

AN APOLOGY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
BY JOHN JEWEL



EDITED BY

receiving of the chalice?³⁶ which poisoned our King John, King of England, in a drinking cup?³⁸ Whosoever at least they were, and of what sect soever, I am sure they were neither Lutherans nor Zwinglians. What is he at this day which alloweth the mightiest kings and monarchs of the world to kiss his blessed feet? What is he that commandeth the Emperor to go by him at his horse bridle and the French king to hold his stirrup? Who hurled under his table Francis Dandalus, the Duke of Venice, King of Crete and Cyprus, fast bound with chains, to feed of bones among his dogs?³⁷ Who set the imperial crown upon the Emperor Henry the Sixth his head, not with his hand but with his foot; and with the same foot again cast the same crown off, saying withal, he had power to make emperors and to unmake them again at his pleasure?³⁸ Who put in arms Henry the son against the Emperor his father, Henry the Fourth, and wrought so that the father was taken prisoner of his own son and, being shorn and shamefully handled, was thrust into a monastery, where with hunger and sorrow he pined away to death?³⁹ Who so ill-favoredly and monstrously put the Emperor Frederic's neck under his feet, and, as though that were not sufficient, added further this text out of the Psalms: "Thou shalt go upon the adder and cockatrice, and shalt tread the lion and dragon under thy feet?"⁴⁰ Such an example of scorning and condemning a prince's majesty as never before that time was heard tell of in any remembrance, except, I ween, either of Tamerlane, the King of Scythia, a wild and barbarous creature, or

³⁶ [Cf. J. Ranisius Textor, *Officina* (Paris, 1532), f. 27.]

³⁷ [Cf. Matthew Paris (ca. 1199–1259, medieval chronicler), *Historia majora*, under A.D. 1212.]

³⁸ Sabellicus. [Marc Antonio Sabellicus (d. 1506, Italian historian), *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita decades tres, & quartae libri tres*, decadis II, bk. I, col. 1220.]

³⁹ [Celestine III, Pope from 1191 to 1198.]

⁴⁰ [Hildebrand, Gregory VII, Bishop of Rome from 1073 to 1085.]

⁴¹ Innocenti III. [Jewel means Alexander III (d. 1181), whose enemy was the Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa).]

else of Sapor, King of the Persians. All these notwithstanding were Popes, all Peter's successors, all most Holy Fathers, whose several words we must take to be as good as several Gospels.

If we be counted traitors which do honor our princes, which give them all obedience, as much as is due to them by God's word, and which do pray for them, what kind of men then be these which have not only done all the things before said but also allow the same for specially well done? Do they then either this way instruct the people, as we do, to reverence their magistrate? Or can they with honesty appeach us as seditious persons, breakers of the common quiet, and despisers of princes' majesty? Truly we neither put off the yoke of obedience from us, neither do we disorder realms, neither do we set up or pull down kings, nor translate governments, nor give our kings poison to drink, nor yet hold to them our feet to be kissed, nor, opprobriously triumphing over them, leap into their necks with our feet. This rather is our profession, this is our doctrine, that every soul, of what calling soever he be, be he monk, be he preacher, be he prophet, be he apostle, ought to be subject to kings and magistrates;⁴¹ yea, and that the Bishop of Rome himself, unless he will seem greater than the evangelists, than the prophets, or the apostles, ought both to acknowledge and to call the Emperor his lord and master, which the old Bishops of Rome, who lived in times of more grace, ever did.⁴² Our common teaching also is that we ought so to obey princes as men sent of God; and that whoso withstandeth them withstandeth God's ordinance. This is our doctrine, and this is well to be seen, both in our books and in our preachings, and also in the manners and modest behavior of our people.

But, where they say we have gone away from the unity of the catholic church, this is not only a matter of malice, but be-

⁴¹ [Chrysostom, *In epist. ad Rom.*, hom. xxiii.]

⁴² Gregorius papa. saepe in epist. [Cf. Gregory the Great, *Epistolarum*, bk. V, indict. xiii, *epistola XX ad Mauricum Augustum*.]

sides, though it be most untrue, yet hath it some show and appearance of truth. For the common people and ignorant multitude give not credit alone to things true and of certainty, but even to such things also, if any chance, which may seem to have but a resemblance of truth. Therefore we see that subtle and crafty persons, when they had no truth on their side, have ever contended and hotly argued with things likely to be true, to the intent they which were not able to espy the very ground of the matter might be carried away at least with some probability or likelihood of the truth. In times past, where the first Christians, our forefathers, in making their prayers to God, did turn themselves toward the East, there were that said they worshiped the sun and reckoned it as God.⁴³ Again, where our forefathers said that, as touching immortal and everlasting life, they lived by no other means but by the flesh and blood of that Lamb who was without spot, that is to say, of our Saviour Jesus Christ; the envious creatures, and foes of Christ's cross, whose only care was to bring Christian religion into slander by all manner of ways, made people believe that they were wicked persons, that they sacrificed men's flesh and drunk men's blood.⁴⁴ Also, where our forefathers said that before God "there is neither man nor woman," nor, for attaining to the true righteousness, there is no distinction at all of persons, and that they did call one another indifferently by the name of sisters and brothers; there wanted not men which forged false tales upon the same, saying that the Christians made no difference among themselves, either of age or of kind, but like brute beasts without regard had to do one with another.⁴⁵ And where, for to pray and hear the Gospel, they met often together in secret and byeplaces, because rebels sometime were wont to do the like, rumors were everywhere spread abroad how they made privy confederacies and counseled together either to kill the magis-

⁴³ [Tertullian, *Apology*, ch. xvi.] ⁴⁴ [*Ibid.*, chs. vii-ix.]

⁴⁵ [*Ibid.*, chs. iii, ix. Cf. chs. ii and viii.]

trates or to subvert the commonwealth. And where, in celebrating the holy mysteries after Christ's institution, they took bread and wine, they were thought of many not to worship Christ but Bacchus and Ceres;⁴⁶ forsomuch as those vain gods were worshiped of the heathen in like sort, after a profane superstition, with bread and wine. These things were believed of many, not because they were true indeed (for what could be more untrue?) but because they were like to be true and through a certain shadow of truth might the more easily deceive the simple.

On this fashion likewise do these men slander us as heretics and say that we have left the church and fellowship of Christ; not because they think it is true (for they do not much force of that), but because to ignorant folk it might perhaps some way appear true. We have indeed put ourselves apart, not as heretics are wont, from the church of Christ, but, as all good men ought to do, from the infection of naughty persons and hypocrites.

Nevertheless, in this point they triumph marvelously, that they be the church, that their church is Christ's spouse, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noah, and that without it there is no hope of salvation. Contrariwise they say that we be renegades, that we have torn Christ's seat, that we are plucked quite off from the body of Christ and have forsaken the catholic faith. And, when they leave nothing unspoken that may never so falsely and maliciously be said against us, yet this one thing are they never able truly to say, that we have swerved either from the word of God, or from the apostles of Christ, or from the primitive church. Surely we have ever judged the primitive church of Christ's time, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, to be the catholic church; neither make we doubt to name it Noah's ark, Christ's spouse, the pillar and upholder of all truth, nor yet to fix therein the means of our salvation. It is doubtless

⁴⁶ [Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, bk. XX, ch. viii.]

an odious matter for one to leave the fellowship whereunto he has been accustomed, and specially of those men, who, though they be not, yet at least seem and be called Christians. And to say truly, we do not despise the church of these men (howsoever it be ordered by them nowadays), partly for the name sake itself, and partly for that the Gospel of Jesus Christ hath once been therein truly and purely set forth. Neither had we departed therefrom but of very necessity and much against our wills. But I put case, an idol be set up in the church of God, and the same desolation which Christ prophesied to come stood openly in the holy place.⁴⁷ What if some thief or pirate invade and possess Noah's ark? These folks, as often as they tell us of the church, mean thereby themselves alone, and attribute all these titles to their own selves, boasting as they did in times past which cried, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord";⁴⁸ or as the Pharisees and scribes did, which cracked⁴⁹ they were "Abraham's children."⁵⁰ Thus with a gay and jolly show deceive they the simple and seek to choke us with the bare name of the church. Much like as if a thief, when he has gotten into another man's house and by violence either hath thrust out or slain the owner, should afterward assign the same house to himself, casting forth of possession the right inheritor; or if Antichrist, when he had once entered into "the temple of God," should afterward say, "This house is mine own; and Christ has nothing to do withal." For these men now, after they have left nothing remaining in the church of God that hath any likeness of this church, yet will they seem the patrons and the valiant maintainers of the church; very like as Gracchus amongst the Romans stood in defense of the treasury, notwithstanding with his prodigality and fond expenses he had utterly wasted the whole stock of the treasury. And yet was there never anything so wicked or so far out of reason but lightly it might be

⁴⁷ [Matt. 24:15.]⁴⁸ [Jer. 7:4.]⁴⁹ [I.e., boasted.]⁵⁰ [John 8:39.]

covered and defended by the name of the church. For the wasps also make honeycombs as well as bees, and wicked men have companies like to the church of God; yet, for all that, they be not straightway the people of God which are called the people of God, neither be they all Israelites as many as are come of Israel the father.

The Arians, notwithstanding they were heretics, yet bragged they that they alone were catholics, calling all the rest, now Ambrosians, now Athanasians, now Johannites.⁵¹ And Nestorius, as says Theodoret, for all he was an heretic, yet covered himself *τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι*,⁵² that is to wit, with a certain cloak and color of the true and right faith. Ebion, though he agreed in opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as says Epiphanius, he would be called a Christian.⁵³ The Mahomites⁵⁴ at this day, for all that all histories make plain mention and themselves cannot deny but they took their first beginning of Hagar the bondwoman, yet, for the very name and stock's sake, choose they rather to be called Saracens, as though they came of Sara the freewoman and Abraham's wife.⁵⁵ So likewise the false prophets of all ages, which stood up against the prophets of God, which resisted Isaiah, Jeremiah, Christ, and the apostles, at no time cracked of anything so much as they did of the name of the church. And for no other cause did they so fiercely vex them and call them renegades and apostates than for that they forsook their fellowship and kept not the ordinances of the elders. Wherefore, if we would follow the judgments of those men only who then governed the church, and would respect nothing else, neither God, nor his word, it must needs

⁵¹ [Augustine, *Epistola* 93 (alias 48), *ad Vincentio*, ch. vii, sec. 23.]⁵² [Theodoret, *Compendium haereticarum fabularum*, bk. IV, ch. xvii, *De Nestorio*.]⁵³ [Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, bk. I, tom. II, haeres. xxx, *Adversus Ebionaeos*.]⁵⁴ [Mohammedans.]⁵⁵ [Sozomen, *Church History*, bk. VI, ch. xxxviii.]

be confessed that the apostles were rightly and by just law condemned of them to death because they fell from the bishops and priests, that is, you must think, from the catholic church; and because they made many new alterations in religion, contrary to the bishops' and priests' wills, yea, and for all their spurning so earnestly against it. Wherefore, like as it is written that Hercules in old time was forced, in striving with Antaeus, that huge giant, to lift him quite up from the earth that was his mother ere he could conquer him; even so must our adversaries be heaved from their mother, that is, from this vain color and shadow of the church, wherewith they so disguise and defend themselves; otherwise they cannot be brought to yield unto the word of God. And therefore saith Jeremiah the prophet, "Make not such great boast that the temple of the Lord is with you. This is but a vain confidence, for these are lies."⁶⁶ The angel also saith in the Apocalypse, "They say they be Jews, but they be the synagogue of Satan."⁶⁷ And Christ said to the Pharisees, when they vaunted themselves of the kindred and blood of Abraham, "Ye are of your father the devil,"⁶⁸ for you resemble not your father Abraham; as much to say, "Ye are not the men ye would so fain be called; ye beguile the people with vain titles and abuse the name of the church to the overthrowing of the church."

So that these men's part had been first to have clearly and truly proved that the Romish church is the true and right-instructed church of God; and that the same, as they do order it at this day, doth agree with the primitive church of Christ, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, which we doubt not but was indeed the true catholic church. For our parts, if we could have judged ignorance, error, superstition, idolatry, men's inventions, and the same commonly disagreeing with the Holy Scriptures, either pleased God, or to be sufficient for the obtaining everlasting salvation; or if we could ascertain ourselves

⁶⁶ [Jer. 7:4.]

⁶⁷ [Rev. 2:9.]

⁶⁸ [John 8:44.]

that the word of God was written but for a time only, and afterward again ought to be abrogated and put away; or else that the sayings and commandments of God ought to be subject to man's will, that whatsoever God saith and commandeth, except the Bishop of Rome willeth and commandeth the same, it must be taken as void and unspoken; if we could have brought ourselves to believe these things, we grant there had been no cause at all why we should have left these men's company. As touching that we have now done, to depart from that church whose errors were proved and made manifest to the world, which church also had already evidently departed from God's word; and yet not to depart so much from itself as from the errors thereof; and not to do this disorderly or wickedly, but quietly and soberly—we have done nothing herein against the doctrine either of Christ or of his apostles. For neither is the church of God such as it may not be dusked with some spot or asketh not sometime reparation. Else what needeth there so many assemblies and councils, without the which, as saith Egidius, the Christian faith is not able to stand? "For look," saith he, "how often councils are discontinued, so often is the church destitute of Christ."⁶⁹ Or if there be no peril that harm may come to the church, what need is there to retain to no purpose the names of bishops, as is now commonly used among them? For if there be no sheep that may stray, why be they called shepherds? If there be no city that may be betrayed, why be they called watchmen? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called pillars? Anon after the first creation of the world, the church of God began to spread abroad, and the same was instructed with the heavenly word which God himself pronounced with his own mouth. It was also furnished with divine ceremonies. It was taught by the Spirit of God, by the

⁶⁹ In Concil. Lateranense sub Julio 2. [Cf. Crabbe, *Concilia*, III, 524, Aegid. Viterb. Orat. Synod. Later. Egidius is Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanos), the medieval philosopher who died in 1316.]

patriarchs and prophets, and continued so even till the time that Christ showed himself to us in the flesh. This notwithstanding, how often, O good God, in the meanwhile, and how horribly was the same church darkened and decayed! Where was that church then when "all flesh upon earth had defiled their own way"?⁶⁰ Where was it when amongst the number of the whole world there were only eight persons (and they neither all chaste and good) whom God's will was should be saved alive from that universal destruction and mortality? When Elijah the prophet so lamentably and bitterly made moan that only himself was left of all the whole world which did truly and duly worship God?⁶¹ And when Isaiah said, "the silver" of God's people (that is, of the church) was "become dross"; and that "the same city which aforetime had been faithful was now become an harlot"; and that in the same was "no part sound throughout the whole body, from the head to the foot?"⁶² Or else, when Christ himself said that the house of God was made by the Pharisees and priests "a den of thieves"?⁶³ Of a truth, the church, even as a cornfield, except it be eared,⁶⁴ manured, tilled, and trimmed, instead of wheat it will bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. For this cause did God send, ever among, both prophets and apostles, and last of all his "own Son," who might bring home the people into the right way and repair anew the tottering church after she had erred.

But lest some man should say that the foresaid things happened in the time of the Law only, of shadows, and of infancy, when truth lay hid under figures and ceremonies, when nothing as yet was brought to perfection, when the Law was not graven in men's hearts but in stone (and yet is that but a foolish saying, for even at those days was there the very same God that is now, the same Spirit, the same Christ, the same faith, the same doctrine, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same

⁶⁰ [Gen. 6:12.]

⁶¹ [I Kings 19:10.]

⁶² [Isa. 1:22.]

⁶³ [Matt. 21:13.]

⁶⁴ [i.e., plowed.]

covenant, and the same efficacy and virtue of God's word: Eusebius also saith, "All the faithful, even from Adam until Christ, were in very deed Christians,"⁶⁵ though they were not so termed; but, as I said, lest men should thus speak still), Paul the apostle found the like faults and falls even then in the prime and chief of the Gospel, in the greatest perfection, and in light, so that he was compelled to write in this sort to the Galatians, whom he had well before that instructed: "I fear me," quod he, "lest I have labored amongst you to small purpose, and lest ye have heard the Gospel in vain."⁶⁶ "O my little children, of whom I travail anew till Christ be fashioned again in you."⁶⁷ And as for the Church of the Corinthians, how foully it was defiled is nothing needful to rehearse. Now tell me, might the churches of the Galatians and Corinthians go amiss, and the Church of Rome alone may it not fail nor go amiss? Surely Christ prophesied long before of his church that the time should come when desolation should stand in the holy place.⁶⁸ And Paul saith that Antichrist should once set up his own tabernacle and stately seat in the temple of God;⁶⁹ and that the time should be "when men should not away with wholesome doctrine, but be turned back unto fables and lies," and that within the very church.⁷⁰ Peter likewise telleth how there should be teachers of lies in the church of Christ.⁷¹ Daniel the prophet, speaking of the later times of Antichrist: "Truth," saith he, "in that season shall be thrown under foot and trodden upon in the world."⁷² And Christ saith how the calamity and confusion of things shall be so exceeding great "that even the chosen, if it were possible, shall be brought into error";⁷³ and how all these things shall come to pass, not amongst gentiles and Turks, but that they should be in the holy place, in the

⁶⁵ Lib. 1. cap. i. [Eusebius, *Church History*, bk. I, ch. iv.]

⁶⁶ [Gal. 4:11.]

⁶⁷ [Gal. 5:19.]

⁶⁸ [Matt. 24:15.]

⁶⁹ [II Thess. 2:4.]

⁷⁰ [II Tim. 4:3-4.]

⁷¹ [II Pet. 2:1.]

⁷² [Dan. 8:12.]

⁷³ [Matt. 24:24.]

temple of God, in the church, and in the company and fellowship of those which profess the name of Christ.

Albeit these same warnings alone may suffice a wise man to take heed he do not suffer himself rashly to be deceived with the name of the church, and not to stay to make further inquisition thereof by God's word; yet, besides all this, many fathers also, many learned and godly men, have often and carefully complained how all these things have chanced in their lifetime. For even in the midst of that thick mist of darkness God would yet there should be some who, though they gave not a clear and bright light, yet should they kindle, were it but some spark which men might espy, being in the darkness.

Hilary, when things as yet were almost uncorrupt and in good case too: "Ye are ill deceived," saith he, "with the love of walls: ye do ill worship the church, in that ye worship it in houses and buildings: ye do ill bring in the name of peace under roofs. Is there any doubt but Antichrist will have his seat under the same? I rather reckon hills, woods, pools, marshes, prisons, quavemires, to be places of more safety; for in these the prophets, either abiding of their accord or forced thither by violence, did prophesy by the Spirit of God."⁷⁴

Gregory, as one which perceived and foresaw in his mind the wrack of all things, wrote thus of John, Bishop of Constantinople, who was the first of all others that commanded himself to be called by this new name, the universal bishop of whole Christ's church: "If the church," saith he, "shall depend upon one man, it will soon fall down to the ground."⁷⁵ Who is he that seeth not how this is come to pass long since? For long ago has the Bishop of Rome willed to have the whole

⁷⁴ *Contra Auxentium*. [Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–367, bishop, defender of orthodoxy against the Arians), *Contra Arianos, vel Auxentium Mediolanensem*, ch. xvii. Auxentius became the Arian Bishop of Milan in 355.]

⁷⁵ In *Registro*. b. 4. epist. 32 ad Mauri. [Jewel has reference here to Gregory, *Epistolarum*, bk. V, indict. xiii, epistola CC. Cf. Jewel, *Works*, IV, 731–732.]

church depend upon himself alone. Wherefore it is no marvel though it be clean fallen down long ago.

Bernard the abbot, above four hundred years past, writeth thus: "Nothing is now of sincerity and pureness among the clergy: wherefore it resteth that the man of sin should be revealed."⁷⁶ The same Bernard, in his treatise of the conversion of Paul: "It seemeth now," saith he, "that persecution hath ceased: no, no, persecution seemeth but now to begin, even from them which have chief preeminence in the church. Thy friends and neighbors, O God, have drawn near and stood up against thee: from the sole of thy foot to the crown of thy head there is no part whole. Iniquity is proceeded from the elders, the judges and deputies, which pretend to rule thy people. We cannot say now, 'Look how the people be, so is the priest.' For the people be not so ill as the priest is. Alas, alas, O Lord God, the selfsame persons be the chief in persecuting thee which seem to love the highest place and bear most rule in thy church!"⁷⁷ The same Bernard again, upon the Canticles, writeth thus: "All they are thy friends, yet are they all thy foes; all thy kinsfolk, yet are they all thy adversaries. Being Christ's servants, they serve Antichrist. Behold, in my rest my bitterness is most bitter."⁷⁸

Roger Bacon also, a man of great fame, after he had in a vehement oration touched to the quick the woeful state of his own time: "These so many errors," saith he, "require and look for Antichrist."⁷⁹ Gerson complaineth how in his days all the substance and efficacy of sacred divinity was brought into a

⁷⁶ *Sermone* 33. [Bernard of Clairvaux, in *Psalmum XC, Qui Habitat*, sermo VI, sec. 7.]

⁷⁷ [Cf. Bernard, *In conversione S. Pauli*, sermo. I, sec. iii.]

⁷⁸ [Cf. Bernard, *Sermones in Cantia Canticorum*, sermo. XXIII, secs. 15–18.]

⁷⁹ In *libello de idiomate linguarum*. [This passage has not been located. Cf. Jewel, *Works*, IV, 735–736. Roger Bacon was a thirteenth-century Franciscan philosopher.]

glorious contention and ostentation of wits and to very sophistry.⁸⁰ The poor men called *pauperes a Lugduno*, men, as touching the manner of their life, not to be misliked, were wont boldly to affirm that the Romish church (from whence alone all counsel and orders was then sought) was the very same harlot of Babylon and rout of devils whereof is prophesied so plainly in the Apocalypse.

I know well enough the authority of the foresaid persons is but lightly regarded amongst these men. How then if I call forth those for witnesses whom themselves have used to honor? What if I say that Hadrian⁸¹ the Bishop of Rome did frankly confess that all these mischiefs brast⁸² out first from the high throne of the Pope? Pighi acknowledgeth herein to be a fault, that many abuses are brought in, even into the very Mass, which Mass otherwise he would have seem to be a reverend matter.⁸³ Gerson saith that through the number of most fond ceremonies all the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which ought to have full operation in us, and all true godliness, is utterly quenched and dead.⁸⁴ Whole Greece and Asia complain how the Bishops of Rome, with the marts of their purgatories and pardons, have both tormented men's consciences and picked their purses.

As touching the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome and their barbarous Persian-like pride, to leave out others, whom perchance they reckon for enemies because they freely and liberally find fault with their vices, the selfsame men which have led

⁸⁰ [Cf. Jean Gerson (1363–1469, French ecclesiastic, author), *Sermo de calam, eccles. et de sign. fut. Jud.* However, the exact words used by Jewel are not to be found there. Cf. Jewel, *Works*, IV, 736, n. 4.]

⁸¹ Platina. [Hadrian VI, Pope from 1522 to 1523, is meant here. Cf. Sleidanus, *Commentariorum*, bk. IV, under A.D. 1523.]

⁸² [I.e., burst.]

⁸³ [Cf. Albertus Pighius, *Explic. Cathol. controuv.* (Paris, 1586), contr. VII, De Miss. Priv., f. 123(2).]

⁸⁴ [Cf. Jean Gerson, *Lib. de vit. spirit. anim.*, lect. ii.]

their life at Rome, in the holy city, in the face of the most Holy Father, who also were able to see all their secrets and at no time departed from the catholic faith, as for example, Lorenzo Valla, Marsiglio of Padua, Francesco Petrarch, Girolamo Savonarola, Abbot Joachim, Baptist of Mantua,⁸⁵ and before all these, Bernard the abbot, have many a time and much complained of it, giving the world also sometime to understand that the Bishop of Rome himself (by your leave) is very 'Antichrist. Whether they spake it truly or falsely, let that go: sure I am they spake it plainly. Neither can any man allege that those authors were Luther's or Zwingli's scholars, for they lived not only certain years, but also certain ages, or ever Luther's or Zwingli's names were heard of. They well saw that even in their days errors had crept into the church and wished earnestly they might be amended.

And what marvel if the church were then carried away with errors in that time, specially when neither the Bishop of Rome, who then only ruled the roost, nor almost any other, either did his duty or once understood what was his duty. For it is hard to be believed, whiles they were idle and fast asleep, that the devil also all that while either fell asleep or else continually lay idle. For how they were occupied in the meantime, and with what faithfulness they took care of God's house, though we hold our peace, yet, I pray you, let them hear Bernard, their own friend. "The bishops," saith he, "who now have charge of God's church, are not teachers, but deceivers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they are not prelates, but Pilates."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ [Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1406–1457), Italian humanist, biblical scholar, a founder of modern historical criticism; Marsiglio of Padua (ca. 1275–1342), author of *Defensor pacis*; Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), early Italian humanist; Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), Dominican friar, reformer in Florence; Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1132–1202), Italian mystic and author of apocalyptic works; Baptista (Spagnuoli) of Mantua (1447–1516), Renaissance poet.]

⁸⁶ [Bernard, *De consideratione ad Eugenium Tertium*, bk. II, ch. viii, 15–16.]

These words spake Bernard of that bishop who named himself the highest bishop of all, and of the other bishops likewise which then had the place of government. Bernard was no Lutheran; Bernard was no heretic; he had not forsaken the catholic church; yet nevertheless he did not let to call the bishops that were then deceivers, beguilers, and Pilates. Now when the people was openly deceived, and Christian men's eyes were craftily bleared, and when Pilate sat in judgment place and condemned Christ and Christ's members to the sword and fire, O good Lord, in what case was Christ's church then? But yet tell me, of so many and gross errors, what one have these men at any time reformed, or what fault have they once acknowledged and confessed?

But, forsomuch as these men avouch the universal possession of the catholic church to be their own, and call us heretics because we agree not in judgment with them, let us know, I beseech you, what proper mark and badge hath that church of theirs whereby it may be known to be the church of God. I wis it is not so hard a matter to find out God's church, if a man will seek it earnestly and diligently. For the church of God is set upon a high and glistening place, in the top of an hill,⁸⁷ and built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.⁸⁸ "There," saith Augustine, "let us seek the church: there let us try our matter."⁸⁹ "And," as he saith again in another place, "the church must be showed out of the holy and canonical Scriptures; and that which cannot be showed out of them is not the church."⁹⁰ Yet, for all this, I wot not how, whether it be for fear, or for conscience, or despairing of victory, these men alway abhor and fly the word of God, even as the thief

⁸⁷ [Isa. 2:2.] ⁸⁸ [Eph. 2:20.]

⁸⁹ [Cf. Augustine, *Epistola ad catholicos contra Donatistas, vulgo de unitate ecclesiae*, ch. iii, sec. 5.]

⁹⁰ [*Ibid.*, chs. iii and iv.]

fleeth the gallows. And no wonder truly. For, like as men say the *cantharus*⁹¹ by and by perisheth and dieth as soon as it is laid in balm, notwithstanding balm be otherwise a most sweet-smelling ointment, even so these men well see their own matter is damped and destroyed in the word of God, as if it were in poison. Therefore the Holy Scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus Christ did not only use for authority in all his speech but did also at last seal up the same with his own blood, these men, to the intent they might with less business drive the people from the same, as from a thing dangerous and deadly, have used to call them a bare letter, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, and dead: which seems to us all one as if they should say, "The Scriptures are to no purpose, or as good as none." Hereunto they add also a similitude not very agreeable, how the Scriptures be like to a nose of wax or a shipman's hose; how they may be fashioned and plied all manner of ways and serve all men's turns.⁹² Wotteth not the Bishop of Rome that these things are spoken by his own minions? or understandeth he not he hath such champions to fight for him? Let him hearken then how holily and how godly one Hosius⁹³ writeth of this matter, a bishop in Polonia, as he testifieth of himself; a man doubtless well spoken and not unlearned, and a very sharp and stout maintainer of that side. One will marvel, I suppose, how a good man could either conceive so wickedly or write so despitefully of those words which he knew proceeded from God's mouth, and specially in such sort as he would not have it seem his own private opinion alone but the common opinion of all that band. He dissembleth, I grant you indeed, and hideth what he is, and setteth forth the matter so as though it were not he and

⁹¹ [By "cantharus" Jewel meant a kind of beetle probably of the family Cantharidae.]

⁹² [Albertus Pighius, *Hierarchiae ecclesiasticae assertio* (Cologne, 1538), bk. III, ch. iii.]

⁹³ [Stanislaus Hosius (1504-1579), a Polish cardinal and theologian.]

his side but the Schwenkfeldian heretics that so did speak.⁹⁴ "We," saith he, "will bid away with the same Scriptures, whereof we see brought not only divers, but also contrary, interpretations; and we will hear God speak rather than we will resort to these naked elements or bare words of the Scriptures and appoint our salvation to rest in them. It behooveth not a man to be expert in the Law and Scripture, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labor that a man bestoweth in the Scriptures. For the Scripture is a creature and a certain bare letter."⁹⁵ This is Hosius' saying, uttered altogether with the same spirit and the same mind wherewith in times past the heretics Montanus and Marcion were moved, who, as it is written of them, used to say, when with a contempt they rejected the Holy Scriptures, that themselves knew many more and better things than either Christ or the apostles ever knew.

What then shall I say here, O ye principal posts of religion, O ye arch-governors of Christ's church? Is this that your reverence which ye give to God's word? The Holy Scriptures, which St. Paul saith came "by the inspiration of God," which God did commend by so many miracles, wherein are the most perfect prints of Christ's own steps, which all the holy fathers, apostles, and angels, which Christ himself the son of God, as often as was needful, did allege for testimony and proof; will ye, as though they were unworthy for you to hear, bid them avaunt away? That is, will ye enjoin God to keep silence, who speaketh to you most clearly by his own mouth in the Scriptures? Or that word, whereby alone, as Paul saith, we are reconciled to God, and which the prophet David saith is "holy and pure, and shall last forever," will ye call that but a bare

⁹⁴ [This sentence is not in the Latin edition. It first appeared in *An Apologie* (London, 1562), f. 38. On the whole treatment of this section in which Jewel is accused of misquoting Hosius, cf. Jewel, *Works*, IV, 753-761.]

⁹⁵ [S. Hosius, *De expresso Dei verbo* (Worms, 1558), sig. O. ii.]

and dead letter?⁹⁶ Or will ye say that all our labor is lost which is bestowed in that thing which Christ hath commanded us diligently to search and to have evermore before our eyes?⁹⁷ And will ye say that Christ and the apostles meant with subtlety to deceive the people when they exhorted them to read the Holy Scriptures, that thereby they might flow in all wisdom and knowledge? No marvel at all though these men despise us and all our doings, which set so little by God himself and his infallible sayings. Yet was it but want of wit in them, to the intent they might hurt us, to do so extreme injury to the word of God.

But Hosius will here make exclamation, saying we do him wrong and that these be not his own words but the words of the heretic Schwenkfeld. But how then if Schwenkfeld make exclamation on the other side and say that the same very words be not his but Hosius' own words? For tell me, where hath Schwenkfeld ever written them? Or, if he have written them, and Hosius have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not Hosius spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter goeth, although Hosius peradventure will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words. For well near in all controversies, and namely, touching the use of the Holy Communion under both kinds, although the words of Christ be plain and evident, yet doth Hosius disdainfully reject them as no better than cold and dead elements, and commandeth to give faith to certain new lessons, appointed by the church, and to I wot not what revelations of the Holy Ghost. And Pighi saith: "Men ought not to believe, no not the most clear and manifest words of the Scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the church."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ [Psalm 19:8,9.] ⁹⁷ [John 5:39.]

⁹⁸ [Pighius, *Hierarchiae*, bk. I, ch. ii. The entire preceding paragraph was added in the first English translation, *An Apologie* (1562), f. 38(2).]

And yet, as though this were too little, they also burn the Holy Scriptures, as in times past wicked King Aza did, or as Antiochus or Maximinus did, and are wont to name them heretics' books. And out of doubt, as it seems, they would fain do as Herod in old time did in Jewry, that he might with more surety keep still his usurped dominion; who, being an Idumaeon born and a stranger to the stock and kindred of the Jews, and yet coveting much to be taken for a Jew, to the end he might establish to him and his posterity the kingdom of that country which he had gotten of Augustus Caesar, he commanded all the genealogies and pedigrees to be burnt and made out of the way, so as there should remain no record whereby he might be known to them that came after that he was an alien in blood; whereas even from Abraham's time these monuments had been safely kept amongst the Jews and laid up in their treasury, because in them it might easily and most assuredly be found of what lineage every one did descend.⁹⁹ So (in good faith) do these men, when they would have all their own doings in estimation as though they had been delivered to us even from the apostles, or from Christ himself, to the end there might be found nowhere anything able to convince such their dreams and lies, either they burn the Holy Scriptures, or else they craftily convey them from the people surely.

Very rightly and aptly doth Chrysostom write against these men. "Heretics," saith he, "shut up the doors against the truth; for they know full well if the door were open the church should be none of theirs."¹⁰⁰ Theophylact also: "God's word," saith he, "is the candle whereby the thief is espied."¹⁰¹ And Tertullian saith: "The Holy Scripture manifestly finds out the fraud and theft of heretics."¹⁰² For why do they hide, why do they

⁹⁹ [Eusebius, *Church History*, bk. I, ch. vii.]

¹⁰⁰ [Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, hom. xlv, ex cap. xxiii. This is a spurious writing.]

¹⁰¹ [Theophylact, *Enarratio in Evangelium Lucae*, ch. xvi, on Luke 16:31.]

¹⁰² [Tertullian, *De Trinitate*. This work is attributed to Novatian, the third-century Roman presbyter.]

keep under, the Gospel which Christ would have preached aloud from the housetop? Why whelm they that light under a bushel which ought to stand on a candlestick? Why trust they more to the blindness of the unskillful multitude, and to ignorance, than to the goodness of their cause? Think they their sleights are not already perceived, and that they can walk now unespied, as though they had Gyges' ring to go invisible by upon their finger? No, no. All men see now well and well again what good stuff is in that chest of the Bishop of Rome's bosom. This thing alone of itself may be an argument sufficient that they work not uprightly and truly. Worthily ought that matter seem suspicious which fleeth trial and is afraid of the light. "For he that doth evil," as Christ saith, "seeketh darkness and hateth light."¹⁰³ A conscience that knoweth itself clear cometh willingly into open show, that the works which proceed of God may be seen. Neither be they so very blind but they see this well enough, how their own kingdom straightway is at a point if the Scripture once have the upper hand; and that, like as men say, the idols of devils in times past, of whom men in doubtful matters were then wont to receive answers, were suddenly stricken dumb at the sight of Christ when he was born and came into the world; even so they see that now all their subtle practices will soon fall down headlong upon the sight of the Gospel. For Antichrist is not overthrown but with the brightness of Christ's coming.¹⁰⁴

As for us, we run not for succor to the fire, as these men's guise is, but we run to the Scriptures; neither do we reason with sword, but with the word of God: and therewith, as saith Tertullian, "do we feed our faith; by it do we stir up our hope and strengthen our confidence."¹⁰⁵ For we know that the "Gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation";¹⁰⁶ and that therein consisteth eternal life. And, as Paul warneth us, "We do not hear, no not an angel of God coming from

¹⁰³ [John 3:20.] ¹⁰⁴ [II Thess. 2:8.]

¹⁰⁵ [Tertullian, *Apology*, ch. xxxix.] ¹⁰⁶ [Rom. 1:16.]

heaven, if he go about to pull us from any part of this doctrine." ¹⁰⁷ Yea, more than this, as the holy martyr Justin speaketh of himself, we would give no credence to God himself if he should teach us any other Gospel. ¹⁰⁸

For where these men bid the Holy Scriptures away as dumb and fruitless and procure us to come to God himself rather, who speaketh in the church and in councils, which is to say, to believe their fancies and opinions; this way of finding out the truth is uncertain and exceeding dangerous, and in manner a fantastical and a mad way, and by no means allowed of the holy fathers. Chrysostom saith: "There be many oftentimes which boast themselves of the Holy Ghost; but truly whoso speak of their own head do falsely boast they have the Spirit of God. For, like as (saith he) Christ denied he spake of himself when he spake out of the Law and prophets; even so now, if anything be pressed upon us in the name of the Holy Ghost save the Gospel, we ought not to believe it. For, as Christ is the fulfilling of the Law and the prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the Gospel." ¹⁰⁹ Thus far goeth Chrysostom.

¹⁰⁷ [Gal. 1:8.]

¹⁰⁸ [This sentence was later omitted, having been added in the Bacon translation. No marginal reference is given to a particular place in Justin's works.]

¹⁰⁹ [Chrysostom, *Sermo de Sancto Spiritu*, ch. iii. This is no longer attributed to Chrysostom.]

Part V

BUT here I look they will say, though they have not the Scriptures, yet maychance they have the ancient doctors and holy fathers with them. For this is a high brag they have ever made, how that all antiquity and a continual consent of all ages doth make on their side; and that all our cases be but new and yesterday's work and until these few last years never heard of. Questionless, there can nothing be more spitefully spoken against the religion of God than to accuse it of novelty, as a new-come-up matter: for, as there can be no change in God himself, so ought there to be no change in his religion.

Yet nevertheless, we wot not by what means, but we have ever seen it come so to pass from the first beginning of all that as often as God did give but some light and did open his truth unto men, though the truth were not only of greatest antiquity but also from everlasting, yet of wicked men and of the adversaries was it called newfangled and of late devised. That ungracious and bloodthirsty Haman, when he sought to procure the King Ahasuerus' displeasure against the Jews, this was his accusation to him: "Thou hast here," saith he, "a kind of people that useth certain new laws of their own, but stiff-necked and rebellious against all thy laws." ¹ When Paul also

¹ [Esther 3:8.]

Recapitulation

THUS ye see, good Christian reader, how it is no new thing though at this day the religion of Christ be entertained with despites and checks, being but lately restored and as it were coming up again anew, forsomuch as the like hath chanced both to Christ himself and to his apostles; yet nevertheless, for fear ye may suffer yourself to be led amiss and seduced with those exclamations of our adversaries, we have declared at large unto you the very whole manner of our religion, what our faith is of God the Father, of his only Son Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, of the church, of the sacraments, of the ministry, of the Scriptures, of ceremonies, and of every part of Christian belief. We have said that we abandon and detest, as plagues and poisons, all those old heresies which either the sacred Scriptures or the ancient councils have utterly condemned; that we call home again, as much as ever we can, the right discipline of the church, which our adversaries have quite brought into a poor and weak case; that we punish all licentiousness of life and unruliness of manners by the old and long-continued laws, and with as much sharpness as is convenient and lieth in our power; that we maintain still the state of kingdoms in the same condition and state of honor wherein we have found them, without any diminishing or alteration, reserving unto our princes

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their majesty and worldly preeminence, safe and without impairing, to our possible power; that we have so gotten ourselves away from that church which they had made a den of thieves, and wherein nothing was in good frame or once like to the church of God, and which themselves confessed had erred many ways, even as Lot in times past gat him out of Sodom, or Abraham out of Chaldee, not upon a desire of contention but by the warning of God himself; and that we have searched out of the Holy Bible, which we are sure cannot deceive, one sure form of religion, and have returned again unto the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to say, to the first ground and beginning of things, as unto the very foundations and headsprings of Christ's church. And in very troth we have not tarried for, in this matter, the authority or consent of the Trent council, wherein we saw nothing done uprightly nor by good order; where also everybody was sworn to the maintenance of one man; where our princes' ambassadors were condemned; where not one of our divines could be heard, and where parts-taking and ambition was openly and earnestly procured and wrought; but, as the holy fathers in former time, and as our predecessors have commonly done, we have restored our churches by a provincial convocation and have clean shaken off, as our duty was, the yoke and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, to whom we were not bound, who also had no manner of thing like neither to Christ, nor to Peter, nor to an apostle, nor yet like to any bishop at all. Finally, we say that we agree amongst ourselves touching the whole judgment and chief substance of Christian religion, and with one mouth and with one spirit do worship God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore, O Christian and godly reader, forsomuch as thou seest the reasons and causes both why we have restored religion and why we have forsaken these men, thou oughtest not to marvel though we have chosen to obey our Master Christ rather than men. Paul hath given us warning how we should