

Robert Singleton's Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1535: The 'True Church' and the Royal Supremacy

Torrance Kirby

McGill University, Montreal

torrance.kirby@mcgill.ca

ABSTRACT

On 2 April 1535, Robert Singleton, chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross. The unique, surviving printed copy of the sermon is housed in the Wren Library of Lincoln Cathedral. From 1533, Singleton had been a member of the circle of avant-garde evangelicals gathered at the margins of the Tudor court under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell. His sermon at Paul's Cross contributed to an orchestrated campaign in support of Cromwell's legislative programme, then proceeding through Parliament, to sever all links of ecclesiastical jurisdiction with Rome and to confirm Henry's headship of the Church of England. The sermon interprets Paul's allegory of the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem in the Epistle to the Galatians as a model for thinking about the distinction between the invisible and visible Church. Singleton harnesses Pauline ecclesiology in an apology for the royal supremacy. Presented here is a transcribed copy of the original printed version.

Keywords: Text edition, sermon, Paul's Cross (London), Robert Singleton, royal supremacy

Introduction

The open-air pulpit in the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and known as 'Paul's Cross,' can be reckoned without any doubt among the most influential of all public venues in early-modern England. In a world where

sermons generally counted among the conventional means of adult education, as vital instruments of popular moral and social guidance, not to mention political control, Paul's Cross stands out as London's pulpit of pulpits; indeed it lays claim to being the 'public pulpit' of the entire realm, and was arguably more of a stage than a preaching station. It was an arena of vital consequence where 'the conscience of church and nation found public utterance,' particularly in moments of crisis.¹ Very large crowds, sometimes numbering in thousands, gathered here to listen to the weekly two-hour sermons. On one occasion after delivering a sermon at Paul's Cross not long after the accession of Elizabeth, John Jewel wrote in a letter to his mentor in Zurich, Peter Martyr Vermigli, that as many as 6,000 people stayed afterwards to sing metrical psalms.²

Going back to the thirteenth century, St. Paul's churchyard had been a bustling public space, a privileged venue for the announcement of royal proclamations and papal bulls to citizens of the capital. At Paul's Cross spokesmen authorized by both Crown and Church expounded government policy and denounced heresy and rebellion. Yet, unlike the royal Abbey of Westminster, St Paul's was always perceived as belonging more to subjects than to princes, and this peculiar status was to acquire increased significance over

1. Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 4, 18. For an account of the architecture of the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral see P.W.M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990). See also Torrance Kirby, 'The Public Sermon: Paul's Cross and the culture of persuasion in England, 1534–1570,' *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31(1), (2008): 3–29.
2. Dated 5 March 1560. *The Zurich Letters; or, the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1579*, First Series, edited by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, 1842), 71. 'You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the Mass priests, and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note.' Henry Machyn confirms the great popularity of sermons of Paul's Cross in several entries to his *Diary*. See *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, edited by John Gough Nichols (London: Printed for the Camden Society by J. B. Nichols and Son, 1848), the entry for 3 March 1560: 'The sam day dyd pryche at Powlles crosse the nuwe byshope of London master Gryndall, in ys rochet and chyminer; and after sermon done the pepull dyd syng; and ther was my lord mayre and the althermen, and ther was grett audyence.' See also Machyn's entries for 3 and 16 April and 23 June 1557, 10 and 17 September 1559, 26 November 1559, and 28 February and 15 June 1561.

time. From the earliest records it is clear that the cathedral churchyard was one of the favoured settings for popular protest, a place where public grievances could be aired. For centuries this was the meeting place of London's folk-moot; royal guarantee of the liberties of the City was proclaimed here in the reign of Henry III; Paul's Cross was also a rallying point for adherents of Simon de Montfort's rebellion.³ In the sixteenth century this place was the acknowledged epicentre of a series of revolutionary events where matters of religious identity were concerned. In his magisterial study of the Paul's Cross sermons, Millar MacLure observed that 'The Paul's Cross pulpit was nothing less than the popular voice of the Church of England during the most turbulent and creative period of her history,'⁴ although what is meant by a 'popular voice' here is ambivalent given the degree of government control. At times, especially during sessions of Parliament, the auditory must have seemed a microcosm of the whole realm, 'all England in a little room' and indeed an early-seventeenth-century painting shows us each member of the audience in his place, properly accoutred, 'groundlings and notables, pit and galleries, and in the midst, the pulpit as stage.'⁵

Paul's Cross served as the public face of government when Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer orchestrated vindication of the Henrician reformation in the 1530s in the aftermath of Clement VII's bull of excommunication on 11th of July, 1533. Commencing on 15 January 1534 the traditional prayer for the Pope was omitted at the Paul's Cross sermon following a memorandum issued by Thomas Cromwell to John Stokesley, Bishop of London.⁶ As part of Cromwell's concerted campaign of propaganda in the months following in support of legislation moving through Parliament to confirm Henry's headship of the Church, 'every Sunday preached at Paul's Cross a bishop who declared the Pope not to be head of the church.'⁷ Many sermons of the mid-1530s dwell on the theme of 'how every king hath the highe power under

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3. J.R. Maddicot, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 4. MacLure, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, 167.
 5. MacLure, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, 4.
 6. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1514*, edited by J. S. Brewer, James Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1862-1932), vol. 7, 48 (2).
 7. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: Adam and Company, 1873), bk V, 68. Regarding sermons in general as the single most important vehicle for the advancement of royal policy, see G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 231.

God, and oughte to be the supreme head over all spirituall prelates.’⁸

One such sermon was preached at Paul’s Cross on 2 April 1535 by Robert Singleton (*d.* 1544), who was at that time chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn. Not a great deal is known about Singleton.⁹ He is reputed to be a Singleton of Single Hall in Lancashire where, in 1516, he is recorded as having been Vicar of Preston. From there he went up to Oxford and migrated thence to Cambridge where he graduated Bachelor of Canon Law in 1522. By 1533 he had joined the circle of avant-garde evangelicals gathered at the margins of the Tudor court under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell. In 1535, the year he preached at Paul’s Cross, he was appointed chaplain to Queen Anne whose personal arms, impaled with those of Henry VIII, grace the title page of the sermon.¹⁰ John Bale attributes to Singleton authorship of a treatise titled *De septem ecclesiis* (Concerning the Seven Churches) which survives in manuscript.¹¹ Singleton collaborated with Sir Thomas Wyatt in the composition of a pseudo-Chaucerian poetical miscellany entitled *The Court of Venus*. This contains the few poems of Wyatt published in their author’s lifetime with a prologue probably penned by Singleton. The work was published by Thomas Gybson, one of the more radical Protestant London printers in the 1530s. It includes an evangelical piece attributed to Robert Singleton entitled ‘The Pilgrim’s Tale,’ a narrative heavily (and somewhat bizarrely) founded on prophecies ascribed to Merlin.¹²

8. Sir Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559: edited by W. D. Hamilton from a transcript made early in the seventeenth century for the third Earl of Southampton*, vol. 1 (Westminster: Camden Society, 1875–1877), 34–35; reference there to a sermon at Paul’s Cross by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham.
9. For a brief account of Singleton’s career see Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 259, 349–352; Alec Ryrie, ‘Singleton, Robert,’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter abbreviated as *ODNB*], online edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25643>, accessed 13 Oct 2009.
10. Ro[bert] Singleton, *A sermon preached at Poules crosse the fourth sonday in lent. The yere of our lord god. 1535* (London: [Thomas Godfraye, 1536]). STC 22575. The unique copy is in the possession of Lincoln Cathedral Library, Rr. 7.11.
11. British Library, Royal MS 18 A.xl. See John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: catalogus*, 2 vols in 1 (Basel, 1557–1559); facsimile edn (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1971), vol. II, 105.
12. *The Courte of Venus, Newly and diligently corrected with many proper ballades newly amended, and also added therunto which haue not before bene imprinted* (London: T. Gybson, 1538?). For a full account of this publication, see the Introduction to *The Court of Venus*, edited by Russell A. Fraser (Durham, NC: Duke University Press,

In 1538 Singleton reported to Thomas Cromwell 'a sinister and seditious sermon' preached by Dr Cotes at Sheen Charterhouse on Easter Day, in which the preacher had said that no man was bound to do the King's command if it were against the law of God.¹³ On Relic Sunday, 8 July 1543, Robert Wisdom, Thomas Becon, and Robert Singleton are recorded as having recanted certain unnamed heresies at Paul's Cross.¹⁴ Singleton's recantation, as reported, was very concise:¹⁵

Worshipful audience, my companions here present have spoken unto you many words for declaration of themselves. I shall conclude in a few, which be these. I am an unlearned fantastical fool. Such hath been my preaching, and such hath been my writing, which I here before you all tear in pieces. And to the intent no man should misreport what I have said I have signed divers copies of that I now rehearse with mine own hand, whereof each man may have the copy that will.

Not long after his recantation, Singleton was sentenced and executed for stirring up sedition. Bale suggests that the cause was Singleton's inflammatory exposition of certain prophecies, which might suggest a possible connection with his putative authorship of 'A Pilgrim's Tale' in his collaboration with Thomas Wyatt.¹⁶ John Foxe assures us that Singleton was not guilty of this charge, but that he was in fact 'maliciously sclaunders':

So was it layd agaynst one Syngleton Chapplein sometyme to Queene Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packyngton, and afterward, that he was a styrrer vp of sedition and cōmotiō: who also suffered as a traytor for the same: Where in very deede the true cause was for nothyng els, but for preaching the Gospell vnto the people, whose purpose was euer so farre off[f] from styrryng sedition, that he neuer once dreamed of any such matter, as hee hymselfe declared and protested to one R. Lante his scholer, who is yet alyue and can testifie the truth hereof. But this is noe newe practise amongst the Romishe Byshops: wherof enough hath ben sayd before in the story of Syr Ihon Oldecastle, and Syr Roger Acton, &c.¹⁷

1955).

13. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, 23 vols in 38 (1862–1932); repr. (1965), vol. XIII. i. 819.
14. Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, vol. 1, 142–143.
15. Guildhall MS 9531/12, fol. 45r; repr. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, appendix to bk V, no. xviii.
16. Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytanniae*, vol. II, 105.
17. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1583), bk. VIII, 1257.

Foxe later includes Singleton in a list of men 'who all recanted in King Henry's time, and were yet good soldiers after in the Church of Christ.'¹⁸ Nonetheless, as Alec Ryrie has pointed out, Singleton's fellow Paul's Cross penitent, Robert Wisdom, dismissed him as 'more to be pitied, then regarded.'¹⁹

In the sermon following, preached at Paul's Cross on 2 April 1535, Singleton takes as his text the epistle of the day, Galatians 4:22–5:1, namely that appointed for the fourth Sunday in Lent according to the Sarum Use then still in force. The theme of the reading is Paul's exploration of the Genesis account of the relationship of Abraham to his wife, the freeborn Sarah, and to his slave Hagar, and the contrast between the sons born to each, namely Isaac, child of the promise, and Ishmael, son of Hagar. Only through Isaac is the 'promise' of God preserved. Paul's allegory equates the covenant of Sinai and the Mosaic law with slavery and of the promise of God with freedom, which two conditions he construes allegorically as the two 'Jeruselems.' In his exposition Singleton constructs a thoroughly evangelical ecclesiology based upon this allegory whereby he draws a sharp distinction between the invisible and visible churches, or as he terms them the 'church unyversall' and the 'church specyall.' The clarity of this ecclesiological distinction in turn provides ground for a vigorous attack on the papacy and a defence of the Royal Supremacy. The sermon concludes with the epigraph:

God preserue his church unyversall
And this churche of Englande specyall
And the supreme hed therof our kyng²⁰
And graunte us the blysse without endyng.
A M E N.

The following text of the sermon is transcribed from the unique copy kept in the Wren Library at Lincoln Cathedral. I extend my warm thanks to Mrs Julie Wright, Assistant Librarian at Lincoln Cathedral, for all her kind assistance, and for providing an image of the splendid frontispiece of the arms of Robert Singleton's patroness, Queen Anne Boleyn.

18. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1873 edn), bk V, 696.

19. Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 261, fol. 93v. See Ryrie, 'Robert Singleton,' and to whose succinct account of Singleton's life I am indebted.

20. In the (unique) Lincoln Cathedral copy of the sermon, the third line of the epigraph is scratched out and in the margin the original words are restored with the added comment 'He was a traitierly knave that put out the same.'



Figure The armorial bearings of Queen Anne Boleyn (title page).

A sermon preached at Poules crosse the fourth sonday in lent.²¹
The yere
Of our lorde god. 1535. By Ro[bert] Singleton.

The printer to the reder.

I praye you hertely to be content
 And if in printynge I have offended
 If there be any faute/ it was nat myne entent
 But as for the mater I can nat amende it
 Therfore blame myne authour and nate me
 But first do you iuge/ wher he is plame worthy
 Upon the two brethren this processe doth ronne
 Gotten by Abraham in his olde age
 Thone was borne carnall/ wher the church begon
 For in thold law they serued but for wage
 Thoder figured in Agar/ mother to the page
 Were promysed non other in the lande of Behest
 But plenty of mylke and butter of the best.

And we that by Isaac/ brethren shulde be
 Gotten on Sara/ Abrahams owne wyfe
 In her we be brethren/ and children of lybertie
 And our rewarde is euerlastyng lyfe
 So that with Ismaell we be at bate and stryfe
 And utterly expell him and all his possessyon
 Whiche is the whole cause of our transgression.

The authour to a frende of his.²²

It dothe me good/ as ofte as I thynke
 Remembring the corage in your styffe harte
 For at this gret pinch/ it is no tyme to shrike
 But for to assayle them with many a darte
 I meane Babylone that taketh parte
 And wolde defende their holde and their toure
 Agaynst Isaakes frendes and all their poure.

21. That is, on 2 April 1535. The epistle appointed for the fourth Sunday in Lent according to the Sarum Use is Galatians 4: 22–5:1. This lection was retained by Cranmer in the *Book of Common Prayer*, though adapted slightly to Gal. 4:21–31. See J.H. Blunt, *The annotated Book of Common Prayer* (London: Rivingtons, 1866), 94.

22. Possibly a nod to Sir Thomas Wyatt, with whom Singleton collaborated in the composition of *The Court of Venus*. Cf. n. 12 above.

[A.ii.r]

SCRIPTUM EST ENIM Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla et unum de libera.²³ Sed is qui de ancilla secundum carnem natus est.²⁴ Qui autem de libera per repromissionem. Quae sunt per allegoriam dicta. Haec enim sunt duo testamenta. Vnum quidem datum in monte Sinay in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar, Sinay enim mons est in Arabia, qui coniunctus est ei quae nunc est Hierusalem et seruit cum filiis suis. Illa autem quae sursum est Hierusalem libera est. quae est mater nostra.²⁵ Scriptum est enim. Letare sterilis quae non paris.

Erumpe et clama quae non parturis, quia multi filij desertae magisque eius quae habet uirum. Nos autem fratres secundum Isaac promissionis filij sumus. Sed quomodo tunc is qui secundum carnem natus fuerat, prosequatur eum qui secundum spiritum, ita et nunc. Sed quid dicit scriptura: Eijce ancillam et filium eius. Non enim heres erit filius ancillae cum filio liberae. Itaque fratres non sumus ancillae filij sed liberae, qua libertate Christus nos liberauit.

And this is the pistell of this day/ whiche I shall repete agayne in Englyshe.

[A.ii.v]

{running title: *A sermon preched / at Poules crosse.*}

It is written / that Abraham had two sonnes/ one by his seruante/ and the other by his wyfe. The chylde by his seruant was borne in flesshe/ the chylde by his wyfe by repromissyon / which ar[e] sayde by an allegorye sence: These be the two testaments/ one gyuen in the mounte Sinay/ engendringe seruytude/ which is Agar. Sinay is a mountayne in the lande of Araby/ which is nowe ioyninge upon him that is called Jerusalem/ and is in seruytude with her chyl dren. But that Jerusalem which is above is free/ and is oure mother/ of whom it is written: Reioyce thou that arte baren/ whiche doth nat bring-forthe frute: brekeforthe and crye that encresest nat/ for there be many deserte chyl dren/ mo than of them whiche hath a man. We be chyl dren and brethren of promissyon. But than he whiche by the flesshe was borne dyd persecute him that was borne by the spiryte. And euen so nowe what saith scripture Put away the seruaunte and the childe/ for the sonne of the seruante shall nat be heyre with the chylde of lybertye. Therfore we be nat brethren in the flesshe/ but in the spyrite/ by the which lyberty Christ hath delyuered us.

These two chyl dren/ Ismaell and Isaac/ doth sygnifye the two testaments/ the olde and the newe: by the fyrst chylde that is by Ismaell we be nat breth-

23. Gala. 4. in fine

24. [margin] *Sensus allegoricus quando per preterita designantur futura.*

25. Esa. 54 *Lauda assteriles.*

ren/ but by the second [A.iii.r] that is by promissyon and grace. And therefore he nor non nother that be the chyldren of god but only by creation/ shal nat be the chyldren of euerlastynge glorie. The fyrst childe gotten on the seruante sygnifyeth the olde testament/ and in him they were but carnall brethren: that is to wytte the iewes/ for the promise for which they serued was non other but carnall : for they were promysed in the lande of Behest to haue plenty of mylke/ butter and honny inough/ which was but a fygure and shadow of the lyfe euerlasting: that is/ unto Agar/ unto whome this one fraternyte was gyuen/ that is to wyt/ carnall/ engendringe seruytude/ was on a mountayne called Sinay/ in the countrey of Araby that was ioynynge upon Jerusalem/ which approximatyon is said by a morall sence where she was in bondage/ and dyd serue with her chyldren. This Jerusalem of whom I have now spoken/ is the churche of Jewes or Gentylys congregate. But that Jerusalem whiche is aboue is called free/ by the lybertie and frenesse of the gospell/ and our mother that is spyritually engendringe us by the sacramente of baptyem. And euen as the wyfe is ruled by the husbande/ so was the olde testment by Moses: But than there is a questyon asked in this epystell afore rehersed/ that asketh what scripture sayth/ and there is an answer made: [A.iii.v] Put out the seruante and her chylde/ that is to wytte/ the olde testment and the lawe of Moses; and nowe let him that was maryed by a lawe that was fygured by Sara wyfe unto Abraham: that is non other/ but Christ maryed unto his churche/ let him haue the rule/ and expell the seruante and her chylde for the chylde of the seruante is nat worthye to be equall with the chylde of lybertye.

*Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi, et charitas dei, et communicatio sancti spiritus, sit semper cum omnibus vobis in Christo Iesu do[mino] nostro.*²⁶

The feruent desyre from Adam to Noe/ from Noe to Abraham/ from Abraham to Daud/ from Daud to all and euery electe creature of god unto Symeon/ which toke the answer of the angel most feruently desyred the comminge and unyon bytwene the spouse and his wyfe/ that was betwene Christ and his church for the delyuerance out of the bondage that we wer brought into/ through the disobedyence of man/ that only his obedyence agayne might in satisfaction/ be a sufficyent redemption for our offences/ for there was none other of his creation/ neither Angell nor man that coude be our meane/ saue only he him selfe: for what other creature so euer it had ben/ he coude nat haue meryted [A.iv.r] heuen for hiselfe/ and than he coude nat haue merited for us. For if that he had fasted and praied gyuen and forgyuen/ he had done nothings but that thinge which he ought to do. And if he do

26. [2 Cor. 13:13]

nothyng but that thinge he ought to do/ than he dothe meryte but onely for himselfe; nor yet for himself/ but onely upon the iustyce of god: and upon his iustyce bycause it was his promyse:²⁷ that he that wyl be christened and wyll beleue/ shall be sauēd/ whiche promyse came of his mercy. Nowe/ seying that it was his promyse/ it is nowe his iustyce to kepe his promyse/ and this iustyce cometh by his mercy/ and my fayth by his iustyce to be my saluation/ and nat by my merytes.²⁸ No man commeth to my father but by me (sayth Christ) for he is the waye/ the truth/ and the lyfe: than by oure meryttes is nat the waye/ but onely by Christ.²⁹ Lyke as the bowes can bring forth no frute of them selfe excepte the roote byde in lyfe: no more can ye/ excepte ye byde in me: for I am the lyfe/ and you be the bowes. Than by our own strength we nothinge preuayle but onely by Christes strength. What do we than deserue/ nothing but punyshment and deth. Beholde the lambe of god: beholde him that taketh awaye the offence of the worlde. Than ergo/ nat our merytes dothe take awaye our offences: for if they dyd so/ than Christ had ben sent downe [A.iv.v] from heuen in vayne/ whom the ramme dyd sygnifye hangyng in the breres/ kyllēd of Abraham for Isaac his son/ of whom my master doth nowe chiefly ronne figuring Christ.

Than seyinge that Christe is our spowse unto whom we are subiecte/ and by him we must be ruled/ as the wyfe by her husbāde withoute whome we haue no heed nor ruler wherby to folowe.³⁰ Than we the whole congregatyō desyre his loue/ his grace/ and his peace/ confessyng our synne/ by waylyng his mercy/ humbly submyttinge our selues unto his euangelycall doctrine/ as we be commaunded by the father of heuen; sayenge: This is my welbeloued sonne gyue him the heryng/³¹ of whiche we have a fygure in the olde lawe/ where it is red that Helchyas the bysshoppe founde in the temple a boke of the lawe of god/ which boke he sent unto Iosyas the kynge:³² whan Scaphae his scribe dyd rede it afore the kynge/ and the kynge herde the wordes of the lawe of god/³³ with a great vehemency he cutte and rente his garmentes sayenge: The great curse of god is kyndled ouer us/ bycause our fathers haue nat herde the wordes of this boke/ that they might haue done that that is written

27. Mar. 16.d.

28. Io. 14.a. *Ibidem*.b.

29. Io.15.a.

30. [margin] A Christians request.

31. Luc.6.

32. 4.Re.22a [4 Kg]

33. [margin] The papistes be nat so good as kynge Iosias was.

for us. The kinge sent forth and gathered unto him all the auntyent Jewes in Jerusalem/ and dyd ascende into the temple with all the people/ prestes/ [B.i.r] and prophetes from the lest to the most. The kynge dyd rede (all the people herynge) the wordes of the boke of the federece/³⁴ and dyd make his formall othe afore god for himselfe and for his people/ to obserue the commaundementes of god with all his herte and all his mynde. The people were contented with the promyse. The kynge commaunded Helchias and all the other bysshops and the inferyour preestes/ to cast and hurle oute of the temple all the vessels that parteyned to Bell.³⁵ And as it is red in Paralipomion [sic]³⁶: This noble kynge toke all the abominations of Israel awaye/ and caused them to serue³⁷ their owne lorde god all their lyuyng dayes in quyetie and peace. Spiritually it was with us/ euen as it was with them: The doctryne of christ was clene layde aparte/ and many men were holly and fully giuen to the tradicyons of men. And yet nat well brought out from the sacrafyce of Beall: but by the great grace of almighty god/ we shal by lytell and lytell/ mouynge us the example of Jacob the patriark which whan he came out of the lande of Mesopotania with his housholde and chyl dren dyd folow fayre and sorfly the steppes of his droue of shepe/ gottes/ oxen and camels/ as he perceyued that they might iorney and go/ for fere that ouer great labour shulde haue prouoked all the whole droue to haue dyed on one [B.i.v] daye: For our people were so farre roted in blyndnesse/ that many of them kepte an opinyon/ and yet doth/ that it was unlauffull for us to loke and rede upon the holy scripture and the worde of god/ ouer whom the sayenge of Dauyd is verified. *Non est in ore eorum ueritas, cor eorum vanum est.* These men be redye to teche: they haue mouthes and they speke: but as saynt Paule doth afferme/ they understande nat/ nether what they speke nor of whom.³⁸ They do afferme/ that is/ they neither understande the worde nor the mater/ and therfore there is no truthe in their mouthes/ although they neuer so euydentlye appere to be the instructours of equitytie and truthe: to make a shorte processe/ it is euyn as Iames and Mambres resysted Moses: euen so they be the resysters of truth/ of whom it is spoken in Job. *Non enim locuti estis rectum*

34. That is: 'covenant'

35. [margin] Auoyde the precyous vessels of your churches and releue poore people.

36. 'Paralipomenon,' or Chronicles. See 2 Chron. 34:33 for King Josiah's reform: 'And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve the Lord their God. And all his days they departed not from following the Lord, the God of their fathers.'

37. serue.

38. 1.Tim.1.

*coram me sicut seruus meus Iob.*³⁹ And why they do nat speke righte and trewe therein/ the cause is/ their workes of iniquyte and detestatyon : that is to wyt/ in all their techynge they do that that man desyres. Man desyres none but his owne/ as to truste in his owne merytes and in his owne workes/ where they shulde graunte no goodnesse in man/ for this is the truthe/ no man is founde iuste in his workes afore god/ be they neuer so many nor neuer so great: But it is for a certayntie him [B.ii.r] to be iuste; whosoever putteth his faythe in god/ whiche fayth is deed/ wytnessyng saint James/ whan it is nat wyllynge to worke the best:⁴⁰ for that is the nature of fayth to worke the best that he can/ which cometh to none effecte thorowe the imbesylte and wekenes of our nature. *Non enim quod volo bonum hoc facio, sed quod nolo malum hoc ago.*⁴¹ And bycause that our workes might be euer more effectuall/ and to haue more purenes than they haue/ if we fulfilled the precepte of charyte/ it doth folowe/ that our best indeuourmentes be unsuffycient of themselfe without supernaturall grace of god/ of whom we aske forgyuenesse: yea/ the holiest man that euer was/ at the instruction of him that can nat erre (I meane Christe himselfe) where he taughte us to praye in the dominicall oration. *Dimitte nobis debita nostra.*⁴² As moche to saye/ as Forgyue us our dutye by us lefte undone dewe unto the[e]. Also saynte Austyne bereth wytnesse in an epystell written in Massedonium: The dew which the most iustyce doth aske forgyuenesse of: truly it both is/ and may be called a synne. And saynt Jo. in his epystell canonycall affermeth: If we saye that we be without sine/ we disceyue ourselues/ and truthe is nat in us.⁴³ And if we confesse our faute; than we be faythfull and iuste/ and than we may saye our *Pater noster* /as we be of [B.ii.v] Christ himselfe instructed. I do this moche dylate upon merytes/ to withdrawe the abusynge from erthly foundacyons/ that we put no suche confydence nor trust in other mennes merytes; whiche is wayne prestigiousnesse and iugelynge; whom christ vehemently rebuketh in the xxiii. chapiter of Mat. sayeng⁴⁴

Wo be unto you Ipocrytes/ scribes and pharyseis/ deuourynge wydowes howses/ makynge longe prayers/ to thentent to be iuged vertuose and holy. And than sell they trentals/ psalters/ dyriges: masses of *Scala celi* to delyuer soules out

39. Iob.24.b.

40. Iac.2.c.d.

41. Rom.7.c.d.

42. Mat.6.b., Luc.11.a.

43. 1.Io.1.c.

44. Mat.23.

of purgatorie: but nat excepte they gyue syluer or golde/ for the nature of the fyre is nat quenched (saye they) but with suche precyouse metall.⁴⁵ And than they wyl bewayle in maner of tragedye/ the soules departed out of this world. Me thinke I se them yet those purgatori prestes/ howe they handle them selues/ nat unrettricyously but shrinkynge whan they speke of the inextinguyble fyre/ sayenge: *Miseremini mei miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei.*⁴⁶ As though the soules in purgatori dyd speke it/ whiche was spoken by Job of himselfe in his lyuyng dayes/ to the reproche of them whiche in his prosperyte were his nere frendes. But nowe I wold nat ye thought that I deprauce prayer/ for god forbyd/ but I shulde most chefely extoll and laude prayer/ of whom [B.iii.r] saynt Bernarde in his meditacyons gyueth so high a prayse/ sayenge:⁴⁷ Nothinge in this worlde more sweter to ensence the mynde of man from the loue of this world/ and that doth more avaunce him toward god. And againe there is nothyng of more strengthe for the soule/ agaynst the temptations of our enemy the deuyll than is prayer/ which is coroborate by Christ himselfe in the .xvii.chap. of Mat. whan he came from his transfiguratyon with Peter/ James/ and Johan. There came unto him a man with lowe reuerent obedience.

Lorde (sayth he) haue mercy on my chylde for he is lunatyke and so sore vexed/ that som tyme he falleth in the fyre/ and sometyme in the water: and I brought him unto thy discyples and they could nat helpe him. Unto whom Jesus answered and sayde: O generatuon paruerse and unfaythfull: howe longe shall I be with you? How longe shall I suffre you? Bring him unto me/ and at his commaundemnt the spyrite that vexed him auoyded/ and the chylde from that houre was whole. Than Christes discyples asked of him: why coude nat we expell that spyrite/ unto whom Christe answered and sayde: for lacke of belefe. But I do say unto you: If ye had as moch fayth as the grayne of a musterd corne/ you shulde saye unto an hyll/ remoue/ and it shulde remoue/ and nothinge shulde be impossyble unto [B.iii.v] you for this kynde of spyrites is nat expelled but by prayer and fastynge.⁴⁸ Here by the affermatyon of Christ we may perceyue how necessarye prayer is for us/⁴⁹ seyng that the nature therof is to expell our enemy the deuyll/ insomuche that Christ him selfe taught us to praye/ whan he bad us to saye/ Pater noster. etc. And yet although we be nat certyfied by scrpture/ whether oure

45. [margin] Sellynge of masses and other for mony.

46. Job.19.c.

47. [margin] Saynt Bernard in praying of prayer.

48. [margin] The prayse of prayer and fastynge.

49. Mat.17.

prayers extende to the soules departed out of this worlde or no: yet we be certayne and haue perfyte knowlege/ that the ordre of Charytie doth compell us to be contynuall intercessours for them. And that is the counsell of saynte James:⁵⁰ Euery man to pray for other for our unyuersall inherytaunce/ which is the kyngdome of heuen.⁵¹ As for them that be ded/ either they be deed in the fayth of Christe/ or nat in the fayth of Christ. And if they be deed/ and nat in Christes fayth/ than we knowe what Christ saith: *Qui non crediderit condemnabitur*.⁵² And if they be deed in the fayth of christ/ than they be of these company of whom it is spoken. *Beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur*.⁵³ Saynt Paule doth inhibit us to be pensiue for them that slepe/ as gentyls which no hope. If we do beleue sayth .S. Paule that Christ is deed and rysen agayne/ euen so shall he take all up with him. Which of us slepe in him/ that is to wyt/ those that be departed [B.iv.r] out of this worlde in the fayth/ this sayth he I do saye unto you in the worde of god.

That we which ben here alyue/ and be the resydue/ we shall nat ouertake them that haue slected in Christ at the comynge/ meanyng it at the daye of Juge-ment: for god him selfe in his commaundement/ and in the voice of the arch-angel/ and in the trumpet of god shall dycende from heuen/ and all thy that be deed in Christ shal make a complete resurrection. Of that Job sayth. *Credo*⁵⁴ *quod redemptor meus uiuit, et in nouissimo die de terra surrecturus sum, et in carne mea videbo deum saluatorem meum*.⁵⁵ And this dout is lefte clene undiscussed/ onely to thentente to proue our charyte/ whether oure prayers extende to them that be deed or no.⁵⁶ But we be out of doute that charytie compelleth us to be intercessours for them/ although they shulde haue no releace therby: for els our prayers be of none effecte excepte they be inflamed with burnynge charyte/ as well for our enemyes as for our frendes/ as wel for them that ben deed/ as for them that ben alyue. But for to put confydence and trust in the merytes of other men/ and that the soules shulde be partetakers of other mens good dedes/ and make therof a comen crafte and iugelynge/ to the mayntenaunce of an idel sorte of preestes which be supported under the pretence of holynesse.⁵⁷

50. Iac.5.c.d. [Epistle of James]

51. [margin] Marked this disiunctiue.

52. Tessal.4. [Thessalonians]

53. [margin] Take no thought for carnall dethe of your frendes.

54. *Scio* in Job 19.

55. Iob.19.b.

56. [margin] A dout undiscussed, and the cause whye it is so.

57. [margin] A fayre question.

It is a great [B.iv.v^o] waye better in the conscyence of euery good man/ to haue the whole facyon and maner of illucyon of such ipocrytes/ clene abrogate and auoyded: and that done/ to put our confydence and trust in that thyng that we knowe god to be content with/ by the stablyshement and confyrmation of scripture/ whiche is none other/ But the contryte herte of man prostrate to the grounde in humilyation of conscyence/ mortifyenge him selfe in the fayth of Christ/⁵⁸ lamentably bewaylynge his synnes and callynge to god the father for mercy/ by the vertue of Christes passyon: but nat (as saynt Paule sayth)⁵⁹ to sorrow the deth of our frendes after the gentyles facyon/ which was without hope of resurrection agayne/ but to bewayle their synne/ and inuocate mercy therefore/ and in a recorde that our frende dyed in the fayth of Christ/ penytent for his synne/ to make oblation of our mere mynd/ shewing our charyte and most utter endeuourmentes for their sauegarde from their enemy the deuyll/ and for reconsylation to god of their synnes. And this is one of their oblations⁶⁰ that is gyuen to the curates in the .xii. chapyter of Deuteronomye/ where it is sayde by god. *Oblationes quas uouerunt et obtulerunt filij Israell tibi dedi et filijs tuis iure perpetuo.*⁶¹ Spoken to Aaron. These be the oblations that be lauffull and be by god alowed: [C.i.r] This was the oblation that Judas Macabeus sente to Jerusalem/ for them that were slayne in the batel with Georgius his enemy.⁶² And therefore all oblations be nat unlauffull/ though that the idle sorte whiche lyue upon disceyte/ hath counterfeyted/ that the soules haue spoken whiche haue ben in payne/ and leffte their pylgrymages undone/ to thentent to bringe the people into Idolatry.⁶³ Yea/ and somtyme the deuyll in dede/ euen as he came to Eue in lykenesse of a serpent/ under a crafte to her confusyon.⁶⁴ So hath he appered in sondrie lykenesses/ to the supportatyon of his sectes and ministers/ to thentent to haue them apostatate here upon erth from the true faythe of Christ/ as he himselfe was eicted into apostatye from the company of heuen:⁶⁵ yea/ and whan he was nat thus beneuolent/ they haue sought upon him/ and by craftnesse of naturall lernynge/ haue inuocate the spirytes that hathe ben

58. [margin] An excellent medicine agaynst al sine.

59. Thessal.4.

60. [margin] Oblacyon due to Curates.

61. Deut.12.

62. [margin] Judas Maccabeus.

63. [margin] An idell sorte of preestes.

64. [margin] The subtely of the deuyll.

65. [margin] Apostatye of the deuyll and of his sectes.

assocyate as a keper with the man whan he was alyue.⁶⁶

And this is one cause whye the man is layde so lowe in the grownde/ that the disposycion which the spyryte had in the moyst humour/ shulde nat by crafte of enchauntement be constrayned into the body agayne/ yet hauynge nat forgotten the obiected or orgayne in whom he was wonte to worke. Of this Lucyan maketh mentyon⁶⁷ that Thes[s]ala dyd make no such in- [C.i.v^o] uocations without the bloude and flesshe of the deed carcas.⁶⁸ Of this we haue that Phitonissa was fayne to go to the graue wherre the carcas of Samuell laye/⁶⁹ what tyme she inuocated at the commaundement of kynge Saull. I pray you/ by suche stinkyng myracles as these/ might nat the adherentes of the mayde of kente⁷⁰ haue founde the meane to haue accumulate as gret aboundaunce of ryches: yea/ and purchased as moche lande as other jouses of relygyon haue done/ by suche lyke craft/⁷¹ whan the worlde was blynde if [sic] the worde of god/ nowe beginnyng to ryse had nat beten her downe? These oblations and these pylgrymages be those/ agaynste the which we ought to speke/ and nat againste oblations/ which of a mere mynde we vowe unto god for the reconsylyation of our synne of which it is spoken: *Vouete et reddite*.⁷²

These be good/ the other be nat good/ but prestygouse and noughte/ whiche ye maye knowe: for euen as the garlande is hanged forth where wyne is to sell.⁷³ So where this idolatry is used/ there is ouer the stynkinge bones:⁷⁴ Shrines of golde/ precyouse stones/ brouches/ rynges/ gyrdels and bedes/ where the creature to the ymage of god lyeth storuen in the stretes.⁷⁵ Yet ye wyll saye this was gyuen to the honour of god/⁷⁶ and the intent of the gyuers was good/ although the dys- [C.ii.r^o] posytion therof/ percause be right noughte. But

66. [margin] Inuocation of euyl spirites.

67. [margin] Lucyan upon false inuocatyons.

68. 1.Pa.10.d. [Chronicles]. Possibly a reference to Lucian of Samosata (c. AD 125-180), *Necromantia: A dialog of the poete Lucyan* (Southwark: P. Treveris? for J. Rastell, 1530?), a translation of Lucian by Sir Thomas More into English verse (possibly by John Rastell), of which only a fragment survives.

69. [margin] Phytonissa the wytche.

70. [margin] The mayde of Kent. [Elizabeth Barton, executed for treason on 20th April 1534.]

71. [margin] Oblacions some good and some yl.

72. Ps.75.b.

73. [margin] Shrynes/ Idolatrye.

74. [margin] *Esuri[v]i et non dedisti[s]. etc.*

75. Mat.25.c.

76. [margin] A craftye excuse.

to this answer we haue a good solution in the epystell of this daye/ that is:⁷⁷ *Eijce ancillam et filium eius*.⁷⁸ That is/ Put away the seruante and her chylde: for we be inherytours and no seruantes. Than we ought nat to serue for wages/ and to take our worldly rewarde here/ as Judas the traytoure dyd/⁷⁹ for that we betraye Christ: for it is nat unknowen that false Judas hath many folowers and these be they that be louers of the purse and of the money/⁸⁰ more than they be of Christes gospell/ to obteyne the insacyetness of their ambytiouse munde/ which do betraye Christ with a kysse.⁸¹ That is/ under the pretence of relygyon/ and the loue that they haue to Christ (as they saye) they disceyue them selves and other men to: for if they had nat a pretence of goodnesse/ I praye you/ whom could they disceyue?⁸² They speke in the name of the father/ in the name of the sonne/ and in the name of the holyeghoste/ in the name of the churche/ and in the name of Christes gospel.⁸³ And under the pretence of these names/ they be traytours to Christ and his gospell.

These be the false prophetes which cometh in lambes clothes. *Sed ex istis actibus*⁸⁴ *cognoscetis eos*.⁸⁵ But is nat it that is required in the churche of him which Isaac dyd fygure.⁸⁶ For these worldlye rewardes were [C.ii.v] fygured in Ismaell/ which we be commaunded now to throwe away.⁸⁷ What other thing is this but carnall to say: praye ye for me/ and ye shall haue suche a porcyon of landes/ and if they do nat enioy those landes/ than they do nat praye. Now ye may perceyue that these men be nat of the church of Christ. For Sainte Peter denayed Symon Magus/ sayenge:⁸⁸ That he could sell him no grace for lucre sake/ whiche Symon Magus was a dweller in Samarye/⁸⁹ and was estemed of all the whole people from the lest to the most/ and disceyued them all with his sorcery; so that all the people sayde/ he had the great power of god/ and they set meruelouse moche by

77. [margin] A good solution.

78. Gal.4.

79. [margin] Judas the traytour.

80. [margin] Couetouse preestes.

81. [margin] The great Ipocrisye in relygyon.

82. Luc.21.b.

83. [margin] Traytours to Christ.

84. [Vulg. has *fructibus eorum*]

85. Mat.7.c.

86. [margin] Isaac and Ismaell.

87. [margin] Praiers sold.

88. Act.8.

89. [margin] Symon magus and his sorcerye.

him/ bycause of longe tyme he had craftely mocked them: tyll Saynte Philippe preached the lyuely worde of god to them.⁹⁰ And yet this great deluder of the people/ after that Peter had rebuked him/ repented and besought Peter to praye for him/ that those extreme plagues that Peter recyted to him/ might nat fall on him. So I praye god/ that the deluders of the people that nowe lyue/ may yet at the lest repent themselues of their disceyuable ways/⁹¹ which is to sell spyrituall graces/ for erthly lucre or auauntage. I dyd reherse in the epystell of this day/⁹² that there be two Jerusalems: the one where Agar and her chylidren were in seruytude: the other Jerusalem is a- [C.iii.r] boue and free/ and is our mother: and this is the churche of Christ/ of whom it is written:⁹³

Be of good chere thoughe thou bring nat forth/ for there be mo desert chylidrene/ than be of them whiche haue a man/⁹⁴ as moche to saye/ as there be mo of Ismaell that lyueth in seruytude/ than be of the chylidren in Isaac spoused to Christ. And he that is in Ismaell in the flesshe/ dothe persecute him that is in Isaac in spiryte. And therfore this churche that was fygured by Isaac/ was in persecutyon with the dragon/ whiche was fygured in the .xii. chapiter of the Apocalips/ that drewe the thyrde parte of the sterres downe with him with his tayle out of heuen. This dragon was the deuyll and Sathan/ of whom christ speketh in the gospels. *Quod nocte silente superseminauit sizannia.*⁹⁵ That is/ the cockell amongst the whete: The counsell of Ismaell/ and of them that were carnal for their owne lucre and profyte/ haue distroyed/ murthered/ and burned all that durst speke in the spyrite of christ. This is the wydowe/ the churche of christ/ that hath myssed so longe her husbände/ Christ her owne spouse. This is the wydowe/ the churche of Christ/ of whom saynte Johan the Euangelyst maketh mencyon in the .xii. chapyter of the Apocalypes⁹⁶ that was sent to fly into deserte after that she had brought forth her chylde/ for fere of this [C.iii.vº] dragon/ for fere of Ismaell/ and of them that were styll in flesshe. This is that Hieremye dothe so sore lamente/ sayenge:⁹⁷ Howe doth the cyte sytte alone full of people: meanyng that by this cyte of Jerusalem

90. [margin] Saynte phylyp preached.

91. [margin] Symonye.

92. [margin] Two Jerusalems.

93. [margin] *Lauda letari sterilis*.

94. Esa.5.4.2 [?] and Gal. 4.

95. Apo.12 [Revelation].

96. Apo.12.

97. Treu.1.a. [instead of 'T[h]ren.,' i.e. Lamentations]

which is our mother holy church.⁹⁸ She is made (sayth he) lyke a wydowe/ a lady of people/ a princes of provynces/ that is eiecte and put under trybute/ wepyng; she hath weped in the night/ her teres standynge on her cheke bones/ and noe that wolde confort her here of all her dere frendes.⁹⁹ This was the church of Christe that made this lamentation: this was Isaac that suffred persecution of Ismael which was his brother carnall/ but nat spirytual. But the carnall brethern be none inherytoures with the chyldren of lybertie.

Nowe let us throwe out the seruant and her chylde.¹⁰⁰ Let us throwe out the papystycall pharyseis/ they shall be none inherytoures with the chyldren of lybertie. They be nat of our folde:¹⁰¹ for they that be of this our folde: for they that be of this our folde knowe the voyce of their shepherde/ and folowe none but him. Now shall we know him so well, that we shall know his voyce from a straunger. *Nemo uenit ad me nisi pater meus traxerit eum.*¹⁰² No man cometh to me (sayth Christ) but such as is drawen by my father.¹⁰³ Than those that be taughte to knowe the voyce of Christ by god the father can nat erre. [C.iv.r] This is the church of christ which can nat erre/¹⁰⁴ that knoweth only the voyce of their owne shepherd/ which cometh in by the dore to them whan he cometh into the folde: and these be they that flye away whan the thefe cometh into the folde. That is to wyt/ he that cometh in the name of the father.¹⁰⁵ Nowe we haue founde the very trewe church of Christ¹⁰⁶ which is Jerusalem free out of bondage/¹⁰⁷ and this is our mother in whom we be brether by Isaac. This is the church without spot or faute/ agaynst whom the gates of hell haue no dominion neither power/¹⁰⁸ whiche neither can slyppe nor yet erre/ of whom Christ gyveth us instruction/ and techeth us to know it by a parable bytwyxe the shepherde and his shepe/¹⁰⁹ sayenge:¹¹⁰ The shepe knowe the voyce of their

98. [margin] A fygure.

99. [margin] The moralizazion.

100. [margin] Throw oute the papistical pharyseis.

101. [margin] A qestyon.

102. Io.6.a.g.

103. [margin] None errour in these peopel/ and they fleeth from the thefe.

104. [margin] These be christes church.

105. Io.10.b

106. [margin] *Ego sum ostium.*

107. [margin] Brethren in Isaac.

108. Eph.5.f.

109. Mat.16.c.

110. [margin] A parable.

shepherde/ and him wyll they folow if he be the trewe shepherde:¹¹¹ but they folowe nat a stranger/ bycause they knowe nat his voyce. For the trewe shepherde cometh to amende/ to helpe/ and to conforte his shepe from diseases and sycknesses. For if he se and do perceyue any one of his shepe to be faste tyed amonge thornes or bramble breres/ than he go[e]th gently and softly to him and loseth that thornes and breres from him/ as easely as he maye/ to saue bothe his woll and his skyn whole and untorne. And also whan he seith his shepe in languour and in heuynesse/ than he casteth out [C.iv.v] his hoke softly for feare of hurtyng of him/ and taketh him by the legge/ and than he loseth his hoke from him/ and seketh dilygently for the scabbe/ and putteth his hande in to his tarboxe and there salueth his sores/ and tourneth him forth to the flocke agayne:¹¹² But the thefe and the wolfe thrusteth him through with a pickforke/ and murdereth him/ and neuer salueth him/ neither doth turne him to the flock agayne.¹¹³ And therfore these Pharyseis and counterfet shepherdes now a dayes/ shulde nat haue a shephoke borne before theym/ but a pyckforke: for they come nat to socoure/ conforte/ neither to helpe their chyl dren in god/ but for to murder/ distroye/ and to burne them. Than it is the shepe that putteth dyfference betwene the thefe and the heerdman: for the thefe and the wolfe cometh to deuoure/ and he cometh in the night/ and wyll nat abyde the lyghte of the daye.¹¹⁴ And euy n so before the springe of the daye/¹¹⁵ before that Isaac came to exclude the seruante and Ismaell her chylde/ here at Poules crosse/ was comenly a shepherde with his hoke/ to make the shepe to know him. But all as the shepe began to knowe the voyce of the trewe shepherde/ the thefe and the wolfe fled/ for the daylyght was come/ and he coude deuoure no more/ accordynge to the prophecye of Esaye/ sayenge:¹¹⁶ They be confounded/ and haue wexed redde for shame [D.i.r] alto gyther. The forgers of errours be gone and departed into their confusyon. Yet it is but erly dayes with Isaac/ for the carnall Ismaell/¹¹⁷ the persecutoure of Christes folde/ is nat yet fully extyncted: Howbeit/ all the conforte that we haue/ is/ that the bell is tyed about the belwethers necke: for here tofore we had no socoure/ but euer by one and one/ as we strayed towards the voyce

111. Io.10.a b c

112. [margin] The condition of the thef and of the wolfe.

113. [margin] A pytchforke before Cayphas.

114. [margin] Exposycion of the parable.

115. [margin] Euen so now e.

116. Esa.45.c.

117. [margin] Yet is is but erly dayes.

of our shepherde/ the worle distroyed us:¹¹⁸ for the naturall desyre of the wolfe/ is to souke up the bloode of the shepe: and so longe as we had neuer a bell fastened to the belwethers necke/ we were euer strayenge/ and coulede neuer kepe togyther: Insomoch that if ye loke well in the cronycles/ ye shall rede that the chefe weder hiselfe/ hath ben afrayde of the wolfe.¹¹⁹ These yll shepherdes were the angels of the deuyll that coulde and wold transfigure themselfe into the angell of god/ and sayd that Babilon was the church of christ.¹²⁰ For euyn as they in gret presumption and in pride/ wolde haue buylded a towre up into heuen/ lykewyse haue the sectes of this dragon set their delyte in buyldynge great cathedrall churches and monasteryes/ with bulwarkes/ arches/ steples/ and towres belles/ and organs. And under the pretence of pouertye/ they haue accumulated such abundaunce of ryches/ that they haue made shrines of golde/ candelstyckes/ basons/ cruettes and sensers of golde and of syluer/ and of pre-[D.i.v] cyouse stones: so that this pouertye/ unto whan they say they be professed. I knowe nat whereto I may compare it/ excepte it be to the rychesse of Salomon.¹²¹ And as concerninge the vowe of chastity/ they auowe that thinge that is nat in their power. Why may nat we aske them the same questyon that Christ asked of the scribes and of the pharyseis/ the .xv. cha. of Mat. That was: Why do you breke the commaundement of god for your tradicyons.¹²² S. Paule byddeth: Which is the commaundement of god/ that if ye be not contynent ye shal mary. *Prestat enim nubere quam vri.*¹²³ Marke well the sayeng of Esaye the prophet in the fyrst chapter/¹²⁴ and ye shall knowe what thanke such men haue for their counterfeyte pouertye/ chastytie/ and obedyence. You princes of Sodom gyue herynge to the worde of god/ parceyue the lawe of god with your eares/ you that be people of Gommor. I am full (saith almighty god unto them) of your gyftes/ the sacryfyce of rammes/ neither the bloude of your calues/ lambes/ and gottes/ I wyll nat haue. Whan ye shall come afore me in presence/ who shall receyue them of your handes/ that you shulde walke within my gates: Do no more offre your sacryfyce to me in wast: your sensynge to me is abhominable/ youre sabbot and holy dayes I wyll nat bere it:¹²⁵ your candels and solempnyte

118. [margin] Belwether.

119. [margin] Kynge Lucius and kyng John with other.

120. 2.Co.11.c. Babilon is the house of al yl.

121. [margin] Chastitie is nat in oure power.

122. Mat.15. [margin] A question.

123. 1.Co.7.b. [i.e. Corinthians; instead of *praestat*, Vulg. has *melius est*].

124. Esa.1.c.

125. [margin] God torneth his face from yll priestes.

my nature abhorreth/ and whan ye extende forth your handes I wyll tourne [D.ii.r] away myne eyes: and whan you multiply your prayers I wyll gyue none heryng/ your handes be so full of blode: Let them be wasshed and make youre selfe clene/ and take fro myne eyes your yll cogytations and thoughts:¹²⁶ Leve your peruerse workyng/ lerne to do well.¹²⁷ If ye wyl here me/ you shall eate the goodes of the grounde/ asmoche to saye/ as ye shall lyue on your owne swet.¹²⁸ Of this sayeng you may well perceyue what god requireth/¹²⁹ and what he doth prohibit/ whan we be dilygent in those workes to whom he doth most bynde us: he wyll be dilygent to us agayne. But that we do to our neighbour/ that we do unto god/ wherof he wyll make reporte at the daye of iugement. *Quicquid uni ex istis minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis.*¹³⁰ This thing herde and well perceyued/ who wyll reioyce in buyldyng of churches other than our parisshe churche/ to whom we be bounde. The other be supersticious foundations/ unto whom god wyll say: What is it unto me thy churche/ thy chapell thy masses and anyuersaries/ and other pompall frustruous monumentes. What is it to me thyne auter and sacryng belles. Thi[n]kest thou that I am pleased with stockes and with stones. Was it nat all myne owne? And the highe throne of heuyn is my seate and inhabytation. And therth is to me subiect/ and is my fotestole. Tell me who gaue it in commaundement to make such monstrouse byldynges? I haue set [D.ii.v] lyuely temples before thyne eyes to haue them set up and edified/ that thou shuldest releue/ norysse/ and foster them/ and thou hast indeuoured they selfe to other tryfels/ and nat to my commaundement.¹³¹ I knowe the[e] nat/ away with they pride and supersticyousnesse. In my preceptes only shuld haue ben thy whole affection/ but all thy studye and enterprise was in rychesse/ and thou so doinge to writhe and wrast heuen to the[e]/ and to meryte heuen was thyne entent.¹³² And this is the sayeng of Esay the prophet:¹³³ But now do I say/ that if the breking of goddes commaundement wyl meryt heuen/ these men haue won it/ which is nat true; for we haue in the epystell of this day: *Eijce ancillam & filium eius.*¹³⁴ These be the seruantes that hath wrought for wages:

126. [margin] The commaundement of god.

127. Esaie, ca. i.

128. Gen.3.b.

129. [margin] *Nota.*

130. Mat.25.d.

131. Mat.15. *Ibidem.*7

132. Esa.

133. [margin] The precher sayth.

134. Gal.4.

but the seruant that is hyred must nat inheryt the lande/ with the chylde that is borne in lybertie. And whan Ismaell is driuen out and Agar his mother/ which is the churche of seruytude and workes for wages.¹³⁵ Than the papystes wyll say that all is destroyed. Than they shuld say: All we the angels of Lucyfer be destroyed. And than the dissolate wydowe that is the churche of Christ shal come out of deserte and be delyuered:¹³⁶ for euen as the people of Israell were under kinge Pharao/ so were we under Antichriste/ and than had we bulled bisshops of the popes makynge. But if we may clene expel Ismael/ than we trust to haue bisshops of .S. Pauls makynge. Loke who [D.iii.r] wyll upon Cronica cronica- rum/ and there ye shall fynde what payne the good kinge Lucius had/ to bringe the faith into Englande through the resystinge of the bisshoppes/ which that tyme were called/ *flamina*. But tyll that king had made them graunt that they shulde kepe their possessyons/ they wolde neuer agree therto: so that we neuer receyued Isaac/ but Ismaell/ and than they dyd nomore but change their name: for we haue the same nombre styll and the same sees/ which is nothinge after the forme of the gospell.¹³⁷ But I beseche almighty god/ that the churche of Christ haue nat nede to hyde herselfe anye longer in deserte. And that the angels of this dragon the deuyll which haue persecuted her with their sophistical and untrue lerning/ may be confounded/ and we to put nomore confydence in them. And this is the desyre of Saynt Paule/ sayeng. *Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam & inanem fallaciam secundum elementa huius mundi, et non secundum Xpm* [Christum].¹³⁸ And whan we be ones ryd of these knyghtes of the sepulchre/ that be hyred to kepe christ downe with their sophisticall weapyns/ and with all their other craftes that serue for wages/ that we be no more disceyued with them/ neither with none of their sort.¹³⁹ And to make a shorte tale/ they be all of Ismaell that take any thinge/ but that whiche god gaue to the Leuytes/ and than we haue the churche of Christ/ whan one of saint Pauls [D.iii.v] bisshopes wyll be contented/ if he be but person of one benefyce. Than the prophesy of Esay shall be fulfilled. *Et apprehendent septem mulieres virum unum, in die illa dicentes: panem nostrum commedemus, et vestimentis nostris operiemur*.¹⁴⁰ And that is the seuen gyftes of the holy ghoste shall compasse one

135. [margin] workes for wages.

136. [margin] The yll preachers sayth but they than shulde saye.

137. [margin] Cronica cro. There se[e] the payne of kynge Lucius. The praiser of the preacher. Cf. Robert Fabyan, *The neue cronycles of England and of Fraunce* (London: imprinted by Robert Pynson, prynter to the Kyngs noble grace, 1516).

138. Colo.2. [margin] Sophistical prestes be false knyghtes of the sepulchre of Christe.

139. [margin] Farwel their possessyons.

140. Esa.4.2. [margin] A goodly exposition.

man/ sayenge: *Panem nostrum comedemus*. We shall eate our owne breed: as moche to saye/ we haue nothyng but that that is prepayred for us by god/ which euery man maye take without offence or synne.

And whan they lyue¹⁴¹ on other mennes sweat it is nat their owne breed that they eate. And than at this daye whan Ismaell is expelled we shall be couered with oure owne cootes. *Et tantummodo* (saith the prophet) *inuocetur nomen tuum super nos*.¹⁴² Yea/ and onely thy name shall be inuocate upon us: whereas nowe the gentils had neuer so many goddes upon whom they were wonte to call:¹⁴³ as to Mars for battell/ to Jupyter for wysedome to Juno for ryches: as we haue nowe after the popes canonysation/ whiche is playne a presumption to antycypate¹⁴⁴ the auctoritie of iugement gyuen by the father of heuen/ to the seconde persone in Trynytie his sonne. What nede christ to come at the daye of iugement/ whan they be iuged to his hande alrebye: some cursed downe into hell/ and some sanctified up into heuen: but whan these Is- [D.ii.r] maeltes be expelled. *In die illa* (sayth Esay the prophet) *erit germen domini in magnificentia et gloria*.¹⁴⁵ Than shall the fragrant odoriferouse buddes of god be in magnificencye and glorie. And the fruyte of the erth shall be highe and reioysynge to those that shall be saued by Israell. If god wyll ones wasshe awaye the fylthynesse of the doughters of Syon/ and wyll scoure clene the blode of Jerusalem/ that they do no more eate other mennes laboure: than shall this prophecye be fulfilled/ and we the trew spirituall brethren in Christ/ shall enioye the inherytance of heuen. Unto which celestyall inherytaunce and kyngdome of heuen/ sende both you and me and all mankynde/ he that dyed on the crosse for us all.

Qui uiuit et regnat per inf[i]nita seculorum secula. A M E N.

God preserue his church unyversall
And this churche of Englande specyall
And the supreme hed therof our kyng¹⁴⁶
And graunte us the blysse without endyng.
A M E N.

Printed at London by Tho. Godfraye.
Cum priuilegio Regali.

141. [margin] Natte youre breed.

142. Esa.4.a.

143. [margin] Manye goddes amonge the gentyles.

144. auticipate.

145. Esa.4.a.

146. The third line is scratched out, and in the margin the words have been restored with the comment added 'He was a traiterly knave that put out the same.'

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