

F U L K E'S

ANSWERS TO

STAPLETON, MARTIAL, AND SANDERS.

STAPLETON'S FORTRESS OVERTHROWN.

A REJOINDER TO MARTIAL'S REPLY.

A DISCOVERY OF THE DANGEROUS ROCK OF THE
POPISH CHURCH COMMENDED BY SANDERS.

BY

WILLIAM FULKE, D.D.,

MASTER OF PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. RICHARD GIBBINGS, M.A.,

RECTOR OF RAYMUNTERDONEY, IN THE DIOCESE OF RAPHOE.

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Stapleton's Fortress Overthrown. A Rejoinder to Martiall's Reply.
A Discovery of the Dangerous Rock of the Popish Church
Commended by Sanders.

By Fulke, William

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THE editor has not considered it necessary to cancel the note in page 45, in which, though he correctly attributed *The Defence of the truth* to Bishop Jewel, yet he erred in identifying it with the *Apology*. For his first acquaintance with the tract in question he is indebted to the Rev. Dr. Jelf, whose valuable edition of Bp. Jewel's works was published since this note was written. (See vol. iv. p. 201: v. 62.) The volume sought for is marked in the Bodleian "8°. C. 322. Linc.", and the title-page of the former portion is as follows: "An Apologie of private Masse, spread abroade in writing without name of Authour: as it seemeth, against the offer and protestacion made in certayne Sermons by the reverent father Bisshop of Salsburie: with an answer to the same Apologie, set forth for the maintenance and defence of the trueth. Perused and allowed by the Reverent father in God, Edmond, Bishop of London, accordyng to the order appointed by the Queenes maiestie."—The title-page of the work in reply, as far as it can now be read, is, "An Answer in defence of the truth. Againste the Apologie of" * * * *. Fulke has given the passage in a compressed form; but Stapleton had cited it at length, and it is thus in the original: "There lacked not gods promisses amonge the Iewes. There lacked not succession of bishops and pristes. There lacked not opinion of great holinesse and austeritie of life. There lacked not great skil and knowledge of the law of god: And yet it is moste evident that they erred; that they refused the trueth; that, under the name and gay shewe of the church, in very deede they persecuted the church. Why shal we not thinke that the like may bee in this time?"

With the foregoing transcript the editor has been favoured by his kind friend the Rev. Dr. Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford; and the Rev. Joseph Mendham, of Sutton Coldfield, has supplied him with information relative to the *Harborowe* of Bishop Aylmer: p. 37.

Erase the comma after "princely," page 16, l. 33; the crotchets and letter *a*, p. 132, and the second l in "Jewell," note, p. 296.

Page 371, line 6, after "refused," insert [usurped,].

The mistake in Fox, spoken of in p. 98, note 3, has, as the editor understands, been corrected in the recent 8vo. edition.

Sept. 19, 1848.

FULKE'S CONFUTATION
OF
STAPLETON AND MARTIAL.

T. S T A P L E T O N
and Martiall (two Popish
Heretikes) confuted,
and of their particular here-
sies detected.

*By. D. Fulke, Master of Pembroke
hall in Cambridge.*

Done and directed to all those
that loue the truth, and
hate superstitious
vanities.

Scene and allowed.

A T L O N D O N,
Printed by Henrie Middleton
for George Bishop.

ANNO. 1580.

A CATALOGUE

OF ALL SUCH POPISH BOOKS, EITHER ANSWERED OR TO BE
ANSWERED, WHICH HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN THE
ENGLISH TONGUE FROM BEYOND THE SEAS, OR
SECRETLY DISPERSED HERE IN ENGLAND
HAVE COME TO OUR HANDS, SINCE
THE BEGINNING OF THE QUEEN'S
MAJESTY'S REIGN.

1. HARDING against the Apology of the English Church, answered by M. Jewel, Bishop of Sarum.
2. Harding against M. Jewel's Challenge, answered by M. Jewel.
3. Harding's Rejoinder to M. Jewel, answered by M. Edward Deering.
4. Cole's quarrels against M. Jewel, answered by M. Jewel.
5. Rastel's Return of untruths¹, answered by M. Jewel.
6. Rastel against M. Jewel's Challenge, answered by William Fulke.
7. Dorman against M. Jewel, answered by M. Nowel.
8. Dorman's Disproof of M. Nowel's Reproof, answered by M. Nowel.
9. The man of Chester², answered by M. Pilkington, Bishop of Duresme.
10. Sanders on the Sacrament, in part answered by M. Nowel.
11. Fecknam's Scruples, answered by M. Horne, Bishop of Winchester.
12. Fecknam's Apology, answered by W. Fulke.
13. Fecknam's Objections against M. Gough's Sermon, answered by M. Gough, and M. Lawrence Tomson.
14. Stapleton's Counterblast, answered by M. Bridges.
15. Martiall his Defence of the Cross, answered by M. Caulfehill.
16. Fowler's Psalter, answered by M. Sampson.
17. An infamous libel or letter (*incerto authore*) against the teachers of God's divine Providence and Predestination, answered by Master Robert Crowley.
18. Allen's Defence of Purgatory, answered by W. Fulke.
19. Heskins' Parliament, repealed by W. Fulke.
20. Riston's Challenge, answered by W. Fulke and Oliver Carter.

¹ [Stapleton, and not Rastell, was the author of *A Returne of untruthes upon M. Jewelles Reply*. 4to. Antwerp, 1566.]

² [Bp. Pilkington's *Works*, p. 481. ed. Parker Soc.]

21. Hosius Of God's express word, translated into English, answered by W. Fulke.
22. Sander's Rock of the Church, undermined by W. Fulke.
23. Sander's Defence of Images, answered by W. Fulke.
24. Shaclocke's Pearl, answered by M. Hartwell.
25. The Hatchet of Heresies¹, answered by M. Bartlet.
26. Master Evans, answered by himself.
27. A Defence of the private Mass, answered (by conjecture) by M. Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln.
28. Certain assertions tending to maintain the Church of Rome to be the true and Catholic Church, confuted by John Knewstub.
29. Sander upon the Lord's Supper, fully answered by D. Fulke.
30. Bristowe's Motives and Demands, answered by D. Fulke.
31. Stapleton's Differences, and Fortresse of the Faith, answered by D. Fulke.
32. Allen's Defence of Priests' authority to remit sins, and of the popish Church's meaning concerning Indulgences, answered by D. Fulke.
33. Martiall's Reply to M. Calfehill, answered by D. Fulke.
34. Frarin's railing declamation, answered by D. Fulke.

These popish treatises ensuing are in answering. If the Papists know any not here reckoned, let them be brought to light, and they shall be examined.

1. Stapleton's Return of untruths.
2. Rastel's Reply.
3. Vaux his Catechism.
4. Canisius his Catechism translated.

¹ [This was the title given by Shacklock to his translation of a treatise by Cardinal Hosius, *De Heresibus nostri temporis*. Svo. Ant. 1565.]

AN OVERTHROW,

BY W. FULKE,

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, AND MASTER OF PEMBROKE HALL IN CAMBRIDGE,

TO THE FEEBLE FORTRESS OF POPISH FAITH², RECEIVED
FROM ROME, AND LATELY ADVANCED BY THOMAS
STAPLETON, STUDENT IN DIVINITY.

THOMAS STAPLETON, student in divinity, translated the five books of Bede's History of the English Church into the English tongue³; before which History it pleased him to set a table of forty-five Differences between the primitive faith of England, continued almost a thousand years, and the late pretended faith of the Protestants: all which we will consider in order.

First are five apostolical marks, found in their preachers, and wanting (as he saith) in ours.

1. Augustin (whom he calleth their Apostle) shewed the token of his Apostleship in all patience, signs and wonders. Bede, Lib. i. C. xxx. & xxxi. L. ii. C. ii. Miracles, in confirmation of their doctrine, Protestants have yet wrought none.

I answer, Peter, Paul, Matthew, James, John, &c. are Apostles to us, sent not from Gregory of Rome, but by Christ Himself out of Jewry; the sign of whose Apostleship being shewed "in all patience, signs and wonders⁴," and our doctrine being the same which we have received of their writings, needeth no other confirmation of miracles to be wrought by us. If Augustin, sent from Gregory a man, have planted any human traditions, and confirmed them by lying signs and miracles, as a forerunner of Antichrist, which was even immediately after his time to be openly shewed; or if by

² [The name, "*A Fortresse of the Faith*," was probably derived from the *Fortalitium Fidei* of Alphonsus de Spina. Vid. Mosheimii *Instt. Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xv. Par. ii. p. 634. Helmst. 1755.]

³ [Antwerp, 1565. A copy is in the Lambeth library.]

⁴ [2 Cor. xii. 12.]

subtle practice miracles have been feigned to have been done by him, and reported by a credulous man Bede, it hurteth not our cause; seeing other writers¹ report him to have been both a proud and a cruel man. And yet we receive all that doctrine which he taught, agreeable to the doctrine of the Apostles of Christ: whatsoever he taught beside, we are not to receive it of an Angel from heaven, much less of Augustin from Rome.

2. Their Apostles tendered unity, labouring to reduce the Britons to the unity of Christ's Church. Nothing is more notorious in Protestants than their infamous dissension.

Augustin indeed laboured to bring the Britons in subjection to himself and to the Church of Rome; which argueth no desire of christian unity, but savoureth of antichristian ambition and tyranny, as his cruel threatening executed upon them did shew sufficiently².

The dissension of the Protestants is not in articles of faith; nor such but that they are all brethren, that unfeignedly profess the doctrine of salvation; although they dissent in the matter of the Sacrament, in orders, rites and ceremonies.

3. Their Apostles were sent by an ordinary vocation. Protestants have preached without vocation or sending at all, such as the Church of Christ requireth.

They were sent by Pope Gregory, who had none ordinary authority to send Apostles or preachers into foreign countries. Wherefore, if they had any sending, it was extraordinary; of charity, and not of office. The Protestants that first preached in these last days had likewise extraordinary calling. But if the calling of the Papists may be counted a lawful calling, they were called of the popish Church to be preachers and teachers, before they knew or preached the truth of the Gospel.

4. Their preaching was of God by Gamaliel's reason³, because their doctrine continued nine hundred years; whereas the Protes-

¹ Gal. Mon. [Geoffrey of Monmouth, "whose Welsh blood was up, as concerned in the cause of his countrymen." (Fuller's *Church Hist. of Britain*, Cent. vii. p. 63. Lond. 1655.)]

² [Bede distinctly states that Augustin died long before the massacre of the Monks of Bangor. See Calfhill, p. 306. ed. Parker Soc.]

³ [Acts v. 39.]

tants' faith is already changed from Lutheran to Sacramentary in less than twenty years.

This reason of Gamaliel would prove Mahomet's enterprise to be of God, because it hath likewise continued nine hundred years: and yet it is false that the popish faith hath had so long continuance. For the Papists are departed, as from many other points of doctrine, so even from that of the Lord's Supper, which Augustin planted among the Saxons, unto carnal presence and Transubstantiation; the contrary of which were taught by Augustin, as appeareth by the public Saxon Homily, lately⁴ translated into English and imprinted. The diversity of opinions concerning the Sacrament maketh no alteration of faith in them that agree in all other necessary articles. Besides that, it is most false which he saith, that Luther of the Protestants is counted a very Papist.

5. Their Apostles taught such a faith as putteth things, by the belief and practice whereof we may be saved. The faith of the Protestants is a denial of popish faith, and hath no affirmative doctrine but that which Papists had before.

The Protestants' faith affirmeth, that a man is justified by it only; that the sacrifice of Christ's death is our only propitiatory sacrifice; that Christ is our only Mediator of redemption and intercession, &c. Generally, it affirmeth whatsoever the Scripture teacheth, and denieth the contrary.

Then follow thirty-nine Differences in doctrine.

6. Their Apostles said Mass, which the Protestants abhor.

The popish Mass was not then all made; therefore they could not say it. They ministered the Communion, which Bede and other writers called *Missa*: they said no private Mass, such as the Papists now defend.

7. In the Mass is an external sacrifice offered to God the Father, the blessed body and blood of Christ Himself. Lib. v. Cap. xxii., this

⁴ [Viz. in 1567, under the patronage of Archbishop Parker. The original volume is without date, but the year of its publication can be discovered by the names of the Prelates who attested the genuineness of the work. L'Isle's second edition of the Homily appeared in 1623; and in 1638 the first two leaves of this impression were changed, and a fictitious reprint was issued with the title, "Divers ancient Monuments," &c.]

doctrine is expressly reported. This seemeth blasphemy to the Protestants.

The words of Bede, according to M. Stapleton's own translation, are these, out of the Epistle of Ceolfride to Naitan King of the Picts: "All Christian Churches throughout the whole world (which all joined together make but one Catholic Church) should prepare bread and wine for the mystery of the flesh and precious blood of that immaculate Lamb, which took away the sins of the world; and when all lessons, prayers, rites and ceremonies used in the solemn feast of Easter were done, should offer the same to God the Father, in hope of their redemption to come." Here is no sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, but of bread and wine for the mystery thereof; no sacrifice propitiatory for sins, but of thanksgiving, and remembrance of the propitiation made by the Lamb Himself, in hope of eternal redemption; no oblation by the Priest only, but by the whole Church and every member thereof, as was the oblation of the paschal lamb, whereunto he compareth this sacrifice, interpreting those words of Exod. xii.: "Every man shall take a lamb according to their families and households, and offer him in sacrifice at the evening." That is to say, (saith Ceolfride,) All Christian Churches, &c. as before. By which words it is manifest, that the Papists now-a-days are departed even from that faith of the Sacrament and sacrifice thereof that Augustin brought from Rome.

8. This sacrifice is taught to be propitiatory, Lib. iv. C. xxii.; which Protestants abhor.

There is no mention of propitiatory sacrifice in that chapter, but there is told a tale of a prisoner, that was loosed from his bonds so oft as his brother, which was a Priest, said Mass for his soul, supposing he had been slain in battle; by which many were persuaded, that the wholesome blessed sacrifice was effectuous to the everlasting redemption and ransoming both of soul and body. So were they worthy to be deceived, that would build a doctrine, without the word of God, upon the uncertain report of men; who either devised this tale as being false, or else, if it were so, could not discern the illusions of Satan, seeking to maintain an error contrary to the glory of Christ.

9. Confession of sins made to the Priest, Lib. iv. Cap. xxv. & xxvii. This Sacrament of the Protestants is abolished.

In neither of these chapters is mentioned the popish Auricular Confession, as a Sacrament necessary to salvation. In the twenty-fifth mention is made of one, which, being troubled with conscience of an heinous sin, came to a learned Priest to ask counsel of remedy, and shewed what his offence was. In the twenty-seventh chapter it is expressly said, that all the people did openly declare unto S. Cuthbert in Confession the things that they had done. Such Confession as either of both these were, the Protestants have not abolished, although they number not Confession among the Sacraments.

10. Satisfaction and Penance for sin enjoined appeareth, Lib. iv. Cap. xxv. ; which the Protestants' court admitteth not.

There is no word of Satisfaction for his sins, but of fasting and prayers, as fruits of repentance, whereunto he was first exhorted by the Priest, according to his power and ability ; but he, not content herewith, urged the Priest to appoint him a certain time of fasting for a whole week together : to whose infirmity the Priest somewhat yielding, willed him to fast two or three days in a week, until he returned to give him farther advice. Every man may see a broad difference betwixt this counsel and popish Satisfaction and Penance.

11. Merit of good works in this story is eftsoones¹ justified, Lib. iv. Cap. xiv. & xv. ; which the Protestants count prejudicial to God's glory.

In the fourteenth chapter there is no mention of the merit of good works, but that after the brethren had fasted and prayed, God delivered them of the pestilence. We never denied but that God regardeth our prayer and fasting, though not as meritorious, but as our obedience which He requireth of us, and saveth us only for His mercy sake. The fifteenth chapter scarce toucheth any matter of religion ; and therefore I know not what he meaneth to quote it, except it be an error of the printer².

¹ [often, ever and anon.]

² ["Not presuming to alter any of Stapleton's words, take it with all the printer's faults, done probably by an outlandish press." (Fuller, Cent. v. p. 29.) However, it is certain that the MSS. vary in the numbers prefixed to some of the chapters.]

12. Intercession of Saints Protestants abhor; the practice whereof appeareth, Lib. i. Cap. xx. & Lib. iv. Cap. xiv.

In the former place Beda supposeth, that God gave the Britons victory at the intercession of S. Alban; but where learned he this kind of intercession out of the holy Scriptures?

In the latter place a boy being sick of the plague reporteth, that God would cease the plague at the intercession of S. Oswald, as the Apostles Peter and Paul declared to him in a vision. But seeing the Apostles have taught no such doctrine in their writings, they have admonished us to beware of such fantastical visions. Gal. i. ; 2 Thessa. ii.

13. The Clergy of their primitive Church, after holy orders taken, do not marry, Lib. i. Cap. xxvii. Now, after holy orders and vow to the contrary, Priests do marry.

The counsel of Gregory to Augustin is this: "If there be any among the Clergy out of holy orders which cannot live chaste, they shall take wives." These words command some of the Clergy to take wives; they forbid not the rest to marry. For what shall they that are in holy orders do, if they cannot live chaste? Again, the histories are plentiful, that Priests were married in England three or four hundred years after Augustin.

14. In their primitive Church the vow of chastity was thought godly and practised. Now they are counted damnable and broken.

Such vows as were made without consideration of men's ability to perform them are justly accounted rash and presumptuous. Such is the vow of virginity in a great many, which our Saviour Christ affirmeth to be a rare gift, not in every man's power. As for the vow of chastity, if any were made by popish Priests, it was oftener broken before the restoring of true knowledge than since; whose incontinency hath infected the world with whoredom and uncleanness.

15. Such Monks and Virgins lived in cloisters, in obedience and poverty; which are overthrown of Protestants as a damnable estate.

The horrible abuse of cloisteral life hath caused the subversion of them, beside their errors, superstition and idolatry.

16. Prayer for the dead, *Dirige* over night, and *Requiem* Mass in the morning, was an accustomed manner, Lib. iii. Cap. ii. Lib. iv. Cap. xxi.; which the Protestants count to be abomination.

Prayer for the dead is an older error than popish Religion. But *Dirige* and *Requiem* Mass had another meaning, Lib. iii. Cap. ii., than the Papists have now; for there it is said: "In the self-same place the religious men of Hagustalden¹ church have now of long time been accustomed to come every year, the eve and the day that the same King Oswald was afterward slain, to keep *Diriges* there for his soul; and in the morning, after Psalms being said solemnly, to offer for him the sacrifice of holy oblation." You must understand, that this Oswald was of them that so did taken for an holy Martyr; and therefore these psalmodies and sacrifices were of thanksgiving for the rest of his soul, not of propitiation for his sins, as the Papists account them. Lib. iv. Cap. xxi., there is nothing to the matter in hand; but in the next chapter following is the tale of him that was loosed from his fetters by saying of Mass; by the relation whereof, and not by the word of God, many began to think the sacrifice of the Mass profitable for the dead.

17. Reservation of the Sacrament thought no superstition, Lib. iv. Cap. xxiv. Now counted profanation of the Sacrament.

Reservation was an older error than Popery; yet contrary to the commandment of Christ, "Take ye, and eat ye."

18. Houseling² before death used as necessary for all true Christians, Lib. iv. Cap. iii. & xxiv. Protestants, under pretence of a Communion, do now wickedly bereave Christian folk of it.

These chapters shew that it was used, but not that it was used as necessary. The Communion of the sick is also used of us. Neither can M. Stapleton prove, that it was then ministered to the sick person alone, as is used among them. But in the twenty-fourth chapter of the fourth book it may be gathered, that as many as were present with the party received with him, because there was a mutual demand of his being in charity with them, and they with him.

19. Consecrating of Monks and Nuns by the hands of the Bishop

¹ [Hexham.]

² [Receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.]

a practised solemnity in their primitive Church, Lib. iv. Cap. xix. & xxiii.; which Protestants, by the liberty of their Gospel, laugh and scorn at.

Chap. xix., it is said, that Wilfride gave to Ethelrede the vail and habit of a Nun; and Cap. xxiii., that one Hein [Heiu] took the vow and habit of a Nun, being blessed and consecrated by Bishop Aidan. In those elder times no virgin was suffered to profess virginity but by the judgment of the Bishop; who was not only a minister of the ceremony of profession, but also a judge of the expedience and lawfulness of the vow; so that the vow of virginity was moderated, and kept within more tolerable bounds than is used of the Papists.

20. Commemoration of Saints at Mass time, Lib. iv. Cap. xiv. & xviii. Such commemorations in the Protestants' Communion are excluded as superstitious and unlawful.

Chap. xiv., it is said, upon the report of a boy's vision, "And therefore let them say Masses, and give thanks that their prayer is heard, and also for the memory of the same King Oswald, which sometime governed their nation." Admitting this vision to be true, here is but Mass and memory of thanksgiving. In the eighteenth chapter is nothing to any such purpose. In the Communion of our Church is a thanksgiving with Angels, Archangels, and all the glorious company of heaven, although we make no special mention of any one Saint by name.

21. Pilgrimage to holy places, especially to Rome, a much weighty matter of all estates, Lib. iv. Cap. iii. & xxiii. & Lib. v. Cap. vii. Nothing soundeth more profane and barbarous in the ears of Protestants.

In the first of these places there is mention of pilgrimage into Ireland, not for the holiness of the place, but for the wholesome instruction that then was there. For it seemeth by the story in many places, that Ireland (although not subject to the see of Rome) was then replenished with godly learned men, of whom men sought out of Britain to be informed in Religion. Peregrination to Rome was used of superstition, and opinion of great learning to be had from thence. Yet was there no pilgrimage to Images, nor to Rome, so filthy a sink of all abominations as it hath been since those days.

22. Of the Reliques of holy men, of reverence used towards them, and miracles wrought by them, the history is full. Nothing is more vile in the sight of Protestants than such devotion of Christians.

Such superstition and credulity of the former age is justly disliked of us ; but the idolatry and forging of Reliques, which is too common among the Papists, is rightly detested of us.

23. Blessing with the sign of the Cross, accounted no superstition, Lib. iv. Cap. xxiv. & Lib. v. Cap. ii., in the devotion of the Protestants is esteemed magic.

Signing with the sign of the Cross, which sometime against the Gentiles was an indifferent ceremony, used of the Papists for an ordinary form of blessing is both superstitious and idolatrous.

24. Solemnity of burial Protestants despise ; whereas it was the devotion of their primitive Church to be buried in monasteries, churches and chapels.

Honourable burial of the Saints' bodies, which were the temples of the Holy Ghost, and are laid up in hope of a glorious resurrection, Protestants despise not. Yet were the first Archbishops of Canterbury buried in a porch beside the church, Lib. ii. Cap. iii. There was no burial-place appointed in the monastery of Berking until by a light it was revealed, as the history saith, Lib. iv. Cap. vii.; but with time superstition of burial grew ; yet nothing comparable in that age to the superstition of Papists of these latter times. There was no burial in S. Francis' cowl, nor after the popish solemnity.

25. Benediction of the Bishop, as superior to the people, was used ; which Protestants scorn at. Lib. iv. Cap. xi.

The Protestants allow benediction of the Bishop in the name of God, as the superior, although they justly deride the popish manner of blessing by cutting the air with Crosses ; neither is there any such blessing spoken of in the chapter by him cited.

26. The service of the Church was, at the first planting of their faith, in the Latin and learned tongue, Lib. i. Cap. xxix. Lib. iv. Cap. xviii. ; which the Protestants have altered.

There is no such thing to be proved in the first place, nor any thing sounding that way but only this, that Gregory

sent into England to Augustin many books, of which it is a popish consequence to gather, that they were books of Latin service. In the latter it is declared, that John the Chanter of Rome brought from thence the order of singing and reading; and put many things in writing which pertained to the celebration of high feasts and holydays for the whole compass of the year. But this being almost an hundred years after the coming of Augustin, it appeareth the Church of England had no such Latin service before. For Gregory willed Augustin to gather out of every Church what ceremonies he thought expedient for the English Church, and bound him not to the orders or service of the Church of Rome. And it may be gathered, that long after there was no certain form of administration of the Sacraments put in writing and generally received; but that the Priests, which then were learned, ordered the same according to their discretion; for their chief labour was in preaching and instructing. For Beda reporteth, upon the credit of one which lived in his time, and was Abbot of Wye, Herebald by name, that he being in great extremity and danger of death, by falling from an horse, S. John of Beverley, the Bishop that was his master, asked him whether he knew without all scruple or doubt that he was baptized or no. To whom he answered, that he certainly knew that he was baptized, and told the Priest's name that baptized him. To whom the Bishop replied, saying, "If you were baptized of him, doubtless you were not well baptized; for I know him well, and am right well assured, that when he was made Priest he could not, for his dull-headed wit, learn neither to instruct nor to baptize. And for that cause I have straitly charged him, not to presume to that ministry which he could not do accordingly." By this it may be gathered, that the form of Baptism was not set down in writing, which every dull-headed dogbolt Priest can read; but that it was referred to the learning of the Minister, which did instruct them that were of age, and came to receive Baptism. But this ignorant Priest, whom S. John of Beverley deprived of his ministry, could neither catechise nor baptize: for which cause the young man being catechised again, and after he recovered of his fall, was baptized anew, as one that was not rightly baptized before. Moreover, Lib. iv. Cap. xxiv., Beda sheweth of one Cednom, in the abbey of Hilda, to whom was

given miraculously the gift of singing and making hymns for religion in his mother tongue, of the creation of the world, and all histories of the Old Testament, of the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, &c., which by all likelihood were used in the churches. And when Latin service was first used, it is not incredible but that the people did meetly well understand it; for the Latin tongue was in those days understood in most places of the western Church: and Beda noteth some especially, which understood no language but the Saxon. The interpreters which Augustin brought out of France do confirm this conjecture. For the rude Latin tongue spoken in France was better understood of the vulgar people than that was spoken at Rome and in Italy: for which cause there was a Canon made in the third Council at Tours¹, that the Homilies should be turned *in rusticam Romanam linguam*, "into the rude Latin tongue," that they might more easily be understood of all men. Again, the Britons and Picts, which converted the greatest part of the Saxons, how could they have been understood preaching in Welsh, but that the vulgar Latin tongue was a common language to them both? Finally, the manifold uses of divers churches, as Sarum, York, &c., declare, that the Latin service was but lately in comparison set down, when knowledge decayed both in the Priests and the people.

27. Protestants have plucked down altars, which they had of old time.

They had altars, but standing in the midst of the church, as the tables stood in the primitive Church.

28. Altar-cloths and vestments, used of them, Protestants admit not.

A sorry ceremony, in which no part of Christianity consisteth. The like I say of the 29, holy vessels, 30, holy water, and 31, ecclesiastical censure, about which there was no small ado.

32. Their primitive Church was governed by Synods of the Clergy only, in determining controversies of religion, which Protestants have called from thence unto the lay court only.

¹ [Cap. xvii. apud Crabbe *Concill.* Tom. ii. p. 620. Colon. Agripp. 1551.]

Viz. Whitby
in Yorkshire.

The latter part is a slander upon the Protestants, the former part a lie upon the ancient Saxons; for at the Synod holden at Strenshaleh [Strenaeshaleh] not only the Kings Oswine and Alfride were present, but also King Oswine did order the Synod, and in the end concluded the matter in controversy. Lib. iii. Cap. xxv.

33. The spiritual rulers of the primitive Church were Bishops and Pastors duly consecrated. Protestants have no consecration, no true Bishop at all.

This is another lewd slander against the Protestants; for they have true Bishops, though not consecrated after the popish manner. Laurence, the second Archbishop of Canterbury, acknowledgeth the Ministers of the Scots and Britons for Bishops, although they were not subject to the Church and see of Rome. Lib. ii. Cap. iv. Aidanus, Finanus, Colmanus are judged of Beda for true Bishops, although they were divided from the Church of Rome: and so are such Bishops as were ordained by them; for they converted the greatest part of the Saxons unto Christian faith, as Northumbrians, Mercians, and East Saxons.

34. Protestants have brought the supreme government of the Church to the lay authority. In the primitive faith of our country the lay was subject to the Bishop in spiritual causes.

And so are they now in such causes as they were subject then. But that the supreme authority was in the civil Magistrate at that time, it may appear by these reasons. First, Pope Gregory himself calleth the Emperor Mauritius his sovereign lord, Lib. i. Cap. xxiii. & xxviii. & xxix. & xxx.; and after him Pope Honorius called Heraclius his sovereign lord, Lib. ii. xviii. King Sonwalch preferred Agilbert and Wini to be Bishops: afterward he deposed Wini, which for money bought of Wulfher King of Mercia the see of London. Lib. iii. Cap. vii.

Earcombert King of Kent, of his princely, authority, purged his realm of idolatry, and commanded that the fast of forty days should be kept. Lib. iii. Cap. viii.

King Oswine ordered the Synod at Strenshaleh. Lib. iii. Cap. xxv. Oswine and Eegbert, Kings, deliberate touching the peaceable government of the Church; and, by the choice and consent of the Clergy, did nominate Wighard Archbishop of Canterbury. Lib. iii. Cap. xxix.

King Ecgfride deposed Bishop Wilfride. Li. iv. Ca. xii. Ostfor, [*al.* Otfor,] at the commandment of King Edilred, was consecrated by Wilfrid, Bishop of the Vietians. Li. iv. Ca. xxiii. These places of the history shew, that Kings had chief authority both over persons and causes ecclesiastical, such as we now acknowledge our Princes to have.

35. The final determination of spiritual causes rested in the see Apostolic of Rome, which is now detested of Protestants.

Although the see of Rome usurped much in those days, yet was not the authority thereof acknowledged by the Churches of the Britons, Irish and Scots. The Britons before Augustin's time sent not to Rome, but unto France, for aid against the Pelagian heretics. At Augustin's coming, and long after, they refused to yield obedience to the see of Rome: yea, among the Saxons themselves, Wilfrid, deposed by the King, and absolved by the Pope, could not be restored but by a Synod of his own country. Li. v. C. xx.

36. Their faith and Apostles came from the see of Rome. The Protestant departeth therefro.

The Protestants are returned to the ancient faith, which was in this land before Augustin came from Rome; which did not so much good in planting faith where it was not, as in corrupting the sincerity of faith where it was before he came.

37. Their faith was first preached with Cross¹ and procession. Heresies first raged by throwing down the Cross, and altering the procession therewith.

The popish faith began with superstition, which the Christian Catholics have justly abolished.

38. Their first Apostles were Monks. The first preachers of the Protestants have been apostataes, as Luther, Æcolampadius, Martyr, &c.

Nay, they have returned from apostasy to the true faith and religion of Christ. Augustin and the rest of the Monks of that time differed much from the popish Monks of the latter days. For they were learned preachers, Lib. iii.

¹ ["'Tis very true indeed, that there is not the least intimation in Bede that they worshipped it." (Manning's *England's Conversion and Reformation compared*, p. 122. Antw. 1725.)]

Cap. xxvi; these idle loiterers: they laboured with their hands, Lib. v. Cap. xix; these lived of the sweat of other men's brows. They made no such vow, but they might serve the Commonwealth if they were called thereto: Sigbard [Sighard] of a Monk was made King, Lib. iv. Cap. xi.: these professed themselves dead to all honest travail, either in the Church or Commonwealth.

39. The first imps¹ of their faith, and scholars of the Apostles, were holy men. Luther confesseth his scholars to be worse than they were under the Pope².

There were hypocrites in those days; also there were incontinent Nuns. Lib. iv. Cap. xxv. And Beda confesseth, that Aidane (which was no slave of the Romish see) was more holy than the Clergy of his time, whose devotion was key cold. If Luther flattered not his scholars, he is more to be commended; yet cannot Stapleton prove, that he speaketh so of all, but of some carnal professors only.

40. Their first preacher lived Apostolically in voluntary poverty. This Apostolical perfection Protestants, that bear themselves for the Apostles of England, neither practise themselves, nor can abide in other.

First, it is a slander, that any Protestants bear themselves for Apostles of England. Secondly, let the world judge whether the preachers of the Gospel come nearer to the poverty of the Apostles than the Pope, their great Apostle of the Romish Church, with the rest of the pillars of the same, the Cardinals, &c.

¹ [The word "imp" was formerly taken in a good sense, and signified offspring.]

² [Staphylus, from whom, as there is abundant reason for believing, Stapleton derived this accusation against Luther's followers, refers for his authority to the "Postilla magna" upon the Gospel for the first Sunday in Advent. (*Apologia*, edit. Lat. 2. *De vero Scripturæ sacræ intellectu*, fol. 47. Colon. 1562.) The *Kirchen-Postilla*, or *Postilla Ecclesiastica*, was valued by Luther above most of his other writings, and must not be confounded with his *Hus-Postilla*, or *Postilla Domestica*, a work of inferior moment. (Cf. Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Centifolium Lutheranum*, pp. 297, 299. Hamb. 1728. & Joan. Fabric. *Hist. Bibl. Fabr.* Par. ii. pp. 232—3. Wolfenb. 1718.) Of the first part of the former treatise the editor has before him copies of the earliest editions, Argentor. et Basil. 1521; and in neither of these can the acknowledgment in question be discovered.]

41. Their faith builded up monasteries and churches. Protestants have thrown down many, erected none.

The first monasteries were colleges of learned preachers, and builded for that end. King Edilwald builded a monastery, wherein he and his people might resort to hear the word of God, to pray, and to bury their dead. Lib. iii. Cap. xxiii. The like practice was in the abbey of Hilda. Lib. iv. Ca. xxiii. From which use seeing they were of late degenerated into idleness and filthy lusts, they were lawfully suppressed. And as for building of churches where they lack, Protestants have and do employ their endeavour.

42. By the first Christians of their faith God was served day and night. Protestants have abolished all service of God by night, and done to the Devil a most acceptable sacrifice.

Protestants have abolished no service of God by night, but such as was either impious or superstitious; for they also serve God both day and night, even with public prayer, and exercise of hearing the word of God preached.

43. By the devotion of the people first embracing their faith much voluntary oblations were made to the Church. By the reckless religion of the Protestants due oblations are denied to the Church.

Of them that be true professors of the Gospel both due oblations are paid, and much voluntary oblations also, for the maintenance of the preachers, for relief of the poor, the strangers and captives, &c.

44. Princes endued the Church with possessions and revenues. The lewd looseness of the Protestants hath stirred Princes to take from the Church's possessions so given.

Nay, the pride, covetousness, and luxuriousness of popish Clergy have moved them to do that is done in that behalf.

45. Last of all, their faith reduced the Scottish men living in schism to the unity of the Catholic Church. This late alteration hath moved them from unity to schism.

Nay, their superstition at length corrupted the sincerity of faith in the Britons and Scots; and from the unity of the Catholic Church of Christ, brought them under the schismatical faction of the see of Rome; from which they are now again returned with us, God be thanked, to the unity of Christ's true Catholic and Apostolic Church.

These Differences, which he hath either falsely observed, or else craftily collected out of the dross and dregs of that time, he promiseth to prove to concur with the belief and practice of the first six hundred years in the second part of his feeble Fortress; which is easily blown over with one word. Although some of these corruptions have been received within the first six hundred years, yet is he not able to prove that they have been from the beginning, and so continued all that time. Wherefore his Fortress will do them small pleasure, to establish them for Christian truths, which have had a later beginning than our Saviour Christ and His Apostles.

But forasmuch as he hath gathered Differences of the first Church of the Saxons from ours, I have also gathered Differences of the same from theirs at this time; and let the readers judge of both indifferently.

1. The Church of English Saxons, for three hundred years after Augustin, did believe bread and wine to remain in the Sacrament after consecration, which the Papists deny: proved by a Sermon extant in the Saxon tongue, translated out of Latin¹ by Ælfrike, Archbishop of Canterbury, or Abbot of S. Albons², appointed to be read unto the people at Easter before they received the Communion; also by two Epistles of the same Ælfrike³.

2. The Church of English Saxons believed the Sacrament to be the body and blood of Christ, not carnally, but spiritually; expressly denying as well the carnal presence as Transubstantiation, which the Papists hold. Ælf. Sermon. Pasc. & Ep.

3. The Church of English Saxons did give the Communion under both kinds unto the people, which the Papists do not. Ælf. Sermon. Pasc. & Beda, Lib. i. Cap. xxvii. & Lib. v. Cap. xxii.

¹ [Very many passages were directly translated from the famous book of Ratramn. See Ussher's *Answer to a Challenge*, pp. 54—56. Lond. 1686. The parallelism has been still more accurately shewn by Hopkins, in the Dissertation prefixed to his English version of Ratramn, pp. 40—51. Lond. 1688.]

² [Vid. Whartoni Dissert. de duobus Ælfricis: *Anglia Sacra*, Tom. i. pag. 125, seqq. Archbishop Nicolson's *Correspondence*, Vol. i. p. 19. Soames's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 219—22, 237—8. Lond. 1838.]

³ [Published, so far as concerns "the sacramentall bread & wyne," by Archbishop Parker, with the Saxon Homily.]

4. The Priests of that time said no private Mass on working-days, but only on holy-days, which therefore were called Mass-days. Ælfr. Ser. Pasc. Popish Priests every day.

5. The people did then communicate with the Priest. Beda, Lib. ii. Cap. v. The popish Priest eateth and drinketh all alone.

6. The English Saxon Church did celebrate Easter with the old Jews in one faith, although they differ from them in the kind of external Sacraments: whereby they affirmed the substance of the Sacraments of both the Testaments to be all one, which the Papists deny. Ælfr. Serm. Pasc. & Epist. Bed. Lib. v. Ca. xxii.

7. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not then hanged up to be worshipped, nor carried in procession, because they had not the opinion of carnal presence which the Papists have, &c.

8. The English Saxons' Church denied that wicked men received the body and blood of Christ. Ælfr. Serm. Pasc. The Papists hold, that not only wicked men, but also brute beasts eat the body of Christ, if they eat the external Sacrament thereof⁴.

⁴ ["Si corpus Domini a muribus vel araneis consumptum ad nihilum devenerit, sive multum corrosum fuerit, si integre vermis in eo inventus fuerit, comburatur. Si sine horrore residuum prædicto modo corrosum sumi poterit, tutius est ut sumatur." (*Cautele Misse*, in *Missal. ad sacros. Rom. eccles. vsum*, fol. cxii. Paris. 1529.) In the instructions "De defectibus in celeb. Missarum occurrentibus," prefixed to the Roman Missal published by the command of Pope Pius V., there is a remarkable section, "Si Hostia," which provides for the disappearance of the consecrated Host, in the event of it having been taken "a mure vel alio animali;" but in the modern Missals, sanctioned by Popes Clement VIII. and Urban VIII., all mention of the mouse, and of its capture, death and burning, is omitted.—"Quid ergo sumit mus, vel quid manducat?" asks Peter Lombard; (*Sententt.* Lib. iv. Dist. xiii.) and he answers, "Deus novit hoc." However, the Master of the Sentences is condemned for having taught, "quod brutum non sumit verum corpus Christi, etsi videatur;" (See his "Errores" annexed to the Paris edition, 1553. fol. 418.) and Pope Gregory XI. excommunicated those who should maintain the same opinion. Vid. EymERICI *Directorium Inquisitorum*, pp. 33, 197. Romæ, 1578. Cosin's *Hist. of Transub.* pp. 102, 152. Lond. 1676. Jewel's *Reply to Harding's Answer*, Art. xxiii. Innocent. Pap. III. *De sacro Altaris myster.* Lib.

9. The English Saxons allowed the Scriptures to be read of the people in the Saxon tongue; whereof Canutus made a law, that all Christian men should diligently search the law of God¹. The Papists deny the search of God's law to all Christian men, that are not of the Clergy, or learned in the Latin tongue.

10. The English Saxons decreed in Synod, after Latin service prevailed, and the knowledge of Latin decayed, that the Priests should say unto the people on Sundays and holy-days the interpretation of that Gospel in English; Ælfr. Lib. Can.²; which the Papists neither do nor will suffer to be done.

11. The English Saxons commanded, that all men should be instructed by the Priests to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue; Will. Mal. Li. i. de part. [Pont³.] Ælfr. in Lib. Can. Canut. in Leg.; which the Papists have taught to be heretical.

12. The English Saxons decreed in Synod, and King Canutus made a law, that the Priests should instruct the people in the understanding of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, &c. *ubi supra*; which the Papists altogether neglect, affirming ignorance to be the mother of devotion⁴.

iv. Cap. xi. fol. 58. Lipsic, 1534. Waldens. *Doct. ant. Fid.* Tom. ii. C. 46. f. 80. Venet. 1571. Gab. Biel *Sac. Can. Miss. Exposit. Lect.* lxxxviii. fol. 266. Basil. 1510. *Canones Penitent. Casus quadrages.* Lips. 1516. Boxhornius, *De Harmon. Euchar.* p. 214. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Gavanti *Thesaur. sac. Rit.* T. ii. p. 8. Venet. 1823. Wilkins, i. 139. Gage's *Survey of the West Indies*, pp. 446—9. edit. 4. Lond. 8vo.]

¹ [See the laws of Canute in Lambard's *Ἀρχαιογραφία*, p. 105. ed. Wheloc. Cantab. 1644.]

² [The decree is to be found in the twenty-third Canon of Ælfric to Wulfinus, annexed by Whelock to Lambard's book. Ussher, when using this testimony, and referring to this sentence in Fulke, has three times adduced a single passage, in consequence of his not having been aware that Ælfric's "Epistola ad Clericos," "Epistola Anglo-Saxonica," and "Liber Canonum" are one and the same work. (*De Scripturis et Sacris vernaculis*, pp. 128—9. Conf. Whartoni *Auctarium*, p. 377. Lond. 1690.)]

³ [Guil. Malmesburiensis, Lib. i. *De gestis Pontiff. Angl.* p. 112. edit. Savil. Lond. 1596. cit. Usser. in *Hist. Dogmat.* p. 197.]

⁴ [See Bp. Jewel's *Works*, Part i. p. 57. ed. Parker Soc.; the xxviii Article of his *Reply to Harding's Answer*; and the *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 15. Cambr. 1842.]

13. The worshipping of Images, and the second Council of Nice that decreed the same, was accursed of the Church of God in England and France, and written against by Alcuinus⁵ in the name of the Church of England and France. Math. West⁶. Symeon Dunel⁷. Rog. Houed⁸. &c. The Papists defend both that idolatrous Council, and their wicked Decree.

14. The Priests in the primitive Saxon Church were married for three or four hundred years; witness all histories of England; which the Papists do not allow.

15. The vow of chastity was not exacted of them that were made Priests, for the space of more than four hundred years after the arrival of Augustin into Kent; which Decree was made by Lanfrancus in a Synod at Winchester, anno 1076⁹.

16. Notwithstanding this Decree and many other, both Priests refused to make that vow, and kept their wives by the King's leave. Gerard. Ebor. Ep. ad Anselm.¹⁰ Histor. Petroburch¹¹. Papists permit neither of both.

17. Lanfrancus decreed, that such Priests as had wives should not be compelled to put them away. The Papists enforce Priests to put away their wives.

18. The Popes that were founders of the English Saxon Church acknowledged the Emperors to be their sovereign lords. Bed. Li. i. Cap. xxiii. Lib. ii. Cap. xviii.

⁵ [Who is supposed to have written the Caroline Books, A.D. 790. These were published by Du Tillet in 1549.]

⁶ [*Flores Histor.* p. 146. Francof. 1601.]

⁷ [*De Regibus Anglorum*, apud Twysdenum, *S. R. A.* p. 111. Lond. 1652.]

⁸ [*Annall. P. i. Rer. Angl. Scriptt.* p. 405. Francof. 1601. See Soames's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 170—1. Oxford, 1830.]

⁹ ["Nullus Canonicus uxorem habeat. Sacerdotum vero in castellis vel in vicis habitantium, habentes uxores non cogantur ut dimittant; non habentes interdicanter ut habeant." (*Concill. x.* 351. ed. Labb. et Coss.) It was natural that Labbe should say of this Synod, "plerisque suspecta est." (*Concill. Histor. Synops.* pag. 158. Lut. Paris. 1661.)]

¹⁰ [See the extract from the letter of Gerard, Abp. of York, in Fox. ii. 403. Lond. 1684.]

¹¹ [The testimony of the author of the Saxon History of Peterborough may be found in Sir Henry Spelman's *Councils*, Tom. ii. p. 36. Compare Wharton's *Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy*, p. 160. Lond. 1688.]

19. Pope Honorius took order, that the Archbishop of Canterbury might be consecrated in England, without travelling to Rome. Bed. L. ii. Ca. xviii. The latter Popes denied this.

20. Pope Gregory exhorteth King Ethelbert to set forth the faith of Christ to his subjects, to forbid the worship of Idols, &c. Bed. Lib. i. Cap. xxxii. The Papists would not have the civil Magistrate govern in ecclesiastical causes.

21. And lest you should say, (as M. Sander doth,) that the King was herein the Bishop's Commissary, Earcombert, King of Kent, of his princely authority purged his realm of idolatry, and commanded the fast of forty days to be kept. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. viii. The Papists deny that a King may do such things of his princely authority.

22. Kings in those times preferred men to bishoprics; Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. vii.; which the Papists affirm to be unlawful.

23. Kings in those days deposed Bishops, as Senwalch did Wini; Bed. Li. iii. Cap. vii. Ecgfrid deposed Wilfride, Lib. iv. Ca. xii.; which the Papists do not admit.

24. King Ecgfride would not receive Wilfrid, being restored by the Pope. Bed. Lib. iv. Cap. xiii. & Lib. v. Cap. xx. The Papists count it blasphemy not to obey the Pope's decree.

25. The same Wilfride, being again deprived by means of King Aldfride, and being the second time absolved by the Pope, could not be restored to his bishopric but by a Synod of his own Clergy. Bed. Lib. v. Cap. xx. By which it appeareth, the Clergy were not then in perfect slavery to the Pope.

26. Kings in those days were present at Synods, and ordered them, and concluded in them, as Oswine did at Strenshaleh. Lib. iii. Cap. xxv.

27. Archbishops were commanded by Kings to consecrate Bishops; as Wilfride was to consecrate Ostfor [*al.* Oftfor,] at the commandment of King Edilred. Bed. Li. iv. Cap. xxiii. Papists deny Kings to have sovereign authority in ecclesiastical causes.

28. Privileges of monasteries sought at Rome had first the consent of the King unto them. Bed. Lib. iv. Cap. xviii. Papists of later times seek privileges against the King's will.

29. Monks in that time were called to serve the Commonwealth; as Sighard, a Monk, was made King of the East Saxons. Lib. iv. Ca. xi. Papists call such apostataes.

30. Monasteries were then colleges of learned men, to furnish the Church with Ministers and Bishops. Li. iv. Ca. xxiii. Among Papists they be stalls to feed idle bellies, that serve neither the Church nor the Commonwealth.

31. Study of the Scriptures and hand labour was the exercise of Monks in those first and better times. Bed. Lib. iv. Cap. iii. Idleness and vain ceremonies is the exercise of popish Monks.

32. Monasteries were founded, that men might in them hear the word of God, and pray. Bed. Li. iii. Ca. xxiii. Popish monasteries in latter times were builded only to pray for men's souls, and to say Masses in them, &c.

33. Upon Sundays the people used ordinarily to flock to churches and monasteries, to hear the word of God. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. xxvi. In popish monasteries there neither was nor is any ordinary resort to hear the word of God, nor any ordinary preaching.

34. The Monks of that time were all learned preachers. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. xxvi. The popish Monks are most unlearned, and few preachers out of their dens.

35. In those days every Priest and Clerk was a preacher; so that when any came to any town, the people would resort to them to be taught of them. Bed. Lib. iv. Cap. xxvi. The greatest number of popish Priests, in these latter days, are most ignorant asses, and void of all spiritual understanding.

36. Unlearned Priests were forbidden to serve in the church; Bed. Lib. v. Cap. vi.; insomuch that -S. John of Beverley baptized again a young man which was baptized of an unlearned Priest. The Papists allow unlearned Priests to baptize and say Mass, that cannot catechise and instruct their hearers.

37. Songs and hymns out of the holy Scriptures were made meet for religion in the mother tongue. Bed. Lib. iv. Cap. xxiv. Papists can abide no songs of Scripture in the English tongue.

38. Anchorets of that time laboured with their hands. Bed. Lib. iv. Cap. xxviii. Popish Anchorets live idly, and labour not with their hands.

39. *Dirige* and Mass was said for Saint Oswald's soul: by which it is manifest, that they esteemed the Mass to be a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Lib. iii. Cap. ii.

40. Bega, a Nun, after she saw the soul of the Abbess Hilda carried into heaven, exhorted her sisters to be occupied in prayers and psalms for her soul. Whereby it appeareth, that the doctrine of Purgatory was not yet confirmed among them. Lib. iv. Ca. xxiii. Nothing is so certainly defended among Papists as Purgatory.

41. Holy men fasted then with eating of milk, as Egbert. Bed. Lib. iii. Ca. xxvii. And Cedda fasted Lent with eggs and milk. Lib. iii. Ca. xxiii. Papists of later times have utterly forbidden all white meats in Lent and fasting-days.

42. There was a Church of Christ in Britain before the coming of Augustin, not subject to the see of Rome, which continued long after his coming. Lib. ii. Cap. iv. The Papists account none Christians, but such as be bondslaves to the see of Rome.

43. Laurence, the second Archbishop of Canterbury, accounteth the Bishops of the Scots and Britons for Bishops, although they were not subject to the see nor Church of Rome. Bed. Lib. ii. Cap. iv. The Papists take none for Bishops that be not under the see of Rome.

44. The churches of the Britons were builded after another form than the churches of the Romish obedience. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. iv. The Papists affirm there were no churches ever builded, but in fashion and use of Popery.

45. The Scottish Church, instructed from Ireland, observed all such works of devotion as they could find in the Prophets, Gospels, and Apostles' writings; and therefore of Bede and the English Church were acknowledged for Christians, although they would not become members of the Church of Rome. Bed. Li. iii. Ca. iv. The Papists hold that there is no salvation out of the Church of Rome; which is a new Church in England, in comparison of the elder that was before Augustin's time.

46. Aidanus, a preaching Bishop, having no possessions, labouring to fulfil all that was written in the holy Scriptures, the Prophets and Apostles, shining in miracles both in his life-time and after his death, was never subject to the Church of Rome; yet accounted a Saint of the Church in those days. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. xvi. The Papists allow no Saints but canonized by their Pope.

47. The exercise of Aidanus' company, both shorn and laymen, was reading of the Scriptures, and learning of the Psalms. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. v. The exercise of popish Bishops' servants is nothing less.

48. The greatest part of the English Saxons were converted to Christianity by the Britons and Scots, that were no members of the Church of Rome. As, all the kingdom of Northumberland, both Bernicians and Deires, were converted by Aidanus; except a few persons whom Paulinus, the Roman, in long time had gained. The whole kingdom of Mercia, which was the greatest part of England, received the faith and baptism of Finan the Scot, the successor of Aidanus. Bed. Lib. iii. Cap. xxi. The East Saxons by Cedda, that was also of the Scottish ordering. Lib. iii. Cap. xxii. The Papists affirm that all our religion came from Rome.

49. Ceadda was consecrated by Wini, Bishop of the West Saxons, assisted by two Briton Bishops that were not subject to the see of Rome; and was nevertheless accounted for a lawful Bishop. Bed. Lib. iii. xxviii.

50. Beda accounted Gregory for the Apostle of the Englishmen. Lib. ii. Cap. i. The Papists now take Augustin for their Apostle.

I omit many other opinions and ordinances of that age: as, Augustin would have none forced to religion; that Wednesday should be fasting-day; the Bishop of London should have a pall as well as York, &c., wherein the Papists differ from them; that brag of nothing but antiquity, universality, and consent.

AN OVERTHROW
OF
STAPLETON'S FORTRESS,
OR, AS HE CALLETH IT HIMSELF,
THE PILLAR OF PAPISTRY.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

STAPLETON. *Stapleton.* AN introduction, declaring the necessity of the matter to be treated upon, and the order which the author will take in treating thereof.

FULKE. *Fulke.* Omitting the necessity of the matter, his order which he promiseth to keep is this. First, he will prove; if he can, that Papistry is the only true Christianity. This proposition he will follow by two principal parts. In the former, he will prove by authority of Scriptures, and answering of the adversaries' objections, that the Church cannot possibly err. Secondly, that this Church must be a known Church; that no malignant Church can prevail against it; that Papistry can be no schism nor heresy. In the latter part, after a few reasonable demands, that Protestants must not refuse to answer, putting the case that the known Church of nine hundred years is a kind of Papistry, he will prove that the faith of Protestants is differing from that was first planted among Englishmen in more than forty points; and that in all those points of difference he will shew they agree with the first six hundred years, which he saith (but falsely) that Protestants offer to be tried by. For although the Bishop of Sarum made challenge of many articles now holden of the Papists, not to be found within the compass of the first six hundred years, and therefore to be new and false doctrines; yet neither he, nor any Protestant living or dead, did ever agree to receive what doctrine soever was taught within the first

six hundred years. But this I dare avow, that what article of doctrine soever we do affirm, the same hath been affirmed of the godly Fathers of the primitive Church; whatsoever we deny, the same cannot be proved to have been universally affirmed and received of all the godly Fathers, by the space of the six hundred years together.

CHAPTER II.

Stapleton. That Protestants do condemn the universal Church of STAPLETON. Christ, of these many hundred years; and the reason of the whole disputation following grounded thereupon.

Fulke. To prove that the Protestants condemn the uni- FULKE. versal Church of Christ these many hundred years, he allegeth the sayings of some Protestants, miserably wrested from their meaning: that Latimer was our Apostle; that Luther begat truth; that the Gospel doth arise; in the first appearing of the Gospel, &c.: or as though by these sayings, and such like, they should deny that ever there had been any Church in the world before these times; whereas every child may understand, they speak of the restitution of the truth of the Gospel into the open sight of the world in these latter days. Likewise, where some have written, that the Pope hath blinded the world these many hundred years; some say a thousand years, some twelve hundred, some nine hundred, some five hundred, &c.; and the Apology affirmeth, that Christ hath said the Church should err, he cavilleth that all the Church for so many years is condemned of all error: whereas it is evident to them that will understand, that although some erroneous opinions have prevailed, and in process of time have increased in the greatest part of the Church, for many hundred years; yet so long as the only foundation of salvation was retained, the universal Church of Christ so many hundred years is not condemned. But when Antichrist (the mystery of whose iniquity wrought in the Apostles' time, 2 Thess. ii.) was openly shewed, and that apostasy which the Apostle foresheweth was fulfilled, then and from that time, whensoever it was, not the universal Church of Christ is condemned, but the general apopasy [apostasy] of Antichrist is detected.

THE ARGUMENT,

WHEREUPON THIS FIRST PART OF THE VAWMURE¹ OF
THIS FORTRESS IS BUILDED, IS THUS FRAMED
BY THE BUILDER HIMSELF.

STAPLETON. *Stapleton.* THE known Church of Christ doth continue, and shall continue always without interruption, in the true and upright faith :

But Papistry was the only known Church of Christ all these nine hundred years :

Ergo, Papistry all these nine hundred years hath continued, and shall continue always, even to the world's end without interruption, in the true and upright faith.

FULKE. *Fulke.* This argument hath never a leg to stand upon: for understanding (as he doth) the known Church to be that which is known to the world, to continue without interruption so known to the world, the *major*, is false. For although the Church shall continue always without interruption, yet it shall not continue always so known; but, as in the days of Elias, be hid from the outward view of men.

Again, the *minor*, that Papistry was the only known Church, understanding (as he doth) that it was only reputed, taken, and acknowledged so to be, it is utterly false. For the Greek and oriental Church, which is not the popish Church, hath been reputed, taken, and acknowledged to be the Church of Christ by as great a number of professors of Christianity as have acknowledged the popish Church. So that where he thinketh and saith all his labour remaineth to prove the *major*, you see that if he could prove it, yet all his labour is lost. But, to follow him in his *major*, he divideth it into two parts: the one, that the Church doth always continue in a right faith: the other, that this is a known Church. Both these he promiseth to prove by Scripture. And the first truly he shall not need: but yet it followeth not, but that the Church may err in some particular points, not necessary to salvation; although it continue in a right faith, concerning all principal and necessary articles.

¹ [Vawmure: outwork.]

CHAPTER III.

Stapleton. Evident proofs and clear demonstrations out of the STAPLETON. Psalms, that the Church of Christ must continue for ever without interruption sound and upright.

Fulke. He is plentiful in proving that which needeth FULKE. no proof, that the Church of Christ shall continue always: and first out of the lxxxviii.² Psalm, which he rehearseth, and interpreteth of the Church out of Augustin, lest he should trust his own judgment, as he fantasieth that our preachers do, altogether refusing to read interpreters. We affirm, that the Church of Christ hath and shall continue to the world's end: but we deny that the popish Church is that; which could not be before there was a Pope, before their heresies were brought out of the bottomless pit, which were not breathed up all in six hundred years after Christ, no not in a thousand years after Christ, and some not almost in fourteen hundred years after Christ; I mean the sacrilegious taking away of the Communion of the blood of Christ from the people in the Council of Constance³. What impudency is it of Papists, to urge the perpetual continuance of Christ's Church without interruption, and then to begin at six hundred years after Christ; and not to be able to shew a perpetual course of all their doctrine from Christ, His Apostles, and the primitive Church!

But, to prove that the Church of Christ cannot possibly (as Protestants wickedly do fable) have failed and perished these many hundred years, he citeth the lxi. Psalm, with Augustin's exposition thereupon. But what Protestant so fableth, M. Stapleton? You had need to make men of paper, to fight against the paper walls of your fantastical Fortress. The Papists, when they cannot confute that we say, they will beat down that we say not. "How say the Protestants, that these nine hundred years and upward the Church hath perished; it hath been overwhelmed with idolatry and superstition?" The Protestants never said so, M. Stapleton. The Church hath not perished, though the greatest part of the world hath been overwhelmed with idolatry and superstition. God can provide for His chosen, that they shall not be

² [Engl. lxxxix.—Stapleton's *Fortresse*, p. 30. S. Omers, 1625.]

³ [Sess. xiii. an. 1415.]

drowned, when all the world beside is overwhelmed. Another testimony to the like effect, and with the like conclusion, he bringeth out of the Psalm civ., and thereupon a pithy syllogism. "We prove the Catholic Church by the continuance of Christianity : The continuance of Christianity only in Papistry is clear : Ergo, Papistry is only the true Church of Christ." *Nego tibi minorem*, M. Stapleton. When will you prove the continuance of Christianity only in Papistry, when Papistry began since Christ and His Apostles? and if you mean Christianity for the external profession of Christ's religion, then will you prove the oriental Churches to be Papistry, which defy the authority of your Pope.

Last of all, out of the Psalm ci., and Augustin's application of the same against the Donatists, which said that the Church was perished out of all the world except Africa where they were, he would compare the Protestants to them, whereas indeed the Papists are more like to them. For they, holding that there is no Church of Christ but the Romish Church, affirm in effect as the Donatists, that the Church of Christ for many hundred years hath perished out of all parts of the world beside Europa, where only, and yet not in all parts thereof, they have borne the sway. Whatsoever, therefore, Augustin writeth against the Donatists, for shutting up the Church of Christ only in Africa, may be rightly applied to the Papists, for restraining it only to a part of Europa. But, contrary to the Papists and Donatists, we affirm, that the Catholic Church of Christ is and hath been, even in the most dark times of Antichrist's kingdom, dispersed throughout the whole world; nothing doubting but God, which preserved seven thousand in one corner of Israel, not much greater than some shire of England, hath preserved seven thousand thousand in all parts of the wide world, which never bowed their knees to the Romish Baal, nor kissed him with their mouth.

CHAPTER IV.

STAPLETON. *Stapleton.* Proofs and testimonies out of the prophet Esay, that the Church of the Messias continueth for ever unto the world's end, assisted always by God Himself.

FULKE. *Fulke.* The testimonies of the perpetuity of the Church

out of the Prophet Esay, with the exposition of Hieronym upon them, maketh nothing against us, which willingly acknowledge the same, but deny that they pertain to the popish Church, which had her beginning long after Christ and His Apostles, and her full tyranny confirmed more than a thousand years after Christ. The same Hierom disputeth against the custom of the particular Church of Rome, and appealeth to the Church of all the world: *Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe*, &c.: "If authority be sought, the world is greater than a city." And again: *Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem?* "What bringest thou forth to me the custom of one city?" *Evagr.*¹ We stand for the Catholic Church of Christ dispersed over all the world, against the particular, schismatical, heretical, and antichristian Church of Rome; which, though she have invaded by tyranny over a great part of Europe, yet never did she prevail over the whole Church throughout the world, nor yet over all Europe.

CHAPTER V.

Stapleton. The doctrine of Calvin touching the Church is examined to the touchstone of the holy Scriptures alleged. Wherein also is treated and disputed by what marks the Church may be known. EX-STAPLETON.

Fulke. First he confesseth that Calvin² hath learnedly, largely, and truly treated of the unity, authority, and obedience of the Church. He affirmeth also, that he acknowledgeth a visible Church in the world; whose communion we ought to keep, and of her to receive the spiritual food of doctrine and Sacraments; which ought not to be forsaken for the evil life of the members thereof. All this he commendeth and alloweth. But herein he sheweth his malicious cavilling stomach, that he supposeth Calvin to affirm, that the universal

¹ [S. Hieron. *Ep. ad Evagrium*; (or rather *ad Evangelum*.) Opp. ii. 329. Basil. 1565. This remarkable Epistle was published, with a preface by Luther, Vitebergæ, 1538. Almost the entire of it is included in the Canon Law; (*Dist. xciii. Cap. xxiv.*) and Christfrid Wæchtler has examined its contents. (*Acta Eruditor. an. 1717. pp. 484, 524, seqq. Lips.*) Latterly, in Germany, the authenticity of the Letter has been questioned. See Gieseler, i. 65.]

² [*Institut. Lib. iv. Cap. i.*]

Church of Christ is visible, where he speaketh but of particular congregations, members of the whole, which are visible, not to the world always, but to the members of the same.

The marks of the Church, which Calvin sayeth to be true preaching of the word of God, and due administration of the Sacraments, although he confesseth them to be in the Church, yet he denieth them to be the marks of the Church. For the mark must be better known than the thing whereof it is a mark: But the Church is more evident than those marks: *Ergo* they be no true marks. The *minor* he proveth by that which Calvin teacheth, that we must learn of the Church the true meaning of the Scripture. But hereof it followeth not, that the Church is better known than these marks. For there is a farther trial, which ought to be better known, by which both are to be known: namely, the word of God; whereunto we must have recourse, to try whether those things that are preached are even so indeed; as the Thessalonians [Bereans] did by the preaching of Paul and Barnabas. [Silas.] Act. xvii. ver. 11. The unmoveable truth is to be sought in the Scriptures: what preaching or Church agreeth with that truth is to be received, and none other. And whereas he sayeth that heretics challenge these marks as well as Catholics, I grant they do so: but no more do they challenge these marks than they challenge the Church to be on their side; for there was never heresy, but they bragged as much of the Church as of the truth. Therefore the Church is not more clear than these marks; but these marks, tried by the word of God, are more clear than the Church, which is therefore the Church because it maintaineth true doctrine. The doctrine is not true because the Church maintaineth it. The cause is better known than the effect; for knowledge is to understand by causes.

But M. Stapleton hath two better marks than Calvin describeth: to wit, the universality and communion of all nations; the continuance and ever-remaining thereof among Christians. These marks by no logic can be causes of the Church, but adjuncts unto it; and therefore the worst arguments that can be to know it by: even such as the foolish man's argument was, that knew his horse by the bridle. But admit these to be proper adjuncts of the Church, yet shall not the popish Church be able to prove those to be her marks.