In namyng the pope we meane not his persone, but the proude degree or abhominacion of the papacye. The greate antychryste of Europa is the kynge of faces, the prynce of hypocrysye, the man of synne, the father of errours, and the master of lyes, the Romish pope. He is the head of the sayd pale horse, whose bodye are hys Patriarkes, Cardinalles,
archebisshoppes, byssshops, fatt prebendes, doctours, priestes, abottes, pryors, monkes, chanons, friers, nonnes, pradoners, & proctours, with all the sectes and shorne swarme of perdicyon, and with all those that consent with them in the Romyshe faythe, obeyenge their wycked lawes, decrees, bulles, preuyleges, decretales rewles, tradicions, tytles, pompes, degrees, blessinges, counsels, and constitucions, contrarye to Gods truth".

For Bale the Pope was merely a major and not an exclusive representative of the Antichrist. Only in later Protestant exegesis were the two seen as a one to one correlation.

In the Image Bale was far more concerned with delineating the nature of the false church in history than with the ideas of a specially prophecied final Antichrist.

Unlike Joye, Bale gave little consideration to the realm of political prophecy, although this very silence may well point to a similar lack of faith in temporal rulers. Throughout the work Bale emphasised the cruelty of princes and the conspiracy of prelates to subdue them. Even in those realms where princes have supremacy over the clergy, "yet are they scarce able to put asyde one corrupt custome or dyrtye ceremonye of theirs". Bale placed little reliance in the apocalyptic leadership of the temporal powers. In the Image the godly prince hardly featured at all either as a political force or as an eschatological symbol of deliverence. For Bale, reformation did not come from above. Although many good developments have taken place in England, such as the suppression of the monasteries, priaries, convents and friars' houses, "yet are not all thynges brought vnto Christes clere institution. A syncere Christē order can not yet be seane there. And a great cause why. For all is
not yet dryed vp there". Trust in the temporal rulers to effect a full reformation was misplaced. In these last days rulers were not Davids or Solomons or Josiahs, but "verye feareful and faynt harted Caines". Moreover, according to Bale, "This wyl be the revile of this present age". In short, God has not entrusted princes with the power to subdue the Anti-christs. Rather, that task was reserved for the victory of the living word. "Onlye shall the breath of his mouth destroye them, grinde them to duste, and throwe them into helle fyre".

Although some of the Protestant exiles resorted to warning Henry VIII of the judgement that would befall his if ungodly religion were maintained in England, it should not be construed that these writers came to criticise the actual doctrine of royal supremacy. Henry Brinkelow, though emphatic that Henry VIII would suffer God's wrath for the sins of his people, still lodged his hope of reform. In times of grievance the individual must still appeal to the higher powers for redress.

Similarly, in his *Epistle Exhortatory*, Bale expressed the hope that God would open the eyes of Henry and his parliament so that they would destroy all Romish practices and set up true worship. The King's responsibility for religious reform was not challenged. All the exiles were careful to emphasise their loyalty to the Crown. Although Henry had striven to free himself from Rome, he was still seduced by the conservative clergy who stood ready to pervert and destroy the royal supremacy. Turner's aim was to point out that the clergy, though professing themselves to be the loyal subjects of the King, were still attached to Rome. The political obedience of the Protestants, by
contrast, was guaranteed by their hostility to Rome's temporal and spiritual claims, and by their unambiguous acceptance of the supremacy of temporal rulers.

Having said that, in the work of Bale and Joye, the idea of magisterial reform of religious abuse sat uneasily with a more profound concept of change which derived from apocalyptic literature. In seeing history as culminating in the final cosmic battle, the eventual separation of the godly from the ungodly, Bale and Joye left no room for the notion of a godly ruler. Neither the author of Daniel nor that of Revelation emphasised any human initiative at the end of history. God would not use human freedom to achieve his purpose in an act which would be regarded from the human side as man's, but would Himself act in a way as solely His own as His act in creation had been. To this act there would be no human side for it would not be the act of a man. In the Manne of synne Bale criticised those reformers who put their trust in temporal rulers to destroy Satan's Church. Although he pointed out that he intended no criticism of the secular powers, who in fact can do much to seek God's glory, Bale insisted that God alone can perform the task of eliminating the false church. In seeing Henry and other temporal rulers as godly governors of the earth rather than of the Church, it is clear that Bale was moving away from the pattern of reform that the doctrine of royal supremacy implied. In the apocalyptic writings of the exiles reform was no longer seen as the redress of ecclesiastical abuse or in terms of the salvation of the individual but was thought of as the final redemption of society. In this vision there was no more a place for the supreme headship as there was for
the institutionalised church as a whole. The two pictures, the one local and pragmatic, the other universal and catastrophic, were not strictly compatible. The royal supremacy may not have been challenged. What had been undermined, however, was the belief that the reform of ecclesiastical abuse was of overwhelming import. In shifting from a hope in the orderly politically inspired reformation of the religious condition of England to a belief in the final separation of the two Churches which have existed alongside throughout history, the apocalyptic writers reinterpreted the role of the temporal ruler. Henry's supremacy was not itself under attack. The naive confidence in his sincerity and fidelity to the truth, however, was no longer seen as justifiable.

With the benefit of hindsight it is not difficult to highlight the irreconcilability of the two patterns of reform. To say the least, the pragmatic notion of magisterial reform and the eschatological vision of the final conflict appear reluctant bedfellows. For Bale and Joye, however, no such tension existed. In the first place, apocalyptic thought did not result in any disregard or disinterest in worldly affairs. On the contrary, the movement of history towards its imminent end was seen as offering an unique opportunity for moral decision. It was, in other words, the last call for repentance. The political world was not yet turned upside down; rather, existing beliefs about order, stability, and the duty of subjects to rulers were reinforced by apocalyptic exegesis. Daniel's respect for the authority of pagan rulers served as a model for the behaviour of the faithful of all ages. Moreover, the doubts expressed by Bale and Joye concerning the importance of the temporal
powers to effect Satan's destruction were not mirrored by the majority of exilic writers. Even for the apocalyptists it was more necessary than ever for England to cast off the ceremonies of Antichrist and embrace the truth now that the day of judgement was at hand. A full and effective reform of religious abuse, understood as the separation of the people from the machinations of Rome, was an important preliminary, even though not a logical necessity, for the eventual defeat of Satan.

In so emphasising the local and pragmatic, the works of Bale and Joye firmly belonged to the general thrust of exilic literature. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the works of the refugees of the 1540s is the way in which they form a distinctive literary grouping in their own right. In these works the same theological ideas concerning sacraments and persecution occur and again and again. More importantly, through exile English Protestant writing lost some of the individualism which had pervaded the works of the previous decade. Bale, for example, appears to have shared the authorship of one book with Coverdale and another with William Turner. In almost all the works of the exiles references abound to other Protestant writers and, in particular, to the works of fellow refugees. Like the first Henrician exiles, the second generation refugees came to see themselves as a distinct social, religious and literary grouping. Not only were they united by the experience of exile, or in the case of Becon by suffering persecution, more importantly, their faith came to be defined by its hostility to existing policy in England. Tracy's comment that it was impossible to attack the Pope's primacy without attacking the ceremonies used in the Church of England serves as the characteristic theme
of all their writings.

Accordingly, even the small amount of devotional material that was brought out by the exiles contained the same combative, controversial tone of their anti-episcopal polemics. In November 1545 one Robert Legate published his translation entitled *A Breife Catechisme and Dialogue betwene the Husbande and his Wyfe*.

The work, designed for the young, presented typically orthodox Protestant beliefs with moderate attacks on the papist persecutors. All who fail to preach Christ's gospel are false traitors in the spirit of Antichrist. Those who have punished God's chosen elect have done so out of madness. Nonetheless, the godly must at all times be aware that "the lyfe of a man is a warrefare here vpon earthe".

In September 1544 George Joye brought out *A present consolacion for the sufferers of persecucion for ryghtwysenes* in which he attempted to explain the reasons which lay behind the persecution. The work, written to those who avoid the gospel out of fear and those who fervently profess Christ and suffer accordingly, was fiercely polemical despite its avowedly pastoral intentions. In the preface, for example, Joye launched into a savage denunciation of "these hoggishe Papistes and cruell persewers of the gospel", who were likened to the mad swine of the Gadarenes. Although the papists claim that there is no longer any persecution in England no man, according to Joye, who preaches justification by faith, or who attacks saints, images, prayers for the departed, the profanation of the Lord's Supper, or the celibacy of priests, can escape persecution. In the face of events in England the reader was exhorted to "flye in holy darkenesse out of Babylon into the deserte". The
present situation was the same as that which faced the early church. Moreover, the rebukes suffered by the godly were viewed as the same as those suffered by Christ Himself. For Joye the declaration of the faith necessarily involved an exposure of the falsehood of the popish cause.

In seeing themselves as a distinct grouping, the exiles thus attempted to define both their experience of suffering and their polemics against their persecutors by reference to the lives and works of their forerunners. Significantly the exiles of the 1540s made little use of the works of and the example set by the first Henrician exiles. Hardly any of the writings of Tyndale and his contemporaries were reprinted by the exiles. None of the controversial works of either Tyndale or Barnes, or even those of George Joye were brought out, even though some of them such as the attacks on More had raised many of theological issues which now achieved prominence. Of Tyndale's work, only his prologue to the Testament of William Tracy was reprinted and even this was appended to an edition of Wyclif's Wicket. Frith fared little better, in spite of the fact that his writing on the sacraments was especially relevant. Only one book, a corrected edition of his work from the Tower on the eucharist was reprinted. One book which was consciously revised by a second generation exile was the pamphlet of Barlowe and Roy Reade me frynde and be not wrothe, which was republished in Antwerp in June 1546. The book, with its strong anti-clerical and anti-episcopal bent, was clearly recognised as of some relevance to recent English events. On the reverse of the title-page the editor added a verse to the original passage entitled "An exhortacion of the Papistes", in which he called on
the bishops to repent from their tyranny "least ye be serued as the folyshe virgynes fyve, And vttely be cōdēned to the pytte of hell". In addition, the original prologue of the work was dropped in favour of a preface allegedly written by one 'L.R.' According to the editor, he had been entrusted with the book several months previously, and had recognised its polemical qualities. In spite of the fact that it had been hidden for the last sixteen or seventeen years the book was still able to declare the truths and abominations which our dread sovereign lord has suppressed. The remainder of L.R.'s preface contained no similarly direct criticism of Henry VIII being little more than a revision of the original. As in other writings of the 1540s, however, the conservative bishops came in for particular attention. All papists were described as having been "brought vp amonge the greasy and annoynted heape (otherwyse called the Papisticall secte, and cruell generacion of venemouse vypers)". Bishops, however, have obtained through the Mass a principal hold over religious affairs. Their evident falsehood and presumptuousness notwithstanding, the book had not been reissued "as a thynge convycyous, or as a pryncypple of hatred and debate", but had been brought out as a defence of the simple. The fire which Christ came to light on earth would be kindled by little sticks such as this very book.

These few works of the early exiles were the only ones to be reprinted during the 1540s. For the most part the second generation refugees looked beyond the experiences of their immediate predecessors in their attempt to understand their own situation. All the reformers sought to explain their work by reference to biblical rather than to historical or near
contemporary precedent. For some, scripture was consciously searched for paradigms and models of their own actions and roles. In the Manne of synne Bale likened himself to Moses invading the cruel proud Egyptian with the sword of the spirit. 

Indeed, Paul's letters often served as polemical ammunition for the exiles. His description of the enemies of Christ in Philippians 3:18-19, was, according to Joye, the "firste warninge ... of siche sedicious secte sowere". For Joye, John the Baptist's call for repentance offered itself as an obvious model both for his own work and also for that of his fellow exiles. Similarly, Turner saw himself as suffering the same slanders as those levelled against Christ, the apostles, and the prophets.

In citing the suffering of Christ or the denunciations of religious abuse by John the Baptist and the prophets, the exiles sought to use the experiences of Old and New Testament characters as mirrors or guides to explain their own. The clashes between good and evil figures established a paradigm of the dynamics of all sacred history. In so far as the exiles embraced a world view of a perpetual struggle between the true and false churches they were able not only to relate their own experiences to those of their forerunners but to actually identify themselves with the scriptural paradigms. Just as the contemporary bishops shared the same spirit as the scribes and Pharisees of the New Testament, so the exiles shared the same qualities as all the members of the godly church. To all intent and purpose the refugees saw themselves as occupying the same role as the
prophets and apostles of the Bible. In so doing they acquired effective and explicit models for their behaviour towards their opponents. Their hostility to the bishops, for example, was generally explained as the same as that which was shown by the prophets to the religious leaders of Israel. More importantly, their identification with Biblical characters was seen as affording the exiles not just precedent but actual authority. In short the polemics of Bale, Turner and Joye acquired their gravitas from the fact that their authors had a calling similar to that of a prophet. In _The huntyng of the Romyshe foxe_ Turner pointed out that Paul had as much authority as the King in matters spiritual. By implication Turner's own work was of no less authority than Paul's. 487

For Bale and Joye, the search for paradigms ultimately resulted in them turning to apocalyptic literature, literature which was itself the product of exile. For both writers, the fact that they had undergone the same experiences of suffering and persecution as the biblical authors meant that they were uniquely privileged to interpret their work. Throughout the _Image_ and to a lesser extent in his other writings, Bale sought to emphasise his decision to go into exile. Exile was seen as proving the powers of the individual, and was testified as such by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and other first expositors of the primitive church. 488 Exile was not something the individual simply chose as an act of will but was, like prophecy, the result of a call from God. God has always provided men to "rebuke the world of sinne for want of true fayth, of hypocresye, for want of perfaict rightewesnes, and of blindnesse for lacke of godly iudgemet: for nought is it not therfore that he hath
exiled a certen nombre of belieueng brethrō the realme of England, of the which afflicted family my faith is that I am one". 

According to Bale, the exiles acted on the commandment of Apocalypse 18 to "spare no rebukes, but to powre out double vpon that blode bawdde and maliciouse mother of theirs Neuer was this comauandement more effectuallye to be foloweth thā now, his holy worde of saluacion so presentlye set at nought, despysed, & persecuted of her madde modie mynisters". Bale's personal experience was explained by continual reference to the life of the author of Revelation John of Patmos. "And like as Babilon had the Israelites captiue vnder & bodelye tribute, so hath this Rome had the Christianes both in their bodies and soules. At the writinge of this prophecie felt Johā of their cruelte beinge exiled into Pathmos an Ille of Licia for the faithful testimonie of Jesu. And so did I poore creature with my poore wife and children at the gatherings of this present commentarie, fleinge into Germanye for the same". Thus, Bale not only used the experience of John to explain his own but also interpreted the prophecies of the Apocalypse from the perspective of his own suffering. Similarly Joye was not content simply to identify the papists with the evil characters of Daniel but sought to understand his own experiences of persecution by reference to Daniel's own exile.

Through study of the apocalyptic literature of the Bible both Bale and Joye came to see themselves in the roles of exilic prophets. Called by God to proclaim the word, the prophet stood reviled, alone before the King and people as God's messenger of weal and woe. Indeed the radical shift in polemical literature which took place in the last few years of Henry's reign can
only be understood in the light of the new self understanding of
the Protestant exiles. In so far as they believed themselves
to occupy essentially prophetic roles their writing took on all
the characteristics of Old Testament and apocalyptic prophecy.
The purpose of their labour was three-fold: to hearten the
faithful in their time of affliction and persecution, to denounce
the abuses of the ungodly, and to call the people to repentance.
Like prophetic utterances, Protestant polemics were intended to
demonstrate the true nature of religion to rulers and people
alike. In the last years of Henry's reign Protestant writing was
little other than disclosure, an opening up or declaration of
the abuses of religion so that men might repent of them. "For
wha he (Satan) ys ones knowne, he maye sone by auoyded". In these last days men must avoid the Antichrist even if it
means exiling themselves from his dominions or dying at the hands
of his cohorts. Repentance would rid England of the Romish
vermin and restore her favour with God.

Although the refugees saw their exile as of considerable
personal benefit it appears that some of them became less
confident about the positive value of their labours by the end
of Henry's reign. The continuation of savage prohibitions
against Protestant writing together with the lack of any tangible
change of official policy accentuated a sense of failure and
despondency. As Joye pointed out, the differences between the
true church and the false had been known for some time. The longer the reaction continued the more difficult it became
for the exiles to maintain the belief that their polemics
would result in change. According to Turner, although
Gardiner and his fellow bishops had shown themselves incapable
of proving him a heretic he was still openly being denounced as such. Accordingly "I shall set a playe of youre myscheuous tyranny in Latyn, that all learned men that are now a lyue and the ages for to come shall knowe yow, that ye be, and what ye haue bene". As such Turner postulated shifting the intended audience of Protestant polemic away from the common people of England to the educated men of England and the continent. Similarly Bale claimed in The first examinacion of Anne Askewe that the failure of the conservatives to allow Protestant books would "from hens forth occasyon vs, to set fourth in the Latyne also, that afore we wrote onlye in the Englysh, and so make their spirytuall wyckednesse and teasone knowne moche farther of". Although Protestant ideas would always survive in England it was not necessary that books always suffered the fate of being burnt. The failure of England to heed their warnings would thus result in a new polemical strategy. The whole basis of Protestant writing which had been established by Tyndale and the early exiles and which had lasted through the Cromwellian renaissance, was now being rethought. In the face of the people's evident unwillingness to repent the principle of vernacular writing was under threat. For good or ill the death of Henry VIII in 1547 resulted in no such departure for Protestant writing. Under the tolerant reformist rule of Edward VI and the Protector Somerset the old vernacular messages of admonition and instruction held sway.
1. The work went through a number of editions in a short time. STC 5168-5177.


3. C.f. Rupp who argues that the very ambiguity of the work offered some hope to the Protestants. Studies, p. 154.


5. McConica, English Humanists, pp. 201-34. Catherine's own pietistical works are STC 4818, 4819, 4820-24, 4827-4828.

6. Script. Ill., ii, 105, c.f. DNB

7. Appendix C no. 96. STC 3760. The work is reprinted in Early English Text Society extra series, 22, ed. J. Meadows Cooper (London, 1874) pp. 1-76. All references are to this edition. The work was of some popularity, running to at least five editions before 1550.

8. Appendix C no. 97. STC 3764, reprinted in E.E.T.S., ex. ser. 22, pp. 77-120. Three editions of the work were brought out, in 1542, 1545 (3765) and 1548 (3766).

9. Appendix C no. 98. STC 10884. The work was printed along with Simon Fish's Supplication of Beggars. H & L 3338.


12. Chapters, 2, 3, 7 & 10.


15. Ibid. sig. b6, c2.

16. Brinkelow illustrated his argument with a stream of examples and anecdotes. It is, he claimed, common knowledge that one of Henry's chaplains used to carry a scroll containing a list of the parishes of which he was a parson. One day, whilst travelling in the country, he saw a beautiful parish which he coveted. His servant was forced to inform him that the parish was already his and was listed on the scroll. Sig. b5-b5(v).

19. The Lamentacyon, p. 79. C.f. A Supplication where Brinkelow claims that some men break the Injunctions of the King by putting the Bible into a place where the poor cannot presume to go. Sig. a6.
22. Sig. a5(v)-a6.
23. Ibid. Sig. a6(v).
24. Brinkelow likened the bishops' promise to produce a Bible to a man who was reprieved from the death sentence after promising to make an ass dance within fourteen years. Ibid. sig. a6(v).
26. Ibid. p. 61, citing the example of "St Mary Querys" in Southwark, and Bonner's setting up of an image of St. John the Baptist in St. Paul's to replace one of the Virgin Mary.
27. Ibid. p. 65.
28. The Lamentacyon, pp. 88, 89.
30. The Lamentacyon, p. 110.
31. Ibid. p. 107. Brinkelow cited the examples of Becket and Stephen Langton to show that the clergy have traditionally been seditious.
32. According to Brinkelow, the Bishop of Rome, for example, never made the marriage of priests punishable by death. Ibid. p. 110.
33. The Complaynt, p. 45.
34. Ibid., p. 64.
35. Ibid. p. 63.
36. Ibid. p. 46.
37. The Lamentacyon, p. 97.
39. Ibid. p. 98, 100-01.

41. The Lamentacyon, p. 104.

42. Ibid. p. 111. In The Complaynt auricular confession was described as the "preuy chamber of treason of the bisshops". P. 47.

43. Ibid. p. 74.

44. Ibid. p. 59.

45. Ibid. p. 38.

46. Ibid. p. 56.

47. Ibid. p. 55

48. "And lesse there shuld want anything to be a perfyght pope dome, the bisshops caused a proclamacyon to be set out in the kyngs name, that from henseforth the ceremonyes of the church, that were of the popys makyng, shuld no more be taken for popys ceremonys, but the kyngs; and so thei made the kyng father of the popys childern". The Complaynt, p. 36.

49. Ibid. pp. 55-56.

50. Ibid. p. 13.

51. Ibid. p. 44.


53. The Lamentacyon, p. 106.

54. The Complaynt, p. 57.

55. A supplication, sig. b7(v)-b8.

56. Ibid. sig. b8(v),b5.


58. Sig. A7(v)-A8.

59. Tracy cited three laws in all. Firstly, all spiritual parsons of the King's Council may have their benefices with cure. Secondly, chaplains of the Royal family may have licence to have two benefices with cure, and thirdly, every duke, marquis, viscount, earl, archbishop, and bishop may have two chaplains who have two benefices with cure. Sig. A7(v).
60. Sig. B2(v).
61. Sig. B8(v)-C1(v).
63. Sig. C5(v)-C8.
64. Sig. D5.
65. Sig. C3(v).
66. Sig. A2(v), A3(v), C5.
67. Sig. B3. Tracy's argument involved a slight criticism of the King who, it was claimed, was ignorant of the scriptures as a result of the Bishops' actions. Sig. B4.
68. Sig. A4, A5(v).
69. Sig. B6.
70. Sig. B5.
71. Sig. B5.
72. Sig. B5.
73. Sig. A6. C.f. Brinkelow's allegation that the bishops were the instigators of the rising in the North. The Complaynt, p. 53.
76. Appendix C no. 101. STC 14828.5 formerly 14827.
77. Sig. al. The Articles were put to Barnes by Gardiner following the reformer's controversial sermons of 1540. According to Gardiner, he wished to enter into debate over the articles, however no such debate ensued. Barnes was later forced to recant. For full details see Butterworth and Chester, pp. 205-18.
78. Sig. al.
79. Article 1 cited in the confutation sig. a4.
80. Sig. a5-b7.
81. Sig. b7.
82. The arguments of Gardiner and Joye concerning the doctrine of justification by faith are examined in detail from a theological perspective in Knox, The Doctrine of Faith, pp. 222-237.

83. C.f. sig. a7(v), "By the gift of god I maye do well before I am iustifyed", sig. b4(v), "Ergo I maye do well by the gylfte of god before I am iustified towards the atayment of iustificaci6n". For Gardiner, "There is euer as miche charite towerde god as faith, and as faith encreas- eth so do charite encrease". Sig. b5(v).


85. Sig. a5(v)-a6.

86. Sig. a2, a6.

87. Joye singled out the heretics known as the Nazarenes or Minei, who were attacked by Paul for "mixinge the obseruaunce of the law with the grace of the gospel". Sig. a2. The Nazarenes were Jewish Christians whose attempt to return to a liberal form of Judaism aroused the hostility of the author of the Epistle of the Hebrews. C.f. C.F.D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament (New ed. London, 1973) p. 44.

88. Sig. c3.

89. Sig. a3(v).

90. Sig. a8(v).

91. Sig. b3(v).

92. Sig. a8.

93. Sig. a8.

94. Sig. a8.

95. Sig. b1(v).

96. Sig. b8(v).

97. Sig. c1(v).

98. Sig. c6. Joye refers to Gardiner forcing William Castelyn, governor of the merchant adventures at Antwerp, to hunt out men who had put forward books attacking papal doctrine. For Gardiner's involvement in the Low Countries see Butterworth and Chester, pp. 212-213.

99. Sig. a5(v).

100. Sig. b5.

101. Sig. b1(v).
102. Sig. c8(v).


106. Sig. A2(v)f.

107. Sig. S2(v).

108. Sig. Ml-Ml(v).


113. A Detection of the Devils Sophistrie, wherwith he robbeth the vnlearned people, of the true byleef, in the most blessed Sacrament of the aultar. 8vo. A-S8, T4. Prynted at London in Aldersgate strete, by Iohn Herforde, at the costes & charges of Roberte Toye, dwellynge in
Paules churche yarde, at the synge of the Bell. 1546. STC 11590.

114. Summarised in Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction, pp. 132-34.


116. An answver to the deuillish detection of Stephane Gardiner, Bishoppe of Wyncester, published to the intent that such as be desirous of the truth should not be seduced by his errours, nor the blind & obstinate excused by ignorance. Compiled by A.G. 8vo, A-Y8, Aal-Ff5. Dated the 24th of January, 1547. STC 11884 (J. Day).

117. "Yet no man hath (so farre as I know) once opened his mouth or taken penne in hand, to make answere to this blasphemouse messenger of the proude Senacherib neglecting the liueinge God, for the littel I dole that he maketh God or no God at hys pleasure, who suffreth Mise to eate him and the wicked to deuoure him. Lette all other men do as they shall thyncke good, wyth silence to let suche thynges slip. Truly if I could saye nothinge thereunto but onely naye, denieing Idolatrie and renouncynge all supersticion therin maintained : I juge it my parte to publishe my faith, rather then by me silence to seame to consent to suche deuillishe doctrine". Sig. A2(v)-A3.

118. Sig. Bb6, Cc3(v), Tl.

119. "The whole course of your boke labouringe to make Christe really and naturally present vnder these fourmes, quætitles savoureth of the rotten pastures, and stinkinge fleshli braines of your dreameinge doctours. Dunse, Thomas de Aquino, and petrus Lombardus. Therfore is this the cariong wherof we moust be ware". Sig. B7(v)-B8.

120. Sig. B1.

121. Sig. Ff4(v).

122. Sig. Ff5.


125. An explicatio and assertion of the true catholique fayth, touchyng the moost blessed sacrament of the aulter (1551). STC 11592.

126. STC 22819.

127. STC 5991.

128. Published in Paris under the pseudonym of "Marcus Antonius Constantius, theologian of Louvain". Confutation Caullationum quibus sacrossanctum Eucharistiae Sacrauntum ab impiiis Capternaitis, impati solet.


130. See Jasper Ridley, Thomas Cranmer, pp. 325, 370.

131. Turner was not ordained until 1552, hence he did not leave England simply in order to escape prosecution as a result of the 1539 legislation concerning married priests. Wood's claim, for example, that Turner was actually banished from England is not proven. Athenae Oxonienses, i, pp. 361-64. Turner's activities on the continent are not known. C.f. Raven, English Naturalists from Peckham to Ray, p. 75f.


133. Appendix C no. 102. STC 24354. Although the work was printed on the 14th September it was completed by May 1st. Sig. A3.

134. Sig. A7-B6.

135. Like Melanchthon, Turner saw priestly celibacy as emerging out of the heresies of the early Church. "And hym (Montanus) he (Satan) styred vp to wryte agaynst matrymony, and so he dyd, ad taught that mariage shulde be broken, as Eusebius wryteth in the. v. boke of the Ecclesiasticall storye..." Sig. E8(v).

136. Sig. A2, A6-A7.

137. Harold Stein, "Spenser and William Turner", Modern Language Notes, 51, no. 6 (1936) pp. 345-51, p. 347. The clearest identification, however, is with the Pope. "Hoe ye lordly bishoppes ad ye Clea fyngered gentle men of the clergy, is not the fox of Rome other wyse called Papa among you". Sig. A4(v).
138. Sig. A2-A2(v).
139. Sig. A5.
140. Sig. A2.

141. STC 23089. In his 1555 *Hunting of the Romish Wolf* (STC 24356) Turner argued that Gardiner the fox had been transformed or transmuted into a wolf. Whereas a fox was someone who pretended to be a member of the Church of England despite holding Romish beliefs, a wolf was identified as a full blooded Romanist in both belief and outward profession. In his scientific works Turner was reluctant to believe in the transmutation of one species into another. For the sake of theological polemic, however, Turner abandoned his scientific views. C.f. Thomas P. Harrison, "William Turner, Naturalist and Priest", *The University of Texas Studies in English*, vol. 33 (1954) pp. 1-12. The influence of Turner's animal-cycle on Spenser is examined by Stein, op. cit. and by Thomas P. Harrison, "Turner and Spenser's Mother Hubberd's Tale", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 49 (1950) pp. 464-69.


143. Turner claimed that images were prohibited in Exodus 20, Leviticus 26, and Deuteronomy 4. Sig. C5-C7(v).

144. Sig. B6.


146. "This is the doctrine of Antechrist and ye the pope be Antechriste it is the popes doctrine". Sig. B1(v).

147. Sig. C1(v). The reference to recent proclamations appears to be directed to the King's Book.

148. Sig. E4.

149. Sig. C2(v).

150. Sig. E3. C.f. sig. F2(v) when you make an answer to my book.

151. Sig. F7.

152. Sig. F8(v).

153. Sig. F5.

154. Sig. E7.
155. C.f. The seconde covrse, sig. cl(v) "seing it hathe pleased the Kynges maiesti / thys hunter may be examined". Knox, The Doctrine of Faith, p. 239, n. 8.

156. Appendix C no. 103. STC 24355. The imprint is fictitious. The book was probably printed in Basle.

157. Sig. A5. C.f. Sig. D7(v) "How can ye be iudges in matters of truthe of Christen religion which haue not bene exercised and brought vp in the truthe / but in decrees / decretalles / extrauagantes / counselles / clêmétises and suche other popishe learnynge".

158. Sig. A3(v).

159. Sig. C2.

160. Sig. C8(v).

161. Sig. Ml.

162. C.f. for example Turner's reference to non-dominical ceremonies being plucked up by their roots. Sig. D4(v).

163. C.f. the references to the Emperor John Palaeologos, Cicero and Virgil (sig. K2(v), also sig. L4(v) where the works of Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose were compared with the doctrine of the Council of Constance (1415), popes Julius and Gelasius, and Latomus.

164. Sig. El.

165. Sig. El(v).

166. Sig. A7.

167. Sig. A8(v).

168. Sig. A8.

169. Sig. F8(v).


171. Sig. Nl(v).

172. Sig. N5(v).

173. Sig. N5.


175. Sig. N7(v).

176. Bale left England following the deaths of Cromwell and Barnes. As a married priest he was an obvious target for retaliation by the conservatives. Accompanied by his wife and children, Bale spent the next six or seven years in Antwerp where, it appears, he was employed by various printers. Fairfield, p. 71.
177. Appendix C no. 104. STC 1291.
179. Sig. A1.
180. Sig. A7(v), D.6.
181. Sig. C3(v).
182. Sig. A2(v).
183. Sig. A3.
184. Sig. A3(v).
185. Sig. A3(v).
186. Sig. A4.
187. Sig. A5(v).
188. Sig. A6.

190. Bale's list of recent Lollard martyrs included Richard Hunne, and three young men of Southwark, Robert King, John Debenham and Nicholas Marsh. Sig. B5.

191. Sig. B5(v). Tyndale, in fact, was hailed by Bale as the first true apostle of Christ since Wyclif. Sig. A6.

192. Sig. B7.


195. Sig. A2(v).

196. Sig. A6(v).
197. Sig. C8(v).
198. Sig. C4(v).
199. Sig. B1(v).

200. According to Bale the bishops of England, together with those of Italy, Sicily, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland and Ireland, were ultimately responsible for all schisms and wars. Any enterprise of England's would soon be known by the pope's prelates of her enemies Italy, Spain, Flanders, and Scotland, because of the secret messages of the English bishops. Moreover, at this present time the loyalty of the English bishops is to the King of France whose intention is to break the friendship between Henry VIII and the Emperor. Sig. D1(v), B3(v).

201. Sig. A8.
202. Sig. D5.
203. Sig. D5(v).
204. Sig. D6(v).
205. Appendix C no. 105. STC 1309.
207. Sig. A2(v).
208. Sig. A6(v), E1(v), D5(v).
209. Sig. M8.
210. Sig. M8(v).

211. The book was not named although Bale supposed that it was Frith's Book on purgatory, Sig. F7-F7(v).

212. Commentary on Ephesians, sig. Gl.

213. Confession of the German's and Melanchthon's Apology, and the Postils upon Epistles and Gospels. Sig. G5(v)-G6. Earlier Bale condemned the papists for attempting to 'geld' "the godlye confessyon of the germanes, the common places of Sarcerus, and now of late certen notable treatyses els compiled by sondry lerned menne, with dyuerse other workes more". Sig. A7.

214. Sig. F7(v)-F8.
215. Sig. G8(v).
216. The olde god and the newe, which according to Bale was compiled by a German named Hermannus more than twenty years ago. Sig. F8(v)-Gl.
221. The Book of the counterfeit bishop and a Book of Prayers made by Luther sig. G7(v).
222. Bale claimed not to know the work, sig. G3(v). In addition he referred to the condemnation of the Postils of Antonius Corvinus (1501-1555) the reformer of Goslar, and Bartholomeus Westemher's Conciliatio Patrum & Conciliarum & decretum cum sacra scriptura. Sig. G8(v)-H1.
223. Sig. F7.
224. Sig. G1(v).
225. Sig. G5.
226. Sig. G6(v).
227. Sig. H3(v).
228. Sig. H4(v).
229. Sig. K5(v)-K8(v).
230. Sig. L2f.
231. Sig. B1(v).
233. Ibid. p. 69.
235. A supplication of the poore Commons, sig. b3(v).
238. Sig. C6.
240. The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romysh foxe, sig. G1(v).
242. The Complaynt, pp. 31, 48; The Lamentacyon, p. 87.
244. Ibid. sig. D4.
248. The Lamentacyon, p. 92.
250. A supplication of the poore Commons, sig. A2-A3.
253. The Complaynt, pp. 5-6.
256. Appendix C no. 107. STC 1280. H & L C133. The work consisted of three parts and some doubt exists as to their authorship. Part 1, however, appears in Bale's list of his own works in Script. Ill., i, 704 as Contra iurandi consuetudinem. Parts 2 and 3, a series of graces and A shorte instructi6 to the worlde, are ascribed to Coverdale by Bale in Ill. Script., f.241 as Actiones gratiarù ad mensam dicesad, and Ad omné statum rhithmos. C.f. Mozley, Coverdale, op. cit. p. 330.
257. Sig. A2-A5(v).
258. Sig. A3-A3(v).
259. Sig. A4(v).
In the preface Bale listed a number of godly acts including preaching against superstition, writing against purgatory and pardons, inveighing against pilgrimages, and breaking down monasteries and shrines, idols and their altars. Even in these days of persecution some men still speak in order to destroy popish decrees, to abolish vain ceremonies, to restore necessary rites, and to bring all things to Christ's first institution. Sig. A2.

Bale compared Henry to Josias, sig. A5.

Sig. D7-E3(v). The 'advice' offered in the instruction was much more restrained than that usually proffered by Bale. See for example the verse directed to priests. "Flatre not at al, but preach gods word Rebuke every euyll condition Thynke on your dewty to god the lord And forget not his commissyon. Hyde not the trueth for promocion Be true apostles in worde and harte And playe not secretly Judas parte".

Appendix C no. 108. STC 1303. Printed in Antwerp.

Sig. A2(v). Bale referred to the author of the jest as Ponce Pantolabus. Sig. M2, M6.

In the opening of the work Bale attempted to write in verse form in order to show what his opponent ought to have said. Bale's doggerel well illustrates C.S. Lewis's category of drab age verse. "The false generacion. Of the popishe nacion. Begonne by the deuyll. The grounder of euyll. Of enuy and hate' The deuyll first begate / The subtyle serpët / Or wormý pestilent / The serpent by Cayne / gote the kynkered vayne / Of bretherne vntrewe / That gods'seruantes slewe". Sig. B2(v).

C.f. sig. MI, "As for his rymes what they are / we nede not to describe them. For they euer ye where declare the insipient head and the Idell brayne of their fantasticall author". C.f. also sig B6. "chaunter of babylon with his mangye magled meters", and sig. F6(v) "Riallye styll russleth this rutter in his ragged rymes of rustycall rudenesse".

Sig. B5(v).

Sig. B4(v), H4.

Sig. B5, E6.

Sig. B8(v)-C3.

Sig. D7(v), D6.

Sig. H6.
273. Sig. C8, citing the example of Luther's works against the Jews, his commentaries, and De servo arbitrio, and comparing them to papal decretales and the works of Eck and Winchester.

274. Sig. D7(v)-E8.

275. Sig. B8-C5.

276. Sig. F5, F1(v).

277. Sig. D1.

278. Sig. B4(v).


280. Appendix C no. 109. STC 15180. There is some doubt over the date of the work. The British Museum attributes the work to Marburg in 1545? whilst STC dates it 1548? printed in Wesel by D. van der Straeten. Cf. Davies, op. cit. no. 7.

281. Lambert was educated at Cambridge and was admitted as a fellow of Queen's College in 1521. He was apparently converted to Protestantism by Bilney and Arthur. DNB XXII, pp.10-11, Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, i, 67, where Lambert is called by his real name Nichols (Nicholson).

282. Lambert's arrest was the result of his arguing against a sermon preached by Dr. Taylor of St. Peter's London. The fullest account of his life and trial is in Foxe, A & M V, pp. 181-250. Lambert's treatise is reprinted on pp. 236-50.

283. Sig. A3(v). Norwich was Lambert's birthplace.

284. In the preface Bale described priests and lawyers as "the naturall mynsters of tyranny, and in that peruerse office, the fearce promoters of Antichrist, and cruell slaues of the deuyll". Sig. A 3.

285. Sig. D6(v).

286. "How coulde christ corporally depart out of thys worlde, and leaue the earthe, if he in the kyndes of breade and wyne be not only corporally conteyned and receyued, but also there reserved, kepte, and enclosed". Sig. C5(v).

287. Sig. D3(v).
288. At the end of the preface Bale described Lambert's treatise as "a reckenynge or accounte of hys fayth concernynge the chefe artycle whereof he was accused". In the margin he added the note "martyr". Sig. A5.

289. Appendix C no. 110. STC. 14717. Printed in Wesel by D. van der Straten. According to the title-page, the work was based on a collection made by Justas Jonas, Michael Celius, and Joannes Aurifaber. C.f. Davies, op. cit. no. 8.

290. Sig. B4(v)-C5(v), C6-D7, D7-D8(v).

291. Sig. B1. In addition Luther was singled out for his prayers on behalf of his enemies. Sig. A6.


293. Sig. C4.

294. Sig. D7.


296. Sig. A3(v).


298. Sig. A3(v). Bale's other main source of information about Oldcastle was the Church's official account of his examination. Bale had a copy of this in the fifteenth-century Carmelite collection on Lollardy known as Fasciculi Zizaniorum which he had taken with him from his old Carmelite house in Norwich into exile. Fairfield, op. cit., pp. 124-25, and n. 7 and 8.

299. Sig. A3.


301. Sig. A7(v).

303. Sig. F8(v).
305. Sig. G8.
307. Appendix C nos. 112-113. Davies, op. cit. nos. 9-10. Both volumes claim to have been brought out in Marburg in the land of Hessen. The colophons however are false, both having been printed in Wesel. C.f. Fairfield, p. 131, n. 22.
308. Ibid. p. 131.
309. Sig. A7.
310. Sig. E4(v).
311. Bale claimed that only ten years previously Standish compared Christ's blood to that of a swine in one of his sermons. For that deed "he is now becomen a dawe, a doctor I shuldsaye". Sig. D6(v).
312. Sig. A8, C3(v), E1(v).
313. C.f. the evidence adduced by Fairfield, p. 133 and n. 28.
314. Sig. +4(v).
315. Sig. +4(v).
316. Sig. +5.
317. Sig. +8(v). In 1546 Shaxton was summoned to London to answer a charge of maintaining false doctrine on the sacrament. He was arraigned for heresy alongside Askewe and was condemned to death. Shaxton and his fellow prisoner Nicholas White, however, repudiated their heresy following discussions with Bishops Bonner and Heath and chaplains Dr. Robinson and Dr. Redman. On the 9th July Shaxton signed a recantation of thirteen articles, whereupon he was sent to Askewe's cell to persuade her to do likewise. His failure was sadly confirmed when he was forced to preach at her burning. DNB LI, 452-54.
318. Sig. A5-A8(v).
319. Sig. A8.
631.

320. According to Bale martyrs ever since the days of Wyclif "haue that bawdye bloudye Synagoge of Satha dyffamed, blasphemed, condempned. execrated & cursed to hell as most detestable heretyques and dogges". The lattre examinacyon, sig. A4(v).

321. Ibid. Sig. A4(v).


323. In the preface to the lattre examinacyon Bale claimed that the comparison was especially fruitful. Sig. A2(v).

324. The first examinacion, sig. +7(v)f., citing Eusebius, Eccls. Hist., V, cap. 1, 2, 3.

325. The first examinacyon, sig. +3(v)-+4.

326. Appendix C no. 114. STC 1270.


329. For a comparison of the use of the chronicles by Bale and Tyndale see Pineas, "William Tyndale's Influence", pp. 93-96.


Pineas, "William Tyndale's Influence", p. 86.

332. Pt. 1, sig. C7(v). Bale however was not always so precise about the dating of Romish Christianity in England. Before identifying Augustine as the progenitor of Romanism in England Bale had pointed out that monkery was first established in Britain by Pelagius (in Wales) and by Patrick (in Ireland). Pt. 1, sig. B7f. As Pineas points out, Bale's inconsistency reveals him to be more interested in scoring polemical points than presenting a wholly coherent argument, Ibid. p., 86, n. 12.


334. Pt. 1, sig. D6. The list includes "candelstykkes, vestymentes, surplices, alter clothes, syngyng bookees, (and) relyckes".
Pt. 1, sig. E2(v). Here Bale was guilty of falsifying his evidence in order to make his point more effective. Theodore had been consecrated in A.D. 668; Bale simply altered the date in order to make it fit with the number of the Beast of Revelation 13. Moreover, Bale was clearly aware of what he was doing. Bede, whom he cited in support of his dating, had in fact given the date of Theodore's consecration as A.D. 668. C.f. Fairfield, p. 95, n. 46, and Pineas, "John Bale's Nondramatic Works", p. 225.

Bale was aware of the length of the work pointing out that it may be marvelled that the first part covering the millenium was 'short whilst the second covering only a few years was so long. Pt 2, sig. P3. He defended his verbosity on historical grounds by arguing that Satan was effectively tied up for a long time not from doing mischief but from doing the greatest mischief of all. No doubt if Bale had completed his project, parts 3 and 4 would have been of even greater length.


Sig. B8(v)-C1(v).

Sig. C6(v).

C.f Sig. B8(v).

C.f. pt. 1, sig. *4 where Bale argued that the bishops were the greatest traitors because of their taking over the power of investiture of prelates from princes, and because of their taking from the Church's ministers their wives.


See Pineas, "William Tyndale's Influence", p. 90 for examples.

Pt. 2, sig. A5.


Printed by A. Scoloker & W. Seres, STC 1278.


STC 1271, 1271.5, 1274.


351. C.f. D.B. Knox, The Doctrine of Faith, p. 195, where Bale's taste is seen as being more medieval than modern.

352. Sig. A2.

353. Sig. A2.

354. Sig. *3(v).


357. Ibid. sig. F4(v).


360. Ibid. sig. F4.


362. Sig. F5.

363. Ibid. sig. F5.

364. Ibid. sig. F5-F5(v).

365. Sig. K8(v).

366. Sig. M6(v).

367. Sig. A2(v)-A3. In the first examinacyon of Anne Askewe Peryn's book of sermons on the Mass was savagely ridiculed as was the plan of Gardiner and Sampson to establish a Catholic preaching clergy. Sig. F3-F3(v).

368. Sig. M2(v).

369. Ibid. sig. E4(v).

371. The best account of the history of the doctrine of the two churches in English Protestant theology is in ibid. pp. 54-90.

372. The Image of both the churches, sig. A4.


374. Ibid. p. 62.


376. According to Paul Christianson, apocalyptic thought has three main characteristics: (i) a polarised view of the universe (ii) a catastrophic explanation of events (iii) a firm concern with prophecy and its fulfilment. Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the eve of the civil war (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1978) p. 1.


378. Mention should be made of John Rogers, translator of the Matthew Bible, who in the 1540s was apparently working on a translation of Melanchthon's Commentary on Daniel. No copy of the work has survived. See J.F. Mozley, Coverdale and His Bibles, p. 131, 346.

379. Appendix C no. 115. STC 18877. Although the work was completed by 1545 (sig. H2(v)) it was not printed until 1548 following Joye's return to England.

380. Osiander's *Conjecturae de ultimis temporibus ac de fine mundi* was brought out in Nuremberg in 1544 and was translated into German by Osiander in the following year. Vermutung von den letzten Zeiten und dem Ende der Welt aus der heiligen schrift gezogen. C.f. Seebass, Bibliographia Osiandrica, pp. 138-40, Butterworth and Chester, pp. 251-52.


For Joye's importance as a futurologist c.f Bryan Ball, A Great Expectation Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought vol. XII, Leiden, 1975) pp. 18-30, and Bauckham, ch. 9.

The prophecy in question was the saying of the "Tanna debe Eliyyahu" which was cited in the Talmud. In the sixteenth century this was cited as the saying of the house of school of Elijah, or even of Elijah himself. c.f. C.A. Patrides, "Renaissance Estimates of the Year of Creation", Huntington Library Quarterly 26 (1963) pp. 315-22, Bauckham, p. 106, Ball, p. 19.

The coniectures, sig. A8-A8(v).


Ibid. p. 19.

Op. cit. p. 162. Concern for calculating the end of the world lapsed after Joye's work. In the 1570s and 80s however it was revived; the dates 1583, 1588 and 1593 receiving particular attention from exegetes and theologians. At various times John Foxe, for example, calculated from Old Testament prophecy that the end might come in 1564, 1570, 1586 and 1594. Others, relying on astrological prediction and non-canonical prophecy underlined the significance of the date 1588. Bauckham, ch. 9, Patrides.

Sig. Bl(v)-B3(v).

Melanchthon, In Danielem prophetam commentarius, 1529 (CR XIII, pp. 823-980) Oecolampadius, Commentariorum in Danielem libri duo, abstrusiore tum Hebraeorum tum Graecorum scriptorum doctrina referti, Pelican, Commentaria Bibliorum, id est XXIII. Canonicorum ueteris testamenti librorum (Tomus Tertius), Draconites, Commentarium in Danielum ex hebraeo versum, 1544).

In the prefatory material Joye included Melanchthon's dedicatory epistle to Maurice, Duke of Saxony (sig. A2-A5(v), and also liberally adapted his argument or matter contained in Daniel (sig. A5(v)-Bl(v)).

According to Rainer Pineas, more than 75% of Joye's identifications in Daniel were negative, that is to say that a significant preponderance were in favour of attacking the opposition rather than defending Protestantism. Moreover, Joye's addition of polemical coloration to the exposition is his only real contribution; the rest of his commentary was simply taken over from Melanchthon and the other exegetes. The conclusion that Joye's chief interest in Daniel consisted of its controversial possibilities is irrefutable. Pineas, "George Joye's Exposition of Daniel", Renaissance Quarterly XXVIII, pt. 3 (1975) pp. 332-42.
395. Sig. A6(v)-Bl.
396. Sig. Dd2.
397. Sig. Ee2(v).
398. Sig. Cc6.
399. Sig. Cc6.
401. Sig. P.6.
402. The phrase belongs to Pineas, "George Joye's Exposition", p. 337. Pineas in fact examines this material under four headings: (i) charges of past Catholic ecclesiastical and political subversion (ii) allegations of contemporary Catholic subversion in England (iii) warnings to Henry VIII to favour the reformers (iv) passages intended as political justification of the reformers' attitudes and actions.
403. C.f. sig. N.8.
404. Sig. P6-P6(v).
405. Sig. E1.
406. Sig. H2(v).
407. Sig. D8.
408. Sig. E8(v).
409. Sig. S1(v).
410. Sig. D7(v).
411. Sig. N2.
412. Sig. E5-E7(v).
413. Also the foolish answers of papists, sig. Cc8.
414. Sig. Gg5(v)-Gg6.
415. Sig. Gg7(v).
417. Appendix C no. 118 STC 1297.
Bauckham contends that it was largely completed by 1542 on the grounds that it was referred to in *The Manne of synne*, sig. A8, and E8, where Bale expresses the hope that his readers will soon have it before them. Op. cit. p. 22, n. 6, Fairfield, p. 75.

All three parts were condemned by Bonner in September 1546. A&M V, 567-68, Bauckham, p. 22, Fairfield, p. 68.

STC 1297, printed by R. Jugge 1548. All references are to this edition.


It included what Bale called the 'pilgrimage without grace' sig. M2.

Lambert, by contrast, foresaw at the end of the sixth age a period of forty-two months in which the dragon would make war on the saints and overcome them. Following this would come the exile of Satan and the millenium on earth, the seventh age. For Bale, the millenium was not an outward or visible golden age but was a period when the elect were free from the full power of Satan. Up till the days of Sylvester II Satan had no real influence over the consciences of the faithful. Fairfield, pp. 78-81.
431. Sig. Gg3(v).

432. Bale's marginal notes refer to about 115 different authors. With 42 references Lambert comes top of the list followed by Sebastian Mayer (26 references) the author of the second Protestant commentary on the Apocalypse. Many of Bale's references are to Protestant authors such as Luther and Brunfels who were not necessarily responsible for furnishing particular exegetical passages. In addition he made a good deal of use of medieval apocalyptic commentaries including Joachim of Fiore. C.f. Bauckham, pp. 22-26. Fairfield, pp. 72-75, Firth, p. 52.

433. Sig. A.6

434. "The abominable hipocresye, Idolatry, pride, and fylthynes of those terrible termagauntes of antychristes holy howsholde, these, ii. horned whoremongers. those coniures of Egipt, and lecherous locustes leapinge out of the smoke of the pytt bottellesse, whiche daylye decyeth the ignoraunt multytude wyth their sorceryes & charmes, must be shewed to the worlde to their vtter shame and confusion". Sig. B2.

435. Sig. B7(v).

436. Sig. a2.

437. Sig. g6(v).

438. Sig. k6, g7, h1, referring to Standish's foolish book attacking Barnes, r2, t1(v), Bb5, L15(v).

439. Sig. r4, g3, Oo6.


441. "The boystrous tyrant of sodom wyth the great Namroth Winchester, and the execrable cytezes of Gomorra w their shorne shemered captaines, wyll sturre abought them. Moche payne haue they of longe tyme taken, & manye haue they cruellye burned, as was seane of late years in Couentre, Lond5, and in other places more, to obscure the knowledge therof". Sig. B1(v). C.f. sig. h5, i7, k6, p6(v), r2(v).

442. C.f. the way Bale interprets Revelation 13:11-14, the emergence of the two-horned beast, to refer to the clergy's condemnation of Bible reading in England, sig. i5.

443. Sig. c2.

444. Sig. s7(v)-s8.
"For no doubt of it, this fierce temptation and cruel handling of the boystuous antichristes, Mahomete standing in the waye of sinners, and the Romish pope sittynge in the most pestilent seate of errours, will come vpon al the world by execrable sectes of false prophete3lyars, hipocrites, blasphemers, and teachers of deuylyshe doctrine, to tempte and allure them which dwell here vpon earth, sumtyme by flattering promoci35s sumtyme by thret- enynges & penalttees to renounce that veritie, and denye that worde, to the vtter dampnacion of their soules".

Sig. F7(v).


Christianson, p. 19.

Sig. p.6.

Sig. Sl.

Sig. Sl.

Sig. Sl.


Sig. A2.


Sig. A7-A7(v).

Ibid. sig. A7(v).

Rowley, op. cit. p. 49.


A supplicacion, sig. B5.

Appendix, C no. 119; STC 4797.3; formerly 15385. The work included a declaration of the Pater Noster, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments. There is no mention of the translator Robert Legate in any contemporary records.

Sig. G2.

Appendix C no. 120. STC 14828. Joye's authorship was not mentioned although the initials G.J. appear on the title-page.
Joye expressed the fear that Christ would drown these "polytyke greedy Gergesens" just as he had drowned the swine in Matthew chapter 8.

Joye attempted to illustrate the persecution by pointing to the burning of five hundred testaments at Paul's Cross, and the bishops' attempts to force Barnes, Bilney and Arthur to bear faggots. In addition he cited the more recent example of his own persecution at the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop West of Ely, John Ashwell, and Sir William Gascoine.

Towards the end of the work Joye raised the charge of papist subversion by pointing out that such stalwart defenders of popishness as Wolsey, Stokesley, West of Ely, Fox of Hereford, Doctor London, More and Fisher have all been condemned for political crimes.

Appendix C no. 121. STC 25590. Tyndale's Exposition, which it was claimed was "imprynted at Norenburgh" in 1546, was reprinted from STC 24167.


Appendix C no. 123. STC 1462.9 formerly 20582 & 21428. H & L *T94. The colophon which claims the work to have been printed in Wesel is probably false.

According to the preface the book would show the development of episcopal power, the presumptuousness and treachery of the bishops, together with the exploitation of the Mass.
482. Sig. A5(v).
483. Sig. a2.
484. Ibid. sig. a3.
485. The seconde course, sig. B5.
486. For an excellent discussion of Luther's search for paradigms see Mark U. Edwards Jnr., Luther and the False Brethren (Stanford, California, 1975) pp. 112-126.
487. Sig. F2(v).
491. Ibid. sig. q7(v)-q8.
492. C.f. sig. Gg5(v)-Gg6.
495. The huntyng of the Romyshe foxe, sig. F7(v).
496. Sig. +5(v).
CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION
In concluding this examination of Protestant polemics it is necessary to return to the three areas of investigation which were outlined in the introduction and to attempt to summarise some of the main points that have been made.

Within a year of Henry VIII's death Edward VI's government had repealed all of Henry's measures to control the printing of religious books. In December 1547 Parliament passed the Act for the repeal of certain statutes concerning treasons, felonies, etc. The Henrician prohibitions on the printing, selling, and reading of certain English books, together with the Act of Six Articles, were simply swept away. In a single move the press in England was liberated from all of Henry's censorship and licensing regulations.

The immediate effect of the legislation was a sudden outburst of Protestant literature. Indeed, according to one commentator, at no time between 1476 and 1640 did the proportion of religious publications approach that of the Protestant press under Seymour. Roughly 11% of all books printed during the protectorate argued for the adoption of a Protestant communion service in the vernacular. Roughly 58% of all religious books propounded controversial Protestant doctrines. In short, approximately three-eighths of all editions printed under Seymour could not have been published legally during the latter part of Henry's reign. The transformation in the fortunes of Protestant writers was dramatic. In 1546 Bonner prohibited a large number of books including works by Bale, Becon, Coverdale, Joye, and Tyndale. Within a few years many of these very books were reissued by London printers. Under Seymour the volume of the press doubled that before Henry's
death. In a mere three years more English Protestant books were published than during the previous twenty.

Although the emergence of an English Protestant press is to be located in the period of Somerset's protectorate, that is not to deny the importance of the books brought out during Henry's reign. Between 1525 and 1535 around forty separate editions of Protestant books were brought out overseas and imported into England. From the time when Protestant books began to be printed in England until the re-emergence of official hostility in 1539-40 over sixty first editions by Protestant authors were published in addition to a large number of biblical translations and devotional works. Between 1540 and 1547 well over fifty first editions of controversial Protestant books were printed both in England and on the continent. Taken as a whole Protestant books account for a significant percentage of the total number of religious books that were written in English. English Protestant polemics were by no means numerically insignificantly during Henry's reign.

Like the first generation exiles, Protestant writers from 1534 onwards were indebted to the work of a large number of foreign reformers. Between 1534 and 1540 translations of continental reforming treatises together with reprints of earlier English books made up the main bulk of Protestant literature. An essentially foreign theology was brought home to unlearned readers by a process of modification and anglicization. Ideas which had emerged on the continent were selected, appropriated, and re-vamped for English use. Reformers in England were purveyors rather than creators of Protestant thought. They operated with no predetermined system and ex-
pressed no great sympathies for any particular type of Protestant literature. Books from unlikely sources with unusual motifs, such as Marcourt's Rabelaisian *Livre des Marchans*, sat side by side with more substantial Swiss and Lutheran statements of the faith. During the Henrician reformation English Protestants displayed an unusual eclecticism. Even in its early days English Protestant theology was not simply a restatement of any single continental ideology.

Though the authors and translators of evangelical books were not creators of Protestant systems, the theological ferment of ideas and influences which constitute the literature of the English reformation was not lacking in originality. Ideas which had emerged at different times and in vastly different environments were fused by individual authors into distinctive patterns of reformation. Indeed, it is largely inappropriate to speak of a theology of the English reformers without taking into account the different ideas and influences which acted upon individual writers and also the different ways in which these authors formulated their arguments. In short, we should not presume an overall agreement among English reformers even over what have been seen as central issues of the faith.

Between 1534 and 1547 Luther's work, for example, continued to exert considerable appeal in spite of the fact that the prohibitions against Luther's writings were never lifted. More of Luther's work was brought out in English either in the form of complete or partial translations of his books or in passages of devotional material than that of any other continental reformer. Having said that, English Protestants do not appear to have regarded Luther's theology as preferential
to any other form of Protestantism. Indeed, it does a great injustice to the complexities of the theologies of the English Protestants to attempt to compartmentalise the influences that acted upon them. By and large Protestants in England made no distinctions between Lutheran and Swiss theology. Since the question of the eucharist was largely ignored, there was no real need to do so. Eucharistic differences apart, Swiss theology was not necessarily inimical to Lutheranism. For English writers, differences within the Protestant camp needed to be underplayed. In the works of Thomas More attempts had been made to expose the divisiveness of Protestant thought. In the works of the early exiles damaging arguments over the eucharist and the state of the soul after death had appeared in print. Between 1534 and 1547, however, doctrinal differences were kept hidden from view. Bale, for example, did not expose the hostility of Barnes and Cranmer to the eucharistic views of John Lambert. Indeed, for Bale, Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and all English reformers including Lambert, Barnes, and Cranmer, were part of the same historical movement. The precise points of variance in their theologies were not important given the fact that they were united in their proclamation of the Word and in their opposition to the Roman Antichrist.

The fact that the reformers largely ignored theological differences does not mean that there were no profound differences within the Protestant camp. Overall agreements among the theology of the theology of the English reformers cannot be easily identified. For that reason, D.B. Knox, in assuming that English reformers were primarily concerned with proclaiming
a single concept namely that of justification by faith, is guilty of oversimplification. Justification by faith meant different things for different authors and, in the case of Thomas Becon, different things at different times. For some, even this central doctrine received little emphasis. To affirm that a new theological insight concerning the nature of salvation lay behind the works of the English reformers is not to say that that insight was the principal topic of their writing. A good many of the books brought out between 1534 and 1540 were not at all concerned with theological ideas. Many of the attacks on the power and superstition of the Roman Church had little to say about the role of faith in the life of the individual.

If Knox is guilty of oversimplification in seeing English writing as concerned with a single religious idea, an idea which was essentially that of Luther, what then are we to make of those writers who wish to emphasise the distinctiveness of English Protestant theology from that of Wittenberg? How, in short, are we to assess the argument that English Protestantism marked a radical departure from an initial Lutheranism to Puritanism, a covenant theology with a particular emphasis on the Christian’s capacity to fulfil the law?

From our study of the works of Protestant writers from 1534 to 1547 we can concur with only some of the points raised in the studies of Trinterud and Clebsch. Throughout the period of the Henrician reformation and reaction English writers and translators emphasised a singularly moralistic interpretation of justification. Almost no author wrote of justification by faith without drawing considerable attention to the role of
good works. For official reformers such as Latimer, it was necessary that the people be taught that neighbourly charity and works of mercy were more valuable for their religious life than were such voluntary works as going on pilgrimages and making donations to churches. Those who labour "the most part of their good in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the necessary works undone...they and all their voluntary works are likely to go to everlasting damnation". For other government writers such as Morison and Taverner, charitable works of mercy were stressed along with a hostility to traditional, external, voluntary works so that the reformation could restore thing to their proper order. For reformers such as Coverdale, good works were a necessary demonstration of the individual's gift of faith. God moves the heart of the individual through His love to fulfil the law. It is in the scriptures that the Christian is taught how to discern true duties from those which are to be ignored or eschewed. Through the restoration of Scripture to its central role in the life of the individual a new morality and piety was to emerge.

This ethical stress forms a unifying thread running through almost all of the reformers' theological works of the 1530s and 1540s. As such, both the reformers of Cromwell's administration and those who were forced to live abroad following the Six Acts were the direct successors of the moralist exiles of 1525-35. That is not to say, however, that English Protestants were necessarily indebted to the thought of exiles such as Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, nor that they used the same sources as their forerunners. Indeed, it is with the
questions of influences and sources that Clebsch's analysis falls down. In the first place, his emphasis on the different interpretations of justification in the works of continental reformers led him to see disjunction where none really existed. Certainly, Clebsch at least highlighted the different ways that the continental reformers applied the doctrine of justification, the variants in language which point to differences in their understanding of the nature of salvation. His point that Swiss theologians such as Bucer and Zwingli introduced strongly moralist elements into their discussion of justification is an important though not original insight and a welcome corrective of historians like Knox who view justification as an essentially static doctrine. In the works of humanist reformers attempts to articulate the nature of Christian obedience as a consequence of justification signified a departure from, if not a repudiation of Luther's theology. So much can be granted Clebsch's analysis.

Difficulties arise, however, when Clebsch goes on to claim that these Rhineland and Swiss theologians exerted decisive influence upon the development of English Protestant theology, and in particular on the major theological themes of law, covenant, works, and rewards. Evidence is simply lacking to demonstrate that English reformers had read the books of Rhineland theologians let alone that they appropriated key theological arguments from these sources. Moreover, according to Clebsch, English Protestant theology is seen as having been built upon the religious ideas of Tyndale and his fellow exiles. The Puritan tradition within England was the creation of Tyndale. A theological religious and moral system that
unequivocally regarded scripture as God's law for everyman, binding everyman and God together in a contract that enjoined and rewarded strict morality, was seen as Tyndale's main legacy. The moralistic stress of later English Protestants was the result of the initial arguments of Tyndale and his fellow exiles.

From the evidence of the works of the 1530s and 40s, however, Clebsch's views are open to question. In the first place, Tyndale's notion of covenant, which Clebsch sees as signifying Tyndale's final departure from Luther, received hardly any emphasis whatsoever. In the years immediately following Tyndale's death many writers retained the notion that England as a nation had fallen from God's favour and, as a result, that she deserved the plagues which God had or would inflict upon her. This notion of collective punishment, however, was seldom expounded in terms of a contractual arrangement between the realm and God. Moreover, most writers did not see the relationship between the individual and God in terms of covenant. Few writers attempted to justify good works on the grounds that God has bound Himself to reward them.

The breaking of God's commandments was not generally seen, even in the works of alleged puritans such as Bale and Turner, in terms of the severance of man's contractual agreement with God.

Secondly, writers such as Morison, Taverner, and Coverdale, who placed great stress on the ethical concept of justification, cannot be shown to have derived their arguments either from Tyndale or for that matter from Rhineland theologians. The fact that they used different sources to arrive at a similar
position to Tyndale and the early exiles counts against Clebsch's emphasis on the influences of Rhineland theology. Both Morison and Coverdale, for example, expounded a moralistic notion of justification in their translations of Luther. Indeed, Luther's understanding of the role of good works and the law for the Christian who is simul iustus et peccator appears to have been of considerable influence. For both Luther and Melanchthon, as a result of his justification by faith, the Christian is freed from doing vocational works by which he attempts to gain divine approval. Accordingly, the Christian, once emancipated from the curse of the law, can do good works towards his neighbour out of genuine altruistic freedom, works of grace rather than works of law. These works of grace, however, were not seen by either Luther or Melanchthon as arbitrary. Indeed, even for the justified the Ten Commandments and the apostolic imperatives retained an important function in so far as they delineated the various 'stations' in the context of which Christians are to work out their love for one another. In their attitude to works of grace the Wittenberg reformers presented a coherent though not necessarily a uniform position. Luther for example, did not refer to the Ten Commandments and the apostolic directives as laws but as commands, precepts, exhortations, and remedies, a linguistic touch that served to demonstrate that these directives were not legally binding. For Melanchthon, on the other hand, directives were covered by the phrase "the third function of the law".

Good works formed an integral part of the Lutheran understanding of justification. Furthermore, as translations of
Luther such as *The treatise of good works* confirm, Luther's work was valued in England because of its ethical content. Other reformers in England, however, seem to have used different sources. Richard Taverner, for example, provided his most extensive discussion of good works in his translation of Calvin's *Catechism*. In so far as he gave his own name to the translation Taverner accepted Calvin's views on justification and the role of good works as his own. From the evidence available the direct influences which acted upon Taverner were the authors whose books he himself translated, Melanchthon, Calvin, Capito, Sarcerius, and Erasmus. Tyndale and the Rhineland theologians do not appear to have exerted any substantial influence.

From the evidence of the books of official and unofficial reformers of the 1530s and 1540s generalizations concerning the theological influences upon the moralistic stress of English Protestant theology are of little value. Different writers used different sources and employed different terms. The terms good works, law, duties, necessary works, commandments, and directives are not necessarily synonymous. The way that each writer employed them may point to different influences, values, and emphases. For many of the reformers morality did not involve any notion of legalism. For that reason it is by no means helpful to read puritanism in reverse from the time of later developments to Tyndale and early English Protestant theology. Only in the 1540s in the exilic works of Bale, Turner, and Joye was scripture seen as governing every aspect of the individual's life, from the ceremonies of his corporate worship to his moral relations with his fellow men. For the reformers of the 1530s the Church was not seen as
being organised solely by scriptural precept, nor for that matter, was the Bible seen as a set of laws which governed every aspect of the individual's life. The development of a more legalistic interpretation of scripture was not the ideological consequence of the thought of Tyndale and his fellow exiles, but was the result of an attempt to come to terms with the imposition of unnecessary Roman practices as the rules of a partially reformed Church of England.

Although the main conclusion that has been reached concerning the theology of the Henrician reformers serves to emphasise the individuality of each author and the general absence of any single overriding influence it should not be overlooked that many reformers had begun their reforming careers within the humanist camp. Moreover, from examination of how reformers such as Marshall, Coverdale, and Taverner employed both Erasmian and evangelical arguments and concepts, it is clear that the work of Erasmus remained an important ideological influence upon English Protestant theology. Many reformers had a prior commitment to biblical humanism. Erasmus's ideas on Christian morality formed a bedrock upon which continental notions of faith and works were imposed. In England Erasmianism was not seen as inimical to Lutheranism, nor to Protestantism as a whole. In the 1530s in the works of both official and unofficial reformers Erasmian humanism underwent a process of Protestantization. The close association of many reformers with Erasmus's works points to a more fruitful area in which to investigate the moralist thrust of their writing.

In terms of faith and works English writers proclaimed no single coherent doctrine of salvation. In terms of politics
and church governance, however, Protestants presented a singularly consistent if not particularly well thought out doctrine. The reasons were essentially practical rather than theoretical. Ever since England's initial repudiation of Lutheran works in the early 1520s the printed dissemination of Protestant ideas in England was largely determined by political factors. The government created the conditions in which Protestant writers, translators and printers operated. The writer's self-understanding was in many ways the result of how he stood in relation to official opinion. Protestant works in England were initially tolerated and encouraged for their political rather than for their doctrinal utility; for the way in which they attacked the government's main enemy the papacy. Government policy had serious effects on how the evangelical message was propagated. To argue against Henry's policies was to commit political suicide. Nonetheless, most writers appear to have sincerely held that their support of Henry's policies was in keeping with their conscience. Whether or not the doctrine of royal supremacy was the result of Protestant teaching, the reformers were generally willing to see Henry's claim to control the Church as in keeping with the Protestant concept of the godly magistrate. Few, if any, held that the primacy of the Crown in matters of religion was incompatible with the primacy of the Bible over all religion. The coercive authority of the King was God-given. The prince was thus divinely positioned to carry out a godly reformation. Doubts concerning Henry's supremacy were voiced by only a few writers. Francis Bigod alone objected on the doctrinal grounds that the head of the Church should be a spiritual figure, and that in a work which
was not brought out in print. Towards the end of Henry's reign some writers came to criticise Henry's supremacy on the grounds that the institutional organization of the church was largely irrelevant to the cosmic battle that was about to take place. Few writers went so far as St. German or Starkey in giving Henry the right to interpret doubtful passages of scripture. As long as the King did not actually practice this right, however, there was no reason to determine the precise limits of obedience to secular authority. Unlike later writers such as Knox and Ponet, the Protestants of Henry's reign saw the King's authority as absolute. Disobedience could not be a duty but was simply to go against the law of God.

Acceptance of Henry's right to carry out religious reforms was clearly influenced by Cromwell's positive direction of government policy. Protestant polemicists under Cromwell had little doubt that the reforms being carried out were genuine. Between 1534 and 1540 the targets of Protestant polemic were essentially the same as those of the government. Aspects of Protestant theology which are now seen as essential, such as a hostility to the Mass and to the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, found little emphasis in the literature of the period. What did emerge was a carefully constructed image of the positive face of Protestantism, an image that was designed to emphasise its compatibility with Henry's policy. Although some writers did offer more radical ideas of reform than those being carried out by the government, no writer openly sought to challenge official policy. Significantly, no Protestant writer engaged in a polemic against any known defender of traditional belief. The personal hostility shown in the early exiles' debates with More was not a feature of the literature of the Henrician
reformation.

Selectivity was in a sense the first stage of a policy of censorship. Writings such as those of Luther on the eucharist were not chosen for translation, nor for that matter, were the works of exile's such as Frith. Similarly, books which advanced political ideas which were incompatible with the official view of affairs were either rewritten or altered in translation. Barnes's 1534 Supplication provides the clearest illustration of the former category, whilst Luther's True and False Bishops demonstrates how a work which presented an uninstitutional pattern of reform was modified in order to make it endorse a hierarchical programme of ecclesiastical change, a programme which was under the direction of temporal rulers.

Throughout the 1530's and 1540's Protestant writers furnished no strikingly new ideas on how the Church should be organised but were content largely to argue for the reform of existing structures. Although the conservative bishops were continually under attack Protestants did not oppose the institution of the episcopacy. Even writers like Bigod and Marshall, who placed an anti-Erastian emphasis on the preaching office of godly men, did not seek to replace existing structures with a more flexible, charismatic form of ministry. In contrast to the work of early exiles some attempts were made to explain the rules or guidelines by which bishops and priests were to be chosen. Even during the reaction reformers continued to put forward a large number of positive proposals on how the church should be reformed. The shift from patronage to exile did not witness a lurch from constructive to negative criticism. Throughout the entire period from Henry's break with Rome
right up till his death reformers were concerned with fundamentally practical questions. For almost all of them the reformation was a reality which they could in some sense affect by their literary work. The claim that the Henrician reformation was simply a deformation was not voiced until well after Henry's death.

If the writers from 1534 and 1547 created no new theological ideas one should not conclude that their theology was without merit. Nor can it be said that their work was of little importance to English affairs. Indeed the most telling contribution of the Protestant writers of the period lies in the way that they maintained the practical, ethical thrust of Protestantism. In other words, their importance lies in their provision of continuity between the initial statements of Protestant faith by the exiles and the development of more radical ideas under Edward VI. Under Cromwell's administration Protestant writing formed an integral part of a total propaganda campaign which was designed to effect a radical change in the way that people behaved. Although the study of printed literature is of little value in assessing what people actually believed it does at least provide clear indications of what the propagandists wished them to believe. Reformation polemics were an attempt to persuade readers and hearers of new truths, a new learning. Their primary function was to spread and win allegiance to the evangelical message. To be effective propaganda had to appeal to a mass audience. In terms of literature few of the works that were brought out during the second half of Henry's reign can lay claim to greatness. On the contrary, most were repetitious and confused, hastily constructed and unsophisticated
in their argument. Many, however, were well crafted and not unattractive pieces of propaganda. Stylistically, many retained colloquial qualities and a sense of personal involvement which made them relevant to their readers. A good many employed simple rhetorical devices, in particular humour and dialogue, which created a sense of participation and involvement for the reader. Most employed expressions and arguments which either originated with or appealed to the common man. The use of invective, scurrility and abuse gave the works an authority which is born out of familiarity. Above all else the reformers succeeded in speaking the language of the layman. His complaints, his grievances, and his aspirations were to a large extent the same as those of the polemicists.

The aims of the polemicist are severely limited and bear, if any, only a tangential relationship to literary value or to ideological creativity. Polemic is a divisive process, the creation of two conflicting images of truth and falsehood. For the most part Protestant writers consistently fulfilled their intention of creating contrasting pictures of Catholicism and Protestantism, pictures which were henceforth stamped upon the minds of their readers. If the essence of the Protestant theology of the period consists of its eclecticism, the borrowing of arguments, expressions, and ideas from a wide variety of sources; the essence of Protestant writing lies in its concentration, the capacity of writers to focus on the central concerns of propaganda. Far earlier than a more redoubtable controversialist the polemicists of the English reformation had recognised that the purpose of their work was not simply to understand the world but was to change it.


5. King, p. 2.


10. C.f. above ch. 5.

11. In Zwingli's work, which was heavily influenced by Erasmus, justification was seen as dependent on subsequent regeneration. The justified sinner submits himself to the law willingly, in contrast to the unbeliever who resists it and rebels against it. "The law is the gospel for the man who honours God". For Zwingli, faith is the gift of electing grace and is the sign of that grace. Instead of justification Zwingli generally spoke of "making righteous". Faith was securitas rather than certitudo, experientia as well as fiducia. The Spirit, Faith, and Love were described as the sources of new works, visible fruits of faith in its communal life. Bucer also emphasised a doctrine of moral justification in which the sinner is made righteous although he retained Luther's forensic doctrine of justification. For Bucer, there were two justifications: justificatio impii (primary) and justificatio pii (secondary). Good works which accompany faith are God's doing, a consequence of the activity of the Holy Spirit. Like Zwingli, Bucer saw the law as leading to holy living by the guidance of the indwelling Holy Spirit. A.E. McGrath, "Humanist Elements in the Early Reformed Doctrine of Justification", Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 73 (1982) pp. 5-19.


15. For Calvin's views on justification c.f. McGrath, pp. 14-17.


17. For the treatises on rebellion by Knox and Ponet see Jenifer Loach, "Pamphlets and Politics", pp. 42-44.


Between 1531 and 1538 Bale wrote a total of fourteen plays for John Vere, 1st Earl of Oxford, which were intended for the use of Oxford's players. These works formed the basis for Bale's later works of which five in all have survived. Three plays, God's Promises, John the Baptist, and The Temptation of Our Lord, were written as a series.

The first play consisted of seven acts, one for each divine promise. The form of each act was essentially the same although there were minor breaks in Bale's parallelism. At the beginning of acts 1-6 an angry God makes a threat of punishment for man's wrong-doing. Each time a representative of mankind - Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, John the Baptist - pleads for forgiveness. The result is always the same - God reaffirming His promise of salvation. At the end of each act God's interlocutor sings an Antiphon, which functions as a moral lesson for the audience.

In addition to adopting a pattern of history derived from the Bible, Bale also incorporated a good deal of Biblical language, thereby in part reinterpreting a medieval formula to the requirements of the new learning. The result was a basically moderate polemic. Though God insists that he abhors the vice of idolatry above any other villainy, Bale resisted from making specific identifications between the biblical idolaters and contemporary figures. Rather, the elements of the new learning which feature in the work are fundamentally positive ones. Noah, in praising Pater coelestis, affirms that "Thy promyse in faythe is our iustyfycacyon". The whole relation between sign and promise
is expressed in Lutheran terms. The advent of John the Baptist, who is commissioned to preach only as a result of God's grace, reveals that God's endeavours to win mankind proceed from the outpouring of His love.  

If the moral of the play was not heeded, the words of Baleus prolocutor in the conclusion served to drive it home. Essentially the lesson was two-fold. On the sufficiency of Christ's salvation Bale sought to emphasise that, "A man can not here, to God do better seruyce, Than on thys to grounde, hys faythe and vnderstandynge... And not in wyll workes, nor yet in mennys deseruyng, The lyght of our faythe, make thys thynge euydent".  

In short the play attempted to demonstrate the fallibility of man's will, and the futility of the way of the flesh.  

The second play of the cycle, Johan Baptysyes preachynge, continued this dual theme. Bale prolocutor prefaced the play by stressing the end of the old (law) and the beginning of the new (grace). John preaches conversion from covetousness, pride, lust, and the traditions of men. Each character confesses his sin prior to his baptism. The common people of Jewry (Turba Vulgaris) are instructed not to offer calves or goats, but to perform charitable deeds instead. The false publican is directed to do no injury to his fellow men, whilst the soldier is told to abide by the rules and conduct of war. The entry of the Pharisees and Saducees introduces the polemical elements of the play. The Pharisees immediately proclaim that "Thys fellowe (John) preacheth newe lernynge". In such a manner Bale announces to the audience that John represents Protestant preachers, whilst the Pharisees and Saducees symbolise
the papist defenders of the old learning. According to the Baptist, the religion of the Pharisees is designed to corrupt the simple whilst the intent of the Saducees is to divide, externalise, and to corrupt. The law, though strictly adhered to, is not lived in the Spirit. Before God they are no better than Sodomites. The Pharisees, in turn, accuse John of being an "Iolye Robyne Bell", likely to cause insurrection. The Baptist smells of a heresy, for an infinite number of worldly rascals are attracted to this new learning.

The emergence and subsequent baptism of Christ confirms the truth of John's teaching. Christ claims to have come in order to fulfil the law, whilst God the Father tells the listerner not to trust either in men's traditions or in the Mosaic Law. Once more Bale prolocutor drives home the lesson. John preached only Christ. To do this he did not burden himself with the trappings of monasticism, hard clothing, long prayers, and solitude, but relied on an inward spirit of justification.

The conclusion invites the reader to do likewise.

"Geue eare unto Christ, lete mennys uayne fantasyes go, As the father bad, by hys most hygh commaundement, Here neyther Frances, Benedyct, nor Bruno, Albert nor Domynyck, for they newe rulers inuent, Beleue neyther Pope, nor prestof hys consent, Folowe Christes Gospell, and therin fructifyfe, To the prayse of God, and hys sonne Iesus glorye".

In many ways the third play, The Temptation, was directed to those who followed Bale's council to live after Christ. The message was identical to the above; those whom Christ has called should not follow the fantasies of men. Satan addresses
Christ on the difficulties of his office, seen by the author as one of preaching. Each temptation sees Christ rely on the Word as his defence. The threat is made that if he persists Satan will send him back to his father within four years. Concluding the drama Satan prophecies, "Thy vycar at Rome, I thynke wyll be my frynde". Scribes, Pharisees, false priests and bishops will be his servants, dedicated to the task of treading God's Word underfoot. As with the preaching of John the Baptist, Bale draws a close parallel between the Biblical drama of the temptation and the contemporary situation. Christ, the proto-Protestant preacher, is told "I put case ye be, God's sonne, what can that further? Preache ye ones the truth, the byshoppes wyll ye murther".

Satan is a more explicit symbol of the religious conservatives than the Pharisees and Saducees. At one point Satan is allowed to confute himself, in a manner which indicts present monastic practitioners.

"Scriptures I knowe non, for I am but a hermyte I. I may saye to yow, it is no part of our stodye. We religyouse men, luye all in contemplacyon, Scriptures to stodye, is not our occupacyon. It longeth to doctours. Howbeyt I maye saye to yow, As blynde are they as we, in the vnderstanynge now".

Since Satan acknowledges Christ's divinity his disclosure is all the more damning.

In both the preface and conclusion Bale prolocutor stressed that the moral of the play was to prepare the righteous for persecution. Just as Satan assaults Christ so will he assault his followers. Persecution is seen as the hallmark of the
true Christian. "He is vnworthye, of hym to be a member, That wyll not with hym, some persecucyon suffer". Bale's emphasis on persecution has led one scholar to argue that the play was written after the publication of the Six Acts in 1539. In the preface Bale pointed out that Satan's possible failure to assault Christ's followers will result in an attempt to cajole rulers to subdue them. The reference takes on far greater significance after 1539. At the very end of the work Bale spoke of the severity with which Christ condemns those who vow presumptuously; the religious who, "not hauynge hys gyft, to kepe their contynencye". Again the attack on married priests in the Six Acts provides a more appropriate perspective in which to see the passage.

As a whole the three Biblical plays perpetuated the Protestant view that the new learning was traditionally an integral part of the true Church. The forces of good have always preached Protestantism whilst the forces of evil have all defended views common to the church of Rome. Though Bale's appetite for controversy was subdued it was not suppressed altogether, nor is it fair to claim that it was left largely to the imagination of the spectators. To mistake the controversial significance of the Biblical episodes was not an opportunity that Bale left open to his audience.

The three Laws was possibly undertaken at an earlier date than the Biblical trilogy. Nonetheless, many of the themes of the latter were present in the play. The work operated with a trinitarian view of the Law. Though all laws are one, the laws of Nature and Moses each served for three historical ages. The plot, like the Chief Promises, concerned the
corruption of God's will, in this case the laws of Nature, Moses and Christ. Unlike the Chief Promises, however, each law is corrupted by specific vices. Nature is faced with the characters Sodomotria and Idolatria, Moses by Avaritia and Iurisconsultus (covetousness), and Christ with Pseudodoctrina and Hypocrisis. At the end Vindictia Dei destroys the Vices and restores the laws of Nature and Moses.

The core of the play focusses on the battle between Fidelitas and Infidelitas. The character of Infidelity, identified by classical allusion in the preface as the corrupter of the law, though not the devil, conjures up each set of Vices. At the end of the work Deus Pater appoints Fides Christianae as the governor of the Church. Although the Three Laws was the closest that Bale came to a pure morality play, the work was rife with historical examples. Indeed, the battle between Fidelity and Infidelity was seen to take place within a clearly defined historical perspective. As with John the Baptist the biblical characters were polarised into Protestants and Catholics. In Act 2, upon entering, Infidelitas immediately farts and swears by the Mass. Sodomatria and Idolatria speak in a lewd manner whilst making favourable references to such Romish practices as Ave Maria, holy oil, and clerical celibacy. Infidelitas swears by the blessed rod of Kent and in a list of saint cults reference is made to St. Uncombre. Monkish sects and popish priests are claimed as part of his retinue. In Act 3 the polarisation of good and evil characters, together with their identification with Protestants and Papists, is made more explicit when Bale causes Avaritia to perform a mock creed. Throughout the play the
Vices disclose their true nature. In the third act Bale points out that the true Church is not made up of "dysgysed hypocrites, Of apysh shauelynges, or papysticall sodomytes". Like the Pharisees of John the Baptist, Infidelitas addresses "ye fellawes of the newe lernynges". Were the identification not clear enough, Bale left instructions (at the end of the play) as to the costumes of the players. Idolatria should appear as an old witch, Sodomitria as a monk, Avaritia as a bishop, Covetousness as a pharisee or lawyer, False Doctrine as a popish doctor and Hypocritas as a grey friar.

The identification of dramatic persona with Catholic protagonists was thus far more explicit in this work than in the Biblical plays, a fact which leads J.W. Harris to describe the work as "the most violently controversial drama in English literature". In addition to the identification of Vices, Bale also incorporated a considerable number of biblical and historical characters into the play. To discredit the pagan world Bale gives Sodomatria the boast that he made a whole series of Greek and Roman offenders. Many of these names, such as Thamiras, Agathocles, Fuluius, Semiramis and Hortensius can hardly have been familiar to a popular audience. Neither was Bale's list of biblical characters particularly instructive, not least because of his tendency to draw upon those books of the Bible, such as the Book of Maccabees, which most closely resembled national chronicles. Nonetheless, Bale's compilations ensured that contemporary misdoers were seen as sharing the same spirit of evil as generations of offenders in the past. There is then in the Three Laws the germ of a scheme of world history in which all conflict
was viewed as part of a cosmic battle between good and evil. In his later apocalyptic works Bale was to expand this idea in full.

The charge of sexual perversion which Bale directs against the clergy is an important aspect of the polemic. Papal decretals are mixed with buggery. Pope Julius, it is alleged, went to war in order to procure two boys from the Cardinal of Nantes. During the year in which John Eck debated with Luther the papist defender sired no less than three children. In attacking the morality of the clergy Bale makes use of popular anticlerical elements. Innuendo is nowhere acknowledged as less valid than history. In particular, Bale sees the greed of the clergy as motivating their actions. The whole list of practices in the mock creed are seen as being created in order to bring in money. Avarice proclaims that, "For syluer and golde With falsehed I holde, Supportynge euery euyll". In the main, however, Bale's attack on the clergy focusses on their theological abuses. In Act 3 Ambition poisons the Ten Commandments with works condemning the gospel as heresy, and robs the poor through the creation of false prayers and purgatory. One of the most important of Bale's lists of corrupt historical figures concerns the scholastic theologians. Hypocrisy claims that he:

"Wyll rayse vp in the vnyuersitees,
The seuen slepers there, to adaunce the popes decrees
As Dorbel and Duns, Durande and Thomas of Aqyune
The mastre of sentens, with Bachon the great deuyne
Henricus de Gandauo. And these shall read ad clerum,
Aristotle and Albert, de secretis mulierum".
Although in this instance and in others Bale singles out one aspect of a divisive Catholicism for attention, in his costume directions at the end of the work he made clear that he attacked Catholicism as a whole. The historical details, even though they were likely to be lost on a popular audience, gave the Three Laws a depth and a relevance that was largely absent in his Biblical cycle. In his play *King John* Bale's attempt to use the past as a dramatic commentary on present events found its clearest and most incisive expression.

In *King John* Bale produced the most important polemical drama of the English Reformation. Essentially the play focussed on the question of dominion, and examined the relations between Henry VIII and the Papacy by providing a dramatic commentary on the affairs of King John and Pope Innocent III. The play was not Bale's first attempt to rework national historical events as illumination of contemporary issues. In his *Anglorum Heliades* Bale lists a work entitled *De Traditione Thome Becketi*. In the same place Bale also sets out five plays that were produced with an ear to the reforms of the 1530s: *Super vtroque Regis Coniugio*, *De Sectis Papisticis*, *Erga Zoilos quosdam*, *De Traditionibus Papistarum*, and *Contra Corruptores Versi Dei*. The conclusion that these plays, together with *King John*, were directly inspired by Cromwell's policy is irrefutable. *King John* alone however has survived, only to receive extensive critical scrutiny. As a result only a brief account of the play is necessary.

Though the political theme predominates, the issue of sovereignty involved a priori the examination of religious issues. As E.S. Miller has pointed out, it is primarily
through the misuse of a theological notion, namely the doctrine of keys, that the Papacy is able to excommunicate John, place his realm under the interdict, and ultimately murder him. Here the traditional conflict between Fidelity and Infidelity finds expression within the historical / allegorical setting of the conflict between John, the crypto-Protestant, and Sedition and his related Romish Vices. In the very opening to the play John's espousal of key scriptural texts on the subject of princely obedience determines his Protestant identity. A good deal of the play is directed to both establishing and reaffirming the religious identity of Sedition and his fellow cronies. As in the Three Laws the connection between the Vices and Catholicism is achieved by a process of association, such as their costume, or by stage directions. Though Sedition, Usurped Power, and Private Wealth are symbolic figures there is some attempt to fuse the allegorical with the historical. Towards the end of Act I the three characters reemerge respectively as Stephen Langton, the Pope, and a cardinal.

As in his other works Bale relied on direct statements by the opponents of the Vices as a means of indicting both them and their doctrine and practices. At the very opening Ynglond declares that the cause of her troubles are entirely due to, "Suche lubbers as hath dysgysed heades in their hoodes, Whych in ydelynes do lyve by other menns goodes:
Monkes, chanons and nones, in dyvers coloure and sheppe,
Both whyght, blacke and pyed". The Pope is hailed as the "wyld bore of Rome", and "thes vyle popych swyne", who has exiled her husband God himself,
because He cannot abide where his Word is despised. John himself reaffirms the charge.

"It is yow, Clergy, that hathe her in dysdayne  
With your Latyne howrrs, sermonyes and popetly playes.  
In her more and more Godes holy worde decayes".  

The technique of direct condemnation is, however, the least dramatic of polemical attacks. Typically in this work Bale exploits the capacity of the Vices to condemn themselves. As in the Three Laws the Vices swear Catholic oaths. At one point Sedition reveals his doctrinal perversion by swearing by both the Mass and the Trinity. Further on, Dissention announces that he gains money by appointing individuals to particular offices.

"Sum to syng Latyn and sum to ducke at grace,  
Sum to go mvmmyng and sum to beare ye crosse,  
Sum to stowpe downeward as yer heades ware stopt with mosse;  
Sum rede ye epystle and gospell at hygh masse,  
Sum syng at ye lectorne, with long eares lyke an asse.  
The payment of the chyrche ye aunchentfaders tredes,  
Sumtyme with a portasl sumtyme with a payre of bdres;  
And this exedyngly drawth peple to devoycyone,  
Specyally whan they do se so good relygeon.

The same Vice also prophesies the corruptions that will be brought in by Usurped Power. The passage, in effect a Protestant history of papistical abuse, concludes:

"He wyll make mattens, houres, masse and euensonge  
To drowne the scriptures for doubte of heresy;  
He wyll sende pardons to saue mennys sowles amonge,  
Latyne deuocyons, with the holye rosarye."
He will appoint fastings and plucke downe matrimonye;  
Holy water and brede shall dryue awaye the deuyll;  
Blessynges with blacke bedes wyll helpe ineuery euyll".  

The attack by the Vices on the rites and doctrines of the  
religion which they profess is a major theme of the play as a  
whole. Many such attacks seek to associate the Vice with  
Romanism by adopting humorous and parodic forms.  
In the initial conversation between the Clergy and John, the former  
reveals his true nature by a slip of the tongue.  
Throughout the Vices speak in a lewd manner and monopolise all the humour  
of the play.  
Much of the parody is directed against the  
penitential system of Rome. Auricular confession, though  
condemned at one point as being maintained for treasonous  
reasons, is also parodied on several occasions. Nobility's  
confession to Stephen Langton shows the surprising subtlety  
of Bale's technique.

"S. Lang., Dominus: In nomine domini pape, amen.  
Say forth your mynd, in Godes name.  
I trust ye beleve as holy chyrch doth teache yo,  
And from the new lernyng ye are wylllyng for to fle.  
Nob. From the new lernyng, mary, God of hevyn saue me!  
I never lovyd yt of a chyld, so mote I the.  
S. Lang. Ye can saye your crde and your Latin aue Mary?  
Nob. Yea, and dyrge also, with sevyn psalmes and letteny.  
S. Lang. Do ye not beleve in purgatory and holy bred?  
Nob. Yes, and yat good prayers shall stand my sovllle  
in stede.  
S. Lang. Well, than, good inowgh; I warrant my sovllle  
for your.  
Nob. Than execute on me the holy fatheres powr.

In ye popys behalfe I mvst moue other thynges
to ye". 66

As E.S. Miller points out, apart from Langton's substitution of the pope, the passage is close to standard confessional practice. Further on when John asks absolution of Stephen Langton, Bale parodies the confession in Latin. 68 This, however, does not result in Bale losing his audience for anyone who had confessed to a priest would be able to recognise the errors in the words of confession.

According to Rainer Pineas, the parody of the Catholic ritual has three polemical values for Bale. Firstly, it ridicules the ritual itself. Secondly, it reveals the evils of Catholicism in the parodic substitutions of the original. Thirdly, it condemns the Catholic parodist, who adheres to a ritual which he himself 'thinks' worthy of parody, and to a religion whose faults even he has to confess. 69 In King John Bale's use of parody proved the most effective means of attacking papist religion. As with the Three Laws, the play succeeds largely because of its focus on the negative aspect of polemic, the exposure and refutation of an opponent. The presentation of positive moral values was more difficult to achieve in dramatic form. In his dramatic works Bale's most positive contribution to the advancement of Protestant religion was to provide biblical and historical precedents for the contemporary debate. His anachronistic view of history ensured that events within the past could be seen as in some way repeating themselves. In so far as he operated within the format of moral and historical plays Bale's
use of history appears to lack the depth of other works produced in the 1530s. Yet in identifying all good characters as crypto-Protestants and all evil figures with Romish religion, Bale merely stated in stark dramatic contrast what other writers had maintained both abroad and in England. The theme of King John, the anticipant Protestant whose relations with the papacy mirror and shed light on contemporary problems, was not novel. Tyndale, Fish, Barnes and Swinnerton all emphasised the plight of John as a malum exemplum; a warning to England to avoid the entanglements of Rome. Even Coverdale’s Bible of 1535 drew on this same analogy between John and Henry VIII. Indeed it is not inappropriate to see Bale’s dramatic work as a whole as merely a stylised account of the theology of the early English Protestant exiles. Unlike them, however, Bale’s work depended for its success on techniques pertaining to the dramatic genre. In Act 1 of King John for example, Bale’s disclosure of the Romish origins of Sedition, expressed in the form of a mockery of the authority of the King, promulgates the notion of Catholicism as a foreign force within England in a succinct and particularly effective manner.

As a playwright Bale’s importance is considerable. The immediate influence of his plays, however was not extensive. The works themselves were not published in the main until during the reign of Edward VI. During the lifetime of Henry VIII only a single reference has survived which testifies to an actual performance of Bale’s work. Around Christmas 1538 at the home of Cranmer John Alforde saw an interlude concerning King John which was probably Bale’s play. Clearly Alforde was impressed by what he saw, believing that “it was a pity
that the Bishop of Rome should reign any longer, for he would do with our King as he did with King John". A colleague of Alforde's, Thomas Brown, was more explicit. The play was "one of the best matters that he ever saw thouching King John... and as he perceived King John was as noble a prince as ever was in England". 72

Clearly both Alforde and Brown grasped the moral of the play. The question thus arises, how far was Bale's attempt to promulgate anti-papalism in the form of drama the result of official influence and sponsorship? Although the evidence is not clear it appears that Bale wrote plays from at least as early as 1534 with the encouragement of John Vere. 73 The influence of Vere, a close supporter of the Boleyns, waned with the death of the Queen in May 1536. Soon after Bale was in correspondance with Cromwell. Thus the only reasonable inference to draw is that Cromwell only came to officially recognise Bale's work towards the latter half of 1536. From around that date until his fall in 1540 it appears certain that Bale was in charge of a company known as "my Lord of Cromwell's players". 74 On September 8th 1538 and January 31st of the following year Cromwell's accounts record that two sums of 40s and 30s were paid to Bale and his fellows for "playing before my Lord". 75 Furthermore from a letter of Cranmer to Cromwell it appears that the latter payment was for a performance of King John. 76 Although Cromwell's involvement is undesirable, it remains slender evidence for the claim that Bale was the playwright-propagandist of the Cromwellian era. 77 The advantages of the polemical dramas to the government were of least recognised. The initiative for them, however was Bale's alone.

2. The dating of Bale's plays is a complex and contentious issue. It is certain, however, that none of them were printed during the reign of Henry VIII.


6. Sig. B3.

7. Sig. E2(v).

8. Sig. E4.

9. Sig. E4(v).


11. Ibid. pp. 101-03.


13. P. 104.


15. P. 110.


18. Sig. D2(v).
19. Sig. E2(v).
20. Sig. E3.
21. Sig. D2(v).
22. Sig. D3(v).
23. Sig. E4.
26. Sig. E1(v).
29. STC 1287, reprinted in Tudor Facsimile Texts (1908).
30. Harris argues that a first draft of the play was produced as early as 1531 on the basis of an alleged verbal parallel in the confession of one William Broman (L & P IX, 76) and three lines of the Three Laws, sig. D7(v), (ll. 1369-71). Harris, John Bale, p. 69. As Blatt points out however, Harris's argument is based on a misrepresentation of Bale. Furthermore Broman never mentions having heard or participated in a dramatic representation of the theme. Until more evidence comes to light we can only be sure that Bale wrote dramas as early as 1534. Op. cit. p. 29.
31. Within his trinitarian schema Bale subdivided the ages as follows: Nature ran from Adam to Noah to Abraham to Moses; Moses from Moses to David to the Exile to Christ; Christ from the New Testament to the present. Thus Bale operated with a subscheme of seven historical ages. In arguing that Bale did not arrive at this periodisation until during the 1540s Fairfield ignores its presence, albeit in parenthesis, in the Three Laws. Op. cit. pp. 58-59.
33. Sig. A7f.
34. Sig. B3.
35. Sig. B5-B5(v).
36. Sig. B7(v).
37. "First they shall beleue, in our holy father Pope,
Next in hys decrees, and holy decreals.
Then in holy church, with sencer, crosse and cope.
In the Ceremonyes, and blessed Sacraméats.
In purgatory then, in pardons and in trentals,
In praynge to sayntes, and in saynt Fráces whoode,
In our lady of Grace, and in the blessed roode.
They shall beleue also, in rellyckes and relygyon,
In our ladyes psalter, in fre wyll and good wurkes.
In the ember dayes, and in the popes remyssyon,
In bedes and in belles, not veed on the turkes.
In the golden Masses, agaynst soch spretes as lurkes
With charmes and blessynges. Thys crede wyll brynge in moneye
In Englysh therfor, we wyl it clarkely cőueye". Sig. D3(v)-D4.

38. Sig. D7(v).

39. Sig. El, Fl(v).


42. Sig. B7-B7(v).

43. Blatt, p. 72. C.f. the following example of Bale's
Biblical lists :
"I made Roboam, and Hieroboam,
With Nabuchodonosor,
Triphon, Alchimus, and Simon magus,
To abuse them euermore". Sig. D1.

44. Sig. B8(v).

45. Sig. B8.

46. Sig. E3(v).

47. Sig. D2.

48. Sig. D2(v)-D3.

49. Sig. E6. A Similar list of "sophtisters, sententioners,
school-doctors, canonists and summists" occurs in Bale's
The Image of Bothe Churches. Blatt, p. 77.

50. The play has survived only in a manuscript, the unique
copy of which is preserved in the Huntington Library,
California (MS HM 3). The script is in two hands :
(A) a single gathering of 11 sheets in folio, written
first in bastard secretary type; (B) an expanded version
which adopts unchanged much of the A-text but which also
adds a considerable amount of fresh material in Bale's
own hand. Composition of the A-text probably belongs
to the latter part of 1538. The bulk of the B-text
additions can only be located on internal evidence between
1547-1560. For printed reprints of the play see J.H. P.
Pafford and W.W. Greg, King Johan by John Bale (Malone Society Reprints, London, 1931); B.B. Adams, ed., John Bale's King Johan (San Marino, California, 1969). All references are to this most recent edition.

51. Anglorum Heliades, BM MS Harley 3838. Bale claimed to have written this work in 1536, thus giving an early date to the plays and also to the item Pro Rege Ioanne. However parts of the work refer to events that took place in 1538. According to W.T. Davies, Bale wrote most of the Anglorum Heliades in 1536 but wrote his autobiography and drew up the list of plays and other works in the autumn of 1538. Davies's account is convincing although the list of plays may date from as late as 1539-40. A Bibliography of John Bale, pp. 209-13.


54. England's appearance as a ragged, emaciated widow, for example, immediately conveys by physical representation the ugly consequences of Catholicism. On the whole the stage directions, given in English, are more copious than in Bale's other dramas. C.f. Blatt, pp. 153-163, Adams, pp. 39-47.

55. Following l. 983.

56. Ll. 36-39.

57. Ll. 71, 107.

58. Ll. 413-16.


60. Ll. 50, 52.

61. Ll. 699-1004.

62. Ll. 998-1004. C.f. the concluding section: "The popys powr shall be abowe ye powrs all, And eare confessedyon a materes nessessary. Ceremonys wyll be ye ryghtes ecclesyastycall. He shall sett vp ther both pardowns and purgatory;
The Gospell prechyng wyll be an heresy. 
Be this provyssyon and be soch other kyndes 
We shall be full suere all waye to haue owr myndes". Ll. 1019-25.

63. E.S. Miller finds a total of thirteen such parodies which account for 6%-7% of the whole play. "The Roman Rite", pp. 804-15.

64. "K. John. 
Aryse, Clargy, aryse, and ever be obedyeant, 
And as God commandeth yow, take vs for yowr governére.

Cler. 
By ye grace of God, ye pope shall be my rulare.

K. John. 
What saýe ye, Clargy? Who ys yowr governer?

Cler. 
Ha! Ded I stomiule? I sayd, my prynce ys my rulere. (Ll. 510-14)

C.F. ll. 304-05:
Sed. 
I haue a great mynd to be a lecherovs man- 
A wengoence take yt! I wold dayo, a relygyovs man"

65. C.f. for example the following conversation between Sedition and Private Wealth :

"Sed. 
Yet is he no lesse than a false knave, veryly. 
I wold thow haddyst kyst his ars, for yat is holy.

Pr. W. 
How dost thow proe me. yat his arse ys holy, now?

Sed. 
For yt hath an hole, evyn fytt for ye nose of yow". (L. 891-95)

Later when England complains that she stands tributary to the Devil's Vicar, Sedition comments, "Out with thys harlot! Cockes sowle, she hath lete a fart". (Ll. 1757).


Confiteor domino pape et omnibus cardinalibus eius et vobis, quia peccavi exiigendo ab ecclesia tributum, mea culpa. Ideo precor sanctissimum dominum papam et omnes prelatos eius et vos, orare pro me.

S. Lang. 
Misereatur tui omnipotens papa, et dimitat tibi omnes erratus tuos, liberetque te a suspencione, exconmicacione et interdicto, et restituat te in regnum tuum.

K. John. 
Amen.

S. Lang. 
Dominus papa noster te absoluat, et ego absoluo te auctoritate eius, et apostolorum Petri et Pauli in hac parte mihi comissa, ab omnibus impistatibus tuis, et restitutio te corone et regno, in nomine domine pape, amen". (Ll. 1789-1800).

The attitudes of Tyndale, Barnes and Fish are discussed in Carole Levin, "A Good Prince: King John and Early Tudor Propaganda", pp. 23-32.

"K. John. I mervell thow arte to Englond so vnnaturall : Beyng her owne chyld, you art worse than a best brutall.
Sed. I am not her chyld! I defye hyr, by ye messe! I her sonne, quoth he? I had rather she were hedlesse.
Though I sumtyme be in Englond for my pastaunce, Yet was I neyther borne here, in Spayne nor in Fraunce, But vnder the pope in the holy cyte of Rome, And there wyll I dwell vn to the daye of dome". (Ll. 177-184).

Further on Sedition states his role in even clearer terms:
Sed. I hold vpp ye pope, as in other places many, For his ambassador I am contynwally, In Sycell, in Naples, in Venys and Italye, in Pole, Sprvse and Beine, in Denmarke and Lumbardy, In Aragon, in Spayne, in Fraunce and in Germanye, In Ynglond, in Scotlond, and in other regyons elles. For his holy cause I mayntayne traytors and rebelles. That no prince can haue his peples obeydence, Except yt doth stand with the popes prahemynence". (Ll. 211-20).

L & P XIV, 47. Adams supplies one other piece of external evidence; a letter from Robert Ward to Cromwell of the 9th October 1538 in which a complaint concerning a conservative priest who "causyd seducyø and stryfe" refers to the playwright: "m bale can gyfe yow informacyø". According to Adams, Ward may be alluding to John Bale the playwright, and also to Usurped Power and Sedition from King John. From the slight evidence of the letter, however, the connection between Ward and the play is tenuous in the extreme. Adams, p. 20, citing PRO., SP., 1/137.

In the Anglorum Heliades Bale claimed that the plays were written "Presertim and Illustrissimum Dominum Ioannem Ver. Oxonie Comitem". Harris, p. 133.

McCusker, op. cit. p. 5. pp. 74-76.


The works of the government apologist Thomas Starkey\(^1\) are not directly relevant to a study of Protestant polemic. Starkey expressed serious misgivings about those who held evangelical beliefs. In his *Exhortation to Unitie and Obedience*\(^2\) Starkey attacked the pestilent persuasion that everything must be rooted in the scriptures. Those who deride ecclesiastical ceremonies, abrogate ecclesiastical laws, condemn all councils, regard pilgrimages and the veneration of saints as idolatry, have no regard for purgatory, fasting, and holy days and view the sacraments as mere signs, were seen as every bit as blind in their belief as the papists. For Starkey, both faith and works were necessary for salvation. "A more pestilent opinion, & more pernicious to Christis doctrine was neuer I trowe amonge menne then this, to saye that faythe alone, without charitable workes, is sufficient to mans saluation".\(^3\)

In so far as Starkey's ideas on adiaphora have been seen as central to the development of Anglican polity, however, his work cannot be so easily ignored. According to W.G. Zeeveld, the *Exhortation*, "since this so far as is known to the writer, was the first official statement of the English via media, may justly be credited with the formulation of the theoretic foundations of Anglican polity".\(^4\) Starkey located his views in Melanchthon's *Loci Communes Theologici*, recently dedicated to Henry VIII, in which the reformer identified adiaphora with human or positive law under the law of nature. Through Starkey's mediation Melanchthon's Christian Adiaphorism became "the direct ideological forebear of the Anglican polity".\(^5\)
Although Zeeveld's thesis has found wide acceptance, in recent years his identification of Melanchthon's influence on Starkey has been discredited. According to Thomas F. Mayer, chronological and ideological reasons rule out the possibility that Starkey used Melanchthon's 1535 *Loci Communes*. In the first place, the *Loci*, which was brought into England by Alesius sometime between August 6th and October 1st, arrived too late to have had any influence on the Exhortation or on Starkey's other main work *The Dialogue Between Pole and Lupset*. In the preface to the former Starkey claims that he had presented the work to Henry VIII sometime between the 11th and the 15th of September 1535, although the draft of the work may have been finished as early as April. Secondly, Starkey's view of natural law conflicts so strongly with Melanchthon's as to preclude any possibility that Starkey used any of Melanchthon's earlier writings. For Melanchthon natural law was firmly subordinate to divine law. Natural law remains a revelation of the law and not of the gospel through which alone men can be saved. For Starkey on the other hand, the keeping of the natural law may be sufficient for salvation. The law of nature is "an inclination and rule of living" to and for the civil life, motivated by a "great and continued guide of conscience inwardly" which is universally applicable.

Finally, Starkey's discussion of adiaphora was presented in the *Exhortation* while his views on natural law were expressed in the *Dialogue*. The two were never discussed together, hence Zeeveld's claim that Starkey drew precedent from his law of nature for his idea of indifferent things is a categorical mistake.
If Melanchthon did not provide the ideological basis for Starkey's view of adiaphora where did his ideas originate? The whole concept of indifferent things was by no means the exclusive property of Melanchthonian theology. It had a long philosophical tradition and was extensively used in both Protestant and humanist circles throughout the early part of the Sixteenth Century. In his *Sermon to Convocation* for example, Latimer emphasised that true reform consisted of a distinction between the essentials and inessentials of religion. Similarly in his 1534 *Supplication* Robert Barnes claimed that there were two manner of things in this world. "Some be called *Res necessarie*, thynges that be necessary, and must be done, because that God has commanded them. And these thynges no man is able to make indifferent, so they must nedes be necessarily done. Other thynges there be, whiche learned men calleth, *Res medie*, thynges that be indifferent, and these may be done, and may be lefte without synne". The doctrine of adiaphora was an integral part of the early reformers' teaching. Starkey's work, however, clashed with Protestant teaching over two central questions. Firstly, who had the prerogative to determine or legislate adiaphora? Secondly, could indifferent things upon such legislation lose their adiaphoristic character and become necessary to salvation? In the first instance, the decision over legislative authorities came down to a choice between ecclesiastical and civil local authorities. Within the Protestant tradition Swiss reformers such as Zwingli and Bucer tended to offer civil authorities greater control over the external, indifferent affairs of the Church. By contrast, Wittenberg theologians, though not totally opposed to the help
of the secular powers in the organisation of the Church, sought to keep church policy largely independent of the temporal powers.

Starkey, however, saw the matter of adiaphora as being left to the control of the civil authorities. By definition indifferent things were seen as "left to worldly policy, wherof they take their full authority, by the which as time and place requireth they are sometymes good, and sometymes yll". Furthermore, for Starkey, civil legislation concerning such matters of adiaphora as church ceremonies take on an absolute character. "The decree of princes in things indifferent bindeth us under pain of damnation". To all intent and purpose the intolerable burdens of the papacy had been transferred onto the secular authorities, which for Starkey meant the King and his Council.

The notion that adiaphora could be required as Res necessarie was not accepted by most mainstream reformers. Melanchthon, for example, insisted that adiaphora remained a matter of individual liberty. Although they can be made lawful by temporal powers in the interests of political necessity - to preserve the peace and tranquility of the realm - neither justice nor sin was to be attributed to them. Robert Barnes was equally adamant that the nature of indifferent things could not be altered by the legislative powers. "Wherefore it standeth with no lernynge, that mans lawe should change the nature of this thynge... for that were as moche, as bothe to change Gods ordinance, and also the nature of the thynge". For Barnes neither Pope nor King could make God's counsell into a precept.

Starkey, however, was not alone in his views. Indeed
there is some evidence to suggest that he derived his ideas from Marsiglio of Padua. For Marsiglio law was defined in terms of its coerciveness rather than its content. Accordingly, genuine law falls outside the jurisdiction of the clerical estate. Clerical regulations on external matters were useless unless they involve the coercive authority of civil powers. Moreover, the law of the civil powers was binding in conscience as long as it did not conflict with the explicit commands of scripture. In a letter to Pole Starkey readily admitted that he had obtained his views on the binding power of civil legislation from a reading of Marsiglio in the translation provided by William Marshall. Thus the conclusion is inescapable that Starkey's views on adiaphora owed little to Protestant writings but were derived outwith the entire Protestant tradition.

In demonstrating the differences between Starkey's understanding of the principle of adiaphora from that of mainstream Protestants a further question arises. To what extent did Starkey's essentially secular, illiberal usage become the ideological foundation of Anglican polity? In other words, which of the uses of the adiaphoristic principle became integrated into the official religious formularies of the Henrician reformation?

According to G.R. Elton, the adiaphoristic teaching of Starkey was subsequently realised in the government statements particularly the Ten Articles of 1536 with their division of things essential and things inessential. The Ten Articles, however, make no reference to Starkey's characteristic note, the binding character of civil legislation. Indeed the last five articles were to be obeyed for the sake of decorum not
because they had become necessary to salvation. Similarly the Bishops' Book insisted that the legislation of ecclesiastical adiaphora was not binding in conscience or necessary to salvation. Moreover, by as early as 1535 Cranmer had argued that general councils in the determination of things indifferent ought to leave men their freedom. In the official statements of faith of the 1530s it was Cranmer's position and not that of Starkey which was followed.
1. The best account of Starkey's life is in Elton, Reform and Renewal, pp. 46-55.


3. Sig. Y2.


5. Ibid. p. 129.


9. Ibid. p. 46.


11. C.f. above ch. 6.

12. Sig. Q1, quoted in Verkamp, The Indifferent Mean, p. 41.


15. Sig. T1(v).


17. Sig. Q1, quoted in Verkamp, The Indifferent Mean, p. 41.


22. Ibid. pp. 52-53.

APPENDIX C: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE REFORM, 1534-47.

1. SWINNERTON, THOMAS.


2. SWINNERTON, THOMAS

A mustre of scismatyke bysshoppes of Rome/otherwyse naming them selves popes / moche necessarye to be redde of al the kynges true subjectes. 8vo. A -E8, F4 ; A - H8, I4. Sig. F4 Imprynted by wynkyn de worde / for John Byddell, otherwyse Salisbury, at our lady of pytie next to flete bridge. Sig. I4. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Wynkyn de Worde / for John Byddell, otherwyse Salysbury / dwellynge at the syng of our Lady of pytie bysde Flete bridge. The yere of our Lorde god M. CCCCC. xxxiii. The xx1 daye of Marche. STC 23552.

3. BARNES, ROBERT

A supplicacion vnto the most gracyous prynce H. the viii. 4to. B - W4, X2. Imprynted at London in Fletestrete by John Byddell, at the signe of our Lady of Pitie, nexte to Fletbrydge. The Year of our lorde God 1534 in the moneth of November. STC. 1471.

4. BOOK:

(The boke of marchauntes / right necessarye vnto all folkes. Newly made by the lorde Pantapole / right expert in suche bussynesse / nere neyghbour vnto the Lorde Pantagrule. 8vo A - G8. Printed at London by Thomas Godfraye (1534) STC. 3321.

5. LAMBERT, FRANCOIS.

The Summe of christianitie gatheryd out almoste of al placis of scripture, by that noble and famous clerke FRANCIS LAMBERT of Auynyon. And translatyd, and put in to prynte in Englysshe by TRISTRAM REVEL. The yere of our lorde. 1536. 8vo +1 - +8, A-B8; A-G8, H4. n. col. (Redman London) STC 15179.
6. **BRUNSFELSIUS, OTTO**

A very true pronosticaciō / with a Kalender / gathered out of the moost auncyent bokes of ryght holy Astronomers / fcr the yere of our lorde M. CCCC. xxxvi. And for all yeres here after perpetuall. Translated out of latyn in to Englysshe by John Ryckes priest. 8vo A-C8, D7. (Imprynted at London in fletestrete / at the sygne of the sonne by the John Byddell. STC 3943.

7. **LUTHER, MARTIN**

A boke made by a certayne great clerke, agaynst the newe idole, and olde Deuyll / whiche of late tyme, in Misnia shulde have ben canonysed for a saynt. 8vo. a-e8. Impyrnted by me Robert Wyer dwellynge in Saynt Martyns parysshe, besydes charynge Crosse. (1534). STC 16962.

8. **LUTHER, MARTIN**

Here after ensueth a propre treatyse of good workes. 8vo a-t8, v6. Impyrnted by me Robert wyer / dwellynge in sayntmartyns parysshe besyde charynge Crosse. (1535?) STC. 16988.

9. **LANTERN.**


10. **PLOUGHMAN**

The prayer and complaynte of the ploweman vnto Christ. 8vo. (Godfray?) STC 20036.5.

11. **(SINGLETON, ROBERT)**


12. **SINGLETON, ROBERT**

A sermon preached at Poules crosse the fourth sunday in lent. The yere of our lorde god. 1535 by Ro. Singleton. 4to A-D4. Printed at London by Tho. Godfraye. STC 22575.

13. **JACK UP LANDE**

Jack up Lande compyled by the famous Geoffrey Chaucer (London, 1536?) STC. 5098.
14. **TYNDALE, WILLIAM**


15. **TYNDALE, WILLIAM**

An exposition vpon the v. vi. vii. chapters of Mathew which thre chapters are the keye and the dore of the Scripture, and ý restorynge agayne of Moses law corrupte by ý Scrybes and Pharyses. And the exposycyon is the restorynge agayne of Christes lawe corrupte by the Papystes. 8vo. A-N8, O6, P4. (London? R. Redman?) STC. 24441.

16. **HAMILTON, PATRICK**

Dyers frutful gatherynges of scripture and declarynge of fayth and workes. 8vo. A-A8, B4. Imprinted in Fletestrete by me Robert Redman. STC. 12733.

17. **BIBLE - APPENDIX**

The summe of the holye scripture & ordynary of the Christen teachyng, the true Christen faiathe, by the which we be all justified. (Robert Redman?1535?) STC. 3037.

18. **LITURGIES - LATIN RITE - HOURS & PRIMERS**

A Prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations, very necessary for all people that vnderstonde not the Latyne tongue. 8vo. +1 - +8; A-R8, Sk. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Iohan Byddell. Dwellyng next to Flete Brydge at the signe of our Lady of pytye for Wylyam Marshall. STC. 15986.

19. **SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO**


20. **LITURGIES - LATIN RITE - HOURS AND PRIMERS**

A goodly prymer in englyshe, newly corrected and printed, with certeyn godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarie & profitaile for all them that ryghte assuredly vnderstande not ý latine & greke tongues. (With the Kynges most gracious privilege for vj. yeres. 4 to. (1) A-F4, (2) A-F4, G-R4 (3) A-F4 (3) G-R4, S-T4.
21. **JOYE, GEORGE**

An Apologye made by George Joye to satisfye (if it maye be) W. Tindale: to pourge & defende himself against so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned vpon him in Tindale uncharitable âd unsober Fystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him in to the understanding of hys new Testament diligently corrected & printed in the yeare of oure lorde. M. CCCCC. and xxxiiiij. in November. 8vo. A-F8, G4. (London: Byddell?)

STC 14820.

22. **JOYE, GEORGE**

A compendyouse Somme of the very Christen relygyon: gathered fayth fully out of holy scripture: necessary for all them that rede the olde and new Testament. 4to A-B4.

Imprynted at London in Fletestrete by John Byddell dwellynge at the synge of the Sonne. In M.D. & xxxv.

STC 14821.

23. **JESUS CHRIST**

A proclamacyon of the hygh Emperour Iesu Christ, vnto all faythfull Chrysten. Concernynge the castell of fayth whiche nowe by the grace of God is lyke to be wonne in to Chrysten mennes handes agayne. 8vo. A-A8, B4.

Imprynted at London in fletestret/ by me Robert Redman / dwellynge at the synge of the George. STC. 14561.

24. **BYGOD, FRANCIS**

A Treatyse concernynge impropriations of benefices. 12 mo. A-D2.


25. **MENANDRINUS, MARSILIUS**

The defence of peace: lately translated out of laten in to englysshe.

Robert Wyer / for Wylyam Marshall July. MCCCCC xxxv in the 27th year of Henry VIII.
26. CONSTANTINE I - EMPEROR

A treatyse of the donation or gyfte and endowment of possessyons, gyven and granted vnto Silvester, pope of Rheme, by Constantyne, emperour of Rome, etc. (The grant and privilege which is called the donation or gyfte of Constantyne, translated out of greke in to Laten, by one Bartylmewe Picera .... a declamation of Laurence Valla.... against the forsayd privilege, as being forged. & nothyng true... with a preface by one Vdalryk Hutten... The sentence and mynde of Nycolas of Cuse.... of the sayd donation and gyfte of Constantyne. Antony archebysshoppe of Florence of the same donation and gyfte of Constantyne. Thomas Godfray (London 1534) STC 5641.

27. WATT, JOACHIM von

A worke entytled of ye olde god & the newe / of the olde faythe & the newe, of the olde doctryne and ye newe / or orygynall begynnynge of Idolatrye. 8vo. A-R8. Imprynted at London in fletestrete by the Iohan Byddell / dwelling at ye synge of our Lady of pitet next to flota brydge. M. V. C. xxxiiii ÿ xv day of June. STC. 25127.

28. TREATISE

A treatise declaryng & shewyng dyuers causes take out of the holy icripturs / of the sent6ces of holy faders, & of the decrees of deuout Emperours, that pyctures & other ymage3 which were wont to be worshypped / ar i no wise to be suffred in the temples or churches of Christen men. By the whiche treatise the reder that is indifferent, shall se and perceyue, how good and godly a dede it was of the Senatoures of Arg5tine, that of late daies they caused all the ymage3 with their auters to be cleare take out of their churches. 8vo. A-F8.
Printed for W. Marshall, with the kynges mooste gratiouse priuylege. (T. Godfray). STC 24238.

29. LUTHER, MARTIN.

30. **PROGNOSTICATIONS.**

A faithfull and true prōnostication vppo the yeare. M. CCCCC. xxxvi gathered out of the prophecies and scriptures of God... tr. out of hye Almayne by M. Couerdale. 8vo.
Southwarke, J. Nicholson f. J. Gough. 1535?
STC. 20418.5.

31. **FULLONIUS, GULIELMUS.**

A myrour of glasse for them that be syke & in payne. (Translated out of Dutche in English 1536.
STC. 11470.5 formerly 17982.

32. **COVERDALE, MILES.**

Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawn out of the holy Scripture, for the çôforte und consolacyon of soch as loue to rejoyse in God and his worde. 4to.
Imprynted by me Johan Gough. STC. 5892.

33. **MANTUA, COUNCIL OF.**

The causes why the Germanes wyll not go, nor consente vnto that counfel, which Paul the iii. now beynge Byshop of Rome hath called to be kept at Mantua in Italy, and to begynne the xxiii. day of Maye. Anno. M. CCCCC. xxxvii.
8vo A-A8, B6.
Prynted in southwarke by me James Nicolson. STC. 17262.5.

34. **LUTHER, MARTIN.**

A very excellent & sweete exposicion upon the 22 ye Psalme of David, called latyn Dominus regit me et nihil. Translated of the hye Almayne in to English by Myles Coverdale. 8vo.

35. **OSIANDER, ANDREAS.**

How and whither a Christen man ought to flye the horrible plagé of the pestilence. A Sermon out of the Psalme Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi By Andree Osiander. Translated out of hye Almayn into Englishhe. 8vo. A-B8, C5. James Nicolson for John Gough Southwarke. STC.18878.
36. ORIGINAL
The original & sprynge of all sectes & orders by whome, wha or were they beganne. Translated out of hye Dutch in Englysh. 1537. 8vo. *4, A-H8.
Printed in Southwarke by me James Nicolson for Jhon Gough. STC. 18849.

37. TREATISE
A goodly treatise of faith, hope, and charite necessary for all Christe me to know and to exercyse the selues therin translated into englyshe.
Prynted in Southwarke, For James Nicolson. Anno M.D. xxxvii. STC. 24219.5 formerly 24218.

38. LUTHER, MARTIN
An exposicion vpon thesonge of the blessed virgine Mary, called Magnificat. Where vnto are added the songs of Salue regina, Benedictus and Nuc dimittis. (Translated out of Latine into Englyshe by Jhon Hollybush. 1538.
Imprinted in Southwarke the yeare of oure LORDE thousande fyue hundred and. xxxviii. by James Nicolson. STC.16979.7 formerly 17536.

39. MORISON, RICHARD
Apomaxis calvmniarvm, convitiorvmgne, quibus Ioannes Coclæus, homo theologus exiguis artiü professor, scurra procax, Henrici octaui, serenissimi regis Angliae famam impetere, nomé obscurare, rerum gestarü gloriar faedere nuper edita, non tam ad regé, q in regis inuidiä epistola studuit. Authore Ricardo Morysino Anglo.
Londini in aedibvs Thomae Bertheleti... An. M.D. XXXVII.... STC 18109.

40. MORISON, RICHARD
A LAMENTATION IN WHICHE IS SHEVVED what Ruyne and destruction cometh of seditious rebellyon.
4to A-C4.
Londini in aedibvs Thomae Bertheleti Regii Impressonis. STC. 18113.3.

41. MORISON, RICHARD
A REMEDY FOR SEDITION, VVMERIN ARE CONTEYNED Many thynges; concernynge the true and loyall obeysance, that commes owe vnto their prince and soueraynge lorde the kynge. ANNO. M.D. xxxvi.
42. **MORISON, RICHARD**


43. **MORISON, RICHARD**

AN EXHORTATION TO STYRE ALL ENGLISHMENT TO THE DEFENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY. 8vo. A-D8. Londini in aedibvs Thomae Berthelet; typis imprest. STC. 18110.

44. **STURM, JOANNE**

THE EPISTLE THAT IOHAN STVRMIUS, a man of great lerninge and iugement, sent to the Cardynalles and prelates, that were chosen and appointed by the Bysshop of Rome, to serche out the abuses of the churche. Translated in to englysshe by Rychard Morysine. 8vo. A-F8. Londoni in Aedibvs Thomas Berthelet; Regis impressoris. Excvs. Anno. M.D. xxxviii. STC. 23407.

45. **AUGSBURG CONFESSION**

THE CONFESSION OF THE FAYTH OF THE GERMAYNES exhibited to the most victorious Emperour Charles the v. in the Councell or assemble holden at Augusta the yere of our lorde. 1530. To which is added the apologie of Melanchthon who defendeth with reasons invincible the aforesayde confessyon translated by Richard Taverner at the commandemset of hys master the ryght honourable mayster Thomas Cromwel chefe Secretarie to the Kynges grace. 8vo. A-D8, E4; A-X8, Y4, Z6. Imprynted at London in fleetestrete / by me Robert Redman / dwelllynge at the synge of the George nexte to Saynt Dunstones churche 1536. STC. 908.
46. **SARCERIUS, ERASMUS**

Common places of scripture ordely and after a cöpendious forme of teachynge, set forthe with no little labour, to the gret profit and help of all such students in gods worde as have not had any exercyse in the same, by the ryghte excellent clerke Erasmus Sarcerius. Translated in to Englysh by Rychard Taverner. 8vo. A-Dd8, Ee2. Imprinted at London by Iohn Byddell, dwellynge in Fletestrete at the synge of the Sonne ouer a gaynst the cundyte. In the yere of our lorde god M.CCCC xxxviii. STC. 21752.5.

47. **BIBLE - ENGLISH - PSALMS**

THE SUMME, OR PITH of the 150. Psalmes of David, reduced in to a forme of prayers and meditations, with certayne other godlye orysons, very necessary for all sortes of people to say dayly, translated by RICHARD TAVERNER. 8vo al-Q8, R4. Imprynted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sonne by Ihon Byddell, the v. daye of Apryll. M.D. xxxix. STC. 2747.5.

48. **BIBLE - ENGLISH - PSALMS**

An epitome of the Psalms, or briefe meditacions vpon the same, with diuerse other moste Christian prayers, translated by Richard Taverner. Imprinted at London in fletestrete at the signe of the whyte hart. 1539... ( R. Bankes ). STC 2748.

49. **TAVERNER, RICHARD**


50. **BIBLE - LITURGICAL EPISTLES AND GOSPELS**

The Epistles and Gospelles with a brief Postil vpon the same... from Advent tyll Lowe sonday, etc. 4to. Imprinted by Richarde Bankes, and are to be sold at the synge of the whyte Marte ( by Anthony Clarke ): London ( 1540? ). STC. 2967.
51. **ALESIUS, ALEXANDER**

Of the auctorite of the word of god agaynst the bisshop of London / wherein are conteyned certen dispensacyons had in the parlament howse betwene the bisshops a bown the number of the sacraments and other things / very necessary to be known / made by Alexander Alane Scot and sent to the duke of Saxon. 8vo. A-N3, II. Argentorati apvd Cratonem Mylivm AN. M.D. XLII Mense Septembri. STC. 292.

52. **LATIMER, HUGH**


53. **LATIMER, HUGH**

The sermon that the reuerende father in Christ, Hugh Latimer, byshop of Worcester, made to the clergie, in the couocatiō, before the Parlyament began, the 9. day of June. the. 28. yere of the reigne of our souerayne lorde Kyng Henry the VIII. nowe translated out of Latyne into Anglysshe, to the intet, that thing is well said to a fewe, may be understande of many, and do good to al the that desire to be better. 8vo. A-D8, E4. Imprinted at London by Thomas Berthelet, printer to the kings grace. The yere from the byrthe of Christ. 1537. the 23. of November. STC. 15286.

54. **TYNDALE, WILLIAM**

A treatyse of the iustificacyon by faith only, otherwise called the parable of the wyked Mammon. 8vo. Printed : For James Nycolson: Southwarke, 1536. STC. 24455.

55. **TYNDALE, WILLIAM**

The exposition of the fyrste, seconde, and thyrde canonical Epistles of S. Jhon wyth a Prologue before it. 8vo. A-K8, N4. Printed in Southwarke by me James Nicolson. 1538. STC. 24443.5.
56. BULLINGER, HEINRICH

A commentary vpon the seconde Epistle of S. Paul to the Thessaloniës. In ſe which besydes the summe of oure faythe, ther is syncerelye handled & set forth at large, not onely ſe ſyrst cómyng vp & rysynyng with the full prosperyte & dominion, but also the fall and vtter confusion of the kyngedome of Antichriste: that is to say of Machomet & the Byshop of Rome 1538. 8vo. A-H8. I4.

Here endeth the commentarye of Heinricus Bullingerus of Tygurye vpon the seconde Epistle of saynte Paule to the Thessalonyans, & faithfullly translated into Englyshe by R.H. Prynted in Southwarke in S. Thomas hospytall by James Nicolson. Anno. 1538. STC. 4054.

57. BIBLE - ENGLISH

Annotations in the boke of Josue stewynge breflye euery chapter by comon places how this boke serueth for oure learnynge, what is ye profyt and the use thereof whyche is the fyrfth boke of the seconde part of the Bible. 8vo. A-08, P 7.

( Printed by Thomas Gybson? )
STC. 2351.5.

58. RIDLEY, LANCELOT

An exposition in the epistell of Iude the apostel of Christ wherein he setteth playnly before euery mans eyes false apostles, and theyr craftes, by ſe which they haue longe deceyued symple christian people. 8vo.
Imprinted in the house of Thomas Gybson. STC. 21042.

59. RIDLEY, LANCELOT

A commentary in Englyshe vpon Saynte Paules Epystle to the Ephesyans / for the instrucyon of them that be vnlerned in Tonges / gathered out of the holy scriptures and of the olde catholyke Doctours of the Churche / and of the beste authors that nowe a dayes do wryte. Anno. D. 1540. Per Lancelotum Ridleum Cantabrigensem. 8vo. 8, A-Q2.
Imprinted at London by me Robert Redman. STC. 21038.

60. WYSE, NICHOLAS

( A consolacyon for chrysten people to repayre agayn the lordes temple, with certayne places of scripture truely applied to satysfyte theyr myndes for ſe expellyng of ydolatry, & to instruct the, of loue and obedience. Compyled By nycholas wyse. 8vo. A-H8, I6. Imprynted in London by Johfi Waylande with in Temple barre, at the synge of the blewe garlande. Anno. M.D. xxxviii. the. xvi. day of Octobre. STC. 26063.)
61. DECLARATION

A declaracion of the Seremonies a necid, to the Sacrament of Baptyme, what they sygnyffie and how we ought to vnderstande them.

62. BECON, THOMAS.

The Gouernans of vertue, teachyng a Christe man, howe he oughte dayaly to lede his life, and fruitfuly to spend his tymes vnto the glory of God. Wherin are contayned also many godly prayers, & other necessary instrucion, for the anoyding of all wicked temptation, with a table in thende. 1538. 8vo. Al - N8, 07 (imperfect). ( James Nicholson? Southwark? ) STC. 1724.5.

63. BUGENHAGEN, JOHANN


64. REGIUS, URBANUS


65. COVERDALE, MILES

A confutacion of that treatise / which one John Standish made against the protestacion of D. Barnes in the yeare M.D. XL. Wherin / the holy scriptures (peruerted and wrested in his sayd treatise) are restored to their owne true vnderstanding agayne by Myles Coverdale. 8vo a - n8. n. col. ( Zurich, 1541? ) STC. 5888.

66. BULLINGER, HEINRICH.

The olde fayth, an euydent probacion out of the holy scripture, that the christē fayth (which is the right true olde & undoubted faith) hath endured sens the begynnynge of the worlde. Herein hast thou also a shorte summe of the whole Byble / & a probacion / that all vertuous men have pleased God / and were saued thorow the Christen faith. 1541. 8vo. A-G8. n. col. not in STC.
67. **ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS**

A shorte Recapitulacion or abrigement of Erasmus Enchiridion.
tr. Myles Coverdale. 8vo.
Ausborch: Adam Anonimus (ie. Antwerp, S. Mierdman)
May 1545.
STC. 10488.

68. **HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE**

The actes of the disputaciō in the councell of the Empyre
holden at Regenspurg: That is to saye / all the artycles
concernyng the Christen relygion both agreed and not agreed
vpon: even as they were propowned of the Empour vnto
the nobles of the Empyre / to be iudged / delybred and
debated. Here thow hast also the sentence, councell and
aduyse of the Emperor / of euery dege of the nobles of the
Empyre and of the Legate of Rome concernyng these actys.
And more ouer here be certen prefacys of Phylyp Melancton
declaryng why certen popyssh artycles were reproved by
the protestantys: and certē other thinges also a regestre
of whereof thou hast in the next syde of this leate set
forth by Martyne Bucere & Philyp Melancton. Translated
out of latyne into English. By Myles Coverdale. M.D.
xlii. 8vo. A - R8, T3; A - E8; AA-AA4.
n. col. STC. 13612.

69. **FERDINAND I, EMPEROR**

The Supplicacion: That the nobles and comons of Osteryke
made lately by their messaungers, vnto kynge Ferdinandus,
in the cause of the Christen Religion. Item. The Kynges
answere to the same. Vvhersophon foloweth the wordes that the
messaungers spake vnto the kyng agayne at their departing.
8vo. (4) A-B8, C3. n. col. STC. 10808.

70. **COVERDALE, MILES**

The defence of a certayne poore Christen man: Who els
shuldhaue bene condemned by the Popes lawe. (Written
in hye Allmaynes tonge by a right excellant and noble
Prynce / and traslated into Englishe by Myles Coverdale.
Printed at Nurenbergh / And translated owt of douche in
to Englishe by Myles Coverdale / in the yeare of our
Lorde. M.D. XIU in the laste of Octobre.
STC. 5889.
71. **BULLINGER, HEINRICH**

The Christen state of Matrimonye. The orygenall of holy wedlock: Whan / where / how / and of whom it was instituted & ordeyned : what it is : how it ought to proceade : what be the occasions / frute and commodities thereof. Contrary wyse / how shamefull & horrible a thinge whordome & adoutry is : How one oughte also to chose hym a mete and convenient spouse to kepe and increas the mutuall loue / trouthe and dewtie of wedloke: and how maried folkes shulde bring vp their children in the feare of god. Translated by Myles Coverdale. 8vo. A-K8, L2. MD xlii Decembr. STC. 4045.

72. **BECON, THOMAS**


73. **MELANCHTHON, PHILIP**


74. **SAWTRY, JAMES (Pseud.)**

The defence of the Mariage of Preistes: Agenst Steven Gardiner bishop of Wynchester / Wylliam Repse bishop of Norwich / and agenst all the bishops and preistes of that false popish secte / with a confutacion of their vnaduysed vowes vnaduysedly diffined: whereby they haue so wykedly separated them whom God coupled in lawfull mariage. Made by James Sawtry. 8vo. A-C8, D4. Prynted at Auryk by Jan Troost. M.D. XLI. in August. STC. 21804.

75. **SOLME, THOMAS**

Here begynneth a traetys call I yde the Lordis flayle handlyde by Bishops powre thresshere Thomas Solme. 8vo. A-D8, E 7.
76. **BIBLIANDER, THEODORE**

A Godly counsultation vnto the brethren and companyons of the Christen religyoun. By what meanes the cruell power of the Turkes / both may / and ought for to be repelled of the Christen people / Theordore Bibliander beinge the Author.

8vo. A-U8.

Thus endet-h the consultacion of Theodorus Bibliander translated owte of Latne in to Englysshe and printed at Basill by Randolphe Bonifonte in this troublousse tyme ragynge with warre and betayle all the partes of Christendome / the yere of owr Lorde. M.D. XIII. of Auguste.

STC. 3047.

77. **ZWINGLI, ULRICH**

( The Rekening and declaraciō of the faith and beleif of Huldrik Zwingly / bisshoppe of Zuryk the cheif town of Heluetia / sent to Charles v. that noe is Emprowr of Rome: holdinge a Parlemente or Cownsaill at Ausbrough with the cheif Lordis & lerned men of Germanye. 

The yere of owr Lorde M.D. xxx. In the monethe of Julye.

8vo. A-D8.

( Translated & Imprynted at Zuryk in Marche Anno Do. M.D. XIII. STC. 26138.

78. **LUTHER, MARTIN**

The last wil And last confession of Ylartyn Luthers faith cōcerning the principal articles of religion which are in controuersy / which he wil defend & maïteine vntil his death / agaynst the pope and the gates of hell drawē furth by him at the request of the princes of germany which haue reformed theier churches after the gospel / to be offred vp at the next general councel in all their names & now publisshed before that all the world may haue an euydent testimony of his faith if it shal fortune him to dye before there be any such coucel / traslated out of latyn. Beware of the pope & of his false prophetes and bissopes for thei wil come in shepys clothing and in angelsfacys but yet inwardly thei are ravening wolnys. 8vo. a-d8.

n. col. M.D. XLIII. STC. 16984.

79. **BIBLE - APPENDIX**

The dore of holy scripture. Matthew. vii.

(Emprynted by me Johan Gough, dwellynge in Lombard strede, at the synge of the Marmayde, agaynste the stokes market, vnder the Kynges gratious preuilege. Ad imprimendum solum, per septiennium. Anno domini. 1540. xii of Martio. STC. 3033.

80. BALLAD

A balade agaynst malycyous sclaunderers.
Prentyd at London in Lombard strete nere vnto the Stockes market at the synge of the Mermayde by John Gough.
STC. 1323.5.

81. SMYTH, THOMAS (ie. GRAY, WILLIAM)

A brefe apologye or answere to a certen craftye cloynar, or popyshe parasyte called Thomas Smythe.
4to.
( Antwerp. M. Crom. 1540 ?)
STC. 22880.7

82. GRAY, WILLIAM

An Aunswere to maister Smyth, seraunt to the Kynges most royall maiestye, And clerke of the Quenes graces Counsell though most vnworthy.
Imprinted at London by me Rychard Bankes cum priviilegio ad imprimendum solum. And to be solde in Paternoster Rowe by John Turke at the synge of the Rose.
STC. 12206 a.3.

83. GRAY, WILLIAM

The Retne of M. Smythes enuoy seraunt to the Kings Royall Maiestye and Clerke of the Quenes graces counsell (though most vnworthy).
Imprynted at London by Rychard bankes cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. And be to sell in Lombard strete nere vnto the stockes by Rycharde Kels. STC. 12206 a.7.

84. FRITH, JOHN (Misattributed)

Of the preparation to the crosse, and to deathe, and of comforte under the crosse and deathe, two bokes very fruitefull for devoute people to rede, translated from latyn to englysshe, by Rycharde Tracy.
8vo. Londini T. Berthelet, 1540.
STC. 11393 (H & L 031).
85. **TRACY, RICHARD**

The prove and declaration of thys proposition: fflyth only institieth: gathered & set forth the by Richarde Tracy.
8vo. A-D8.
o. col.
STC. 24164.

86. **BECON, THOMAS**

Newes out of heuen both pleasaunt & icyfull, lately set forth to the great consolacion & confort of all christen me. By Theodore Basille.
STC. 1740.

87. **BECON, THOMAS**

A Christmas bankette garnyshed with many pleasaunt and deynty disshes, newly prepared by Theodore Basille.
Imprynted at London in Botulphe lane at the synge of the whyte Beare, by me Iohn Mayler for Iohn Gough. Anno Dni; 1541.
Dedicated to Sir Thomas Neville. STC. 1713.

88. **BECON, THOMAS**

A Potaci6 or drîkynge for holi time of lêt very confortable for all penitent synners, newly prepared by Theodore Basille.
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89. **BECON, THOMAS**

(PATHE-WAY UNTO PRAIER)
8vo A-58, T3. ntp. n. col. Dedicated to Lady Jane Grey.
STC. 1734.

90. **BECON, THOMAS**

A pleasaunt newe Nosegaye, full of many godly and swete flourues, lately gathered by Theodore Basille.
8vo A-N8, 06.
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Addressed to George Whetenhall. STC. 1743.
91. **BECON, THOMAS**

The new pollecye of warre, wherin is declared not only how y moost cruell Tyraunt the great Turke maye be overcome, but also all other enemies of the Christen publique weale, lately devised by Theodore Basille.
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The true defæce of Peace, wherin is declaredde the cause of all warres now a dayes. and how they maye be pacified, called before the Pollecye of warre, deuysed & lately recognised by Theodore Basille.
London J. Mayler for J. Gough. 1543.
STC 1775.

93. **BECON, THOMAS**

Davids Harpe ful of moost delectable armony, newly strynged and set in tune by Theodore Basille.
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Addressed to Sir George Broke, Lord Cobham.
STC. 1717.

94. **BECON, THOMAS**

A new yeares gyfte more precious than golde, worthy to be embraced no lesse joyfully than thakfully of every true christe man, newly published by Theodore Basille.
1738.

95. **BECON, THOMAS**

An Inuectyue aegenst the moste wicked & detestable vice of swearing, newly cöpiled by Theodore Basille.
8vo A-M8.
Addressed to Richard Skott.
STC. 1731.
96. **BRINKELOW, HENRY**

The complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray fryre, vnto the parliament howse of Ingland his natural countr: for the redresse of certen wicked lawes; euel customs ad cruel decreys. Savoy. M. Boys (ie. Strassburg, 1542?) STC. 3759.5 formerly 3762.

97. **BRINKELOW, HENRY**


98. **FISH, SIMON**

(A supplication of the poore Commons. ( Proverbs. xxii. Chapter v. ( Who so stoppeth his eare at the criyng of poore, he shall crye hym selfe, and shall not be heard. ( Whereunto is added the Supplication of the Beggars. 8vo a-d8. Anno. M. CCCC. xlvi. STC. 10884.

99. **TRACY, RICHARD**


100. **JOYE, GEORGE**

George Joye cofuteth / Uvinchesters false Articles. 8vo. a-c8. Printed at Wesill in Cliefe lande the yere of owr Lorde M.D. xliii. in the monethe of Ihune. STC. 14826.
101. **JOYE, GEORGE**

The refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaratiō of his false articles, once before confuted by George Joye: Be not deceived by this bysshopes false bokes. Heare nowe the tother parte, and judge truely of the truth. For the veritie wyll haue the victorye. M.D. XLVI.

8vo. A-Y8, Aa-Cc8.
(Hereford London?)
STC 14828.5

102. **TURNER, WILLIAM**

The huntyng and fyndying out of the Romyshe foxe, which more than seven yeares hath been hyd among the bishoppes of Englande, after that the Kynges Hyghnes had commanded hym to be dryuen out of hys Realme.

Foxes have holes, and byrdes of the ayer have nestes, but the Sonne of man hath not where he mave reste hys heade in.

Whosoever happeneth vpon thys boke, yt he loue God beter then man, and the Kynges Hyghnes beter than the byshoppes false hypocrisye, let hym gyue it to the Kyng, that he maye rede it before the byshoppes condemne it. M.D. XLiii.

Imprynted at Basyll the yeare of oure lorde, M.D. xliii. xiii. of September.

103. **TURNER, WILLIAM**

The Rescvyng of the Romishe fox other wyse called the examination of the hunter deuised by Steuen gardiner.

The seconde covrse of the hunter at the romishe fox & hys advocate, & sworn patrone steuen gardiner doctor & defender of the popis canonlaw and hys ungodly ceremonies. Rede in the last lefe the xij articles of Bisshop Steuens neuu popish credo.

Imprynted haue at Winchester Anno Domini 1545.4. nonas Martij. By me Hanse hit prik.
STC. 24355*

104. **BALE, JOHN**

The Epistle exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christiane vnto his derely beloued contreye of Englande / against the pompose popyshe Bysshoppes therof / as yet the true members of theyr fyllthye father the great Antichrist of Rome /

Henry Salbrydge. (As I have compyled this treatyse in the zele of God and my Prince agaynst the tyrant of Rome and his secret maynteners. So is yt my desyre that his grace maye haue yt as a frute of my Christen obedience. And I doubt yt not / but some godlye manne louyne his grace better then
that wycked Pope / will faythfullye delyuer yt vnto hym /
the slayghtes of their false generation consydered. Praye
(gentyll reader) that yt maye fynde grace in his syght.
8vo. A-D8.
Wrytten from Bassyle a cyte of the Heluecyans by me Henrye
Stallbrydge in the yeare from Christes incarnacyon
M.D. XIIIII. and the fyrst daye of August.
STC. 1291.

105. BALE, JOHN

Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe.
A dysclosynge or openyng of the Manne of synne,
Co tayned in the late Declaratyon of the Popes olde
faythe made by Edmonde Boner bysshop of London. whereby
wyllyam Tolwyn was then newlye professed at paules crosse
openlye into Anti christes Romyshe relygyon agayne by a
newe solemne othe of obedience, notwythstadyng the
othe made to hys prynce afore to the contrarye.
(An alphabetycall dyrectorye or Table also in the ende
therooff, to thespedye fyndyng out of the pryncypall matters
therin contayned. Compyled by Iohan Harryson.
8vo. A-08, P4.
(Thus endeth the Manny of synne wyth hys Dysclosynge,
collected by Ioha harrysö in the yeare fr6 Christes
incarnacy5 Anno Domini 1543. the x. daye of Decëbre.
STC. 1309.

106. JOYE, GEORGE

Our sauiour Jesus Christ hath not ouercharged his chirche
with many ceremonies.
The Lorde shall Knit wp his mynde in fewe wordes for our
rightwise making / euë by faith onely to be iustified.
Esaye. x. M.D. XLIII. in Febru.
At Zurik.
STC. 14556.

107. BALE, JOHN

A Christen exhortacion vnto customable swearers. What a
ryght & lawfull othe is: whan / and before whom / it ought
to be.
Item. The maner of sayinge grace / or geuynge thankes vnto
God.
Who so euer heareth Goddes worde / beleue it / and do
thereafter shall be saued.
8vo. A-D 8.
n. col.STC. 1280.
108. BALE, JOHN

A mysterye of inyquyte contayned within the heretycall Genealogye of Ponce Pantolabus / is here both dysclosed & confuted by Johan Bale. AN. M.D. xlii. ( Marke in the capytall letters of this boke / the. A.B.C. with the name of the Author. 8vo. A-A4, B - M8. Emprynted at Geneua. By Mychael Woode. 1545. STC. 1303.

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A treatyse made by Iohan Lambert vntc Kynge Henry the viii. concernyng hys opynyon in the sacramat of the aultre as they call it, or supper of the lorde as the scripture nameth it. Anno do. 1538. 8vo. A-D8. ( Wesel, D. van der Straten?) STC. 15180.

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The true hiistorie of the Christen departynge of the reuerede ma, D. Martyne Luther, collected by Justas Jonas, Michael Celius, and Joannes Aurifaber whych were present therat, & translated into Englysh by Johan Bale. 8vo. A-D8. ( Wesel D van der Straten 1546?) STC. 14717.

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The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, lately martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romyshe popes vpholders, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale. 8vo, +1 - +8; *1 - *8; A-E8, F7. Imprynted at Marpurg in the lande of Hessen, in Novembre, Anno 1546. STC. 848.
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The latter examination of Anne Askew, lately martyred in Smythfelde, by the wicked Synagoge of Antichrist, with the Elucydacyon of Iohan Bale.
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STC. 850.

114. BALE, JOHN

The Actes of Englysh votaryes, comprehending their unchast practyses and examples by all ages, from the worldes begynnynge to thys present yeare, collected out of their owne legends and Chronyles By Iohan Bale.
( lerne herin (good reader) to proue all sprites, and to judge false myracles, rebukynge no christen beleuer, but those obstynate hypocrites onlye, whyche yet lyue after their popes olde rules. Reade, but laugh not.
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Thus endeth the first parte of thys worke called. The Actes of Englyshe votaryes. Collected by Iohan Bale. Anno 1546.
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The coniectures of the ende of the worlde, translated by George Joye. M.D. XLvij.
Translated by George Joye whereine many things be added out of the said George his coniectures and now at laste printed in the yere, M.D.XLVij.
STC. 18877.

116. JOYE, GEORGE

8vo. A-Z8; a-g8, h4.
Emprinted at Geneue. 1545. G.J.
STC. 14823.
117. **JOYE, GEORGE**

The unite and Scisme of the olde Chirche.
Blessed ar the atonmakers studyinge for peace / for thei ar the childern of God. Mathew. v. M.D. XLIII. In June.
n. col. (Antwerp. Endhoven?)
STC. 14830.

118. **BALE, JOHN**

The Image of bothe churches after the moste wonderfull and heavenly Revelation of Saint Iohn the Evangelist, contaynyng a very frutefull exposition or paraphrase vpon the same. Wherin it is conferred with the other scripturs, and most anctorised historyes. Compiled by Iohn Bale an exile also in this life for the faythfull testomyne of Iesu.
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Imprynted at London by Richarde Iugge, dwelling in Paules churche yarde, at the synge of the Byble.
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A breife Catechisme and Dialogue betwene the Husbande and his Wyfe: contaynyng a pyththy declaracyon of the Pater noster, Crede, and tene Commandementes, very necessary for all men to knowe. ite dyuerse other Dialogues betwene the Truthe and the Unlearned man: wherein the Truthe (which is Goddes worde) teacheth all symple and ignoraunte people what is necessary for them to knowe vnto their salvacyon.
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(Antwerp. J. Miedman)
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121. **Wyclif, John**

Wycklyffes wycket: whyche he made in Kyng Rycards days the second in the yere of our lorde God M.CCC. XLU.  
(Sig. B3(v)) The testament of maister wylliam Tracie esquier, expounded by Wylliam Tyndall. Wherin thou shalt perceyue with what charite the chauncellor of worcester Burned when he toke vp the dead carcas and made asshes of it after it was buried. M.D. xxv.  
8vo. A-B8, C3.  
(Imprynted at Norenburch, 1546.  
STC. 25590.

122. **Frith, John**

Aboke made by John Fryth prysoner in the Tower of London, answerynge vnto M. Mores letter, which he wrote agaynst the fyrste lytle treatyse that John Fryth made concernynge the Sacramente of the body and bloode of Christe: vnto whiche boke are added in the ende the artycles of hys examynacyon before the Bysshoppes of London, Wynchester and Lyncolne, in Paules churche at London, for whyche John Fryth was condempned and after brente in Smythfelde wythout Newgate, the fourth daye of July. Anno. 1533. Now newly reuysed corrected & prynted. In the Yeare of our Lorde. 1546. the last dayes of June. (Dead men shall ryse agayne.  
8vo. A-N8, 04.  
n. col.

123. **Barlow**

The Boke Reade me frynde and be not wrothe. For I saye nothynge but the trothe.  
(The Bysshoppes speake in the Cardynall.  
I wyll ascende makynge my state to hye. That my pompouse honoure shall neuer dye.  
(The Cristen Congregation speaketh.  
O catise, whan thou thynkest least of all, Wyth confusyon thou shal haue a fall.  
(Prynted at Wesell in the yeare of our Lorde 1546 in the last of June. By Henry Nycolson.  
STC. 1462.9.

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