



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://waikato.researchgateway.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

PREACHING BEFORE PRINCES

A STUDY OF SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE MONARCH DURING THE TUDOR ERA

THEODORA HELEN WICKHAM

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for

the Degree of

Master of Arts in English

at the University of Waikato

The University of Waikato

2007

ABSTRACT

The reigns of the five Tudor monarchs were the context of vast changes in the nature of religion and government in England. This study explores the way in which these changes were reflected in sermons preached before the princes. Five preachers have been selected, one from each reign. All the sermons were delivered before the reigning monarch in English, and were printed and published shortly afterwards.

The Introduction gives a general overview of the thesis. The subject matter of Chapter 1 is concerned with the funeral oration at the obsequies of Henry VII. Bishop John Fisher focuses his attention on the death of Henry, his contrition for his sins, and his reliance on God, through Holy Church, for the assurance of forgiveness. Chapter II examines a Good Friday sermon preached at Greenwich Palace before Henry VIII and Queen Anne Boleyn in 1536 by the King's confessor, John Longland. Longland promotes the beliefs and practises of Holy Church notwithstanding Henry's rejection of papal authority. In Chapter III, Hugh Latimer, the 'Prophet to the English,' preached a series of sermons before Edward VI in the Preaching Place at Whitehall during Lent 1549. Latimer's aim is to show Edward the path to true kingship and to promote justice in the realm. The sermons of Thomas Watson, Dean of Lincoln, before Queen Mary at Greenwich in Lent 1554 are the subject of Chapter IV. Watson supported the Queen in her efforts to return England to the true faith. Chapter V analyses the sermon John Whitgift, Dean of Lincoln, preached before Elizabeth I at Greenwich in Lent 1574. Whitgift refuted Catholic beliefs but reserved his greatest attacks for the radical Protestants.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My most grateful thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor Alexandra Barratt for her unfailing patience and the depth of knowledge and scholarship she shared with me during the writing of this thesis. Her comments and criticisms have been invaluable. Dr Barratt also suggested I attend a Conference on *Censorship, Persecution and Resistance in Marian England* at Newnham College, Cambridge, UK, in April of 2007, which proved to be incredibly exciting and stimulating. Dr Mark Houlahan, Associate Dean of Graduate and Post Graduate Studies, has given me much wise counsel and practical support. I am indebted to the University for the grant of a Master's Thesis Award in 2006. The Interlibrary Services librarians, Trisha Kruff, Maria McGuire and Beverly Brown, have helped me find the books and documents I needed, and given me a great deal of other assistance. Thank you all.

I must also make special mention of my friends, Mary Schumacher, whose husband Tony suggested that I undertake University study back in 1999, and who has read and critiqued the work, and Grace Kershaw, who also read the work in progress and helped me sort out problems with my computer.

My sisters, Lewanna McLean, and Spin and Joan Sutherland, my children and their spouses, John, who died in 2000 and Nicki, David and Gail, Helen, and Sally and Rob, and my grandchildren, Shelley and Michael, Jarette and DJ, Alex, and Kristin have all, in their different ways, encouraged me along the way. My many friends have also borne very patiently with my preoccupations. Thank you all, without you it would never have happened.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iii
<i>Table of Contents</i>	iv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	v
Introduction	1
Chapter I:	
John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preaches at the Funeral of Henry VII.	10
Chapter II:	
The King's Confessor preaches on Good Friday, 1536	36
Chapter III:	
Hugh Latimer preaches in Lent 1549	61
Chapter IV:	
Thomas Watson preaches before Queen Mary, Lent 1554.	94
Chapter V:	
John Whitgift, Dean of Lincoln, preaches before Elizabeth I.	121
<i>Bibliography</i>	150

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BIHR</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
<i>CJ</i>	Classical Journal
<i>EETS</i>	Early English Text Society
<i>HJ</i>	Historical Journal
<i>HJPC</i>	Historical Journal of the Protestant Church
<i>HTR</i>	Harvard Theological Review
<i>JBS</i>	Journal of British Studies
<i>ODNB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
<i>OED</i>	Oxford English Dictionary
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>SCJ</i>	Sixteenth Century Journal
<i>STC</i>	Short Title Catalogue

INTRODUCTION

‘Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet,
and shew my people their transgressions’ (Isaiah 58: 1).

‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.’ (Mark 16: 15).

‘Unto me, who am less than the least of the saints, is this grace given, that I should
preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ’ (Ephesians 3: 8.).

These three texts, the first, the words of the Old Testament prophet, Isaiah, the second, Christ’s command to his disciples given just before his ascension, and the third, Paul’s declaration to the people of Ephesus, are imperatives that have motivated preachers throughout the ages. From the time of Moses, preachers and prophets assumed the tasks of the reading and exposition of the Word of God. ‘And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the Lord has said will we do’ (Exodus 24: 3). ‘And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel’ (Exodus 25: 1, 2). Very often the task of the preachers was to call individuals, or the Hebrew nation as a whole, to repentance. Nathan called King David to repentance after his adultery with Bathsheba, saying ‘Wherefore hast thou despised the commandment of the Lord, to do evil in his sight?’ and David replied, ‘I have sinned against the Lord’ (2 Samuel 11: 3 - 12: 14). In a time of peace and prosperity, God called Amos to preach harsh words to Israel. ‘Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel...saying, “You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities” ’

(Amos 3: 1-2). The peaceful times had lulled the Israelites into a sense of false security and they had forgotten their duty to God. The function of the prophets, whosoever they addressed, was to be the channel of communication between God and man.

Since the dawn of Christianity there has been a long history of preaching before rulers. The earliest occasion was when Paul expounded the beliefs of the new church to the Roman governor Felix (Acts 24: 10-25). Hosius (c. 257-357), Bishop of Cordova, was an advisor to the Roman Emperor Constantine (d. 337),¹ and no doubt preached before him, while the Emperor Theodosius I (c. 346-395), said of Ambrose (c. 339-97), Bishop of Milan, who often preached before him, 'I know of no bishop worthy of the name, except Ambrose.'² And that is to mention only two of the many ecclesiastics who preached at court over the centuries.

If we go to the summer of AD 597 we can find what was possibly the earliest occasion of preaching at an English court, when St Augustine of Canterbury addressing King Ethelbert of Kent, gave what turned out to be a convincing exposition of the Christian faith.³ The clergy continued in their role of preachers at court throughout the Middle Ages and there were times when sermons were in great demand, for example in the latter part of the fourteenth century when Edward III and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, patronised preachers such as Richard Maidstone (d. 1396) and William Badby (d. 1380/81). Maidstone, who was confessor to Gaunt, and Badby, a Carmelite friar, were eloquent preachers and often addressed the court,

¹ F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 668.

² James F. Loughlin, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, I (New York: Robert Appleton, 1907), p. 2.

³ Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 51.

where they drew great crowds to hear them speak.⁴ Some historians have argued that the then popularity of preaching may have been because it was a time of civil instability - the Peasants' Revolt took place in 1381 - and the ensuing social ills provided much material for polemical sermons. A similar situation arose during the Tudor era, with 'powerful orators on both sides pitting their rhetorical skills against each other in an on-going debate over the future of the English church.'⁵ Some historians have suggested that Reformation preachers, such as Hugh Latimer, initiated the tradition of bold pulpit oratory before English monarchs, but it was nothing new.

This study examines the way in which way preaching before princes evolved during the reigns of the Tudor kings and queens. The study begins in 1509, when John Fisher, standing in the pulpit of St Paul's Cathedral with the king's body lying in state before him, preached Henry VII's funeral sermon. It befitted the obsequies of a medieval ruler who had gained his throne by conquest and had retained it for twenty-four years in spite of the appearance of pretenders and the resulting insurrections. More than twenty years later, John Longland, Henry VIII's confessor, preached to a king who had rejected papal supremacy but who could and should, Longland considered, be encouraged to retain other traditional Catholic beliefs and practices. Hugh Latimer's contemporaries knew him as 'the prophet to the English' and when he preached at the court of Edward VI, he spoke as had the prophets of the Old Testament, and spelt out the duties of a prince, as he understood them. Latimer called the whole nation to repentance and he gave many examples of wrongs that were apparent in the kingdom. Thomas Watson, the foremost Catholic theologian of his time, expounded the basic tenets of what he and Queen Mary held to be the true faith,

⁴ Richard Copsy, 'Badby, William (d.1380/81)', *ODNB*, online edn.

⁵ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 52.

in particular the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Real Presence, in order to recall the people to that belief. He saw Mary as the prince who would lead her people back to the faith into which so many of them had been born. The final sermon in this study, preached by John Whitgift, is a concise, scholarly, but very dense exposition of the need for obedience and conformity in the church in accordance with the Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. His purpose is to reinforce the Queen's authority over ecclesiastical affairs in her office of Supreme Governor of the Church of England.⁶

There is considerable variation in the style of the sermons. The first, Fisher's funeral oration for Henry VII, delivered in 1509, is modelled on classical funeral oratory. Longland and Watson, who were preaching to educated audiences, used similar learned and formal styles of preaching. Longland, preaching in 1536, is a 'master of consciously elaborated rhythms',⁷ and his use of *rogatio* (question and answer), is emotive and forceful. In his Good Friday sermon, which owes much to the genre of medieval Passion literature, Longland preached a traditionally styled exposition of the trial and crucifixion of Christ in which he emphasized Christ's obedience to God. Watson, addressing Queen Mary and her court in 1554, also used a formal, ornate style, employing all his great rhetorical skills in a defence of the traditional doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, and attacking the changes that had been put into place since the separation from Rome. These sermons are very different from those preached in the Lent of 1549 by Hugh Latimer, which are simple in construction and colloquial in expression. Latimer's audience comprised people from every walk of life, he spoke to

⁶ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 100.

⁷ J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450- c.1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), p. 136.

them in a way that was designed to reach all of them, even the most humble, and his comments cover a wide range of social and political concerns. John Whitgift preached the last sermon in the sample before Elizabeth I in 1574. This is in a learned style but much shorter than any of the others, Elizabeth's aversion to long sermons being well known.

The sermons deal with a number of themes, some of them conflicting. Fisher is concerned with the importance of a good death within the embrace of, and obedient to, Holy Church. The theme of Longland's sermon is the obedience of Christ to God the Father in the Passion, in which is implicit the obedience due from man to God and to the secular authority embodied in the prince. Latimer proclaims the absolute necessity of the preaching of the Scriptures; salvation is a preaching matter, not a "massing" matter, but for Watson, the way to salvation is through the Sacrament of the Mass. Whitgift is alarmed by a breakdown he sees in obedience and conformity to the Church established by law in the kingdom.

A major theme common to all the sermons is that of obedience to authority, whether it be to the church or the prince. Throughout the hundreds of years preceding the Reformation, in the West the Pope had been seen as head of the Church and his authority extended through cardinals, bishops, archdeacons, and priests to the men and women in the parishes, in a hierarchy that was mirrored by the secular hierarchy of King, nobles and commons. This concept was in line with the theory concerning spiritual and temporal power expounded by Pope Gelasius I in 494,⁸ and developed in the twelfth century by St Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of Saint Victor, and John of

⁸ Franklin Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 15.

Salisbury. This postulated that there were two swords, the ‘temporal sword’ belonging to the prince, and the ‘spiritual sword’ belonging to the church.⁹ The Gelasian theory had origins that went back to the early church, indeed, as far back as the late second century.

At every turn the Latin Church juxtaposed swords, emperors, armies, and sacraments. The temporal sword chastened and strengthened those to whom God had granted the Spirit’s sword. With the spiritual sword, the martyrs gained eternal salvation and vanquished their enemies, over whom they would sit in judgment. Through Christ and beyond the judgment of the world, the Church thus reserved special judgment for those who held power in the world.¹⁰

By the twelfth century, the theory emerged that the church gives the temporal sword to the prince. It was the church which validated the state, and therefore, in the last analysis had the final authority.¹¹ This concept was accepted in general terms by both church and state, although in practice the relationship between the ecclesiastical and the secular varied from time to time. However, as Christ’s vicar on earth, the pope consistently claimed authority over the whole Catholic Church.

In England, in the early part of the sixteenth century, there was little conflict of authority between church and state. Henry VII had acknowledged at the beginning of his reign that his authority as king came from God through his representative on earth,

⁹ Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: from Augustine to the Eve of the Reformation*, II (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1984), p. 183.

¹⁰ Lester L. Field, Jr., *Liberty, Dominion and the Two Swords: On the Origins of Western Political Theology (180-398)* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), p. 56.

¹¹ Gonzalez, *History of Christian Thought*, II, p. 183.

the Pope, and he was perfectly content to make use of the pope's authority to support his claim as it helped to enforce order and obedience in the kingdom. His son, Henry VIII, also supported the pope's authority during the early part of his reign, writing a treatise, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, defending papal jurisdiction against the writings of Martin Luther. However, when Henry VIII wanted to end his marriage, the pope's unco-operative attitude meant that Henry found that there was only one way to achieve his goal. This was by repudiating papal authority and declaring, by Act of Parliament, that he was Supreme Head of the Church in England. In doing this Henry grasped spiritual power as well as the temporal power he already enjoyed. Although many in the kingdom acquiesced, others would not, and they included two men of international significance, Sir Thomas More, who had been Henry's Chancellor, and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. These men were later executed for their denial of the king's supremacy. This tension between obedience to temporal power and obedience to spiritual power continued throughout the remainder of the sixteenth and on into the seventeenth century. At first the struggle for power was between the prince and the pope, for at the time, they were the representatives of temporal and spiritual authority. As the Reformation progressed the emphasis changed, as those clergy who desired to further purify the church in England from popish remnants pursued their aim of establishing a theocracy founded on presbyterian lines. Thus the temporal power of the prince was threatened by clerics at both extremes. During this study I will argue that this tension is both directed and reflected by the sermons in this survey.

Finally, we need to consider the audience to whom these sermons were preached. Thousands of people accompanied Henry VII's mortal remains in procession to St.

Paul's Cathedral on 9 May 1509, and the cathedral was packed to the doors. When, after Mass the next day, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached the funeral oration, no doubt the cathedral was just as full, and Fisher's remarks were addressed to everyone present.¹² John Longland, Thomas Watson and John Whitgift all preached to the congregations present in the Chapel Royal at the time. Their audiences were comparatively small, but the men and women present were those who exercised power and authority in the realm. Hugh Latimer preached to the vast crowds from all walks of life who gathered in the Preaching Place at Whitehall, though not everyone would have been able to hear all he had say. All the sermons considered in this study were printed quite soon after they were delivered. The advent and increasing use of the printing press and the growing literacy of the people meant that sermons in the vernacular could be printed, published and so reach a great many more people than those who were able to be present at the time they were delivered. Presumably, the sermons were composed with these greater audiences in mind.

This study can examine only a very few of the sermons preached and published during the sixteenth century. The men who preached them had all been educated at either Oxford or Cambridge, and they all had been, were, or would be bishops. Two were martyred for their faith: Fisher was executed because he rejected the Royal Supremacy, while Latimer perished at the stake, maintaining that he had 'forgotten all massing, and the very mass itself I do detest.'¹³ At the time of their respective sermons, Longland was Bishop of Lincoln, the most populous of the dioceses in England, while Watson was the Dean of Durham. Both these men were well known

¹² Sydney Anglo, 'Image-making: The means and the limitations,' in *The Tudor Monarchy*, ed. by John Guy, (London: Arnold, 1997), pp. 16-42 (p. 19).

¹³ Susan Wabuda, 'Latimer, Hugh (c.1485-1555), bishop of Worcester, preacher, and protestant martyr,' *ODNB*, online edn.

to their contemporaries as reformers of the Catholic Church. John Whitgift was Elizabeth's Archbishop of Canterbury for twenty-one years, and, as such, his was the task of upholding the 1559 Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. All these men were in positions of authority, they would all have thought of themselves as reformers in their own way, and as such, they played a considerable part in the shaping and re-shaping of the church in England.

CHAPTER I

JOHN FISHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, PREACHES AT THE FUNERAL OF HENRY VII

The Tudor dynasty spanned the years from the defeat of Richard III at the battle of Bosworth Field on 22 August 1485 to the death of Elizabeth I on 24 March 1603, and their reigns covered the whole of the sixteenth century and more. When Henry Tudor grasped the reins of power that day, no one could have guessed at the changes that would occur during the century ahead and during the lives of his son and grandchildren. Of all those changes, none would have been more difficult to predict than those that took place in the religion of the people of England, and, certainly, no one could have seen how these changes in religion would affect the lives of everyone in the country.

After his defeat of Richard, Henry took further steps to buttress his rather flimsy claim to the throne.¹ When Henry moved to London, he brought his battle standards with him to offer them in St Paul's Cathedral in thanks to God for giving him the victory.² He took possession of the Tower, and summoned Parliament, his first act being to backdate the beginning of his reign to the day before the battle. That he was acknowledged by Parliament, which was recognised as the voice of national consent,

¹ Richard Rex, *The Tudors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 15.

² Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (London: Viking, 2000), p. 12.

added further weight to his claim and enabled Henry to have an Act of Attainder passed against those who had opposed him.³

The kingdom that Henry acquired that momentous day at Bosworth was still medieval in its religious belief and practice. The Church in England and Wales, the *ecclesia Anglicana*, was a huge and complex organisation that was a part of the papal realm which covered the whole of Western Europe. The roughly two and a half million people who made up the population of the country were considered to be members of this church, and were bound to attend services on Sundays and festivals, to fast when required, to make confession to a priest and receive communion at least at Easter. Christopher Haigh estimates that there would have been about 9,500 parish churches, each of which was probably staffed by about four priests whose task was to minister to the people, making up about 40,000 secular priests and, as well, there were about 12,000 monks and nuns.⁴

Henry was quite genuine in his religious belief and piety. During his reign he showed consistent favour to the Observant Franciscans, whose houses at Greenwich and Richmond were adjacent to royal palaces.⁵ He also deemed it expedient to appeal to Pope Innocent VIII for confirmation of his title, which was granted, and, in fact, Henry found the Pope's approval a considerable asset. Henry had the Papal Bull recognising his title printed and circulated throughout the realm. The pontiff also called on all churchmen to denounce conspirators against the king's person or estate

³ John Cannon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 62. Acts of Attainder were bills of Parliament, passed by both Houses and receiving the royal assent, which were directed at political foes. The accused were denied proper trial, declared guilty of treason, and subjected to a range of penalties: life, property and titles could all be forfeited.

⁴ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 5.

⁵ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 40.

under pain of ‘the great curse’,⁶ thus ensuring the obedience of the clergy. It follows that Henry was accepted as the legitimate ruler by both church and state.

The good relations between papacy and crown continued throughout Henry’s reign. His chancellors were churchmen, he admitted the papal legate sent to sell indulgences for the crusade against the Turks into England, and he refrained from attacking church property. The pope, in his turn, assented to Henry’s wishes with regard to the appointment of bishops.⁷ Sir John Fortescue (c.1394 - c.1476), writing in about 1470, asserted that every prince is subject to the pope simply because he is a member of Holy Church, the kingdom of all Christian men. Christ, the King of all Kings, had delegated both the temporal and the spiritual swords to his vicar on earth, the pope, who was thus termed *Rex et Sacerdos*. So it follows that the current theory of kingship envisaged a monarch subject to the universal authority of the pope but having power over over-mighty subjects.⁸ It is apparent that a tactful and respectful relationship with the papacy continued throughout Henry’s reign.

Henry’s health began to deteriorate during the early years of the sixteenth century. He had a serious illness in 1504, a year after the death of his wife and two years after Prince Arthur, his eldest son, had died. This illness seems to have directed his thoughts towards the possibility that, although he was only forty-seven, death might be closer than he had anticipated. Consequently, it seems he began to reassess some of his past actions. In a letter sent to his mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, in 1504, the king wrote, ‘I have in my days promoted mony a man unadvisedly, and I wolde

⁶ David Loades, *Politics and the Nation, 1450-1660*, 5th ed. (London: Fontana, 1999), p. 103.

⁷ Franklin Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 16.

⁸ Baumer, *Tudor Theory of Kingship*, p. 18.

now make some recompense to promote some good and vertuose men.’⁹ Perhaps Henry hoped that altering his policy of appointing his trusted servants and their relatives, rather than worthy theologians and pastors to the episcopate (James Stanley was made Bishop of Ely simply because he was the Lady Margaret’s stepson)¹⁰ would compensate for past sins on his part. It was at this time that John Fisher (c.1469-1535), spiritual director to the Lady Margaret since 1498, was preferred to the see of Rochester by Henry on the recommendation of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester.¹¹ Henry wrote to his mother that he made the appointment ‘for non other cause, but for the grete and singular virtue, that I know and se in hym, as well in conyng and natural wisdome.’¹² When the king finally died in April 1509, the prelate selected to preach at his funeral was John Fisher. In all probability, Henry’s mother, the Lady Margaret, chose him for this task in her role as chief executrix of his will.¹³

John Fisher was born at Beverley, Yorkshire, c.1459, the son of a moderately wealthy merchant, Robert, and his wife Agnes. There were several children, one of whom was a brother, Robert, who in later life became John’s steward. The young John probably received his early education at the local grammar school in Beverley, and was then sent to Cambridge c.1483, where he studied at Michaelhouse.¹⁴ Fisher had a distinguished career at Cambridge, graduating BA in 1488, proceeding MA in 1491, and then taking his Doctorate of Theology in 1501. He was ordained at York in 1491.¹⁵

⁹ Edward Surtz, S.J., *The Works and Days of John Fisher* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 55.

¹⁰ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 39.

¹¹ Richard Rex, ‘Fisher, John [St John Fisher] (c.1469-1535)’, *ODNB*, online edn, p. 1.

¹² Surtz, *Days and Works*, p. 55.

¹³ Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King’s Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 92.

¹⁴ Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 6.

¹⁵ Rex, ‘Fisher, John,’ *ODNB* article, p. 1.

Fisher had come to the king's notice from about 1496, when he visited the court at Greenwich on business for the University of Cambridge, of which he was then proctor.¹⁶ It was during this visit that the young priest met the king's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, and his talents must have impressed her, because she took him into her service. It is possible that Bishop Fisher's Latin oration in the presence of both King Henry and Lady Margaret, given in the unfinished King's College Chapel, Cambridge in 1506, was influential in persuading Henry to bequeath £5,000 for the completion of that building.¹⁷ Fisher paid rather fulsome praise to Henry in this address, comparing his birth and career to that of the Old Testament prophet Moses and declaring that the king excelled all other monarchs in prudence and wisdom, as the sun excels the stars.¹⁸

The funeral service for Henry VII, who had died on 21 April 1509, took place at St Paul's Cathedral, London, on 10 May 1509. Bishop John Fisher preached the sermon, which was later printed by Wynkyn de Worde,¹⁹ at the special request of the 'ryght excellent prynceffe Margarete moder vnto the fayd noble prynce and Counteffe of Rychemonde and Derby.'²⁰ Lady Margaret, as chief executrix of her son's will, played a major role in the organisation of his obsequies. She also took precedence over the other women of the royal family who were present at the Requiem Mass.²¹

¹⁶ Rex, *Fisher, John*, ODNB article, p. 1.

¹⁷ Rex, *Fisher, John*, ODNB article, p. 2.

¹⁸ Surtz, *Works and Days*, p. 237.

¹⁹ Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 186.

²⁰ *The English Works of John Fisher: Bishop of Rochester (1459-1535) Part 1*, ed. by John E. B. Mayer, (London: Oxford University Press, *EETS*, e.s. 27, 1876; repr. 1973), pp. 168-188, (p. 268).

²¹ Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 92.

An indication of Fisher's standing as a preacher can be gathered from the fact, that in spite of later royal condemnation of his works by Henry VIII, this oration at the funeral of Henry VII, which was printed in 1509, survives in two editions, and more than nine copies.²² (STC 10900, 10901, 10903, 10903a, 10904, 10906, and 10907) A manuscript copy of this sermon, Bodley MS 13 B, is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.²³

Fisher informs his hearers that his purpose is 'Fyrft in the commendacyon of hym that deed is. Seconde in a styrynge of the herers to haue compaffyon vpon hym. And thyrde in a comforynge of them agayne.'²⁴ Following the tradition of classical funeral oratory, Fisher divides his sermon into three sections: first, the introduction, in which he states the occasion, confesses his own unworthiness for 'this fo grete a mater'²⁵, announces the choice of the psalm as his text for the sermon, and declares that he will follow the pattern of classical oratorical construction; secondly, the body of the sermon, with its three points: the commendation, the arousing of compassion, and the consolation of the bereaved; and thirdly, the conclusion, which recapitulates the whole oration.²⁶

Embodied in the funeral sermon is the exegesis of Psalm 114, '*Dilexi quoniam exaudiet dominus vocem deprecationis meae*, I have loved, because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer'.

²² Maria Dowling, *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher, 1469-1535* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 87.

²³ Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, p. 201.

²⁴ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 269.

²⁵ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 268.

²⁶ Surtz, *Works and Days*, p. 267.

I wyll entreate the fyrft pſalme of the dirige,²⁷ whiche pſalme was wryten of the holy kynge and prophete kynge Dauyd, comforynge hym after his grete falles and trespaffes ayenft almighty god & redde in the chyrche in the funeral obſequyes of euery cryften perfone whan that he dyeth.²⁸

The text with which Fisher introduced his sermon, the *Dirige*, was possibly one of the most familiar passages of scripture for his audience, located as it was at the beginning of the funeral rite and his use of it is an effective means of focussing the attention of his hearers on their own mortality and their need to make proper provision for their own death.

Fisher opens his address by comparing the late king with David; the most honoured and dearly loved of the Hebrew kings. In this psalm, David poured out his repentance and remorse for his transgressions, so it is fitting that Fisher should combine his commentary on it with his depiction of Henry's last moments. Fisher tells his audience that the king spent his last hours in the deepest agony of mind and the most sincere remorse for his sins.²⁹ The preacher moves the focus of his discourse from earth through to heaven, and from the king's agonising deathbed, through the crowd of grieving subjects in the cathedral, to 'the presence of that moost blessyd countenance'³⁰ in heaven.

For Fisher, the Catholic theologian, the most important aspect of Henry's life is his death, but, in the tradition of classical oratory, he must first introduce the king's life

²⁷ In the Latin rite, *Dirige* was the first word of the antiphon at Matins in the Office of the Dead.

²⁸ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 269.

²⁹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 272.

³⁰ Surtz, *Works and Days*, p. 269.

and achievements to his audience. Fisher commends the king's political wisdom, his intellect, his long memory; his great experience in government, fortunate counsels both at home and in his foreign policies; his attractive appearance and many children, and the list goes on. These are the qualities needed by a king who had taken the throne by the defeat of the previous king, who had had to deal with Yorkist plots and pretenders throughout his reign, and who had also to rebuild a realm which had suffered from the long-drawn-out conflicts which are known to history as the Wars of the Roses. Bishop Fisher does not deny the need for strong government but he asserts that all these achievements are now 'but Fumus & vmbra. A fmoke that foone vanyflheth, and a fhadowe foone paffynge away. Shall I prayfe hym than for them. Nay forfothe.'³¹ The bishop argues that Solon of Athens, having been shown the glory and riches that Cresus had amassed, would not 'afferme that he was bleffyd for all that but fayd. Expectandus est finis. The ende is to be abyde & loked vpon, wherein he fayd full trouth...in the ende is all togyder, a good ende and a gracious conclufyon of the lyfe maketh all.'³² He also quotes the words of Seneca on the importance of a good end, 'Bonam vite claufulam.'³³ By using these analogies taken from classical sources, Fisher demonstrates his humanist learning, but, because he is first and foremost a Christian theologian, he goes to Scripture and the prophet Ezekiel for words of warning from God himself on the inevitability of death and the need for repentance. Fisher gives Ezekiel's words in Latin, translating into English to underline the importance of the prophet's message. 'Yf the fynfull man...in the ende of lyfe yf he retourne from his wyckednes vnto god, all his wyckednes before fhall not let hym to be faued' (Ezekiel 3: 18-21). To Fisher, what is much more important than all Henry has accomplished in his lifetime, is that he has had time to reflect and

³¹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 270.

³² Fisher, *English Works*, p. 270.

³³ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 270.

repent: 'all men haue in theyr lyfe trespassed ayenst almighty god, I may well saye that he is gracyous that maketh a bleffyd ende.'³⁴

Fisher continues his discourse by citing four ways in which Henry sought to make his 'bleffyd ende'. First, he turned his soul from this world to God; secondly, he placed his hope and confidence in prayer; thirdly, he showed his strong belief in God and the sacraments; and fourthly, he besought God most diligently for mercy. After his confession at the beginning of Lent when he was gravely ill, the king promised, if his life should be spared, to make amends for past injustices, to promote virtuous and learned men in the church, and 'he wolde graunte a pardon generally vnto all his people, whiche .iiij. thynges he let not openly to speke to dyuerse as dyd reforte vnto hym.'³⁵ He had made similar promises of contrition and amendment after his severe illness in 1504, but not many had been implemented.³⁶

As Fisher was a true churchman, he was convinced that time for a man to reflect and repent of his sins was of the utmost importance. Sudden and unforeseen death, 'mors improvisa', was the dread of all medieval people, and time for 'repentance sealed in the last sacraments of "schrift, housel, and aneling – confession, communion, and anointing"'³⁷ was considered essential. Eamon Duffy explains: 'It was the religious complex of these last things, death, judgement, Hell and Heaven, that formed the essential focus of the late medieval reflection on mortality, coupling anxiety over the

³⁴ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 271.

³⁵ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 271. A general pardon was a formal remission, either free or conditional, of the legal consequences of a crime. *OED* definition.

³⁶ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 42.

³⁷ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 311.

brevity and uncertainty of life to the practical need for good works, to ensure a blissful hereafter.’³⁸

Fisher directs this question to his auditors:

Who may suppose but that this man had verily set his herte & loue vpon god, or who may thinke that in his persone may not be sayd Dilexi. That is to saye, I haue set my loue on my lorde god.³⁹ As did King David, who wrote the Psalm, so also has this king confessed many times, from the deepest sorrow of his heart, ‘Peccaui.’⁴⁰

The man who confesses his sins with the deepest sorrow and contrition will surely be forgiven.

The king, Fisher tells his hearers, put his trust in the prayers which were said for him in both churches and religious houses throughout the realm: in every church his collect (the special prayer for the king) was said daily, in the Lenten masses which were said for him during the last many years, and in the alms he had given for prisoners and the poor and needy of the realm.⁴¹ William Stafford argues that Fisher ‘shows no suspicion toward multiplied intercessions or vicarious piety,’⁴² for the understanding was that the prayers of others amplified one’s own prayer. An example of contemporary prayer for the king is the bidding prayer commonly used at this time:

³⁸ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 308.

³⁹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 272.

⁴⁰ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 272.

⁴¹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 273.

⁴² William S. Stafford, ‘Repentance on the Eve of the English Reformation: John Fisher’s Sermons of 1508 and 1509,’ *HJPEC* (1985), pp. 297-338 (p. 307).

praye for the wele and peas of all Crysten reames, specially for the reame of Englonde, Our soverayne lorde the King, Our soverayne lady the Quene, My lorde the Prynce, My lady the Kynges Moder, My lorde her Husbonde, with all the Lordes of the Realme.⁴³

The bishop asserts that the king can be confident that, ‘as St Austyn saith, the prayers of the many cannot but be heard.’⁴⁴ If God attended to the prayer of Manasses, king of Judah, who did evil in the sight of the Lord (II Kings 21:2), how much more will he hear the prayers of many for the late king, who trusted in the ‘sacrament of penaunce, the sacrament of *the auter*, & the sacrament of anelynge.’⁴⁵

The king received the sacrament of penance with a ‘meruaylous compaffyon & flowe of teres...[and] the sacrament of the auter he receyued at mydlent, & agayne vpon eelster day *with fo grete reuerence that* all that were present were afonyed thereat.’⁴⁶

The king, says the bishop, received the sacrament then with great humility, and just before his death, when he was too weak to receive it again, he desired to ‘fe the monftraunt wherin it was conteyned.’⁴⁷ When this was brought by his confessor, the king made his humble reverence to it, not venturing to kiss that part where the ‘bleffyd body of our lorde was conteyned, but the loweft parte of the fote of the monftraunt.’⁴⁸

All this is in accordance with Catholic teaching on the sacrament of penance, which consists of three parts, contrition, confession and satisfaction. For proper contrition

⁴³ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 51.

⁴⁴ Fisher, *English Works*, p.273.

⁴⁵ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 273.

⁴⁶ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 273.

⁴⁷ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 274.

⁴⁸ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 274.

‘the penitent was expected to have a firm purpose of avoiding sin and its occasions’⁴⁹. Only by virtue of the Sacrament of Penance could a man’s sins be forgiven although God’s justice worked in the favour of sinners for he had promised forgiveness to the repentant sinner.⁵⁰ Fisher asserts that the justice of God lies in the fulfilling of his promise to forgive the penitent, not in his condemnation of the sinner.

The bishop continues this part of his discourse by taking his audience through the last weeks and days of the king’s life. Henry received the sacrament of ‘anelynge’ (anointing, always reserved until shortly before the time of death) very devoutly so that Fisher cannot believe that God’s ear is not open to the king in the extremity of his entreating for mercy. He also heard the ‘messe of the glorious virgin the moder of cryfte to whome alwaye in his lyfe he had a fynguler & special deuocyon.’⁵¹ In common with many of his subjects, Henry showed considerable devotion to the cult of the Virgin Mary and made pilgrimages to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. He had been on pilgrimage to Walsingham when the Lambert Simnel insurrection erupted in 1487. In gratitude for his victory at Stoke, Henry donated a splendid votive statue of himself to the shrine.⁵²

In the second part of his exegesis of Psalm 114, Fisher argues that men should be stirred to have compassion on the king. Again Fisher divides his argument: the first point he makes is touching the pains and sorrows of death; the second, touching the fear of judgement for his soul; thirdly, touching the miseries of the world; and

⁴⁹ Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 122.

⁵⁰ Rex, *Theology of John Fisher*, p. 37.

⁵¹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 274.

⁵² Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 40.

fourthly, touching the king's sorrowful cry to God for help and succour. He conducts his hearers through each of these sections in turn.

Fisher quotes the words of Aristotle, 'Mors *omnium* terribilissima.'⁵³ That is to say, death is of all things the most to be feared, because soul and body are so closely entwined that the severance of one from the other is as painful as the agony of our Saviour on the cross. As the Psalmist said, 'Circumdederunt me dolores mortis',⁵⁴ the sorrows of death have encompassed me. For twenty-seven hours Henry endured the pains of death, but far worse than the agony of his body was the agony of his soul, dreading the judgement of God, even though he had received the sacraments of the church with such great devotion. For no man can know whether or not he is in a state of grace, or whether the perils of hell loom ahead. 'Et pericula inferni inuenerunt me,' the perils of hell have found me.⁵⁵

The preacher implores his hearers to have pity on and weep for the dead man, even as Hannibal wept for his dead foes, Paulus Emilius, Tiberius Graccus and Marcus Marcellus; David the king wept 'ryght pyteoufly' for Saul, Absalom and Abner; but even more, Christ Jesu wept at the monument of Lazarus, dead four days.

If he *that* was the kyng of all kynges wepte for the deth of his subgete fo longe after his buryall, what sholde we that be subgetes do for the deth of our kyng & fouerayne hauynge yet the prefence of his body vnburied amonges

⁵³ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 276.

⁵⁴ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 277.

⁵⁵ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 287.

vs, forfothe it fholde moue vs to haue pyte & compaffyon the rather vpon
hym.⁵⁶

As he continues his exposition, Fisher looks to scripture for examples of grieving subjects in order to arouse compassion in the hearts of his audience. He reminds his hearers that a servant of king David declared to his master that he would remain with him in life or death, and king Saul's squire slew himself when he saw his master's body. Those of Henry's attendants who were present during his last hours must be hard hearted indeed, if, after hearing his piteous cries, they were not moved to pity like unto this for their dead sovereign. The bishop begs that they may at the least, with prayers and a Paternoster, beseech God in his infinite mercy to pardon and deliver the king's soul. At the same time he impresses on his hearers the need to contemplate and prepare for their own death, for who can know when it will come.

Fisher now takes his hearers to the third part of the psalm: that which comforts them in the loss of their king and sovereign. Here, again, he divides his discourse into four parts and enlarges on them, one by one. First, God is merciful; the king has been taken into God's keeping. This is very important for Fisher, who stresses that having humbled himself before God, as did David, the king will be pardoned, as was David, for his sins. St Augustine said, that however great the crime, the sinner who repents will not be excluded from pardon. This must have been of great comfort to the late king in his extremity, and to his loyal servants now that he has gone from them.

⁵⁶ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 280.

The second comfort, which Fisher expounds to his hearers, is that God has taken the king into his keeping and delivered him from the thraldom of sin. Here Fisher compares the prisoner, who undermines the walls of his cell and creeps through a ‘ftrayte and narowe hole...to come to theyr lyberte,’ to the sinner who must undermine the walls of sin and ‘foo come vnto the lyberte of grace.’⁵⁷ St Anthony saw in a vision how the world was full of the snares of sin and the devil and he asked, ‘Bleffyd lorde ...who fhall paffe thefe daungers? It was answered hym Sola humilitas, Onely humbleness and lowlyneffe.’⁵⁸ Even so great a sinner as Ahab, king of Israel, when challenged by the prophet Elijah, humbled himself to the dust. Because he had done so, Fisher asserts, the Lord would not bring evil in his days, but in his son’s days (1 Kings 21: 27-29). Perhaps Fisher is warning the new young king who had so recently acceded, that he must be aware of the pitfalls and temptations embodied in the exercise of power.

Fisher extols the mercy that God extends to

our late kynge and fouerayne, whiche foo moche humbled hymselfe before his deth, humbled hym vnto god, humbled him vnto his confeffour, humbled hym vnto penaunce, humbled hym vnto the facrament of the auter, and to the other facramentes, humbled hym vnto the crucifyxe, and with a more humblenes and pacyence toke this fekenesse & euery thyng in it than euer he dyd before,⁵⁹

while at the same time, he stresses the depth of Henry’s agony of repentance.

⁵⁷ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 283.

⁵⁸ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 284.

⁵⁹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 284.

The third comfort that should sustain his hearers says the bishop, is that their late king has escaped from the miseries and vanities of this life and is now at rest. ‘Vanitas vanitatum & omnia vanitas’⁶⁰ as said the wise king Solomon, and the good bishop draws an analogy from the work of a spider, busily spinning her threads and building her web until the wind comes and all is destroyed.⁶¹ Men begin to build, but everything comes to naught before they have half finished. The wheel of fortune turns and all is lost. This remark might have been directed at his audience just as much as to the king, for none of them could know when their own time would come.

According to Fisher, Henry sent for his son not long before he died, to give him fatherly exhortation, committing to him the ‘laborous gouernance of this realme’,⁶² and, having done this, was able to gather his own soul to its true rest. Henry can say to his soul, ‘*Connuertere anima mea in requiem tuam quia dominus benefecit tibi. Be* turned my foule in to thy rest, for thy lorde hath been benefycyall vnto the.’⁶³

Fisher is now coming to the conclusion of his discourse and he recapitulates the points he has made. He tells his hearers that the late king, because he had a long time to repent his sins, has escaped the dangers of everlasting death, everlasting weeping, and the possibility of falling into sin again. But it is much more important that Henry is assured of continuing in the favour of almighty God. Fisher says that to be in the ‘prefence of that mooft bleffyd countenance & to be affured euer to continue in that gracious fauour, no tongue can expresse, no speche can declare, no herte can thynke,

⁶⁰ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 285.

⁶¹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 285.

⁶² Fisher, *English Works*, p. 286.

⁶³ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 286.

how grete, how farre passynge this comferte is.’⁶⁴ Fisher can appeal to his hearers, ‘A kynge Henry kynge Henry yf thou were on lyue agayne, many one that is here present now wolde pretende a full grete pyte & tenderneffe vpon the.’⁶⁵

Then Fisher sums up his whole argument by saying he has

perused this pfalme in the perfone of this noble man, deuydyng it in thre partes, in a *commendacyon* of hym, in a mouynge of you to haue compaffyon vpon hym, & in a comfortynge of you agayne.⁶⁶

Of the entire great crowd gathered in St Paul’s that day it could be that there were few who truly mourned the king apart from his mother, the Lady Margaret. The deep affection between them is attested by their correspondence. The Lady Margaret referred to Henry as her ‘derest and only desired joy yn thys world’.⁶⁷ And, again, in 1501, his mother writes to Henry referring to his birthday, ‘thys day of Seynt Annes, that y dyd bring ynto thys world my good and gracious prynce, kynge and only beloved son’.⁶⁸ The Lady Margaret spent the last days of her son’s life with him at Richmond and one can imagine her grievous sorrow as she watched his life ebbing away.⁶⁹

We also need to consider why Bishop Fisher laid such stress on the remorse shown by Henry in his last hours. Henry had taken the throne by conquest and, although his marriage to Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV, in January 1486 united

⁶⁴ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 287.

⁶⁵ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 280.

⁶⁶ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 287.

⁶⁷ Jones and Underwood, *The King’s Mother*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ Jones and Underwood, *The King’s Mother*, p. 74.

⁶⁹ Jones and Underwood, *The King’s Mother*, p. 92.

the houses of York and Lancaster, there were others in England with as good, if not better claims to the throne, not excluding his mother, but he was the one with armed men to back his claim. He was also determined to show that his title to kingship was not dependent on his marriage. Elizabeth was not crowned until November 1487, after the birth of her first child, a son.⁷⁰ As well, Henry hoped to found a dynasty, and he and Elizabeth were blessed with five children, three of whom lived to maturity. All the same, as Richard Rex suggests, ‘for all the trouble that Henry took to bolster his dubious legitimacy, his reign was always overshadowed by the fact that he was little more than a noble adventurer who got lucky.’⁷¹

Many of Henry’s policies, particularly in the latter part of his reign, when he used attainders and recognizances⁷², and sold offices such as the chief justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas (twice), the posts of attorney-general, Master of the Rolls, and the Speaker of the House of Commons,⁷³ became more and more oppressive. From quite early in his reign Henry had devised a useful means of keeping his greatest subjects in his power. He collected bonds for present or future good behaviour, sometimes for very large amounts of money,⁷⁴ from his subjects but, as long as these men remained in his favour, Henry would demand only a small portion of the debt. Between 1502 and 1509 two-thirds of the peerage lay under financial penalties.⁷⁵ One of the first acts of the interim council appointed to govern in the interregnum after Henry’s death was to authorize the arrest of two of the most

⁷⁰ S.T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (London: Penguin, 1952), p. 46.

⁷¹ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 12.

⁷² Bonds and recognizances, which bound a person to a liability, were given by the king’s favour and were conditional upon future good behaviour. S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London: Methuen, 1972), p. 213.

⁷³ John Guy, *The Tudors: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 18.

⁷⁴ George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, was fined £70,000 in 1507, but the fine was commuted to £5,000 payable over ten years, there were other constraints as well. Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, p. 29.

⁷⁵ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, p. 28.

notorious and unpopular officials, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley. There had been attacks on them even before that. William Cornyshe of the King's Chapel accused Empson of extortion and corruption, in 'A Ballad of Empson':

And whom thou hatest, he was in jeopardy
Of life and goods, both high and low estate
For judge thou were, of treason and felony.⁷⁶

These men had feathered their own nests at the same time as they were enforcing the King's demands and, as Henry had perused and initialled the accounts, he must have been aware of what was going on.

All this, and more, was well known at the time of Henry VII's death. That Fisher must have been aware of it may be deduced from the way in which he emphasized the remorse and repentance of the king for his sins. It can be no accident that Fisher uses his descriptions of the king's contrition and compunction, and of the tears and cries for mercy that were so pronounced in his last hours, to show that he had much to repent. Henry had twice made protestations of reforming his policies, in 1504 after his serious illness then, and again on his deathbed. He had not shown any signs of reformation after the first promise, and he died before anything could be done the second time. The only restitution that could be made by then was in the terms of his will.

⁷⁶ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, p. 36.

This sermon demonstrates that Fisher understood and agreed with the popular piety of his day, still the ‘emotionally charged “affective” and churchly piety of the world of Margery Kempe (c.1373 - after 1433).’⁷⁷ Fisher often stressed the value of penitential tears in his writings and it is recorded that he himself shed tears when he said Mass. For Fisher, tears were not an attempt to placate an angry God, but a sign of the redemptive work of the Holy Spirit in the penitent. Fisher projects Henry as this kind of penitent sinner, whose conviction of forgiveness comes from the sacraments of Holy Church, the prayers of the saints and his own remorse in the presence of monstrance and image. When the bishop describes Henry’s last days, it is apparent that he is very impressed by the king’s intense devotion, the ‘mervaylous compaffyon & flowe of teres, *that* at some tyme he wepte & sobbed by the space of thre quarters of an houre.’⁷⁸ His description of Henry’s adoration of the crucifix on his deathbed, ‘kyssynge it, & betynge ofte his brest’, can be compared with advice given in a popular handbook of devotion published by Wynkyn de Worde in c.1500. The author of this book counsels the reader ‘oftentymes to remember deuoutly [the] many and greuous paynes that our lord Jhesu cryst suffred for our redempcion, [and] shedde his precious blode for vs...for thou arte the cause of his greuous payne,’⁷⁹ and then asks the question, ‘Who may thynke that in this maner was not perfyte faith, who may suppose that by this maner of delynge he faithfully beleved not that the eare of almighty God was open unto hym & redy to here hym crye for mercy...’⁸⁰ Fisher is clearly emphasizing that Henry is a penitent sinner in order to underline and reinforce

⁷⁷ Eamon Duffy, “The Spirituality of John Fisher,” in *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and Eamon Duffy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 211.

⁷⁸ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 273.

⁷⁹ *Here begynneth a contemplacyon or medytacyon of the shedynge of the blode of our lorde Jesu Cryste at seuen tymes*. (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509, STC 14572) sigs. A1v – A2r. A previous edition appeared c.1500. Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation*, p. 150.

⁸⁰ Duffy, *Spirituality of John Fisher*, p. 211.

his own oblique criticism of the sharp practices and sinfulness of the reign. But, for all that, Henry's religious conviction is taken at face value for Fisher himself believes that true contrition will merit forgiveness. 'As longe as a man lyueth in this mortall lyfe and truly calleth vpon almyghty god for mercy, he may trust assuredly to haue it.'⁸¹

This sermon, like most of the other sermons of Fisher's that have survived, is quite traditional in its use of a tripartite structure.⁸² Fisher uses various rhetorical devices such as alliteration, anaphora, preterition (a figure of speech by which summary mention is made of something, in professing to omit it),⁸³ repetition, word-pairs, word-lists, he constructs long periodic sentences, and he bases his address on the 'classical model of the funerary panegyric'.⁸⁴

Fisher's teaching is rooted in Scripture. He supports this teaching with references to early Christian authorities, which, it was understood, were inspired by the Holy Spirit. Most of his sources are to be found in the New Testament but he also quotes from the Fathers of the Church, such as St Augustine and St John Chrysostom. He also refers to the writings of classical authors such as Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca.⁸⁵

Throughout his address, Fisher quotes from the Vulgate in Latin, but he translates and paraphrases into English. This would enlighten those in his audience who lacked sufficient understanding of Latin, but Fisher also used it as a means of giving emphasis to these passages.

⁸¹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 275.

⁸² Rex, *Theology of John Fisher*, p. 33.

⁸³ See Surtz, *Works and Days*, for an example of Fisher's use of preterition: 'Let no man thynke that myne entant is for to prayse hym for any vayne transitory thynges of this lyfe.' (p. 267).

⁸⁴ Rex, *Theology of John Fisher*, p. 41

⁸⁵ Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, p. 86.

The only means available to Henry after his death to show that he was truly repentant were the provisions of his will, which was drawn up three weeks before he died on 31 March 1509.⁸⁶ In it, he requested that thousands of masses to be said for him in perpetuity, that almshouses be endowed and that a preaching schedule by three “Chantry Monks of King Henry VII” be established. The foundation of his preaching chantry was of great value for it was intended to be a means of grace to all who would hear the sermons.⁸⁷ Fisher was one of the executors of Henry’s will⁸⁸ so he would have been well aware of all its terms. It also included provision to set up a committee to examine wrongs which the king might have done to individuals and which might do damage to his immortal soul if not redressed. In the later Middle Ages commoners occasionally made provision for their executors to make restitution for wrongs done to others during their lifetimes but it was unusual for a king to do this. Indeed, Henry VI is the only other king known to have done so.⁸⁹

New kings on the threshold of power would be likely to make a bid for popularity, by righting the perceived wrongs of their predecessors, as can be seen from the arrest of Empson and Dudley the day after Henry VII’s death was announced. After he had been condemned to death in 1509, Edmund Dudley drew up a list of men ‘hardly entreated and much sorer than their causes required’, which makes it clear that Henry was personally responsible for many individual cases of injustice.⁹⁰ Fisher said in his address that Henry had promised ‘a true reformacyon of al them that were officers &

⁸⁶ G. R. Elton, ‘Henry VII: Rapacity and Remorse,’ *HJ*, 1 (1958), pp. 21-39, (p. 37).

⁸⁷ Wabuda, *Preaching during the Reformation*, p. 23.

⁸⁸ Surtz, *Works and Days*, p. 83.

⁸⁹ J. P. Cooper, ‘Henry VII’s Last Years Reconsidered,’ *HJ*, 2 (1969), pp. 103-129, (p. 113).

⁹⁰ C. S. L. Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism: 1450-1558* (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1976), p.119.

mynystres of his laws to the entent that Iuftyce from hens forwarde truly and indifferently might be executed in all caufes.’⁹¹ J. P. Cooper discusses these matters at considerable length and argues that, as he lay on his deathbed, Henry did indeed repent of a great many of the injustices that had occurred during his reign and that this repentance was responsible for the terms of his will and the issue of a general pardon five days before he died.⁹²

For all the emphasis that Fisher placed on the deathbed remorse of Henry, it must be remembered that he began his discourse with a long tribute to Henry’s achievements as king and gave credit for a successful reign. The measures Henry used to gain and retain the kingdom must often have been occasions for committing mortal sin, and it can be seen that Fisher indicates how essential it was for the king to repent while there was still time. In this, he shows how Henry used the sacraments provided by the Church to show his compunction for his wrongdoing and to confess and expiate his sins. Fisher also demonstrates his compassion for all repentant offenders, and a time is allotted for his hearers to pray for their dead king.⁹³

A great deal of this discourse is concerned obliquely with the sacrament of penance. Fisher reiterates Henry’s belief in the efficacy of this sacrament, and, in doing so Fisher shows his own orthodox understanding of the Church’s teaching. The tears shed by the king on his deathbed are a sign of his true repentance, and, as well, they are an assurance of the presence of the Holy Spirit, ‘who condenses tears in the penitent as warm breath condenses on cold metal or glass.’⁹⁴ Fisher also places great

⁹¹ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 271.

⁹² Cooper, ‘Henry VII’s Last Years,’ p. 114.

⁹³ Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, p. 86.

⁹⁴ Rex, *Theology of John Fisher*, p. 40.

stress on God's mercy and righteousness. In his praise of the manner of Henry's death, Fisher demonstrates that the king had a sincere hope for forgiveness based on a true belief in God, his Church and the sacraments, his patience in his physical suffering and his calling on the name of Jesus.⁹⁵ As well, Fisher commends the king's achievements, although he does not repeat the flattery contained in the sermon preached at Cambridge in 1506. In his funeral address Fisher shows that, although he may have not have approved of all the king had done in his lifetime, he did commend his passing and death.

John Fisher's reputation as a man of 'ascetic and uncompromising disposition,'⁹⁶ is perhaps heightened by the austerity of his surviving portrait by Hans Holbein at Windsor.⁹⁷ However, he was also a man of great intellectual power and was an able administrator, both at the University of Cambridge and in the Diocese of Rochester. Fisher believed absolutely in God's mercy towards those who are penitent, and in this sermon he shows great compassion for the penitence and compunction shown by the sinner whose body lies before him awaiting burial. As he said, 'the eere of almighty god was open vnto hym and redy to here hym crye for mercy.'⁹⁸

The exercise of the power of kingship in late medieval times provided opportunities for its misuse. Henry had gained power by right of conquest in battle, as his claim by virtue of royal descent was shaky, coming as it did through a bastard female line, his descent from the liaison between Edward III's second son, John of Gaunt, and Katherine Swynford. Having gained the throne, Henry was determined to keep it and

⁹⁵ Rex, *Theology of John Fisher*, p. 44.

⁹⁶ Rex, *Fisher*, *ODNB* article, p. 13.

⁹⁷ Bradshaw and Duffy, *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, Frontispiece.

⁹⁸ Fisher, *English Works*, p. 274.

also to found an enduring dynasty. The steps he took to realise this ambition were calculated carefully, but his greatest fear was that someone else would make an attempt on the throne in the way he had. Possibly this fear was one of the causes for his distrust of many of the nobility and his persistence in amassing a well-stocked treasury. It is possible that one of his objectives was to ensure that the nobility were not in a position to challenge his rule and, if so, he succeeded in this.⁹⁹ The evidence of this sermon shows that Bishop Fisher understood the motives behind Henry's style of kingship, even if he did not approve of them. He portrays the king as an object lesson in penitence, and for all his appreciation of Henry's achievements, Fisher was well aware that there were not many of his subjects who were really sorry that he had died. It is not surprising that Fisher focussed so much attention on Henry's repentance. At that time everyone believed implicitly in the power of sin, and, as death was never far away, in the absolute necessity of repenting while there was yet time

This sermon shows very clearly that, although Fisher fostered the study at Cambridge of what is now known as Renaissance Humanism, his religious beliefs were grounded in the traditional teachings of Holy Church. Later in his lifetime, the church, as he knew it, came under increasing attack by those who also espoused the new learning but reached very different conclusions, but Fisher never deviated from what he saw to be the true faith. Indeed, in the 1520s, he devoted a great deal of time and effort in combating the new evangelical doctrines that were spreading from Germany and Switzerland in the wake of Martin Luther's reforms. For Fisher there could be no

⁹⁹ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 31.

compromise: the supremacy of the church and the pope was absolute, and because of his intransigence, Henry VII's son finally executed him.

CHAPTER II

THE KING'S CONFESSOR PREACHES ON GOOD FRIDAY 1536

The death of Henry VII on 21 April 1509 was followed by the peaceful accession of his son, Henry VIII, who was not quite eighteen at the time. The young king had been well educated in the Humanist style; he was fluent in French and Latin, had some Italian and Spanish, and was also interested in scientific instruments, maps and astronomy. He grew to be a tall man, athletic, loving hunting and martial pursuits, was an accomplished musician, and had considerable personal charisma.¹ Henry seemed in every way to be the epitome of what a renaissance king should be and this was how he showed himself to his subjects. As Lord Mountjoy wrote to Erasmus,

Heaven and earth rejoices; everything is full of milk and honey and nectar.
Our king is not after gold, or gems, or precious metals, but virtue, glory,
immortality.²

But what of the duty Henry owed to God, through Holy Church? He showed this in much the same way as any medieval ruler. Henry observed the laws of the church, ate fish on fast days, attended Mass five times a day except when he went hunting, performed the rituals of foot washing and giving Maundy alms, and 'creeping to the

¹ E. W. Ives, 'Henry VIII (1491-1547), king of England and Ireland', *ODNB*, online edn.

² *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, P. S. and H. M. Allen, eds (Oxford, 1906), I, No. 214. Quoted in J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 12.

cross' – barefoot and on his knees - on Good Friday,³ and the other ceremonies as laid down by the church. He made the traditional offerings at shrines such as St Thomas of Canterbury and Edward the Confessor.⁴ In addition, Henry obeyed church requirements concerning the observance of the rites of regular confession, penance, and absolution before receiving the sacrament, particularly during Lent before the great feast of Easter. As was the usual practice Henry had his own confessor who made himself available at the appropriate times. John Stokesley, afterwards Bishop of London, was appointed confessor to Henry in 1517, and was succeeded by John Longland in about 1524.

John Longland (1473-1547), Bishop of Lincoln from 1521, was born to parents of yeoman stock in Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, where he grew up and probably went to school. He may have gone on to Eton because he became very attached to that college and was eventually buried in the chapel there. By 1491, Longland was a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he became a scholar and fellow, and was principal of Magdalen Hall for a year. In 1509 he graduated BTh, and proceeded to DTh by 1511. In one of his sermons he paid tribute to his parents:

I was entrusted by my parents to a school of good and sound learning ...
through which I might live a good life chastely and studiously and instruct

³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 29. This was a solemn ceremony observed on Good Friday when clergy and people crept on hands and knees to venerate a crucifix, usually sited at the entrance to the sanctuary.

⁴ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 20.

others in the same way, for I know that this was the wish and prayer of my virtuous parents.⁵

Appointment to benefices followed from 1505, but the first major position was as Dean of Salisbury in 1514, and then by preferment as a canon and prebendary of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1517, and of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1519.⁶ At this stage in his life, Longland's career was centred on Oxford and he was making a name for himself as a preacher and theologian. Margaret Bowker suggests that 'Longland's ability to unpack his theology for a wider audience by preaching and his reputation for practising what he preached made him a force to consider.'⁷ She also suggests that his career shows similarities to that of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, both clerics being notable for their asceticism and their intellectual qualities.⁸ Sir Thomas More commented favourably on the brilliance of Longland's sermons and the purity of his life, he seems to have been considered the intellectual equal of other humanist scholars and was regarded as a spokesman for catholic reform. These qualities came to the notice of Henry VIII from about 1514, and payments to Longland for preaching at court were made regularly from 1518. In 1520, Longland was among those present at the diplomatic extravaganza known as the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold', so he must have been spending more time at court.⁹ He was preferred to the bishopric of Lincoln in May 1521, in succession to William Atwater.¹⁰

⁵ *Quinque Sermones*, IV. Bodl. Libr. Arch. A.d.11. fol.88^v. Quoted in Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 8.

⁶ Margaret Bowker, 'Longland, John (1473-1547), Bishop of Lincoln', *ODNB*, online ed.

⁷ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 9.

⁸ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 9.

⁹ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 8.

¹⁰ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 8

Geographically Lincoln was the next largest diocese in England after York and was the most populous. It stretched from the Humber to the Thames and contained more than one hundred and fifty monastic foundations as well as the secular archdeaconries and parishes. A letter from Archbishop Warham¹¹ suggests that Longland was known to be zealous for the reformation of heretical doctrines as well as searching out ‘mysbehaviours in Maners’ and makes it clear that Longland was considered a reformer.¹² Longland, himself, saw that the duty of a bishop was ‘to preache, to praye, to doo sacrifice and to offer.’¹³ ‘Central to the reform of the church was the life of the spirit, and only when a bishop got up from his knees was he to visit, correct and ordain.’¹⁴

Meanwhile, John Fisher was continuing in his episcopate in Rochester. The heretical doctrines that were spreading from Germany and Switzerland during the 1520s caused considerable concern to conservative clerics in England, and Fisher spent a great deal of time and effort in refuting the doctrines of Martin Luther. On 12 May 1521 Fisher was the preacher at the solemn ceremony in St Paul’s churchyard when the papal sentence of excommunication against Luther was proclaimed and his works were burned.¹⁵ Not everyone was in agreement, it would seem; that night someone scribbled a mocking verse on the papal bull that had been posted on the door of St

¹¹ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 11. Letter written after the publication of three early sermons in Latin dating from 1518, which were dedicated to Warham. See J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, 1450 - c.1600* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), p. 357.

¹² Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 12.

¹³ British Library, C.53. k.14., p. 16. Quoted in Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 12.

¹⁴ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Maria Dowling, *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher, 1469-1535* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 76.

Paul's.¹⁶ Among those present was John Longland, who had just been consecrated to the see of Lincoln and was one of the clerics who had encouraged Henry to issue the proclamation of 12 May.¹⁷

Longland took up his episcopal duties after his installation as bishop in Lincoln Cathedral on 13 September 1522. Being the scholar and ascetic that he was, the new bishop saw his role as a defender of the faith and visitor of the religious in their monasteries, for central to the reform of the church was the spiritual health of his flock.¹⁸ After he was appointed as Henry's confessor in about 1524 his episcopal duties often clashed with his responsibilities to the king. In his role of confessor he needed to be present at court at all major church festivals, which meant that he had to be absent from the diocese at those important times. The celebration of Christmas in 1525 required Longland to be in London, and he was distressed that, owing to illness, he was unable to be with the king to hear his confession before Whitsun at the beginning of June. In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, with whom he was on terms of friendship as they had been at Oxford together, he gives an account of his actions over Trinity Sunday (7 June) and the feast of Corpus Christi (11 June) of 1525. 'On the eve [of Corpus Christi] "the king his Grace was shriven and on the morrow shriven and houselled"'.¹⁹ This would seem to have been unusual as the normal practice was for every adult Christian to confess once a year during Lent, in order to be in a state of grace to receive communion at Easter.²⁰

¹⁶ Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (London: Viking, 2000), p. 96.

¹⁷ Jasper Ridley, *Henry VIII* (London: Guild Publishing, 1985), p. 148.

¹⁸ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 12.

¹⁹ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 13.

²⁰ Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Prince University Press, 1977), p. 73.

The position of king's confessor was highly confidential and required great tact and discretion in the performance of the duties. Eustace Chapuys, the ambassador to Charles V, commented in 1524 that

The Bishop of Lincoln ... has said several times since Christmas that he would rather be the poorest man in the world than ever have been the King's councillor and confessor.²¹

It also placed considerable strain on Longland's health. In 1525, Wolsey was sufficiently concerned about Longland's well-being to grant him a dispensation from abstaining from meat during Lent.²²

As his confessor, Longland must have been one of the first to be aware that the king had real qualms of conscience over the validity of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon, but, of course, no one can know what passed between them in the confessional. But it is apparent that the bishop supported the dissolution of the marriage at all stages,²³ so much so that when Archbishop Warham died in the winter of 1531, Longland was one of those who were in contention for promotion to the see of Canterbury. The choice, however, fell upon Thomas Cranmer, and Longland remained at Lincoln for the rest of his life.²⁴

When it became apparent that the Pope was not going to grant the annulment that he sought, Henry had to consider other avenues for getting what he wanted and this

²¹ *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic in the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, (London: 1862-1910). Quoted in Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 71.

²² Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 14.

²³ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 13.

²⁴ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 14.

brought into prominence the theory of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical as well as secular. Richard Rex suggests that the supremacy theory of the time

had its roots in the conflict between common law and canon law; it drew on fourteenth-century conflicts between papacy and temporal princes; it owed something to Roman law concepts of imperial authority; it gained strength from the focussing of moral and spiritual aspirations on the monarchy; and this diverse material was integrated in an image of kingship modelled on that found in the Old Testament.²⁵

Authorities differ as to when the strands that led to Henry abrogating papal authority came together, but the fall of Thomas Wolsey in 1529, the resignation of Thomas More as Chancellor in 1532, the pregnancy of Anne Boleyn, the rise of Thomas Cromwell, all contributed and were milestones along the way. Henry was determined that Anne's child should be born in wedlock and, by this time, the only way to achieve this was for the king to deal with the matter of papal jurisdiction by repudiating it once and for all, and, in 1531, inducing Convocation to acknowledge him as 'Protector and Supreme Head of the English Church and clergy, so far as the law of God allows'.²⁶ Henry and Anne were married secretly in January 1533; Pope Clement VII issued a bull excommunicating Henry which came into effect in September,²⁷ and Henry and Anne's daughter Elizabeth was born on 7 September of that year. This, in turn, led to the final repudiation of Katherine as Queen, and the declaration of the illegitimacy of the Princess Mary in the Act of Succession of March

²⁵ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 10.

²⁶ Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England, 1500-1700*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 205.

²⁷ Rex, *Henry VIII*, p. 12.

1534. The Act of Supremacy, statutory recognition of Henry's new title as Supreme Head of the Church of England, was passed, with considerable opposition, in November 1534.²⁸

Meanwhile, Thomas Cromwell had been appointed Principal Secretary in April 1534. Cromwell was a clever and astute lawyer who had worked closely with Cardinal Wolsey. After Wolsey failed to find a means of ending the marriage with Katherine and fell from grace, Cromwell came more and more into prominence and proved that there was a way to be found. Following on from the passage of the Act of Succession, all the king's subjects were required to swear to the legitimacy of Henry's marriage to Anne, which also implied acceptance of the king's new powers which were the result of the break from Rome.²⁹ In order to make it absolutely clear that dissent would not be tolerated, Cromwell mounted an extensive propaganda campaign using both the press and the pulpits. Conservative and evangelical clergy alike were involved in this propaganda war; Cranmer decried the pope as Antichrist, while the conservatives presented him (the pope) as a tyrant and usurper of temporal power.³⁰ Many of the reformers' concepts of the transfer of obedience from the papacy to the monarchy came from William Tyndale's famous treatise, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in 1528. Anne Boleyn possessed a copy, which Henry had apparently read with approval, in which Tyndale argued that kings have authority over the church.³¹

²⁸ Rex, *Henry VIII*, p.15.

²⁹ Howard Leithead, 'Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex (c. in or before 1585, d.1540),' *ODNB*, online edn.

³⁰ Rex, *Henry VIII*, p. 16.

³¹ E. W. Ives, 'Anne [Anne Boleyn] (c. 1500-1536), *queen of England, second consort of Henry VIII*, *ODNB* online edn.

The most notable defence of the royal supremacy by a conservative was Stephen Gardiner's treatise, *De Vera Obedientia* ('On True Obedience'), published late in 1535. This pamphlet rested its case on divine law (as illustrated in the Old Testament) and on perfect obedience to it (as illustrated by the life and teaching of Christ in the New Testament). Gardiner presented Henry's divorce as a matter of principle of conscience and of obedience to divine law as shown in the scriptures. The theory of the two swords, the spiritual sword in the hands of the church while the temporal sword was wielded by the prince of the realm, which had been current in the church's teaching since the fifth century, was no longer relevant.³² Gardiner asserted that God had given to kings the responsibility of both the spiritual and temporal welfare of their subjects.³³ So, in the matter of the king's supremacy, the argument was that true obedience entailed obeying both divine law and divinely established authorities, supreme among which were princes, God's images and vicars on earth.³⁴

This was the atmosphere of change, adjustment and uncertainty that prevailed in England in the early months of 1536, particularly in matters of religious practice. Among the changes that were made necessary by the Act of Supremacy was an alteration to the Bidding Prayer which customarily preceded sermons. In 1534, Archbishop Cranmer and other bishops devised a new bidding prayer, which was amended by Henry and then approved by council. Formerly the prayer had asked for God's blessing on the pope, bishops, clergy and the king, as well as all Christian souls, especially the dead; now the first part of the new version ordered all preachers to pray for the king as supreme head of the catholic Church in England, Queen Anne

³² For a discussion of this theory, see above, Introduction, pp. 5-6.

³³ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformation: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 122.

³⁴ Rex, *Henry VIII*, p. 17.

his wife, and the Princess Elizabeth. Preachers were also to include the clergy and temporality and the souls of the dead in their petitions, and, as well, the clergy were to pray ‘against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome’, while no one was to defend papal authority. The pope’s name was to be deleted from all books and removed from all prayers. Five lengthy articles were attached which would enable preachers to expound on the validity of Henry’s second marriage.³⁵ The Bidding Prayer Order was remarkable because it was one of the earliest official means of promoting the royal supremacy from the nation’s pulpits. The bishops distributed it throughout their dioceses and, as well, Cranmer mandated that for one year, no priest was to preach on purgatory, the honouring of the saints, priestly marriage, justification by faith, pilgrimages or forged miracles. By this he hoped to contain debate on contentious subjects by both conservative and evangelical clergy. Longland made quite certain that the letter of the law was followed scrupulously in his diocese.³⁶ Longland, like all the other bishops, was involved in the dissemination of the revised Bidding Prayer and had to ensure that it was distributed throughout his diocese. To make sure that instructions were followed, Longland applied to Cromwell for permission to print two thousand copies for distribution. The bishop sent out orders to this effect, together with the declaration of Royal Supremacy, to the whole diocese on 19 June 1535.³⁷

The tradition, dating from ancient times, of hearing sermons preached on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, was continued throughout Henry’s reign. Henry seems to have enjoyed the opportunities that the court sermons provided for discussion and the

³⁵ Susan Wabuda, ‘Bishops and the Provision of Homilies, 1520 to 1547,’ *SCJ*, 25 (1994), pp. 551-565 (p. 560).

³⁶ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 144.

³⁷ Bowker, *Henrician Reformation*, p. 143.

airing of his claims to be a theologian.³⁸ Hugh Latimer, the then Bishop of Worcester, whom we will meet in Chapter III of this thesis, preached at court in Lent, 1530, and again in 1534.³⁹ Archbishop Cranmer preached at least one of the Lenten sermons in 1536.⁴⁰

These great changes, which have just been discussed, were evident in the theological and political scene in England during the season of Lent 1536 and John Longland must have been very aware of the doubts and uncertainties in people's minds when he preached before Henry VIII and Queen Anne on Good Friday, 14 April 1536.⁴¹ The venue for the sermon was the chapel royal at Greenwich, a building which shared the same architectural plan as the chapels royal at Whitehall, Hampton Court, St James's, and Windsor. Peter McCullough gives a very good explanation of the way in which these chapels operated and he supplies a detailed description of the floor plan, the furnishings, and the seating arrangements.⁴² The king and queen sat in a closet above the west end of the chapel with windows overlooking the aisle towards the altar at the east end. The courtiers sat in stalls, the ladies on the right hand, the north side, facing the men on the left hand, the south side of the chapel. The pulpit, which was probably removable, was on the south side of the chapel near the altar. Fiona Kisby has written a detailed study of chapel ceremonies and services, which shows how important the chapel was in providing a venue for the monarch to see and to be seen.⁴³ The journey

³⁸ Allan Chester, *Hugh Latimer: Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), p. 54.

³⁹ Chester, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Diarmaid McCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 151.

⁴¹ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 143.

⁴² Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 11-22.

⁴³ Fiona Kisby, ' "When the King goeth in a Procession": Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor court, 1485-1547' *JBS*, 40, (2001), pp. 44-75 (p. 56).

to and from the chapel was a highly formal ceremonial occasion with the sovereign as its focal point. It provided an opportunity for large numbers of people to watch the processions and, perhaps, present petitions to the king. When the procession moved from the private royal apartments, the king emerged from the private to the public arena, a crucial instant set in a devotional context, which drew attention to his conventional and conspicuous piety.⁴⁴ Throughout his life Henry's beliefs and practices remained in accord with basic Catholic doctrines so that this Good Friday in 1536, in common with every Good Friday, was a day of fasting, abstinence and penance for the king as, indeed, it was for everyone.

Longland takes the principal text for his address from Psalm 129:8. '*Et Ipse redimet Israel ex omnibus iniquitatibus eius.* (And he will redeem Israel from all his iniquities). This daye whiche we do folempnyse and kepe holy in remembraunce of the tender, paynfull, and most glorious paffyon of our fauour Jefu Chrife, is called the good frydaye.'⁴⁵ The sermon has a strong emphasis throughout on fundamental Catholic belief and shows that Longland saw the Henry as a king who could, if he would, retain and strengthen the practice of true religion in the people of the kingdom, in spite of the changes he had wrought.

The literary and rhetorical devices that Longland uses in this sermon are designed to evoke both pathos and horror in order to stir up a love of Christ in his hearers which will lead them to a hatred of sin, and so to repentance, true contrition, and the

⁴⁴ Kisby, *King in Procession*, p. 56.

⁴⁵ John Longland, *A Sermond spoken be fore the kynge his maiestie at Grenwiche vpon good fryday: the yere of our Lord. M.CCCCxxxvi.* (London, 1536) STC 16795, Sig. A ii^r.

salvation of their souls.⁴⁶ He aims to stir men to contemplate this, the central mystery of their faith, with wonder and awe at the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, and of truths surpassing human reason.⁴⁷

Longland divides his discourse into several sections and each of these is further subdivided. As he leads his hearers through the long hours of Christ's Passion, Longland places great emphasis to the importance of obedience: the obedience of Christ to God, the Father. This signifies the obedience of fallen man to God and, the implication follows, that of man to God's vicar on earth, the king. This can be seen in this passage,

Thus his onely fone he spared not...And that is it that thapostle saythe, *Pro omnibus nobis tradidit illum*, He gave hym for the and for me, & for this man and for that man. For any moo? Ye. *Pro omnibus nobis*, For vs all: for all man kynde. And he saythe, *Tradidit*. He dyde trade and gyue hym. This *tradere*, is more than *dare*. For *dare*, is to gyue, but *Tradere*, is *dare in potestatem*. *Tradere* is to gyue in to mannes power, to vfe the thyng yt is gyuen, to do with it euen what they wyll: as ye wyll faye, to make or marre, to vfe at libertie.⁴⁸

Longland gives another example of obedience in his exposition of the baptism of Christ in this passage where he imagines John the Baptist saying to Jesus,

⁴⁶ Alexandra Barratt, 'Stabat matres dolorosae: Women as Readers and Writers of Passion Prayers, Meditations and visions,' in *The Broken Body*, ed. by A. A. McDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbros, and R. M. Schluesemann, (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), pp. 55-72 (p. 63).

⁴⁷ Debora K. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: the Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 60.

⁴⁸ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. A iii^r.

O Lorde god what meaneth this? Christe anwerede, *Sine modo, sic enim decet nos implere omnes iustitiam.* Johan, Johan, fullre at this tyme, thou knowest not the myfterye of this thyng... Here christe taughte all the world humblye to submytte them selues....And so dyde Johan obey hys maysters wyll, and baptyzed hym. And then dyde the fadre of heuen open and manyfeste hys sone Christe to the worlde.⁴⁹

The command, Longland tells his hearers, is to ‘here hym, folowe hym, obey hys worde, kepe hys commandementes, folowe that he byddeth youe folowe, doo what he byddeth you doo, he is my sone, *Ipsum audite*, here hym.’⁵⁰ Although this command is to follow God and to keep his commandments, the sub-text embodied in it is obedience to the king. When John Mirk in his *Festyuall* (which appeared in printed form from 1483)⁵¹ tells his readers to ‘honour thy father and mother and prelates, prince, benefactors, and also aged people. And ever follow their counsel and pray for them when they be dead’,⁵² he states quite clearly that princes are included in this commandment.

As Longland moves on in his address, he illustrates Christ’s obedience to God in many different ways. For example, when Jesus was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane, ‘And he put hymselfe voluntarily into hys enemies handes, and saued his disciples.’⁵³ Longland gives a long list of the sufferings inflicted on the servants of

⁴⁹ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. C i r.

⁵⁰ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. C i v.

⁵¹ Susan Powell, ‘Mirk, John (fl. c. 1382- c. 1414), Augustinian author,’ *ODNB* online edn.

⁵² Richard Rex, ‘The Crisis of Obedience: God’s Word and Henry’s Reformation,’ *HJ*, 39. (1996), pp. 863-894 (p. 868).

⁵³ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. D iij v.

God, ‘derifions, rebukes, wronges, iniuryes, trybuiacion, reproche, aduerfytie, fyknes, infyrmytyes, hunger, famine, thyrfte, pouertye, myferye, dyfdayne as men vtterly abiecte and out caste of all the worlde’⁵⁴ which shows the price of obedience both for Christ and his followers. Further on in the sermon, in his exposition of the actual crucifixion, the bishop again emphasizes the complete obedience of Christ to the Father.

Loo man, See how thy lorde god was thus ignomyniufly lefte naked and baare, and cryed not att itt, grudged not wyth itt, murmured not for hyt. He Complayned not, but suffrede, and paciently helde his peace, wherein we Christen people be taughte to remember paciencie in our aduerfitie.⁵⁵

Longland continues his discourse, giving example after example of the manner in which Christ acceded to his father’s will in perfect obedience, and counsels his hearers to learn from these examples in their present uncertainties. The implication is that only true obedience to the traditional teachings of the church will resolve men’s their uncertainties and lead them to salvation.

As the sermon is a meditation on the Passion, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ, it belongs to the genre of Passion literature, which was such a feature of medieval devotion and piety. Robert Swanson asserts that the Passion is central to Christian religion and to medieval western Catholicism.

⁵⁴ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. E iij^v

⁵⁵ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. E i^v.

... Christ's death, whose terrors and horrors were increasingly elaborated and appreciated after the Cross of Victory became a Cross of Sacrifice in the twelfth century, is central to the understanding of God ... and response to the Passion is a key aspect.⁵⁶

Longland immerses his hearers in each stage of the Passion, using all the rhetorical devices he has available to give depth and resonance to his discourse, and engage his hearers' emotions. As he moves through the sermon each section is divided into further parts. For instance, in his discussion of Christ's passion, he considers, first, the stripping of Christ so that he was left completely naked;⁵⁷ second, the mocking by the soldiers so that all dignity was taken from him,⁵⁸ while the third part examines the horrible pain inflicted upon Christ at every stage.⁵⁹ The emphasis is, all the time, on the complete obedience of Christ to God, his father, and the terrible, awe-full, cost of that obedience.

Longland goes on to discuss 'fyue thynges ther war which fpecially augmented the paynes of his passion....The fyrfte was Locus. The place where he suffrede, whyche was Jerufalem, a regall citee.'⁶⁰ When Christ went through the crowded city streets, bearing his cross, the people wept to see him so 'weake and feble.'⁶¹ He told them rather to weep for their children, by which he meant their 'wycked deedes' and their

⁵⁶ R.N. Swanson, 'Passion and Practice: the Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages' in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. by A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), pp. 1-30 (p. 1).

⁵⁷ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. E i^v.

⁵⁸ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. E iii^r.

⁵⁹ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. F. ii^r.

⁶⁰ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. F. iii^j^r.

⁶¹ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. F. iii^j^r.

‘disobedience to god.’⁶² And then Christ was led out of the gates to the place of execution which was ‘as ye wyll saye here in Englonde, Tyborn, a rebukefull and a flanderouse place, mete for homicides, for murderers and felons.’⁶³

The ‘seconde thyng that augmented the paynes of this passion, was *Tempus*, the tyme of his passion. For it was doon in the great solemne feaste of the Jewes⁶⁴ when the city was full of a multitude who came to see this ‘spectacle, to this shewe, to this fyght’.⁶⁵ The third cause was ‘*persona a qua. A qua suscipuit*. The person of whome and by whome he suffrede. For itt was not doon by straungior’⁶⁶ but by his fellow Jews, who were, like him, ‘lynally descendinge from kynge Dauid.’⁶⁷ The fourth thing ‘that augmented the payne of his passion was *Persona passa*.’⁶⁸ It was Christ, himself, the innocent one who suffered to redeem mankind.

The fifth thing that

augmentyd the payne of this passion of our sauyour Jhesu chryste, was *Persona pro qua passus est*, the person for whome he suffrede. He suffrede for vs synners, for vs vnprofytable wretches, for vs vnkynde people, for vs his enemyes, beinge oute of the fauour of God, standinge in state of dampnacyon: & yet he suffrede for vs. What more loue kowde in thys worlde be shewed, thene a man to dye for hys enemies as ye harde afore?⁶⁹

⁶² Longland, *Sermon*, sig. F iij^v.

⁶³ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G i^r.

⁶⁴ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G i^r.

⁶⁵ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G i^r.

⁶⁶ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G i^v.

⁶⁷ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G i^v.

⁶⁸ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G ii^r.

⁶⁹ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. G iij^v.

Because all these things had caused Christ to suffer so grievously, Longland exhorts his hearers to open their hearts to their neighbours in their time of need, even to suffer death lest their souls perish.

The preacher continues his discourse by showing his hearers the ways in which they too may take up the cross and bear the yoke of Christ:

He requirethe of the a fynner repentans, foroo, contricion, confellion, he requyrethe of the a trewe faithe, a conftante hoope, a feruente charithe, and faithefull charitable warkes. He requyrithe of the, the obseruation of his lawes, and to be a true feloer of hym. He requyrethe of the, to lyue in his obediency, in humilitey, in simplicitie of herte, in clennessfe of that kind of chafstite that thou arte callyd vnto.⁷⁰

All this and more is required of Christian man.

As Longland takes his audience through the remainder of the passion and crucifixion, he tells his hearers that Christ gives up the ghost with an ‘horrible houghe crye’⁷¹ and that the soldier thrusts the spear into Jesus’ side so that ‘ftreyghte forthe gowflhed oute bloode and water, blud in our redempcion, water in our purification: blud in remiffion, water in mundifyng & wafhinge: blud in price, water in baptyfme.’⁷² Here Longland is stressing that the historical event of the crucifixion and the sacraments of the Church are linked in all their aspects.

⁷⁰ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. H iij^v.

⁷¹ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. J i^r.

⁷² Longland, *Sermon*, sig. J ii^r.

Then Longland goes on to describe how Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus take Jesus down from the cross, wrap him in clean linen and reverently place him in the sepulchre. The preacher implores Christian men to learn how to ‘burye thy lorde & God.’⁷³ They must devoutly remember Christ’s death and his passion, from his Maundy when he washed the feet of the disciples, all through that dreadful night, until he is taken from the cross and laid in the sepulchre. They must remember that the sepulchre is their soul and they must needs bury Christ in there and lay the stone that is called ‘constancye, perfeuraunce,’⁷⁴ on the sepulchre of their souls. If his hearers persevere and continue in virtue and be faithful servants unto death, then, as St Matthew witnesses,

He that dothe perfeuer and continue in virtue to his lyues end, he shal be faued. Many ther be that begynneth well, but fewe dothe continue, Judas begane well, but endyd naught. Paule begane nawght, but endyd well. Itt is not the beginner, but the continuer in virtue yt shal be rewarded and faued.⁷⁵

Those who would be saved must be constant in godly purpose and in the performance of penance.

This discussion leads Longland to speak at considerable length in refutation of the new heretical doctrine of justification by faith alone.

⁷³ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. J ii^v.

⁷⁴ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. J iiiij^v.

⁷⁵ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. K i.^r.

Let no man therefore, be foo fuere of him selfe to faye. Christe hath suffrede for me. Christe hathe fhedde his bloode and washed me. Christe fathe payde my rawnfome, he wyll not loofe thys grette price: howeuer I lyue, he hathe redemed me: howeuer I lyue, I fhall be fauede, I need not to doo any penaunce for my fynne, for Chryfte hathe fatiffyed for me. My fyne is washed awaye. Itt is confumed and fowped vppe by virtue of this bloode. And fuche other presumptuous words they haue to mayntayn ther flelhely and carnall lybertye, to ther own confufion and dampnacion.⁷⁶

God, who is just and full of mercy, sees the blindness that is amongst men. He requires repentance sorrow, contrition, confession, penance, mercy towards his neighbour, and fear and dread of God.

In the concluding section of his discourse, Longland entreats ‘you chryften people, come ye nere, Joye ye and comforte yourfelues in this chryfte & god, in this fauiour of the worlde. Studye you to lyue in hym. To lyue in a fobienes, in a clenness & chafitye, to lyue chryftianely, godly and vertuoufly.’⁷⁷

Henry had long thought of and portrayed himself as a theologian and had, indeed, in 1521, written with some assistance a treatise, *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (*The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*), against the radicalism of Martin Luther’s teachings. The main part of that treatise defends the Catholic doctrine of the Mass against the Luther’s doctrine of justification by faith alone⁷⁸ and it earned him the approbation of the Pope with the papal accolade of *Fidei Defensor* (Defender of the

⁷⁶ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. H iiij^r.

⁷⁷ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. L ii^v.

⁷⁸ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 56.

Faith). Henry also saw himself as a godly prince, a ruler in the manner of Old Testament kings such as David or Solomon. This was reinforced by the Holbein painting (1534) executed before the break with Rome, which depicted Henry as Solomon, receiving the homage of the Queen of Sheba, who represented the Church in England.⁷⁹ Above the throne was written the text: ‘Blessed be the Lord thy God, who delighteth in thee, to set thee upon his throne, to be king elected by the Lord thy God.’(1 Kings 10: 9). It is possible for historians to see similarities between the reigns of Solomon and Henry. At the beginning of his reign, Solomon had been renowned for his wisdom and justice, but this was not to continue. Henry’s rule also began auspiciously, but by this time, twenty-five years on, there was much unrest and disillusionment. Indeed, there was sufficient disquiet later in 1536 within the northern parts of England, for the uprising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, led by the banners of St Cuthbert and the Five Wounds of Christ, to erupt,⁸⁰ first in Lincolnshire and then spreading to Yorkshire.⁸¹ But Henry always saw himself as a king, wise, beneficent, and in control, not only of the bodies of his subjects, but also of their souls.

For itt is written by Salomon. *Longitudo dierum in dextera eius, & in finiftra illius diuitiae & gloria* (Proverbs 3: 16). In his ryghte hande is that celestially and eternitye of lyffe: to giue, or to take awaye from whome and to whome he wyll. And in his lefte hande, he hathe this temporall ryches & worldely glorye, to dispoſe, to giue or to withdrawe, att his pleaſure, to whome & frome whome he wyll.⁸²

⁷⁹ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, p. 112.

⁸⁰ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII*, p. 121.

⁸¹ Rosemary O’Day, *The Longman Companion to The Tudor Age* (London: Longman, 1995), p. 47.

⁸² Longland, *Sermon*, sig. D i r.

Henry had taken to himself the two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. Eric Ives suggests that ‘Henry’s rooted conviction was that he possessed superior wisdom [like Solomon] and that it was unforgivable presumption to challenge him [and] an impertinence towards the Lord’s anointed.’⁸³

In composing his sermon, Longland does not use the classical style of oration on which John Fisher modelled his funeral sermon for Henry VII. Instead he uses a modified version of the learned ‘scheme’: exordium, division of the text, development and conclusion, as its structure.⁸⁴ Longland makes frequent use of rhetorical devices such as *rogatio*, question and answer, to give emphasis to his discourse, and he is a master of ‘consciously elaborated rhythms’.⁸⁵ An excellent example of *rogatio* comes near the beginning of his discourse:

And why dyd god the fadre suffre this his fone vndre this maner to dye?
Surely for loue, for loue that he bare vnto vs, loue was the cause, loue caused
hym so to doo. *Propter nimiam charitatem (faythe thapofte) qua dilexit nos,
deus, cum effemus mortui peccatis, conuiuificauit nos CHRISTO* (Ephesians 2:
4-5)...What loue? For the loue that he bare to hym felfe? Nay, nay. It was
for the ineftymable loue he bare vnto vs, *Propter nimiam (inquit) charitatem
qua dilexit nos*. What dyde he by this loue? *Conuiuificauit nos CHRISTO*. He

⁸³ Ives, *Henry VIII*, ODNB article, p. 29.

⁸⁴ J. W. Blench, ‘John Longland and Roger Edgeworth: two forgotten preachers of the early sixteenth century,’ *RES*, 5 (1954), pp. 121-143 (p. 125).

⁸⁵ J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-c.1600* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), p.136.

reuyued vs ayen in Chrifte, frome deathe to life. How? *Christo*. In Chrifte and by Chrifte.⁸⁶

This excerpt is also a good example of repetition in the way the word ‘loue’ (love) is repeated again and again to emphasize the boundless love of God for his people. This device also has great emotive effect, leading the hearer to engage more closely with the preacher and, more importantly, with Christ, who has such great love for all men. As well, Longland repeats the word ‘Christo’, demonstrating the centrality of Christ, and gives added emphasis to the whole passage by giving the Latin version first and then translating and paraphrasing his quotations into English.

Longland uses many other rhetorical figures to adorn his address: word-lists, word-pairs, allegory, anaphora, repetition and alliteration. He quotes extensively from the writings of the apostles and the Fathers of the Church: St Paul’s letters, St Bernard, St Ambrose, and St Jerome. From the Old Testament, Longland quotes frequently from Isaiah, Job, the Psalms and Proverbs and others, and from the Apocrypha: 1 and 2 Maccabees. Many of his quotations are from the Gospels as he takes his audience through the events of the Passion and Crucifixion, the main theme of his discourse.

This sermon demonstrates how a skilled preacher could use the Good Friday remembrance of Christ’s Passion and Crucifixion to carry out the king’s instructions in his proclamation of 9 June 1535, to ‘set forth, declare, and preach unto our said

⁸⁶ Longland, *Sermon*, sig. A ii^v.

subjects the very true and sincere word of God,'⁸⁷ while subtly reinforcing obedience to the royal supremacy.

Alec Ryrie suggests that the 'strong Henrician doctrine of the royal supremacy was neither Protestant nor Catholic.'⁸⁸ But its repudiation of papal authority must have made it difficult for a man like John Longland, with his traditional beliefs in Catholic doctrine, to promote it. However, the declaration that the pope, as Bishop of Rome, had no authority outside his own diocese meant that Longland understood that bishops were the ultimate spiritual authorities in their own dioceses, in the same way that kings were the ultimate secular and spiritual authorities in their kingdoms.⁸⁹ In this sermon, Longland does not engage with the royal supremacy as such, but confines himself to promoting true Catholic belief in the Mass and the fundamental tenets of Catholic doctrine. He was well aware that Henry, whatever his divagations between the Catholic and evangelical thinking, always retained his opposition to religious radicalism. Henry held fast to the traditional understanding of the Mass throughout his life and he continued to reject the Lutheran theology of justification by faith alone.⁹⁰

As his confessor, Longland was in a much better position than most to know what was really in the mind of Henry. In this sermon, he re-enforces the king's traditional beliefs in the mass and the Passion and Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. Whatever else is changed, these beliefs must be retained and Longland will do everything in his

⁸⁷ Rex, 'Crisis of Obedience', p. 890.

⁸⁸ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 58.

⁸⁹ Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 46.

⁹⁰ G. W. Bernard, 'The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way' *HJ*, 41 (1998), pp. 321-349 (p. 333).

power to preserve them and present them to the king and his court in the traditional fashion. For, Longland, true kingship lies in preserving the worship of God within the context of the teaching of Holy Church, as it had been since the time of the apostles, in order that it may be handed on intact to future generations.

CHAPTER III

MASTER HUGH LATIMER PREACHES BEFORE KING EDWARD VI

Henry VIII pursued his policies of royal supremacy over both church and state, to which he added some reform of religion, during the latter part of his reign but he left many questions unanswered when he died on 28 January 1547. He had repudiated papal control of the Church of England but he had not repudiated all the teachings of the Catholic Church. At times Henry seemed to be favouring the conservatives and at other times the evangelicals seemed to have had his ear, particularly during the last months of his life. There were continual power games going on among the courtiers and clergy, but Scarisbrick asserts that, throughout, Henry remained his own master, playing one faction off against the other.¹

Diarmaid MacCulloch argues that, when Henry met with an agent of the Pope on 3 August 1546, there was a crucial moment when the future of the English Reformation was in the balance. It had been thought that there could be a possibility that England might come to some arrangement with the papacy or perhaps send prelates to a General Council involving the Pope. However, Henry recoiled from losing the exclusive authority he had obtained over matters ecclesiastical.² George Bernard suggests that the king wished to pursue a middle way in ecclesiastical matters that was

¹ J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 482.

² Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 358.

neither Lutheran nor traditionally Catholic. According to John Foxe, Henry, when speaking to Parliament in 1545, had this to say:

I see and hear daily that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old mumpsimus, others be too busy and curious in their new sumpsimus. Thus all men always be in variety and discord and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do.³

A difficulty for Henry's advisors in his last weeks, when it was apparent that he was gravely ill and had not long to live, was that since the attainder of Walter, Lord Hungerford in 1540, it was treason to foretell the king's death, so that they were loath to suggest to him that the end was near.⁴ This could be why Bishop Longland, who may have still been the King's confessor, was not summoned to give the last rites, as he was living in semi-retirement at Wooburn in Buckinghamshire.⁵

In his will, Henry made provision for the endowment of a chantry in St George's Chapel, Windsor, requested that thousands of masses be said for his soul, and sought the intercession of the saints in his favour. One of Henry's requests, 'we do instantly require the Blessed Virgin Mary to pray for us,' would not have been out of place in

³ G.W. Bernard, 'The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way,' *HJ*, 41 (1998), pp. 321-349 (p. 348).

⁴ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 495.

⁵ Margaret Bowker, 'Longland, John (1473-1547)' *ODNB*, online edn

the will of any medieval ruler.⁶ Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, presided at the obsequies of the king and preached the sermon at the burial at Windsor on 16 February,⁷ but it was to Archbishop Cranmer that Henry had turned in his last moments. This account of the event comes from John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*:

Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the King, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could.⁸

What a contrast to the deathbed of his father, Henry VII, as it was described by Bishop John Fisher in his funeral oration. Henry VII had spent his last hours in the deepest agony of mind and had shown great remorse and penitence for his sins, lamenting them with tears and beating his breast in sorrow and contrition. There were no last rites celebrated for Henry VIII, no anointing or extreme unction, no confession with tears of contrition; 'just an evangelical statement of faith in a grip of the hand.'⁹

And what of the longed-for heir, the new King Edward VI? He had been born on 12 October 1537, a fine, healthy boy, though sadly, his mother Jane Seymour died twelve days after his birth. Not long after Edward was born, Hugh Latimer, the then Bishop of Worcester, wrote to Thomas Cromwell saying that the birth of the prince had been

⁶ Richard Rex, *The Tudors*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 140.

⁷ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 141

⁸ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 360.

⁹ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 360.

the cause of as much rejoicing in his neighbourhood as the birth of John the Baptist.¹⁰
One can wonder what Latimer hoped to gain from this rather blatant flattery.

Edward had a sheltered childhood; nothing was spared for his welfare and his father gave detailed instructions for his upbringing. When Henry married Katherine Parr, she brought all the royal children into a family situation. Edward called her ‘Mater Charissima, my dearest mother,’¹¹ which shows how much he appreciated her loving care for him. As well, Katherine seems to have had an affectionate relationship with both Henry’s daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. The royal children were all at Hampton Court in the late summer of 1544 with Katherine while she was regent-general during the king’s absence in France.¹² Katherine encouraged Elizabeth and Edward in their studies, and in 1545 Elizabeth presented her stepmother with her English translation of Marguerite of Navarre’s religious poem, *Le Miroir de l’ame pechereuse*, giving it the title, *The Glasse of the Synnefull Soule*.¹³

When the time came for Edward to begin formal lessons in July 1544, he was entrusted to the teaching of Dr Richard Cox, headmaster of Eton College and Canon of Westminster; John Cheke, Regius Professor of Greek in Cambridge; Roger Ascham, already tutor to Princess Elizabeth; and Anthony Cooke, a learned courtier.¹⁴ These men were humanists, educated at Cambridge, who were later to become convinced Protestants, although at this time they were more probably evangelical

¹⁰ Harold S. Darby, *Hugh Latimer* (London: Epworth Press, 1953) p. 130.

¹¹ Dale Hoak, ‘Edward VI (1537-1553)’ *ODNB*, online edn.

¹² Susan E. James, ‘Katherine [Katherine Parr] (1512-1548)’, *ODNB*, online ed.

¹³ James, ‘Katherine’, *ODNB* article, p. 5.

¹⁴ Hoak, ‘Edward VI,’ *ODNB* article, pp. 3-4.

‘reformed’ Catholics.¹⁵ The education that these men gave to the young prince was the best that England could offer and was designed to set him on the throne, when the time came, as a well-educated Christian prince, thoroughly grounded in the classics.¹⁶ These teachers made few concessions to the fact that their charge was still only a child. As was the practice in mid-sixteenth century education, his teachers treated Edward, from the age of about seven, in most respects as if he were an adult. The fact that he was a willing and gifted student meant that he progressed rapidly.¹⁷

‘On March 8, 1549, Hugh Latimer preached before King Edward VI and his court at Westminster.’¹⁸ Who was this man who preached to a gathering that was too large to be contained in the Chapel Royal and so had to use the specially constructed preaching place in the gardens? Latimer (c.1485-1555) was born in Thurcaston, Leicestershire, the son of a yeoman. He was part of a large family, some brothers who did not live to maturity, and six sisters. His parents recognised that their son had a ‘ready, prompt, and sharp wit’ and ‘purposed to train him up in erudition’,¹⁹ and to this end, they sent him first to grammar school and then to Cambridge, probably in 1505.²⁰ It is quite possible that Latimer, then a young undergraduate, was present when John Fisher preached before King Henry VII and Lady Margaret Beaufort during that king’s visitation in 1506. The young Latimer graduated BA in 1511, proceeding MA in 1514 and BTh in 1524. He was elected a fellow of Clare College in 1510, ordained subdeacon at Peterborough in March 1515, deacon at Lincoln

¹⁵ Jennifer Loach: ed. by George Bernard and Penry Williams, *Edward VI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) p. 14.

¹⁶ W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King, The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968) p. 43.

¹⁷ Jordan, *Edward VI*, p. 43.

¹⁸ Alan G. Chester, *Hugh Latimer: Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1954) p. 1.

¹⁹ Susan Wabuda, ‘Latimer, Hugh (c.1485-1555),’ *ODNB*, online edn.

²⁰ Master Hugh Latimer, *Seven Sermons before Edward VI*, ed. by Edward Arber, English Reprints (London: Alex. Murray & Son, 1869), p. 8.

Cathedral in May of that year, and priest at Lidington in the following July.²¹ At first Latimer was entirely conservative in his thinking. His disputation for BD in 1524 was an attack on the opinions of Philip Melanchthon, the Protestant reformer, who was later one of those involved in formulating the Augsburg Confession of 1530. Among those present when Latimer was arguing his case was Thomas Bilney, who later sought out Latimer privately and asked him to hear his confession. This interview was the catalyst for Latimer's eventual conversion to the new doctrines.²²

By 1522, Latimer was one of twelve preachers licensed by his university to preach in any part of England, and he was also appointed to carry the silver cross of the university in processions.²³ As Latimer continued his career at Cambridge during the next few years, he was, at the same time gradually re-evaluating his beliefs. As late as 1529 he had praised the value of voluntary works of salvation, including pilgrimages and the ornamentation of churches, but attacked the papacy, non-preaching bishops and the influential mendicant orders.²⁴ His criticism of the doctrine of purgatory led him to suggest that votive masses for the souls of the departed were unnecessary and that the wealth of chantries, dedicated to this purpose, would be better directed towards relief of the poor.²⁵

When Hugh Latimer stood up in the pulpit at Whitehall on those Fridays in Lent 1549, he had many years of experience as a preacher behind him. These years were not without incident for him. Until the cause of reform became intertwined with Henry's efforts to obtain a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Latimer and his friends

²¹ Wabuda, *Latimer ODNB* article, p. 1.

²² Chester, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 18.

²³ Chester, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 7.

²⁴ Wabuda, *Latimer, ODNB* article, p. 3.

²⁵ Wabuda, *Latimer, ODNB* article, p. 3.

had been at risk from the laws against heresy.²⁶ Wabuda suggests that the patronage of Anne Boleyn became a cornerstone of Latimer's rise to prominence and he owed his most important promotions to her influence.²⁷ He had preached a Lent sermon before Henry VIII in 1530, 'where his majesty, after the sermon was done, did most familiarly talk with me in a gallery,'²⁸ a series of sermons on the Wednesdays in Lent, 1534,²⁹ and before Edward VI in 1548,³⁰ but these discourses have not survived. According to Chester, his preaching had become so popular that a new preaching place had been built in the gardens of Westminster Palace to accommodate the crowds who came to hear him.³¹ However, other sources suggest that this area, which was known variously as the Sermon Court, the Preaching Place, or the Chapel Court, was constructed in the latter years of the previous reign.³²

An important feature of this pulpit was that it was erected on secular, not sacred, ground. McCullough suggests that 'Henry VIII did not discover preaching as much as the political power of the pulpit...the erection of a pulpit on the very secular ground of the King's Privy Garden symbolized a radical turn towards the Tudor subjection of church to state under the king as "Supreme Head".'³³ The Privy Garden enclosure was also used for animal-baiting and wrestling matches. This dual use of the Gardens emphasized the fact that preaching was drama and entertainment. Sermons could be seen, in one sense, as a one-man performance of the political or religious propaganda being promoted by the regime.

²⁶ Wabuda, *Latimer*, ODNB article, p. 3

²⁷ Wabuda, *Latimer*, ODNB article, p. 4.

²⁸ Wabuda, *Latimer*, ODNB article, p. 4.

²⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 11.

³⁰ Chester, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 165.

³¹ Chester, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 165.

³² Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 42.

³³ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 46.

The Whitehall Preaching Place was overlooked by the Council Chamber, which projected several feet into the courtyard with windows opening out onto it. This provided seating for the king and his council, which included the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of the realm and governor of the King's person, who was his uncle on his mother's side and Regent during his minority. The king was seated in the best place for both seeing and hearing the sermon, and, more importantly, was placed above the heads of the people. 'John King, in an iconographic study of the woodcuts from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, emphasizes that in the portrayal of Latimer preaching before Edward VI "the king and cleric seem to be on very nearly the same level plane", and this emphasizes the "proper ordering of church and state" in the reformed commonwealth.'³⁴ Latimer makes these comments about the preaching place:

Thys place was prepared for the banketynge of the bodye, and hys Maieftye hath made it a place for the comforte of the foule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be poffible. Confider what the Kinges Maieftye hathe done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Confider where ye be, fyrft ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and though it be preached by pore men, yet it is the fame worde that oure Sauioure spake.³⁵

³⁴ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 46.

³⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 169.

These particular sermons preached before the King ‘constitute, as it were, the official portion, dealing with national affairs’³⁶ of his discourses, so Latimer has political points to make but the remedies for the abuses he castigates are theological, not political. This series consists of seven sermons preached on the Fridays of Lent, the last being on Good Friday. Although the sermons were preached separately, they are best treated as one long discourse.

In the first sermon, Latimer discusses the office and practice of kingship, while the second is concerned with refuting those who deplored the fact a boy of eleven was exercising that kingship. In sermons three and four, Latimer brings some of the abuses of power that he has seen to the attention of the King and the Protector Somerset. The fifth sermon reiterates the themes of the first three, while the sixth is concerned with the defence of the royal supremacy. The final address, that preached on Good Friday, is much more devotional in content than the others and is a most moving and eloquent meditation on Christ’s agony in the Garden of Gethsemane.³⁷ Many of the themes recur again and again; Latimer obviously felt he needed to restate his concerns in order to make sure his message was heard and remembered by the widest possible audience. Not everyone in the large crowds who gathered there would have been able to hear everything he said, or would even have attended all the seven sermons.

Latimer takes a text from St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans 15: 4, and applies it to the whole series of sermons.

³⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 14.

³⁷ Chester, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 170.

'Quaecunq̄ue scripta sunt: ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt. What soeuer thynges are written a fore tyme, are written for our learnynge, that we through patience and comforte of scripturs, might haue hope.'³⁸

Here Latimer states his belief that the answers to the problems facing the king and his people will be found in Holy Scripture. Latimer choses some other passages of Scripture to expound as well as speaking to his overall text. These texts include Deuteronomy 17: 14-20, on the duties of a king, which Latimer applies to Edward; Luke 18: 2-5, the Parable of the Importunate Widow, which allows him to elaborate on corruptions in the justice system; 1 Samuel 8, the occasion of the request to the aged Samuel by the Israelites for a king, as his sons are not governing the people properly, which Latimer uses to denounce corrupt officers; and Luke 5: 1-3, the occasion of Christ teaching the people from Simon Peter's boat, which gives him an opportunity to enlarge on the importance of preaching and the need to hear sermons quietly without 'huzzing and buzzing', and also to emphasize the Royal Supremacy.³⁹ The sermons are full of digressions and Latimer introduces a number of stories, many of them from his own experience. These stories are all designed to underline his overall message, which is to help his audiences to appreciate the significance of the Scriptures in understanding their world.⁴⁰ Latimer's use of storytelling with a message could be compared with the way in which Jesus used parables in his teaching.

³⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 22.

³⁹ Blench, J. W., *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450-c. 1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), p. 92.

⁴⁰ Rosemary O'Day, 'Hugh Latimer: Prophet of the Kingdom,' *BIHR*, 65 (1992), pp. 258-276 (p. 258).

In one of his digressions, Latimer discusses the true meaning of the *Scala Coeli*, the Ladder to Heaven, which he re-interprets as the five steps to the knowledge of God.⁴¹ Here Latimer attacks the granting, by the Church, of indulgences for the remission of the penalties for sin, which had become increasingly extravagant during the fifteenth century. One of the most generous was that associated with the chapel of S. Maria Scala Coeli. This was situated beside the Cistercian abbey of St. Anastasius ad Aquas Salvias, also known as the Tre Fontane, outside the walls of Rome, and both places were popular destinations for pilgrims at that time. Nigel Morgan suggests that by 1380 the ‘power of Scala Coeli’ was well enough established for John Wyclif to comment in his treatise ‘On Prelates’ (c.1380), that:

Also prelatis disceyuen cristene men in feith, hope and charitie bi here
novelerie of massis at rome, at scala celi, and newe pardons and pilgrimages;
for thei maken the peple to bileue or trist that if a prest seye a mass at scala
celi for a soule it schal onoon [at once] ben out of purgatorie.⁴²

Originally, it was necessary to visit the chapel in Rome and have a Mass or Masses said for the particular person at the altar of St Bernard, who was supposed to have seen a vision of angels carrying the souls of the departed up a ladder to heaven.⁴³ In 1476, the indulgence of Scala Coeli was transferred to the chapel of St Mary the Virgin-the-Pew within the king’s palace of Westminster.⁴⁴ Such was the popularity

⁴¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 67.

⁴² Nigel Morgan, ‘The Scala Coeli Indulgence and the Royal Chapels’ in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Benjamin Thompson, (Stamford, UK: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 82-103 (p. 85).

⁴³ Morgan, ‘Scala Coeli’, p. 87.

⁴⁴ Morgan, ‘Scala Coeli’, p. 91.

of this indulgence that by c.1520 there were about fifteen other altars in England able to grant it, most notably that of the guild of St Botolph's, Boston in Lincolnshire.⁴⁵

Latimer was determined to discredit what he considered to be superstitions such as this one. He explains that where formerly the *Sacra Coeli*, was gained through the sacrifice of the Mass, now the steps are ascended through the knowledge of the Lord, which comes from the preaching and teaching of the scriptures. So, whoever would call upon the Name of the Lord and be saved must first believe, and how, he asks, can they believe if they are not instructed? '*Scala coeli* is a preachynge matter I tell you, and not a maffying matter, goddes instrumēt of faluation, is preachynge.'⁴⁶ And he says again, '*A primo ad ultimum*. Take away preachinge, take away faluation.'⁴⁷

Evangelical preachers, like Latimer, were closely involved in the debates on the Mass, which included the public scholarly disputations at Oxford and Cambridge in 1548, and they made use of the full range of rhetorical terms at their disposal to attack the belief in the Sacrifice of the Mass.⁴⁸

Over against the *Scala Coeli* is the '*Scala Inferni*, the ryghte waye to hell, to be couetous, to take bribes, and peruerte iustice.'⁴⁹ Latimer argues that there are steps leading down to hell in the same way as there are steps leading up to heaven. 'Fyrfle let hym be a couetoufe man...and take brybes, and lafte peruerte iudgemente.'⁵⁰

Avarice is the first step down the *Scala Inferni*. Covetousness and bribe taking lead to

⁴⁵ Morgan, 'Scala Coeli', p. 92.

⁴⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 139.

⁴⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 67.

⁴⁸ Catharine Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.19.

⁴⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 141.

the perversion of justice, which ‘if I were iudge, fhoulde be *Hangum tuum*,⁵¹ a tyburne tyyppet to take with hym, and if it were...my Lord Chaunceloure hym felfe, to tiburne wyth hym.’⁵²

Latimer returns again and again to his message about the importance of preaching as opposed to the celebration of the Mass. Only those who have become godly can construct a godly realm; the way to become godly is through the reading and preaching of the Word of God, and the preachers must be educated in order to teach the people. Latimer’s sermons are based on scripture and, through his preaching, he seeks to explain how God’s will may be first ascertained and then fulfilled. He offers proof that the will of God is not being done in the kingdom, by showing how the powerful are exploiting the weak and powerless. Latimer’s remedy is not social and economic reorganisation but the reading of God’s Word, which will lead men to do his will.⁵³

Latimer regards himself, and is regarded by his contemporaries, as a prophet in the mould of those men of the Old Testament, Moses, Jeremiah or Elijah. Thomas Some, in his dedication of Latimer’s sermons to the Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, reinforces this by writing

Who is that wyl not be glad to heare and beleue the doctryne of godly
Latymer? Whome God hath appointed a prophet, vnto our moft noble Kyng,
and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the meffage of the lyuyng God, to

⁵¹ This is a parody on *judicium tuum*, or *et ideo habeat judicium suum*, ‘and therefore let him have his judgement’; a phrase found in court rolls, referring to hanging. *OED* online ed.

⁵² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 141.

⁵³ O’Day, ‘Hugh Latimer’, p. 258.

supplante and rote out al finnes and vice, to plante and grafte in mens hartes the plenteoufnes of al spiriyual bliffynges in Iefus Chryft our Lorde? Mofes, Jeremyas, Helas, did neuer declare ye true meffage of god vnto their rulers and people, wyth a more fyncere fpirite, faithful mynde and godly zeale, then godlye Latymer doth now in oure daies vnto our moft noble Kyng and vnto the whole realme.⁵⁴

Throughout his discourses, Latimer explains to Edward his understanding of what God wants him to do as king; it does not matter that he is still a boy, God willing he will grow to manhood. His youth does not absolve him from his responsibilities to God and he cannot hide behind the person of Somerset.⁵⁵ Kingship in this style was ‘at its most complex, absolute but accountable, unlimited but underpinned and informed by the written Word of God (scripture) and by the spoken (the preacher). Kingship was a ministry of God, which made it at once immensely powerful and utterly accountable. But accountable to whom?’⁵⁶ Latimer, and the other preachers of his time, asserts that the king is accountable to God alone and that it is ‘part of their [preaching] ministry to hold God’s temporal ministers to account for their actions.’⁵⁷ In doing so, Latimer refers to the ancient Gelasian doctrine of the two swords held by God, the one temporal and the other spiritual. The ‘temporal sword’ belongs to the prince; the ‘spiritual sword’ belongs to the church. Formerly it was held that it was the church which gave the temporal sword to the prince, so that the church constituted

⁵⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 20.

⁵⁵ O’Day, ‘Hugh Latimer’, p. 265.

⁵⁶ Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 43.

⁵⁷ Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 41.

the state, and so had the final authority.⁵⁸ However, Latimer asserts that the temporal sword rested in the hands of kings and magistrates, and all, both clergy and laity, were subject to this rule. The spiritual sword is in the hands of the ministers and preachers, ‘wher vnto all Kynges, Maieſtrates, Rulers oug[h]te to be obediente, that is, to here, and folowe, fo longe as the minifters fyt in Chriſtes chayre, that is ſpeakinge out of Chriſtes boke.’⁵⁹

Stephen Alford asks if it were ‘possible to place human limits on what kingship was or could and should achieve. How could a king be trusted, and how could the profound burden of monarchy be shared?’⁶⁰ Latimer tells his hearers that ‘All thynges written in goddes boke, are mooft certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it, is contayned mete matter for Kynges, Princes, Rulers, Biſhops, and for alle ſtates.’⁶¹ Latimer goes on to say that the preacher must accommodate his words to his audience. If he is preaching before the king, his subject matter must be concerned with the office of kingship; before a bishop, it behoves him to speak of the duties of a bishop, and ‘fo forthe in other matters, as time and audience ſhal require.’⁶² There is a strong suggestion here that the king will examine and test the preacher’s teaching against the words of scripture.⁶³

A great deal of the sermon content is taken up with the theme of the ‘king’s honour’. This encompasses the whole concept of kingship and how it can be exercised within the tensions and constraints of the king’s minority. Latimer uses the verses from

⁵⁸ Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: From Augustine to the Eve of the Reformation*, II (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), p. 183.

⁵⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 23. See Introduction, pp. 4-5, for a discussion of the origins of this theory.

⁶⁰ Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 43.

⁶¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 25.

⁶² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 25.

⁶³ O’Day, ‘Hugh Latimer’, p. 268.

Deuteronomy 17: 16-20 as the base from which to explore his understanding of the 'king's honour'. The text as quoted in the sermons is:

When thou arte come unto the Lande whiche the Lorde thy God geveth the[e], & enjoyeste it and dwelleste therin: If thou shalt say, I wil set a kynge over me: lyke unto al the nacions that are aboute me: Then thou shalt make him kynge over the[e], whom the Lorde thy God shall chose. One of thy brethren muste thou make Kynge over the[e], and mayste not set a stranger over the[e], whiche is not of thy brethren. But in any wyse, let not holde to[o] manye horses, that he bringe not the people agayne to Egypt, thorowe the multitude of horses, for as muche as the Lorde hath sayd unto you: ye shall hence forth go no more agayne that waye.⁶⁴

All that the preacher understands about kingship and the king's honour is delivered in his exposition of these verses. 'Patriarkes, Iudges, and kynges, had and haue their authorytie of God, and therefore Godli.'⁶⁵ Moses was instructed by God that the king must not be a stranger, a foreigner; so Latimer presents Edward to his subjects as their 'naturall liege kynge and Lorde, of our owne nation an Englysh man, one of our owne religion. God hath geuen hym vnto vs, and is a mooft precious treafure...let vs pray for hys good fstate, that he may lyue long among vs.'⁶⁶ This remark could be aimed at those who deplored the fact that Edward was still a child, and Latimer continues by observing how destructive to the good of the realm would be the rule of a strange king

⁶⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 25.

⁶⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 29.

⁶⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 30.

with a strange religion, for, by this the people may be once more led into ‘al papisftrie, hipocricie, and Idolatrie.’⁶⁷

Latimer applies God’s proscription against a ‘vayne truſte that kynges haue in them felues, more than in the liuing god the authour of al goodness, and geuer of all victory,’ to Edward.⁶⁸ God teaches what honours are proper for a king, and, indeed, for all other men according to their vocations, but ‘to extorte and take awaye the ryghte of the poore, is agaynſte the honoure of the kinge.’⁶⁹ All the extortionists, violent oppressors, engrossers of tenancies and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and the people lack sustenance, they are those ‘whyche ſpeke a gainſt the honour of the kyng. God requireth in the king and al magiſtrates a good herte, to walk directly in hys wayes. And in all ſubiectes, an obedience dewe vnto a kyng.’⁷⁰ In expounding the goſpel message as he did, Latimer made his hearers aware of its relevance to them and this was a measure of the power of his preaching.⁷¹ He had experienced for himſelf the truth of the message and this conviction flowed through to his hearers.

An aspect of kingship is the right choice of a wife; marriage was a ſerious buſineſſ for anyone but eſpecially for a king. The difficulties that Henry VIII had experienced in his various marriages were a very recent memory and Latimer muſt have been thinking of them when he ſpoke in this vein. In 1543, Henry had opened negotiations for a marriage between Edward, then aged ſix, and the infant Mary, Queen of Scots, with the object of bringing the centuries of conflict between the two countries to an

⁶⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 31.

⁶⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 32.

⁶⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 33.

⁷¹ O’Day, ‘Latimer’, p. 366.

end. What followed was termed the ‘rough wooing’ as punitive expeditions devastated the southeastern borderlands and, at the time, Henry’s policy was described as ‘incredibly stupid as well as brutal’.⁷² Protector Somerset invaded Scotland again with a large army in 1547, and although he won a notable victory at Pinkie, nothing came of it as far as the marriage was concerned. On the contrary, in January 1548 the Scots began to discuss a marriage between Mary and the dauphin of France, and Mary was removed to France later that year.⁷³ Even so, it would not be many years before Edward was looking for a wife, and Latimer is doubtful if a marriage to the Catholic Mary Stuart would be in the best interests of a godly kingdom. In his exposition of the text, ‘*Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away;*’ (Deuteronomy 17:17) Latimer adapts the instructions given to the kings of Israel to his own time. His concern is that Edward will ‘chofe hym one which is of god, that is, whyche is of the householde of faith.’⁷⁴ ‘*Timor Domini fons vitae vel sapientiae.* The feare of the Lorde is the fountayne of lyfe or Wyfdome. I wolde god this sentence were always printed in the herte of the kyng in chofynge hys wife, and in al hys officers.’⁷⁵

The last matter that Latimer discusses in his exposition of Deuteronomy 17: 14-20 is that of wealth. ‘He shall not multiplye vnto hym selfe to mucche gold and filuer. Is ther to mucche thynke you for a kynge?’⁷⁶ Latimer enlarges on this by saying that God allows a king to have much treasure available for the proper expenses of his kingdom, and if that is not sufficient he may ‘lawfully and wyth a falue conscience, take taxis of

⁷² John Cannon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 821.

⁷³ Loach, *Edward VI*, p. 53.

⁷⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 35.

⁷⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 37.

hys subiectes.’⁷⁷ At the same time, Latimer issues a stern warning against covetousness and excess by the rulers of the realm, for ‘then this couetous intent, and the requelt thereof, is to muche, whych god forbiddeth the king her in this place of scripture to haue.’⁷⁸

Latimer does not deal with the current economic policies and the resulting social problems in so many words but he expresses a great deal of concern about the conditions of the time. The reign of Edward VI was a period of considerable economic and social dislocation, marked by local protests and risings.⁷⁹ Latimer draws the attention of the king to a number of the matters which affect the lives of his subjects. For example, a growing population was placing stress on the customary land use of much of the country. There was increasing inflation, stemming partly from the continuing debasement and resulting devaluation of the currency, which led to the relative cheapness of English cloth in foreign markets. This resulted in a rapid increase in the size of sheep flocks.⁸⁰ Latimer tells his audience that ‘these grafiers, inclofers, and renterearers, are hinderers of the kings honour. For wher as haue bene a great many of householders and inhabitauntes, ther is nowe but a fhepherd and his dogge.’⁸¹ Rents that were formerly twenty or twenty five pounds a year are now fifty or a hundred. God has sent good harvests but the prices of pigs, poultry, and eggs are such that ordinary labourers can no longer afford them. In fact, Latimer says, it will not be long before we shall be ‘conftrayned to paye for a pygge a pound.’⁸² In order to see the right path in governance, Latimer suggests that the king should have a pair

⁷⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 37.

⁷⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 38.

⁷⁹ Loach, *Edward VI*, p. 58.

⁸⁰ Loach, *Edward VI*, p. 59.

⁸¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 40.

⁸² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 39.

of spectacles with two clear lights in them. ‘One is faith, not a feasonable faith, which shall lafte but a whyle, but a fayeth, whiche is continuyng in God. The seconde cleare fighte is charitie, which is feruente towards hys Chryften brother. By them two, muft the Kynge fe euer whan he hath to mucche.’⁸³ Good laws are made to address these matters but, in practice, nothing seems to change. ‘Let the preacher preach til his tong be worne to the stompes, nothing is amended.’⁸⁴

The state of the justice system in the kingdom is another matter of great concern for Latimer. Solomon had prayed that the Lord might give him an understanding heart above every other gift, to judge the people with discernment,. God gave him wisdom but he also gave riches and honour above everything that any of his ancestors had possessed. So, ‘Ye muft make your petition, now ftudy, nowe praye.’⁸⁵ Wisdom led Solomon to make right judgements, and he did not disdain to hear the poorest petitioner.⁸⁶ Latimer says that petitioners besiege him as he walks in the gardens of my Lord of Canterbury studying his books; they come knocking at the gate and imploring him to help them. There are many matters that should come before the Lord Protector and the Lord Chancellor that are not being investigated. Latimer asserts that the rich are heard but the poor are not heard,⁸⁷ and cites the parable of the Unjust Judge and the Importunate Woman (Luke 18: 2-5) in support of his argument. As Jesus told in the story, the judge did at the last grant the woman’s request, ‘though I fere neyther God, fayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycaufe of hyr importunateness I wyll graunte hyr requeste. But our Iudges are worffe then thys Iudge was. For they wyll neyther heare men for God’s fake, nor feare of the worlde, nor importunateness, nor

⁸³ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 41.

⁸⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 90.

⁸⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 80

⁸⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 72.

any thyng else.’⁸⁸ It is the task of a king and to the honour of the king, to ensure that justice is done for all, rich and poor alike.

Latimer uses *exempla* from Scripture to issue warnings to the king. 1 Samuel 8, recounts how Samuel, in his old age, had delegated his authority as judge of Israel to his two sons. ‘And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgement.’ (v. 3). Samuel had brought up his sons to be godly men but the temptations of power had led them into wickedness. So, too, will others in this present time, Latimer suggests, if they are not forewarned. ‘Beware of pytch, you iudges of the worlde, brybes wyl make you peruert iuftice.’⁸⁹ Latimer follows this up by asserting that sons can choose not to follow in the paths of wicked fathers. ‘Iofias the beste kyng that euer was in Iewry, reformed hys fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policie. In hys youth, he toke a waye all Idolatrye, and purdged hys Realme of it.’⁹⁰ Perhaps Latimer is suggesting that Edward should not follow the example set by his father, Henry VIII.

A major reason for the poor quality of justice in the kingdom is the prevalence of bribery. ‘If the kyng and hys council shoulde suffer euil Iudges of this realme to take bribes, to defeate iuftice and suffer the great, to ouer go the poore, and shoulde loke through his fingers, and wynke at it, shoulde not the kyng be partaker of theyr naughtynes?’⁹¹ One cause of the corruption so prevalent in the realm is the selling of offices. These are bought for great sums so ‘howe shall they receyue theyre money

⁸⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 74.

⁸⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 151.

⁹⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 137.

⁹¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 105.

agayne, but by brybynge?’⁹² Latimer lists the enormous sums that are expended, up to two thousand pounds in some cases. ‘And how fhall they gather vp thys money agayne, but by healpyng them felues in theyre office.’⁹³ ‘Thys byinge of offices is a makynge of bryberye.’⁹⁴ And he continues by telling his hearers that ‘Menne of actyuitye that haue stomakes to do theyr office, they muft not be milke foppes, nor whyte lyuered knyghtes, they muft be wyfe, hartye, hardye men of a good stomake...they muft be *Timentes deum* fearing God.’ (Exodus 18: 1, ‘Such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness’)⁹⁵ It is not just the secular magistrates who are acting in this way, for Latimer gives the example of a priest who applied to a patron seeking a benefice and sent, as a sweetener, a gift of apples, each one containing ten gold pieces. Not surprisingly his request was granted. ‘Get you a grafte of thys tre and I warrante you it fhall ftand you in better ftede then all Sayncte Paules learnynge.’⁹⁶ But Edward, as Supreme Head of the Church, will be held accountable for his flock, for the wolf will come upon them when the ‘fhopard tendeth not hys flocke, and leades theym not to good pafure.’⁹⁷

Ministers that discharge their duties properly are worthy of a double honour, to be revered and esteemed by the people and to be rewarded according to their state. ‘For as good preachers be worthy double honour: fo vnpreaching prelates be worthy double difhonoure.’ ‘Make them quondammes, out with them, caft them out of ther office.’⁹⁸ St Paul said in his Epistle that a bishop’s duty must be to ‘teache and to

⁹² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 147.

⁹³ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 147.

⁹⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 147

⁹⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 148.

⁹⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 149.

⁹⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 105.

⁹⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 107.

confute all maner of false doctrine.’⁹⁹ If God does not work in the hearts of the people, Latimer’s preaching will do but little good. ‘I am Goddes instrument but for a time. It is he that muft giue the encrease and yet preachynge is necessarye. But take a waye preaching, and take a waye saluacion.’¹⁰⁰ Latimer stresses that a careful approach must be made when dealing with those in power. When he first went to court he was advised to be careful in his dealings with the then King. The king must be told what is his duty but it must be done ‘wyth humblenes, wyth request of pardon, or els it were a dangerous thyng. A Prynce muste be turned not violentlye, but he muft be wonne by a lytle and a lytle.’¹⁰¹

Throughout his discourse, whether he is instructing the king in the exercise of his duties or drawing the attention of the authorities to the abuses he sees in the government of the realm, Latimer draws on the Scriptures rather than the Fathers of the Church for his *exempla*. The Injunction of 1538 provided that the Great Bible be set up in all churches, the people were to have regular instruction in the Scriptures, certain superstitions were to be checked and only duly licensed preachers permitted to officiate.¹⁰²

In the First Book of Homilies, published in July 1547, the first homily, *A Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture*, is constructed as follows:

⁹⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 108.

¹⁰¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 201

¹⁰² F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 703.

Part 1 shows why a knowledge of Scripture is necessary and profitable to all men, and that by true knowledge of it, the most necessary points of man's duty to God and to his neighbour are known; Part II shows how the excuses put forward by some that they dare not read Scripture [(a) that they are afraid of falling into error, and (b) that Scripture is so hard, it should be read only by learned men] are invalid, and ends with an exhortation to partake of the deep joy of reading the Bible.¹⁰³

The Latin Vulgate version of the Bible had been in general use in the Western Church for hundreds of years. Latin was the common language of Christendom, but over the centuries it had become more and more the language of the educated clerical elite, and the Bible in Latin had become a symbol of the power of the Church.

The Church, directly guided by God, had laboriously developed a theological tradition based on interpretation of the Bible and the wisdom of the Fathers and their successors. The Bible alone was not enough – it was too difficult, too easily misunderstood: the Church, with the Bible and so much more, was the source of truth. The preservation of its secrets in an occult language to which it alone had access confirmed its power.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 87

¹⁰⁴ David Norton, *The History of the Bible as Literature*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 73.

Even after ten years the concept of the Bible as the sole source of truth must have been difficult to grasp for many people. Ordinary people, struggling to teach themselves solely from the Bible, could be excused for feeling that they might not be able to discern its truths.¹⁰⁵ The Church had centuries of study and analysis behind it to reinforce its claims to authority and it had taught that there were levels of meaning beyond the literal in the scriptures. It was the task of preachers like Latimer to bring the literal meaning of the scriptures into the compass of the ordinary man and woman. Direction in the right understanding of the meaning of the Word was essential.¹⁰⁶ Edward was being well educated in the classics but for knowledge of the craft of kingship Latimer is certain that the king must look to the Bible.

The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, which was published by the authority of Parliament in the first Act of Uniformity, 21 January 1549, has this to say:

...the people (by daily hearing of holy scripture read in the Churche) should continuallye profite more and more in the knowledge of God, and bee more inflamed with the loue of his true religion....And moreouer, whereas s. Paule would haue suche language spoken to the people in the churche, as they mighte understande and haue profite by hearing the same; the seruice in this

¹⁰⁵ Norton, *History of the Bible*, p. 74.

¹⁰⁶ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 106.

Churche of England (these many yeares) hath been read in Latin to the people, whiche they understoode not, and...haue not been edified thereby.¹⁰⁷

Heretofore, the understanding had been that it was unnecessary, even detrimental for the worshippers to understand what the priest was saying. Ramie Targoff suggests, ‘Whereas Protestants sought to break down the auricular barriers between the clergy and the congregation, Catholics insisted that that these barriers were actually conducive to a genuine devotional practice.’¹⁰⁸ Sixteenth-century Catholicism did not seek to promote a collective liturgical language but desired to encourage worshippers to perform their own private devotions during the priest’s service. A service in the vernacular encourages the worshippers to listen; a service in Latin provides an opportunity for them to engage in private worship. According to this view, the Latin prayers offered by the priest on behalf of all the worshippers represent the collective voice of the congregation.¹⁰⁹

Latimer’s final sermon in this series for Lent 1549 is quite different from the others. It is as if he has left behind the problems he sees in the realm and his concerns about them, in order to focus his whole attention on the message of ‘good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accuftomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembrance of the paffion of our fauioir Iefu Chrif.’¹¹⁰

Not the sacrifice of the Mass, but the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of

¹⁰⁷ *The First and Second Prayer-Books of Edward VI: with an Introduction by the Bishop of Gloucester*, ed by Ernest Rhys, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, n.d.), p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ Targoff, *Common Prayer*, p. 16.

¹¹⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 183.

Christ: this is the doctrine that Latimer has for his audience. Christ had paid the price for the sins of the whole world, once for all, in his agony in the Garden and on the Cross. ‘What an horrible thing is finne? That no other thyng wold remedy and paye the ranfom for it, but only the bloud of our Sauoure Christe.’¹¹¹ ‘Well, thys passion is our remedye, it is the fatiffactyon for oure fynnes.’¹¹²

Though there are similarities in this sermon to the genre of medieval Passion literature, Latimer does not dwell on the pains suffered by Christ during the whole of his Passion in the manner of Longland’s Passion narrative of 1536. Latimer bases his exhortation on Christ’s agony in the Garden of Gethsemane and he pictures Christ’s mental and physical suffering as he wrestles with the torment that is upon him. ‘Thys was the heuines and penfuenes of hys hearte, the agony of the spirit.’¹¹³ ‘*Anima mea tristis est usque ad mortem. My soule is heavy to death.*’¹¹⁴ Though this ‘horroure and vgfomnes of death is forer then death it selfe,’¹¹⁵ yet God ‘wyll not suffer them to be tempted aboue that, that they haue bene able to beare.’¹¹⁶ Even so, in his obedience to the cross, Christ took upon himself ‘our fynnes...not the worke of fynnes. I meane not so, not to do it, not to commit it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to beare the stypende of it... he bare all the fynne of the worlde on hys backe, he woulde become detter for it.’¹¹⁷ Latimer’s purpose in this discourse is didactic; he wants to show how Christ’s agony in the Garden and on the Cross is sufficient for the forgiveness of sin for whole

¹¹¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 202.

¹¹² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 203.

¹¹³ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 185.

¹¹⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 187.

¹¹⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 185.

¹¹⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 187.

¹¹⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 190.

world. He tells his audience that they should meditate on the Passion at all times, and not only upon Good Friday,

‘lette good fryday be euerye day hys paffyon to that ende and purpofe, not to reade the ftoye, but to take the fruyte of it....lette vs folowe Chriſte, whyche in hys agonye reforted to hys father wyth hys praier.’¹¹⁸

The way to meditate upon the Passion of Christ is through prayer. Prayer, he tells his audience, is of the utmost importance, for we ‘haue a commaundemente to come to him, we haue a commaundemente to refort to GOD for he ſaieth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis* (Psalm 100: 15): call vpon me in the daye of thy tribulacion, which is as well a commaundemente, as *Non furaberis* (Exodus 20: 15). Thou fhalt not ſteale.’¹¹⁹ Latimer exhorts his hearers to follow the example of Christ and persevere in prayer, ‘although we be not herd at the firſt time, ſhal we geue ouer our praier? Nay we muſt to it agayne, we muſt be importune vpon god, we muſt be inſtant in prayer.’¹²⁰

The fleſhe refyſteth the worcke of the holy Goſt in oure herte, and lettes it, lettes it. We haue to praye euer to God O prayer, praier, that it might be vſed in thys Realme as it oughte to be of all menne, and ſpeſyallye of Magyſtrates, of Counſaylers, of greate Rulers, to praye, to praye, that it woulde pleaſe God to putte Godly polices in their hertes.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 193.

¹¹⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 123.

¹²⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 198.

¹²¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 197.

During the time that Jesus spent enduring the agony of knowing what was before him; the trial, the scourging, the mocking and finally his death on the cross, he had gone again and again to ‘hys frendes thynkyng to finde some comfort ther, but he findes them a flepe, again more deper a flepe than euer they were.’¹²² There was no help for him there as

they wyft not what to fay to hym. A wonderfull thing, how he was toft from poft to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was deftytute at hys hand, another whyle, to hys frendes and founde no comfort at them.’¹²³ ‘Thys payne fullered our fauiore Chrift for vs, who neuer deserued it... The doloures, the terroures, the forrowes that he fullered, be vnspeakable, He fullered partelye, to make amendes for oure fynnes, and partelye, to geue vs example, what wee shoulde do in lyke cafe.’¹²⁴

However, Latimer’s main concern, to which he returns again and again, is that his audience should understand that the remedy for sin, is ‘only the bloud of our Sauioure Chriſte.’¹²⁵

All the paſſyon of all the martyrs that euer were, al the ſacryfices of
Patriarkes that euer were, al the good workes that euer were done, were not
able to remedy oure fynne, to make ſatiffaction for oure fynnes, nor anye

¹²² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 199.

¹²³ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 199.

¹²⁴ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 200.

¹²⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 202.

thyng befydes, but thys extreme passion and blud sheddyng of our most
merciful Sauoure Christ.¹²⁶

A third time, Latimer tells his hearers, Christ resorted to God, his father, praying more
vehemently than before, and this time his agony was such that it ‘brought out a bloody
sweate, and such plenty that it dropped downe euen to the grounde.’¹²⁷ Christ, who
never sinned, suffered this agony and more, for our sins and yet ‘we wyll not once
watter oure eyes wyth a fewteares.’¹²⁸ Latimer repeats that ‘thys passion is our
remedye, it is the satisfactyon for oure synnes.’¹²⁹

Latimer is nearing the end of his long Lenten discourses, but throughout the whole
series he remains the prophet with a message for his people; the king, his council,
those present in the Preaching Place, and everyone who will read or hear the printed
words. He believes as ‘certaynely and verily that thys Realme of Englande hath as
good authoritye to here Goddes word as any nation in all the worlde.’¹³⁰ He takes two
texts, one from Mark 26: 15, the other from 1 Timothy 2: 3,4, ‘Go into the whole
world, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. And agayne. God wyll haue al men
to be faued.’¹³¹ This is Latimer’s prayer for the people of England, that the reading of
the Scriptures, with earnest and heartfelt prayer and with the teaching of godly
prelates, will bring a true faith with which to come worthily to the blessed Easter
communion. Latimer uses colloquial speech so that everyone will understand him,

¹²⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 202.

¹²⁷ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 200.

¹²⁸ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 202.

¹²⁹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 203.

¹³⁰ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 104.

¹³¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 204.

repeating that essential word 'faith' again and again, to drive his message home to his hearers.

It is no brybynge Iudges, or iuftices faith, no rentreasers faith, no hore mongers faith, no lease mongers faith, no feller of benefices faith, but the faith in the paffion or oure Sauioure Chrif, we muft beleue that our Sauioure Chrif hath taken vs agayne to his fa[u]oure, that he hath deliuered vs hys owne bodye and bloude to plead with the dyuel, and by merite of hys owne paffion, of his owne mere liberalitie.¹³²

Latimer uses a simple form of construction in his sermons; it is plain and direct and has a 'racily colloquial style.'¹³³ It is typical of this period in the history of preaching when the Reformers in their consuming zeal to change the religion of England, avoided the 'mannered elaboration of the ornate style.'¹³⁴ Latimer uses humorous compounds to effect his characteristic informal robustness. For example, Adonijah, the son of King David, is a 'ftoute ftomacked child, a biwalker, of an ambitious mynde,'¹³⁵ and a true judge is 'no gyfte taker, he was no wynker, he was no bywalker.'¹³⁶ Here Latimer is using colloquial terms; a 'wynker' is one who shuts his eyes to what is going on around him, while a 'bywalker' strays from the right

¹³² Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 208.

¹³³ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 244.

¹³⁴ Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 142.

¹³⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 57.

¹³⁶ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 94.

paths. He uses the device of paronomasia,¹³⁷ quotes proverbs frequently, can catch the accents of conversation with humorous effect, and he is a master of homely simile and metaphor.¹³⁸ Latimer quotes from the scriptures in Latin and then translates to English to give added emphasis to his discourse. The rhetorical figures he uses lend variety, interest and weight to his sermons.

Preachers had an important role in guiding and admonishing their hearers, particularly during Lent. Even greater was the responsibility of court preachers to advise and exhort the king and his counsellors. Although Latimer's sermons are discursive and seem to be lacking in structure, he has a strong message. In the first two sermons of this series, Latimer represents what he understood to be the proper character and behaviour of a king, exploring the broad framework of a monarchical authority under God. He shows that this is a kingship of application and effort. The king portrayed in Deuteronomy is an active, attentive and scripturally inspired monarch. Latimer establishes that there is a clear connection between the king, the will of God as revealed in scripture, the obligations of kingly ministry, and the governance of the realm.¹³⁹ Young as he was, Edward had a grasp of affairs that many older men might have envied. He kept a detailed personal Chronicle of his daily activities and also a notebook in which he set down comments on the sermons he heard detailing the preacher's name, time and place. The Chronicle has survived, but sometime after 1616 the notebook was lost.¹⁴⁰ If Edward had grown to maturity, it is possible that he

¹³⁷ Punning: the term used in ancient rhetoric to refer to any play on the sounds of words. Chris Baldick, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 162.

¹³⁸ Blench, *Preaching in England*, pp. 143-145.

¹³⁹ Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 181.

¹⁴⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 1999), p. 23.

might have consulted these comments and acted upon them when he was old enough to be the real ruler.

These sermons were preserved because Thomas Some (c.1509-c.1553), a protestant divine and admirer, 'gathered, writ, and brought into light the famous fryday fermons of Mayffter Hugh Latimer,'¹⁴¹ and had them printed, with a dedication to the Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk in 1549.

When the preachers of the time sought for exemplars of godly rulers they looked to the Old Testament. Josiah, King of Judah, who came to the throne as a child of eight, was a good example of the manner in which a young king could initiate change for the better and the reforms carried out in his reign were seen to provide a pattern for Edward to follow.¹⁴² Latimer recognised Edward's potential and used all his talents as a preacher in order to influence Edward to emulate those ideals of kingship embodied in the godly monarchs of the Old Testament.

¹⁴¹ Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 19.

¹⁴² Christopher Bradshaw, 'David or Josiah? Old Testament Kings as Exemplars in Edwardian Religious Polemic,' in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Later Reformation*, II, Bruce Gordon, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 77-90 (p. 84).

CHAPTER IV

THOMAS WATSON PREACHES BEFORE QUEEN MARY

LENT 1554

When Edward VI died on 6 July 1553 after a long illness, no one expected Princess Mary to show the determination and presence of mind which she brought to the ensuing crisis. Mary, who had been summoned to Edward's deathbed, heard the news that he had already died in time to move to her castle of Framlingham, where she formed her Council and issued orders as Queen, and there the local gentry and the common people flocked to her standard.¹ The coup engineered by the Duke of Northumberland and designed to place Lady Jane Grey, who was of the reformed religion, on the throne collapsed as his forces melted away. To Mary, the display of loyalty and affection shown towards her during this emergency was a sign that God had opened the way for her to bring back the true religion. One of her first acts was to have the crucifix set up again in the parish church at Framlingham and to order a Te Deum to be sung.² When the Lord Mayor of London proclaimed Mary Queen on 19 July, everyone came out into the streets cheering, the church bells were rung and, in the evening, bonfires were lit and singing and dancing went on through the night.³

In the first proclamation of her reign Mary announced that she would not try to hide the faith which everyone knew she had professed ever since her childhood, and that

¹ Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), p. 63.

² Alison Plowden, *The House of Tudor* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), p. 207.

³ Richard Rex, *The Tudors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 278.

she would permit and encourage her subjects to join her in this.⁴ The Mass was, and always had been, the central focus of Mary's spirituality. She had continued to have Mass celebrated in her household during her brother's reign, in spite of the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1549 and the continued pressure exerted on her to conform.⁵ Mary believed that the majority of her subjects shared the same beliefs as she did, but even so she moved quite slowly in bringing about changes to religious practices.

Just over a week after the late king's funeral, Mary made her first official pronouncement about religion, inhibiting preaching, condemning such abusive terms as 'papist' and 'heretic' and promising a settlement of religion by common consent. For the time being there was to be no coercion.⁶ But Mary must have been giving the situation further consideration because, in the first week of September, she informed Simon Renard, Charles V's ambassador, that she intended to restore the churches in England and Ireland to their obedience to the Apostolic See, as they had been before Henry VIII's break with Rome.⁷

Of particular importance, among the many matters for Mary and her advisors to consider in the early part of the reign, was the celebration of the Eucharist. When Mary's first parliament repealed the legislation concerning religious matters it reversed the policies of the previous reign.⁸ These were highlighted in a sermon preached by James Brooks, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, at Paul's Cross on 12

⁴ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 179.

⁵ David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 152.

⁶ Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 196.

⁷ Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 196.

⁸ Williams, *Later Tudors*, p. 92.

November 1553.⁹ Taking as his text the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Matthew 9: 18-26), Brooks saw the Church of England as an erring daughter of Mother Church who had separated herself from that Church to her loss. The many heresies which had arisen since the death of Henry VIII, especially those concerning the Eucharist, showed that the Church of England was dead, just as the daughter of Jairus had been dead until she received Christ's healing touch. The divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon had been the first cause of the breakdown of all good order, good living and godliness. Now that her daughter, Mary, had acceded to the throne she would be able to restore all that had been lost.¹⁰

The Mass lay at the heart of traditional devotion, embodying the central message of salvation through the death of Christ on the cross which it re-enacted, and even for those with little grasp of doctrine, it could represent the miraculous power of the divine, bringing ordinary people into real physical proximity with God.¹¹ For this reason, the restoration of the Mass to the central position it had held for hundreds of years was a powerful symbol of the transition to the new reign.¹² The Mass had been the linchpin of Mary's piety during the long years of her opposition to the changes in religion that had been happening around her. As Lucy Wooding suggests, the 'obvious Catholic identity of the Mass and Mary's own well-known attachment to [it], made it a vehicle for protestations of support for the queen.'¹³ When John Cawood, printer to the queen, printed the text of the December 1553 Act of Parliament, repealing the Edwardian Acts concerning religion, it sent out a powerful propaganda

⁹ Kenneth Carleton, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520-1559* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), p. 68.

¹⁰ Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 70.

¹¹ Lucy Wooding, 'The Marian Restoration and the Mass,' in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Eamon Duffy and David Loades, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 227-257 (p. 227).

¹² Wooding, 'Marian Restoration,' p. 229.

¹³ Wooding, 'Marian Restoration,' p. 232.

message. The intent of this Act was to restore ‘the olde divine service and administration of Sacramentes in suche maner and fourme, as was used in the church of Englande, before the makinge of any of the sayde five [Edwardian] Actes.’¹⁴ Thus it would restore religion to the state of ‘the laste yeaere of the rayne of our late Sovereigne Lord, kynge Henry the eight,’¹⁵ and, by showing continuity with Henry’s reign, make the Edwardian regime seem just an aberration. It also established a link between Catholic doctrine and strong kingship; Mary’s rule became part of the long heritage of Catholic kings, not the reign of a minor ruled by his advisors which Edward’s had been. So the Mass became the most obvious symbol of religious continuity, reinforcing Mary’s connection with the male authority and kingship of Henry VIII.¹⁶

The following Lent was an important time for Mary. She continued the customary attendance of the monarch at the Lent sermons preached at court, a longstanding tradition dating from medieval times, and, as we have seen, adhered to by both her father and brother.¹⁷ Those on the third and fifth Fridays of Lent 1554 were delivered by one of the foremost Catholic theologians of the time, Thomas Watson, Dean of Durham, and later to be Bishop of Lincoln (1513-1584).

When Dr Thomas Watson preached before the queen and her court, he already had a distinguished career behind him. He was known for his scholarship and erudition from the time he entered St John’s College, Cambridge, in the 1520s, graduating BA

¹⁴ *An Acte for the repeale of certayne Actes made in the tyme of kyng Edwarde the sixt* (1553), STC 7852, quoted in Wooding, ‘Marian Restoration,’ p. 232.

¹⁵ Wooding, ‘Marian Restoration,’ p. 232.

¹⁶ Wooding, ‘Marian Restoration,’ p. 233.

¹⁷ Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 52.

in 1533. Watson's contemporary, Roger Ascham, later tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, regarded Watson as one of the best scholars ever bred by the college. During his time at Cambridge, Watson was the author of a tragedy in Latin, *Absalom*,¹⁸ made a translation, probably into Latin, of the *Odyssey*, which has not survived, and produced a Latin version of a sermon by St Cyprian.¹⁹ Watson became a fellow of St John's in 1533, proceeded MA in 1536, and was granted his degree in theology in 1543. In that year he also became domestic chaplain to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.²⁰ Watson was associated with Gardiner in opposing many of the religious changes taking place in the early part of Edward VI's reign and was imprisoned with Gardiner during 1550 and 1551.

After Edward died and Mary succeeded to the throne, Watson was able to renew his promotion of the old faith, becoming well known for his preaching, and so was appointed to preach before the Queen. These sermons were published in London 10 May 1554 as *Two notable sermons, made the thirde and fifte Fridayes in Lent iust past, before the Quenes highness, concernynge the real presence of Christes body and bloude in the blessed Sacrament : also the Masse, which is the sacrifice of the newe Testament*. They survive in three editions all printed in 1554 (STC 25115, 25115.3, 25115.5).²¹

It is appropriate to consider the political situation in England when these sermons were preached. The third Friday in Lent was 23 February 1554; the fifth was 9 March,

¹⁸ Lever, Katherine, 'Greek comedy on the Sixteenth Century English Stage,' *CJ*, 42 (1946), pp, 169-173, (p. 1)

¹⁹ James K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 268.

²⁰ Kenneth Carleton, 'Watson, Thomas (1513-1584)' *ODNB*, online edn.

²¹ Carleton, 'Watson', *ODNB* article.

the Friday before Passion Sunday; this was only a short time after the abortive conspiracy led by Sir Thomas Wyatt had erupted in January 1554. When the rebellion collapsed, Mary made an example of the plotters and over a hundred of the conspirators and their followers were executed. The Princess Elizabeth, who was suspected of being involved, was imprisoned in the Tower for a time, before being released into house arrest at Woodstock.²² This political turmoil was in the background of this Lenten season.

It is also necessary to consider the situation concerning religion. As we have seen, the first Parliament of the reign repealed the Edwardian Acts which had regulated the religious practices of the kingdom. However, this would not be enough in itself to make the changes desired by the new regime. Mary and her advisors were greatly concerned by the assaults that had been made on Eucharistic belief and practice since the death of Henry VIII. Mary believed that she had a sacred duty to restore the true faith²³ and she was encouraged in this by a letter, written on her accession, from Reginald Pole, her cousin and the soon to be appointed Papal Legate, telling her that he marvelled at the way the ‘spirit of God had roused the hearts of men’ so that her throne was secured to her.

Her reign was proof that the hand of God ruled human affairs, Pole told Mary, and like the Virgin Mary she should rejoice that “her soul did magnify the Lord.” The queen had “more cause than anyone” to sing the virgin’s song of praise. “He hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden; he hath shewed

²² Williams, *The Later Tudors*, p. 96.

²³ Alison Weir, *Children of England: The Heirs of King Henry VIII* (London: Random House, 1996), p. 184.

strength with his arm; he hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree.”²⁴

Statements such as this encouraged Mary to see herself as a channel for divine purpose, just as God had used the Virgin Mary to fulfil his plan for mankind. The queen had lived for seventeen years believing that it would, eventually, be her destiny to bring England back to the true faith,²⁵ and the failure of the Wyatt insurrection strengthened this belief.

Through his sermons, Thomas Watson aimed to reinforce the beliefs and practices that Mary had learned as a child and had adhered to in the face of the greatest opposition and provocation. The Lenten season was an ideal opportunity for him to promote the traditional Catholic teachings about the Eucharist in which were embodied belief in the sacrificial nature of the Mass, and the doctrines of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation. Watson would also be able to promote the traditional belief in the Mass to members of the Privy Council. Mary’s own household were all convinced Catholics, but there were other councillors, such as the career administrators William, Lord Paget, and Sir William Petre, who had served both Henry VIII and Edward VI. They, and others like them, had conformed to the prevailing religious practices of the time. Their beliefs might be questionable but their administrative skills were invaluable to the new regime.²⁶

²⁴ Carolly Erickson, *Bloody Mary* (London: J. M. Dent, 1978), p. 309.

²⁵ Erickson, *Bloody Mary*, p. 309.

²⁶ David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979), pp.72-74. Rex, *The Tudors*, pp. 200-203.

During Edward's reign the people had been given cogent expositions of the reformed doctrine in the Edwardian Homilies; now the time had come to enunciate equally compelling accounts of Catholic doctrine. The proper teaching of the doctrines of the Mass must be presented and what better place to begin than at the Court, the seat of power.²⁷ Early in 1554, injunctions were sent out to all the bishops commanding them to purge false doctrine with sound teaching and to compel the people to attend their churches to hear the same.²⁸ Watson's sermons were printed not long after they were preached so they were soon accessible to the general public and also available to be used as sermon models for the teaching of sound doctrine.

Another question for Watson and the other Catholic theologians to consider was how to persuade the reformed clergy to return to what the new administration termed the true faith. One method was through learned disputation, and a theological debate between four learned evangelicals and six Catholic doctors was held in October 1553, but it degenerated into 'scandalous wrangling'.²⁹ Another disputation on Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, which was held in Oxford on 14 April 1554 between Archbishop Cranmer, Master Nicholas Ridley, deprived Bishop of London, Master Hugh Latimer, and learned men from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, numbered Watson among the theologians representing Cambridge and it is very likely that he used the arguments propounded in the sermons in this study in these debates. The three central principles of the faith to be discussed at the disputation were:

²⁷ J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), p. 285.

²⁸ Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 151.

²⁹ Erickson, *Bloody Mary*, p. 346.

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no.
2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain than the substance of the body and blood of Christ.
3. Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead.³⁰

These debates were seen as opportunities to expound true beliefs and to persuade recalcitrant clergy to change their heretical opinions.

The two sermons that Thomas Watson preached before Queen Mary in 1554 are statements of the historic doctrines of the Catholic faith. William Wizeman argues that Watson's 'theology rested upon an erudite, apologetic use of scripture and patristic writings, in accord with the humanist sensibilities of the time.'³¹ There is a careful marshalling of patristic texts and Watson appeals to both Scripture and Tradition as his authorities.³² Watson uses Scripture to validate his views on the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the sacrificial nature of the Mass. He frequently cites as his authorities those fathers of the Church, such as Augustine and Chrysostom, who were so popular in humanist scholarship, but his main purpose is to attack the Eucharistic theology that had evolved during the previous reign.³³

³⁰ Claire Cross, 'The English Universities, 1553-58', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Duffy and Loades, pp. 57-76 (p. 65).

³¹ William Wizeman, SJ, 'The Theology and Spirituality of a Marian Bishop: the Pastoral and Polemical Sermons of Thomas Watson,' in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Duffy and Loades, pp. 258-280 (p. 261).

³² Dom Hilary Steuert, 'The English Prose Style of Thomas Watson,' *MLR*, 51 (1946), pp. 225-236 (p. 229).

³³ Wizeman, 'The Theology of a Marian Bishop,' p. 259.

Watson divides the argument in his sermons into three sections. In the first sermon he expounds his interpretation of the traditional doctrines, in particular that of the Real Presence, and he sets them forth as deduced from Scripture and established by the authority of the Church. In his second address, he attempts to prove the doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass by explaining how they were instituted by Christ and foreshadowed in the Old Testament by the prophecy of Malachi and the 'figure' of Melchizedek.³⁴

Watson takes Romans 12: 1 as the text for both his discourses. '*Obsecro uos fratres per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora uestra hostiam uiuam, sanctum, Deo placentem, etc.*' (I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.) Watson begins his sermons by saying that in 'these euil dayes, and corrupt time,' we, that is, he and his hearers, need to find again how to

offre vppre our felues to God a liuyng, holye, and pleafinge sacrifice, to ouercome and repressse our naughtie wyl and affections, to mortifie our earthly members and conuersation, and so to banish sinne.³⁵

Of necessity, this will take some time, but Watson is certain that it will not seem too tedious for those who wish to 'learne to liue well, and pleafe almighty God.'³⁶ It can be seen by these statements that Watson aimed to persuade rather than coerce his hearers.

³⁴ Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 99.

³⁵ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. A ii^v.

³⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. A iii^r.

Watson declares that there are three things which hold him to the faith that he was born in: ‘the manifest and playne scripture, the uniforme auctorities of holy men, and the consent of the uniuersall church.’³⁷ His purpose is to show how the kingdom of sin was destroyed through the incarnation, life, example, passion, and resurrection of Christ, and the doctrine and sacraments of Christ. Such remedies against sin as faith, good works and penance have decayed, as had ‘the sacrifice of the church, the sacrifice of the newe testament, the sacrifice of oure reconciliation in the body and bloude of our Lord Iesus Christ.’³⁸ The evidence is that these three, Scripture, the authority of holy men, and the consent of the church, are of such value that, if a Christian man adheres to them, he will never be deceived, especially when they are knitted together. But if they are separated, Watson tells his audience; some of them may be but ‘weak staffes to leane vnto.’³⁹

Watson asserts that heretics as well as Catholics can use scripture, the first of these staffs, and he instances the way in which the Arians and Nestorians and other heretical sects in the past abused the letter of Scripture and departed from its true sense. Secondly, the ‘wrytynges and fayynges of the fathers, yf they be but the mynde of one man without the consent of other, were he neuer so wel learned and vertuoufe,’⁴⁰ are merely the opinion of that one man and may lead him into error. The third staff, the consent of the church, is ‘alwayes a fure staffe, the verye pyller of trueth, whether it be in the thynges expressed in the letter of the scripture, or in thynges deliuered vnto us by tradition of the Apostles.’⁴¹ For these reasons then, for right exercising of kingship, Mary must look to Scripture as expounded by the Fathers for

³⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B vii^v.

³⁸ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. A iij^v.

³⁹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B v^r.

⁴⁰ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B vii^v.

⁴¹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B viii^r.

her authority, not to her own interpretation ‘as many wilfully do,’⁴² because then she will not be deceived. The church, as mediator, will lead her to the truth.

The first point that Watson wishes to make is that the institution of the Mass was by the plain and manifest words of our Saviour Christ. The words of institution in Matthew 26: 26 are meant quite literally, and not figuratively as many have asserted. Watson condemns the suggestion that Christ was speaking figuratively as devilish and detestable sophistry, and he draws further analogies to refute it. In doing so he asks his audience to understand that these words are not a ‘bare narration & teaching, but wordes whereby a sacrament is intituted.’⁴³ He contends that his hearers ‘muft confidre, that it is otherwise with Chrif, then with vs,’⁴⁴ for with man, the word and the thing described agree and are the same. With God, however, the word he speaks makes the thing true. ‘Mans word declareth the thing to be as it is before, Gods worde maketh the thing to be, as it was not before.’⁴⁵ Watson enlarges on this belief at some length and quotes from Psalm 148 in support of his argument. ‘*Ipse dixit et facta sunt*; He fpake the word and the thynges were made.’⁴⁶

Watson cites both Scripture and the Fathers of the Church in support of his arguments. He asserts that, in the Temptation of Christ in the wilderness, the devil recognised that Jesus, being Christ and God, could ‘fpeake the woorde, that these ftoones maye be made bread . . . yf GOD fhould faye fo, it fhuld be true, the inferior nature of creatures gyuyng place to the omnipotent power of God the creator.’⁴⁷

⁴² Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B viii^v.

⁴³ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C ii^r.

⁴⁴ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C ii^r.

⁴⁵ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C ii^r.

⁴⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C ii^v.

⁴⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C iii^r.

Watson uses the writings of ‘Ireneus⁴⁸ that lived within 150. yeares of Chrifft’⁴⁹ to justify his belief that, as Christ is God’s Son, he is able, by his almighty power, to change things as he speaks. Watson argues that, if ‘these men, that say these wordes of chrifft can not be true, except they be vnderftanded by a figuratiue fpeache,’⁵⁰ they deny that Christ is God’s Son, and they are as the Arian heretics who denied the Godhead of Christ.

The second reason for Watson’s continuing belief in the faith into which he was born, is the intent with which Christ spoke the words, ‘This is my bodye, This is my bloude.’⁵¹ They are the words for the institution of the New Testament covenant whereby ‘Gods almightie power affiftinge the dewe miniftration of his priest, worketh that grace inwardly, that the wordes purport outwardlye.’⁵² He likens this to the words spoken in the Sacrament of Baptism, where the ears hear the words outwardly but the soul is washed inwardly. Likewise when the priest pronounces the words of absolution, it signifies that God forgives the truly penitent sinner. Watson explains that ‘in this sacrament is receaued not only anye other grace, but he of whome procedeth al grace.’⁵³ From this it follows, he tells his hearers, that ‘Chrifft by these wordes, as by a conuenient instrument, worketh inwardlye, in that he gaue to his

⁴⁸ Irenaeus, (c. 130 – c. 200), Bishop of Lyons, was the first great Christian theologian of post-New Testament times. His great work *Adversus Haerese*, extant only in a Latin version, was used by Tertullian and other early Church Fathers. Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: From the Beginnings to the Council of Chalcedon*, 1 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), pp. 160-174.

⁴⁹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C iiiij^v.

⁵⁰ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C v^r.

⁵¹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C i^r.

⁵² Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C v^v.

⁵³ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C vii^r.

disciples the reall prefence of his owne body and bloud,⁵⁴ and he uses quotations from Eusebius⁵⁵ to support his argument.

The third reason that binds Watson to the faith into which he was born, is that Christ has fulfilled the promise he made which is recorded in John 6: 51, ‘The breade which I shal giue vnto you, is my fleshe, whiche I shal giue for the lyfe of the world.’⁵⁶ This promise must be true, for Christ is very truth and cannot lie. So it is not possible that he could ‘promise his fleshe & giue bare bread and not his fleshe...[it would be] but a breakynge of hys promise, and a deludyng of them, to whom he made the promise.’⁵⁷ The interpretation that some men make of Christ’s words, that he will give his flesh to be eaten spiritually by faith, is a vain and feigned gloss for the text. Watson quotes the relevant passages from Scripture which set forth the truth of the doctrine asserted by the Church. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke all give the same rendering of Christ’s words of institution, as does St Paul in 1 Corinthians 11.

S. John sayth, it is my fleshe (John 6.), shall we nowe fyftene hundreth yeare after them, handle the matter so finelye, and waye the scripture so substantiallye, that we shall affirme the contradictorie to be the true sense, saying this is not my bodye, this is not my bloude, but a figure & a signe of my bodye & bloude.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C vii^r.

⁵⁵ Eusebius (c. 260 - c. 340), Bishop of Caesarea, the first historian of Christianity, was present at the Council of Nicaea, (325), when Arianism was declared heretical. Gonzalez, *History of Christian Thought*, 1, p. 268.

⁵⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C vii^v.

⁵⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. C viij^r.

⁵⁸ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. D iij^r.

Watson, having outlined his reasons for ‘folowyng that forme of doctrine I receaved of my fathers,’⁵⁹ proceeds to explain that faith. He enlarges on the meaning of the Sacrament of the Altar and its place in Catholic doctrine and endorses the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. The Body of Christ, made present daily in the Mass, demonstrates to all those present that, as ‘Christ unites the members to the Head by means of his most precious Passion, so we shall be united in faith, hope, and charity by the daily celebration of this sacrament of remembrance.’⁶⁰

Watson asserts that the ‘omnipotente power and wyll of God, afflityng the due adminiftration of the Prieft,’⁶¹ is apparent, not in the bloody flesh in which Christ died, but in the form of the daily nourishment of bread and wine, and this is received through faith. Union with Christ was the principal effect of reception of the Eucharist, because ‘the breade whyche we breake, is it not the communion of Chrifte’s body...doth it not ioyn & knitte vs in the vnitye of one body of Chrifte?’⁶² And Watson goes on to assert that ‘yet are we al made one body in Chrif, becaufe we be fedde with one fleshe, & are fealed in vnitie with one holy fpirite.’⁶³ St. Cyril also ‘expreffeth by a fimilitude of two waxes melted and mingled together ...[that Christ] is in vs and we in hym.’⁶⁴

Watson brings argument after argument to support his belief in the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Mass. ‘And furthermore feinge a facrifice is an outwarde protestation of our inward faithe & devotion, if we chriften men now haue no facrifice

⁵⁹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B vi^v.

⁶⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 92.

⁶¹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. A viii^r.

⁶² Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. F ii^v.

⁶³ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. F v^v.

⁶⁴ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. F vi^v.

priuate vnto us: then be we the moost miserable men that euer were, beinge without any kynde of religion. For take awaye our sacrifice, and take awaye our religion ... our religion might like wife seme to perishe and be destroyed.’⁶⁵ By saying this, Watson challenges the teaching of Hugh Latimer, who, asserting that the way to God was through preaching, said, ‘Take awaye preachinge, take awaye saluation’.⁶⁶ Watson cries out against

these men, our late teachers and pastors, destroyers of Christes flocke, [who] robbe vs of thys treasure... What meante they that take awaye this armour of Christes flesh and bloude from vs, but to leaue vs naked and vnarmed agaynft the devil.⁶⁷

Having considered the first two divisions of his discourses at considerable length, Watson turns his attention in the second sermon to the third division, that is, the manner in which the church consented to the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. Wizeman argues that ‘the Church’s essential role in the life of believers as sole mediator of Divine grace and arbiter of truths necessary for salvation was foundational for Watson’s theological vision’.⁶⁸

Al that ever I am able to giue is this wretched body of mine, yf I gyue that, it is sufficient: yf not then I adde his bodye, for that is myne and of myne owne:

⁶⁵ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. B iij^v.

⁶⁶ Hugh Latimer, *Seven Sermons before Edward VI*, ed. by Edward Arber (London: Alex Murray, 1869), p. 67.

⁶⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. G iij^v.

⁶⁸ Wizeman, ‘Sermons of Thomas Watson,’ in *Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Duffy and Loades, p. 262.

for a lytle one is borne vnto vs, and the fonne is given to vs. O Lord that lacketh in me, I supplye in thee, O moſte ſweteſt reconciliation. ⁶⁹

Watson notes three ways in which the great benefit that the oblation of Christ's body offered on the Cross can supply as against the deficiency of what men can offer. Men may offer themselves by voluntarily suffering death for the faith, by abstinence and mortification of the body, or by giving such service as their imperfect bodies are able with all their heart and strength. If these be joined with the oblation of Christ's body we may be sure that God is well pleased.⁷⁰ This emphasis on the merit of voluntary acts of charity challenges the Protestant teaching of justification by faith alone.

Watson continues his address by asking his audience to 'confyde certeyne thinges, whereby the conſent [of the church] may appeare.'⁷¹ First, Watson tells his hearers that the consent of the church to the doctrine of Transubstantiation has been longstanding; 'fo many yeares in ſuche quietneſſe wythoute contradiction, that no reaſon, nor yet iniunction, nor no newe device that the deuyll or hys dearlynges can inuent to the contrary.'⁷² Secondly, this consent by the church comes from the holy fathers and pastors of Christ's church, and thirdly, it is through the 'determination of the general counceles'⁷³ where the rulers and learned priests, advised by the Holy Spirit and representing the Church Militant, determined those ordinances of God which must be obeyed. The Councils discussed and determined all matters of doctrine but most particularly those pertaining to the Real Presence of Christ in the

⁶⁹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. L iij^v.

⁷⁰ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. L iiij^v.

⁷¹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. L vi^v.

⁷² Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. L vii^r.

⁷³ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. M j^r.

Sacrifice of the Altar and the Transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ.⁷⁴

For proof that the doctrine determined by the councils is true, Watson looks to scripture and explains, first, the institution of the Sacrament by our Lord; secondly, the prophecy of Malachi; and thirdly, the ‘figure’ of Melchisidek.⁷⁵ The institution of the sacrifice was by the commandment of Christ, ‘faying to hys Apostles, do this in my remembraunce,’⁷⁶ and Watson goes on to maintain that Christ consecrated his body and blood and ‘in hys supper offered hymselfe verily and really vnder the formes of breade and wine... and commaunded vs to do the fame, tyll hys seconde commynge.’⁷⁷

The next point concerns the prophecy of Malachi. Malachi, a prophet of God, lived in Israel at a time when temple worship and sacrifice had decayed. Watson implies that because of the changes in the Eucharist that had been imposed in the last few years, worship in England had decayed also.

I fhall alledge vnto you the prophecye of Malachy, where it is prophecied before, that God would refufe and reiect the sacrifices of the Jewes, and that he woulde call vnto hys grace and mercy the gentiles in whose Church there shuld be one pure and cleane sacrifice, succedyng al the other, and offered in

⁷⁴ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. M vi^v.

⁷⁵ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. O iiiij^r.

⁷⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. O vii^v.

⁷⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. O vi^v.

every place, whych canne be none other but thys one pure sacrifice of Chriftes body in the Masse.⁷⁸

Here, Watson declares that the reformed worship, which he equates with that of the Jews, will be rejected, while that of the gentiles, meaning those who adhere to what he considers to be the true faith, will succeed. Watson refers to the writings of Ireneus and Chrysostom to support his assertion that Malachi should be interpreted in this manner.⁷⁹

Watson turns now ‘to prooffe of the figure taken oute of the lawe. The Pfallme sayeth... Thou art (meaning Christ) a priest after the ordre of Melchifedech.’⁸⁰ Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem, was seen as the pre-figure of Christ in that he blessed Abraham, received tithes from him, and offered bread and wine for sacrifice. Watson goes on to say that,

If Chrifte our sauoure be a priest, and that after the ordre of Melchifedech, as the Pfallme (Psalm 109, Vulgate), and S. Paule (Hebrews 8) do witness, then it must nedes folowe, that Christ hadde somethynge to offer, whyche is nothyng but hym selfe, and to no creature but to god.⁸¹

Watson then continues by explaining that ‘Christ in hys supper dyd offer hym selfe to hys father for vs,’⁸² not as did Aaron with the former sacrifice, but ‘vndre the fourmes

⁷⁸ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. P iv^v.

⁷⁹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. P vii^r – P. vii^v.

⁸⁰ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. P viij^v.

⁸¹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. Q i^r.

⁸² Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. Q i^r.

of breade and wyne, whyche was the ordre of Melchifedech.⁸³ And, he continues, all the ancient fathers of the church such as Cyprian and St. Jerome attest to this, and he cites chapter and verse from their writings. Watson quotes from a letter written by Paula, a godly matron, and found among a collection of St. Jerome's Letters:

Returne (fayeth Paula) to the booke of Genefis and to Melchifedech the kynge of Salem⁸⁴, and thou fhalt finde the prince of that citie, whych euen then in the figure of Chrift offered bread and wine, and did dedicate the miftery or facrament of the Chriftians in the bloud and body of our faviouir.⁸⁵

Watson then cites the three ways in which Christ offered himself in sacrifice: really and corporally on the cross, figuratively in the Paschal Lamb, and continually in heaven.⁸⁶ He describes, too, the three ways in which Jesus the Christ is offered to the Father by men; figuratively in the oblations of the Old Testament, mystically in the Mass, and spiritually whenever man meditates on the Passion. Finally Watson explains that the 'institucion of Chrift concernynge this facrament contayneth three thynges whiche he hymfelfe did, and by hys commaundement gave authoritie to the churche to do the fame. The confecration, the oblation, and the participation.'⁸⁷

Watson's greatest concern is with what he considers to be the true meaning of the Sacrament of the Mass. The traditional beliefs and practices had been coming under increasing attack ever since Martin Luther had affixed his 95 theses to the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg in 1517. Luther's belief that faith is sufficient for

⁸³ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. Q i^v.

⁸⁴ Genesis 14:18; Hebrews 5: 6-10.

⁸⁵ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. Q iij^r.

⁸⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. R iiij^r – R iiij^v.

⁸⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. Y i^r.

salvation for every Christian led him to question the role of the Church and the priesthood as mediators between God and man. Among the doctrines and practices of the Church that Luther challenged were the denial to the laity of Communion in both kinds and the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass.⁸⁸ These ideas, and those of other Continental reformers, such as Huldreich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchthon, had spread to England causing great debate and dissension among both clergy and people. One of the men whose thinking had changed over the years was Thomas Cranmer who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, devised and promoted the first and second *Books of Common Prayer* during the reign of Edward VI.

The 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* departed from the previous practice of the Latin Mass by being in English throughout. But, whereas the Mass was intended to be a re-enactment of Christ's Sacrifice, the Prayer Book redefined 'sacrifice' as 'our Sacrifice of praise and thanks giving.'⁸⁹ During the Mass the priest focussed his attention on the liturgy, while the worshippers were expected to occupy themselves with their private devotions, except when they stood to hear the Gospel and knelt at the Sacring.⁹⁰ The traditional complexity of the Mass was to be replaced by 'sound and comfortable doctrine'⁹¹ and by Cranmer's determination to remove any idea of propitiatory sacrifice. Instead, the service was designed to focus on Christ's own

⁸⁸ F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 847.

⁸⁹ *The First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth: with Introduction by the Bishop of Gloucester* (London: J. M. Dent, n.d.), p. 223.

⁹⁰ Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 14.

⁹¹ Peter Newman Brooks, 'The theology of Thomas Cranmer' in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, ed. by David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 150-160 (p. 157).

sacrifice.⁹² In the Prayer Book service the emphasis was on the hearing of the words of the liturgy, so that the worshippers' attention was controlled and their prayers supplied within a collective devotional performance.⁹³ The words of administration of the Sacrament left room for private belief in the Real Presence if desired, saying, 'The body of oure Lorde Jesus Christe whiche was geuen for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule unto euerlasting lyfe,'⁹⁴ and the words for the administration of the wine were similar. But the rubric forbade the Elevation of the Host and the showing of the Sacrament to the people.⁹⁵

The 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* was more reformed in character and the words of administration of the elements were changed to, 'Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thanksgeuing.' Similar words were to be used for the administration of the wine. Watson compares all this with the words of Chrysostom,

howe the prieste in his Masse prayeth for the whole worlde, for the whole citey, for the fynnes of all mene bothe quycke and deade, for the ceaffing of warre, for the pacifynge of fedition, for peace, and the prosperouse estate of thynges, for the auoydyng of all euylles that hange ouer vs. For the frutes of the earth and of the sea, and fuche other.⁹⁶

Watson asserts that the changes that Cranmer had made to the Eucharist in the *Books of Common Prayer* had swept away the belief in the sacrificial nature of the mass. The

⁹² Brooks, 'The theology of Thomas Cranmer,' p. 157.

⁹³ Targoff, *Common Prayer*, p. 16.

⁹⁴ *First and Second Prayer-Books*, p. 225.

⁹⁵ *First and Second Prayer-Books*, p. 223.

⁹⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. X vii^r.

sacrifice had been emphasized at that crucial moment immediately after the sacring (the repetition of the words of institution, 'Hoc est enim Corpus Meum' which brought about the miracle of transubstantiation), when the priest elevated the Host high above his head to be adored by the people.⁹⁷

In the last part of his sermon, Watson takes great pains to attack the heretical opinions that have been promulgated by 'our newe mayfters.'⁹⁸ He argues that they, that is 'the new masters', reason that 'It is a commemoration, ergo no facrifice,'⁹⁹ and he also attacks the

argument they make agaynft the real prefence It is a fygne, ergo not the thyng whereof it is a fygne. The folyfhnes of thys reason everui baker can tel, who fetteth one loofe vpon hys ftall to fygnifye there is breade to fell within hys houle. Whyche lofe is both a figne of bread to be fold, and alfo is very bread to be folde of the fame baking the other is.¹⁰⁰

Thus, Watson asserts that the body of Christ in the Sacrament is both the sign and the actual body of Christ.

Watson concludes his discourse with a heartfelt prayer for his hearers to persevere in the true faith.

⁹⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 95.

⁹⁸ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. Y ii^r.

⁹⁹ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. T vii^v.

¹⁰⁰ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. T viij^v.

Our moste merciful father graunt vs to perfist stedfast and constant in the true catholike faythe and confession of this most blessed Sacrament and sacrifice, and with pure deuotion as he hath ordained to vse and frequent this holye myfterye of vnitie and reconfiliation, that we maye therby remayne in him and he in vs for evermore. To whome be all Glorye and prayfe wyth out ende.
AMEN.

Catholic theologians of the time believed that Christ had given to the church the authority to interpret the Bible through the power of the Holy Spirit, which ensured the truth of that interpretation. This, they believed, was in harmony with the ecclesial tradition inspired by that same Spirit.¹⁰¹ Under the rule of Henry VIII in his later years, and also under Edward VI, ‘the English had departed from the unity of the church, denied its precepts, forsaken the church’s reading of scripture and the inerrancy of the general councils, and exchanged them for their own individual opinions on religion.’¹⁰² The challenge for Mary was to restore the allegiance of the church in England to the authority of the wider Catholic Church. Watson is determined to confirm and reinforce Mary’s intention to bring the church back to its connection with the true faith embodied in the Sacrifice of the Mass. True doctrine must flow to the church by its unbreakable link with the Spirit, for to know the church was to know Christ and his truth.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ William Wizeman, SJ, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor’s Church* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), p. 77.

¹⁰² Wizeman, *Theology and Spirituality*, p. 77.

¹⁰³ Wizeman, *Theology and Spirituality*, p. 118

Watson's preaching style in these sermons is similar to that used by John Longland in his 1536 sermon before Henry VIII.¹⁰⁴ He uses devices such as word-lists, word-pairs, anaphora, alliteration, and rhetorical questions, and constructs long periodic sentences in the Latin style.¹⁰⁵ He repeats his arguments again and again to drive his message home to his listeners. When Watson quotes in Latin from Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church he provides translations for effect and emphasis, as well as clarification. A good example of his style is this quotation from the introduction to the first of the two sermons.

Like as contrarye to erecte and establyshe thys kingdome of finne, is all the trauayle and temptation of the deuill, nowe fawning like a serpent, tranfformyng hym selfe into an aungell of lyght, to intrappe & feduce the fimple and vnware: now raging like a lion to ouerthrowe the feble and fearful, and not onlye is it his trauayle, but also it is the whole labour & practife of all his children by imitation, as Infideles, Iewes, heretikes, scifmatikes, false brethren, counterfeyte chriftians, both in liuinge and learnyng labouryng nyghte and daye with all witte and will to deftroy the fayth of Chrif, the Sacramentes of Chrifte the sacrifice of Chrif, as much as in them lyeth, whiche thre be speciall meanes to deftroy the kingdome of finne, which they with all their power fet vp and maynteyne.¹⁰⁶

In this passage Watson uses similes to gain effect, such as 'fawning like a serpent' and 'ragynge like a lion'; alliteration, 'counterfeit Christians'; doublets, 'trauayle and temptation', 'feble and fearful', 'liuinge and learninge', 'witte and will'; repetition,

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter II.

¹⁰⁵ J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁶ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. A iii^v – A iv^r.

‘the faith of Christ, the Sacramentes of Chrifte the sacrifice of Christ’, showing the centrality of Christ; word-lists, ‘Infidels, Jews, heretics...’ and a mixture of long and short sentences. Watson also uses rhetorical questions very effectively, as in this passage. ‘Nowe confiderynge thefe thre wayes, that it be a good argument, to inculcate one waye, and to reiecte the reffe? To alledge one membre to the reiection of the other?’¹⁰⁷ He goes on to assert that this is the way the heretics use ‘Suche shifte and fonde arguments they haue to seduce the vnlearned wythall, whiche when they be espied and detected they appeare as they be deuyllifhe and pernicioufhe sophiltrie.’¹⁰⁸

Watson constructs his sermons logically with Exordium, prayer and divisions, which he subdivides. He declares at the beginning of the first sermon that he will expound the three things that hold him to the old faith with regard to the Real Presence and Transubstantiation; but he only deals with the first two: plain Scripture, and the uniform authority of the church, at this time. The third part, the consent of the Church, is expounded in the second sermon, which is much longer and more complex. In the second discourse Watson seeks ‘to prove the sacrifice of the Mass by: firstly, the institution of Our Lord; secondly, the prophecy of Malachi; and, thirdly, the “figure” of Melchizedek.’¹⁰⁹ Watson then subdivides this material again, always dividing it in three ways.

From the evidence of these sermons it can be seen that Watson understood how important Mary’s belief in the Mass was to her. His purpose was to reinforce this belief and also to instil that faith in her advisors. If there were to be any real prospect

¹⁰⁷ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. R viij^v.

¹⁰⁸ Watson, *Two Sermons*, sig. R viij^v.

¹⁰⁹ Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 99.

of a successful re-instatement of the Catholic Church in England, there had to be wise teaching and strong leadership. There was so much to be restored; the churches had been stripped of all that made them the holy places they had been for centuries. To bring back all that had been lost would take enormous effort and would need the will of the people, the ordinary men and women in the towns and villages of England, to accomplish it. At the beginning of her reign, Mary and her advisers saw persuasion and sound teaching, not coercion, as the preferred path to take to accomplish this. Mary believed that, apart from a few radical heretics, most of her subjects could be persuaded to return to their obedience to the true church. It was her task as queen to give that leadership to her people and to provide the instruction needed to teach those who had grown up since England had left the fold. Thomas Watson's sermons were designed to encourage her and her Council to do all that was necessary lead her people back to the true faith. Sadly, for Mary and her advisers, this was not to be. In spite of all Mary had done to restore the faith which meant so much to her personally, when she died it had not been firmly re-established in the hearts of the people, nor was it in a position to withstand another political onslaught. The triumphant sense of divine favour with which Mary had ascended the throne had not been sufficient to counter unexpected protestant determination.

CHAPTER V

JOHN WHITGIFT, DEAN OF LINCOLN, PREACHES BEFORE ELIZABETH I

Queen Mary died on 17 November 1558, and the possibility of restoring the Roman church in England died with her.¹ Mary had overseen the formal return of England to the fold of the Holy See; she had done everything in her power to persuade her subjects to embrace again the traditional Catholic faith so dear to her heart along with the Mass and all the other ceremonies that were such an integral part of that worship; she had encouraged parishioners to set up the stone altars again, to redecorate their churches with roods and the attendant figures of the Virgin Mary and St John, and acquire the vestments, chalices and all the other items needful for celebrating this form of worship, but all was to no avail when she died without an heir.

Many years later, Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, Mary's close friend and attendant, wept when she recalled the queen's last moments,² for Mary had died soon after making the responses at the Elevation of the Host while Mass was being celebrated before her for the last time. The Mass had always been the centre of her spiritual life so that it was fitting that she died with the words, '*Miserere nobis, miserere nobis. Dona nobis pacem,*' on her lips.³

¹ L. M. Hill, 'The Marian "Experience of Defeat": The Case of Sir John Bourne,' *SCJ*, 25 (1994), pp. 531-549 (p. 531).

² Carolly Erickson, *Bloody Mary* (London: J. M. Dent, 1978), p. 481.

³ David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p.310.

The transition of power to the new queen and her council went smoothly and peacefully. Elizabeth left Hatfield, where she had been living, on 22 November 1558 to be greeted in London by a deputation of city dignitaries including the Lord Mayor and Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London. When Bonner, who had been the most notorious persecutor of heretics under Mary's rule, came forward to kiss her hand, she snatched it away and turned from him in disgust.⁴ This was one early indication of Elizabeth's religious opinions and feelings. Other indications were the pleasure she showed when given a copy of the Bible during her Coronation procession, her refusal to allow candles to accompany the procession into Westminster Abbey (she assured the monks she had enough light to see by),⁵ and her forbidding the Elevation of the Host during the Coronation Mass. On the other hand she insisted that candles and a silver cross be placed on the altar in the Chapel Royal, in spite of the repeated objections of her chaplains and bishops, who regarded them as remnants of popery.⁶

Most of her subjects greeted her accession with relief as they had become more and more sickened with the burning of heretics, though some of the more radical were doubtful. John Hales, a survivor of her brother's reign, presented her with an oration in which he delivered a warning that God, and he only, had delivered Elizabeth from her enemies and she would do well to remember this.

If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then he will favour you, and preserve you to the end from all enemies, as he did king David. If ye now fall from

⁴ Jasper Ridley, *Elizabeth I: The Shrewdness of Virtue* (New York: Fromm, 1989), p. 76.

⁵ Richard Rex, *Elizabeth I: Fortune's Bastard* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), p. 44.

⁶ Richard Rex, *The Tudors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 220.

him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than Saul had showed to him.⁷

Others saw Elizabeth as an ‘“ exceptional woman”, endowed by God, like the prophetess Deborah, with qualities above those of ordinary women,’⁸ and they looked to her to restore the house of Israel as Deborah had done.

The conflicting religious views apparent in the realm meant that decisions had to be made early in the reign about the settlement of religion – or the ‘alteration of religion’ as it was termed at the time.⁹ On the one hand there were the Catholics, who had been in the ascendant under the previous rule, then there were the moderate evangelicals, who had conformed or lived in retirement, and there were also the more radical Protestants, who had fled the country for the more congenial surroundings of Geneva, Frankfurt, Strasbourg or Zurich. All these people had their own, often conflicting, agendas. The Catholics hoped that the traditional ceremonies and beliefs, especially the Mass, and also the subordination to Rome, would be retained. After all, Elizabeth had conformed during her sister’s reign. The Marian exiles who flocked back to England, desired to see the church further purified from all taint of popery. They were in rather a difficult position for they had fled, leaving their fellows to endure martyrdom, but they hoped to bear their part in building the New Jerusalem.¹⁰ As well, there were the large numbers of ordinary people who conformed as required in obedience to the laws enacted by Parliament. It must be remembered that the majority of the people had allowed themselves to be transferred from one belief

⁷ Patrick Collinson, ‘Elizabeth 1 (1533-1603)’, *ODNB*, online edn.

⁸ Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547-1603* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 428.

⁹ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 217.

¹⁰ William Haller, *The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 85.

system to another twice already in 1547 and 1553, and now in 1559 they were to change again, and it had all happened without really serious, or at least, widespread opposition.¹¹

Elizabeth herself has remained an enigma as far as her own religious beliefs are concerned. She is reported as saying that she would not open windows into men's souls and she did not allow others to open any into her own.¹² The quatrain attributed to her much later represents her thoughts on the crucial issue of the Eucharist and the Real Presence:

Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what his words did make it
That I believe, and take it.¹³

Elizabeth, as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, was the embodiment of the separation from Rome and she was a member of the first generation to grow up out of communion with the Church of Rome and under the Royal Supremacy.¹⁴ In 1546, when she was eleven years old, Elizabeth translated Marguerite of Navarre's *Mirror for the Sinful Soul*, a moderate expression of the key Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, and presented it to her stepmother, Katherine Parr, as a New Year's gift.¹⁵ Rex suggests that the prayers she composed for her own use

¹¹ Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, trans. by Rev. J. R. McKee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 10.

¹² Rex, *Elizabeth I*, p. 58.

¹³ Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Futura, 1976), p. 88.

¹⁴ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 218.

¹⁵ Rex, *Elizabeth I*, p. 20.

‘show a sincere religious faith, and a genuine trust in what she had called shortly after her accession “the excedyng goodness of God”, which she believed had protected her through the “difficult tymes” until her “commyng to this our crowne”’.¹⁶

Elizabeth continued the practice of hearing Lenten sermons at court, which also enabled her to ‘*tune the pulpits* as her saying was,’¹⁷ and as her father had done before her. She planned to have suitable preachers available, particularly in London, who would preach to her command, and so promote her policies. As time went on many matters arose in the kingdom which the queen wished to have publicised, and court pulpits could be used for this purpose as well as those in popular places like Paul’s churchyard.

The first Lent of Elizabeth’s reign was marked by controversy. There was considerable tension during the months between her accession and the parliamentary settlement of religion, which, owing to the opposition of the bishops and some conservative peers in the House of Lords, did not take place until 29 April 1559. In order to prevent people’s minds being stirred up by the preaching of contrary doctrines, Elizabeth issued an injunction on 27 December 1558, inhibiting all preaching in England.¹⁸ Following this, the first sanctioned sermon was preached on 25 January 1559 by Richard Cox, previously chaplain and tutor to Edward VI and an exile in Frankfurt during Mary’s reign. He spoke vehemently against popery and implored the queen to free her country from its tyranny. Cox was also the preacher on the Ash Wednesday following, 8 February. Speaking at the Preaching Place at

¹⁶ Rex, *Elizabeth I*, p. 55.

¹⁷ Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 59.

¹⁸ Millar Maclure, *The Paul’s Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 55.

Whitehall, a venue that could hold as many as five thousand people, to an audience that included the members of Parliament which was adjourned so that they could be present, Cox attacked the Pope very forcefully, as did the rest of the preachers for this Lent, who were mainly returned exiles. The Venetian Ambassador was ‘much scandalized’ by the invective he heard.¹⁹

This campaign was initiated to counter the very real opposition of the Catholic clerics to the bills concerning religion being debated by Parliament. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were passed into law by narrow margins on 29 April 1559. Elizabeth was declared Supreme Governor of the Church of England with power of visitation and all the legislation which Mary’s Parliament had repealed was re-enacted, revoking the laws against heresy, abrogating the Papal supremacy, and enforcing conformity to a slightly revised Book of Common Prayer.²⁰ Most Protestants put their differences in religious opinion aside for the time being as the need to refute Catholic beliefs was considered more pressing.

The early years of Elizabeth’s reign were marked by her commitment to maintaining the ‘Elizabethan Settlement’, although few at the time realised how determined she would be to do this. Catholics continued to hope that fortune’s wheel might turn in their direction again, while the Protestants looked for further reformation to complete the construction of the New Jerusalem.²¹ Because of this, there was continuing dissension in the 1560s, one issue of note being the Vestiarian Controversy. Many ministers refused to wear the separate clerical dress that was prescribed, both for leading worship and in everyday life, because of its strong connections with Catholic

¹⁹ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 60.

²⁰ Rosemary O’Day, *The Longman Companion to the Tudor Age* (London: Longman, 1995), p. 59.

²¹ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 224.

usage.²² Bitter debates ensued, causing Elizabeth, in a letter to Archbishop Parker in January 1565, to declare that ‘diversity, variety, contention and vain love of singularity’ must be eradicated, as being displeasing to God and destructive of peace in the kingdom.²³

In addition, the publication in May 1563 of the English version of John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments of matters happening in the Church*, commonly called *The Book of Martyrs*, had a profound effect on the developing protestant consciousness in England. A rewritten second edition was published in 1570, and in 1571 orders were given that it be set up in every cathedral and collegiate church in England.²⁴

A number of other events in the 1560s and early 1570s were causes of unrest and controversy. Among them was the arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1568, seeking refuge from the political state of affairs in Scotland. This destabilised both the political and religious situation in England. The Northern Rising of November 1569, led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, which had the object of promoting the marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk, was suppressed early in 1570 with great severity. The earls marshalled their retainers behind the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ, which had led the rebels at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.²⁵ In February 1570, Pope Pius V issued the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, excommunicating Elizabeth and calling on Catholics to bring about her deposition. Most of the Catholics had been loyal to Elizabeth so this placed them in a real dilemma, as from now on it was possible to argue that good Catholics could not be

²² Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 30.

²³ Ridley, *Elizabeth I*, p. 132.

²⁴ O’Day, *Tudor Age*, p. 61.

²⁵ Rex, *The Tudors*, pp. 242-245.

loyal subjects of the queen and, on the other hand, if they disobeyed the religious laws of England, they would be guilty of treason.²⁶ The discovery of the Ridolfi Plot of 1571 to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne intensified anti-Catholic feelings.²⁷

At the same time, the radical Puritans were continuing their campaign to further purify the church. The *First Admonition to the Parliament*, published in 1572, attributed to John Field and Thomas Wilcox,²⁸ voiced the frustrations of the radicals. ‘The *Admonition* attacked the whole hierarchy of the church - archbishops, bishops and cathedral clergy: “ that proud generation whose kingdom must down” - because their “ tyrannous lordship cannot stand with Christ’s kingdom.”’²⁹ The main points of the *Admonition*, as summarised by the then Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, were as follows:

1. The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy.
2. The church of Christ admits no other government than that by presbyteries; viz. by the minister, elders, and deacon.
3. The names and authority of archbishops...and other titles and dignities of the like kind, should be altogether removed from the church of Christ.
4. Each parish should have its own presbytery.
5. The choice of ministers of necessity belongs to the people.

²⁶ Rex, *The Tudors*, p. 244.

²⁷ O’Day, *Tudor Age*, p. 61.

²⁸ O’Day, *Tudor Age*, p. 62.

²⁹ Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 243.

6. The goods, possessions...authorities, and all other things relating either to bishops or cathedrals, and which now of right belong to them, should be taken away forthwith and forever.
7. No one should be allowed to preach who is not a pastor of some congregation; and he ought to preach to his own flock exclusively, and nowhere else.
8. The infants of papists are not to be baptized.
9. The judicial laws of Moses are binding upon Christian princes, and they ought not in the slightest degree to depart from them.³⁰

Bishop Sandys believed these opinions would be the ruin of the church, while Archbishop Parker told Secretary Burghley that the Puritans would not only destroy the ecclesiastical state but would threaten the civil polity as well.³¹ Sandys wrote to Burghley, saying that the city would never be quiet 'until these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright and other, be removed.'³²

The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dean of Lincoln, John Whitgift, was entrusted with the charge of responding to the *Admonition*, which he did with enthusiasm. His very detailed work, *An answer to a certain Libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament* (STC 25428), was published in November 1572.

Thomas Cartwright replied to Whitgift's *Answer* with the *Second Admonition*, which appeared at about the same time, and this was followed by Whitgift's augmented

³⁰ Powel Mills Dawley, *John Whitgift and the English Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), p. 92.

³¹ Dawley, *John Whitgift*, p. 96.

³² Dawley, *John Whitgift*, p. 97.

edition of his *Answer*. Cartwright replied with *The Replie to an Answer of Dr Whitgifte* (STC 4711) in April 1573, which resulted in Whitgift penning a further detailed response, *The Defense of the Answer to the Admonition Against the Replie of T. C.* (STC 25430), which appeared early in 1574. In writing his *Answer*, Whitgift had taken the *Admonition* paragraph by paragraph and then argued against them, as he attacked the manner in which the dissidents had questioned not only the rites and usages, but also the very foundations of the Established Church and its Supreme Head, the Queen.³³

The arguments continued as the Puritan pamphlets were reprinted many times. A royal proclamation of 11 June 1573 against ‘the Despisers and Breakers of the Orders prescribed in the Book of Common-prayer’, followed by the discovery and suppression of the unlicensed printing press that was producing them, put a stop to their publication in England.³⁴ The undermining of the authority of the bishops following the *Admonition Controversy* made it very difficult for them to discipline those clergy who persisted in their refusal to wear the designated vestments or use those portions of the *Book of Common Prayer* with which they disagreed. Neither clergy nor lay people were able to influence the queen’s refusal to make changes to the Settlement.

John Whitgift, the man chosen to lead the attack on the *Admonition*, was born in about 1531, the eldest son of Henry Whitgift of Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire. The family was prosperous and young John received a good education, first at St Anthony’s School in London and then at Cambridge. He began his education there at Queens’

³³ Dawley, *John Whitgift*, p. 91.

³⁴ Dawley, *John Whitgift*, p. 95.

College but removed to Pembroke, where Nicholas Ridley was Master. He matriculated in 1550, being tutored by John Bradford, who was martyred in 1555 under Mary, and graduated BA in 1554. Although the young man had distinct protestant leanings he managed to stay quietly at Peterhouse, where he had a fellowship, fulfilling college duties throughout Mary's reign. After Elizabeth acceded to the throne, Whitgift was ordained deacon and then priest in 1560 and soon established a reputation as a preacher with strong anti-papalist views. Richard Cox, an early preacher before the queen and now bishop of Ely, made Whitgift one of his chaplains in 1560. Whitgift continued at Cambridge, proceeding BTh in 1563 and was also appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity.

Whitgift came to the notice of Secretary Cecil early in 1567 and, after some investigation of his career, was summoned to preach before the Queen. This sermon has not survived but it was reported that Elizabeth was delighted with the preacher's vigorous discourse on the duty of conformity, so much so that he found himself advanced to a royal chaplaincy, Regius professor of divinity and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.³⁵ The years that Whitgift spent at Trinity were marked by a tightening up of discipline and the exacting of obedience to every statute.

I may not suffer them [the undergraduates] openly to break and contemn those laws and statutes which they have sworn to observe, and I to execute: I may not suffer any man, against the express words of his oath, against all honesty and conscience, to live under me, lest I be partaker of his perjury.³⁶

³⁵ Dawney, *John Whitgift*, p. 78.

³⁶ *The Works of John Whitgift, D. D.*, ed. by J. Ayre, III, (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1853), p. 395.

This was the attitude that won respect both in the University and the Queen's council, and was eventually to lead Whitgift first to the see of Worcester in 1577, and then to Canterbury in 1583.

Only one of the many sermons John Whitgift preached during his long life has survived in its entirety and that is the one preached before Elizabeth and her court at Greenwich on 26 March 1574. It was a polemical discourse in which he set out his defence of Episcopal government in the church in England. Strype asserts that it was 'so well approved of, that it was printed, and entitled, *A godly Sermon: lately reprinted. Wherein he levelled his discourse against these controversies now so hotly exercising the peace of the Church, and undermining the principles of the Reformation.*'³⁷

Whitgift takes as his text a passage from St John's Gospel, Chapter 6: 25-27, which is a question and answer between the people and Jesus. Although he only quotes these three verses, Whitgift refers to the whole of the chapter in his discourse.

Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered them and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life.³⁸

³⁷ John Strype, *The Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God John Whitgift, D. D.* (London: T. Horne, et al. 1718, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822, repr. American Theological Library Association, Microtext Project), p. 120.

³⁸ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 567.

Having announced his text, Whitgift enters straight into his exposition in which he comments on what both parties had to say: the question asked by the people, and the answer Christ made to them.

There are three things that Whitgift desires to elucidate *à propos* the question put by the people. These are ‘their inconstancy, their flattery, and their curiosity.’³⁹ By this he means their fickleness, their false praise, and their undue concern over trifles. In Jesus’ response there is a ‘reprehension and an exhortation,’⁴⁰ meaning a censure and an admonishment. Whitgift proceeds to explore each of these points in turn.

The first point Whitgift makes concerns the fickleness of the people, for they are ‘oftener moved with affection than reason...than with sound proofs and certain knowledge.’⁴¹ They are only concerned with their present needs without regard to matters of greater moment. He places his text in its context, which is immediately after the ‘Feeding of the five thousand’ (John 6: 2-14), the subsequent appearance of Jesus at Capernaum on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee (John 6: 15-24), and before the following discourse (John 6: 27-60). Jesus had gone away alone when the people seemed about to hail him as the ‘prophet that should come into the world’ (John 6: 14), for he was prepared to be acclaimed in this way. When the people were able to get across to Capernaum, they were surprised to find him there already. They then expected Jesus to show them more signs and wonders, and perhaps even feed them with manna such as Moses gave to their fathers in the desert. But when Jesus talks about himself as the ‘true bread from heaven’ (John 6: 32), which his father will give them, they say to each other, ‘Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father

³⁹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 567.

⁴⁰ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 567.

⁴¹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 568.

and mother we know?’ (John 6: 42) They cannot believe that Jesus, whom many of them must have known from childhood, could say such things as ‘I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst’ (John 6: 35).

Whitgift comments that the self-same people, who followed Christ into the wilderness, then forsook him, saying, ‘*Durus est hic sermo: quis potest eum audire?*’ “This is a hard saying: who can abide to hear it?”⁴² He cites Ecclesiasticus 27, ‘A wise man continueth in his wisdom constant as the sun; but a fool is altered and changed even as the moon;’⁴³ and so, the wise are guided with reason and knowledge whereas the foolish ‘embrace every strange and new kind of doctrine.’⁴⁴ Whitgift instances a number of other incidents where crowds first hail Jesus as a prophet and then speak contemptuously of him when he does not fulfil their expectations, in particular, the triumphant entry into Jerusalem, which was followed so soon after by the demand to crucify him. The apostle Paul had similar experiences with the Galatians and the Corinthians and warns Timothy to be wary of those who ‘will not abide wholesome doctrine.’⁴⁵ Whitgift gives another example of the fickleness of crowds in the story of the ancient Greek sculptor, Polycletus, who created two statues, one according to his own artistic standards and the other according to the opinions of the people. When the finished works were displayed, the one that was constructed according to artistic principles was the one that was praised. So Whitgift admonishes his hearers ‘not to be carried away with every wind of doctrine...lest it prove true what is commonly said...that unstable people are easily drawn into contrary

⁴² Whitgift, *Works*, p. 569.

⁴³ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 568.

⁴⁴ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 568.

⁴⁵ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 570.

opinions.’⁴⁶ However, Whitgift does not suggest that all his present audience are like this, for he recognises that many of them are not swayed by novelties but are both constant and godly. He urges his hearers to remember the words spoken to the church of Philadelphia:

Tene quod habes, ne alius accipiat coronam tuam: “Hold fast that which thou hast” (Revelation 3: 11), be content with that doctrine that god of his infinite mercy hath opened unto thee, lest, if thou beest not therewith contented, but seekest for farther novelties, that which thou hast be taken from thee, and given to some other, that shall more thankfully accept it, and be better content with it.⁴⁷

The second point that Whitgift observes from the behaviour of the people is their adulation and flattery. He notes that the best interpreters suggest that ‘the people by asking Christ this question do insinuate that they marvel at this strange manner of coming thither.’⁴⁸ The people are impressed by Jesus’ miracles, but it is all on the surface and not in their hearts, for ‘they pretended that which they thought not in heart; and that is the nature and property of all flatterers.’⁴⁹ Whitgift quotes from Augustine, ‘*adulator est crudelis et fallax:* “a flatterer is cruel and deceitful:” a flatterer is a present friend and an absent enemy.’⁵⁰ It is often the case that those who speak well of others when they are present, ‘in their absence they are delighted to hear and to speak all evil of them.’⁵¹ As ‘Andronicus the emperor was wont to say: ...

⁴⁶ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 571.

⁴⁷ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 571.

⁴⁸ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 571.

⁴⁹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 570.

⁵⁰ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 572.

⁵¹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 572.

“The ears of the common people...had rather hear of their evil than their good deeds; although the one be uttered never so falsely, the other never so truly verified.”⁵²

Whitgift comments that when a man commend the authorities and ‘exhort to obedience, if he move unto peace, if he confirm the rites and orders by public authority established... he shall scarcely be heard with patience; but, if he...reprove those in authority... and talk of matters that tend to contention rather than edification... they flock unto him like bees.’⁵³ This ‘tendeth to two principal evils, disobedience towards the magistrate, and flat anarchy.’⁵⁴ Here Whitgift attacks those who advocate the presbyterian manner of church governance, and by doing so, he implicitly supports the role of the episcopate. His censures are directed at the authors of the *Admonitions*, who were making such bitter attacks on the Church as established by the Elizabethan Settlement, and demanding that further steps be taken towards reform.⁵⁵

‘The third vice that I note in this people is their curiosity, which appeareth in that they propound so vain and frivolous a question unto Christ.’⁵⁶ By this, Whitgift means the disposition to inquire too minutely into the matters which were known as *adiaphora*, or ‘things indifferent’, neither commanded nor forbidden by God’s word.⁵⁷ Whitgift wonders why they do this, because ‘wise men are to be asked wise questions; and silence is better than unskilful talk,’⁵⁸ and, he says, ‘The servant of God must not be contentious.’⁵⁹ He cites the teachings of the apostle Paul, and of Cyril and Tertullian,

⁵² Whitgift, *Works*, p. 572.

⁵³ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 572

⁵⁴ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 573.

⁵⁵ Dawley, *John Whitgift*, p. 88.

⁵⁶ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 573.

⁵⁷ Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (CA: University of California Press, 1979), p. 76.

⁵⁸ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 573.

⁵⁹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 574.

in support of his assertion that discretion should be used in the moving of questions. He quotes Tertullian, who said that, ‘We need not be curious after we have received Christ Jesus, nor inquisitive after we have received the gospel.’⁶⁰ And he agrees with Chrysostom, who contends, “Where faith is, there is no need of questions; for questions destroy faith.”⁶¹

Whitgift asserts that the ancient fathers condemn questions that ‘stir up strife and contention in the church of Christ, where the gospel is truly preached and the sacraments rightly administered.’⁶² He instances the ‘vain curiosity’ of the schoolmen,

who have pestered their volumes and troubled the church... with vain and frivolous questions with these and such like: Whether the pope be God or man, or a mean betwixt both? whether the pope may be said to be more merciful than Christ; because we read not that Christ ever delivered any souls out of purgatory, as it is said the pope to have done?... whether such a number of angels may be contained within the compass of a man’s nail? with infinite other of the same sort ... whether he could have created man so that he should not have sinned, and why he did not? whether God could beget a son, and after what sort? with such like.⁶³

Whitgift asserts that by ‘these and such like questions, partly impious, partly vain and frivolous, is the church of Christ marvellously troubled; men so occupy themselves

⁶⁰ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 574

⁶¹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 574.

⁶² Whitgift, *Works*, p. 574

⁶³ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 575.

about them, that they neglect those things that pertain to their salvation, and forget due obedience.’⁶⁴ Whitgift’s purpose here is to show how some Catholic theologians had spent much of their time in considering and debating absurdities.

But Whitgift is not content with criticising the schoolmen, for he castigates the more radical reformers as well. ‘And I would to God this vain curiosity had only occupied the schoolmen, and contained itself within the popish church. I would to God it had not invaded this church also.’⁶⁵ By repeating ‘would to God’, Whitgift shows his deep distress at the way those who are disturbing the church with their criticisms are also disturbing and unsettling the people, and are being unnecessarily divisive. He compares these men with the Anabaptists, who dispute ‘whether the magistrate be of necessity bound to the judicials of Moses,’⁶⁶ so that all punishments must adhere to those laws. This was one of the points raised in the *Admonitions* and is contrary to Christ’s teaching in the New Testament which supersedes the Mosaic laws. Whitgift declares that in past times this ‘vain curiosity’ was only seen amongst those that were learned: ‘now it hath invaded the common people’, and will ‘stir up strife and contention in the church of Christ, where the gospel is truly preached and the sacraments rightly administered.’⁶⁷ The matter of true obedience is of the greatest concern to Whitgift, for he sees it as an attack on the supremacy of the magistrate, i.e. the queen. He concludes this part of his discourse with an appeal to his hearers to be aware of the dangers of controversy and contention concerning externals because what is important is the true preaching of the gospel message. Controversies about

⁶⁴ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 577.

⁶⁵ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 575.

⁶⁶ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 576.

⁶⁷ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 574.

whether a surplice should be worn or a ring used in marriage are not of any real importance; they are *adiaphora*.

Having considered the question the people asked of Christ, Whitgift moves on to discuss the response Christ made to that question. He suggests that the first part of the answer is a reprehension or a censure, and he asks his hearers to consider the manner and the matter of this. Christ replied in a kindly fashion, Whitgift argues, for as Chrysostom noted, '*Modestius coarguit, etc.*: "He doth modestly reprehend them"...and the apostle teacheth his scholar Timothy, when he saith... "Improve, rebuke, exhort with all lenity and doctrine."'⁶⁸ Whitgift then considers the matter of Christ's reproof. He notes that Christ did not answer the question directly, but instead suggested that, as the people were looking for food to eat rather than seeking him for his teaching, they were seeking the things of this life rather than those of eternal life. Whitgift takes this opportunity to reprove those who listen to flatterers, both ecclesiastical and secular persons, because it leads to

pride and arrogancy, the root of and mother of all sects and schisms, contentions and heresies. For, while the people commend their life and doctrine, whilst they call hypocrisy holiness, arrogancy simplicity, wrath zeal, disobedience conscience, schism unity, words matter, ignorance learning, darkness light, it so puffeth up the minds of their teachers with an opinion of themselves, that they dare be bold to propound anything, so that it taste of

⁶⁸ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 577.

novelty and please the people, though it tend to the disturbance of the church, the contempt of magistrates, and the breach of good laws and orders.⁶⁹

Here, again, we see Whitgift's concern for the maintenance of order and conformity in the church, but he is just as concerned about the maintenance of order in the temporal world.

As well, Christ reproves those who do not seek him for the right reasons. Whitgift instances Simon Magus, who joined with the apostles for gain (Acts 8: 9-15), and he cites the parable of the sower (Matthew 13: 18-23), condemning those who 'wax marvellous cold'⁷⁰ and suffer the seed of the gospel to decay in times of difficulty. Whitgift argues that among his audience there are covetous and greedy persons who have been taught the necessary points of doctrine, have been exhorted to repentance, have had the right use of the sacraments explained and the erroneous papistical doctrines confuted but have not taken these matters to heart.

But now that we begin to teach you these things that tend to your own commodity, and to contention, you magnify us, you commend us, you make us gods,⁷¹ nay, you make us devils; for you so puff us up with vainglory, that we know not ourselves. O gulae incredibilem aviditatem: O insatiable desire to spoil, O covetousness! ... Therefore seek Christ, not for any temporal commodity, but for himself, lest it be as truly said of us as it was of the Jews,

⁶⁹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 579.

⁷⁰ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 580

⁷¹ See above, p. 129.

“Ye seek me, not because ye have seen the miracles, but because ye have eaten of the bread and are filled.”⁷²

Christ’s rebuke of the Jews for their greed can also be applied to some of those present in the Chapel Royal.

Indeed, Christ’s rebuke can encompass all who had profited from the sale of monastic and chantry lands and possessions, and those about the court who were seeking personal preferment and financial gain and who hoped to benefit from sequestration of episcopal properties. Whitgift’s reproof of those who benefited from the dissolution of the monasteries is reminiscent of Hugh Latimer’s criticism of abuses in his Lenten sermons of 1549. Some of the men Whitgift criticised were persons near to the Queen and it is to his credit that he was courageous enough to censure them in her presence even though he names no names. He declares that these men ‘under the colour of religion, seek confusion, and with the shadow of reformation cloak and cover their usury, their ambition, their minds desirous to spoil the church.’⁷³

According to Patrick Collinson, the Earl of Leicester was one of those to whom Whitgift referred. ‘The opponents of the puritans commonly insinuated that their great patrons at Court befriended them only with the intention of using them to despoil the Church.’⁷⁴

Whitgift censures the hypocrisy of these people, who had appeared to be such earnest professors of the truth, and suggests that if there are to be no more spoils from

⁷² Whitgift, *Works*, p. 582.

⁷³ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 580.

⁷⁴ Patrick Collinson, ‘Thomas Wood’s Letters,’ in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon, 1983), pp. 45-107 (p. 74).

colleges, churches, and bishoprics coming their way, their zeal might soon decrease. He wonders if some who are now seeking reformation do so because it in their own interests. They have barely left the superstitions of papistry behind them but they are still not satisfied, but condemn this church for imperfection, because it retains ‘some accidents used in papism.’⁷⁵ What is more, these patrons who would not support those who had been faithfully preaching the gospel now appear to be abetting the men who are the disturbers of the peace of the church. And, referring to the Vestiarian Controversy, he wonders whether those who are so ‘precise in other men’s doings, that they cannot abide to have them wear, no not a square cap,’⁷⁶ have any real spark of godliness. Whitgift finds all this most disturbing because so much effort is spent on unessentials. For as ‘Christ said unto the Pharisees: “Ye hypocrites, ye stumble at a straw and leap over a block, ye strain at a gnat and swallow up a camel.”’⁷⁷

The final part of Whitgift’s discourse is concerned with Christ’s exhortation, ‘Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but that remaineth to eternal life.’⁷⁸ The first example he discusses in this connection is the occasion when Jesus visited the home of Lazarus, Martha and Mary in Bethany (Luke 10: 38-42). Jesus does not condemn Martha for her diligence in receiving him, but ‘he teacheth her that she ought not so to be occupied about these external offices of civility, that in the mean time she neglect those wholesome exhortations that her sister Mary attended to.’ In doing so, he commends the role-reversal that occurred that day in Bethany, when Mary left the more common feminine preoccupations for those normally considered a male preserve which must have been very shocking to all who were then present. Whitgift

⁷⁵ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 581.

⁷⁶ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 581.

⁷⁷ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 581.

⁷⁸ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 583.

implicitly supports the role-reversal of the woman, Elizabeth, who was both prince and Supreme Governor of the Church.

Whitgift continues his sermon by listing three reasons why heavenly things should be preferred to those of this world. ‘First, worldly things are but momentary, they have no continuance.’⁷⁹ Secondly, worldly things, however pleasant, are transient and will, in time, become distasteful rather than pleasurable. ‘Riches are got with labour, kept with carefulness, and lost with grief.’⁸⁰ ‘Thirdly, “What will it profit a man to win the whole world, and to lose his own soul?” (Matthew 16: 26) or what shall he gain if he feed and pamper his body with delicates, and suffer his soul to perish for hunger?’⁸¹

Whitgift has nearly finished his sermon. He makes one last appeal to his hearers, exhorting them to remember that they are ‘but strangers in this world’, and so should not fix their minds on the things needed to enjoy this present life, lest ‘we be withdrawn from that earnest desire that we have to return to our own country.’⁸²

There are many reasons, he tells them, why they should prefer heavenly things before earthly things. Therefore it is just as necessary now, as in the time of Christ, to take heed of this exhortation, and Whitgift ends his sermon as he began, with these words: “Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but that remaineth to eternal life, the which the Son of man will give unto you.”

This sermon, the only one of Whitgift’s to survive in a full-length version, has many similarities to the others that have been considered in this study but it also has some

⁷⁹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 584.

⁸⁰ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 584

⁸¹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 585.

⁸² Whitgift, *Works*, p. 585.

noticeable differences. Although it is much shorter than any of the others, it is very dense and allusive. It appears that Whitgift has a great deal to say and he can only cover it all if he compresses his material as much as possible. Whitgift also makes skilful use of what would seem to be a rather innocuous text and expands his exposition to cover the much wider field of the whole chapter.

It is reported that Elizabeth ‘would often mention what she had read of her predecessor Henry III, “That he had much rather put up an humble devout Petition to God himself, than hear the finest Harangues about him, from the Lips of others.”’⁸³

This rather negative attitude towards preaching differed from that of the other Tudor monarchs and from most of her clergy but Elizabeth did find preaching useful in the promotion of obedience from her subjects as we have seen from this sermon.

However, the queen was understood to be a demanding auditor who required the sermons preached before her to be the point and have a logical rhetorical style.

Elizabeth had received an extremely good humanistic education, was able to ‘speak spontaneous, correct, fluent, and indeed magisterial, Latin, when she wanted’,⁸⁴ and she appreciated sound rhetoric from her preachers.

Consequently, Whitgift takes his *exempla* for this sermon mainly from scripture but he refers as well to the early Fathers of the Church such as Chrysostom, Basil, Augustine, Tertullian and Cyril, quoting them in Latin with an English translation for elucidation and emphasis. He also takes a few *exempla* from other sources. As well as the story of Polycletus, he mentions the fourth-century century hermit, Pambo,⁸⁵

⁸³ William Camden, *The History of Queen Elizabeth in A Complete History of England*, 3 Vols. (1706) Vol. II, 371. Quoted in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 77.

⁸⁴ Johnson, *Elizabeth I*, p.18.

⁸⁵ Pambo the Hermit of Egypt, a disciple of St Anthony of Egypt (251-356)

whose asceticism was such that he would only wear the rags that others had discarded. Pambo's criticism of women's costly clothes reinforces Whitgift's remarks about the importance of fixing the mind on heavenly rather than earthly things.⁸⁶

Whitgift divides his discourse into sections, dealing with each in turn in a concise and logical exposition of his topic, which is the necessity for obedience and conformity in the church. He uses a number of rhetorical devices such as anaphora, antithesis, repetition, *rogatio*, simile, and word pairs to emphasize the points he wishes to make. This excerpt is an example of his style:

And yet, notwithstanding, do they colour and cloak this peevisish and sinister affection with dissembled gesture, countenance, and words, when they be in the presence of those that may hurt them, or do them good.⁸⁷

Here the preacher uses alliteration, colour and cloak; and transferred epithet dissembled gesture; and he continues to use these, and others such as antithesis hypocrisy, holiness, wrath, zeal and darkness, light⁸⁸ throughout his discourse.

This sermon, in many respects, epitomises the way in which the establishment responded to the challenge of those seeking to overturn the 1559 Settlement and impose a Presbyterian system of government upon the church. The theories of government proposed in the *Admonition* treatises challenged the bishops to defend the

<<http://www.stthomasirondequoit.com/SaintsAlive/id765.htm>> [accessed 7 November 2007]

⁸⁶ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 585.

⁸⁷ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 572.

⁸⁸ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 579.

positions adopted in the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. It is clear that Whitgift does not welcome debate and he is very critical of the extreme Puritans whom he considers to be as subversive as the Anabaptists. Elizabeth was not prepared to allow the radical changes advocated in the *Admonition*. Her motto, *Semper Eadem*, [always the same], speaks volumes.

Whitgift does not aspire to great flights of oratory in this sermon, nor does he go into the mysteries of doctrine, instead he presents a discourse which is scholarly, but also very practical, as befits the able administrator that he had been and continued to be. In it, although he attacks the radicals very strongly, he illustrates the firm but reasonable attitude of one who realises that some kind of middle ground must be found if the nation were not to descend into anarchy. He sees both papists and the radical protestants as twin adversaries and demonstrates his confidence in the church hierarchy as the guardian of order and stability.⁸⁹ It is not surprising that Elizabeth chose Whitgift as her Archbishop of Canterbury after the death of Edmund Grindal in 1583. McCullough suggests that ‘Whitgift deployed much of the rhetoric that would distinguish conformity as he defined it during his archiepiscopate and that of his successor.’⁹⁰

Whitgift’s understanding of the office of kingship, as exercised by Elizabeth, shows in his insistence on obedience and conformity to the secular authority of her office as Supreme Governor of the Church of England. This can be seen when Whitgift criticises those who ‘nip at superiors, and reprove those that be in authority (though

⁸⁹ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 95.

⁹⁰ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 95.

they be absent and not in place to hear)...seeing that it tendeth to two principal evils, disobedience towards the magistrate, and flat anarchy.’⁹¹

The association between prince and archbishop was to be severed finally when Elizabeth lay dying in Richmond and Whitgift travelled to her bedside. To her, he had been her ‘little black husband’,⁹² she liked him, partly because he was unmarried; she trusted his advice, and showed no resentment when he occasionally reminded her of her duties as a Christian prince. All in all, Whitgift was the Queen’s constant spiritual counsellor as well as the chief administrator of her religious settlement. Whitgift remained kneeling by the Queen’s bedside for many hours, until she lapsed into a coma and in his final prayer for her, he asks God, very simply, for his forgiveness and mercy on her behalf.

Henry Chettle, a minor printer and playwright, wrote not long after Elizabeth’s death,

I was borne and brought vp in the Religion profefed by that most Chriftian Princeffe *Elizabeth* ... [who] taught all her people the vndoubted truth; that faith in Chrift alone, the way, the doore, and the life: not turning either to the right hand, or the left; and in this, being the beft meane, her Temperance cheefly appeered: this rule she taught her kingdome, her familie, her felfe: at leaft caufed them to be taught by excellent Pastors, to whom humbly she gaue publike eare.⁹³

⁹¹ Whitgift, *Works*, p. 572, 573.

⁹² Dawley, *John Whitgift*, p. 224.

⁹³ Henry Chettle, *Englandes Mourning Garment, London (1603)*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), sig. D4^v – E1^r. (STC 5122)

This excerpt from *Englandes Mourning Garment*, shows the way many of Elizabeth's subjects felt about the Queen who had ruled them for so long.

John Whitgift was Archbishop of Canterbury, under Elizabeth, for more than twenty years. Over that time their relationship matured into something that was more than that of a mere servant of the crown and the Prince who embodied that crown. His purpose in preaching this sermon was to defend the principle of Royal Supremacy, the maintenance of order and conformity, and obedience to the statutes of the realm. In his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, published in early 1574, Whitgift asserts that, 'There are two kinds of Government in the church, the one invisible, the other visible: the one spiritual, the other external.'⁹⁴ The Elizabethan Settlement sought to preserve the difference between them.

In conclusion, the reality is that over the century, people's understanding of the relative positioning of authority between church and state had undergone great changes. The two great powers of medieval society, the church and the monarchy, which had co-existed in a working relationship for hundreds of years, discovered that that relationship had changed forever when Henry VIII abrogated papal authority through the Act of Supremacy in 1534. With papal authority excluded and the monasteries dissolved, the bishops and convocations came under the sole authority of the king. The monarch, as the 'godly prince' who ordered society and the lives of his subjects and exacted the obedience of his people, now ruled the Church of England.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Whitgift, *Works* I, p. 183.

⁹⁵ Gordon Jeanes, 'Cranmer and Common Prayer' in, *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 21-38 (p. 29).

We began this study with John Fisher, who did not question the authority of the church over sinful man, be he king or commoner. John Longland was prepared to countenance the abrogation of temporal authority to the king provided the church maintained its direction of men's beliefs. Hugh Latimer went much further when he denied that the Church of Rome had any authority in England. Edward VI must exercise all authority and his must be the hand to wield the two swords, the temporal and the spiritual. Thomas Watson was a strong advocate of the return to the beliefs and practices of the Catholic faith, particularly belief in the Sacrifice of the Mass. Implicit in this was the return to the authority of the papacy. John Whitgift attacked both the power of the papacy and the demands of the radical reformers, who purposed to set up a theocracy based on Presbyterian beliefs and concepts. Whitgift aimed to preserve order and obedience in the realm by finding a *via media*, a middle way, between the demands of the Roman Church on the one hand, and those of the radical Protestants on the other. He thought it right and proper that Elizabeth, as the 'godly prince' and the fount of authority, should hold the two swords, denoting both spiritual and the temporal authority, firmly in her hands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Chettle, Henry, *Englandes Mourning Garment* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973)

The English Works of John Fisher, Part 1, ed. by John Mayor, *EETS*, e.s. 27, (London: 1876, repr. 1973)

The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward the Sixth: with Introduction by the Bishop of Gloucester, repr. (London: J. M. Dent, n.d.)

The Holy Bible, Authorised Version.

Latimer, Hugh, *Seven Sermons before Edward VI*, ed. by Edward Arber, (London: Alex Murray & Son, 1869)

Longland, John, *A Sermond spoken be fore the kynge his maiestie at Grenwiche, vppon good fryday: the yere of our Lord. M.CCCCxxxvi* (London, 1536) STC 16795

Strype, John, *The Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God John Whitgift, D. D.* (London: T. Horne, et al., 1718, and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822, repr. American Theological Library Association, Microtext Project)

Watson, Thomas, *Two notable Sermons, made the thirde and firthe Fridayes in Lent last past, before the Quenes highness, concernynge the reall presence of Christes body and bloude in the blessed Sacrament: also the Masse, which is the sacrifice of the newe Testament.* (London, 1554) STC 25115.3, 25115.5

Whitgift, John, *The Works of John Whitgift, D.D.*, 3 vols, ed. by Rev. John Ayre, (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1851-1853)

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Alford, Stephen, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Anglo, Sydney, 'Image-making: The Means and the Limitations,' in *The Tudor Monarchy*, John Guy, ed., (London: Arnold, 1997)
- Bagchi, David, and David C. Steinmetz, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Baldick, Chris, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- Barratt, Alexandra, 'The Prymer and its Influence on Fifteenth-century Passion Lyrics,' in *Medium Aevum*, 44, (1975), 264-279
- _____, 'Stabant matres dolorosae: Women as Readers and Writers of Passion Prayers, Meditations and Visions,' in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. by A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos and R. M. Schlusemann, (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 55-71
- Baumer, Franklin Le Van, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966)
- Bernard, G.W., *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005)
- _____, 'The Making of Religious Policy, 1533 London -1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way,' *HJ*, 41 (1998), 321-349.
- Betteridge, Thomas, *Tudor Histories of the English Reformation, 1530-83* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1999)
- Bindoff, S.T., *Tudor England* (London: Penguin, 1950, repr. 1961)
- Blench, J.W., 'John Longland and Roger Edgeworth: Two forgotten Preachers of the Early Sixteenth Century,' *RES*, 5 (1954), 121-143
- _____, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450 - c.1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964)
- Bowker, Margaret, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Bradshaw, Christopher, 'David or Josiah? Old Testament Kings as Exemplars in Edwardian Religious Polemic,' *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), II, 77-90

- Bradshaw, Brendan and Eamon Duffy, eds, *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Brigden, Susan, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (London: Penguin, 2000)
- Brook, V. J. K., *Whitgift and the English Church* (London: English University Press, 1957)
- Brooks, Peter Newman, 'The Theology of Thomas Cranmer,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, ed. by David Bagchi, and David C. Steinmetz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 150-160
- Carleton, Kenneth, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520-1559* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001)
- Cannon, John, ed., *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Chester, Allan G., *Hugh Latimer: Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954)
- Chrimes, S.B., *Henry VII* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972)
- Collinson, Patrick, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979)
- _____, *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon, 1994)
- _____, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon, 1983)
- Cooper, J. P., 'Henry VII's Last Years Reconsidered,' *HJ*, 2, (1950), 103-129
- Cross, Claire, 'The English Universities, 1553-58,' in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Eamon Duffy, and David Loades, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974)
- Darby, Harold S., *Hugh Latimer* (London: Epworth Press, 1953)
- Davies, Catharine, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)
- Davies, C. S. L., *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558* (London: Hart, MacGibbon, 1976)
- Davies, Horton, *From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603: Worship and Theology in England*, 1 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970)
- Dawley, Powel Miles, *John Whitgift and the English Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954)

- Doran, Susan, *Elizabeth I and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1994)
- _____, and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England, 1500-1700*, 2nd ed., (London: Routledge, 2003)
- Dowling, Maria, *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher, 1469-1535* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999)
- _____, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1986)
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)
- _____, and David Loades, eds, *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Elton, G. R., *England under the Tudors* (London: Methuen, 1955, repr.1967)
- _____, 'Henry VII: Rapacity and Remorse,' *HJ*, 1 (1958), 21-39.
- Erickson, Carolly, *Bloody Mary* (London: Dent, 1978)
- Field, Lester L., Jr., *Liberty, Dominion and the Two Swords: On the Origins of Western Political Theory (180-398)* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998)
- Fox, Alistair, and John Guy, eds, *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500-1550* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986)
- Gonzalez, Justo L., *A History of Christian Thought*, 3 vols (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1984)
- Gordon, Bruce, ed., *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)
- Graves, M. A. R. and R. H. Silcock, *Revolution, Reaction and the Triumph of Conservatism: English History, 1558-1700* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1984)
- Guy, John, 'Scripture as Authority: Problems of Interpretation in the 1530s,' in *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500-1550*, ed. by Alistair Fox and John Guy, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 199-220
- _____, *The Tudors: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984)
- _____, *The Tudor Monarchy*, ed. (London: Arnold, 1997)
- Haigh, Christopher, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
- Haller, William, *The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963)

- Haugaard, William P., *Elizabeth and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968)
- _____, 'Elizabeth Tudor's *Book of Devotions*: A Neglected Clue to the Queen's Life and Character,' *SCJ*, 12, (1981), 79-105
- Hefling, Charles, and Cynthia Shattuck, eds, *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Hill, L. M., 'The Marian "Experience of Defeat": The Case of Sir John Bourne,' *SCJ*, 25 (1994), 531-549
- Jeanes, Gordon, 'Cranmer and Common Prayer,' in *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Johnson, Paul, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Futura, 1976)
- Jones, Michael K., and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Darby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Jordan, W. K., *Edward VI, The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968)
- Kinney, Arthur F., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Kisby, Fiona, ' "When the King goeth a Procession": Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547,' *JBS*, 40 (2001), 44-75
- Lake, Peter, and Michael Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000)
- Leith Spencer, H., *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)
- Lever, Katherine, 'Greek Comedy on the Sixteenth Century English Stage,' *CJ*, 42 (1946), 169-173
- Levin, Carole, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves, eds, *Elizabeth I: Always her Own Free Woman* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- Loach, Jennifer, ed. by George Bernard and Penry Williams, *Edward VI* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999)

- Loades, David M., *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989)
- _____, *Politics and the Nation: England 1450-1660*, 5th Ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999)
- _____, *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979)
- Lockwood, Shelley, 'Marsilius of Padua and the Case for the Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy,' *TRHS*, 1 (1991), 89-119
- Loughlin, James F., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1 (New York: Robert Appleton, (1907)
- MacCaffrey, Wallace, *Elizabeth I* (London: Arnold, 1993)
- _____, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981)
- McConica, James K., *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965)
- McCoy, Richard C., *Alterations of State: Sacred Kingship in the English Reformation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)
- McCue, James F., 'The Doctrine of Transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: The Point at Issue,' *HTR*, 61 (1968), 385-430
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2nd ed., (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001)
- _____, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (London: Macmillan 1995)
- _____, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996)
- _____, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 1999)
- McCullough, Peter E., *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- McDonald, A. A., H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, eds, *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998)
- Maclure, Millar, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958)

- Marshall, Peter, 'The Debate over "Unwritten Verities" in Early Modern England,' in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 1, ed. by Bruce Gordon, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)
- _____, ed., *The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640*, (London: Arnold, Hodder Headline, 1997)
- _____, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Hodder Headline, 2003)
- _____, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Metzger, Bruce M., and Michael D. Coogan, eds, *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)
- Meyer, Arnold Oskar, trans. by Rev. J. R. McKee, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967)
- Morgan, Nigel, 'The Scala Coeli Indulgence and the Royal chapels,' in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Benjamin Thompson, (Stamford, UK: Paul Watkins, 1995), 82-103
- Norton, David, *The History of the Bible as Literature*, 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Null, Ashley, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance: Renewing the Power to Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- O'Day, Rosemary, 'Hugh Latimer: Prophet of the Kingdom,' *BIHR*, 65 (October 1992), 258-276
- _____, *The Longman Companion to the Tudor Age* (London: Longman, 1995)
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online Edition (Oxford University Press)
- <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article>>
- Oxford English Dictionary*, online Edition (Oxford University Press)
- <<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz>>
- Plowden, Alison, *The House of Tudor* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003)
- _____, *Tudor Women* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002)
- Rex, Richard, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation,' *HJ*, 39 (1996), 863-894
- _____, *Elizabeth I: Fortune's Bastard* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003)
- _____, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 2nd ed., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
- _____, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- _____, *The Tudors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002)

- Ridley, Jasper, *Elizabeth I: The Shrewdness of Virtue* (New York: Fromm, 1989)
- _____, *Henry VIII* (London: Guild, 1985)
- Ryrie, Alec, 'The Problem of Legitimacy and Precedent in English Protestantism, 1539-47,' in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Medieval Inheritance*, 1, ed. by Bruce Gordon, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)
- _____, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968)
- _____, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984)
- Shagan, Ethan H., *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Shuger, Debra K., *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, repr. 1997)
- _____, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Stafford, William, 'Repentance on the Eve of the Reformation: John Fisher's Sermons of 1508 and 1509,' *HJPC*, (1985), 297-338
- Steuert, Dom Hilary, 'The English Prose Style of Thomas Watson. Bishop of Lincoln, 1557,' *MLR*, 41 (1946), 226-236
- Surtz, Edward, S.J., *The Works and Days of John Fisher* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967)
- Swanson, R. N., 'Passion and Practice: the Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages,' in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. by A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos and R. M. Schlusemann, (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 1-30
- Targoff, Ramie, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)
- Tentler, Thomas N., *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977)
- Thompson, Benjamin, ed., *The Reign of Henry VII: The Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995)
- Tudor-Craig, Pamela, 'Henry VIII and King David,' in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), 183-205

- Wabuda, Susan, 'Bishops and the Provision of Homilies, 1520-1547,' *SCJ*, 26 (1994), 551-565
- _____, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Wandel, Lee Palmer, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Weir, Alison, *Children of England: the Heirs of Henry VIII* (London: Pimlico, 1997)
- Williams, Penry, *The Later Tudors, England 1547-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)
- Wizeman, William, SJ, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006)
- Wizeman, William, SJ, 'The Theology and Spirituality of a Marian Bishop: the Pastoral and Polemical Sermons of Thomas Watson,' in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Eamon Duffy and David Loades, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Wooding, Lucy, 'The Marian Restoration and the Mass,' in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Eamon Duffy and David Loades, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- _____, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)
- Wunderli, Richard, and Gerald Broce, 'The Final Moment before Death in Early Modern England,' *SCJ*, 20 (1989), 259-275

WEBSITE

<http://www.stthomasirondequoit.com/SaintsAlice/id765.htm> [accessed 7 November 2007]